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THE WORLD'S WORK



NOVEMBER 1903 TO APRIL 1904

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THE WORLD'S WORK



VOLUME VII

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A HISTORY OF OUR TIME

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MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

WHOSE RESIGNATION FROM THE ENGLISH CABINET PRECIPITATED THE PRESENT PARTY CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE WORLD'S WORK

NOVEMBER, 1903

VOLUME VII



NUMBER I

The March of Events

THERE was a time when New York was provincial, and there are ways in which it is provincial yet. It has moods in which it regards itself as the crown and centre of American life, whereas American life in its wide stretches and vast diversities might easily readjust itself if New York were obliterated. It has moods in which it prides itself on being the financial head of the country—as it is; but most of its wealth comes from the other towns and States, and production would go on if the heavy buildings of Manhattan were to sink the island into the sea. In finance and in fashion, in commercial activity and as a meeting place, a trading place and a play place, the whole country pays tribute to it; and all this concentration of activities and interests swells its noise and its self-importance. Looked at from Texas or Kansas, or even from Ohio or Massachusetts or Virginia, the great city presents aspects that provoke both ridicule and resentment. Some of its people consciously imitate European fashions in clothes and in thought and in morals; and a large part of its population is European, having been transplanted from Old World to New World slums. Neither of these elements of New York's population speaks a common language with the mass of Americans. The mass of Americans, therefore, finding this life different from

their own life, regard the city as "provincial." It trades on what it does not produce. It taxes industries that it does not own. It has an artificial existence, feeding on the convenience and the follies of a continent. To find the real American man, or American opinion, or American character, an observer must go inland from any coast city. All this is true, but it is the lesser part of a very much larger truth.

WHAT NEW YORK REALLY IS

THE larger truth is that New York is the most important and interesting community in our country. Nor is this the whole truth: it is about to become the financial capital of the world. Nor is this all: it is bound to become within a reasonable time the foremost city in other than financial ways. It is just beginning to have a premonition of its great destiny. It is rebuilding itself; and the new steel city that is taking the place of the old brick and stone in the business quarters is constructed, as nearly as human foresight can provide, for all time to come. The aggregation of office structures; the construction of transit facilities, overhead, underground, and on the surface, over rivers and under them and beneath the bay; the building of new terminals and the rebuilding of old ones—such unparalleled physical works as these are but



Photograph taken especially for THE WORLD'S WORK

MAYOR SETH LOW OF NEW YORK

THE FUSION CANDIDATE FOR RE-ELECTION TO THE MAYORALTY



Photograph by Falk

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY
THE LEADER OF TAMMANY HALL IN THE NEW YORK MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN

one way of expressing the incalculable power, activity and wealth that are at work. And power and activity and wealth, as every staunch believer in democratic institutions knows, will work toward the most beautiful results at last. Men now living will see New York not only the largest but also the most attractive city in the world.

The great present and the incalculably greater future lift the problem of its practical management out of the category of other municipal problems. If it is locally important that other cities have good government—as it is—it is much more important that New York be kept clean and honest, so that the capital of the continent may worthily and evenly and beautifully grow into its destiny. It is of the highest importance to the whole republic that its chief city should be a better city than any of the Old World capitals.

Now, no man, unless he be a careful and even technical student of municipal conditions and problems, could sum up fully the benefits that have come these two years from the present administration of the city's affairs. It has wrought a silent but a complete revolution. The difficulty in describing the change is that its details are too many to catalogue and the total result is too obvious to emphasize. It is clean—at least, cleaner; it is more healthful; most of all, its affairs are honestly managed. It does not fatten on vice nor thrive on the robbery of the helpless. Great public works are honestly done. The heads of its departments are honorable men. The government has character. It has more—it has constructive efficiency. It is solving the grave problems of municipal government at their worst in a scientific way. It is working out the most difficult tasks in transit, in health, in policing, and, most of all, in public morals, on a scale that is new in our experience. It is adding every month and every day to our knowledge of the most difficult of all practical modern problems, an experience that will be valuable to every large city for all time to come. It is proving that a popular electorate can get a clean and scientific government even under the worst conditions. In fact, it is working out the most important demonstration but one that has ever been made in government; for, if the success of our national government

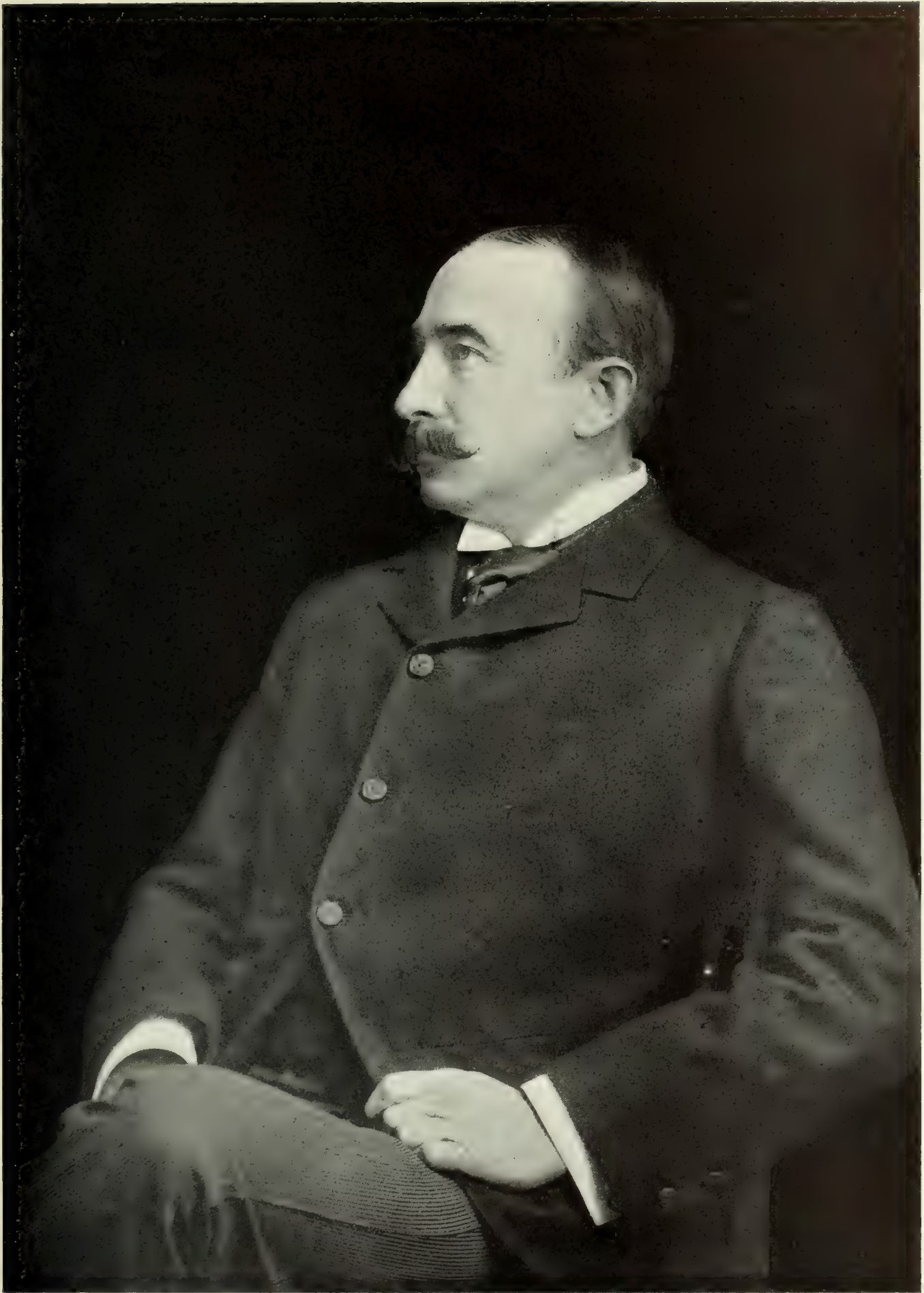
be the crowning political achievement of our race, the success of popular government in New York City is surely the next most important.

It is in this large way and for these large reasons that the approaching election in the city has a meaning to every American. If the honest and so far successful effort of the best citizens, of all parties, to make and keep New York worthy of the country cannot be continued—cannot triumph over mere partizanship and spoils—we shall yet have to confess that we have not gone beyond the stage of the highwayman's civilization in our municipal life. But, if there can be a succession of honest administrations until honest government become a habit, there is no limit to the influence of such an achievement; for, if New York can be well-governed, any other city in the country can be, and with less effort. It is the key to good government everywhere else. Who the men are that happen to be the instruments for the working out of such a reform makes no matter, so they be honest and efficient. Personalities have no place in such a sacred effort in behalf of civilization. The struggle has nothing in common with any other political campaign; it has nothing to do with Democratic or Republican doctrines or principles. It is not a choice between two possible sets of municipal officers, but a choice between government and disgrace. It is not a question to be argued. It is an occasion for action.

TAMMANY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR FORTY YEARS

THERE is in this municipal situation in New York a grave thought for the Democratic party. It so happens that the enemies of good government in the city are, on national issues, allied with that party—"allied" is the right word, for with most of them Democracy means simply spoils and not political convictions. It might have happened, as it has happened in other cities, that the enemies of good government should be Republicans. It would not be fair, therefore, to put blame on the Democratic party simply for Tammany's political preference in national elections.

But the long-suffered scandal is that the Democratic managers lend aid and comfort to Tammany in municipal campaigns. This



MR. JOHN HAYS HAMMOND
THE MOST EMINENT AMERICAN MINING ENGINEER



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DR. JOHN HUSTON FINLEY

WHO WAS RECENTLY INAUGURATED AS PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

may seem to the unmoral and to the immoral to be "good politics"; but it is at least significant that Mr. Cleveland was an anti-Tammany Democrat—and he is the only Democrat who has held the Presidency in more than forty years. Nor is this a mere coincidence. It is a frightful price that a great party pays for imagined support in national elections when its managers come to New York to help a rum-shop boss reduce the city government to the moral level of blackmailers and gamblers. Such party management loses in character more than it can ever gain in votes. The proof is that the nation has not trusted the party with power except when its leader had the courage to spurn Tammany. It looks, then, if forty years' experience can be said to establish a rule, that, whenever the national Democratic party comes to the aid of Tammany in a municipal election, it forfeits the confidence of the nation.

To be sure, it would require a good deal of assurance to praise the moral qualities displayed in recent Republican campaign management; but the party has had at least this advantage—that, however criminal its alliances, it has not lent open aid to a local organization that has held back and degraded municipal government in America, and has even fattened on the seduction of young girls, the death of children, the robbery of the poor, and the systematic degradation of the community.

THE PERIOD OF SETTLING AND THE PERIOD OF SETTLING DOWN

AN instructive pamphlet, lately sent out from the Census office, shows that the rate of increase of population will soon become nearly uniform in each of the great divisions of the country—that in the western States it will increase at no faster rate than in the eastern, and that in the South it will increase as fast as in the North. This does not mean that the South has, or ever can have, as large a population as the North, nor that the States west (say) of the Mississippi have, or ever will have, as large a population as those east of the Mississippi; but it means that the rate of increase in the West has come down to the rate in the East, and that the rate in the South is catching up with the rate in the rest of the Union. In other words, the era of great migrations

is passed, the era of adventure, the era of wandering away from home for better chances in life. Of travel there is more than there ever was; but men travel both ways—some go south, some go north; some west, some east. Men still change their places of residence, too, but the current of change no longer runs in great swells. In a sense we have settled the country; and now we are beginning to settle down. We are reaching a period of an equilibrium of opportunity.

This large fact explains many changes in the direction of our activities and a corresponding change that is taking place in our national character; for what we do makes us what we are. It is a key to the right reading of the larger tendencies in present American life.

The difference between a period of settling and a period of settling down is the difference between adventure and development. It is expressing itself in a hundred ways—in intensive instead of extensive farming; in the concentration of industry instead of duplicating it; in building better homes instead of seeking other homes; in doing the jobs we have in hand better rather than in seeking other jobs. All this means greater efficiency. It means sticking closer to business. It has had much to do with the production of great wealth which makes the last decade a period in our history that stands out by itself. It has much to do with the great movement to consolidate industry. It brings us back to all kinds of home problems—to the proper building and government of our cities and to the almost universal tendency to improve country life.

And there is in almost all branches of work a much nearer approach to the equalization of opportunities in every part of the country than there ever was before. The industrial growth of the South (and all other kinds of growth follow the development of industry) is a striking proof of this fact. But there has been no lessening of opportunities. True, there is less public land to be had for the asking; but in every part of the country it has been proved over and over again that when men have passed through the adventurous era and come to the era when they must work out the problems at their own doors, they do better work and often find better chances than they could find by wandering.

Thus, this Census pamphlet is a most instructive reminder of our passing into a new era of our national life.

A SIMPLE SUM IN ARITHMETIC

SUPPOSE a big company is organized and issues bonds and stocks on the following basis:

Things capitalized	The percentage of stocks and bonds represented by them
Real value	25
Pure water	50
Promoters' shares	10
Increase over real value because of "flush" times	15

Now, what happens when the fabric of speculation is shaken? The 15 per cent. of "flush-times" valuation fades away; the 10 per cent. of promoters' profit shares are remembered and the public resents such a distribution of them; people begin to ask how much pure water went to the making of the whole organization—they recall everything, in fact, except the real value. The stock, therefore, that is really worth 25 per cent. of its par value, if honest management be assumed, falls far below 25 cents in the market.

This is a very elementary and simple "sum" in arithmetic; but it explains many "mysterious" things that have been happening in the stock market. Nothing is so hard to manage as a suspicious public; but whose fault is it that the public became suspicious?

Speculation runs away with industry for a time, but industry gets its revenge at last.

WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING RISE TOGETHER

DURING the period of high prosperity that we have enjoyed for several years both wages and the cost of living have, of course, gone higher. It is easy to see why wages have increased. But it is less easy to see why the cost of living has risen. The *scale* of living naturally becomes more generous in prosperous times; but that is a different thing; for, by the cost of living, we mean the cost of food, of clothing, of shelter—of the necessities. Rent naturally goes up as population increases, but it is not quite so clear why food and clothing and other necessary things should become dearer.

Yet the fact remains that living is more costly. How much more costly it is in the larger centres of population than it was four

or five years ago has been variously estimated; but now we have the result of as careful and accurate an inquiry as can be made. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, at Washington, has put out a report which shows that the average advance in prices of food has within the last five years been 17 per cent., and that the average increase in wages has been at about the same rate. The increase in both is less than it has been supposed to be.

The wage-earner is, therefore, somewhat better off than he was before; for he has a better scale of living. A man is more prosperous on rising wages, even if the cost of living also rise, than he is on stationary wages if the cost of living remain stationary—there is a somewhat wider play for good management. Colonel Wright, the head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is therefore warranted in concluding that the wage-earner is now materially better off than he ever was before.

Moreover, commodities will get cheaper before wages decline, whenever a change takes place in either.

"OPEN" GOVERNMENT WORKSHOPS AND WHAT THEY IMPLY

THE leaders of organized labor made the mistake to demand that an employee of the Government printing-office, named Miller, should be dismissed because he was a non-union man. They hit their heads against a wall, because the President must administer the laws which, as he very clearly said, were "enacted for the benefit of the whole people and which cannot and must not be construed as permitting discrimination against some of the people." There is, therefore, no honorable way to unionize Government workshops. The unions are, of course, at liberty to let them alone—to prevent union men from working in them and to boycott them if they can. But boycotting the Government offices at Washington would mean a refusal to receive public documents or to trade with any one who did receive them; and it would mean boycotting every one who received paper money and many other things.

Now, if the honest administration of the laws prevents the "unionization" of Government shops, the thought is suggested that the honest and fair conduct of business in

general may also demand "open" shops. The labor leaders would have done well to let the Miller case pass in silence—those of them surely that insist on "closed" shops.

TWO SECTIONAL PROJECTS OF HURTFUL FOLLY

THESE are threats of bringing forward the Southern race-question in two of its political aspects during the forthcoming Congress:

1. By an agitation to repeal the XVth Amendment, which forbids the denial of the suffrage on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

2. By renewing with seriousness the proposal to cut down the representation of the Southern States in Congress because of the practical disfranchisement of the Negro.

There is a considerable body of Southern opinion that favors the repeal of the XVth Amendment; but, not to say more about it, an agitation to change the Constitution at all—and certainly to change it in this respect—is as futile as an agitation would be to remove the Appalachian Mountains. Those who favor such an agitation are either hopelessly impractical—the wildest of dreamers—or they are profoundly ignorant of the settled conviction of practically every northern State; or, knowing this fact, they make agitation for political effect—to keep the old sectional subject alive. No other political project is so futile. Doubtless most of the Southern men who favor the project belong to that large class of the impractical. The nurture of mere theories has taken a large part of the energy of Southern statesmen for several generations; and there are many of them now who are as ignorant of public opinion in the United States as their fathers were ignorant of its opinion and of its resources in 1860. They live apart and they talk and talk and argue and argue, and seldom even by chance hit upon a subject that is practical or of contemporaneous value. No man living will ever see the repeal of the XVth Amendment; and discussion of it will do nothing but harm.

The project to cut down Southern representation in Congress because of the political disfranchisement of the Negro would require no change of the Constitution, and is therefore an easier thing to accomplish.

But, to say nothing more of it, it will not be done because by doing it the North would give up its whole contention for the political

rights of the Negro. Cutting down Southern representation looks on its face like a method of punishing the Southern Democrats—an utterly unworthy motive—but it would really be acquiescing in the disfranchisement of the Negro. It would be a sort of approval of it. Blustering as the discussion of this subject may be, therefore, it will be mere bluster or mere "inquiry."

Why not face the facts and act frankly? The main facts are these: The XVth Amendment is permanent; most of the Southern States have thrust the Negro out of politics—have taken the ballot away from him; cutting down southern representation would in effect be expressing approval of this practical disfranchisement; there is no law nor trick nor movement nor device nor any means whatsoever of quickly or radically changing existing conditions. The slow work of patient and just generations of men and women of both sections and of both races—this, with time and charity and real statesmanship, will shape the future of the South along the natural lines of economic development. We could spare the partisan politicians of each section. What a help it would be if there were a way to get rid of them!

SOME COLOSSAL FACTS ABOUT PENSIONS

THE report of the Commissioner of Pensions sets forth several colossal and amazing facts, such as these:

Pensions paid from 1790 to 1865	\$96,445,444
Pensions paid from 1865 to 1903	3,037,826,080
Total.....	\$3,134,271,524

The cost of the pension roll to every man, woman and child in our population was \$1.51 in 1889, when we had only about sixty millions of population; but it has now risen to \$1.75 when we have eighty millions. This is one way of saying that the work of getting pensions becomes an occupation of increasing precision. About five-and-a-half million dollars have already been paid in Spanish War pensions; and the veteran of the Spanish War has outdone the veteran of preceding wars in his brave raid; for the average yearly value of the Spanish War pension is \$137, and the average annual value of all other pensions is \$133. A new and exigent army of pensioners began to gather before the old army had begun to decrease.

The rate at which "new business" is yet done is indicated by these facts:

Applications disposed of this year.....	252,106
Applications for increased pensions this year	144,083
Applications for increased pensions granted this year.....	58,120
Applications for original pensions.....	52,325
Applications for original pensions granted	40,136
Applications awaiting adjudication.....	304,809

It is not quite true that every man who served in the Civil War receives or has applied for a pension, but it is much more nearly true than it is usually thought to be. There were (in round numbers) 2,213,000 individual enlistments. Of these, about 2,000,000 are either dead or have asked to be pensioned; and 14,000 applications for Civil War pensions are yet received a year.

Still, the pension roll has begun to decline. A year ago it contained more than a million names; now it is less by five thousand or more, and it is decreasing at an increasing rate. On the other hand, the Grand Army of the Republic favors a "service" pension—that is, a pension to every man who served in the army, whether he suffered hurt or not. The Commissioner, Mr. Ware, repeats two important recommendations to Congress:

To prohibit the granting of pensions to women who marry dying veterans to secure widows' pensions, and

To change the method of appointing examining surgeons. They are now political appointments—a shameful fact. They ought to be appointed by some power wholly divorced from politics.

It has been calculated, with approximate accuracy, that the Civil War cost ten billions of dollars—three billions for fighting expenses, three billions for interest on the debt, three billions for pensions, and one billion for other expenses. But the pension charge will not end for many and many a year.

THE WRONG WAY TO DO AN IMPORTANT THING

THE WORLD'S WORK has received a shrieking letter from an officer of the National Economic League, a part of which follows:

"I take the liberty of sending you under separate cover with this mail a copy of a Socialistic paper, which is only a sample of 2,000 such sheets published in the United States today having a combined circulation of 500,000 copies weekly and distributed

very largely free to all classes of WAGE-EARNERS.

"This association, composed of thoughtful, careful business men, after over one year's study and investigation, realized that something must be done to protect their own interests and the interests of their brother manufacturers, merchants and others who are too busy to study the situation carefully, and who are unaware of the grave dangers threatening American institutions and industries from the rapid growth and spread of SOCIALISM.

"Many manufacturers the country over are enrolling their employees in our organization, thus making them recipients of sound logical literature on all these vital topics from an unbiased non-political source, written by some one of our Board of Editorial Associates, without pay, and designed to counteract these false and dangerous doctrines thus being spread broadcast over the entire United States, teaching discord and dissatisfaction, class hatred, agitating the wage-earners, and stirring up the passions of the vicious.

"We urge you to sustain us in our work by as generous a contribution as you can afford; it is for the preservation of *your interests* as well as ours, and every good citizen should take pride in aiding this work in the cause of self-preservation and good government.

"We send prospectus, a glance at which will give you more information, also a list of contributors thus far and a list of our Editorial Associates."

This Economic League, as its stationery and list of committees shows, is an elaborately organized body. Its members are manufacturers and financiers, senators, college presidents, railroad men, philanthropists and the like; and its aim is admirable. Socialism is a very bad thing. Any man who will warm up to the subject may wax as eloquent in decrying it as he could in decrying drunkenness. Heaven defend us from them both!

But there is something pitiful in the sight of millionaires and college presidents and bishops and "managers" and "secretaries" and editors, and the Lord knows who else, setting out by a great organization to combat Socialism and spending money to send free "literature" to the victims of the socialistic delusion.

This is not the way to combat Socialism. The man never lived who was converted from Socialism to a sound view of organized society by tracts. Tracts convert men to Socialism—naturally, for they appeal to discontent; but they never converted men *from* Socialism. Moreover, the tracts in favor of Socialism are often very interesting, but tracts and other

sermons against Socialism are uniformly dull. Compare, for instance, Prince Kropotkin with our heavy-worded professors of economics. The Economic League can't get any literature to distribute that Socialists will read sympathetically.

The way to keep men from falling into the snares of Socialism is for the millionaires, when they organize great companies, to refrain from watering the stock; for "managers" and "presidents" to deal justly with their employees, remembering that personal touch and sympathetic treatment are worth more than doctrine; for bishops and their clergy to preach so well that the masses of men will wish to go to hear them; for college presidents to be sure that their institutions make economic truth interesting (it is discouragingly unattractive in the hands of most teachers); and so on with all. If the favored classes of society live as good citizens of a democracy (which implies a genuine human brotherhood) we shall hardly need a formidable "league" to save us from Socialism. If they do not so live, no kind of "league" is strong enough to save us.

This is not all. Such a dull league positively encourages Socialism. So long as the apostle of unrest argues and shrieks unnoticed, he will win a following of a certain number of emotional persons and do no great harm; for a certain number of emotional persons can be won to any doctrine under heaven which promises an easier life. But when your Socialist sees that the college presidents, the railroad presidents, the bankers and the bishops and the senators are all organizing against him, he takes fresh courage, his enthusiasm turns to fanaticism, and he wins more converts than he could win before.

Common sense is an individual quality; and it is a curious fact that you seldom find it in "national leagues" or other great organizations for changing society. Great college presidents, mighty financiers, good bishops and all the rest become mere ciphers when they put themselves down on "a partial list of the Board of Editorial Associates and Endorsers"—of anything; for a figurehead is closely akin to a humbug.

THE WAY TO ENCOURAGE SOCIALISM

AND the National Economic League seems to be unnecessarily excited about the growth of Socialism. To measure a move-

ment by the number of papers and journals that its advocates say that they publish is surely not a scientific method. *Wilshire's Magazine*, one of the Socialistic periodicals, claimed a total vote in the elections of 1902 of 285,127 Socialists. This number will not frighten those who have opportunities to estimate the very much larger number of persons who have fallen victims to promoters of watered industrial enterprises; for Socialism and the excessive organization of labor and other counter-moves always follow the excessive organization of watered industrial combinations. It requires no profound philosophy to see the reason why they do. It is the same game played on another level of life.

About one-tenth of the voters in Boston and Chicago are Socialists. The way to increase this proportion is to keep up the speculative organization of industry and to continue the hold of the great interests on the Government. The whole matter is in the hands of the ruling classes. But mere "literature" on the subject written by bishops and senators and distributed by subscriptions from manufacturers and bankers—bah! Your Socialist writes much more interesting things himself, and gets them read because they are interesting.

One thing that the bishops and the senators and the professors need to learn is—to write the truth well enough for the masses of men to read it because it is interesting. The academic, the ecclesiastical and the political lingoers are a heavy hindrance to Truth in her efforts to prevail. Adam Smith, John Wesley and Abraham Lincoln were all aware of the disadvantage of undigested speech, and they talked and wrote straight at the masses of men. And so have all other great men done.

ABOUT FIGUREHEADS AND HUMBUGS

SPEAKING no longer specifically of the Economic League, one might propose as good devotional exercise—conducive to humility and righteousness and common sense—that the bankers and the bishops and the railroad presidents and other "prominent citizens" who "endorse" so many "movements," should sit down, after a day of fasting and prayer, and say, each one to himself:

"Let me see: how many papers and lists and

petitions and boards and leagues have I lent my name to (all 'good causes,' of course) about which I know not one single thing—lent my name partly because I find it hard to say 'no' to any importunate person who is organizing something, and partly because I 'owe it to society' to endorse 'good movements'? For am I not a pillar of society—financial, educational or ecclesiastical?

"If I know nothing specific about these boards and leagues and movements, and if I give no time to their conduct, but satisfy my conscience by signing my name as an 'endorser' or 'associate'—am I not a humbug?"

You are surely a humbug, both before God and the people; for the public makes a very proper measure of the good and great men whose names it sees attached to every sort of league that parades itself and comes a-begging to save society. No man ever saved his own soul nor the soul of another by "endorsing" anything—to say nothing of saving society in general. The whole business of saving society gets on the more slowly because of these amiable assinities and respectable humbugs.

THE STORY OF A MUNICIPAL CRIME

OF all the horrors that exist anywhere in any form in any land that civilized people control, the "lung block" in New York City is perhaps unmatched. The following description of it (in mere outline) was prepared for this magazine by Mr. Ernest Poole, of the University Settlement, and a member of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis:

"The 'Lung Block' has earned its name. In nine years it has reported 265 cases of consumption, and there is good evidence that half the cases have not been reported. This block, bounded by Cherry, Catharine, Hamilton and Market streets, has 478 inhabitants per acre. Between 1890 and 1900 its population increased 65 per cent., and this one block houses more than 3,000 persons. On the east side of it alone there are eight saloons and several houses of a worse sort.

"One of the tenements in this block is the 'Ink Pot.' In the front and rear tenements of this house I found 140 Irish and Italians, including 23 babies. I give something of the history of a single room in the 'Ink Pot.' In 1894 a blind Scotchman slept there and took consumption. His wife and his fifteen-year-old son both drank, and the home became as foul as a tenement can become. The man died in the hospital. A few months later his little daughter took the same disease. At last she, too, died. The mother and son moved away. In this vile, dark room the

germs lived on. They might all have been killed in a week by sunlight but they can live two years in darkness. One year later, in October, a Jew rented this same room and slept in the same dark closet. He, too, was infected and died in the summer. The room was rented again in the autumn by a German and his wife. She already had the disease and died later in the hospital. Then an Irish family came in. The father was sober and hard-working. Six months later he took the disease and died in 1901. This is the record of only one room for seven years. In this rear tenement alone I found twenty such closet, windowless bedrooms. There are 361,000 dark rooms in the city.

"Doctor Biggs estimates the annual economic loss from consumption to New York City alone at \$23,000,000. It causes one-third of all deaths between twenty and forty-five. Most often it attacks the bread-winners of families. They labor on. It costs several hundred dollars to die. Families go on charity. And so the tremendous waste continues. This plague is a constant danger to all. For the plague-stricken workers toil on and we all use the products of their labor. Thousands are sick in the sweat-shops, infecting the garments they work on; thousands are sick at home, and the following scene taken from the records of a visiting nurse shows what is true in some degree of every trade in the city—that consumptives work on to the very end. A man was dying down in the Ghetto. His cough was terrific, unceasing. It was January. Coal was high. The tiny room was freezing cold. Blankets were scanty. He sewed on in bed. At night he used the coats and trousers that he worked on to cover him."

RADICAL PREVENTION OF CONSUMPTION

THIS "lung block" in New York City will some day give way to a park. Mr. De Forest, the Commissioner of Tenement Houses, and others are trying now to have it condemned; and Mr. Jacob A. Riis's dream will come true at some time, and the city will have the islands in the East River, which are now occupied by penal institutions, as playgrounds for the poor. A Removal Society, organized and conducted at a very considerable expense and with great care, is finding employment and homes in different parts of the country for Jews from the overcrowded Ghetto. Last year this society sent more than 3,000 persons to 45 States, and only 3 per cent. of them have drifted back into the larger cities and only 1 per cent. to New York. There are similar societies in Chicago and Philadelphia.

All this is well, but provision for the cure

of consumption is better. Better yet is provision for its prevention. Its best breeding places are the overcrowded parts of the big cities. The work of preventing the disease goes on, but it does not go fast enough. Nor is it yet sufficiently radical. We may learn a lesson from the French.

The Minister of Public Instruction in France has taken the lead of all the world in measures for its prevention in the schools. A new law requires that an examination of every pupil shall be made once in three months, and the height, the weight, the chest measure and the general physical condition of every one shall be entered on the pupils' reports.

The school-rooms receive the same preventive attention. Carpets are prohibited; curtains must be of cloth that may be frequently washed; no dry sweeping is allowed, and dust must be removed by wet cloths; all school furniture must be often scoured; books are regularly disinfected, and no book that has been used by a consumptive child may be used by another person.

In boarding-schools, too, a similar but even severer system prevails. Only metal bedsteads are permitted; every child older than twelve years must sleep in a room by itself; and in the kitchen and in the dining-room scientific precaution must be taken against the disease. And no pupil or teacher who is known to have consumption is permitted in any school. Circulars, prepared by physicians, are sent to every school principal, which explain in detail preventive measures of all kinds.

Not only consumption, but most other diseases as well, may be warded off by such a system as this. Something like it will probably become the rule in American schools before many years; for it is a movement that not only commends itself to good sense, but has, in a tentative and partial way, already been introduced in some of the public schools in several of our large cities.

THE KIND OF TOOL THAT BOSSES USE

THERE are some men for whom Tammany Hall, even in times of defeat, always manages to provide offices of distinction. Their names are never missing from the payroll of the public treasury. They are men of most respectable antecedents and commonplace careers, whose names are supposed

to inspire enthusiasm among the common people. Tammany has tested them and they have proved that they can be trusted.

One of these is Congressman George B. McClellan, the Tammany nominee for Mayor of New York City. His father ran for President in 1864 on the campaign cry that the war was a failure. The son is now running for Mayor on the cry that clean, municipal government on a non-partizan basis is a failure.

He has held office almost from the day when he was qualified by age for public place—that is to say, from the day when in 1889, as a youth of twenty-four, Richard Croker found that he was living in New York, making a moderate income as a newspaper reporter, and that he was a son of the late General George B. McClellan. Straightway the son became "Little Mac" to Tammany Hall, and straightway he went into office.

Tammany stole a march on the Brooklyn trustees of the Brooklyn Bridge, and in a flash McClellan found himself treasurer of that municipal enterprise at a salary of \$4,000 a year. This gave him leisure to study law. He was admitted to the bar in 1892, and that year Croker, conjuring with the name of "Little Mac," nominated him for President of the Board of Aldermen. He became acting Mayor when Mayor Gilroy was away from time to time. Two years later Croker, asserting his advocacy of a "young man's ticket," nominated him for Congress in a safe district and elected him. Every two years since he has been re-elected to Congress.

McClellan's success in keeping Tammany's favor has not been due to brilliant mental qualities. It has been due to his inflexible devotion to his chief political maxim, "Follow your district leader." His district leader has always been Charles F. Murphy, now at the head of Tammany Hall. McClellan has been known in Tammany as one who would do as he was told. He has been invariably "for the platform before it was constructed." McClellan and Murphy have long been intimate personal friends—the one by birth, breeding and associations essentially an aristocrat, and the other a bar-room boss. McClellan was graduated from Princeton in 1886, Murphy from his saloons in 1897.

By electing McClellan Mayor, Murphy would have the municipal patronage in his

own district and would be unassailable in his leadership of Tammany Hall. McClellan can be trusted absolutely. Murphy's position has been portrayed cleverly by a cartoonist who has depicted this sign nailed on the front door of Tammany: "Wanted, a boy to run for Mayor; must not be afraid of dirty work."

As a public official McClellan has kept clean of mere personal scandal. He has been cautious. As treasurer of the Brooklyn Bridge he had little to do but to be honest. As President of the Board of Alderman he took care to make a presentable figure. As acting Mayor he paid strict attention to the routine business. As Congressman, when all other issues have failed, he has called loudly for tariff reform. That was always safe. By orders he swallowed the free silver pill. He has favored just what Tammany told him to favor. He has defended the army in the Philippines, but he has declared that the "acquisition of the Philippines was the most costly plunge ever made by a reckless gambler at the Monte Carlo of international politics."

In all respects McClellan's political conduct has been inconspicuous and mediocre. But never has he wavered in his allegiance to Tammany. He presided at the convention that nominated Mr. E. M. Shepard for Mayor in 1901. Lacking a sense of humor, and knowing that Mr. Shepard was to be named, he denounced reformers, and he added to the gaiety of the campaign by this pronouncement: "Our record in the government of New York City speaks for itself." There is evidence, too strong to be disputed, that Richard Croker said in conversation with a friend in England last summer, "We must have McClellan for Mayor."

THE SOUTH BECOMING PROHIBITIONIST

THE wave of prohibition that once swept over New England and some of the western States resulted in action by States. When so large a unit of area is covered at once by a prohibition law, it has been impossible to enforce it in cities and regions where it was not held in local favor. Hence New Hampshire and Vermont are exchanging prohibition for high license.

In the southern States there is a strong and effective prohibition movement, which proceeds not by States, but by counties and towns and neighborhoods. In these smaller

units of area a prohibition law can better be enforced, for a larger proportion of public opinion is behind it.

In Arkansas the manufacture and sale of liquors is prohibited in places where "no license" has been voted. Where a license may be procured, it costs \$800. In 1902, out of 75 counties, 43 had declared against licensing. In Georgia, of 137 counties, 103 have voted "dry." In Kentucky, where, according to one of its most prominent citizens, who is not a prohibitionist, "it is no longer genteel to get drunk," the counties may prevent or regulate the traffic. Prohibition is the law in 47 counties, partial prohibition prevails in 54 counties, and in 18 counties the liquor traffic is unrestricted. Mississippi has prohibition in 65 out of 75 counties. In North Carolina a new law



MAP OF TENNESSEE, SHOWING THE PROHIBITION COUNTIES IN OUTLINE AND THE LICENSE COUNTIES IN BLACK

prohibits saloons except in incorporated towns that vote otherwise. This is to abolish the country grog-shop. For twenty years or more, on the petition of a certain number of citizens, saloons have been prohibited within a certain number of miles of a schoolhouse or of a church; and thus many neighborhoods have secured prohibition. None can lawfully exist now outside of incorporated towns which choose to permit them. Mr. J. W. Bailey, a well-informed editor at Raleigh, regards the demand throughout the South for restriction as the first fruit of Negro disfranchisement and an evidence of the new independence of the white people. No southern State could secure a majority for a prohibition law if the Negro voted.

Tennessee has a law prohibiting saloons near schoolhouses whether the schools be in session or not. Incorporated towns of 5,000 population may decide by vote whether there shall be license or no license. Favorable reports are received of the operation of the law where license has been rejected. On September 1st there were 12 counties with saloons and 84 "dry" counties. In Texas there are 200 prohibition counties, other coun-

ties partly prohibitionist, and only a few in which liquor-selling is not restricted. Oklahoma is feeling the effect of the movement on her border. Alabama, Florida and Maryland have local option laws, and there are many counties in Virginia that have voted against the legalization of the traffic. In ten southern States the voters have the opportunity to cast their ballots against licensing the manufacture or sale of liquors, and in one—South Carolina—it is a State monopoly. The South is, therefore, fast becoming prohibitionist.

FOREIGN COOPERATION IN THE WORLD'S FAIR

FOREIGN governments are responding very liberally to the invitation to take part next year in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, partly because of the increased commercial importance of the United States and partly because of the skilful, vigorous management of President Francis of the Exposition. France and Germany, which each had exhibits at the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, to the value of about three-quarters of a million dollars, will each have a million-dollar exhibit at St. Louis; and there will be a number of countries represented liberally that were not represented at all at Chicago—among them China and Italy and a number of South American States. A million dollars, it is officially reported, will be spent to secure a good Philippine exhibit. The total appropriations of foreign governments are reported to exceed six millions of dollars, including three millions by European and two millions by Asiatic governments. It will be much more nearly true than it was of any preceding exposition, that all the world will be there. Not the least benefit of the Fair will be the knowledge of our country, of our methods and of our institutions which foreigners will carry away with them.

THE UNDECIDED STATUS OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL

THE "reasonable time" allowed by the canal legislation of the United States to come to terms with the Government of Colombia for the Panama route expired on September 22d. The treaty negotiated in Washington failed of ratification by the Legislature of Colombia, and all attempts to secure reconsideration of this hostile action, so far as we are yet informed, failed

also. It is now held by the friends of the Nicaragua route that the President will proceed, under the terms of the canal act, to the construction of the canal on that route. It is even claimed by Senator Morgan, of Alabama, the veteran champion of the Nicaragua plan, and of the various schemes connected with it, that there is no option for the President, and that the terms of the law are mandatory. As to this there is some room for difference of opinion.

The inside history of the events at Bogota is not likely ever to be written. So far as it can be disentangled from the conflicting reports during the past two months, the Government of Colombia lost its chance to secure the construction of the canal by trying to get too high a price for its consent. In the bill which was framed by the Government after the rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty, the following conditions were imposed: The payment of \$20,000,000 instead of \$10,000,000 to Colombia by the United States; the payment to Colombia of \$10,000,000 by the Panama Canal Company (French); various minor conditions of a financial nature, all favorable to Colombia, and reservation of Colombian sovereignty over the canal zone, with police and sanitary commissions wholly Colombian.

In addition to the opposition offered in order to get more money, there was also a good deal of purely political maneuvering among the factions in Colombia with reference to the presidential election, which takes place early in December. The confusion was so considerable that there was serious fear in Bogota that there would be an insurrection in the State of Panama, and it was unworthily suggested that such an insurrection might be encouraged by the United States in order to obtain entire security and freedom for the canal. No such idea was for a moment entertained by any responsible person connected with our Government. Another element of opposition, the strength of which it is not possible to trace and the existence of which is an inference—but a strong inference—is the interest of the transcontinental railway corporations.

When this is written, it is impossible to know whether there is any hope of reopening negotiations with Colombia for the Panama route, or whether the President will proceed in an effort to secure the Nicaragua route,

RUNNING A PLOWSHARE THROUGH ENGLISH POLITICS

MR. CHAMBERLAIN has made himself the most conspicuous man in the world and he has thrown the whole British Empire into turmoil. If anybody had said a year ago that an English ministry would be disrupted by a serious proposal to change the fiscal policy of the kingdom, and that an English Prime Minister would in effect become an advocate of protection, it would have seemed as wild an assertion as if it had been said that an English ministry would propose to abolish the English Channel or to tear down Westminster Abbey. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals have rent opinion as British opinion has not before been rent since the days of Cobden.

Mr. Chamberlain resigned his post in the Cabinet of Colonial Secretary which he had filled for eight years, because (to put it in a word) his proposed policy of protection "would be unacceptable to the majority of the constituencies."

His proposals are nothing short of protection. His starting point, however, was political rather than directly fiscal. His first aim is to bind the colonies to the mother country. The empire is in danger of falling apart. The parts of it must be bound together by something more substantial than sentiment. They must be bound to the mother country by some practical advantage. There is no other practical advantage at this period of their development than a trade advantage. England can give them no trade advantage without a system of preferential duties—there you are, plump against protection. And Mr. Chamberlain accepts and proposes a protective system, under which trade with the colonies may have an advantage that trade with foreign countries cannot have.

Mr. Chamberlain goes the whole length of his logic; but the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, has tried to stop half-way. In his famous pamphlet, "Insular Free Trade," he favored retaliatory duties against countries that have protection, but he stopped there. He balked at a food tax. Mr. Chamberlain has the courage of his convictions: Mr. Balfour has vaguer convictions and less courage. He hopes to make the change piecemeal. He is what they now call in England a "new Protectionist"—one who

favors protection not for its benefit to the English farmer or laborer or manufacturer, but only as a weapon to use in making favorable trade treaties with protectionist countries. But this involves all the rest of the effects of a protective policy.

The discussion goes on, therefore, to the practical exclusion of every other subject, on Mr. Balfour's side as a somewhat vague, word-splitting discussion, and on Mr. Chamberlain's side as an open advocacy of protection, food tax and all.

When Mr. Chamberlain resigned, other members of the Cabinet also resigned, not because they shared his views, but for the contrary reason—they could not follow him as far as Mr. Balfour followed him. Among them was Mr. Ritchie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who (after a long interval) has been succeeded by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a son of the former Colonial Minister. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's successor as Secretary for the Colonies is Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, an untried man in a great office. Mr. Broderick, who held the War Office during the scandals of the Boer War, is retained as Secretary for India. Lord Cromer and Lord Milner both declined the Colonial Secretaryship. And later, the Duke of Devonshire, the "safe" and most imposing member of the Cabinet, resigned.

It looks much as if Mr. Balfour's following Mr. Chamberlain were going to play havoc with his Government.

CAN ENGLISH FREE TRADE BE ABOLISHED?

THE confusion into which the political parties in England have been thrown, for the moment at least, produces the impression of mere turmoil. Nobody can very clearly see the future. It is not likely that the Government will "go to the country" before next year, nor then if avoidable. Meanwhile the discussion will go on. Mr. Chamberlain will exhaust all his well-known resources as an agitator and organizer to secure a formidable following in the next Parliament. Mr. Balfour, almost alone, will sustain the policy of experimenting with retaliatory duties as a means of securing the reduction of tariff barriers now erected against British trade in this country, in France and in Germany. The Liberals will contend for adherence to the present fiscal policy, and they will doubtless win, but the best opinion

in England is that their success may be temporary.

On the one hand, it seems incredible—even unthinkable—that England should abandon its policy of free trade. On the other hand, it is not free trade but protection that has made constant progress in the world as the policy of other countries—even the British colonies. The hope of free-traders since Cobden's day that the example of England would be followed by other nations has not been realized, and it seems quite as far away as it seemed fifty years ago. And all the while there is no doubt that the protectionist opinion in England itself has grown stronger these ten years. The industrial rise of the United States and of Germany has given their contention strong support.

It is worth noting that "tariff reform," which in the United States means agitation to reduce protective duties, means in England agitation to impose them; and the following extract from Mr. Balfour's speech at Sheffield are startling words to fall from the mouth of an English Prime Minister:

"The last sixty years has been filled with refutations of the prophecies made by the great tariff reformers. The reforms of 1846 were necessary at that time, but every year of the last thirty has contradicted the prophecies of the reformers. Cobden had an ideal, but he did not foresee the development of the last half century, which has made free trade an empty name and a vain force. For fifty years England, without making a sign, has watched the wall of hostile tariffs growing up and dividing nation from nation.

"And our own colonies, our own flesh and blood, the very sinews of the growing empire, are building up a system of protection which, when it reaches its logical conclusion, will make it as hard to export to them as to America or the other protective countries. And during the whole lifetime of those I am now addressing we have done nothing whatever to hinder a state of things so absolutely inconsistent with free trade as Cobden understood it."

THE POSSIBILITIES OF SWIFT TRAVEL

THE successful running of an electric car on an experimental road in Germany at a speed of 125 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour confirms the opinion long held by many American as well as German engineers of the practicability of high speeds. There seems to be no reason why 150 miles an hour may not be achieved—at least, in an experimental way.

There is no insuperable mechanical diffi-

culty in reaching 125 miles an hour, nor is there personal discomfort in traveling at this speed. But these facts do not mean that we shall at once travel at this rate. The practical difficulty is equipment—tracks and motors; and these are for the present costly to a prohibitive degree. But when electricity becomes cheap enough, as it will, and the traveling public demands it, electric locomotion at 100 or perhaps even at 150 miles an hour will be made practicable. Steam locomotion seems to have reached its practicable limit because of the weight of the machinery required and of the great waste of energy in transmitting fuel into power. But the possibilities of electric locomotion are just beginning to be understood; and these interesting German experiments give a hint of swift travel that we can hardly realize.

TOLSTOI'S SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

TOLSTOI has completed seventy-five years, years perhaps more interesting than any in the world's history. In these three quarters of a century politics have spread as brilliant a pageant as ever before—the revolutions of '48, wars in Europe, America and Africa; great political figures, Victor Emanuel and Cavour, Lincoln and Grant, William I. and Bismarck, Napoleon III., Queen Victoria, Leo XIII; science, by her favorites—Darwin, Helmholtz, Virchow, Pasteur, Edison, Marconi—has told fairy tales and created fairy toys; and, though through knowledge the world has shrunk to the dimensions of a rich man's estate, through knowledge also the universe has grown more majestic and wonderful. Tolstoi, however, looks wearily on these things; he finds the interest of life neither in science nor in politics, but in the moral and spiritual life of every man; and yet he has not lived apart, but has shared the great experiences of life; he has fought in the "big plumed" wars, he has followed the discoveries of science, he has received homage as the greatest man in literature since Goethe. If he had not told us the history of his thoughts we should suppose that he had been subject to some bewildering experience, like that which befell Saul of Tarsus—some revelation which had caused him to turn his face away from the common interests and pride of men and to behold the sole significance of life as it is observable in our moral nature.

To ordinary men ethics are a branch of biology, virtues and vices are explained by the history of the race; and as morality appears to be a characteristic acquired late in man's history, we are ready to infer that it is subordinate to fundamental vital principles; for instance, most of us think that it is more important to live than to do right. Tolstoi, however, not from a study of biology or psychology, but from an experience and knowledge of life wider and more profound than that of any other living man, is convinced that morality is the centre and core of things: that man's soul is of greater worth than his body. And, because he speaks from knowledge of life, and not from transcendental philosophy, moral intuitions or inherited religious beliefs, he speaks to our generation with greater authority than any other moral teacher of his time.

Tolstoi's art is but the handmaid of his moral teaching, for his art proves his knowledge of men. He has abandoned it because it has served his purpose. His early attitude toward life was that of a man of science, studying the habits of the species man, and in his great novels he has described the life of man just as he has seen it. That rare knowledge of man, so brilliantly put to the service of art, since then has been dedicated to the cause of ethics. Succeeding generations may find greater interest in Tolstoi's art than in his ethical theories, but we Americans of today, who are more interested in ethics than in art and demand for a moral philosophy the foundation of a profound knowledge of man, reverence Tolstoi as a great moral teacher even more than we admire him as a great artist.

A THRILLING COUNTRY SCHOOL REPORT

IF there be any printed matter which may fairly be called less interesting than anything else in the world, it is the usual reports of public school superintendents. All the more noteworthy, therefore, is the report of Mr. O. J. Kern, the Superintendent of Schools in Winnebago County, Illinois.

Several years ago he visited the centralized schools in Ohio and by his enthusiastic account of their success stirred his own towns and villages to vigorous effort. In three years so great a change was made that the simple official story of it is a thrilling chapter in social advancement. In Winne-

bago County the old-time schoolhouse is soon to be extinct. A community that possesses one is made ashamed of itself. Buildings that look very respectable by old standards of judging country schoolhouses are discredited by unsparing photographs in the Superintendent's report with such comment as "Everything holding its own. Even the weeds were not cut and removed from the ground for the opening of school the present year"; and "the ventilation of the woodshed is still all that could be desired." Side by side with these rebuking photographs and comments appears the contrast: "Nine trees set out here last spring." "Interior very pleasant. Many pictures on the walls, and a good library and case. The directors are——" (their names follow).

In this county, too, the course of study has been adapted to the student. What the pupils learn of health or of farming they apply. If a village is poor or slow the children give an entertainment and buy a hygienic water-tank with individual cups. Traveling libraries with interesting books, story books, histories, nature books, go from school to school, and on walls made attractive with the help and advice of an art decorator hang good pictures. Elementary courses in agriculture, horticulture, the science of out-of-doors, are part of the regular curriculum. Girls and boys that sat listless and bored in the bleak, old-fashioned school are too busy here to fall easy victims to evil suggestions. If a Winnebago newspaper offers a prize for the best map of a "decorated" school-yard, they contend for it, and their plans interest their elders. Hard at work in their school gardens, where lettuce and climbing beans, sunflowers and sweet peas grow in trim rows, they study the varieties of Indian corn, discuss the causes of "smut" in oats, and pull up the roots of their bunch of alfalfa grass to see the tubercles that reconvey the nitrogen to the soil. In the flourishing Farmer Boys' Experiment Club cheerful rivalry keeps the eyes of each member on his towering sweet corn or his field of sugar-beets, and his hands are diligent under skilful direction. The Farmers' Institute of the county and the State College of Agriculture take pains to be in touch with all this side of the school work. Under the generalship of their Superintendent the club has made a yearly excursion to Urbana, where the college is

situated. Girls, mothers, fathers, all who are able, join the party, catch a glimpse of Chicago, and spend two days of delight. With the professors, who explain exactly what is being done, they inspect the domestic science department and visit the experiment farm. When the first excursion was organized many of the children had never been on a railroad, nor outside their own township. Next year they mean to see St. Louis. What a breeze from the world outside blows into the musty corners of dull farms with the return of such pilgrims!

One large school in the centre of the district has taken the place of six or seven dotted about its confines. To and from the schoolhouse door the children are carried in wagons, open (save for canopy and rolled-up rain-curtains) in summer, closed and provided with heated soapstones and lap-ropes in winter. The drivers are under bonds for the safety, language and conduct of their charges. The routes vary from one to five miles.

These new schools are better built, better heated and ventilated, better cared for and better taught than the old. The salaries, being fewer, are higher and command better teachers, and the material accessible to one classroom is equally available for all. Every child gains from life in a larger, better-organized community, and having more playmates, develops a keener interest both in his pastimes and in his studies.

THE LOT OF THE SALARIED MAN

THE wages of skilled workmen have risen since our era of great prosperity began, and the earnings of a part of the proprietary class have greatly increased. But have the salaries of the men who stand between these two classes been increased correspondingly, or have they risen as fast as the cost of living? Does a time of prosperity bring fewer benefits to the salaried class than to others? The class is both a large and an important one, including all sorts of men, from professors in colleges to cheap clerks. It includes nearly all who do the routine work of institutions and enterprises of which others have the financial control and risk.

The facts about their relative salaries are nowhere accurately tabulated. With the increase of prosperity many have risen, but

in how many kinds of work they have risen nobody can say. The pay of teachers has increased very slowly in most communities. Preachers' salaries in the large cities have become bigger than they were. The incomes of good salesmen—from salaries and commissions—is very considerably larger than they were a decade ago. Of clerks of a hundred grades of routine labor, some have shared the increased prosperity, some not. As a rule, men who have to do directly with money-getting—salesmen, for instance—have prospered most.

The salaried man is, as a rule, the man who lacks capital. His chance for financial independence lies, as it has always lain, either in his ability to save his earnings and to use them wisely or in his ability to make a place for himself among the proprietary class by exceptional energy. This said, you come back to the fundamental law of all personal financial success. It has never been won except by those who had daring and endurance or self-denial or both.

But the difference between the two classes is often more formal than real. In many a case the salaried man is a man of greater direct value to society than his employer, and in many cases their incomes are not very different. A man who has a high salary receives more money, of course, than the great majority of those who have enterprises of their own, and he is relieved of financial worry. It is difficult, therefore, to make a sharp distinction between the salaried and the proprietary class. One has to share even the risk of failure with the other.

SEVERAL INTERESTING INVESTIGATIONS

THE WORLD'S WORK during its fourth year, which begins with this number, will present the results of several investigations made for its readers. Among them are:

The Post-Office: how it serves the people and why it does not serve them better; for we are far behind some other countries—so far behind as to bring shame on our democratic institutions. Can our Government not do such service as well as it is done in Europe?

The Public Schools: are they really training the children of the country fairly well, or are they, too, in the hands of second-rate men and of untrained women and (in some localities) of local politicians? Is the Ameri-

can public school really worthy of the country as it is today? The larger public knows very little about it.

Farming: scientific men have shown the way to a new era in the cultivation of the earth. Are their discoveries remaining mere laboratory demonstrations, or is the clod-hopper to yield to the trained farmer who will revolutionize the tilling of the earth?

These are some of the interesting things that writers for this magazine are preparing for its readers—readers who increase in numbers in so generous a way as to inspire the wish that the magazine could be made more interesting and instructive by a hundredfold than it (or any other) has been; for the subscriptions to *THE WORLD'S WORK* have doubled every winter of its life.

THE MEN WHOSE PORTRAITS ARE PRINTED HEREWITH

FIVE interesting personalities of the time are Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, for the moment the man most talked about in the world; Mayor Low, of New York (the new portrait in this magazine was taken just in time for publication); Charles F. Murphy, the head of Tammany (Low stands more conspicuously than any other man in the land for decent municipal government: Murphy for—Tammany and all that this implies, his mayoralty candidate being a figurehead); President John H. Finley, the new head of the College of the City of New York, for the city crowns its public school system with a well-equipped college; and Mr. John Hays Hammond, the most eminent mining engineer in the world.

THE LESSON OF THE STEEL CORPORATION

[*THE WORLD'S WORK* publishes every month an article in which some timely and vital subject of the financial world is taken up]

THE United States Steel Corporation was organized by men who were regarded as the strongest financiers and promoters in the world. It is the largest industrial corporation ever organized. Its products are the very basis of commerce. Although their prices have shown great fluctuations—Mr. Carnegie has called the steel business a pauper-and-millionaire industry—they are the first necessity of commerce. It was possible, therefore, to organize a great steel and iron business, not so as to prevent, but surely so as to provide against trade depressions; for there is no business about which there is fuller knowledge.

And there were many facts about the colossal Steel Corporation that were admirable and attractive. For one thing, it began at once to publish much fuller reports than most corporations have published. It inspired unusual confidence from the beginning. This was to be—if there ever could be—a great industrial corporation which should really take advantage of the economies of consolidation and be managed for the benefit

of the stockholders. The greatest financial organizer of our time—perhaps of any time—was identified with it. Its first president was a man in the full vigor of youth who had had a remarkable career in this business. The great company was launched as no other ever was.

But it was the handiwork of the promoter, after all—as hundreds of other great corporations are. The dominant motive in its organization was not the better manufacture of iron and steel, nor its cheaper manufacture, nor the better handling or marketing of the product, nor the steadying of its price, although all these motives played a part. No great improvement has been made in processes or in management by the new corporation. But the dominant motive was to buy out Mr. Carnegie. It was a personal motive rather than what may be called a public motive. It was not the improvement of the industry nor primarily the protection of the owners of these great mills, but promoters' reasons.

In the organization of it definite, conserv-

ative values were not set on the property. On the contrary, it was valued at *its earning capacity in prosperous times*—its maximum earning capacity. Much more than half its capitalized value was fictitious. The whole amount of its common stock—\$500,000,000—was water. It represented no real, tangible value, but a calculated value based on earnings at the very maximum rate in prosperous times.

But the purchasers of this stock were not plainly informed of this fact. Every man had to dig this information out for himself and calculate for himself the chance of its permanent or possible value. But the inference was, since honorable men were at the head of the company, that there was a reasonable expectation of continuous dividends on the common stock.

It soon came out that enormous sums were required as fees for the underwriting syndicate. In other words, the promoters took a heroic profit for their risk and trouble. Promoters do not work without pay, nor do great bankers take heavy risks for nothing—truly, but from the beginning of the world no such promoters' profits as these had ever been heard of.

Making great organizations is an exciting game. Few men have heads cool enough to resist such excitement. The president of the great company soon lost his head. He was soon buying and selling a great steel plant on his own account at a fabulous profit. But the business of the great company went on in a prosperous way and its millions of dividends were paid quarterly. Then a plan was made to convert some of its stock into bonds—leaving the rest of the stock, of course, at a disadvantage. Was this an intimation that a time might come when the stock would receive lessened dividends or no dividends at all? The public began to be suspicious and the stock began rapidly to fall in the market.

The iron and steel trade has fallen off somewhat—not greatly. It is prosperous yet. But the high tide of the last two years is receding. When the time for declaring dividends comes, the dividend on the common stock is cut in two—one-half of one per cent. per quarter is declared instead of one per cent. on the common stock. There is nothing wrong in this. It is prudent, in fact. Dividends must be cut when profits decrease. Indeed, the directors of the Steel Corporation

are highly praised by many financial authorities for frankly cutting the dividend. Read this from the financial column of one of the New York daily papers:

“Nothing but praise today was heard among financiers regarding the action of the directors of the United States Steel Corporation yesterday in courageously reducing the dividend on the common stock of the corporation in view of existing circumstances; and commendation was as loud on the other side of the Atlantic as it was here.”

But see now how we have traveled from the beginning. Here we are praising the directors of the company for their courage in cutting down a dividend; and we seem to have forgotten that every dollar of the stock on which this half-dividend is declared is fictitious. Another New York daily paper (this time *The Evening Post*) declared plumply that the reduction of the dividend “was a forgone conclusion from the day of the billion-dollar merger and need cause no astonishment to the investing world.”

There were some time ago more than 25,000 persons who had bought this common stock alone—bought it because they were led to believe that it had a good chance to continue to pay four per cent. dividends a year. Now they are told truly that the directors are conserving their property by cutting the dividend in two; and they are reminded at the same time that they were very simple dupes ever to buy this stock with the expectation of any dividends at all—which also is true.

The greatest corporation in the world, then, under the most distinguished management, is very like many another. It was a promoters' scheme; in its organization there was a great “rake-off”; some of its officers were caught in the speculating whirlpool and discredited; its whole issue of common stock is on a speculative basis.

The public may learn at some time that the organization of factories and mills and industries on the basis of expected earnings in good times is an economic error. This is a gambler's doctrine pure and simple. The fundamental, lasting, economic fact is that organization on such a basis is a capital error. Earning capacity at any given time is a shifting sand-bar. There must be something more substantial than this at the base of industrial organization when it becomes wholly honest.

WHAT THE MACEDONIAN TROUBLE IS

AN EXPLANATION WRITTEN AFTER PERSONAL STUDY ON THE
GROUND OF THE MUCH-COMPLICATED SITUATION—THE PEOPLE
OPPRESSED BY THE TURKS AND DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES
—THE UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO AROUSE CHRISTENDOM.

BY

LOUISE PARKER RICHARDS

The horrors of the Macedonian revolution are not detailed in the following article. It is estimated that at least 50,000 persons have been made homeless—some by the Bulgarians and some by the Turks; and the murders and outrages have been practically innumerable.

Christian sentiment throughout the world has not been made effective because England's hands are tied, as they were at the time of the Berlin Treaty, by the Government's unwillingness to permit Turkey to be dismembered and by the fact that Turkish bonds are held in England. International jealousy still keeps the Turk in Europe.

The probable settlement will be the division of the Balkan country into "spheres of influence" under the direction of the European Powers—especially Austria and Russia.

The following article explains the causes of the trouble, the character of the people and of the country, and the many-sided and conflicting animosities—in a word, makes the general situation intelligible. The author wrote it in Turkey after an extensive visit to Macedonia.

THERE are no census reports in Turkey, and if there were they would not be reliable. A man's "nationality" in Macedonia has little to do with his birth or his parents, but everything with his church. If one says that he is a Bulgarian, but that his brother is a Greek, he means that they are of different nations—as he regards it; and it is one's religion—rather than the profession of one's religion—that is the distinguishing stamp, as elsewhere in the East. If you ask a man his nationality, he invariably tells you his religion. A Greek, a Bulgarian, an Armenian, is only Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian so long as he professes the religion of his nation.

It is perhaps safe to say that of the 1,500,000 inhabitants of the country, one-third are Turks, a little less than half are Bulgarian, and the rest are of other "nationalities."

THE RELIGIOUS BEGINNINGS OF THE TROUBLE

The natural animosity between the Greeks and Bulgarians may be regarded as the remote beginning of the Macedonian question. The Greek designs of amalgamating the Bulgarians into the Greek nation on the basis of a common religion caused the Bulgarians to look upon the Greek Church as a national danger.

The Greek Patriarch at Constantinople is the undisturbed head and ruler of all the Orthodox Christians in the provinces of

Turkey. He has official recognition at the Sublime Porte worthy of his rank as the spiritual, and to a large extent political and temporal, head of his people.

With an independent church, whose only difference from the Greek Church was the liturgy, but whose head was of their own choosing, and free from the domination of Greek authority, the Bulgarians had effected a change fraught with many an unforeseen possibility, not only to themselves, but to the Ottoman Empire also. In accordance with the policy of the Turkish Government to encourage division in the sentiment of its Christian subjects, and to favor their splitting up into small communities with dissimilar interests, it allowed a wedge to enter its own body.

THE POLITICAL CAUSES OF TROUBLE

Another and more directly political cause of dissension followed the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Bulgaria became free of Turkey and—it was agreed in the treaty—should extend south of the Balkans; but the Congress of Berlin restricted its area to the north of the mountains. Northern Macedonia was thus once for a brief time a part of Bulgaria and was snatched away by the Powers and kept under Turkish rule.

This action produced inevitable discontent among the Bulgarians in northern Macedonia. Under the shadow of the Turk,

and looking across to the light of Bulgarian independence, the Macedonian Bulgarians became discontented in proportion as the condition of their brethren in Bulgaria was supposed to be improved. However tolerable or intolerable the rule of Turkey in her provinces, the Macedonian Bulgarian could not forget the so-called freedom of his brother across the border, and he has ever

of them with a price upon their heads for insurrectionary movements against the Turkish Government. In Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, a society was formed for the purpose of conducting a nationalist campaign in Macedonia to effect an ultimate freedom from Turkish rule. The main object of this secret society, known as the Macedonian Committee, as set forth in its own articles



THREE TURKISH SOLDIERS REPUTED TO HAVE KILLED MORE CHRISTIANS THAN ANY OTHERS IN THEIR REGIMENT

since chafed against his fate as a Turkish subject; and he has renewed his quarrel with his Greek neighbor, whose cherished hope of some day bringing Macedonia under Hellenic rule as a Greek province is intolerable to the Bulgarian sense of national pride.

In consequence of this disaffection, during the last twenty-five years 250,000 Bulgarian Macedonians have fled into Bulgaria, many

of confederation, is to "disseminate revolutionary ideas and to distribute arms among the people."

THE MACEDONIAN "COMMITTEE"

However patriotic the intent of this committee in the beginning, it soon degenerated into a band of intimidators, blackmailers and desperadoes, feared hardly less by their com-



A BAND OF TURKISH TROOPS

patriots than by the Turkish authorities. Without quoting the whole, the following excerpts taken from a document found on a band of revolutionists, who two years ago were arrested in Salonica, are sufficient for an insight into the methods of this Macedonian Committee. Their bands must obey the following rules, which were published in the *Nineteenth Century*:

“By means of persuasion or intimidation to place new recruits at the Committee’s disposal.

“To put to death the persons indicated by the Committee.

“To study all the chains of mountains, the passes, and the places which can offer shelter, and to force by all means the villagers to inform them of what is going on and of what they have around them.

“The bands shall also commit political crimes—that is to say, they shall kill and put out of the way any person who will attempt to hinder them from attaining their ends, and shall immediately inform the Sofia Committee of the crimes committed.

“The president of each local committee is obliged to supply with clothes, arms, provisions and whatever is necessary, the band under his command. He must also indicate to it the places of retreat,



HOMELESS GREEKS AND BULGARIANS IN FRONT OF RUINED HOUSES AT KRUSHEVO

where it can hide, and he has a right to order it to do whatever is needful for the accomplishment of this end.

"The bands require guides, and, as the presidents of the committees as a rule reside in villages and hamlets, it is they who must persuade the peasants to help the bands.

"For the perpetration of murder, a written order from the president is necessary.

"The bands are to consist of five or six persons each.

"Each band to have its chief and its secretary, who are nominated by the Central Committee at Sofia.

"The secretary has also the right to inspect the bands with the chief, and it is his duty to disseminate revolutionary ideas, and to distribute arms among the people.

"The sentence of death, to be carried out on the spot, is pronounced on the following cases:

"When one is guilty of disclosure of the intentions of the Committee, or of treason for private ends.

"When one deserts during action."

It will be seen what was to be expected from this "reforming" power, in a country whose inhabitants, maddened by the local oppression of the Turks, are besides in continual dissent, hating each other, all wishing for something else, no matter what else, so long as it is different from the existing conditions.

To raise money for arms and ammunition, which were to be used in the revolutionary campaign in Macedonia, when the time should be deemed propitious, the Bulgarians have been accustomed to levy upon the inhabitants of Macedonia. Refusal to give has often been met with death. The peasants have thus been forced to buy arms, as well as to give every assistance demanded by the Committee. But whatever they did for the Committee brought punishment not less severe from the Turks. Thus the helpless peasant has been between two fires, either one of which was likely to consume him at any moment.

The Macedonian Committee, with its subcommittees in every district, village and hamlet, became a terror to the community, and the Turks another terror. Terrorism and brigandage have been used not only upon the people of the country, but on strangers also. In the streets of Sofia itself, officers of the Government in high authority have been shot, or clubbed to death, for their opposition to the schemes of the Macedonian



ALBANIAN WOMEN
Market day at Uskub

Committee. The capture of Miss Stone by Bulgarian brigands, acting under the direction of this Macedonian Committee in Sofia, was but one of the instances of its enterprise.

Confusion became worse confounded when the Macedonian Committee itself was divided into factions. A reorganization was made or attempted, and new chiefs were appointed. But the followers of the old chief, Boris Sarafoff, refused to follow the new chiefs, and these factions became as bitter against one another as against the Turks.

TROUBLE FROM ANOTHER QUARTER

Russia and Austria at this stage of the



PEASANTS SELLING LOOT TAKEN FROM KRUSHEVO
Among the poorer Turks a bargain is sealed by having a third party clasp the clasped hands of the two principals



VILLAGERS BRINGING IN HORSES AND FODDER FOR THE ARMY

trouble pressed upon Turkey a reform programme, and insisted that quiet should be restored in Macedonia and decent government guaranteed. The Sultan was willing enough to restore quiet if he could; but now additional trouble arose from another source.

The Albanians, a wild, ungovernable race of fighters, occupying a narrow strip of country on the west of Macedonia; running up from northern Greece to Hungary, refused to accept the proposed reforms, which provided for a Christian governor and a representative Christian police force in Albania. As unmistakable evidence of their disapproval of having European civilization forced upon them without their asking, they assassinated the Russian Consul at Mitrovitza, which is situated at the end of the Salonica



A BAND OF TURKISH CAVALRY IN PURSUIT OF INSURGENTS

Railway. They regarded him as a spy, and they promised further expressions of their displeasure if any interference with their liberties or their wishes was insisted upon.

The Sultan now found himself confronted with a difficult problem. While the Macedonians were committing depredations and threatening a general uprising because they



TYPICAL BASHI BAZOUKS
The men who are doing the massacring

did *not* believe in his sincerity in promising reforms, the Albanians were in a state of revolt because they *did* believe in his sincerity. The Albanians are fearless and fierce—the most dangerous element in the whole empire. A special mission of high religious dignitaries was sent by the Sultan to pacify their nobles; but this commission found itself practically prisoner, while the Albanians awaited the promise of the appoint-

ment of an Albanian governor. This was in April, 1903.

At the same time another council was deliberating in the mountains of Macedonia. Deltchef, the head of all the chiefs of the Interior Macedonian Committee, convoked in a secret place the representatives of the whole Macedonian movement. Here a resolution was adopted declaring that the moment for the final insurrection had come, and that



BORIS SARAFOFF
The real leader of the Insurgents

their motto should be "Liberty or death." This resolution, signed by those present, was sent by couriers to the villages and their authorities, to the chiefs of all the revolutionary bands, and to all the cities of Macedonia, including Salonica, and to Constantinople.

The plan of operations adopted by the united Committee was in accordance with the designs of Sarafoff, who said to a newspaper correspondent two years ago:



THE LARGEST HOUSE IN KRUSHEVO, AFTER IT HAD BEEN LOOTED AND BURNED

"We shall not imitate the Boxers. We have seen that Europe remains indifferent to all the bloodshed in Macedonia. We shall try the experiment, and see if Europe will not stir when European capital is made to suffer and some Europeans lose their lives. We shall, therefore, in a future insurrection, reckon less upon engagements with Turkish troops than upon a Boxer movement in the cities of Macedonia."

Outrage has followed outrage ever since, and the newspapers have been full of the horrible details.

The definite aim of the Bulgarians has been to provoke the Turk to massacre all Christians. The revolutionists wish thus to goad the Turk to acts that will arouse all Christendom to action. The hope is that the Great Powers will expel the Turk.

But the Turk did not at once fall into this trap. He learned a lesson eight years ago in trying to suppress the Armenian uprising by medieval methods, thereby incurring



THE RUINS OF THE BANK AT SALONICA, THE DAY AFTER IT WAS BLOWN UP WITH DYNAMITE BY THE INSURGENTS



STOYAN MIHAILOVSKY

The President of the Macedonian Committee and a national Bulgarian poet



GENERAL TZONCHEFF

Retired officer in the Bulgarian Army and military chief of the Revolutionists

the condemnation of all the civilized world. It has cost him too much in indemnity money, as well as prestige, easily to take that risk again. Indeed, the measures of repression—at first, at least—are said to have been characterized with tolerance, and the punishment meted out to the revolutionists was tempered with justice and an evident desire to conciliate rather than to antagonize. Whether this was due to the awakened consideration on the part of the Turk, or to the influence of the European Ambassadors who are counseling the Sultan to toleration if he would have the sympathy of Europe, is immaterial as far as the results are concerned. As the trouble has gone on the Turk has become more cruel and less restrained.

One of the unexpected outcomes of the Macedonian agitation has been the close relations brought about between Greece and Turkey. The natural hatred between Greeks and Bulgarians has caused the Greeks in Macedonia to stand by the Turkish Government and to assert their loyalty on all occasions. The Greek Patriarch in Constantinople wrote an encyclical letter to the Macedonian Greeks enjoining faithfulness to their "Sultan Abdul Hamid, in whom one can have absolute confidence, and who will never fail to take efficacious and considerate measures in favor of all his loyal subjects."

The loyal Greek subjects are therefore in the line of special favor with the ruling power, and the objects of murderous designs on the part of their Bulgarian brethren, whose persecutions they have been suffering at the hands of the Macedonian Committee.

THE DESPERATION OF THE PEOPLE

The spirit of the revolutionists is shown by such an incident as the following. Among the dynamiters in Salonica who were brought up for examination before the Turkish authorities was Marco Stojan, who threw a bomb into the French steamer and into the Ottoman Bank, and who was known as the most desperate of his band. I have made the following translation of his speech before the Turkish tribunal:

"Not from fear, not from cowardice, have I decided to speak. I know very well that when I confess everything you will have nothing to question, as I have committed a great crime. The reasons which have induced me to speak are the following. The leaders of the Macedonian agitation

THE FRENCH SHIP *GUADALQUIVER*

Showing the hole made in its side by a dynamite bomb thrown by the Macedonian Insurgents

are scoundrels and liars. They have persuaded us that, after the dynamite attacks, Europe would send warships [to Salonica] which would land and occupy the city. The attacks were made, the warships were sent, but they only made a cruise. Not only did Europe not interfere, but she withdrew entirely, disapproving our deeds and making us the object of her contempt. The leaders have therefore been deceiving us. I could have escaped from the house where I was arrested; I could have put an end to my life, and taken my secret with me to the grave. I preferred, however, to give myself up in order to be able to cry out aloud to the world that the Bulgarian chiefs are scoundrels and liars.

"Yes, liars, since it is only through lies that they have succeeded in deceiving the people of the land. Now I see it all clearly. They have demanded money from the peasants, and when told they had none, they advised the peasants to mortgage their

land, their fields, their forests and their crops. 'What then?' asked the poor unfortunates. 'Afterward you shall get everything back. One day, after we have won Macedonia for ourselves, we shall be the rulers. Then we shall have ten times more land, and that, too, without having to pay back the borrowed money.'

"The peasants mortgaged their property and then gave over the money, which wandered to the Central Committee at Sofia. As to the con-



MARKET DAY IN SOFIA

Bulgarian peasants in their quaint gala array

quest of Macedonia, that fell through upon the promise of reforms. That did not suit the agents of the Committee, who would have preferred that the peasants had been massacred. Then the Central Committee decided upon the attack at Salonica. It knew that Macedonia was not easy to win over, although, ever since last year, emissaries



AN INTERIOR VIEW OF THE RILO MONASTERY



A VIEW OF THE COURTYARD OF THE RILO MONASTERY, WHERE SOME AMERICANS TOOK REFUGE

had been sent out to prepare the ground for the attacks. I repeat, we have been deceived—that still many others will be deceived. Our leaders are miserable wretches, who deceive the whole world, and take advantage of the credulity and the stupidity of the poor peasants. For this reason I resolved to speak out the truth."

THE POST-OFFICE AND THE PEOPLE

BY

M. G. CUNNIFF

Illustrated in part from photographs by A. R. Dugmore.

It is the purpose of the series of articles of which this is the first to tell the facts about our post-office, with the hope of arousing interest in the department of the Government's business which most nearly touches every citizen; to lead to a realization of its shortcomings, and to help to secure improvements which will put the United States post-office service on a par with the service of other civilized lands, especially as regards the parcels-post. As the department is now conducted, the following propositions are true:

1st. That the service is inadequate, and has made no material advance in a decade, with the single exception of the rural free delivery system.

2d. That the business of the Post-Office Department has been and is administered with great inefficiency, lack of economy, and with no broad-gauged appreciation of the increased needs of the country. That the Postmaster-General is a political appointee, and his chief assistants secure and hold their positions, not because of their knowledge of the business or of their experience or familiarity with it, but for other reasons.

3d. That the payment for the transportation of the mails is at practically the same rate as it was a score of years ago, while the cost of transporting other classes of matter has been reduced from one-third to one-half.

4th. That the service given the public is in some ways even less liberal than it was ten years ago; that the transactions with the Department are fraught with increasing petty annoyances, especially as regards second-class matter.

5th. That the so-called frauds and scandals which have agitated the press of late are trifles compared with the greater loss and waste which are a daily burden upon Federal revenues.

These and other matters will be dealt with in detail. It will be shown what foreign countries do for their citizens through the postal service, and what our Government could do if it were freed from ancient traditions, the influence of politics, vested interests, and conflicting and archaic laws and rulings.

I ASKED Postmaster-General Payne how, in his opinion, the United States post-office compares in efficiency with private business organizations and with foreign post-offices.

"How do *I* know?" said he; "I've been Postmaster-General only a year."

An Assistant Postmaster-General, once invited to address a convention of postmasters, jokingly replied (so runs the story):

"I cannot go. I couldn't tell you anything anyway. What do *I* know about the postal business?"

Said another Assistant Postmaster-General:

"If a man attends closely to his work he can learn to manage one of these departments in about four years. Then he goes out and another pupil comes in—the chances are, a

politician. A business? Why, it's simply a training-school!"

These three remarks do not argue that the speakers were regarded even in cynical Washington as poor officials: indeed, the two assistants were quite the reverse. But, inquiring into the workings of the post-office, it is necessary first to understand the weakness of the system at the top—and here it is.

The Postmaster-General, however, and his four assistants are not the post-office. It was apparent as early as 1804, when there was only one Assistant Postmaster-General, that the political heads of the post-office do not belong to the machine. The machine begins with the chief clerks and superintendents and their army of Civil Service subordinates, who hold their places while



WHY THE MAILS ARE NOT HURRIED

administrations come and go, and who manage the postmasters, the contracts, the delivery service, the money order system,

the inspections. These officials put their initials on executive documents and hand the documents—great piles of them—to the



EXPRESS COMPANIES TAKE PRIDE IN HAVING GOOD HORSES



THE CONTRACTORS' HORSES ARE FAR FROM SWIFT

This particular horse is not wearing the usual saddle because the great sore on his back—visible in the photograph—made it impossible

Assistant Postmasters-General, who sign them. It would require omniscience for an Assistant Postmaster-General to know whether he should sign or not; he trusts the initials—a system still in vogue, much more sharply watched since the arrest of Beavers

and Machen than in the Saturnalian days when A. W. M. and G. W. B. on documents so often meant "graft," but still defective. In brief, the system is one in which the permanent subordinates have every chance to direct all but the most wide-awake of their



SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH-CLASS MAIL TO BE CARTED FROM THE NEW YORK POST-OFFICE TO THE RAILROAD DEPOT



THREE THOUSAND RAILROAD STATIONS ARE REACHED BY SORTING INTO THESE THREE HUNDRED COMPARTMENTS. THE CLERKS MAKE FEW MISTAKES

temporary heads—the cart before the horse. The Attorney-General's office superintends the enforcement of postal laws. A branch

of the Treasury Department audits the accounts, though, unlike all other branches of the Government, the post-office it its own



SEPARATING SECOND-CLASS MAIL—THE DAILY CONGESTION IN NEW YORK

Over this table passes more than seventy-five per cent. of the second-class matter that leaves New York by mail



THE LARGE "FACING UP" TABLE IN THE NEW YORK POST-OFFICE

The collector dumps their mail here every hour



"FACING UP" FOR THE CANCELLING MACHINES
THE LETTERS ON THE TABLE BROUGHT IN BY
COLLECTORS



RECEIVING MAIL BY PNEUMATIC TUBE FOR TRANS-
MISSION TO THE RAILROAD. AT THE GRAND
CENTRAL DEPOT, NEW YORK

bank and does not use the Treasury for regular banking purposes. But the service of the Attorney-General's office and of the Treasury Department is not paid for by the post-office. Misfit bits of three Departments with separate accounts do the country's postal business.

The machine has grown up, not organically, but by accretions of unrelated departments, under laws passed in 1794. Occasionally a Postmaster-General has conceived of an improvement in the service. Postmaster-General Wanamaker tried to reorganize it. There are men in the Civil Service machine today who know more about post-office

affairs in their own departments than any outsider could possibly know who would like to make improvements. Why can't they? Simply because the real directors of the post-office have been the members of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post Roads in the House of Representatives. Congress must necessarily decide the policy of the post-office, but it is a bewildering complication of an institution, already complex, to have some of its most powerful quasiofficials in a House committee. Yet for years M. E. F. Loud, of California, defeated in the last election, has been as powerful a postal official as the heads of the Department itself—more powerful than some of these heads.

Instead of working on business principles, the post-office machine is governed by a bulky book of laws that has grown from the slim book of 1794 as fast as successive



THE MACHINE AT WORK WHICH CANCELS THE
STAMPS ON LETTERS



SEPARATING LETTERS WITH DEFECTIVE ADDRESSES.
ONLY AN EXPERT CAN DO THIS WORK



EXPRESS COMPANIES CAREFULLY PLACE THEIR PACKAGES IN TRUNKS, USING GOOD BUSINESS METHODS

Congresses have cared to pass postal bills. Rates of postage are changed, service is rendered, contracts are made under regulations passed by men dead for generations, whose laws were made for a post-office which as late as 1873 cost in total expenditures only what it costs now for the single item of rail-

road transportation. The Post-Office Department may recommend until it is weary, and these laws do not budge. Congress—and that means chiefly the House Post-Office Committee—says what the post-office shall do and shall not do. I once asked a high post-office official why he failed to carry out a plan he



THE CONGESTION OF A NEW YORK POST-OFFICE PRIVENTS GOOD BUSINESS METHODS



HOW THE MAIL IS TAKEN FROM THE TRAIN IN THE CENTRE OF NEW YORK



MAIL CONTRACTORS SOMETIMES DO OTHER BUSINESS

had to save perhaps the total amount of the post-office deficit on certain contracts. He shrugged his shoulders.

"Why bump one's head against a stone wall?" said he. "Congress won't pass it."

And here enters the next drag on the post-office machine.

INTERESTS THAT HINDER

"Every plan that has ever been presented to Congress for improving the postal service," said a high post-office authority, "has been scrutinized by Interests. Do you suppose we can have a revision changing the present rates of paying the railroads as long as some of the most prominent Senators and Congressmen are identified with transportation interests, or establish a parcels-post while

T. C. Platt, President of the United States Express Company, is United States Senator?"

I turned to another official.

"Do you mean," said I, "that you could not pass a bill obnoxious to Interests?"

"Well"—and he smiled diplomatically—"there would certainly be opposition."

Finally there is the Civil Service system. If a post-office official fulfills his routine duties he rises in the service by sheer mechanism. Once in a berth, it requires a trial for gross inefficiency or misconduct to get him out. If the miasma of an office where there is no spur of self-interest to goad a man to effort fails to stifle his progressiveness, sophistication tells him that it is unwise to arouse an Interest. "Not too much zeal!" is a watchword in the United States post-



FROM TRAIN TO PLATFORM, FROM PLATFORM TO WAGON, IS THE EXPRESS METHOD



FOREIGN MAILS FOR UNLOADING AT SOUTHAMPTON



WHERE INCOMING SECOND-CLASS MAIL IS WEIGHED AT THE RAILROAD POST-OFFICE, NEW YORK

office. Even if the head of a department wished to have a force as efficient as that demanded by the manager of a business, he could not have it.

Here, then, is the institution: Heads who are not expected to know the business; a Civil Service machine that comprises the real post-office; parts of two outside departments enforcing the laws and auditing the mere bookkeeping accounts; antiquated laws governing; Congress directing; Interests watching both Congress and the post-office. It is a serious question what part the American people play in this Government business, the

people who paid the deficiency of more than four million dollars last year and who contributed nearly \$130,000,000 in postage for its postal service. Are they paying too much? Are they getting worse or better service as the years go by? Do the post-office and Congress strive to meet their needs? Are they, too, an Interest?

Consider first the volume of business the post-office handles. Through 75,924 post-offices, and in such mass as to require for railroad transportation 31 trains each a mile long traveling 203 times around the equator, more than 745,000,000 pounds of matter was

A CONTRACTOR'S AUXILIARY MAIL BOAT LEAVING THE *ST. LOUIS* WITH INCOMING MAIL IN NEW YORK HARBOR

delivered last year. If an average were made, every man, woman and child in the United States received sixty-one letters, thirty-one newspapers or periodicals, and fourteen packages; and every sixth person registered a letter.

The money-order department handled more than \$313,000,000. Inspectors went here and there from post-office to post-office, peering, prying, asking questions. At all hours of the day and night mail is shooting, dashing, jogging, crawling in every county in the land—a continental ant-heap of activity: there is no other business so great or so near the people. Yet this mighty business is superintended by the inorganic machine outlined above. And there is no business so eminently everybody's business that it is nobody's business—as the inadequacies of the service show.

Tiny Switzerland has many things to teach us. So have Germany, France and England. True, these countries are smaller and more thickly settled, and they do less postal business: the combined government post-office and telegraph work in either Germany or England or the combined postal business of England and France do not equal the transactions of the United States post-office. Less transportation is needed abroad. Employees can be worked more hours. Wages are lower. But every one of these differences holds true of European and American private industries, yet American industry is the most effective and productive in the world. The Government postal business should not be the "lame duck" of our economic life.

In a German city—take Berlin, for example—there is a post-office every few hundred yards; a post-office can be found as easily as a cigar store in New York. A network of underground tubes connects all but the very smallest. Ordinary mail goes from station to station by Government-owned wagons, but a special delivery card or stamp, costing less than eight cents, will cause a message to be shot by tube anywhere in the city. A messenger will carry it from the point of reception the few necessary yards to the receiver, and will wait for an answer. Message and answer in Berlin take about two hours. This is service far speedier than any in the United States.

The German telegraph system is an adjunct of the post-office. Telegrams, costing twelve cents for ten words, including address, beat

special delivery letters by just the margin between electric and pneumatic transmission. Postal checks for small amounts almost wholly take the place of bank checks. One may send a postal money-order with a message written on the back; and a postal messenger will bring it to the house of the receiver and pay it there on the spot—service as accurate and complete as by personal messenger. Subscription to magazines and newspapers is through the post-office; you pay the postmaster, he orders the proper number of publications for his office, and the journals come cheaply and smoothly in bulk to the several stations for delivery. And not only does a parcels-post do practically all the German express business at low rates, depending on weight and distance, but Germany, through agreements with other nations, sends parcels round the world. I know a resident of Berlin who has a package of meat mailed to him every Saturday from a point one hundred and fifty miles away in Silesia for a little more than twelve cents—the rate for a twenty-pound parcel. German merchants deliver most of their goods by mail—the small storekeeper thus provided with as good a delivery service as the larger. All the parcels, large and small, are brought, of course, to the address to which they are directed. Germans have even been permitted to mail eleven-pound parcels to addresses in the United States.

The highly centralized German system—developed by Doctor Stephan, who held office as Minister of the Post-Office through ministry after ministry, and now conducted by Herr Kraehtke, who grew up in the service—makes its main business to give admirable public service. And it pays. This shows the results of a carefully organized machine conducted by skilled and permanent officials.

In London the pneumatic tube system is so perfected that within the radius of London one may send an ordinary letter, receive an answer, send another and receive an answer to that, all in the course of a day. Deliveries run until nine and ten o'clock in the evening. The English post-office maintains a telegraph system, conveying twelve-word messages all over great Britain and Ireland for twelve cents, and a parcels-post system comparable to the German, and furthermore maintains a savings bank. All this pays. The United States post-office

fails to give such service and fails to pay even its expenses.

OUR FACILITIES

Newspapers in the United States may be mailed free within the county of publication wherever there is no free delivery. Government documents and correspondence go free; nine-tenths of the matter passing through the Washington post-office pays the post-office nothing. Car-loads of reports are carried about the country to the immense advantage of the railroads but to the behoof of nobody else. An official at the head of a post-office division told me he had seen railway mail clerks heave sacks of the stuff to the coyotes of Montana deserts to save the trouble of handling it. Publishers send newspapers and periodicals at a cent a pound to addresses outside the postal district of mailing; more than two-thirds of the total revenue-paying mail matter by weight is this. In these three kinds of mail the post-office serves the people with more generosity—some of it gratuitous generosity—than European post-offices, except that certain classes of publications in England have a very low rate. Even in handling all of these cheap-rate mails, however, the post-office has recently curtailed its service. Move from your present address and none of the free or second-class mail will be forwarded. Not even the second-class mail sent at four cents a pound by publishers within the city of mailing, or by private individuals—indeed, nothing but first-class matter—will go beyond a single address. Yet with this restricted service these kinds of mail furnish less than four per cent. of the postal revenues.

As the third- and fourth-class matter nearly pays for itself, the first-class matter and postal cards, about sixteen per cent. of the weight of the mail, now pays nearly seventy-nine per cent. of the total revenue, or over \$90,000,000. This class of mail practically supports the post-office, in so far as it is supported. But in handling it and in providing conveniences for mailing third- and fourth-class matter our service is poor and inordinately costly.

It would be impossible in New York, for example, to send a letter, receive an answer, send again and receive another answer, all in a day, as in London. The pneumatic

tube service is very restricted. A letter posted downtown at four o'clock will not be delivered uptown in the residence district until the next morning. If packages are too bulky for the ordinary carrier, one must journey to the post-office for them, and likewise one goes to the post-office to cash money orders.

I asked a high post-office official why parcels are not delivered.

"The public don't demand it," said he. "They don't object to going to the post-office."

Your neighbor may post a four-pound package to San Francisco for sixty-four cents. It would cost him the same to send it to you next door. A German might mail a *ten-pound* package from Germany to Salt Lake City; *you* could not, without paying prohibitory letter-postage rates. Mr. James L. Cowles sent a suit case thus from New York directly to New Haven. The stamps cost \$3.68. He could have sent it via Germany for \$1.95. Offered at any post-office as fourth-class matter, it would not have been accepted at all. It weighed eleven pounds. Practically, then, the United States post-office says, "Send all but your smaller packages by slow and uncertain private express; and send all your urgent messages by expensive private telegraph," or put in a telephone.

Nor is the classification of mail free from deficiencies. The law admits to second-class privileges bona fide periodical publications, but the interpretation of the law is left to a single Assistant Postmaster-General, so that "only the Almighty and Mr. Madden," as a United States Senator has said, "know what is second-class and what is not." Publishers whose publications are being summarily cut off from the cent-a-pound rate cannot see a post-office improvement in such a narrowing of privileges, however sincere Mr. Madden may be in his reform. It is, after all, the law rather than Mr. Madden that is to blame. In brief, the classification of mail is governed by laws fitted to another generation; it takes no heed of the problems of the day, as will be shown later in discussing the second-class matter.

Now the fact that in the thickly settled portions of the country, especially in the cities, the American service is poorer than the foreign, is not meant to prove that the

post-office should add to its present expense, which is almost double that of England and France combined, exclusive of their telegraph system. The point made here is that the service needs a drastic reorganization of present items of expense, so that more economical management and arrangement will permit of improvements and of lower charges to the public for mailing letters and sending parcels. Economically administered, the department can improve city conveniences as sweepingly as it is now improving rural conveniences. Postmaster-General Wanamaker set in motion many of the reforms the post-office needs and advocated them with vigor. How have they failed of realization?

In successive reports of the Postal Committee of the House of Representatives, written indubitably by Mr. E. F. Loud, the chairman, occurred this passage, "There is not a sane business man in the country who has given the matter any thought but that knows that the Post-Office Department could be operated by private individuals on our present appropriation and show a net profit of thirty or forty millions per year." Nobody questions it.

The leaks in the system that prevent as good service as foreigners enjoy in swift city delivery, in the transmission of money and in the carrying of parcels, will be taken up in concrete detail in succeeding articles of this series.

AN EXPERIMENT IN TEACHING FARMERS' WIVES

APPLICATIONS FROM 15,000 WOMEN TO JOIN A PRACTICAL CORRESPONDENCE COURSE CONDUCTED AT CORNELL—HOW THE WORK IS CARRIED ON

BY

LIBERTY H. BAILEY

DIRECTOR OF THE CORNELL COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE

CORRESPONDENCE courses seem to have taken hold most effectively in cities and towns, not because farmers are unwilling to read, but because few correspondence courses have been devised that really meet their needs. That farmers do not read is an error. I sometimes think that farm people read more than town people of similar circumstances—the latter are likely to spend more of their time in being entertained by plays and other passing spectacles. Some of the best read students I have taught came directly from the farms, even though they did not know the very latest novel.

Several educational institutions have established reading-courses for farmers, and the idea is now widely accepted among farming communities. Two ideals appear in these reading-courses; one aiming to interest the farmer in the reading of agricultural books; the other aiming to reach the farmer who

habitually does not read books, putting in his hands something that is simpler, less pretentious, more condensed, and usually more direct. Only one of these courses, so far as I know, aims directly to reach the farmer's wife. This is in New York State.

This Farmers' Wives' Reading-Course is supplementary to a Farmers' Reading-Course emanating from Cornell University at Ithaca. It seeks to interest farm women in the improvement of the farm home, and to suggest ways of lightening the burdens of house-keeping. There are no books that seem to meet the particular needs in these directions, and if there were they would be several in number if they covered the various phases of the subject. Therefore, simple readable leaflets are prepared and supplied free to New York State readers.

In all the correspondence instruction it is found to be essential to originate the

literature, not trusting to books; and in all cases the "quiz," or something akin to it, is necessary in order to keep the interest alive. These methods are now followed in three reading-courses—for farmers, farmers' wives, and teachers; and a similar method is employed with the Junior Naturalist work among children.

In the winter of 1899-1900, a circular was sent out with one of the farmers' lessons asking women who desired to have a special correspondence course to write to that effect. About 2,000 women responded. The names have now grown to several times that number. If funds were at hand, the numbers could be increased almost indefinitely; but it is probable that not more than 10,000 persons can be well served by the present force, and the natural tendency will be for the lists to diminish until they reach the point at which the work can be adapted to individual persons. Similar experience has followed other correspondence work.

The two reading-courses have been under the charge of John Craig, who for two years has been professor of "extension teaching in agriculture." The Farmers' Reading-Course is in his immediate care, and the Farmers' Wives' Reading-Course is in the immediate charge of Miss Martha Van Rensselaer, who has had much experience in cognate lines of work and who is well established in all efforts pertaining to the farm home and the rural school. The money for prosecuting the work is given by the State. The bill providing the funds was first introduced by Honorable Fred S. Nixon, of Chautauqua County, now Speaker of the Assembly, who has taken a very keen interest in measures designed to aid the farmer.

The following notes of experience with the Wives' Reading-Course are made by Miss Van Rensselaer:

"The farmer's wife has welcomed with the utmost eagerness suggestions for saving time and strength. Household improvements for saving steps have appealed especially to her. The first lesson, which was on that subject, has probably been the most popular. She has taken up the subject of gardening with the least interest, because in the farm home the men evidently take care of the coarser vegetables, and the finer vegetables and flowers are omitted because the woman lacks time and strength to attend to them.

"The means most employed for reaching the women have been, first, editorial notices in the press, showing that the newspaper reaches the farm home; second, efforts through granges and farmers' institutes, where the woman is a large and important factor; third, women's clubs, where domestic science finds a place more and more on the programme with history, art and science; fourth, mothers' meetings and other organizations in which the members have not only desired the work for themselves, but have asked for it for their friends on the farm. Of course, it is not possible, in practice, to limit the course strictly to farmers' wives.

"During the past winter an effort has been made to organize reading-clubs among women. This has met with a favorable response, and women's clubs for home study have been organized in the grange and also separate from it, in groups of from ten to twenty women. A certificate of registration is granted by the Extension Department for work done in these clubs. The work consists of reading the lessons, discussing the principles introduced and answering and returning the "quizzes." In connection with this, an arrangement has been made with the State Library to furnish to our readers (for a small fee), and especially to clubs, traveling libraries of ten, twenty-five, fifty and one hundred volumes each, upon subjects pertaining to domestic science and relieved by studies in literature, travel, biography and poetry. All of these enterprises require time to promote, and the one just referred to is only just beginning to take hold of the women. Women's organizations in the State have coöperated, whereby mutual help has been gained. The Cornell Extension Department united last winter with the State Department of Agriculture in holding a four days' Home Institute session at Lake Placid, N. Y. Demonstrations in cooking were given, together with lectures on home science. Evening sessions were held for the benefit of people in general upon home topics.

"The general work of the Farmers' Wives' Reading-Course consists in publishing lessons upon home science, examining returned quizzes, answering questions asked by members, promoting a knowledge of the course in order to increase membership and, upon application, visiting granges, clubs and women's organizations."

HIS MAJESTY JEKYLL-AND-HYDE

AN EXPLANATION OF THE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND OF THE PECULIAR POSITION OF THE SULTAN OF TURKEY—SEEN FROM A MOHAMMEDAN POINT OF VIEW AND FROM A CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW

BY

HENRY THOMPSON

I LAST saw Sultan Abd ul Hamid II. of Turkey five years ago, at the public pageant of his Friday attendance at mosque. The procession came down the broad road from the Palace gate, the Ministers of the Empire and the great Generals in their magnificent uniforms preceding the Sultan, and the special household body-guard of tall, handsome, athletic young men marching briskly on each side of him as he rode on horseback between double ranks of soldiers. An impressive silence was maintained until the monarch had passed: Then the troops gave forth their hoarse shout of "Long Live the King of Kings!"

The sovereign was a frail, worn, pale-faced man of between fifty-five and sixty years, with thin, rather fine features except for his prominent nose. A well-kept but grizzled beard covered the lower part of his face. He had a slight forward sinking of the head and shoulders as though the years had weighed too heavily upon him. Yet he showed kingly dignity as he drew himself up to salute the throng pressing to the windows of the rooms assigned to the comfort of European visitors. I had stood wedged in a mass of Turks within five feet of him twenty-two years before, on the day when he was formally girded with the sword of Osman. He was then a slender, erect young man of thirty-five years, pale-faced, and smooth-shaven but for a black mustache. His bearing produced no particular impression of power, and it was a matter of somewhat surprised interest to see this immature prince now a king in fact.

One other point of special interest to me now, as I stood with other European guests by the window, was the object-lesson in the vast sweep of the Sultan's sway offered by the assembly gathered before the mosque to do him honor. One of the regiments in line

was composed of Albanians from the shores of the Adriatic, the most fearless soldiers in the Turkish Army. One was made up of black men from the Sudan, turbaned, and dressed in Zouave uniform. Another consisted wholly of Arabs from the coffee districts of Arabia Felix. A regiment of cavalry had been recruited from the dare-devil Kurds of the Persian frontier. Among the officers of the brilliant group who received the Sultan at the gate of the mosque were Circassians, Arabs from Mecca, Kurds again, and Greeks from Crete become Mohammedans like the rest. Inside of the mosque yard was a group of nearly fifty men dressed in the wadded cotton gown and grotesquely monstrous turbans of Bokhara, and these were superciliously eyed by a group of Moors from Tunis, all in spotless white except for their red shoes. The three short, smooth-faced men dressed in blue, standing near, were Chinese Mohammedans. Although these were not Turks, all joined with the Turks in bowing low. Both Russia and England can bring together in like manner, on occasion, men from the East and the West, but those so coming are separated from each other and from their sovereign and his people by a barrier of alien thoughts and habits that persists through all the courtesies of royal ceremonies. The men who come gladly and proudly every week from the ends of the earth to do honor to the Sultan of Turkey are of one thought and mind and belief with him, and, whatever their political allegiance, they look to him as the dispenser of benefits to all Muslims. The man who stands in that relation to many nations is more than a king.

After we had remained nearly an hour in the rooms of the Civil List, looking out upon the strange and glittering assembly, the Sultan, having finished his devotions, returned to his palace. But his return was in a little

victoria, which he drove himself, as a man having the same feelings as the rest of us. Meanwhile we had been prepared to entertain this conviction by a remarkably fine-looking Circassian officer who had come into the rooms and who, with affable manner and indiscriminate and effective use of German, French and English, had informed us that he was the bearer of His Majesty's compliments and good-will. This royal good-will had then been practically illustrated by serving tea to all the throng. Not one of the visitors who had come to see this pageant as one of the stock sights of Constantinople left that place without knowing that Sultan Abd ul Hamid observed the courtesies of life.

The courtesies of the Sultan are without limit, as becomes a sovereign whose thought is for so wide a kingdom. Many an American Minister to Turkey has had to refuse, until ashamed, gifts of Arab horses, jeweled arms and priceless china.

A German "liner" arrives at Constantinople with two or three hundred American travelers. At some time before the ship leaves, an aide-de-camp of the Sultan will appear, to present his Majesty's compliments to the visitors, and to leave them a supply of candy and cigarettes. Many a distinguished man of the West, visiting Constantinople, has been surprised on receiving, through his embassy, an invitation to view the blooded horses in the Sultan's stables, and, on accepting the invitation, has been led from that marvelous spectacle into some elegant pavilion of the gardens of Yildiz, where a dainty lunch awaited him. After this, perhaps he has even met the Sultan himself in a casual manner. Correspondents of important newspapers are often importuned to accept gold as a contribution to the heavy expenses of their enterprise.

Nor are men of influence the only foreigners who receive the Sultan's attention. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne, an English tradesman who had long supplied the Palace with its cravats and smaller sundries of raiment was suddenly told that the Sultan wished to know the man who had supplied him with goods these twenty-five years. The white-haired Englishman was dragged from behind his counter, thrust into a proper suit of broadcloth, and carried to the Palace as fast as two fresh horses could take him. He shook the Sultan's

hand with unrestrained enthusiasm, expressing his sense of the honor in such Turkish as he had picked up in trade. Then the Sultan smilingly expressed his appreciation of the long years of straightforward, honorable dealing, and bestowed upon the shopkeeper, then and there, the Star of the Order of the Mejidieh, first class.

The native of Turkey (if not himself supplied with a pension) will sneer at the generosity now so well known to characterize the Palace of Yildiz. "Ground bait," he will say, "is freely offered fishes that one expects to catch." But one impression only can be taken away by those foreigners who have received such kindly favors, whether in jeweled orders, sumptuous repasts or ephemeral candies and cigarettes. Whoever from the West has come under the spell of Sultan Abd ul Hamid's solicitous kindness goes away convinced that no sovereign on the face of the earth is like this sovereign. Even Mohammedanism is looked upon with less suspicious criticism. The nature of this personal influence was fitly illustrated to me by a Turkish writer a few years ago. "There is no king like our Sultan," said the happy author. "He has subsidized my Review to the tune of \$25 a month. I say, May he live like Noah!"

In private life Abd ul Hamid is a tireless worker. There is nothing of the epicure or the careless voluptuary about him. His amusements are simple. He loves his gardens and his splendid park. He has a little theatre where he often enjoys a private performance. He prefers acrobatic performances and sleight-of-hand, however, to Shakespeare, and "rag-time" music to Wagner. But all this is secondary and by the way. From the moment that he began to know what government in Turkey meant, he has insisted on knowing every detail of all that is proposed or done anywhere in the Empire, and to this end he has deemed no drudgery in the study of reports too dull and no demand for ceaseless attention on the part of his secretaries too severe.

The Sultan is also a very pious man, with a special delight in religious exercises, keeping exactly the fasts and feasts and the regular and special observances of worship. I have in mind, too, one pathetic and moving picture of piety when the day of his most tremendous trial had dawned. It was not

one of the set times for observance of the rite, but in 1877, on the second day after Russia declared war, Abd ul Hamid went, in company with a single religious functionary, to the Treasury and took from its case the mantle of Mohammed. He wished in that sacred presence to meditate upon the character and the deeds of the Prophet, and to offer sincere worship to him for whose glory the war was to be waged.

It is customary in some quarters to speak of the Sultan as a coward living in terror of sudden death. Against this view, however, stands the record of the opposition which this man has encountered during a quarter of a century while unflinchingly advancing his great principle of "Muslim Turkey for Muslim Turks." The opposition has come from cabinet ministers who think that strenuous devotion to Islam is not practical politics; it has come from his own Christian subjects; it has come from the governments of the most powerful nations in the world.

No unbiassed observer can deny that Abd ul Hamid has lifted Turkey to a far higher and stronger position in the world. He has multiplied tenfold the number of Mohammedan schools in his empire. He has employed Europeans to give cohesion to his military system until his army is a force that no European Power would attack in lightness of heart. He has given an *esprit de corps* to the Mohammedan population of the empire, so that they have lost much of the former disposition to cringe before any European. He has opened relations with all the Mohammedan peoples in the world, and has sympathy from them not enjoyed by any of his recent predecessors. He has built up a great printing-house in Constantinople with the mission of doing for all Islam what the Bible societies do for Christendom.

Muslims do not like the Koran to be printed. They use manuscript copies if they can afford them. But Sultan Abd ul Hamid, by bringing photographic methods into his printing-house, has been able to send beautiful copies of a fine manuscript Koran to Mecca for distribution to the pilgrims. Thus each year he has placed within reach of the poor many thousands of copies of their sacred book.

The strength of the hold which such successes have given the Sultan upon the more ignorant masses in Turkey does not strike

foreigners because they do not read newspapers in the Turkish language; and when extracts from those papers are translated, titles of the Sultan like "Shadow of God upon Earth," "Representative of God among Men," etc., though occurring in every daily paper, are glossed over or omitted entirely. A quotation from the *Terjuman-i-Hakikat*, one of the leading Constantinople dailies, will make clear the position assigned to Abd ul Hamid by his admirers. The passage was written by Ahmed Mithad Effendi, a leading author and novelist of the modern Turkish school. The occasion was the birthday of the Sultan:

"God sends at the beginning of every century a man who, by the Divine blessing, renews and strengthens the true faith.' This saying of the Prophet naturally comes to mind now. . . . There is not the least grain of doubt that this great and mighty Sultan is the Man of the Century foretold by this saying of the Prophet; for he assembles in his own person all the conditions, moral and material, required as proof of the fact that he is such. While great in majesty and power, and lofty in the elevation of his station, his meekness and mercy and justice and sympathy are without parallel. The works of his piety and benevolence are not limited to reaching with his aid every place within the bounds of Mohammedan territory; they take in the whole world. Within the Empire no school or seminary or mosque remains which has not been built or repaired by his gracious kindness. Abroad, whatever great and good work is undertaken, the gifts of His Majesty are the first to reach, support and strengthen its author. Pasteur of Paris and Koch of Berlin have been rewarded by His Majesty for their work for the race. Even the building of places of worship in cities like London and St. Petersburg with aid from our Sultan are among the spectacles of the age. In whatever direction we look we see that the Caliph is the Man of the Century, . . . so that if we pray for the increase of the life and power of this one just monarch of benevolent thoughts and benevolent action, we are still praying for our own happiness and glory alone, because the continued existence of His Imperial Majesty is the sole guarantee of our own happiness and safety and salvation."

The unique position of the Sultan of Turkey is due in part to his absolute power within the Ottoman Empire. But it rests chiefly upon the fact that he is Caliph of Islam, the successor of the Prophet and the Representative of God upon earth. This point is often repeated, but its elusive meaning is rarely grasped in the Western lands, for we mold

our ideas upon a comparison of the Sultan with the Pope of Rome. We must go for our notions on this subject to the law of the Caliph's succession, that we may note the significant terms on which the Sultan of Turkey holds this title to supremacy over the 200,000,000 of the Mohammedan world. Law requires the Caliph to be of the Arab tribe of the Kureish; well versed in the Koran and the traditional expositions of the Prophet; sound in mind and body; a lover of justice, and able to wage the Holy War against unbelievers so as to defend and forward the interests of Islam throughout the world. Heavy emphasis rests upon the latter point because of the ultimate aim of a Mohammedanism that lives. Christian zealots may cry, "The World for Christ!" and no one who takes up this war-cry dreams of treason to any sovereign. But the cry of "The World for Mohammed!" if fruitful, necessarily involves a change of rulers wherever its champions carry the day.

The Sultan is not of the tribe of the Kureish. He has no title by blood or heredity to the office of Caliph. Yet every objector to his using that title is silenced, because no other Mohammedan in the whole world is as able as he to ply the sword in the interest of his faith. In seeking to understand his policy and his deeds, the fact must always be borne in mind that the Sultan of Turkey is naught but the king of a backward nation, unless as Caliph he holds the position of the world's armed and watchful champion of Mohammedanism.

This is the key to Sultan Abd ul Hamid's policy toward his subjects and toward Europe. The corollary of its essential doctrines logically follows, although not formally enunciated until 1895, long after it was put into practice—that, since the Caliph is the representative of God upon earth, his will in matters of administration may not be checked or controlled by any other human will.

The Christian subjects of Turkey have naturally some aversion to the theory that their sovereign alone can judge what is best for them in business, pleasure, study or aims. But the real root of such disturbances as are now seen in Macedonia is not only this, but the fact that the Sultan has to delegate this power to officials. In the nature of the case, these officials can not be Christians, for

Christians may not have administrative responsibility in an aggressively Mohammedan State. They are *rayas*—the people of the pasture—not to be given responsibility, but to be cared for and shepherded—and milked. While the Sultan himself likes to bestow his benefits, as we have seen, upon the just and the unjust, the small official to whom he delegates his power is likely to have more eagerness for "graft" than for justice. And the Sultan is as true as Tammany to any servant of his who makes the mistake of being "found with the goods on him."

The case of the Kurd, Moussa Bey, is an instance. He was recently mentioned in the newspapers as having escaped from the Hejaz (the Mohammedan Holy Land), in Arabia. Moussa Bey was a Kurdish robber, promoted to be governor of a small district in the eastern part of Turkey. There his crimes became so grave that the British Government howled for justice. The trial was held in Constantinople, and forty or fifty witnesses were brought 500 miles to testify. Proof was made that he had committed half-a-dozen murders and a rape. But on the last day an aide-de-camp of the Sultan sat by the side of the judges. The court acquitted the prisoner! The man would have gone free because of his devotion to the Sultan if European Powers had not forced his banishment to the Hejaz for life in disregard of the sentence of the court.

In foreign relations, the theory that he is divinely commissioned to advance Islam to a dominating position in the world places the Sultan at a singular disadvantage. Expediency, not equity, must shape his course. Moreover, the method on which he relies must be a free use of that mixture of cunning and deceit which the canon law recommends for the confusion of unbelievers under the name of "stratagem." At the time of the massacres in Asiatic Turkey, Abd ul Hamid gravely informed the Ambassadors at Constantinople that the Armenians of Kharput had put on the dress of Turkish mollahs and had incited the Kurds to attack the Armenian quarter of the city and to loot the church. As to Egin, he said that the Armenians burned their own houses, and went and barricaded themselves on a barren rock outside of the city, their evil design in each case being to bring discredit

on the Turkish Government. As to the reported conversion of Armenians at Birejik to Mohammedanism by threats of death, he told the British Ambassador that the Armenians of that place had sent him a written petition to be allowed to become Mohammedans, and that his statement would be borne out if the British Government would only make inquiry. The British Ambassador at that point called the Sultan's hand; and one of the most informing passages of the Blue Books on the state of Asiatic Turkey during this period is the report of the investigation at Birejik, with pages and pages of proof that the challenge for it was a mere piece of bluff to screen an infamy. Respecting the massacre at Constantinople in August, 1896, the Sultan told the Ambassadors that the affair was a riot in which the Mohammedans suffered like Christians. Their dead had been carried off and buried with the Armenian dead, but the Mohammedan wounded were in the hospitals; and he invited the Ambassadors to send and verify the fact. The British Embassy sent a surgeon who saw some 60 or 70 Mohammedan wounded. Then he was taken to another hospital and was shown a hundred or so more. As he was leaving this latter place, an accident led him to ask questions, and he found that of the men shown to him to be reported to the Ambassadors as Mohammedans wounded by Christians, all but three were really Christians wounded by Mohammedans!

One of the curiosities of Mohammedanism as taught in Turkey is that such methods are the only alternative to the sword that the Caliph has who deals with non-Muslim Powers. True friendliness is forbidden by the Koran; equity is held by the legists to relate to Muslims and those who submit to Muslim rules; the aim to profit by every transaction is the sole aim which the Defender of the Faith may have in view when he treats with kings who disbelieve.

In contemplating the mighty power and world-wide influence attained by Sultan Abd ul Hamid II., one may assume that whatever the feelings of Christians under his rule, his Mohammedan subjects must be inflated with pride every time they look upon him. They are; and yet a large class of them find that his claim to decide and to fix the ideal of the ultimate good for each one of his

people wounds manhood. Discontent and abortive schemes for his deposition have marked the history of the Sultan's relations with his Mohammedan subjects for several years.

One feature of these relations, however, must be more fully explained. Numbers of the middle class of the Muslims of Turkey fear to attract the Sultan's attention. Things get done in his realms—like the massacres of 1895 in Asiatic Turkey and of 1903 in Macedonia—which come home to the consciousness of every thinking Turk.

Take the case of the Koordish Sheikh Obeidullah, who was a guest of the Sultan for a time in 1883 and was afterward sent to Mecca in order that pious occupations might keep him out of mischief. He died very soon after his arrival, of cholera, it was officially announced, although he was the only sufferer from cholera in Mecca that year.

Take the case of Mithad Pasha, the liberal Prime Minister and the champion of Parliamentary government. He was tried for treason in aiding to dethrone Sultan Abd ul Aziz, and was sent to Taif, near Mecca. After a time he died, rather suddenly. By and by a man who had been a soldier in Arabia appeared in Constantinople babbling a tale that ended with, "I did not know that it was Mithad Pasha or I would not have put the soaped cord about his neck." Of course the police saw that the man was crazy and put him where he was safe from harm.

Take the case of Said Pasha, ex-Grand Vezir, who fled to the British Embassy in Constantinople seven or eight years ago, declaring that he would be killed unless allowed asylum, and who could not be induced to leave the building until the Ambassador brought him a formal promise of safety sealed with the Sultan's own seal.

Take the case of the Turkish lawyer Izzet, namesake of one of the Sultan's secretaries but by no means to be confounded with him. He was suddenly arrested in 1896 and taken to the prison at Yildiz Palace. Two days later his friends were notified that he had died in prison, and they were furnished a certificate signed by several physicians declaring that he had died of heart failure. The general understanding about the Intelligence Department at the Palace is that through its multitudinous agents it knows everything

that every inhabitant of Turkey does. And yet occurrences like these are not few, which have the same characteristics of a short history, ending with a death to which is attached an explanation that lacks completeness.

Somehow such mysterious incidents link themselves in men's minds with the curious facts of the life of Hassan Pasha, the late Turkish Minister of Marine. The Pasha held some secret relating to the Sultan which he so used as to secure himself in his official position. In the Ministry of Marine he lay snugly for twenty-five years, absorbing the naval appropriations, and growing fat the more he absorbed. Yet no one who tried (and several did) could kill or oust him in order that the navy funds might be used for their proper purpose.

Meditation upon this class of mysteries makes people shake in their shoes every time that they see one of the great army of paid

informers who know everything. Men do not say that the Sultan does the things which cause this trepidation, but that "the Palace" does them. They speak of the "Palace" as though it were a sentient but invisible organism; and when they speak of it they look behind them and take out their handkerchiefs and wipe a clammy sweat from their faces.

A story was told in Constantinople twenty years ago, and was told to me again the last time that I saw Sultan Abd ul Hamid—that His Majesty has a foster brother who so resembles him in features as to be able to stand for him at state functions, the guests never perceiving the substitution. It may be that this story is the Oriental method of expressing belief in the combination of two characters in one body, which we had supposed to be a conception of the Western novelist alone

THE LABOR UNION CONQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES

HOW OUR ORGANIZATIONS HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE ENGLISH—
THE NUMBER OF UNION-MEMBERS IN THE COUNTRY—CAUSES
OF THEIR INCREASE—HOW THEY HAVE FOLLOWED TRUST-
ORGANIZATION—THEIR FUTURE AND THEIR NATURAL CHECKS

BY

WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PATRIOTIC Americans are wont of late to advertise the fact that the United States has become a world power in commerce, finance and international affairs—or, as certain dun temperaments characterize it, world *im*politics. Few of them realize that in still another feature of our national life we have very recently attained a position of international preëminence. The United States has within a year probably outstripped Great Britain, the traditional home of trades-unionism, in the enrolled membership of its labor organizations.

It may be conservatively estimated that there are not less than two millions in the ranks of organized labor, or about one in

forty of our population. These organizations are a natural outcome of modern industrialism. The extension of the factory system implies the spread of organized labor. Germany, France and Italy are feeling the effects of both. But it is between the two great English-speaking nations that the most interesting comparisons in labor conditions may be instituted. Some of these are not without significance as bearing upon the problems of the future, both in England and the United States.

Trades-unionism in Great Britain is older, perhaps by half a century, than in the United States. But only since 1890 have we reached a definite plane of comparison. The relative

fortunes of trades-unionism in the leading countries of the world may thenceforth be traced numerically with some approach to accuracy. More than this, in the two great Anglo-Saxon countries at least, the aims and methods of organization have become sufficiently alike so that such numerical comparison might be held symptomatic of the relative advance of the movement in the two places. The attempt has been made in an accompanying diagram to illustrate graphically the

schaften. These Social Democratic unions, as they are called, seem to include about three-fourths of the trades-unionists in that country, as in 1900, when they had about 700,000 members in an estimated total of 995,000. Their growth year by year, however, may be regarded as typical of the general advance of the movement.

As for France, strict comparisons with Anglo-Saxon countries are impossible, owing to the difference of legal and social conditions.

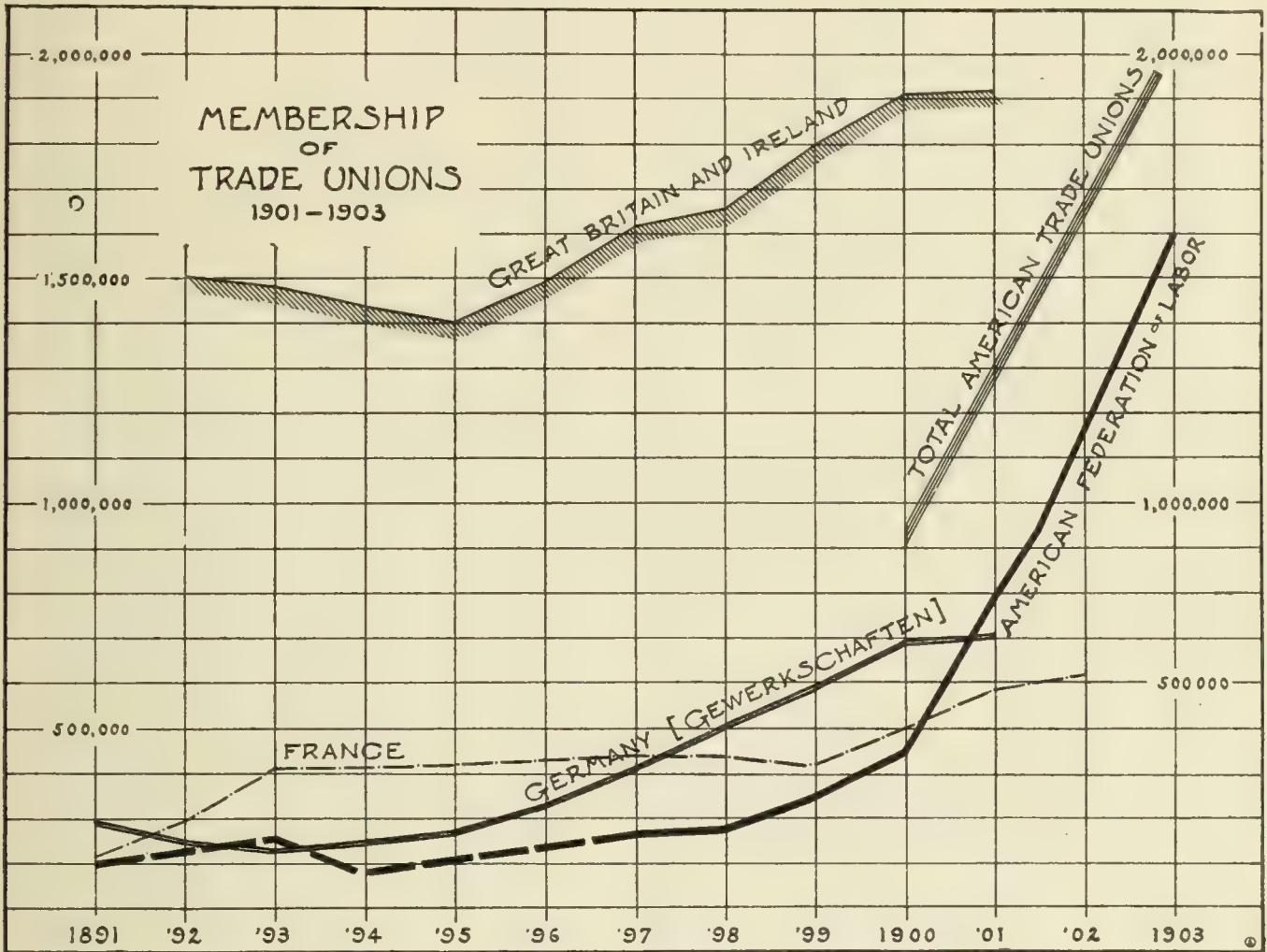


CHART SHOWING THE GROWTH OF TRADES-UNION MEMBERSHIP IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES SINCE 1891

Note that where it took the English unions nine years to increase their membership from 1,500,000 to 1,900,000, the American unions in three years grew from 900,000 to 2,000,000

membership of trades-unions in Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany.

For Great Britain and Ireland the figures are official, annually compiled by the Labor Department of the Board of Trade. They may be accepted with confidence, inasmuch as all unions must be registered and make regular reports in order to enjoy certain legal privileges under the law, such as the protection of union funds and the like.

Our German figures relate to but a single group of organizations known as the *Gewerk-*

These figures of the membership of workingmen's associations published by the national *Office du Travail* are, however, also indicative of changes within that country from year to year.

For the United States at large our figures are estimates from trades-unions and other sources. No official data are available except for New York State, and possibly one or two other commonwealths where the labor bureaus have bestirred themselves in the matter. It is not an easy task at best to make such

estimates. Some organizations, such as the remnants of the Knights of Labor, are secretive as to their membership. There is always a tendency in public reports to exaggerate the importance of an organization; and, moreover, that membership only which is in financial good standing, having paid up its dues, is entitled to be enrolled in the total. Such estimates have, however, been made at various times by independent authorities, and from these our figures are drawn.

One of the most interesting features of this diagram is the unique position occupied by Great Britain and Ireland. Until within three years, despite their relatively small size, these countries stood over against all the other great nations of the world in a class by themselves as respects the forces of organized labor. Until recently they had more trades-unionists than all the rest of the world put together. France and Germany betrayed relatively little evidence of this effect of modern industrialism. The upward trend in the number of unionists in both these countries seems, however, to be going on at about the same rate—a rate not different from the annual growth in Great Britain. There is, however, in Germany and France no evidence as yet of such accelerated growth as will bring them to a position abreast with the United Kingdom.

For us the main significance of this diagram lies in the evidence which it presents that the United States has squarely taken its place not alone alongside, but ahead of Great Britain in the size of its so-called "industrial army." The growth for the United States has within five years bridged the gulf separating the United Kingdom from the other European countries, so that toward the close of 1903 we stand even and probably ahead of the Mother Country in this regard.

THE EXTENT OF AMERICAN ORGANIZATION

The year 1902-3 will go down in history as a great American strike year, along with 1835, 1886, 1894 and 1899. Years of labor agitation are increasingly characterized by a rapid growth in the ranks of organized labor. To be sure, this rapid growth is characteristic of all live industrial communities. Germany has in a decade come to the front as a great manufacturing State, and the *Gewerkschaften* have in that country tripled their membership from 1893 to 1900,

as our diagram shows. The trades-unions in Great Britain and Ireland have grown from a million and a half members in 1892 to about two millions at the present time. But the development in the United States has not been comprised within these modest limits. The phenomenon is cataclysmic. The American Federation of Labor—the most powerful representative body in the United States, comprising at present more than three quarters of the forces of organized labor—had perhaps 200,000 members ten years ago. President Gompers at the last annual convention in New Orleans announced that the organization in eleven months to October 1902 had added 300,000 to its membership, a figure greater than its total enrolment in 1898 and nearly equal to its membership in 1899. Two years ago the United States Industrial Commission timidly ventured the prediction that the number of unionists in the country at large had been doubled since the resumption of prosperity in 1896-7. It was then conservatively estimated that the membership of the American Federation of Labor was 950,000, and that the total for the United States, including the Railway Brotherhoods, the Knights of Labor and other independent organizations, was 1,400,000. The New York Bureau of Labor, about the same time, figured out a total of 1,600,000. We may perhaps content ourselves with an estimate of a million and a half as the membership of American trades-unions two years ago, and of not far from a million the year before that. The present membership, in 1903, of the American Federation of Labor being, let us say, 1,600,000, and assuming that the independent organizations have at least held their own since 1900, we have a total for the United States at the present time of about 2,000,000, as against about 1,900,000 for Great Britain and Ireland.

Official statistics from New York State confirm these statements of recent growth. There were 2,365 unions in existence in that commonwealth in March, 1903, as against 1156 in 1899 and 976 in 1897. Their aggregate membership had increased during this time from 151,000 in 1897 to 357,000 in March, 1903. And the end is not yet; 435 new organizations—in fact, almost half the total in New York State in 1897—have been chartered since June of this present year.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters,

as a national body, claims to have added 30,000 new members in 1901 and 35,000 in 1902. A recent press report from Chicago announces that in Illinois the membership of trades-unions has doubled within a twelvemonth. The full significance of this appears only when one considers that the number in that city a year ago was probably double that of 1898-9, or even later. An army of hitherto unorganized women have within the last two years been brought into line in this locality contributory to the same result.

By the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, the following table, reproduced upon our diagram, is courteously given me as representing the growth of that organization. Every affiliated union by the provisions of the Federation constitution pays into the treasury a per capita tax upon its membership. The amount of this tax per member varies from year to year, but constituting as it does the *basis* upon which contributions are levied, the statements of membership would naturally not tend to exaggeration. In many cases it has been shown that the returns both of local to national unions and of the latter to the Federation are considerably below the memberships, estimated irrespective of financial consideration. These figures, then, would seem to be within rather than beyond the truth. They show the membership of the American Federation of Labor upon which the per capita tax was actually collected in the following years.

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	265,600	1901	789,500
1898	279,000	1902	1,025,300
1899	350,400	1903	1,605,593
1900	550,300		

THE RELATIVE UNIONIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

How long will growth in the ranks of organized labor continue at this rate? Are we, as is so freely asserted, already organized up to the limit, or shall we say up to the *British* limit? In other words, how do our conditions compare with those of England? The population of Great Britain and Ireland is little more than half that of the United States. We are about neck and neck with them at present in the number of trades-union members. The United States, however, is largely an agricultural country, and

we have some millions of Negroes and Indians. The census of 1900 enumerated about thirty million persons of both sexes over the age of ten engaged in gainful occupations. Making allowance for the women, young persons and ineligibles, it does not appear that a proportion greater than from one-sixth to one-quarter of our total population constitutes what we may perhaps call the industrial population. Now, a sixth of our population, which is about double that of Great Britain, would about equal the proportion of their population more than ten years old which their census in 1891 denominated the industrial class. In other words, while we have twice their population, we have only about half as large a proportion affected directly or otherwise by the spread of industrialism. These are rough and perhaps dangerous estimates. Such as they are, they lead to the conclusion that conditions in the two countries have now reached about the same point in regard to the degree of unionization among the so-called working classes. So much for the movement quantitatively. As for its quality in the two countries, that is another matter to which we shall come.

THE CAUSES OF INCREASED UNIONIZATION

The principal causes of this remarkable growth in trades-unionism are apparent. The most immediate ones are, of course, the great era of prosperity which has blessed the United States since 1897; the spread of the so-called combination idea in industry; the success of the anthracite coal strike; and, finally, the natural acceleration of the labor movement, which, like any other, tends to spread more rapidly in proportion to its age and renown. Of these four causes, the first two are temporary, the third is local, while the fourth may be permanent or not according to the wisdom and moderation of the policies adopted by the unions themselves. Let us examine them a moment in detail.

No careful observer can fail to note the direct influence of flush times upon labor organization. This cause seems to operate, however, in different ways during the various stages of the era of prosperity. At its inception, organization follows the natural desire of working-men to secure their due share in the general welfare. Later on, with the rise of prices and increased cost of

living, organization becomes imperative as an engine for enforcing the demand for a living wage under the new conditions. It is unfortunate as a rule that this demand in an acute form is usually postponed until too late. After a high standard of profits has become fixed, it impels the employer to shift the burden of increased wages upon the general

this last stage of development that the so-called "strike years" occur. Viewed in this light, they would seem to be a presage of a not distant period of declining values. With the periodic fluctuations in prosperity it has become almost axiomatic that wages are the last to rise and the first to fall. The organization of labor, having perhaps tardily

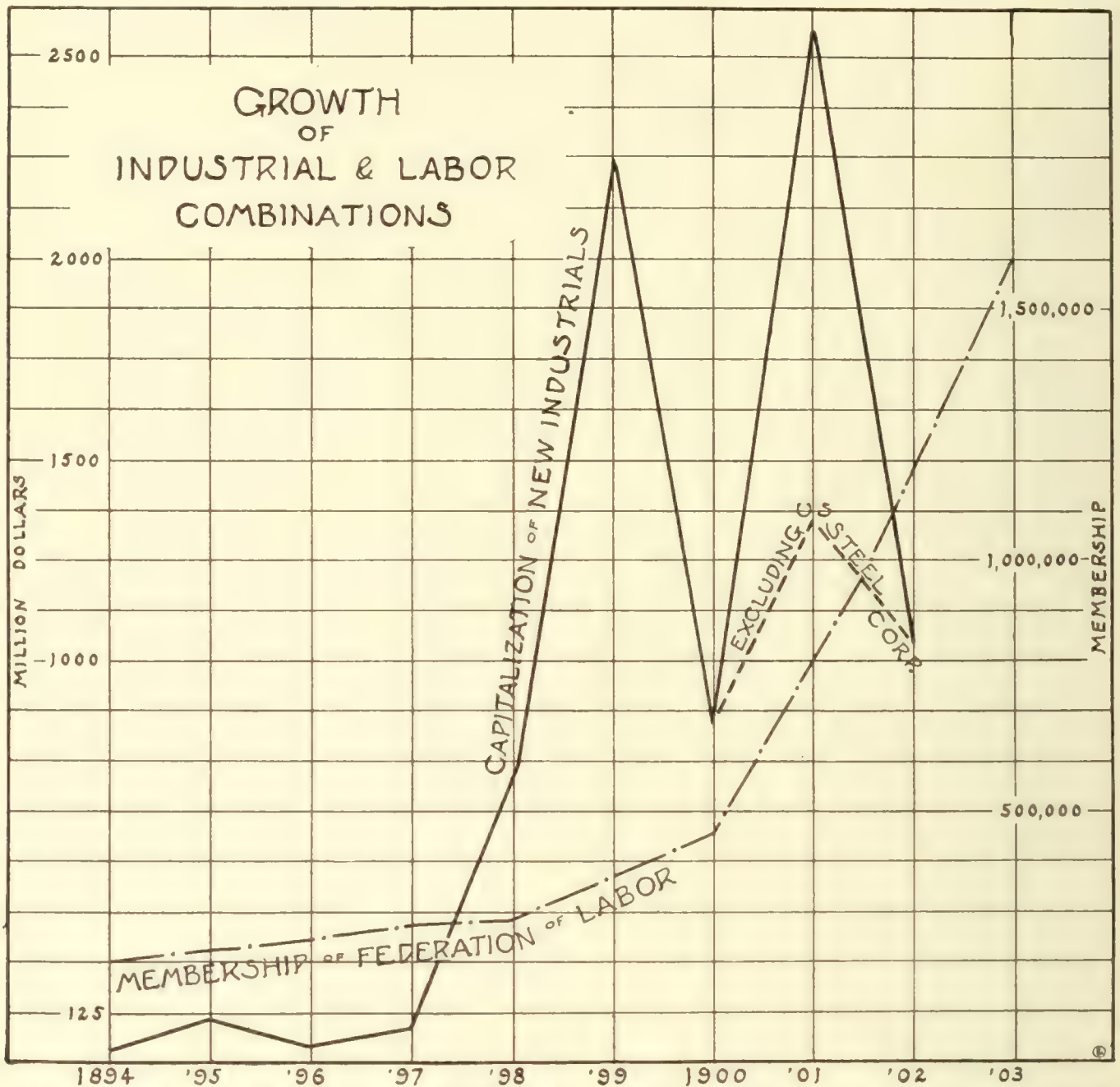


CHART SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF TRADES-UNION MEMBERSHIP AND CAPITALIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Note that while the organization of new enterprizes line has varied greatly from year to year, the labor union line shows a steady and rapid increase

public. We have seen how this has worked in the anthracite coal industry. All and more than all of the increase granted in wages is added to the price of products. In this way does the rope twist tighter and tighter about the throat of the consumer. An inevitable subsidence of demand, with stagnation in trade, follows. It is during

gained its share in the uplifting of values, is then speedily forced to assume the defensive for the wages so established on a stagnant or declining market.

The influence of the spread of monopoly in the so-called trust movement of the last few years has also produced a direct effect upon the working classes. They with the

rest of the general public see the result of monopoly in the prevalence of extortionate prices for staple commodities; and, even if they do not run afoul of it in their own experience, they hear the benefits of the absolute control of labor extolled by the apostles and promoters of industrial combinations. In my humble judgment, the trust movement has given a powerful fillip to the progress of trades-unionism in this way. As showing the chronological sequence in the two phenomena of combination in labor and capital respectively, one of the accompanying diagrams is not without interest. It is based upon a careful summary annually compiled by the New York Journal of Commerce. The sudden outbreak of monopolistic corporate promotion in 1899 rose, as is shown, to a climax in a capitalization of new corporations within a twelvemonth of nearly two and a quarter *billion* dollars. This was followed by the aftermath of recombination in the steel industry in 1901. Both of these events have passed into history. But it can not fail to be observed that the sudden growth of the great labor trust dates not from 1897, when prosperity began, but from the year 1900, which immediately followed the wild outbreak of industrial monopolization in the preceding year.

The trust movement, without doubt, gave added impulse to the labor combination movement. On top of it, at just the right time to produce its maximum propagandist effect, came the great coal strike of last year. By reason of its magnitude and duration, but more especially because of its advertisement of the dire dependence of the great public upon a dual monopoly of coal and labor, this strike is perhaps the most notable one in our industrial history. A great economic sore in the mining industry was made apparent to the general public. The manly and courageous stand taken by President Roosevelt applied a just and proper remedy—arbitration. But arbitration can be consequent only upon organization in some form or other. It was a great victory for labor—nor most important in its gain of wages, or even its betterment of industrial conditions—but of inestimable value as establishing clearly the desirability for the sake of peace, if not the right for the sake of humanity, of compelling both parties to the labor contract to submit their rival claims to

the judgment of an independent and impartial umpire. The effect of the strike upon organization is pretty clearly shown by the following figures giving the growth of paid-up membership of the United Mine Workers of America. These are the official statistics of averages at the close of each year as furnished me by the Secretary

Years	Members	Years	Members
1897	9,731	1901	198,024
1898	32,902	1902	175,367
1899	61,887	1903 (Sept.)	268,000
1900	115,521		

The miners estimate that there are in addition some 57,000 members not paying the per capita tax, bringing the total up to 325,000. Quite an army this, to have organized within six years. In the official figures for Great Britain there are only about 500,000 members of trades-unions in mining and quarrying. That the American miners have trebled their numbers since 1900, and have added about 100,000 since 1902, is to be ascribed to the great strike. And that its effect has been widespread throughout the entire realm of labor organization cannot be doubted for a moment.

As for the final cause of the spread of trades-unionism which we have mentioned, namely, the acceleration due to its own growth, one has but to read the trades-union periodicals in order to understand its potency. Read, for example, "What our Organizers are Doing," in the *Federationist*, the official publication of the American Federation of Labor. This body has no less than forty regularly salaried organizers in the field, and at last accounts had 1,111 district organizers engaged in the same work. A systematic attempt, replacing the hitherto disorganized effort, is being made to bring the great labor force of the country into martial array. The machinery is perfected, and with each year's trial becomes more efficient for its own end. It will take violent lapses of prosperity and many serious reverses to disestablish this organization. The members may dwindle; there may be deserters in time of strife; but the influence of organization on a large scale can not fail of an effect. Utter rout can ensue only by reason of failure of the leaders to appreciate their responsibilities. The annihilation of the Knights of Labor after 1886 is a good illustration of this ever-present possibility.

THE FUTURE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

To attempt a forecast of the labor organization movement is difficult and dangerous. We have no precedent for the present sudden outburst of organization except the disastrous experience of the Knights of Labor in the decade after 1880. That the number of Unionists can be permanently maintained at its present high figure seems open to serious doubt. The leaders are naturally enthusiastic. They predict that before the middle of next year the two-million mark for the American Federation of Labor alone will have been reached. On the other hand, various forces tending to retard the movement are already distinguishable. Some of them are in fact suggested by our analysis of the causes which have led to the present growth. An immediate effect would doubtless be produced by an industrial panic or a period of commercial depression. Then, again, there is the organized opposition among employers to be reckoned with. Such organizations are springing up on every side. Some of them may indeed be willing, as in the coal business in Chicago, to join hands with the labor organizations in fleecing the public. But more of them, and especially those employers who are outside the great industrial combinations, will not permit dictation from their employees, without contest, beyond a certain point. Still another obstacle to the spread of trades-unionism is found in its contest with the rights of individual members. Unless there be moderation and wisdom in permitting a certain degree of freedom to trade-union members, there is bound to be defection from the ranks. There is a point of satiety beyond which the appetite of the most ardent trades-union member will not proceed. Not all can be leaders, and, after all, a trades-union is a democratic body, dependent for its success upon the content and loyalty of its constituents.

This sudden and phenomenal rise of our American Unions, accomplishing what the British organizations have taken a half-century to effect, should induce an attitude of great conservatism on the part of our labor leaders, not only in their dealings with employers and the public, but with their followers as well. That it does not always do so is cause for regret to well-wishers of industrial progress; for mistakes at this time may have far-reaching results. Em-

ployers are alive to the situation. The public is interested. And it is of the utmost importance that the rank and file of the unions should realize their responsibilities for their own best good.

Our figures show that an immense number of untrained unionists have been suddenly inducted into the ranks. Many of them have doubtless joined without full realization of the effect upon their own rights which such action entails. The raw trades-unionist in his attitude toward the leaders of the organization is not unlike the timid investor who for the first time entrusts his capital to the tender mercies of a board of directors. Both alike fail to realize that the directors are in reality their agents and not their masters. It will take time to digest the great mass of inexperienced unionists who have been recently recruited from the ranks of labor. Bankers complain that the speculative market is burdened at the present time with an enormous mass of undigested securities. Applying this figure to the labor situation, I would suggest that our labor organizations are not unlikely to suffer at the present time from an over-supply of raw trades-unionists. For the time being, the movement may be top-heavy. Everything is in the hands of the leaders. It is always possible that some of them will be ill-advised and hasty in the internal policy which they adopt, as well as arrogant in their attitude toward the non-unionist and the public. Whether in future the process of digestion will be applied to the horde of newly initiated members or to the present leaders themselves time alone can determine. But until the new members are on their feet, and have time to get their bearings as members of an organized body, the reputation of the movement is in the hands of the trades-union officials.

The final cause tending to limit the spread of trades-unionism in the United States lies in the attitude of the courts and legislatures. These bodies have been and will increasingly in future be called upon to decide between the rights of the individual and of the many, of the employer and of the employed, and of both these and the public. No more interesting and complicated problem lies in the path of legislative and judicial bodies than this. Time alone can determine what the outcome will be.



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1897, by Curtis & Cameron

JOHN S. SARGENT

THE GREATEST CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT PAINTER

BY

CHARLES H. CAFFIN

THAT Fashion should have selected John S. Sargent as its pontiff in portraiture is quite a curious phenomenon.

In the first place, he is preëminently "a painter's painter"; his technical method not being of the kind which usually commends itself to those who are uninitiated into the mystery of fascination of craftsmanship. It has nothing of the sleek finish and obvious prettiness that the public, and, perhaps, especially the fashionable public, seem to prefer. Moreover, Sargent is less than most painters a flatterer of his subject. His faculty of observation is as clear and impartial as a mirror, while the personal

quality in his work, the enthusiasm which he experiences, is chiefly that of a painter presented with the opportunity of making an effective picture. When this is slight or lacking his enthusiasm clearly seems to flag. And, further, although he is the recognized portraitist of fashionable society, he holds aloof from social successes and has absolutely no taste or aptitude for those manoeuvres by which many painters ingratiate themselves with the fashionable world. A self-contained man, of retiring disposition, he contemplates the "passing show" with complete detachment and undisturbed scrutiny.

The public, indeed, accepting the verdict



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1897, by Curtis & Cameron
FRIEZE OF THE PROPHETS



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1897, by Curtis & Cameron
FRIEZE OF THE PROPHETS

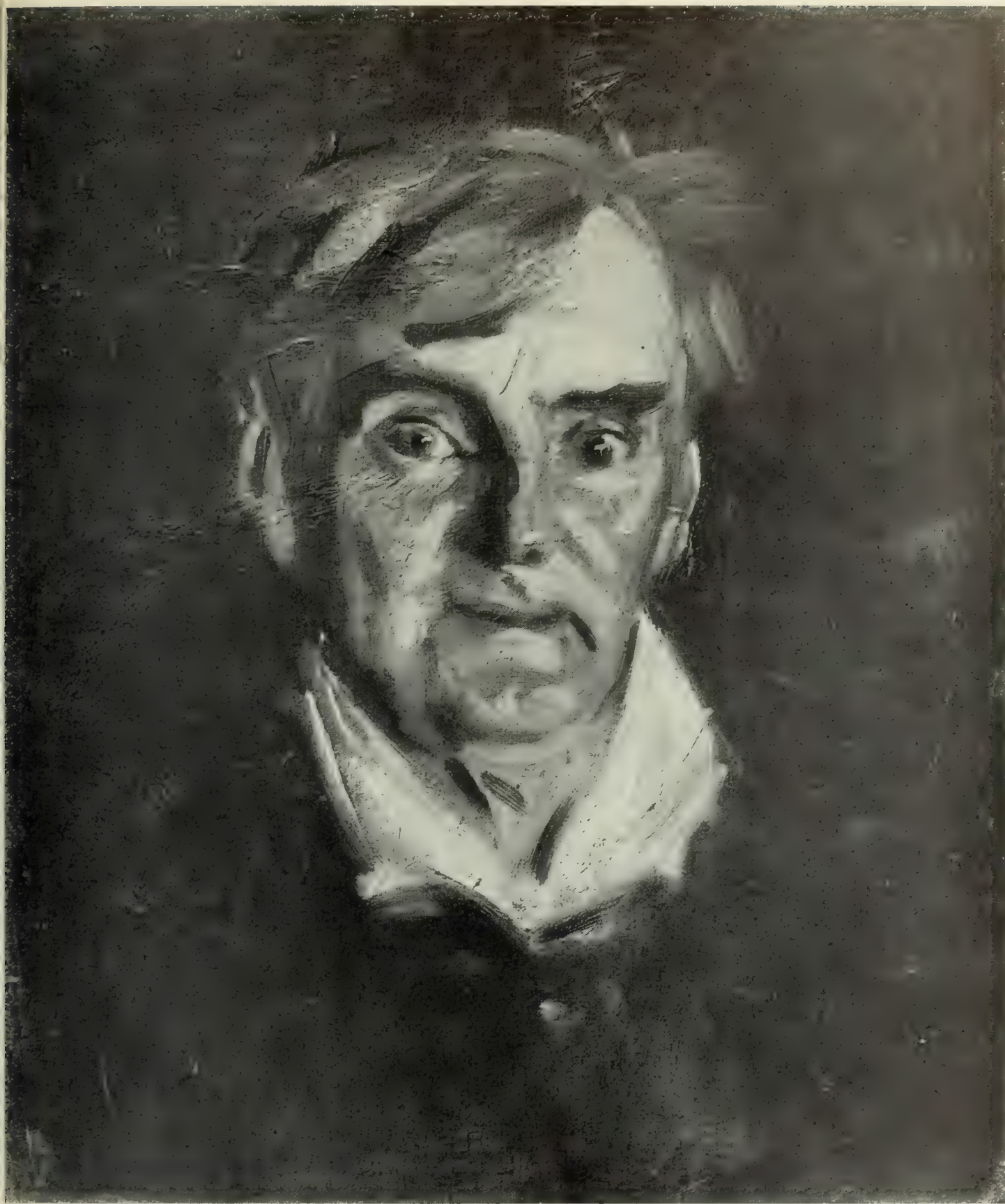


From a Copley print. Copyright, 1933, by Curtis & Cameron

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

of the painters, have persuaded themselves into approving it; are eager to be represented in a manner that is seldom sympathetic and oftentimes callously indifferent, and honor a man whose distinguishing characteristic is an unconcealed superiority to themselves.

It is this superiority which is the key to Sargent's position and the secret of his artistic ranking: a choiceness and tact of refinement, finely tempered, as sincere as it is instinctive. He owes it to his parentage and to the circumstances of his bringing up.



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1904, by Curtis & Cameron

MR. JOSEPH JEFFERSON

His father was a physician of Philadelphia, who had retired from practice and settled in Florence. Here Sargent's youth was spent in the intimacy of a cultivated home and of the most artistic surroundings, in habitual association with a permanent colony of refined

and educated people, and in the atmosphere of a city which perhaps more than any other combines a prodigality of impressions with a singular reserve of spirit. The young man himself was extraordinarily sensitive to both kinds of influence; quick to absorb, withal of



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1913, by Curtis & Cameron

MAJOR FRANCIS LEE HIGGINSON



From the collection of Mrs. Augustus St. Gaudens

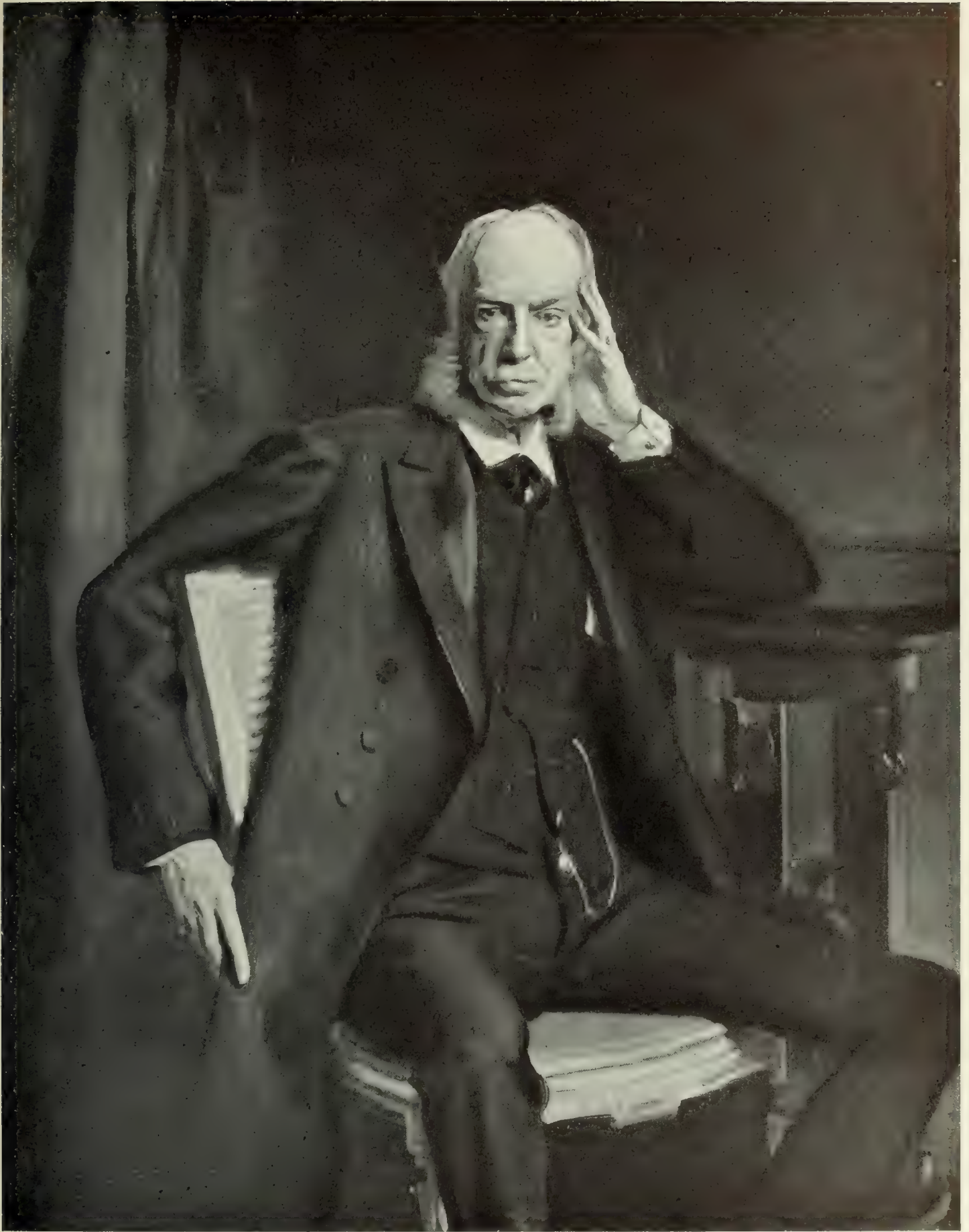
HOMER ST. GAUDENS



THEODORE ROOSEVELT COLLECTOR WEEKLY

Copyright, 1915, by Collier's Weekly

MR. THEODORE ROOSEVELT



THE LATE MR. HENRY G. MARQUAND

From the Metropolitan Museum of Art



“CARNATION, LILY, LILY, ROSE”

a modest, penetrating and reflective temperament. He had the aptness of his race and, either by nature or by cultivation, a habit of patient, thorough acquisitiveness to which the American student rarely attains. By the time that the scene of his studies was changed from Florence to Paris he had acquired some proficiency in portraiture by

copying the old Venetian masters, and was already possessed of what remains lacking to many painters throughout their whole lives—a refined and exquisite taste.

In Paris he came under the influence of Carolus-Duran, one of the most effectual of modern teachers and himself a portrait painter of distinction. His art-creed was

JOHN S. SARGENT



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1898, by Curtis & Cameron

THE LATE MR. EDWIN BOOTH

in line with Manet's, derived from a study of Velasquez; a realism tempered with pictorial motives. It involved, that is to say, no psychological insight, but was satisfied with the objective appearances; or rather, aimed to set down candidly the impression which the appearances had produced upon

the painter's mind, intent upon painter-like problems: the dignity of line, for example; the delicate differences of color value in the receding planes of the picture; the consequent rendering of atmosphere; the placing of the figure actually in space and the vivid realization of a gesture or fugitive expression



EL JALEO

From a Copley print. Copyright, 1899, by Curtis & Cameron



upon the face. With Carolus-Duran these motives were concentrated upon a characteristic fondness for sumptuous and dainty textures, so that he became successful as a portrait painter of mundane elegance. Yet he was even more successful as a teacher, imparting to his pupils the craftsmanship of modeling by planes instead of by lights and shadows, encouraging a facile brush-work that, whether bold or sensitive, should be direct and full of meaning.

Such was the master, brilliant, if superficial, to whom Sargent came. With quiet, unquestioning application he proceeded to absorb the master's method, and so effectually that a portrait of Carolus which he executed during his student days proved that he had assimilated all the master could teach and was himself a master. Subsequently he visited Madrid and gained personal acquaintance with the works of Velasquez; and from this time his technique, as the individual expression of his own point of view, was matured and became, what it remains today, singularly accomplished, a marvel even to his fellow artist.

Indeed, it is they alone who can adequately



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1899, by Curtis & Cameron

PENCIL STUDY



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1894, by Curtis & Cameron

HEAD OF A SICILIAN BOY

appreciate its merit, since they know by experience how wide a gap often separates the actions of the mind and hand; whereas it is one of the marvels of Sargent's technique that the processes of perception and execution seem identical. In a sense, no doubt, they are. That is to say, what finally appears upon the canvas has generally been the direct and immediate expression of a powerful impulse; but meanwhile, below the assurance of the stroke may lie hidden the traces of many fumbleings and uncertainties.

For Sargent's facility is not perpetually on top. His genius rather works like a high-mettled hound. Once in a while it may burst immediately upon the full scent, but more often works faithfully over the ground, trying here and there, now with a lead and then again a check, until finally it is hot-foot upon the trail and leaps to its quarry. It is an honorable characteristic of his that, although he is in such request, he does not hesitate to use the scraper, and shirks no labor of working over and over again upon a troublesome passage, never willingly relinquishing a canvas until it represents satisfactorily what he feels to be the best he can do with the subject.



Francis Copley 111" Copyright, 1902, by Curtis & Cameron

MR. WILLIAM M. CHASE



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1895, by Curtis & Cameron

ASTARTE

In the ceiling decoration at the Boston Library



CARMENCITA



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1890, by Curtis & Cameron
MISS ADA REHAN

The result is that his portraits, unless, perhaps, in very rare instances, never show any traces of labor or fatigue; what is presented to the eye has the appearance of vigorous spontaneity; every stroke is vitally significant—to borrow a simile from Carlyle: each canvas is like a watch with a glass dial; one can peer through and see the works and fancy, at least, that one intelligently follows the movements. Or, again, it is a case of the conjuror, disdaining all subterfuge and so assured of his dexterity that he condescends to show you how it's done. And, even while we comprehend the trick, we are dazzled by the baffling simplicity of the sleight of hand.

Not that technique such as Sargent's is to be regarded merely as a trick of hand. It is primarily the product of very clear, keen thinking. The artist forms a mental

vision of the effect which he wishes to render, and then by analysis discovers what is its salient element, eliminating everything unessential, accidental or confusing, until in his mind he has reduced the appearance, as it were, to its lowest terms—the terms which are most suitable for expression—and then fits to them the expression most appropriate. Thus, the respective acts of mind and hand are brought into direct accord—a process, after all, analogous to that of the mechanician when he constructs a new application of movement.

Movement, also, and construction are conspicuous features of a Sargent portrait. The head has always constructive power and bulk, in most cases an extraordinary vitality of construction; the figure, whether exposed or clothed, is firmly and surely



From a Copley print. Copyright, 1903, by Curtis & Cameron

THE DOGMA OF THE REDEMPTION

The new decoration in the Boston Library, that Mr. Sargent placed during his recent trip

realized, and with a flexible ease of gesture. Such variety also! Notwithstanding the number of his portraits and the usually artless naturalness of the pose, it is quite remarkable what a freshness of arrangement each presents. The explanation seems to be that Sargent catches as if by intuition the characteristic pose and gesture of a sitter, even to the little niceties of difference that distinguish the ways in which two persons will assume a position practically identical. For two ladies may seat themselves upon a sofa; the direction of the bodies and the disposition of the limbs may correspond, and yet there will be some subtle shade of difference in the pose and gesture of each corresponding to her separate temperament or habit of body. It is this simultaneous apprehension of the specific trait as well as of the general bearing of a sitter that is so notable in Sargent. He scarcely peers below the exterior of his subject; seldom, if ever, penetrates its psychology, but at a glance and with generally unerring accuracy and completeness seems to grasp the *tout ensemble* that is presented to the eye.

When, as in the portrait of Mr. Marquand in the Metropolitan Museum, the face is worn with time and graven by experience; when, in fact, character shows conspicuously in the lineaments and hands, Sargent gives us a memorable piece of psychological portraiture. So, too, when he paints George Henschel, an intimate friend, a musician like himself; while his pictures of children render completely the sweet spontaneousness of child nature. Otherwise his portraits, for the most part, represent persons as they might appear at a reception or in the more intimate formality of an occasional visit; studies of manners, or at the most of traits rather than of character. Within these limits, however, they have a surprising reality of life and individuality. On the opening night of that remarkable exhibition of his works which was held at Copley Hall, in Boston, in 1899, a reception was given, and I remember so well the effect produced upon the imagination as I viewed the scene from the elevation of a few steps which raised me a little above the guests and to the level of the pictures. The figures on the wall seemed to have stepped up out of the throng upon the floor; they were the same kind of people, conducting themselves in much the

same way, similarly *a la mode* and mannered; representing a correspondence of types and the same sort of differences of traits. Indeed, to myself, a stranger in the room, the figures on the wall soon began to seem more real than the actual people below.

Such a fancy was not altogether nonsensical, and may be compared with a shrewd observation made concerning Sargent's recent portrait of William M. Chase, "That it is more like Chase than Chase himself." This by a happy paradox hits off the quality of Sargent's realism. It is not, on the one hand, a rigidly exact and formal record such as can scarcely escape being commonplace, nor is it, on the other hand, merely a loose *résumé*; but it represents an impression vivid, composite and concise, the net product of a rarely acute and cultivated observation. Moreover, it is thoroughly a painter's one for interest in the personality of the subject should not obscure the masterly impressionism of treatment: the way in which the subject has been viewed as a picture, offering opportunities for painter-like skill in the rendering of light, atmosphere and draperies, tones and values; and the terse, piquant manner in which the character of figure, costume and accessories is indicated. What, for instance, could be more masterful than the rendering of the hands in the Marquand portrait? With a few bold, frank strokes not only their structure is suggested, but also their character, their nervous sensibility and the pathetic feebleness of age. Sometimes, it is true, the rendering of the hands is very far from this perfection. I can recall the portrait of a lady in which one of the hands, laid upon her lap, was so brusquely indicated that thumb and fingers were in an indistinguishable jumble. There was neither construction nor feeling.

How shall one explain the fact? Was the portrait claimed before Sargent had thoroughly completed it; or had he overlooked the hand; or did he let it go, as being of minor importance in comparison with something else which occupied him more? This last reason, at any rate, seems to be adopted, rather as an affectation, by many portrait painters who have modeled their methods upon Sargent's, until there comes to be some reasonableness in the question which one overheard at the Paris Exposition, "Why do Americans scamp the hands?"

Sargent's attitude of mind toward a sitter seems to be entirely professional; for the most part without sympathy, equally free from cynicism, simply and partly objective. In its peculiar intimacy it corresponds to the relations between physician and patient, or lawyer and client, except that these are privileges, whereas Sargent's diagnosis and his analysis of a client's strong and weak points are published to the world. Consequently it is seldom possible to speak with perfect frankness of a portrait by him. One may be enthusiastic about its pictorial qualities, its masterly craftsmanship and truth to life; but approaching a consideration of the record of the sitter's personality, one hesitates. It is so intimate, so free from evasion; hinting at weaknesses and failings, sometimes by what is included, at other times by discreet omission, that it would be insidious to describe in words the full impression received. One can, therefore, only cite examples in vaguest terms.

I recall a portrait of a lady in a toilet of shell-pink, ravishingly dainty, exquisite, sweetness itself, at a first glance. But her two children have come in; they stand with conscious constraint behind the sofa; the lady without removing her eyes from yourself, so evidently her admirer, lifts one hand to the children with that elegant gesture of maternal affectation which a fashionable woman in the presence of an outsider displays for the children to whom she is almost entirely a stranger. In a moment you detect the flaw in this exquisite blossom. Again I recall a group of famous beauties, and the fact that Sargent had dared to make delicate allusion to the wear of life upon the

face of at least one of them. Or again a lady of fashion, not too scrupulously discreet. The hint was conveyed with consummate tact, without feeling of any kind, merely in the way of well-bred recognition of a fact.

In these as in almost all his portraits Sargent would seem to be less interested in the individual than in the type which he or she represents. Holding aloof from society, he appears to view its members as an assortment of puppets playing their parts, simple or complex, of grace and elegance, weakness or sordidness. He is too far off to hear the words of the comedy or to care about the mainsprings of the action, but the gesturings of the actors and the hints of character on their faces reach him in a series of impressions. Then, when he is confronted with an individual, he finds in him or her a specimen of the type, and proceeds to a closer analysis, but of characteristics rather than of character. So from the point of view of character his portraits seem insufficient beside those, for example, of Watts and Lenbach. They lack the depth of seriousness of the Englishman's, the psychological insight of the German's; their manner and spirit is French, brilliantly versatile and epigrammatic. Yet in grasp of facts as well as in mastery of style they pass far beyond such portrayals of modish millinery as Carolus and his kind affect, and equally stop short of the excessive actuality of Boldini. They reflect always his refined taste, as exacting as it is discreet.

He has accomplished a vast amount of work, which, it may not be too much to say, is likely to be regarded some day as the most extraordinary series of personal memoirs that the history of painting has to show.

A PERSONAL SKETCH OF MR. SARGENT, BY EVAN MILLS

MR. JOHN S. Sargent is a typical example of the modern cosmopolitan man, the man whose habits of thought and life make him at home everywhere, and whose training has been such as to preclude the least touch of chauvinism. Such a man has become possible only during the last fifty years, and then only in the case of an occasional American. For the man born and bred in Europe of European parents

must of necessity be influenced by national feelings that can not but make impossible any true detached cosmopolitanism. In the case of an American born and bred abroad, the only feelings that can possibly arise are those that come of cold selection; he is unattached to anything, and though living among and with the different European peoples, he never becomes one with them in sentiment or local bias. It would be impos-

sible for one of the European States to produce such a man as has come from the happy combination of American birth and wholly European training.

Mr. Sargent, although born of American parents and warmly claimed as an American in this country, has none of the traits that one would ordinarily look for as indicative of his nationality. He has spent in all only about a year in this country, having come here for the first time when about twenty years old. Born in Florence, first taught to speak in German, educated in Italy, France and Germany having studied art in Italy, France and Spain, and having married and settled permanently in England, he is thoroughly cosmopolitan. Judging from his speech, manner, gait, and the countless little tricks peculiar to each country, Mr. Sargent appears to be a well-bred Englishman. He is phlegmatic, and anything but brilliant in conversation, lacking totally the verve and quickness of adaptability that make the typical American interested and interesting anywhere and in any company. Bashful and retiring, he has no presence, and cannot collect his thoughts when suddenly called upon. Physically, also, he would pass for an Englishman, being thick in the shoulders, tall, florid in complexion, and bearing the marks about his eyes of full living.

Since the time he was a little boy his every interest has been artistic, his mother having fostered in every way the talent he early showed for drawing. When he went up to Paris to enter the atelier of Carolus Duran, he took with him a portfolio of drawings that are still remembered by the men who were there at the time. Duran, though having a most masterly control of tone and color, was never strong in his drawing, and did not insist on it so much as is the custom of other teachers. The portfolio was opened, and the drawings examined with expressions of surprise on all sides; and although they showed a training that was totally at variance with his own principles, Duran was so impressed that the young American was readily and cordially received. One drawing in particular took the eye of the master—a study in pencil and water-color of some ivy trailing about a window, that, remarkable for the firm and delicate handling of the leaves and tendrils, showed that the boy who had done it was already a master of the use of

the pencil. Because of the great friendship that later sprang up between master and pupil, Sargent got a training that today is all too rare, as Duran made him his assistant in carrying out some of the great paintings that he had been commissioned to do for the French Government.

His career at the atelier of Duran was short, as he soon found that he had learned all that his master could teach him. Before leaving, however, Sargent painted a portrait of Duran which still remains one of the most remarkable things he has ever done. Remarkable in many ways, the most remarkable thing about this celebrated portrait is that the style and manner there shown, although the work of a boy of twenty-three or twenty-four, are still those of the master. For though a most studious and painstaking and curious student of technic, forever traveling and seeing and studying the masterpieces of past times and the work of today, Sargent has never seen fit to change the manner that he developed so early. To be sure, his taste and his sense of color have developed greatly, his earlier work having had a tendency to be cold, yet what one may call his main thesis has remained the same.

At various times he has been very much under the influence of one or the other of the different French masters, one summer even having followed Monet about, sketching landscapes and marines in his style, doing most marvelous things in rude sketches. All that he has learned, however, he has assimilated so well that one can not attribute any specific thing to the influence of any other master. Even while doing wonderful sketches in the style of this or the other man, he has always gone back to his chosen method for his serious and published work.

Perhaps the thing that strikes most people in his work is what one may call the touch of malice. This was extremely prominent in his student days, when he was in the habit of drawing animals that were the greatest possible likeness of the people he saw about him in the cafés and the theatres. Though this feeling is still to be noticed in his work, it should not be thought to be the result of ill-will or of personal feeling, for, from the minute that a person has assumed the pose, Sargent loses all interest in him as a person, and becomes wrapped up in the possibilities that he presents for artistic presentation.

This faculty of absolute detachment is perhaps the most marked trait of Sargent, the man. A tremendous worker, having on his recent trip painted more portraits than he spent weeks in this country, and having also in the same time placed and given the final touches to his decorations in the Boston Library, he lives and thinks only for his art, not caring overmuch for reading, and not being at all interested in society. In fact, his whole attitude is that of the curious and deeply interested observer of external appearances. Highly intellectual, neither his work nor his manner give much evidence of sympathy, kindness or heartiness. This was noticeable in his youth, when he was thought to be rather romantic, for even then when a great reader his favorites were Shelley and Baudelaire, both of whom are more remarkable for their technical qualities than for any

great definite human sympathy. This detached intellectuality he carries even into his recreation, for when tired to exhaustion by a day's work he seeks rest in playing Chopin or Beethoven by the hour.

Mr. Sargent is perhaps the most notable instance in our day of the man whose latent possibilities have been steadily fostered in the way that was ultimately to bring him to success. Born of rich and cultivated gentlefolk, and given a sympathetic and cosmopolitan education, he has never known worry in the way that so many painters have known it, and he has had nothing to stand in the way of his development. Backed by fortune, culture and luck, by hard and devoted work toward a single end, he has had the good or the bad fortune, as one may look at it, to have no personality and no history aside and distinct from that of his paintings.

THE RUSSIAN ABSORPTION OF ASIA

ACQUISITIONS IN HALF A CENTURY LARGER IN AREA THAN THE UNITED STATES—AN EVER-CONTINUOUS POLICY OF EXTENSION THROUGH ALL CHANGES OF CZARS AND MINISTERS—THE EXPLOITATION OF DESIRABLE TERRITORY BY SUBSIDIZED CORPORATIONS—THE RESTRICTION OF TRADE FROM OTHER NATIONS—TOLD BY AN EYE-WITNESS OF THE ABSORPTION OF MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA

BY

CHARLES W. BARNABY

THE general surprise and consternation caused by Russia's demands on China last April in regard to Manchuria and Mongolia, and the disposition, even in official circles, to discredit any real intention on the part of Russia to annex these countries, is one of the incomprehensible features of the times. Even before she undertook to make her long-promised withdrawal from Manchuria contingent upon China's agreeing to these demands, which virtually ceded Manchuria and Mongolia to Russia, it is difficult to conceive how any one could, in view of the several centuries' demonstration by Russia of her aspirations in regard to acquiring additional territory and of her methods of accomplishing the desired end, have any other idea than that she has all along intended to appropriate

those countries; and that any one should still doubt Russia's intention after these demands—which are a direct violation of her pledges—were made known, is simply astounding. For, while it is well known that Russia took advantage of the Boxer uprising to occupy and uphold Manchuria, the fact that she also occupied Mongolia seems to have escaped notice.

Various are the expedients which Russia brings into requisition in carrying out her ends. Privileges are obtained for her merchants and caravans to pass into or through the coveted country for trade; to open stores and banks; to trade at ports and navigate rivers; to establish post routes, with their various stations for exchange of drivers and horses; and to install consuls at various places. Concessions are secured for cutting

timber, or operating mines on certain tracts of land, and rights are procured whereby Russia and her subjects may buy land and build consulates, stores and factories, and also dwellings for those who are connected with the various enterprises. Rights are also obtained, or taken, to protect consulates and other Russian property, and to protect the Christian subjects of an unchristian government. Army reconnoitering expeditions are sent into the country with goods, disguised as merchants, or accompanied by a detachment of Cossacks, and claiming to be purely scientific expeditions. Out of pure generosity

concessions which when asked for are represented as unimportant, assume great significance after they are granted, and are rigorously enforced and greatly expanded. What may pose as a legitimate and perfectly harmless business arrangement is extended, as later construed by Russia, to cover privileges far beyond anything the victim ever dreamed of. The concessions which Russia exacts from others are rarely accompanied with equivalent or adequate returns, and more often nothing is granted in exchange. Frequently some small favor—or some act doubtfully construed as a favor—is



MAP SHOWING THE RUSSIAN ADVANCES IN ASIA DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS

and solicitude for the welfare of her neighbors, she engages to watch over the conduct of Russian merchants located within their gates, and "permits" the prospective victims to employ Russian officers to reorganize their armies, and lends them money.

In some cases these arrangements may be made in good faith and with honest intentions, but usually they are largely or solely for the opportunity they afford for getting the territory in her control; and, under pretext of establishing, furthering and protecting these interests, privileges and favors, she sends Russian subjects, supplies and even troops into the territory. Privileges and

made the pretext upon which a concession of great importance is demanded.

When her operations in new territory arouse the suspicions of the outside world and she is accused of overstepping her rights and pledges, she assumes an air of injured innocence, renounces any intention or desire of acquisition, and is profuse in explanations and excuses intended to deceive the inquisitor as to her real intentions. Then, if she does not consider the time ripe for a final bold stroke, she accompanies the denials with promises and a feint of withdrawing from her position, knowing full well from past experiences that such action is sufficient to cause

the busy world to discredit and soon forget the charges against her, and thus enable her at her leisure to carry the preliminary operations through another stage without molestation. If, however, Russia feels that the proper time has arrived, she takes advantage of the lull caused by her denial to strengthen her position in the new territory, rushing in new troops and supplies and building forts and barriers. Meanwhile, the world's mind is bewildered by the conflict between Russian denials on one side and persistent rumors on the other, and when the Powers finally come to their senses sufficiently to grasp the situation and demand an explanation, Russia, in feigned surprise, remonstrates and coolly informs her accusers that they are laboring under some unaccountable delusion, as the territory referred to has been "Russian sphere" for lo! these many years, and is at present so thoroughly Russianized that it is remarkable any doubt should arise at this late day as to its being Russian territory. That there may be no further question, however, Russia now politely informs the Powers that she has for some time been and expects to remain in possession of that particular section of the earth.

While we may not approve the underhanded methods resorted to by Russia in extending her territory, we can not but admire the audacity, ability and patience exhibited in her scheming, working and long waiting for the consummation of a pet expansion project. Success may be a matter of a few years without rebuff, or it may be a matter of centuries with relapses or apparent abandonments—for Russia rarely entirely abandons a project until she has accomplished her purpose.

MONGOLIA

Russia's latest acquisition, Mongolia, is supposed to be a part of the Chinese Empire. It lies north of China proper, along the south line of Siberia and west of Manchuria. Being entirely shut in by these exclusive countries, far from the coast and ordinary lines of travel, it is comparatively little known to the outside world.

It is, outside of Siberia, one of the largest countries of Asia, covering 1,288,000 square miles—more than three-fourths as large as Russia and nearly four times as large as Manchuria, while Mongolia and Manchuria

together are more than half as large as the United States, exclusive of Alaska and outside possessions. The Desert of Gobi occupies a considerable portion of central Mongolia, but it is not a true desert, supporting as it does nearly all kinds of animal and vegetable life and forming no small part of the pasturage of that greatest grazing country of the Old World.

Although Mongolia has been a part of the Chinese Empire for the greater part of the past two centuries, China has not exercised much authority over it, and the Mongol has been largely at liberty to follow his own desires in method of government and conduct. The only tribute which has been heretofore required from the country has been a certain number of men to serve in the Chinese army, the tax usually demanded in such cases not being required. China's recent move toward making Mongolia a regular province of the Empire is largely responsible for the demands made on her by Russia last April, one of which was that the state of administration of Mongolia should remain unchanged.

As first given out, this demand read, "Administration of Manchuria," and the Powers were at a loss as to its meaning, but it was ascertained later that the clause referred to Mongolia. The natives of Mongolia are the true Mongols, from whom there are good reasons for believing that the Chinese, Japanese and other Mongolian races are descended.

But no one would recognize in the Mongols of today the warlike race which once conquered and ruled over all of the territory between Germany and the Pacific. They are now a non-aggressive, good-natured, simple-minded people, clothed in sheepskin or crude cloth garments, dwelling in tents, and tending their flocks and herds of sheep, goats, cattle, camels and horses; and, barring its dogs and the rigorous winters, Mongolia may be said to be an emblem of mildness. During fifteen months' sojourn and hundreds of miles of travel in the country I never saw any fighting or quarreling among the natives, and manslaughter is practically unknown, except in rare cases near the Chinese border. There is probably no place on the face of the earth where man, woman or child could be turned loose and be as free from danger from man or beast as in Mongolia. The natives carry no weapons of offense

or defense. Occasionally one of them is seen carrying a peculiarly constructed flint-lock rifle to shoot game, but as their religion is against killing even wild animals there are comparatively few rifles among them.

Russia has for some years been paying court to the unsuspecting Mongol, who is not insusceptible to the influence of money, flattery and promise of improved conditions under Russian control. On the other hand, the Chinaman has developed a strong dislike for the Mongol, and the feeling has reached such a point as to make it unsafe for the Mongol to enter into parts of China. The "old Mongol markets" in Peking and Tientsin which formerly played an important part in the trade between China and Mongolia have consequently been abandoned by the Mongol. These circumstances have tended to turn the sentiments of the people from China toward Russia, and, to all appearances, the Mongol is not adverse to Russian advances.

In 1892 a telegraph line was completed from Verkhne Udinsk, situated on the Siberian railroad about fifty miles east of Lake Baikal, to Peking, by way of the caravan and postal route. Up to this time foreigners had been excluded from Mongolia, even missionaries not having been admitted, and travel was restricted to such as were supplied with proper merchants' passports as provided in the treaty of 1860. Ten years ago, however, these restrictions were removed, and numerous missionaries and Russians have gone into the country.

A large syndicate, composed of Russians of title and wealth close to the Crown, being lured by characteristic oriental tales of rich gold deposits of fabulous value among the mountains in parts of Mongolia, sent a representative provided with the necessary authority and funds to secure mining privileges from the officials, both Chinese and Mongolian, in control of the affairs of the country. The greatest difficulty to overcome was the superstition of the Mongols, who do not at the present day disturb the soil for any purpose, not even to bury their dead, for fear of disturbing the remains of some deified ancestors. Bribes, and promises to confine their mining operations to unfrequented parts of the mountains, at a sufficient distance from the temples and holy places to avoid danger of disturbing any ancestral remains, induced the Living God and his

disciples to curb their religious scruples to the extent of granting to this syndicate the exclusive right to mine an extensive territory in northern Mongolia. This syndicate also secured the right of way for a railroad through Mongolia from Kiachta to Kalgan, over the old-established caravan route. I met the engineers who were at work on the survey of this line in Urga and its vicinity in 1900, and in Peking the following year. The Kiachta end of this Mongolian line was to connect with the Siberian railroad at Verkhne Udinsk, 150 miles farther north, and the Kalgan end was to extend to Peking, Tientsin and the coast. A reference to a map will show what a "short cut" this is from the Siberian line to the Chinese capital and coast. Numerous stores were opened by Russian merchants in Urga and other parts of Mongolia, and in 1900 a branch of the Russo-Chinese Bank, that great forerunner and agent of Russian control and civilization, was established at Urga. As a result of all of these enterprises, Russia was very much in evidence at the time of my first arrival at Urga in 1900.

I arrived in Irkutsk on June 16, 1900. During the trip from St. Petersburg I had been struck by the number of Russian officers on the train bound for the Pacific coast. The first intimation of trouble in the East came through notices posted at Irkutsk, July 21st, ordering all the military reserves to report at the nearest military station, which for that section was at Verkhne Udinsk, about 200 miles farther east, across Lake Baikal. Owing to the restrictions which Russia places on the press, and her secretive methods, it was some days before the cause for calling out the troops was known to the general public. My interpreter informed me that undoubtedly war had been declared between Russia and Japan, and that France and Germany would unite with Russia, and England and the United States with Japan, as such a conflict had been expected.

The trains moving eastward were packed with officers and reserves responding to the call, and it was with difficulty that I reached Verkhne Udinsk on June 27th, where great crowds were assembling. They came by train and by horse, and were massed around the public buildings from early till late, where officers were mustering them in. On July 8th I arrived at Troitskosavsk, a military

town at the Mongolian frontier south of Lake Baikal. Here also I found great military activity. Troops were being sent northward to Verkhne Udinsk to take trains for the East. At Troitskosavsk I found extensive masonry barracks, which, being 150 miles south of the Siberian railroad and the post route from Russia to the Pacific, and situated over 1,500 miles from the coast, and so decidedly useless for anything else, can only be satisfactorily accounted for by being classed among the schemes for securing Mongolia. There are few towns, and the population is small in that section of the country, and there are no hostile neighbors across the line.

There were many rumors at the frontier of Boxer troubles at Urga, the capitol of Mongolia, about 160 miles farther south. These rumors were discredited, however, as there were not a great many Chinese in northern Mongolia. Having occasion to make my first trip to Urga only three weeks from the time the outbreak in China became serious, I was not entirely free from apprehensions as to the results. As there were some boxes of mining tools and mail waiting for transport to Urga, they were put in my care. I was then provided with a Russian passport, which stated, in Russian, Chinese and Mongolian that I was a Russian merchant traveling in the Chinese Empire; also with a document from the postal department stating that I was a duly appointed custodian of the Russian mail. I was assured that no one in those parts would dare to interfere with the Russian postal service, and so, being armed with these documents and several more substantial instruments of defense, I set out for Urga feeling reasonably secure. The boxes of mining tools proved to be cases of Winchesters and ammunition for the Russian mining camps northeast of Urga.

When I arrived at Urga I found that the rumors of trouble, actual or prospective, were groundless, and although remaining in the vicinity throughout the Boxer trouble, I saw no indication of any difficulty in northern Mongolia. Russia, however, did not lose this opportunity to fasten her grip on the country.

The Russians became uneasy, notwithstanding the 700-mile desert trip lying between Urga and the land of the Boxers, and asked their consul to have Russian troops

sent in to protect them and their property. Russia refused the troops, whereupon representatives of the Russo-Chinese Bank and of other private companies asked the Russian Government to send troops to Urga, agreeing to pay for their maintenance. Note how naively the scheme was laid:

Russia could not send her troops into this supposedly foreign country of her own accord, as it might attract undesirable attention and unfavorable comment; but having sundry excess Cossacks, not needed for massacring the Chinese along the Amur River, she could allow private interests to employ them to protect their own private property.

The resident Chinese governor, upon hearing the report of the coming Cossacks, hastened in state to the Russian consulate, accompanied by his escort of horsemen, and had an interview with the consul and the representative of the bank and mining interests, but his protests were of no avail: the Cossacks came. As soon as they arrived they proceeded to demonstrate that they had come to stay by commencing the erection of permanent barracks.

Upon my second trip to Urga, some three months later, I found the barracks partly completed and occupied, and although the Boxer uprising had been quelled two months previously and the troops were represented as being there at the instance and under the pay of private companies for the purpose of protecting their property, the Cossacks still were there pushing the barracks to completion.

When, about a year later, in August, 1901, I made my last visit to Urga, the troops were still there and thoroughly entrenched, with the apparent intention of remaining for all time. The barracks and consulate had been strongly fortified within one large enclosure. This was done by digging a trench several feet deep and some ten feet wide and piling the dirt upon the side toward the enclosure. Numerous posts were then set in the trench and strung with a network of wires, making the enclosure practically impregnable against any attack that could be made by the Chinese. This work of fortifying was all done that spring, the year following the Boxer trouble. Private companies would hardly go to the expense of importing troops, building barracks, and fortifying the barracks and consulate, and leave their own mining office

and bank building out in the open, a quarter of a mile away. It is thus evident that in 1900, Russia, using the Boxer uprising as a pretext, put Mongolia under military control, and practically secured the whole of that vast country without firing a gun. It is not surprising under these circumstances that Russia should now object to China's proposal to change the administration of the affairs of Mongolia by making that country a regular province of the Chinese Empire.

It is important to note here, that in taking Mongolia, Russia also took at the same time a considerable strip of China proper. Russia considers that Mongolia extends to the Chinese Wall; and Russians in eastern Asia always designate the Great Wall as the boundary between China and Mongolia. They always speak of Kalgan, China, which is just within this wall, as being on the China-Mongolia frontier. I was told by several different Russians, as I was about to start for Peking, that when I passed through the gate in the Great Wall into Kalgan I would leave Mongolia and enter China. It is quite certain that Russia considers this wall as a "natural boundary." The fact of the case is, as will be seen by consulting a map, that the provinces of Shansi and Chili, in northeastern China, extend from 100 to 250 miles past the Great Wall, and that Kansu, in northwestern China, also extends some distance north of the wall. The boundary only follows the wall for about 300 miles along the northern boundary of the province of Shen-se, near the centre of the northern boundary of China. There is no question but that Russia intends, when she arrives at the point of officially annexing Mongolia, to go clear to the Great Wall.

Russia also took advantage of the Boxer uprising to strengthen the hold which she had already secured on Manchuria. Russia's first hold on this part of the Chinese Empire was when, in 1860, she acquired the Coast Province, which was the eastern part of Manchuria, and included the site on which Vladivostok was founded the following year. Her final grip on Manchuria began with the right which was secured from China by the Russo-Chinese Bank, in 1896, to build the Manchurian Railroad. This franchise was secured under the guise of being a purely business transaction between China and a private company which sought to build the

railroad as a profitable investment for its surplus capital, and, incidentally, for the development of Manchurian trade and territory to the great advantage of China. While posing as a private company, there is no doubt that the bank is a branch of the Russian Government's diplomatic department created for the special purpose of securing the franchise for this railroad, and later to perform other similar duties, in transactions where it would not be desirable for the Russian Government to appear as directly interested.

The Russo-Chinese Bank was organized by an Imperial decree of Russia, December 10, 1895, and as far as known the first agreement between the Bank and China in regard to the Manchurian Railroad was on August 27, 1896, only eight and one-half months later—a short enough time to get through all the details necessary to close an agreement of this kind. As an evidence of the sound financial standing of the company and that the agreement was entered into in good faith, Russia guaranteed the finances; and to relieve China from the trouble of giving the railroad the protection that would be required, owing to the prejudice of the masses against the building of railroads in the country, Russia agreed to protect the construction force and the railroad property. For that reason she was authorized to place battalions of horse and foot soldiers at such places along the line as required. That the work should not be impeded, China agreed not to obstruct merchants or traders traveling in the country.

China is supposed under the agreement to have the privilege of purchasing the road at the end of thirty years—upon terms and an estimated value to be determined hereafter. Russia desired this Manchurian line as an eastern extension of her great Siberian Railroad. It was the original intention to continue the railroad entirely within what was already Russian territory. The eastern part of the extension, from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk, had already been completed, but owing to the great engineering difficulties encountered on the Amur route, and the fact that the port at Vladivostok was ice-bound for several months of the year, and also that it was located on an inconvenient part of the coast, the bold scheme was evolved of making a short cut through Manchuria to

a more southerly point on the coast. The branch leaves the main Siberian line about 400 miles east of Lake Baikal and proceeds in almost a direct line to Vladivostok. About two-thirds of the distance toward Vladivostok a line branches off to the south, which was to have gone about 150 miles to Kirin to connect with a railroad which China proposed building between that place and the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. If China found it inconvenient to build this line, however, it was to be constructed along with the rest, and China was to be permitted to redeem this part in ten years. This provided a coast outlet for Russia north off the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. On March 27, 1898, Russia secured from China a twenty-five-years' lease of the southern end of the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur, which she made the southern terminus of her railroad, and proceeded to fortify and convert into a strong naval station, having the control of the strait of Pe-chi-li, and consequently of the approach to Tientsin and Peking.

The method of acquiring Port Arthur was characteristic of Russia. At the close of the war between China and Japan, Korea should by right have gone to Japan. Russia, however, not only prevented Japan from acquiring Korea, but compelled her to return the Liaotung Peninsula to China after it had been ceded to her in the peace treaty. As a reward for her good offices in saving the peninsula from Japan, Russia induced China to give her the southern part of the same peninsula, which includes Port Arthur, under what purports to be a twenty-five-years' lease.

Even before she secured Port Arthur, Russia had all the license she required to occupy the country. Having permission to protect the railroads, and China's agreement not to interfere with the movements of Russians through the whole range from mere traveler to officer, Russia inevitably became the sole judge as to how large a force she required to construct and guard her property and subjects. China could not offer any objection or impose any restriction without being charged with violating her agreement not to impede the progress of the work.

In the course of surveying and constructing the railroad, fortified posts were established from ten to fifteen miles apart along the

line. Russian dress, food and liquor being entirely different from those of the Manchus, Russian merchants were necessary adjuncts to the advance bodies of engineers and Cossacks. Every post became a Russian settlement, with its stores and buildings, and in the large towns and cities the Russian section became an important part. The course of the railroads includes most of the important towns and cities. Russia put a liberal estimate on the possibility of trouble and on the number of troops necessary to guard her property and subjects, and took advantage of the slightest disturbance to greatly increase the force. The country had thus become well occupied and Russianized before the time of the Boxer uprising.

When the Boxer trouble broke out, Russia quietly availed herself of the opportunity to make her occupation overwhelmingly complete, and also to get rid of the Chinese along the Amur River, as she desired this territory for her own people. Russia claimed that the Chinese on the Manchurian side of the Amur opened hostilities by firing on passing steamers and on Russian cities on the opposite shore. This may be true—it is certain that the steamboats showed bullet scars a couple of months later—but cities which were claimed to have been bombarded with cannon for two days did not show any marks of the Chinese shot. According to the Russians, after they had suffered this two-days' bombardment they were compelled to fight the Chinese in self-defense. A very likely story: it was a clear case of cold-blooded murder and extermination, similar to previous massacres in central Asia of helpless Chinese, the greater part, if not all, of whom were innocent of any offense except of happening to be in Russia's way. Inoffensive Chinese servants employed in Russian families on the Russian side of the river who ventured out on the streets were shot down or driven into the river and drowned.

Russia has made numerous promises to remove her troops and restore Manchuria to China, but continually finds excuses for not doing so. First, they were to be removed as soon as peace was declared; when that time had passed, it was to be when the Allied Powers withdrew from China. She finally signed a treaty under which the troops were to be withdrawn in three instalments, October, 1902, and April, 1903, and October,

1903. In April, however, instead of withdrawing the troops as agreed, Russia made a number of demands on China, which should make it clear that she intends to retain her hold on Manchuria.

Although China had agreed to open certain ports in Manchuria to the United States and other countries, and Russia had repeatedly pledged herself to the "open door" policy for Manchuria, she has now demanded that no more ports or towns be opened to foreign trade, and that no more foreign consuls be admitted, that no territory shall be alienated to other Powers, and that no foreigners except Russians shall be employed in public service. The vigorous protests of other governments have so far prevented China from conceding Russia's demands.

After the war of 1894-95, in which Japan assisted Korea, Russia stepped in to prevent Japan from acquiring Korea, and entered into a treaty with Japan under which it was agreed that Korea was to be independent under their protection. Russia reserved the right to construct a telegraph line from the frontier to Seoul, the capital, with the stipulation that it could be acquired by Korea when she had the means. In 1897 Russian military officers were supplied to Korea to reorganize the Korean Army, and in 1899 Korea granted rights to Russian interests to cut timber from certain lands. Land was also leased for the purpose of curing whales, which Russians were at the same time authorized to catch off the Korean coast. Under pretext of protecting the lumbering interests of her subjects, Russia during the past summer sent troops across the Yalu River, which forms the southern end of the boundary between Korea and Manchuria, into Korea. Also she has recently occupied Yongampho, on the Korean side of the Yalu, a town which commands the mouth of that river. Russia claims that she needs the place as a shipping port for timber from Mount Heigna. Korea, on the other hand, claims that the timber concessions which she granted do not include that mountain; also that Russia did not obtain Korea's sanction for the occupation of Yongampho. Russia claims that the right to cut the timber carries with it the right to construct telegraph lines and build railroads to be used in con-

nection with the lumbering business. She also claims the privilege of appropriating land for homes for the workmen.

When Korea protested against the telegraph line which Russia was bringing across the Yalu River and through Korean territory without permission, the Russian Minister at Seoul disavowed any responsibility on the part of Russia, as the work was being done by the Korean Timber Company. Not being able to get any satisfaction, the Korean Government removed the telegraph poles, whereupon disinterested Ministers flew into a rage and took active interest by ordering the poles replaced at Korea's expense. Russia is endeavoring to get a firm hold on Korea and is trying to keep other nations out.

Grant that along with her earlier Chinese conquests Russia has now acquired Manchuria and Mongolia, and the question as to the partition of China is pretty well settled, as Russia will already have secured about one-half of the Chinese Empire. After she gets this half well in hand, and supplied with railroads and military bases, it is going to be difficult to keep her out of the balance. If she constructs the proposed extension of the Trans-Caspian line, through the entire length of the remaining half, Russia will have the whole territory so thoroughly occupied, before the surveys are fairly completed, by her so-called railroad guard that there will be no dislodging her.

There are five different proposed Russian railway lines to Peking. One around the Liaotung Gulf, north of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, connecting the Manchuria railroad with the Peking line; three across Mongolia to Kalgan, one branching from the Manchurian line at the north, one leaving the Manchurian line a short distance east of Lake Baikal, and one from the extreme northwest of Mongolia, leaving the Siberian line a few hundred miles east of European Russia; and the fifth proposed China line is a continuation of the Trans-Caspian railroad through Turkestan, Tibet and China.

That Russia has got and intends to hold Manchuria and Mongolia there is not the slightest cause to doubt, while she unquestionably has Korea marked for early acquisition, having rescued it from Japan in 1895 for that express purpose.

THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS IN AMERICA

OUR DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR DESIGNS—
HOW THESE COUNTRIES FOSTER THE USEFUL ARTS AND
CRAFTS—WHAT MIGHT BE DONE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

LOUIS RHEAD

FEW persons know the difficulties the manufacturers have in producing original work. The artist and designer is called upon to invent something as good as that made by his competitor, both here and abroad, or better—has he the opportunity, the training or the facilities? As a rule, he borrows ideas from imported articles or goes abroad to find what he wants from the best examples in foreign museums. Thousands of imported designs for wall-papers, silks and dress-goods fabrics are duplicated here. Designers in all the crafts, including milliners and dressmakers, go to Europe in droves every year—often at their employers' expense—to get ideas and pick up new *motifs* to utilize in the arts here in America.

To remedy this, a most pressing need today in the United States is that of a national training-school for artisans with a museum and an art library, preferably in New York City. A museum first, because of its greater service to the masses—a museum built and endowed on a generous scale, the means provided from the public funds similar and co-existent with other free educational work—so that it should be on a broad national basis. Located in New York because that city has been and will continue to be the pivot upon which the arts will rest—aside from its vast wealth, its publishers, art dealers, its vicinity to many institutions of learning, as well as the main artery of commerce, must necessarily make it the right place to be in. For its complete success, a government grant of \$2,000,000 annually, after the buildings are completed, would be none too much. The British Government maintains the National Gallery (pictures), the British Museum (books and sculpture), the Natural History Museum, the South Kensington Museum (applied arts), the Bethnal Green Museum (applied arts), the

Tate Gallery of Pictures (presented to the nation), and the National Portrait Gallery and India Museum, the latter containing the most superb works of Hindoo carving in the world outside of India itself. Paris is not so rich as London. The Louvre, Luxembourg and Cluny Museum only are worthy of comparison. But the British Government gives a grant of money to each of more than 300 schools of design and art classes, located in most of the larger towns in the provinces, besides paying for the maintenance of its art masters for four years' training under competent instructors at South Kensington; and, lastly, it trains twelve national scholars in the applied arts of design. The present writer, an ex-national scholar, at the time he studied had for instructors the famous French sculptor, Dalcu; Legros, the etcher; Sir Edward Poynter, now president of the Royal Academy; Doctor Zerffi, the most famous lecturer on historic ornament in Europe; and F. W. Moody, on design. Each and all of these artists were paid a competent salary by the government. France, Russia, Germany, Italy and even Spain do likewise. No government in Europe of any account neglects the arts as does the government of the United States, and certainly none have such means at their disposal.

THE MEANS TO OBTAIN IT

The South Kensington Museum and schools provide the best example to emulate and to follow.

At the beginning of the South Kensington Museum the greater part of the exhibits were loaned by collectors, and by subsequent purchases with grants of money from the government it has gradually attained to its vast size and importance and at the present time covers a ground space over six times that of Madison Square Garden. Visitors

on certain free days swarm through the galleries to the number of 22,000 people. Eight to ten thousand is a common day's record; and this, we must bear in mind, is neither a horse show nor a dog show, and includes visitors in every grade of society, who go to see, if not to understand, the great works of a past age, pictures being the smallest part of the collection. Aside from its education of artisans, it is especially a means of general assistance for the public good.

Many wealthy and public-spirited American citizens, after spending years in forming a private collection of fine examples, had they the opportunity, would gladly loan their treasures, just as is done abroad, and at their demise would bequeath them to such an institution, if it were in existence in the United States.

Such an institution here would be a means to arouse the dormant spirit of the government to the great importance of the allied arts. It would inform and instruct the

general mass of the people (especially artisans who are unable to go abroad) in the difference between "art of the mind" and "art of the machine." It would enable manufacturers to produce less stupid commercial wares, and to do their best in art instead of lowering their standards to the imagined level of the many. "The fact that the public accepts a poor bait is no proof that it would not more greedily seize a richer one."

Then, most important, it would help the large army of skilled artisans, the carvers of wood and stone, the weavers, metal workers, cabinet makers, silversmiths, bookbinders, potters, and a host of other craftsmen all in need of fine examples—*properly classified*, easily understood and accessible—so that they may be stimulated to create or invent a style national in character. This would in a manner stop a large importation from Germany, France and England of fine china, pottery, silks, linens, and decorative objects of every description, so that the tide would turn to exportation.

THE CORN-GROWERS

A 1,000-MILE JOURNEY ON HORSEBACK THROUGH THE MOST PROSPEROUS FARMING COUNTRY IN THE WORLD—CORN THE KING OF ALL CROPS—A NEW STUDY OF THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

BY

T. N. CARVER

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LAST summer I made a two-months' journey through the heart of the corn country of the United States to study the economic conditions of that region. Equipped with saddle-bags, note-books and a camera, I traveled most of the time on horseback, through what may properly be called the corn belt, avoiding the large towns as far as possible, stopping overnight with farmers as often as opportunity offered, learning what I could about the growing and the disposal of the corn crop and the conditions of life among the corn-growers.

Corn is not only a distinctively American product—being a native of our own soil, and being still produced more largely in the United States than anywhere else—but its culture maintains a larger number of our people than any other industry, and no other American product or group of products equals it in value. We are yet, of course, an agricultural people. Those who imagine that our manufactures can compare in importance with our agriculture may be enlightened by the following comparisons.

According to the twelfth census, there were on American farms more than 20,000,000

horses and mules, representing the power available for driving farm machinery; while all the steam- and water-power in all our factories amounted to a little less than 10,000,000 horse-power.

The value of the corn crop of 1899 was greater by about \$25,000,000 than the value of all the products of the whole iron and steel industry.

The value of the hay and forage crop of the same year exceeded by more than \$100,000,000 that of all the metals mined within the country, exclusive of iron.

The value of the milk, butter and cheese exceeded by \$133,000,000 the total value of all the cotton manufactures.

The value of the eggs and poultry exceeded by \$60,000,000 all the coal, both anthracite and bituminous, while the value of the eggs alone exceeded by more than \$20,000,000 all the petroleum refined within the country.

This leaves such staple crops as wheat and cotton with nothing to compare with them in the fields of manufactures and mineral products. Since, in addition to the above facts, the corn crop of the United States considerably exceeds in value that of wheat and cotton combined, it will not be difficult to maintain that corn is our leading product and corn-growing our leading industry.

Though corn is grown in greater or smaller quantities in almost every county in the United States where there is tillable land, and though there are few counties where it is grown exclusively—diversified farming being the rule even in the centre of the corn country—there is yet a tolerably compact strip of country where corn is the principal crop, and which may therefore be properly called the corn belt. This region, as may be gathered from the accompanying map, includes a little of northwestern Ohio, a considerable strip across north central Indiana, all of northern and central Illinois, the whole State of Iowa, northwestern Missouri, northeastern Kansas, and southeastern Nebraska. On the map it roughly resembles an elongated kite with the small end in northwestern Ohio and the widest part on the Missouri River.

Passing late in June through northern Indiana and central Illinois, mostly by rail, I spent two weeks in eastern Iowa, more than half of the time on horseback. At

Shannon City, in southwestern Iowa, I took permanently to the saddle and proceeded first in a westerly direction until near the Missouri River, then in a southeasterly direction through northwestern Missouri, then southwest, crossing the Missouri River at Atchison, through northeastern Kansas, and south as far as Emporia, which may be taken as the southwesterly limit of the corn belt. After a brief excursion westward into the semi-arid country, good only for wheat-growing and cattle-raising, I returned to Emporia and started northward into Nebraska, traversing in a zigzag direction the southeastern part of the State. Thence I bore off in a northeasterly direction through western and central Iowa, where, at Dallas Centre, I ended my horseback ride of about a thousand miles, and proceeded directly toward Boston by rail.

I count myself fortunate both in the selection of a route and in the method of traveling. The route led through the very heart of the corn country, which is also the richest agricultural region of America, for corn requires a better quality of land and a higher grade of farming than any other of the great staple crops. As to the method of traveling, every one knows that a car window is a poor place from which to study the country. By making frequent stops, with short excursions into the country, one can do somewhat better; but he is generally in the hands of some one who is interested in showing him around. To make a really systematic study one needs to cut himself loose from guides and other dispensers of information, and to feel free to go when and where one pleases. Tramping is a poor way to get into communication with farmers, because of the suspicion of mendicancy which attaches to the pedestrian. An almost equally embarrassing suspicion attaches to wheeled vehicles. One is likely to be taken for some kind of a traveling agent. But a good horse is the best introduction to a good farmer—far better than a bicycle or an automobile—and the saddle is, to a good horseman, the most comfortable and exhilarating means of travel.

Here is what I found at a typical corn farm in eastern Iowa, where the conditions are essentially the same as they are in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, except that as one proceeds eastward the farms become some-

what smaller and the cultivation somewhat more intensive.

July 1, 1903, I spent the forenoon on the farm of Mr. B. It consists of 240 acres of prairie land, generally level, a heavy black loam with a clay subsoil. He has about three and one-half miles of barbed wire fence, besides nearly a mile of osage orange hedge. His red barn is 40 x 60 feet, with stalls for ten horses and stanchions for twelve cows, besides corn-cribs, an oat bin, and a haymow holding from thirty to forty tons. His residence is a two-story, nine-room, white house with green shutters. It has no plumbing, but water is pumped from a thirty-foot well by a windmill.

The crops this year are: corn, 90 acres; oats, 30 acres; lawn, barnyards, garden and truck patch, 4 acres; pasture, 56 acres; meadow, 50 acres; total, 240 acres.

Mr. B. keeps six work-horses (Percherons and Clydesdales), besides two sucking colts and a yearling. He milks nine cows, uses a hand separator, and sells the cream to a creamery, feeding the fresh skimmed milk to the calves and pigs. This is not considered an important part of the farming operations, merely furnishing a little ready cash from month to month and keeping pigs growing for the fattening when the corn is harvested.

He keeps fourteen brood sows, which have more than a hundred spring pigs. Some of the sows will produce two litters in a year. He will begin in the fall to fatten the spring pigs for the market. They will weigh from 200 to 250 pounds by Christmas.

He keeps a hired man and has a son fifteen years old, who can "make his hand" at plowing and other light work. Most of his plowing is done with a riding gang-plow, drawn by four horses and turning two fourteen-inch furrows. Corn is planted "on top," with a corn planter instead of a "lister," which is used farther west.

I found Mr. B., his son and the hired man in the corn field, each with a riding-two-horse cultivator, with a shade for protection from the sun. To my remark that his corn seemed unusually clean as compared with some weedy fields which I had just passed, he replied, "There ain't but one principle to follow in raisin' corn; keep it clean."

"How do you manage to keep it so clean? Do you work harder than your neighbors?"

"No, I can't say as I work any harder. There's Mr. R. over there; he's workin' himself and his horses to death. The fact is, he's bit off more'n he c'n chew. He's tryin' to raise a hundred acres of corn with only two teams. If it 'ud 'a' been a good season he might 'a' done it; but it's been so all-fired wet that he couldn't plow more'n half the time, and the weeds has just been a-jumpin'." To keep one's corn clean one must have one's land in good condition before the corn is planted, and then keep working it, never allowing the weeds to get a start.

Mr. B. feeds two carloads of steers a year, but he buys most of his "feeders"—i.e., steers old enough to fatten, usually three years old. He feeds them moderately during the winter, not aiming to fatten them wholly on corn, and puts them on grass in the spring and continues feeding a moderate ration of corn. When put on grass in this way they fatten very rapidly and are ready for the market in June or July. Hogs are fattened by allowing them to follow the steers. A good share of the profits of cattle feeding is derived from the sale of the hogs thus fattened.

With slight variations this description will apply to hundreds of farms which I visited; but Mr. B.'s farm is somewhat larger and better cultivated than the average. As I traveled westward, however, I found the farms increasing somewhat in size, and declining in the intensity of cultivation. On the Missouri River, and west of it, it is not uncommon for one man with two horses to cultivate eighty acres of corn, and there are a few cases where, with four horses and improved machinery, he will cultivate a hundred and sixty acres. In these cases of extensive cultivation, the ground is not plowed in preparation for the planting, but "listed"—that is, planted with a "lister." A lister is a double moldboard plow which throws a deep furrow and plants a row of corn in the bottom. These furrows are driven across the field a little more than three feet apart, throwing the soil out on both sides and covering the intervening spaces. As soon as the corn begins to grow the soil between the rows is stirred constantly. This stirring not only serves to kill the weeds, but to throw the soil back into the furrows around the roots of the growing corn. The

roots being thus covered deeper than would otherwise be the case, the corn is enabled to endure a greater degree of drought. Listing is the prevailing method beyond the Missouri River.

Throughout the entire eastern part of the corn belt the planting is done with a check-rower—a planter drawn by two horses, planting two rows, and so placing the seed that when the field is planted there will be rows not only the way the planter was driven, but also across the field at right angles. This is done by stretching, the length of the field and ahead of the planter, a wire with little knobs at intervals of three feet, or more. As the planter is driven the length of the field, it passes along under the wire in such a way that each of the little knobs pulls a trigger and drops the seed. By keeping the wire properly stretched and the ends properly fastened perfectly straight rows can be planted across the field as well as lengthwise, greatly facilitating the tending of the corn, since it can then be plowed in both directions. Where this method of planting prevails, the land is first prepared by deep plowing and thorough harrowing.

The farmers are now generally awakening to the value of fodder, and it is becoming more and more the custom to cut the stalks. While a few still use the primitive corn-knife, the more progressive farmers now generally use a corn harvester, a machine which cuts and binds the stalks somewhat after the fashion of a twine binder. And the husking is by no means like that described in the accounts of the husking-bees. Sometimes it is husked by hand, but it is a sober and serious business; there is so much of it to be done that no one feels like making a jollification of it. All the available hands of the neighborhood may be engaged, each one on his own farm, for five or six weeks. A great deal of the crop is fed to cattle, fodder and all, without husking, and a considerable amount is husked or threshed by machinery.

Though the corn crop of this country so greatly exceeds any other crop, it figures less in market quotations than either wheat or cotton, because it is so largely converted into such secondary products as pork and beef before leaving the farms. Of that which is sold off the farms, the greater part is made up into starch, glucose and whisky;

hence corn, as corn, is a less important factor in international trade than several other products. The greater part of the corn belt is also excellent grass country, and it is only where grass does not do well, as on the Missouri River bottoms and in parts of eastern Nebraska, that corn is sold and shipped away in large quantities. Even in these sections there is considerable cattle feeding, the method being to buy "feeders" in the fall—usually range cattle from the West—and fatten them wholly on corn and such "roughness" as is furnished by the corn fodder. I visited one farmer in Iowa whose business is to "bunch" cattle—that is, to buy up feeders wherever he can get them, and sort them out in car-load lots to sell to feeders. He sorts into five groups—roans, reds, white-faces, blacks and spottedts, then subdivides into car-load lots, putting into each lot steers of the same age, size, etc., and aims to make a profit of \$6 to \$8 a steer. He expressed the opinion that cattle-feeding is a habit which, once acquired, can never be broken. "No man," said he, "who has once fed cattle can ever stop until he either dies or breaks up."

The general custom is to feed out-of-doors. For winter feeding a yard is selected, preferably with a southern exposure and protection from the northern winds, and necessarily with an abundant water-supply, in order that the steers may not walk the fat off going to and from the water. Large feed-troughs or racks are erected, into which the corn (in the ear) is shoveled by the wagon-load.

Though many hogs are fattened merely by being allowed to follow the steers, the majority are fed directly on corn.

Near Emporia, Kansas, I found cattle feeding the principal business. A number of men living in town make a business of buying cattle off the Western ranges in the fall, buying feed for them—corn fodder, Kaffir corn, sorghum, or alfalfa—over winter, and hiring pasture for them during the following summer. By keeping them in good flesh over winter they fatten very rapidly when turned out on the natural pasture during the summer, though these range cattle could hardly be fattened on corn alone; indeed, they have to be taught to eat it. Feeding is generally done by farmers who raise their own feed. So much confidence is felt in



Courtesy of the Department of Agriculture

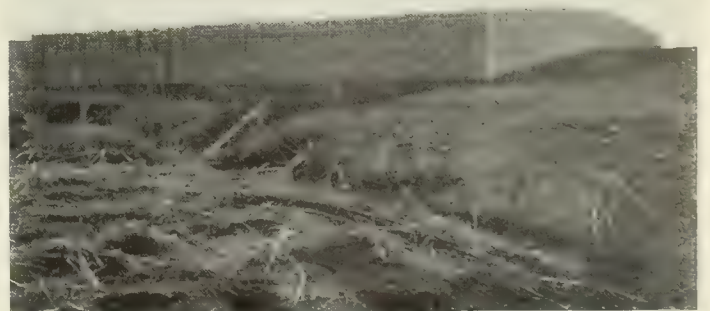
CORN SIXTEEN FEET HIGH AND STILL GROWING

this method of feeding that any one who has feed, and is known to be a good feeder, can borrow money at the banks to buy steers, giving a chattel mortgage on the steers. Every little village throughout the corn belt has a bank doing business chiefly with farmers.

A much more striking description of the corn-growing industry could be given if it lent itself to bonanza farming. Our native American admiration for a big thing finds a better subject in some of the bonanza wheat farms, large cotton plantations or cattle ranches than in a typical corn farm; for the sober fact is that the enormous aggregate of the corn crop is made up of the products of a large number of small or moderate-sized farms, running from eighty to three hundred and twenty acres in size, and worked mainly by the owners themselves or by tenants who pay cash rent. The reason for this is that corn-growing requires a higher class of farming than any of the other staple crops, and cannot be very successfully carried on with hired labor. It is doubtful if corn could be grown at all, as it is grown in the corn belt,

if dependence had to be placed upon Negro labor. It requires such close and conscientious attention that it is doubtful if large farms where the work is done by hired labor can ever compete successfully with the smaller farms where the owner or the renter does the work himself, or at least has it done under his immediate care and attention.

There are, however, a few apparent exceptions to this rule, the most noteworthy of which is the case of Mr. David Rankin, of Tarkio, Missouri, the largest corn-grower



Photographed by Rogers

A CORN-CRIB THAT HOLDS 25,196 BUSHELS



THE GOVERNMENT MAP OF THE CORN PRODUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Corn Belt" is indicated by the darkest portion of the map



A STEAM CORN-HUSKER AND FODDER-SHREDDER AT WORK



Photographed by Stark

CORN BEING TURNED INTO ONE OF ITS FINAL PRODUCTS

and cattle feeder in the world. Mr. Rankin operates fourteen ranches, with a total acreage of more than twenty-five thousand acres. The following is a summary of his farming operations for the year 1901:

Number of cattle fed.....	6,060
Net proceeds.....	\$149,562.64
Net proceeds per head.....	\$24.67
Number of hogs fed.....	7,199
Net proceeds.....	\$111,439.02
Expense per acre, in the way of labor, materials, etc., not including interest on the value of the land, horseflesh and tools.....	\$5.10
Corn bought.....	200,528 bushels
(This in addition to what was raised on his fourteen ranches.)	

Mr. Rankin employs in the neighborhood of 250 men, at the rate of \$25.00 per month and board the year around, or \$35.00 and board during the farming season. He economizes labor by using double plows, double listers, two-row cultivators, etc., and causing each man to drive from four to six horses. In the height of the corn-plowing season he had 150 two-row cultivators at work on his various ranches. Mr. Rankin has made a decided success in his large-scale farming, but his farms do not look so well, and I believe do not produce so much per acre, as many of the smaller farms in the



A BARN AT TARKIO, MO., BELONGING TO THE GREATEST CORN-GROWER IN THE WORLD



Photographed by Rogers

TWENTY-FOUR DOUBLE-ROW CULTIVATORS AT WORK IN THE SAME FIELD, NEAR TARKIO, MO.



"CULTIVATING" ON THE GREATEST CORN FARM IN THE WORLD

same part of the country. Moreover, he brings a degree of intelligence and executive energy to the business which in other fields would at least have made him a railway magnate, a merchant prince or a university president. Another large element in his success is his superior ability and advantages in buying his cattle.

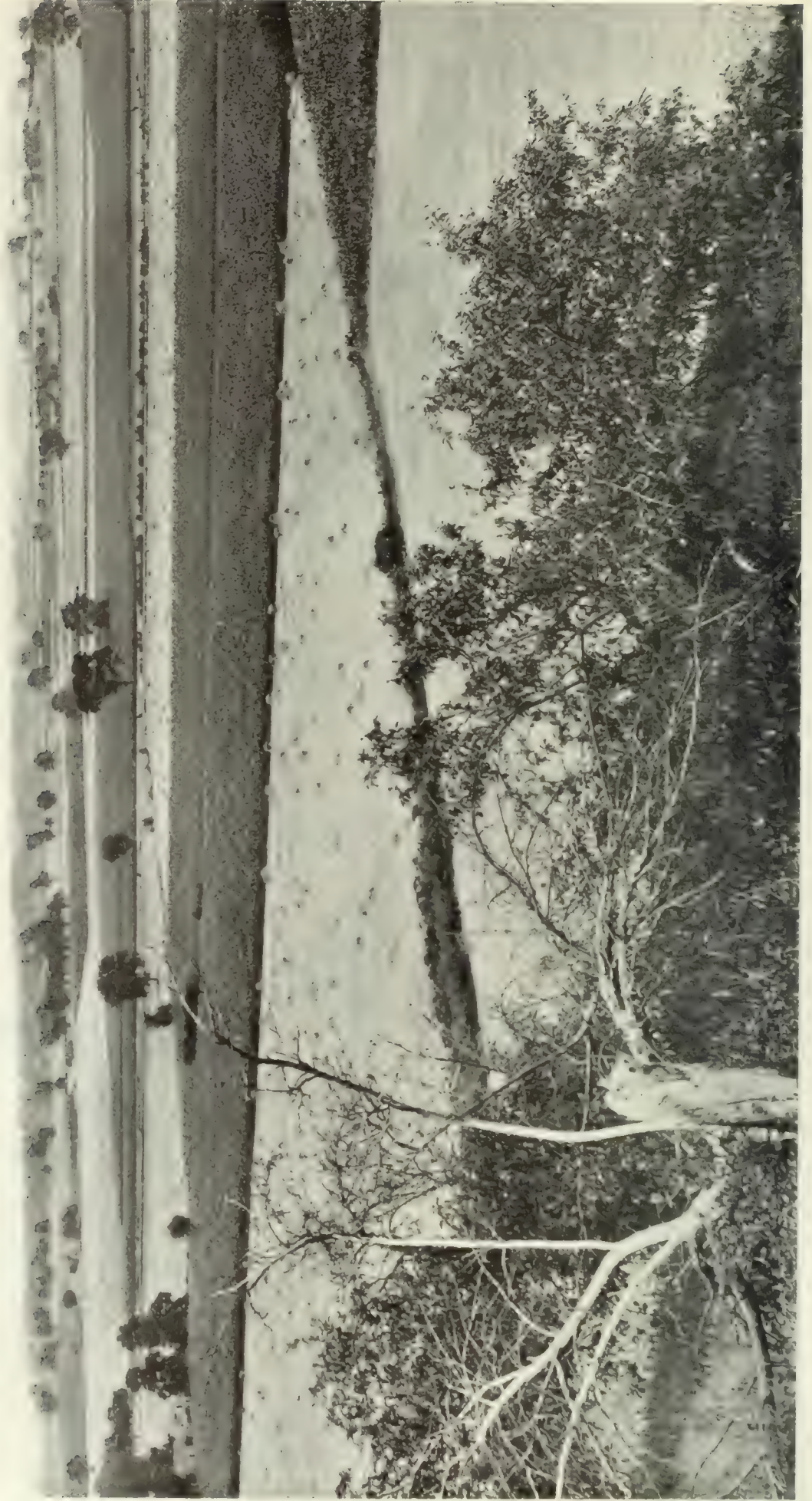
Another conspicuous example is that of Mr. David Gelvin, of Maitland, Missouri, who was working as a section hand in Pennsylvania in 1869, went to northwestern

Missouri in 1870, and began working by the month as a farm hand, and later started farming and dealing in cattle. He now owns several thousand acres of land, worth one hundred dollars per acre, which is farmed under his own supervision, the entire crop being devoted to the feeding of cattle. Here again a large element in his success is his superior ability in buying and selling cattle. He is probably as good a judge of a bunch of steers as any man in the West, unless it be Mr. Rankin. These men were



A TYPICAL KANSAS CORN FIELD

Photographed by Stark



Photographed by Stark

WHEAT AND CORN GROWING IN ONE FIELD

among the most successful farmers I met on the trip.

As for general impressions of the journey, there was nothing that impressed me more than the wonderful and uniform fertility of the land. I found everywhere the most extravagant disregard of the interests of the soil. Very little is done to replenish the loss due to the enormous crops that are harvested. I even saw one farmer hauling good barnyard manure to fill up a hole

seventy-five bushels to the acre and the next to the last one eighty bushels. This, however, was an exceptional field. The agricultural experiment stations in these states are not yet devoting much time to such subjects as commercial fertilizers.

The soil is so uniformly fertile and tillable that there is scarcely an acre of waste land in the whole corn belt, except the fence corners and the roadsides, which generally produce a rank growth of weeds. One farm



Photographed by Stark

THIRTEEN VARIETIES OF CORN RAISED ON ONE KANSAS FARM

which the high water had washed in the road in front of his farm. To my inquiry as to why he wasted his manure in that way, he replied that "he wanted to get shut of it." One cannot help thinking that the next generation will have to pay the penalty of this prodigality, though there is, as yet, no apparent exhaustion of the soil. I saw a field which had produced thirty-five consecutive crops of corn without artificial fertilization, the last crop being one of

adjoins another, and one productive field adjoins another, with the regularity of a checkerboard. Eastern people still speak of the Wild West, but there is more wild land within two hours' ride of Boston, to say nothing of Western Massachusetts and parts of northern New York, than can be found in the whole corn belt. The people of this section, which is destined to become the centre of our population and wealth, will soon be speaking of the Wild East.



MR. RUDYARD KIPLING

WHOSE LATEST BOOK OF POEMS, "THE FIVE NATIONS," HAS JUST APPEARED

MR. KIPLING'S "THE FIVE NATIONS" AN APPRECIATION

BY

F. T. COOPER

IN the fullness of time, when the life-work of Rudyard Kipling comes to be weighed in the balance in its entirety, it is safe to predict that three at least of the volumes which we know today will necessarily receive a detailed consideration—the "Jungle Books" as a unique childhood classic, "Kim" as the author's high-water mark in fiction, and "The Five Nations" as an apotheosis of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and a most interesting human document besides. Now that we have them gathered together into a single volume, these poems show a consistency and singleness of purpose undreamed of, as some of them appeared one by one in periodic literature. They stand as a sort of personal creed, a confession of faith in the supremacy of the British Empire. Mr. Kipling has an unquestioning faith in the divine right of the Anglo-Saxon to inherit the earth, and in this spirit he dedicates his book to the "Five Free Nations," the Mother Island and the colonies, that already encircle the globe. Probably no other poet has ever so curiously blended the spirit of imperialism with such genuine democracy. It is not merely the prerogative of the Anglo-Saxon—the White Man par excellence—to overrun the four quarters of the globe, sword in hand—it is his duty, the "White Man's Burden," to conquer and civilize perforce "the new-caught, sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child." No poet of Homeric days ever sang the glories of war with more whole-souled enthusiasm than Mr. Kipling. The soldier's life is "the lordliest life on earth," and when he writes of it, even if it be only a "Service Song," his very metre takes on a martial spirit; one hears, behind and through the words, the sound of bugle-calls, the tramp, tramp, tramp of many men, the dominant note of fife and drum that set the reader's blood tingling and his foot to beating time with contagious enthusiasm as he reads.

Peace, Mr. Kipling teaches, is to be had only at the price of war; army and navy are the bulwarks that the forefathers reared for England's protection, like the dykes that the Hollanders reared to keep out the sea—they can be maintained only at the price of eternal vigilance.

"Now we can only wait till the day, wait and appor-
tion our shame!

These are the dykes our fathers left, but we would
not look to the same.

Time and again were we warned of the dykes, time
and again we delayed:

Now, it may fall, we have slain our sons as our
fathers we have betrayed."

And again, in "The Islanders"—that scathing and, it may be, intemperate indictment of "flanneled fools" and "muddled oafs"—he reiterates this same idea of neglected duty and trust betrayed. Civilization, he insists,

"— was not made with the mountains, it is not
one with the deep.

Men, not gods, devised it. Men, not gods, must
keep.

Men, not children, servants, or kinsfolk called
from afar,

But each man born in the Island broke to the
matter of war."

Yet for all his imperialism, for all that he is the self-constituted laureate of "The Five Free Nations that are peers among their peers"—that he hails the Commonwealth of Australia as the Young Queen, and Canada as Our Lady of the Snows—he is nevertheless at heart the poet of the barrack-room still, in the best sense of the term—the poet who sings the praises of rank and file, in the armies of peace as well as in the armies of war. In the old days it was "not a Duke nor Earl nor yet a Viscount" whom he chose to sing; it was plain Mr. Thomas Atkins. And still today, in poems like "Pharaoh and

the Sergeant," it is not the "big, brass general," it is the neglected and forgotten sergeant, the "man in khaki kit, who can handle men a bit, with his bedding labeled Sergeant Whatisname." From first to last Mr. Kipling has shown unmeasured scorn for bureaucracy, the red-tape of officialism, the tinsel glitter of empty titles. There is nothing more eminently healthy in all his writings than the admirable sanity, the unmistakable earnestness with which he recognizes honest work, "the simple, sheer, sufficing, sane, result of labor spent," and gives the credit where it belongs, to

"— the men who merely do the work
For which they draw the wage—
Men like to gods that do the work
For which they draw the wage."

There are poems in this volume which do not need to be separately proclaimed—poems like "The Truce of the Bear," "The Islanders," "The Lesson"—poems that are bound to be read and remembered as long as the events that they commemorate, because they are not poems alone, but political pamphlets in verse, audacious indictments of existing conditions, that passed from lip to lip with the speed of wings and refused to be forgotten. But among the poems which have less claim upon public attention there is one that deserves to be emphasized because of the simple power of the picture it presents, the lonely night-watch in the African desert, the isolation of the "Bridge-Guard in the Karroo." In less than a score of verses, mere impressionistic pen-strokes, we have the picture complete, the endlessness of the night, the voices of jackals calling in the distance, and finally down the railroad track, the approach of the one link binding these lonely guards to civilization—"the wonderful north-bound train."

"Quick, e'er the gift escape us!
Out of the darkness we reach
For a handful of week-old papers
"And a mouthful of human speech.

"And the monstrous heaven rejoices,
And the earth allows again,
Meetings, greetings, and voices
Of women talking with men.

"So we return to our places,
As out on the bridge she rolls;
And the darkness covers our faces,
And the darkness reenters our souls."

The Kipling of "The Five Nations" is not the Kipling of "Danny Deever" or of "Mandalay." The volume represents a great forward stride in ideals, in purposes and in virile power.

Yet in judging the poems which go to make up the contents of "The Five Nations," one is confronted with a difficulty which his earlier verse did not offer. It is hard, if not impossible, to treat them simply as literature, to weigh their esthetic value apart from their political significance and the events which begot them. Regarded abstractly as poetry, essays in metre and versification, their gain in technique over many of his earlier poems is not immediately obvious. Indeed, there is a rhythmic smoothness about some of the "Barrack-Room Ballads," an assonance, a choice of words dictated by a sensuous delight in the mere sound of soft, recurring syllables, which produced a lyric quality that these later poems in a measure lack. Mr. Kipling was always something of an epicure in his use of words. He appreciates to a nicety their ultimate shade of meaning; he knows how to wring from them their uttermost force and energy. Rugged strength was what he wanted first of all in these poems of big, vital ethnic problems—and he attained it with a simplicity of word and phrase that one must marvel at while one reads. Not that this volume is altogether lacking in his old-time verbal audacities. Such a poem as "The Sea and the Hills" is full of curious alliteration, words forced into strange and unexpected partnerships, sonorous syllables following each other with a rush and tumble and cumulative force of many waves:

"Who hath desired the Sea?—the sight of salt
water unbounded—
The heave and the halt and the hurl and the
crash of the comber wind-hounded?"

But for the most part the effective lines of these new poems, the lines which linger and echo in the memory, are simple, Anglo-Saxon lines, monosyllabic, almost prose. Some of them have already passed into circulation, been added to the current coin of English speech. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or the justice of such poems as "The Lesson" or "The Islanders," there can be nothing but admiration for the splendid audacity which inspired them, the dynamic force which brought them to a fulfilment.

THE COUNTRY MERCHANT COME TO TOWN

FIFTY THOUSAND BUYERS IN NEW YORK EVERY FALL, WHO SPEND HALF A BILLION DOLLARS—STORIES THAT SHOW HOW GREAT TRANSACTIONS ARE CONDUCTED AND WHAT KIND OF MEN (AND WOMEN) BUYERS AND SALESMEN ARE

BY

ISAAC F. MARCOSSON

FIFTY thousand buyers of goods come to New York every year, and they come from every State in the Union. Every fall they spend half a billion dollars.

Twenty-five years ago the typical country merchant came to the metropolis in a common railway coach; he carried his lunch with him and stopped at a boarding-house or at a hotel where he paid \$1.50 a day. He bought all his merchandise at one house—one of those immense jobbing houses that flourished before new trade centres were opened in the West and before the commission merchant became the intermediary between the manufacturer and the retailer. To-day the typical country merchant travels to New York in a Pullman car; he takes his meals in the dining-car, and he stops at a hotel where he pays from three to five dollars a day. Instead of buying all his goods at a single house, he has a dozen accounts. He goes to the theatre; he is not dependent for his pleasures upon entertainment by salesmen. He buys leisurely, too, and he intersperses his buying with diversions.

The fall buying season is really the vacation season for the majority of buyers. They bring their wives and sometimes their children. The resorts in and about New York profit immensely by their coming. While the head of the family is pursuing bargains the other members are pursuing pleasure. They make the opening of the fall theatrical season profitable. They flock to the playhouses while New Yorkers are still at the seashore. It is estimated that this swarm of visitors spent \$5,000,000 for personal expenditures for the trip to New York this last fall.

For \$100 a merchant in the Middle West may spend a week in New York and live

comfortably. If he come, say, from Indiana on the fall or spring business excursion, his railroad fares at reduced rates, with meals and sleeping-car, will cost \$35. Allowing \$7 a day for personal expenses while in New York, he has a comfortable margin for pleasures and for souvenirs of his trip.

The buyer of bygone days came solely to buy goods; the buyer of today seeks ideas as eagerly as he seeks merchandise. He goes into the New York retail department stores with his eye on the approved fixtures; he watches the latest window displays for the purpose of adapting them to his own; he studies the metropolitan clerk at work and resolves to inject new life and energy into his own employees. After every visit he introduces new methods into his own business.

In a certain Mississippi town are three general stores. The owner of one determined to go to New York to buy goods. He was tired of having the market brought to his own doors in sample trunks. One of his customers entered his place during his absence and asked for him. "He has gone to New York to buy goods," said the clerk. "Then I will wait until he comes back with new styles," said the customer. She passed one of the other merchants on her way down the street. He invited her in but she declined, saying that she was waiting until the other merchant came back. In two days the second merchant also was on his way to New York. And soon the third merchant also started. The return home of these merchants was marked by the liveliest trade competition that the town had ever known. There were more new styles on the street than ever before. They began to advertise, and in six months one of them had put up a new store.

The merchant of today is a man who has served an apprenticeship of years in business; he has probably risen from clerk or cash boy to his present eminence. For this reason he knows every detail of the business and he is a born buyer. He has an earnest cheerfulness, and the confidence that success inspires.

Pitted against this merchant is the disciplined New York salesman. Like the buyer, he too rose from the ranks; like the buyer, he assumes nothing. With him the measure of a man is the amount of business that he can do. A salesman at one of the oldest New York jobbing houses, who sells more than \$3,000,000 worth of goods every year, was an errand boy in that establishment twenty-five years ago. Then he became stock boy. He learned the business; he watched the buyers; he learned their names and remembered them. He did small favors for them. They began to ask for him when they came to the city. One day the boy asked a general salesman if he didn't need some help. The salesman said, "Yes." The boy became a sort of runner for the chief, but all the while he was laying plans for himself. He took an occasional order on his own account. In a year he was a salesman himself, and now he sells four times as many goods as the salesman who was once his superior.

But this immense volume of business does not drift to the salesmen. It requires patient attention; shrewd calculation. At an immense jobbing house in New York is a little salesman whose business last year reached \$4,500,000. His largest customers are buyers for department stores in big cities. One of his customers who buys a half-million dollars' worth of goods every year was a struggling merchant a quarter of a century ago. He had no goods, no credit. He came to New York and bought a \$1,500 account from the salesman. The house refused to fill it. The salesman pleaded, implored, and finally succeeded in getting the credit. In two months the account was paid and the bill had been doubled. Every year witnessed an increase in the merchant's business, and every year he remained loyal to the salesman who had got him his first credit.

The buyers are of three classes: the resident buyer, who has an office in New York and represents a large jobbing or department store; the buyer for the department store,

who comes to New York four or five times a year; and the jobber or country merchant, who makes at least two trips to buy a general stock.

The salesman lays his traps for the buyer and the buyer walks into them, but generally with his eyes open. There is little effort at deception and little cutting of prices. The story is told of a buyer who persuaded a salesman to "shave" the price on a particular kind of goods, the salesman expecting him to buy other kinds also. But he bought none except those on which the price had been cut. He played the same trick at another house; and at a third. But he could never do it again. He was thereafter a marked man.

A story is told of a Louisiana merchant who came to New York determined to secure a bargain. He wanted cheap cloaks, and after trying in vain to suit himself at the wholesale houses he bought a job lot at auction. He examined the goods hurriedly and had them shipped home. In due time he was confronted by an excited head salesman who said that the garments were out of style.

"They didn't look that way," said the merchant.

"But they are," replied the clerk.

The merchant persisted that the cloaks would sell, but they didn't. In desperation he returned them to New York to be disposed of to the best advantage. On his next trip to New York he again visited an auction house and bought a lot of cloaks. When he returned home and examined his purchase he saw that he had bought the same lot as before.

As soon as a buyer writes his name in a hotel book it is sent to the *Hotel Reporter* and in two hours all the salesmen know that he is come. Before he has been in town half a day his mail is loaded with business circulars, price lists and advertisements of special sales. He must dodge or accept invitations for all sorts of entertainments. At many large wholesale houses there are official entertainers.

In the United States there are 97,671 people engaged in selling dry goods. Of these, 75,000 directly or indirectly buy their goods on the New York market, and 20,000 visit the market once or twice a year. The volume of business reaches \$250,000,000, or half of

the fall buying. The other half of the fall buying is of clothing, drugs, hardware, jewelry, machinery and furniture. Boston keeps the lead in footwear.

Any August or September a congress of States might be held at any of the large jobbing houses. A geographical list of customers kept by one of the general salesmen in one of these houses showed that he had a total of 1,134—from every State in the Union except Wyoming and Delaware.

At the main entrance of every large wholesale house there is a doorman. His business is to greet all customers and to direct them to their salesmen. He keeps up a running fire of salutations and solicitous inquiries about families and business. After years of service he knows the name and the standing of nearly every customer of the house. A woman approached one of these doormen. "I want to buy some white goods," she said.

"Step right back to the elevator," he replied; "the boy will show you where to go."

"Why didn't you give that woman a more cordial greeting and tell her that the general manager always wanted to know the new customers?" he was asked.

"Did you notice that her shirt-waist was soiled?" asked the doorman. "Well, that is a sure sign that she is careless in business, and we don't want her."

It developed that the woman had no credit.

While a new customer is greeted by the manager of a house, his name and business address are in the hands of the credit department of the store. By the time the prospective buyer is on his way to begin his round of buying, his rating is in the hands of the salesman to whom he has been assigned.

New York salesmen contend that buyers are born and not made. The country merchant has a more difficult task than the buyer of special things for a department store. If the merchant has a general store in a small community, where there are only a half-dozen women who buy dress goods, he must vary his patterns so that no two of them will have the same sort of dress. The buyer for the department store has unlimited range with a big population to draw customers from. A buyer sometimes spends five days getting \$300 worth of notions, while a department store buyer buys \$25,000 worth of silk in a single afternoon.

One of the relics of early buying days is the "special sale," which still attracts thousands of buyers in New York. In former years as many as 2,000 cases of goods were disposed of at a single sale. The sales were advertised at hotels and buying headquarters. At a certain hour the department was opened and the merchants fought to get in. Every man got his hands on what he wanted and there was a wild scramble for recognition. Frequently these sales resolved themselves into rough-and-tumble fights. These sales are still held, although the quantity of goods offered is not as great as it was in former years. The methods of sale have not changed, but the manners of the buyers have.

The auction house plays an important part. Manufacturers consign immense quantities of goods to be closed out under the hammer at twelve and fifteen per cent. less than the market price. Every buyer has his eye open for these auctions and sales, and many merchants clear the expenses of their trip to New York on the large profits that come from goods thus bought.

About a tenth of the buyers on the New York market are women. They come from every part of the country. During the season which just closed a woman traveled alone from Dawson City to New York, and bought \$12,000 worth of goods in a single week. One of the picturesque incidents of the millinery buying was a Mexican woman, who calmly smoked cigarettes in an establishment where smoking was forbidden.

The entertainment of these women is a big problem for the merchant and the salesman. Most of them expect to receive courtesies. Consequently there is a round of lunching and dining and theatre-going among the salesmen who have women customers. One week last fall a large Broadway millinery house had more than a hundred women buyers to be entertained. One of the salesmen took fifteen for a sail up the Hudson. The salesman indiscreetly paid more attention to one, and the others threatened to withdraw their trade from the house.

Most women buyers are in business from necessity. They are, therefore, disciplined, unsentimental, and capable of taking care of themselves. Frequently there are a dozen of them in New York at once representing a large department store. They buy in every-

thing except groceries, hardware, men's clothing, drugs, machinery and furniture, and they are keener at grasping ideas than men are.

There is a large "syndicate" buyer in New York. Instead of having one or two houses, as is the case with resident buyers, he has ten clients, each one a large department store in the South. His business last year aggregated \$6,500,000. The aggregate capital of the stores he represents is \$3,000,000. He has ten salaried buyers in his employment. Every one is a specialist. One buys nothing but shoes, another laces, the third silk, and so on. The syndicate buyer is like a broker with inside information. He gets exclusive tips. Quick as a flash, he gets a buyer on the spot ready for the first chance at the goods. He buys in enormous quantities and thereby gets big discounts. He rehandles the goods in his own establishment and distributes them among his customers. If there is an excess, he disposes of it to outside houses.

One morning this syndicate buyer received this telegram from a large Texas client:

"Burned out. Must have complete new stock at once. Have engaged temporary quarters. Use judgment, but rush goods."

The store was one of the largest in its territory and every day lost to business meant a tremendous loss of money. The syndicate buyer figured on a large sheet of paper for twenty minutes. At the end of that time he called his staff of buyers and explained the situation. He had blocked out a large commission for each, with the exception of two; they were to arrange for fast freight shipment and to negotiate for immediate express shipment for goods that went in small quantities. It was the end of the season and the stock of goods in New York was almost exhausted. To his men he said, "I've got to buy a \$100,000 stock and do it right away." Every man went about his task. The head of the buying bureau kept in telephonic communication with his men for three hours, advising, planning, all the while assembling a mass of goods. Then he went out himself and bought. By noon \$50,000 worth of goods had been secured by the buyers and by night half of it all was on the way to Texas. A week from the night of the fire the \$100,000 stock was ready in the Texas merchant's temporary quarters and a remarkable buying achievement had been done.

THE RURAL SCHOOL AWAKENING

AND THE SAD NEED OF AN AWAKENING—RAMSHACKLE, LEAKY SCHOOLHOUSES—THE IGNORANCE AND THE APATHY OF OFFICE-HOLDERS

BY

M. L. BRITTAIN

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS IN FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA

THE Quaker poet wrote, describing the old building where the young minds of New England were trained before the days of the "little red schoolhouse":

"Still sits the schoolhouse by the road
A ragged beggar sunning."

The poverty and desolation that followed the Civil War has made the picture drawn by Whittier a type too often found today in the rural districts of the South to attract attention.

The average value of the country school-

house in Georgia is less than \$250—a sum hardly adequate for the construction of a decent barn for a farmer in moderate circumstances. There are hundreds of buildings—"shacks" would perhaps be more accurate—in which cracks and chinks several inches wide render windows a useless luxury. Through these ragged openings the rustic pupils may see the passer-by in any direction. The roof is just as generous with regard to the sky overhead; but when the rain comes the little flock is driven into the dry corners or else must be dismissed until fair weather comes

again. Listen to the recent report of an ex-Congressman describing a visit to a school in the northern part of the State:

"Three years ago there was but one schoolhouse in the county under the entire control and ownership of the Board, and this one could not be used with comfort in the winter months. All the rest of the schools were taught in churches or miserable excuses for houses unfit for almost any purposes. In one or two cases the people had built the houses originally for school use, but not a solitary one of these so-called houses was suitable for school purposes. Many of them leaked so that children could not sit inside without getting wet when it rained. On one occasion the school waited for my coming, and when I reached the place every child was wet, every bench was wet, all the books were wet, and the young teacher was almost drenched."

The picture may seem overdrawn, but those familiar with educational conditions in rural localities in Georgia and elsewhere in the South recognize it as capable of being often reproduced. Indeed, such a house has been in use for school purposes, until recently, within a few miles of the State capitol. After repeated efforts to get the community to improve the building, the school officials finally decided that no teacher should be sent to this place until a new house should be erected and paid for, in part at least, by the community. For it must be remembered that there is usually little or no aid to be derived from the relatively small State school fund; this money is appropriated for teachers' salaries. Four hundred dollars was raised at home, and the General Educational Board generously contributed a like amount, and with this sum a better house has been built.

The discouraging apathy of the country people upon the subject is due chiefly to two causes, neither of which is poverty. One of the obstacles has been the lack of trained leadership in the work of building up school interests in the different rural sections, the natural result of which has been the selection of poor teachers. Ignorant school officers can hardly be expected to recognize or to secure good teachers. Little has been required in the way of qualification for county superintendents or members of school boards, some of whom are said to be almost illiterate. It is readily granted that many men of this type, deprived of early training by poverty or like misfortune, have achieved great suc-

cess in life. This is admitted without question, but however well fitted such men may be for other offices of honor and responsibility, these positions require an educational qualification. To hold one of them without proper training should be regarded as displaying as much impudence as that referred to by an old Jew at a meeting called to settle the affairs of a merchant who had failed for a large amount. The merchant stated the situation to his creditors—that his liabilities were \$100,000 and his assets absolutely nothing.

"Who owns the house in which you live?" asked one creditor.

"My wife," was the reply.

"And that farm in the country?"

"My daughter."

"And the store over there on the corner?"

"My son owns that, gentlemen; and I must reiterate that I have nothing—nothing except my body, which you can divide among you."

"Vell, shentlemen," spoke up the thrifty son of Abraham, "if you do dot, I speaks right now for his gall."

If we could secure educational leaders and teachers with training and breadth of view it would mean much for the poor illiterate children who constitute the South's badge of shame. Too young and undeveloped to realize their bondage in ignorance, they will yet bear eloquent witness against the careless parent and the ignorant school official.

But perhaps more serious still is the difficulty experienced from another and more insidious source—the politician. In antebellum days the South was noted for her statesmen. Since the war many men whose narrow mental horizons were caused by the lack of educational opportunities during years of hardship and poverty have seized the political prizes of their districts. These "statesmen" are intent upon holding their "jobs" and keeping everybody in good humor. To arouse and foster a "noble discontent," with the purpose of securing better conditions and advantages for the rising generation, is utterly foreign to their plans. After months of patient endeavor by the teachers to arouse the people to the necessity of giving their children proper educational advantages the "Commencement Day" or the time for the Annual Institute arrives. The politician is on hand. He is "our honored representative," whose opinions carry weight.

If of the type referred to, he is sure to give a "Joab thrust" at education, though always careful to disclaim such intention. Thoroughly cognizant of the fact that the great majority of an audience in a country community has been denied much education, he gets on common and sympathetic ground at once by announcing that *he* had only a few months of schooling, and that most of the educated men of his acquaintance are dismal failures anyway in the practical affairs of life. The inference is plain. It is a rather harmful matter for the parent to go to any trouble—not to mention privation and sacrifice—in order to teach the child "book larnin'." That the million of educated men in this country have furnished three-fourths of those who have attained fame, wealth and distinction, leaving the remaining fourth to be divided among the illiterate and meagerly trained, is not once considered, nor does he note or care that the figures of the census show the following facts:

An uneducated child has one chance in 150,000 of attaining distinction as a factor in the progress of the age.

A common school education increases his chance nearly four times.

A high school education increases the chance of the common school child twenty-three times, giving him eighty-seven times the chance of the uneducated.

A college education increases the chance of the high school boy nine times, giving him 219 times the chance of the common school boy and more than 800 times the chance of the untrained.

All these things are nothing to the speaker, who wishes to curry favor with his hearers and keep them satisfied with existing conditions, and in particular with his management of the country's affairs. Have they not an object-lesson before them, and is not one fact always worth a thousand theories? And if his dear fellow-citizens have been urged to greater effort in order to wipe out the stigma of illiteracy and lower wage-earning capacity incident to that condition, "Why, the fact is, ladies and gentlemen, these things have been overdrawn. The Negro may be somewhat behind, but the grand and glorious citizenship of this great commonwealth is not surpassed in educational advantages, in earning power, in fair women and brave men, by any State of this Union!"

What this has to do with the subject under discussion is not readily apparent, but it is always brought in with great enthusiasm and much applause, as well as the subsequent invocation of the "shades of the mighty dead," at the mere idea of any State, North or South, having better schools or advantages of any kind worthy of the Southern man's emulation or admiration. In the thunderous applause that follows the poor teacher sees the knell of his hopes for better attendance, long-term schools and better buildings.

In spite of such obstacles, the South is making improvements in this work as well as in the consolidation of schools. No longer is it considered a matter of unquestioned congratulation for the school official to refer to the building of new houses when it develops that these are all merely of the one-room variety and only a mile apart. Gradually the truth becomes manifest that a school with two teachers and eighty pupils is giving to each child just twice the time and attention, and, in reality, doing just twice as good work, as the same teachers in two different houses with forty pupils each. There are eight grades or classes, as a rule, in either event, and after consolidation each teacher will, of course, have only four.

Consolidation frequently involves the transportation of pupils, and while the first mention of such a project, as adding to the "tax-ridden" community by giving the children a free ride, always calls for opposition, yet the cooler sense of the country people will finally realize that it is no more expensive and is in every respect a great improvement upon the old plan of walking through the mud, whether for long or short distances, upon the usually unpaved roads. Then, too, the ever-present shadow that hovers over the country home, and which whitens the parent's cheek with anxious dread until the girl has returned from school, will be lightened with the security afforded by companionship.

This concentration of forces gives added ability to secure means for better buildings and more tasteful architecture. The rural schoolhouse will never reach its highest efficiency until it is the centre of attraction for the neighborhood. Frequently the most shiftless and unattractive public buildings are those in which the children are doomed to pass a large part of their young lives at

precisely the time when their minds are most receptive and open to impression. It is a significant and deplorable fact that the courthouse and jail of the average county represent, as a rule, the investment of more money than all its schoolhouses combined—that is, we commonly spend far more to convict and house a criminal than to train him so that he will become a useful citizen; although instances could be multiplied showing that it has cost more to convict a family—as, for instance, that of the notorious Jukes, in the State of New York—than to educate a whole township.

With many things to discourage and retard, the outlook is hopeful, and in some localities excellent progress is being made. In Fulton County, Georgia, for example, outside the limits of any town or village, fifteen new schoolhouses have been built during the last five years, containing from two to four rooms, at an average cost of more than

\$1500 each. All of these have been fitted up with modern school furniture, and something has been done in many instances in the way of laying off flower beds and school gardens. In Lumpkin County, in the mountain region of the State, new houses have almost everywhere taken the place of the worthless buildings which were common three or four years ago. The counties of Bibb, Chatham and Richmond are also well furnished in this respect, thanks to the local school tax. Others could be mentioned, Putnam and Hancock in particular, that are gradually substituting modern buildings for the old field schools and giving more attention to improvement in educational work. The South is slowly awaking to the fact that ignorance will never rule over culture, and that if she aspires to an equal voice in the government of the nation her people must have a training at least as good as that of the people of any other section.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

LETTERS OF A DIPLOMAT'S WIFE

NO other form of literature gives so intimate a view of historical events as personal letters, if the writer is a keen observer. And the wife of the late M. Waddington, as her recently published letters evidence, was indubitably this. The reader of her "Letters of a Diplomat's Wife" gains through the eyes of a clever American woman a vivid impression of life in European court circles in some very stirring times. Madame Waddington is the daughter of the late Charles King, President of Columbia College, New York. Her husband, although the grandson of an Englishman and a graduate of Cambridge University, was a distinguished son of France, who became successively Minister of Public Education, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Premier. In May, 1883, he went as Ambassador Extraordinary to represent France at the coronation of Czar Alexander at Moscow, and on his return was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Madame Waddington accompanied her husband on both

missions. The story of the brilliant social aspects of their experiences comes out in this entertaining volume of letters.

The trip to Moscow was made with great ceremony. Madame Waddington writes that she "felt like a distinguished criminal being tracked over Europe." The danger of the assassination of the Czar, and the fear of the entire diplomatic corps of possible injury from Nihilists, give the letters from Russia a strong tinge of the dramatic. And experiences at the English post furnish some striking letters, for the Waddingtons reached London when the fall of Gordon and the death of the first German Emperor were in the public mind.

Madame Waddington's visit to the Queen furnishes a refreshing incident. Before her departure for Windsor the son of the Ambassador heard that his mother was going to the Queen. With his mind running on the Tower of London, he asked, "Is the Queen wicked, and is she going to cut off your head?" Madame Waddington related the story to Victoria, who replied: "Poor little boy! How

glad he will be to see his mother back with her head on her shoulders." Madame Waddington found Gladstone talkative and entertaining, and Salisbury dignified but cordial. The only regret that this book arouses is that there are no sidelights on the diplomatic game that the nations were playing when the Waddingtons were in the thick of it. The volume contains, however, an abundance of fresh natural gossip about people that is eminently entertaining.

AN IRISH POET

MR. W. B. YEATS is to visit the United States this fall to lecture at various colleges on the "Irish Heroic Age" and on the "Celtic Literary Revival." Special interest accordingly attaches to "In the Seven Woods," his latest volume of poems. Mr. Yeats's reputation in England and Ireland as one of the foremost in the Celtic Revival has been constantly augmented by his lectures on the theatre and by his frequent admirable essays, but in this country he is still best known as a poet and a dramatist.

His new volume is made up of poems, chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age, and a play of the same splendid and unexploited period called "On Baile's Strand." The play, which is after the Elizabethan model, is strikingly dramatic. It is simple, not perhaps in the broad fashion of folklore, but with the simplicity which bespeaks subtle and commendable art.

The poems, ballads and songs show the distinguishing qualities of Mr. Yeats's known work—the same little jeweled thoughts, the same intense but delicate feeling for the beautiful, the same plaintive, dim, yet not indefinite expression of the relation of man's life to the spirit of the elements. In fine, if Mr. Yeats has added no new note to his song, he at least reveals himself again as the Maeterlinck of Ireland, as a master in the Revival which is today a significant fresh strain in English literature.

A GROUP OF STRIKING SEA TALES

EACH succeeding book by Mr. Joseph Conrad emphasizes a strong and earnest art. His stories are not always pleasant reading; there is much in them of the stress and endeavor of hardy lives, the tragedy of men buffeted by wind and water. Color, vigor, vitality kindle in his work. In

"Falk," his latest book, there are three virile tales. The story that gives the volume its title is a marvel of invention. It depicts the translation of a Danish savage, a masterful man about whose life there is an inflexible fate born of crime and circumstance that might have made him the pilot of the mythical *Flying Dutchman* or the shipmate of the Ancient Mariner. Mr. Conrad rises to the height of an unusual imagination in the picture of Falk ruling with heart of ice "the dismantled corpse of a ship floating in a gray sea," with a crew of living skeletons. It is a grim and terrible spectacle to remain long in the memory. And in the second story, "Amy Foster," with its pitiful pathos of stranded life and love, there is a fresh evidence of that searching power which must place Mr. Conrad in the front rank of living writers.

LETTERS FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL

THIS slim, brown little volume of protest might well be called "spunky." In a series of unusually well-written letters—well-written from any point of view; indeed, they smack of Burke in their distinction of style—an educated Chinaman compares English, and indirectly American, civilization with the civilization of China to the manifest advantage of the Chinese quality. He sums up the defects of social, economic and ethical life in England and the excellences of life in China; and then he pertinently asks why the English should strive so hard to impose their defective civilization on a people who have a better, and who prefer to keep it. He even flings in Western faces a threat of the "yellow peril," if the coercion of China does not cease.

The letters are filled with sound thinking and common-sense. Very often they hit weak spots in Western pretension. And yet they do not convince. They preach the beauty of passivity to a race whose watchword is activity—a pioneering, trading, conquering, proselyting race. The writer shows great familiarity with Western religion—very little with the working philosophy of the West. In essence the book is a request for the strong to be weak. The subtle value of the book lies in the light it throws on the Oriental state of mind. Incidentally, the little volume shows that a Chinaman may write better English than most Englishmen and Americans.



AROUND THE WORLD IN FIFTY-FOUR DAYS

QUITE recently I completed a trip around the world in fifty-four days, nine hours and forty-two minutes, lowering the best previous record by six days and three hours. The distance covered was about 19,500 miles. To detail my trip from point to point would present no features of novelty or especial interest, since I journeyed only on the established lines of public travel. Indeed, in connection with the time in which the trip was made, I pride myself on but one fact, and that is that I made use of no specials whatever and paid no more than the regular fares at any point. Time was my object, but I refused to gain that precious article by the expenditure of unusual sums of money or the acceptance of any transportation favors not accorded the general traveling public. I carried no letters of introduction, was met by no one with information at any point, made all of my own calculations and prearrangements for boats and trains, and had my luggage duly examined at each of the six custom-houses through which I passed. It was my purpose to show how quickly the world journey could be made with the splendid transportation facilities of the twentieth century. I figured that in addition to my personal satisfaction, which was of interest only to myself, anyone who in this busy age demonstrated a considerable saving of so important a commercial factor as time performed some slight service to the business public. Anyone with good luck and good health can make the world trip in the same time that I did. The trip cost me \$819.

Under the circumstances, I do not expect my record to stand for any great length of time. It will not be lowered so greatly as I lowered the preceding one, but it can be broken by one who has both the money and the desire to cover distance with no reservations as to method. It may be readily seen that when one starts in on the use of specials the amount of time saved is limited only by the amount of money spent.

To sketch my trip in one paragraph, I will say that I left Seattle on the steamer

Hyades for Yokohama, Japan, on June 26. As I followed the sun to the westward, all of my days were much longer than twenty-four hours each. We dropped the entire day of July 5 when we crossed the 180th meridian in the Pacific Ocean, and this evened up the twenty-four hours I gained in the aggregate. I landed at Yokohama on the morning of July 15, went up to Tokyo that afternoon, and that night left Yokohama on the government railroad for Kobe. This city was reached in the forenoon of the following day, and five hours later I left on the Sanyo Railroad, a private concern, for Shimonoseki, on the shore of the Inland Sea. A neat ferry-boat takes the railroad passengers across the Inland Sea, which at this point is about as wide as the North River. Landing at Moji at 6 A.M., I took the Kyushu Railroad train to Nagasaki. This southernmost seaport of Japan was reached on Friday night, and at noon Sunday I took the regular weekly Russian steamship for Dalny, Manchuria. I reached the mainland on Tuesday morning, July 21, and left Dalny that evening on the Trans-Siberian Railway for Moscow, which city was reached thirteen days later, August 3. From Moscow I made immediate connections for the west, and passing down through Warsaw, Alexandrovo and Thorn, I reached Berlin August 7. I left Berlin at 11.40 A.M., and by way of Hanover and Vlissingen, Holland, reached London the next morning, and Liverpool the next afternoon. Later in the same day, Saturday, I sailed on the *Campania* for New York, reaching the American side August 15. Traveling via the Pennsylvania Limited, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and the Northern Pacific, I reached Seattle on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19.

So much for a rough outline of the trip. Irrespective of the exact number of days or hours employed, a fast tour of the world opens one's eyes to several things he did not know before. And the sensation of circling the globe in fewer days than anyone else ever did keeps company with certain troubles that the ordinary traveler does not experience.

First and worst is the worry. The nervous strain is constant, day and night. As we all remember, the imperturbable Jules Verne personage merely said "Ah!" when he missed a boat or train. But I don't believe that in real life the man exists who could keep so cool as that under like circumstances. The word he would use would, I think, begin about three letters further down the alphabet than does "Ah!"

There is plenty of cause for anxiety, for no man can break the world's record without phenomenal good fortune. With no time, or at most very little, the traveler must transfer himself and all his luggage from one conveyance to the next thirty-seven times. Counting from the moment of arrival to the moment of departure, I was in Moscow, Russia, one hour and fifty minutes; in Berlin, Germany, a little more than four hours; in London, one hour and forty minutes; in Liverpool, two hours; in New York, one hour and fifty-five minutes; in Chicago, thirty-five minutes; in St. Paul, twenty-five minutes. In nearly all of these places it was necessary to drive across the city in a carriage from one station to the other. The missing of any one of these connections would have meant the loss of a day, perhaps of a week, in the final record of the trip.

Then one is practically out of the world on a trip of this kind, so far as news is concerned. I received no mail or word from home from the time I left the United States until I returned to it, and for more than half of the land distance it was impossible to buy an English newspaper. Like a spectre before me all the time was the possibility of an Oriental war that would put the Siberian railway out of business altogether for commercial purposes; of accidents or washouts along the railroad lines; of changes in the schedules of boats and trains of which I could know nothing in advance. The constant changes of climate, of water and of food render a few days of personal illness more than a remote possibility. Then one must still submit to the passport monstrosity in Russian territory. The passport, obtained from the State department, must be viséd by a Russian consul before one enters the Tsar's domain and again viséd by Russian officials before one leaves the empire. I had to lose an entire day in Warsaw, Poland, to get a certificate from the chief of police that I was entitled to depart from the country. All American passports, bearing the great seal of the United States and the signature of our Secretary of State, contain the request that the bearers thereof be permitted safely

and freely to pass and that they be given all lawful aid and protection. When I read this on my passport I had great expectations. When I had occasion to use my passport, I found that these words sounded well but went no further. The very officials who can allow one to pass safely and freely don't care a rap for the request of the American government.

Besides the worry and the anxiety, a fifty-four-day trip is hard work, physically. With the exception of one day and one night in Japan, I was traveling day and night during the entire journey. Needless to say, one cannot sleep so well in a railroad berth as at home. In covering the 7,700 miles between Dalny and Liverpool I made perhaps the longest continuous rail journey in one direction on record. If it has tired you out to cross the American continent in four days, think how wearing this trip of eighteen straight days on the railroad must be. Then the heat was furnace-like all through Japan, Siberia and much of the United States.

To these things I may add a little paragraph to the effect that conveyances in Asia and in Europe are not so well fitted up as are the American boats and trains. I don't agree with Nat Goodwin, that when you're off Broadway you're camping out, but I do know that when you are traveling outside of America you are more or less uncomfortable. The Americans are the only people who know how to take their homes with them when they travel.

In approaching the financial side of the question, I have found that most persons entertain decidedly absurd ideas as to the expense of a world tour. It is not so much as that of the ordinary trip to Europe; not more, perhaps, than many an American spends on a summer vacation in his own country. The first-class fare across the Pacific Ocean on the various lines is from \$200 to \$250. Across the Japanese Empire by rail the expense is slightly in excess of \$10 in gold. From Nagasaki to the Manchurian coast one's ticket is \$20, and from Dalny to the western borders of the Russian Empire the fare, including berths, is in the neighborhood of \$150. On to Liverpool it is less than \$20 more. For my passage across the Atlantic I paid \$100. From New York out to the coast the fares, berths and meals will run up to \$125. One hundred dollars is a wide margin for one's meals and incidental expenses on the Asiatic and European trains. But all of these sums in addition do not amount to \$800, and I should say that anyone could make the trip comfortably on that sum.

I started in buying curios in Japan and Siberia, and as a result had to telegraph home for money from Philadelphia. But the figures I have given above are not supposed to include curios, nor anything save legitimate traveling expenses.

One has much trouble and sustains a loss of between \$30 and \$50 in the constant exchange of money necessary in passing through so many different countries. My American gold was heavily discounted in Russian territory, even in responsible banks in the large cities. Indeed, it was quite evident from the number of curious hands through which it passed that an American double eagle, which I tendered to a Moscow bank, was a new, strange and doubtful coin so far as that bank was concerned.

I pass over the language part of the trip in despair. The Russian train attendants speak only their own language, so that even one versed in the tongues of western Europe has a difficult time to make all his wants known. One has a fair chance, however, of encountering among his fellow-passengers some individual who can and will interpret for him. I was fortunate in this respect at nearly every point of my journey. From Berlin westward the English language is spoken fluently, as it is in all of the large cities of Japan.

It is a good scheme to spend a few dozen dollars in the way of tips. Of course when one is traveling rapidly this is essential. When one is traveling leisurely it is still desirable. You will rid yourself of a lot of small worries if you contribute regularly to the income of your train and boat attendants. It will enable you to travel along the lines of least resistance. And you will never go wrong (speaking of direction).

I think I have said enough to show that a journey of this sort involving incessant travel is not wholly a pleasure trip. I could not conscientiously recommend it to the weak or infirm. But it is an equal mistake to think that a very fast jaunt on the circumference of this planet is without enjoyment or more solid benefits. Traveling is seeing what the people do and how they do it. Very much may be seen of the manners and customs of a country, its topography, its resources, its cities, its inhabitants, their costumes and ways of living, from the windows of a railway train. The very great majority of persons who have talked with me about my trip since my return have said, in effect, "I should think you would have taken more time and seen more." To this remark I have only to say that I should have liked

that very thing. But just as some people can travel forever and see nothing, so, when it becomes a necessity, one can see very much in a little while. My spare time I utilized to the fullest advantage. For instance, during my very brief stay in the city of London I saw Westminster Abbey, the houses of Parliament, St. Paul's Cathedral, the Tower Bridge and London Bridge, other points of interest and several of the principal thoroughfares. This is not seeing London thoroughly, but I imagine that one cannot see London thoroughly in six months' time.

The point I desire to make is that, as compared with no trip at all, a rapid world-tour is decidedly worth while. The average American who decides to wait until he has plenty of money and plenty of time before taking such a trip will never go at all, for unfortunately money and time do not go together in America. But many a man has the money and the two months' necessary time to take the trip that I did, and I am of the opinion that the experience one gains is in itself quite sufficient recompense for the outlay on the trip.—*James Willis Sayre.*

A MINING ENGINEER ON A SIBERIAN ISLAND

AMERICAN mining engineers are now scattered round the world. One, who is veritable monarch of a gold-bearing island forty miles from Vladivostock, off the coast of Siberia, makes an interesting comment on the life such an exile may lead. He works quartz mines, under Russian government supervision, on his little island, and nets his employers, who are government officials, a quarter of a million dollars a year. One day he summed up his existence thus:

"It's worth staying out here a few years, for my employers are extremely generous. I am allowed a leave of absence every summer long enough for a visit home, with all my expenses paid. A house is provided for me at the mines; my servants, a whole retinue, receive their wages from the company. My horses and carriage are also furnished and maintained, my provisions are sent me from Vladivostock, and even my wine cellar is kept liberally stocked. There is no way of spending money, and my salary is all clear saving, so far as living expense is to be reckoned with, from one end of the year to the other. . . . There is a great deal of gold in Siberia, but it has not been mined because modern methods are needed and the machinery and the enterprise have been lacking. The quartz mining operations, as regards making them pay, are confined to the

island over which I am the unofficial ruler. The winter climate agrees with me, and when I feel a bit seedy Japan is only a few days distant, and Vladivostock is seldom ice-bound—less often than Chinese ports considerably farther south. . . . There are worse forms of exile than that of an American mining engineer off the coast of Siberia.”

HOW THE RAILROADS DISCIPLINE EMPLOYEES

A SINGLE system of disciplinary rules for employees has been adopted by sixty railroad lines, embracing one-third of the total mileage of the United States. Modified to meet local conditions and different managements, the general plan is that invented and first used by General Superintendent George R. Brown, of the Fall Brook Railroad of New York, to check unjust discharge of employees and to improve the relations between employers and workmen. The “Brown System” has for its foundation a “record book” in which is kept a personal record of every employee of the road. In it is written a brief statement of every irregularity for which each workman is responsible. When a man begins to make a record in the book he is called to headquarters and talked to. He is not suspended; he is merely warned. But when the page is filled with “irregularities” the account is usually closed with the words, “Discharged; incompetent.”

For every item entered against the employee a bulletin is posted in a conspicuous place, telling what the fault is, how it could have been avoided, and how it affects the company's interests. These bulletins are dreaded as much as the “lay-off” for which they are substituted in the “Brown System.”

The objects sought have been summarized in reports—the most important are:

“Avoiding loss of time and wages of employees, resulting in possible suffering to those dependent on their earnings, as well as demoralization of employees by enforced idleness.

“Avoiding unnecessary severity in the dismissal of an employee, or requiring him to serve an actual suspension for a single offense that does not injuriously reflect upon his reputation, conduct, capacity or future usefulness in the service.

“Advancing the education of employees through the medium of bulletin notes, enabling them to avoid the mistakes made by others.”

The causes for instant dismissal have been greatly reduced by the adoption of the general rule of the “Brown System.” The rules, however, are not intended to operate in cases of

disloyalty, dishonesty, desertion, habitual intemperance, insubordination, immorality, or avoidable violation of rules whereby the company's property is endangered or destroyed.

A COMMUNITY THAT EXPLOITS ITSELF

CALIFORNIA believes in talking about itself—especially southern California. And when it is asked why that especial region is probably better known than any other in the country to people who do not travel, a typically American story is told of a whole community that is organized to advertise itself.

There is a Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles composed of thirteen hundred business and professional men. Eight years ago the writer was appointed “walking delegate” to wait upon desirable reputable citizens to request them to become members. The society was not then so popular as it is now; members had to be begged to join at that time; but only respectable citizens were solicited. One man I succeeded in enlisting bright and early in the morning; in the afternoon, the papers said he had beaten his wife; and I had the delicate mission of returning his subscription to him the next day. Thus, with some care, were the members selected. The citizens of Los Angeles now pay annually \$17,000 for belonging to the association. Back of all these members stand a zealous, independent wealthy executive committee and an unusually capable official.

The Chamber of Commerce maintains a free show of fruit products, mission and Indian relics, maps and minerals. All the rural local visitors and most of the eastern tourists haunt this free exhibition. It has a reading-room, and meeting-rooms for small societies, and has two women employed handing out laudatory southern California literature to applicants. It organizes southern California displays in distant cities; it issues pamphlets descriptive of southern California, many of them telling of the shadows as well as the lights as regards investment—the truth is told as no private enterprise could afford to tell it. It secures statistics of crop returns; it forms a reliable depository of information for the benefit of those in the East and other lands who really wonder whether these things are so; it answers thousands of letters of inquiry and devises schemes to help advertise southern California to the great world.

It entertains associations and eminent individuals. A literary programme is furnished on these occasions, considerable

handshaking gone through, and a weak punch served to visitors, all which is duly advertised to the press of all continents. Army and naval officers, governors, senators and distinguished men in the arts and sciences are entertained in the same way and much good incidentally done for the cause of southern California.

Looking forward to the future, this association is building a large edifice for its use. It interests itself in reciprocal treaties of the United States, particularly in reference to California products; in the Nicaragua Canal project; in new railroads projected in the direction of southern California; in the protection of the forest reserves, upon which so much in a treeless, arid district depends; upon the location of military posts by the Government; upon harbor matters, and new government buildings. Like workmen, it has taken advantage of organization, and instead of directing strikes and arbitrating quarrels between the employers and the employed, spends its time in lauding southern California.

The consequence of all this persistent effort is the continued upbuilding of southern California, the redemption of more of the desert, the erection of vast blocks and unnumbered domiciles, and the consequent benefit to the individual member who now hastens, however reluctant he was years ago, to join the association. Kindred associations are now springing up in many rural towns. The society serves as an example for all undeveloped or partly developed sections.

HOW A UNIQUE MOVING-PICTURE WAS MADE

TO secure the sort of spirited moving pictures the public demands photographers sometimes take very long chances. One of these had a most peculiar experience with a singular result.

He was a biograph operator engaged in taking pictures of a fire department rushing to a fire. Several pieces of apparatus had passed, an engine, hook-and-ladder company, and the chief; the operator, with his (then) bulky apparatus, large camera, storage batteries, etc., stood right in the center of the street, facing the stream of engines, hose wagons and fire patrol men. In order to show the contrast, an old-time hand-pump engine, dragged by a dozen men and boys, came running at full speed down the street, and behind and to one side of them followed a two-horse hose carriage, going like mad. The men running with the old-time engine, not realizing how narrow the space was or unaware of the plunging horses behind,

passed the biograph man on one side on the dead run. The driver of the rapidly approaching team saw that there was no room for him to pass on the other side of the camera man, and his horses were going too fast to stop in the space that remained. He had but an instant to decide between the dozen men and their antiquated machine and the moving-picture outfit. He chose the latter, and, with a warning shout to the photographer, bore straight down on the camera, which continued to do its work faithfully, taking dozens of pictures a second, recording even the strained, anxious expression on the face of the driver. The pole of the hose-wagon struck the camera box squarely and knocked it into fragments, and the wheels passed quickly over the pieces, the photographer meanwhile escaping somehow. By some lucky chance the box holding the coiled exposed film came through the wreck unscathed.

When that series was shown on the screen in a theatre, the audience saw the engine and hook-and-ladder in turn come nearer and nearer and then rush by; then the line of running men with the old engine; and then—and their flesh crept when they saw it—a team of plunging horses coming straight toward them at frightful speed. The driver's face could be seen between the horses' heads distorted with effort and fear. Straight on the horses came, their nostrils distended, their great muscles straining, their fore hoofs striking out almost, it seemed, in the faces of the people in the front row of seats. People shrank back, some women shrieked, and when the plunging horses seemed almost on them, at the very climax of excitement the picture was blotted out. The camera taking the pictures had continued to work to the very instant it was struck and hurled to destruction.

REPORTING THE BIG YACHT RACES

A CROWD stood before the bulletin board of a New York newspaper office during the International cup races. "Bulletin, 4 P.M.—Reliance wins," was posted. A man looked at his watch. It was 4.01 o'clock. One minute later newsboys were shouting extras giving the result of the event. At 4.04 o'clock Chicago people were reading the news, and two minutes later it was on the streets of San Francisco. In these results is epitomized a remarkable achievement of American journalism.

Serious problems confront the reporter of yacht races. The uncertainties of wind, weather and distance combine to make

following the progress of the contests difficult as well as expensive, and the scene of the races is twenty miles from shore.

The problem is, how to get the news ashore. The most elaborate as well as comprehensive system of reporting the yacht races was successfully worked this year by the Associated Press, the great news-purveyor of the country, and with three boats, nearly 100 men and miles of private wires this Agency fed a hungry reading world with wonderful rapidity. From the time the white racers sailed from their moorings until the last shouts that greeted the victor died away there was a continuous flow of news that found its way through these various channels to millions of people.

The Associated Press surrounded the scene of action with a veritable cordon that let no scrap of news escape. Following the racers was the yacht *Chetolah* fitted up as a floating wireless telegraph station and having on board three trained newspaper men—one to write the bulletins to be flashed ashore for the afternoon papers; another, an expert, to write the technical story for the morning papers; and a third to cover the introduction and handle the picturesque features. On shore were three observers, each with telegraph operator and special wires running direct into the main office at New York. These stations were at Sandy Hook, the Highlands off Navesink and Long Branch. Each observer had a view of the race and he kept the news from his viewpoint hot on the wire. In addition, there were two Associated Press tugs, the *Union* and *Unity*, under full steam and having on board trained writers. The shore stations of the wireless were at Jamaica and Babylon and were connected by private wires with the central news office.

The distribution of the race news was in charge of a man who sat in a room on Broadway in New York and, with a dozen wires reaching out, felt the news pulse every second. After preliminary observations of the early morning he sent out an advance story embracing wind, weather and forecast of the race. This story by 9 o'clock was in all newspaper offices using the service. Half an hour later the observer at Sandy Hook rushed in the full story of the preparations, the course and the remarks of owners. Then the man at the Highlands got in his link of the chain of news with the picture of the scene just before the start and the jockeying for position. The moment the starting signal was sounded the *Unity*, under full steam, hurried back to shore, while the correspondent on board wrote the

detailed story of the start with the attendant features of the excursion fleet. This story was filed at the first shore station. A life-saving crew was ready to row out for the copy. While the *Unity* rushed for shore the *Union* followed the yachts, the man on board taking up the story at the start.

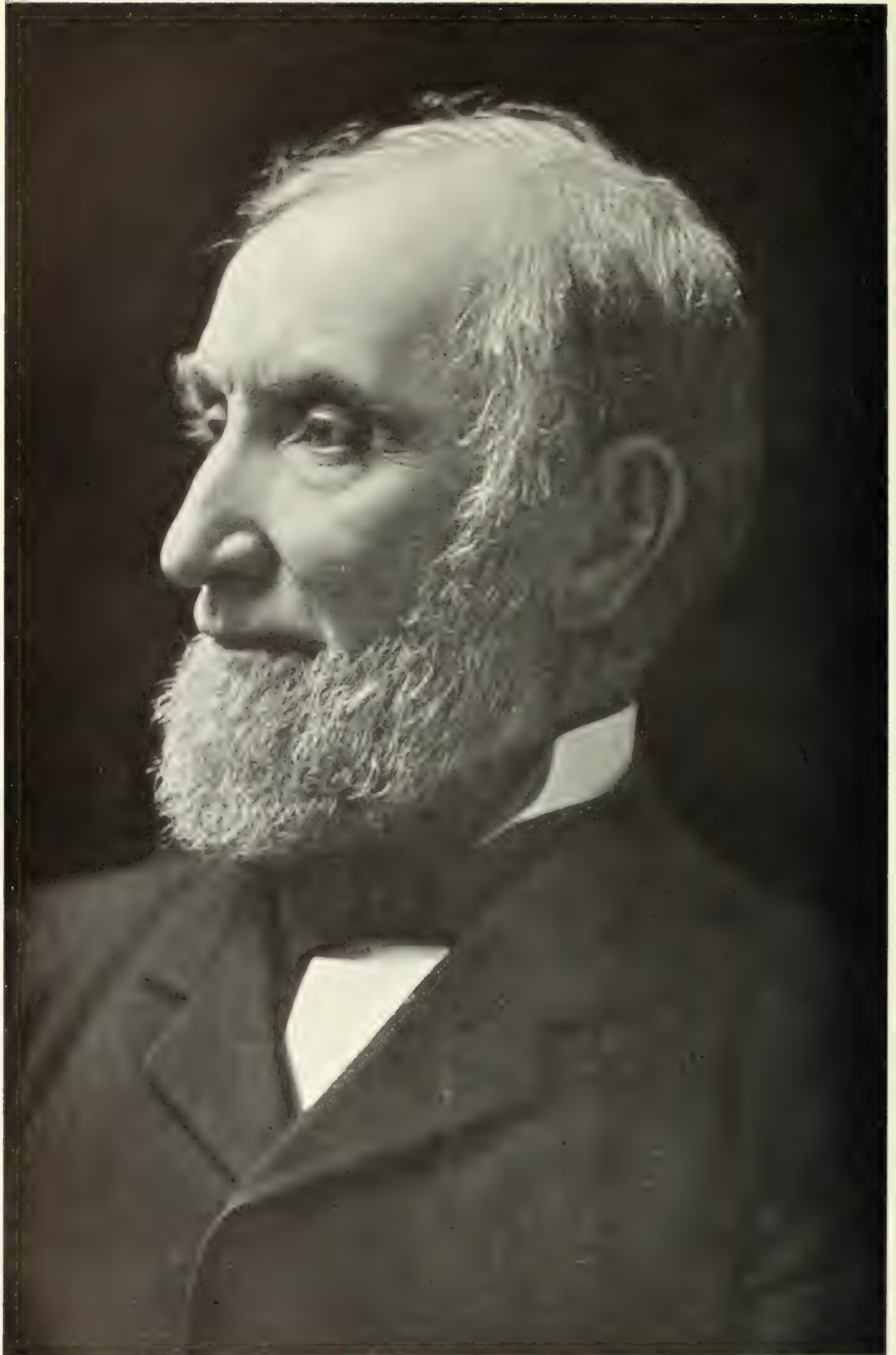
If the race was a leeward and windward one, with only a single turn, the *Union* went to the first mark and then came back to the nearest telegraph station. The story of the race to the mark was ready to be put on the wire on arrival. The *Chetolah* then took up the race on the last turn, having flashed wireless bulletins throughout the entire race. In the meantime the shore observers were keeping the main office supplied with bulletins, so that there were uninterrupted reports on the progress of the race.

The big item of the day, barring disaster, was the finish. Thirty seconds after the winner crossed the line the news was in the main office. It was megaphoned to the various sub-editors, each one with a chain of cities on a private wire. Boston therefore heard it as quickly as Philadelphia, and Chicago was not ahead of St. Louis.

Many New York papers, preferring to have special service, had their own tugs, with correspondents and photographers on board, working in conjunction with generously adequate forces at private telegraph stations on shore.

Some humor and incidentally considerable inconvenience was injected into the situation this year by a complication one day over the wireless telegraphy. The Associated Press and the Publishers' Press were getting along beautifully with wireless service by rival but respectful companies, when a third company interfered with a powerful transmitter ashore. One of the companies, it appears, lapsed into verse, whereupon the air soon became a sort of vortex of wireless profanity, nonsense and poetry, with code interpolated. This happened only once, however. On the other occasions the wireless service was uninterrupted. The Associated Press changed its wireless code every day.

Some startling picture results were obtained this year. One New York afternoon paper printed a picture of the start of the race less than three hours after the boats went over the line. The film of the photograph was brought in from Sandy Hook tied to the leg of a carrier pigeon. By a quick zinc half-tone process the cuts were rushed through and the pictures were published two hours and twenty minutes after they were taken.



JOSEPH G. CANNON

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Photographie by G. Lindner

See page 4105

THE WORLD'S WORK

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The March of Events

WHEN American citizens of patriotic temperament and of independent minds come to make a Christmas inventory of the things that they have to be thankful for this year—and there are many causes of profound thankfulness—two events will make them pause:

1. Capital has become wary, not to say frightened. Industrial “promotion” is at a standstill. Stocks are low. They have had “hard times” in Wall Street.

2. The admirable and upright municipal administration of New York City under Mayor Low—an administration that enforced laws which a large part of the population regards as oppressive—is not what New York City cares for, particularly if it have to be continued with the suspicion that its non-partisanship has a squint toward Republicanism, that, too, in a normally Democratic community.

If these two events somewhat dim the brightness of Christmas cheer for many men, there are compensations, as very brief analyses will show.

A COSTLY KNOWLEDGE OF REAL VALUES

AS for the duller day in the inflation of values, Heaven be praised that it has come—if only the general confidence of the legitimate business world remain, as it promises to remain. For the country is

prosperous. The railroads are overtaxed. The factories are running in spite of labor troubles. Industry in general is in a good condition. Most legitimate enterprises are making money. And—even more important—the temper of the people is more conservative than it has been for several years. Wild ventures are less likely to captivate the imagination of the successful and to rob them while they are credulous.

If large blocks of stocks that were worth millions in the market last Christmas are now worth only thousands or perhaps only hundreds, the eternal verities are satisfied with their shrinking; for their former “worth” was water and wind, and we now know better what real values are. And to know what things are really worth is, after all, better than riches. Let grief, therefore, be slight for this cause. For we can get along very comfortably without Wall Street water.

THE TAMMANY VICTORY IN NEW YORK

AS for the return of Tammany to power in New York City, that is a more serious matter. It causes patriotic men to reflect seriously on the difficulty of divorcing municipal government from national party politics.

The return of Tammany to power is a repetition of history; for the reformers have never won two successive municipal elec-



BARON ALVERSTONE, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND

WHO PRESIDED OVER THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY TRIBUNAL.

See "The March of Events"



JOHN MORLEY

THE BIOGRAPHER OF GLADSTONE

See *The Memoirs of Gladstone*

tions. There are many reasons—some obvious, some obscure. The main reason is the necessity that the reformers are under of enforcing laws that ought to be modified—laws that are objectionable to thousands of people. The reformers are still in a sort of puritanical era. Yet they are dealing with a very modern problem. It is as if a man of (say) Doctor Parkhurst's temperament were legislating for and ruling the Jews in Jerusalem (there are more in New York than there ever were in Jerusalem), the Germans in Berlin (there are almost as many here as there), for the Italians in Rome (we have enough to make a second Rome), for the Irish in Dublin (we are more Irish than Dublin)—for the multitudinous tastes, convictions, and habits of this conglomerate population.

A very considerable part of these people, and many Americans as well, do not want an administration which undertakes to enforce laws that are not approved by them. Consider the excise law, for example. It forbids the sale of liquors on Sundays. During General Greene's administration of the police department this law has been enforced—as nearly as it could be. The city was "closed" on Sunday.

Now there are perhaps 100,000 men—there may be more—who get their living by the liquor traffic in New York City, directly or indirectly. There is a very large class that regards it as their right to buy drink on Sunday. In other words, there is a very large part of the population to whom the closing of the saloons on Sunday is distasteful and offensive: they regard it as oppressive. *Well, you cannot continually elect public officers who will enforce a law that any large part of the community disapproves.* The officers who will not enforce it will generally be elected, and the more certainly after a period of enforcement. This is enough to explain the Tammany victory, if there were no other reasons.

For no conceivable Tammany administration will enforce the liquor law. This is the same as to say that New York City is not and cannot be coerced into being a "closed" town. It will have some things "open"—saloons on Sunday in particular. Then, as soon as the liquor law is openly violated, "graft" begins. The saloon-keepers pay (and are willing to pay) for an open Sunday. "Graft," once begun, spreads.

The law which forbids the selling of liquors at any time on Sunday is kept on the statute books by the "country" members of the Legislature and by the American church-going element of the city's population. There is no use in hoping for continuous municipal reform until this hold is loosened and this narrow and insincere attitude is changed. Until the reformers can get the city emancipated from up-State legislators and the clergy who seem to think that it is yet an American village instead of a cosmopolitan city, there can be no permanent anti-Tammany control.

Then, of course, there are other difficulties. The partizan appeal is a strong one. Tammany calls itself a Democratic organization and it fools a great many persons into thinking that it is. We are told that the grogshop boss, Murphy, may now name the Democratic nominee for the Presidency—this man whose career is told in the New York city directory as "bartender," "liquors," "beer," "beer," "liquors," from the time that he first appeared until he became "Commissioner" under the last Tammany régime.

Thus New York City prefers a Tammany government, a government of a loose construction of unenforceable laws. This preference, then, easily leads to a preference for a government wherefrom "favours" may be got for other favours or for cash, a government that can be "dealt with." This is the underlying truth. Thus the city will go on as it has gone on for a long period—preferring Tammany government till Tammany government openly offends even the lowest order of decency. Then, for a time, it will reform, only to return to Tammany again.

This is not encouraging. But the men who showed such a fine and high spirit in the struggle for clean municipal government are not men easy to discourage. The outgoing officials have set a new standard, and their example will not be wholly lost.

And events have proved that the one man in New York who best understands the situation is the District Attorney, Mr. William Travers Jerome.

POLITICAL WISDOM FROM THE SALOON

MR. CHARLES F. MURPHY, the victorious Tammany boss, spent most of his life (beginning as a bartender) as a saloon-keeper. He had no other business, in



Photographed especially for THE WORLD'S WORK by Arthur Hewitt

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

MAYOR-ELECT OF NEW YORK

(See "The March of Events")



THE LATE PROFESSOR THEODOR MOMMSEN
THE MOST EMINENT HISTORIAN OF HIS TIME

See "The March of Events"

fact, until he became a dock commissioner under the last Tammany *regime*. To understand his easy victory over the reformers, common sense suggests that the election be studied from the saloon-keeper's point of view. For Mr. Murphy's point of view will give a better understanding of New York than the point of view of the Fusionists.

Now, if you are a saloon-keeper, you know that the New York excise law forbids the sale of liquor on Sunday, but that ever since you began business you sold liquor on Sunday to anybody who chose to come in at the side door, till General Greene became police commissioner and forced you to shut your saloon, side door and all, on Sunday. During this last year you lost a good deal of trade by this stringent "dry" and "closed" Sunday *regime*. It's nonsense and hypocrisy, anyhow, as you regard it. Certainly it is oppression. Your customers share your opinion. The brewers and all the liquor "interests" feel as you do about it. A large part of the population of the city take the same view that you do of the matter.

Well, you submitted to this for a year because you couldn't help it. Then the municipal campaign came on. "Charlie" Murphy put up Colonel McClellan for mayor. Murphy is not in favor of closing saloons on Sundays—he has sold many a drink himself on Sunday; and he would not have nominated Colonel McClellan if there were any danger that he would enforce such a law.

When the law is again broken, you will have to pay for the privilege of keeping the side door open on Sunday. But it's better to get business at some cost than not to get it at all. Besides, isn't it fair, after all, that the "organization" which permits Sunday selling should get paid for its trouble?

In your moments of reflection it will seem a little strange to you (and hypocritical in the extreme) that the preachers and the church-going and God-fearing people should insist on closing the saloons on Sunday when you know (and they, too, are bound to know, if they have common sense) that any administration that really does close them can never be reelected, and that there is no power under heaven to keep the saloons of New York closed on Sunday for any length of time. You know, too, that the effort to close them will forever defeat every reform administration. So long as this law is on

the statute-book it will be violated, or it will cause the defeat of the men who enforce it.

All the men you know—the men who keep saloons, as you do, and who patronize saloons, and who own saloons, and sell to saloons either liquors or privileges—the whole saloon population—look at these things as you look at them; and, what is more, they vote as they look.

It doesn't make any difference, then, how many banners the reformers fling to the breeze, how many sermons they preach in their churches, how many speeches they make, how many newspapers they control—banners, speeches, sermons, newspapers stand for oppression and hypocrisy. You are for "Charlie" Murphy because he's for you—he's your kind of man; and you and he won—as you and he will win every time under similar conditions.

Now if, instead of being a saloon-keeper, you happen to be a preacher or a Fusion orator or an editor or a mere common decent citizen, you look at the problem from a different point of view. You want decent government, and you set out to heap abuse on Tammany. In other words, you preach. You have righteousness on your side, but you lack common sense. Else you would know that no community will long keep in office men who enforce a law that a large part of the people regard as oppressive. You ought to set about changing that law, as Mr. Jerome has. That is the common sense of the situation. You can hold on to the theory that you will have the old-time American Sabbath in New York and thereby keep Tammany in power; or you can frankly give up that theory and accept Sunday as it is and stand a good chance to win and to keep decent government. In either event, the old-fashioned American Sabbath is gone—except in your sermons. But you can hold on to it—in your sermons—and lose elections till the crack of doom, and hug your theory to the profit of "Charlie" Murphy and his profession and to the degradation of the city. It is a pretty high price to pay for—a theory and a reminiscence.

THE BREAKING-UP OF THE SENATORIAL OLIGARCHY

THE new Congress sets out on an uncertain sea of national politics. There is an almost abrupt change from the conditions of the last decade. It is a time for

new men to show themselves—a time for new policies, or at least for new formulations of old ones. It is a time when anything may happen and when nothing of importance is likely to happen.

In the Senate, for instance, the forces that long ruled Congress are scattered, as Mr. Carmichael points out in his article on Mr. Cannon in this magazine. There was for many years a powerful group of Senators who passed almost every measure that they agreed upon and who surely balked every measure that they opposed. Mr. McMillan, of Michigan, was one of them. He was a good politician; he was a man of fortune who helped some of his colleagues to acquire wealth; and he had a strong influence with them and a definite following in the House. Mr. Davis, of Minnesota, was another strong man. He had a rugged force that made him a commander of men. Both these are dead. There was Mr. Hanna, who survives; but a new man is in the White House. The President and Mr. Hanna are friendly, but they have never won campaigns together as Mr. McKinley and Mr. Hanna had. The Senator has not now the same freemasonry of intimate understanding at the White House that he formerly had. A change of personalities has, in a way, changed the delicate adjustment of forces that gave him in large measure the thing technically known in politics as "influence." There was Senator Allison, adroit and generally silent, but an accomplished manager of legislation. But for him, too, the combination of strong influences is broken. It was these Senators from the Middle West who, with a Middle Western President, made a compact body of leaders who, by instinct and by reason of a common experience, intimately understood one another. It was these who really ruled the United States. Then there was Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island. He, too, remains, but a purely personal and domestic event has (probably wholly unjustly) robbed him of much of his influence. Others who were useful in secondary ways remain—men who represented local political machines or powerful commercial and financial interests, such as the Senators from New York. But they are not primary forces. They have no such standing in their own States as is necessary to give them great influence. There are other important Senators who had and

have individual influence, such as Mr. Hoar and Mr. Spooner; but they were not the main powers of the dominant oligarchy. It was an oligarchy that organized itself out of similarity of temperament, community of aims, sympathetic purposes, and especially because of the perfect harmony with the Executive during Mr. McKinley's presidency.

Now another man is in the White House. He has never served in Congress. He has had little in common with these Senators. They do not really know him. He is not such a man as would come there naturally by their political methods. He owes them nothing. He works in different ways. If things do not go to his liking he appeals directly to the people. He has made himself feared by these elders in Congressional and State politics, but they have never liked him. They do not yet quite understand him. But he has (or seems to have) the people behind him. The elders, therefore, must also remain with him. They complain that the President has no confidences, no secrets. What they tell him today in confidence he may repeat tomorrow to hostile ears. He does not seem to them to know who are his political "friends." Thus the old working bond between the Senate and the White House, if not broken, is at least loosened.

There is, therefore, a new set of conditions. One *regime* has ended. One era of political control is passed. The dominant forces and personalities must regroup themselves—all which is exceedingly interesting to the independent student of national politics.

A LACK OF DEFINITE PARTY POLICIES

IT is now easy to see the lack of a positive policy by either party in Congress—or for that matter out of Congress. Mr. McKinley, during the last year of his life, tried to bring his party to the doctrine of reciprocity in trade treaties. He was swinging away from the rigid creed of high protection, and our expanding trade lent hopefulness to his movement. But now, except only the little treaty with Cuba, the party programme is "to stand pat." It is, in other words, a negative programme. The last Presidential election was won on a negative programme—to save us from Bryanism.

Since then no party policy has been developed. Indeed, there has been a backward step from the position that Mr. McKinley

was bringing the party to. Mr. Roosevelt has vigorously concerned himself with executive duties proper—the reorganization of the army, the greater efficiency of the navy, the building up of government in the Philippines, the enforcement of the anti-trust law, and the like. Since he came to the Presidency Congress has committed itself to the construction of an isthmian canal and to the building of great irrigation works. But no party policy has been formulated. The Republicans, therefore, find themselves simply marking time, simply “standing pat.” The tariff-reform movement within the party has been smothered. The party, therefore, is more or less at the mercy of the seasons and of currents of trade. A bad crop or industrial stagnation would hit it a hard blow. It has its sails well spread for calm weather, but a storm might go hard with it.

And the Democrats, although they have recovered from Bryanism, have failed to find a positive policy. Mr. Hill, at the last State election in New York, made a pathetic effort to bring the party to favor the Government ownership of mines. Even more pathetic is Senator Gorman’s effort to make a national issue of the Negro vote. Blind leaders? They are blind, deaf, dumb, criminally stupid. A dead man (Tilden, for instance) could lead better than these. But the Democrats have felt a revival of hope, and they have the chance that any public restlessness or discontent may give. The city election in New York has encouraged them. Tammany is hopeful of carrying New York next year. A new leader is in command. Then, too, the time is come for a natural rebound from continuous Republican control. Bryanism is dead. The Democrats, if they should find a man who stands for something, need not longer be wholly on the defensive. But a man whose character means something is necessary.

The one positive thing in the national political situation is the personality of Mr. Roosevelt. The Republicans, lacking a policy, yet have a man. If the weather remain calm they will sail into port.

Congress itself seems likely to find little to do this winter. There will, of course, be much to talk about—the Cuban treaty, perhaps other trade treaties, the canal, the appropriations which the “watch-dog” Speaker will wish to reduce; for such a

reduction will be “good politics.” Pensions will call for somewhat less than was spent last year; the large naval estimates will probably be cut down; the river and harbor bill will be closely watched. These subjects will give a chance for much patriotic “buncombe.” If the tariff and the southern question be kept in the regions of silence nothing will happen outside the routine. If fortune favor the Republicans with quiet in Wall Street and with continued prosperity, they may “stand pat” one more winter without fear; and if the Democrats should concentrate the sentiment of their party on a respectable Presidential candidate they would do all that a quiet time demands or permits.

Gradually new forces may gather in either camp, but as matters now stand the dissolution of the McKinley oligarchy of Senators leaves a clean slate, a clear field, a chance for a new deal—use whatever figure of speech you will: one era is ended, another begins. Between them we have a dull moment in national politics. Fortunately, a dull moment in national politics is not always a misfortune.

THE DISTANCE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO THE CAPITOL

THE relations between these two branches of the Government—the executive and the legislative—are not necessarily less wholesome because the President does not belong by experience and temperament to the class of these formerly dominant Senators. But the change may well be more annoying to some of the political-minded Senators. There are Senators, for instance, as well as other public officers, who privately complain that Mr. Roosevelt is a bad listener. Mr. McKinley would patiently hear a long appeal or complaint or endless advice, and he would say something that sounded pleasant even if it meant nothing. As one old friend of his expressed it: “He never quite lost the consoling manner of the Methodist elder.”

Not so Mr. Roosevelt. When he knows what a long-winded man will say (and any quick-minded man who hears many requests does know beforehand) he anticipates him and tells him what *he* (Mr. Roosevelt) means to do, and dismisses him before he has had a chance to deliver himself. Self-reliant to the last degree, Mr. Roosevelt does not

feel any real need of Senatorial help in executive work, and he does not affect a deference that he does not feel. He is often criticized as curt. Certainly he is frank, and he is respected or feared even by those who do not like him. But the mellifluous interchange of personal services and the flattering diplomatic indirections and the mutual confidences of the statelier style of solemn politics—these are gone. The public loses nothing; but the old freemasonry of official life is shattered and there are fewer silent understandings. It is very much farther from the Capitol to the White House than it was four years ago.

THE REAL CORRUPTION IN POLITICAL LIFE— BY CAMPAIGN FUNDS

BUT the regrouping of Senators and Representatives in the new Congress and the disturbance of the old machine will bring no change in the method either of passing legislation or of conducting the Presidential campaign.

In Congress the great interests will get what they want, not always, perhaps never, by personal corruption, but by the natural pressure of strong influences. There will form new party machines and campaign groups. They will need money next year. Money comes most easily and in largest sums from the great interests. From them it will come again; and again the silently understood *quid pro quo* will be given—not as an open bargain, nor in a way that campaign managers usually regard as corrupt; but nevertheless it will be demanded and given. We pay for your campaign; we are your friends; it is we who enabled you to save the country; and sometimes we have incidentally put you yourselves in the way to make money. The advice and even the unexpressed wishes of such convenient friends nowhere in this practical world go unheeded. Thus, saying nothing of gross acts of political immorality—thus it is that the great interests naturally exert a strong influence on legislation and on elections. The worst force in our political life is the influence that is gained by contributions to campaign funds.

Yet it is only fair to give every man in public life charitable judgment. It is fair even to give every political party and its managers charitable judgment. In most of the talk and the writing about men who are

powerful in politics there is an undercurrent of inference that they are essentially corrupt. It is implied, if not directly declared, that their votes which bring profits to great corporations are indirectly paid for. They are friends of the managers of the great corporations. They share with the managers knowledge which is worth money in the market. They are helped to make profitable investments. They “stand in” with successful promoters and manipulators.

Of course, there are such cases; and there are Senators and political managers who thus make politics a very profitable business. But the public is often unjust in its criticisms. There is hardly an important measure before Congress in this commercial era that does not involve profit to somebody and loss to somebody else. No matter on which side a Representative or a Senator may vote, he may be accused of consulting his own interests, or at least of consulting the mere financial interests of his corporate friends. Legislative motive, political motive in general, is open to suspicion to an extreme degree, because most legislation is now of commercial value.

Nor is there any hope of a time or of a condition when legislation will not be of great commercial value. The only safeguard of the public is in keeping and in making keener a fine sense of honor in public servants—even an extreme scrupulousness.

Nor can we hope now to abolish the great corrupting campaign funds. Every four years they become bigger. Every four years they work worse demoralization. In a sense, almost every election is bought—not by the purchase of individual votes, but by the general pressure of financial interests, and if by nothing worse, by the always costly business management of a campaign. It is here that corruption enters our political life (for it is essentially corruption), and it spreads through the whole body of it.

THIS YEAR'S ELECTIONS AND NEXT YEAR'S

THE November elections made no startling change in the outlook for the Presidential campaign of next year. The Republicans gained in Ohio. Colonel Herrick was elected governor by the largest plurality that the State has given in recent years—125,000 votes; and Senator Hanna keeps his hold—even makes it stronger. There

was impulsive talk of him as the party's Presidential candidate, but he did not encourage it. The Republicans won victories also in Iowa, Nebraska and Colorado. Since Colorado was one of the four non-southern States that voted for Bryan in 1900, the Republicans have shown an increasing strength in the Middle West and the trans-Mississippi region. Pennsylvania (225,000 plurality), Massachusetts and New Jersey in the East gave Republican majorities. Since New Jersey was for a long time—till Bryanism arose—safely Democratic, its Republican vote this year doubtless means that it will be Republican next year also. There is, therefore, a Republican gain in the North Atlantic region also—except in New York.

In New York City the election of McClellan by a plurality of 63,000 gives the Democrats hope of carrying the State next year. Much will depend on the personality of the Democratic candidate for President. New York is the weakest place for Mr. Roosevelt in the chain of States that voted for McKinley in 1900. But even the loss of New York alone would not put his election in jeopardy. Rhode Island reelected its Democratic Governor, Garvin; but this was the result of local Republican disagreement, and the State will almost certainly be Republican next year. Another debatable State won by the Democrats (by a narrow plurality) is Maryland. The Democrats will probably win its vote next year—for the first time in a Presidential election since 1892. But this small State also could be spared by Mr. Roosevelt.

The total results of the November elections, as they may affect the Presidential election next year, are, therefore, not very great. The most important revelation is the apparently better chance that the Democrats have of winning New York.

THE REAL "SOUTHERN PROBLEM"

COMMENTING on the acquittal of J. H. Tillman (formerly Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina) for the killing of Gonzales, the editor of the *Columbia State*, the *Charleston News and Courier* said:

"Except in rare cases, the killing of one white man by another is the safest crime that can be committed in South Carolina."

The *News and Courier* might have added that the killing of a Negro by a white man

also is a safe crime. Except in rare cases, the only killing that is likely to be punished is the killing of a white man by a Negro. To a less extent than in South Carolina this is true in the other southern States.

An interesting insight into the state of mind of men who hold life so cheap is given by a remarkable letter written by one of the jurors of the Tillman trial to the editor of the *Spartanburg Journal*, who had published plain words about the miscarriage of justice. This juror (Risinger by name) wrote to the editor that he was "following in the footsteps of the deceased editor abusing your liberty." He went on:

"To make my letter brief, I refer you to the annals of History when you fail to find a single conviction of any man for shooting an Editor. . . . The Masses have accepted the verdict as fair, but seemingly the press wants more blood which can be found by walking in the foot prints of N. G. Gonzales."

Finally this juror called the killing of Gonzales by Tillman not murder, but "suicide by the abuse of liberty with the wrong man."

Now, this state of mind explains not only this particular verdict and the cheapness in which human life is held in South Carolina, but it shows also the unteachable, unorganizable, persistently individual, unsocial, and undemocratic temper of a considerable class of people. They defeat the whole purpose of organized society, which we call civilization. They put above the public welfare the whim, the revenge, the anger, the judgment of every man for himself. From such a starting-point it is easy to regard the privileges of one class of men as of greater value than the rights of another class. And this is "the southern question." The Negro question is a mere incident of the larger question of democracy. Individual and class license or fair play and equal rights to all men alike—that's the question. All the flubberdedub about the appointment of Negroes to federal offices is mere froth on the surface of the problem presented by Mr. Risinger's letter on "suicide by the abuse of liberty with the wrong man." The difficult thing is to convince a man like this juror, Risinger, that there is anything shameful in acquitting Tillman. There are many Risingers. Can the schools reach their children? Certainly the churches cannot, for many a Risinger is a pious man. Nor can the press; for the killing of editors and the

acquittal of the murderers may go on indefinitely. Laws do not change him—public opinion nullifies laws. Nor can social pressure change him, for he is in good social standing in his narrow circle. The exact processes whereby civilization may get a hold on such a man or on a community where there are many such men it is difficult to say. Perhaps the building of railroads, the development of industry, the growth of trade—these purely concrete forces—are the most directly powerful, for they bring a larger population and more complex interests. It is the same problem, different only in degree, that is presented by the people who have feuds in the Kentucky mountains.

THE HEALTHFUL GROWTH OF SOUTHERN OPINION

BUT the noteworthy thing about the acquittal of Tillman is not the acquittal itself—that was expected—but the practically unanimous condemnation of it by the southern press. Not only the *Charleston News and Courier*, whose own former editor was killed while the man that killed him was acquitted, but most other southern newspapers have spoken plainly. The *Columbia State*, of which the murdered man was the editor, said:

“This is by no means the first time justice has been outraged in our courts, but never before so shamelessly, never before so brazenly, in the full light of day, have men holding the scales of justice so defiled, corrupted, debauched her. South Carolina is the victim, ravished of her honor by unnatural offspring.”

The *Atlanta Journal* could not account for the acquittal, and regarded it as a miscarriage of justice. The *Norfolk (Virginia) Landmark* said that “the restoration of the duel would be better than this sort of thing.”

The significant fact is that there was a time when such expressions of opinion would not have been frequent. This is the important fact. A strong public opinion is forming in the South which stands with enlightened opinion elsewhere and feels the shame to the whole republic of the holding of human life so cheap in any part of it.

WHO ARE THE ECONOMIC MASTERS?

THERE has, we think, never before been made so clear and nearly complete a statement of the concentration of financial power as Mr. Sereno S. Pratt makes in his

article in this magazine, entitled “Who Owns the United States?” He has collected and grouped the facts, as many as are ascertainable, in a scientific way and in the scientific spirit. He has no doctrine to defend or to combat. He has, therefore, made a picture, and he has not built an argument; and a picture of such a subject is much more instructive than any argument about it.

Almost any thoughtful man will rise from the reading of this article with a first feeling of depression. Although the wealth of the country is diffused—widely and healthfully diffused—and the people own most of the property in the United States, yet the machinery of corporation and concentration has been so perfected that a small group of men practically control it. The control of railroads, banks, insurance companies, mines and manufactures gives such enormous power over the real owners of all sorts of property that control seems almost as strong as ownership itself would be. What is the difference whether I own a factory or a farm or a mine or not, if somebody else has the power seriously to affect the value of my products? The leverage of control by others seems as fatal to my real independence as actual ownership by others would be.

As one reflects on this condition of the world of industry, one is filled with admiration of the marvelous machinery of organization which has made such a situation possible. Macaulay called the Roman Catholic Church the most remarkable organization that mankind had ever made. But Macaulay did not know what a “holding company” is—the Northern Securities Company, for example. The marvel of this thing is fairly astounding. It is as if the practically incalculable wealth of the richest country in the world were so placed that two or three small groups of men—who themselves really own a small fraction of it—could pry it up or down as they please—make it productive or make it stagnant almost at will.

But is this really the truth? Can these small groups of men determine the profit that almost all other men shall make? Are they the masters of the fortunes of the people, or are the people *their* masters? Is their power a power that they exercise over the people who own the wealth of the country, or is it a power that the people delegate to them for the common convenience till they

begin to abuse it? And when they begin to abuse it can the people regain it?

At this moment, for instance, when the stock market, which is an important part of the machinery of consolidation and control, is low, can these men use the financial power that is apparently theirs, or that was theirs a year ago? Have the people not for the moment dethroned them? Does the public not rule, after all? When the securities of the largest corporation in the world—a corporation in which all these great captains are interested—are selling at a beggar's price in the market, who is the master, the public or the Steel Corporation?

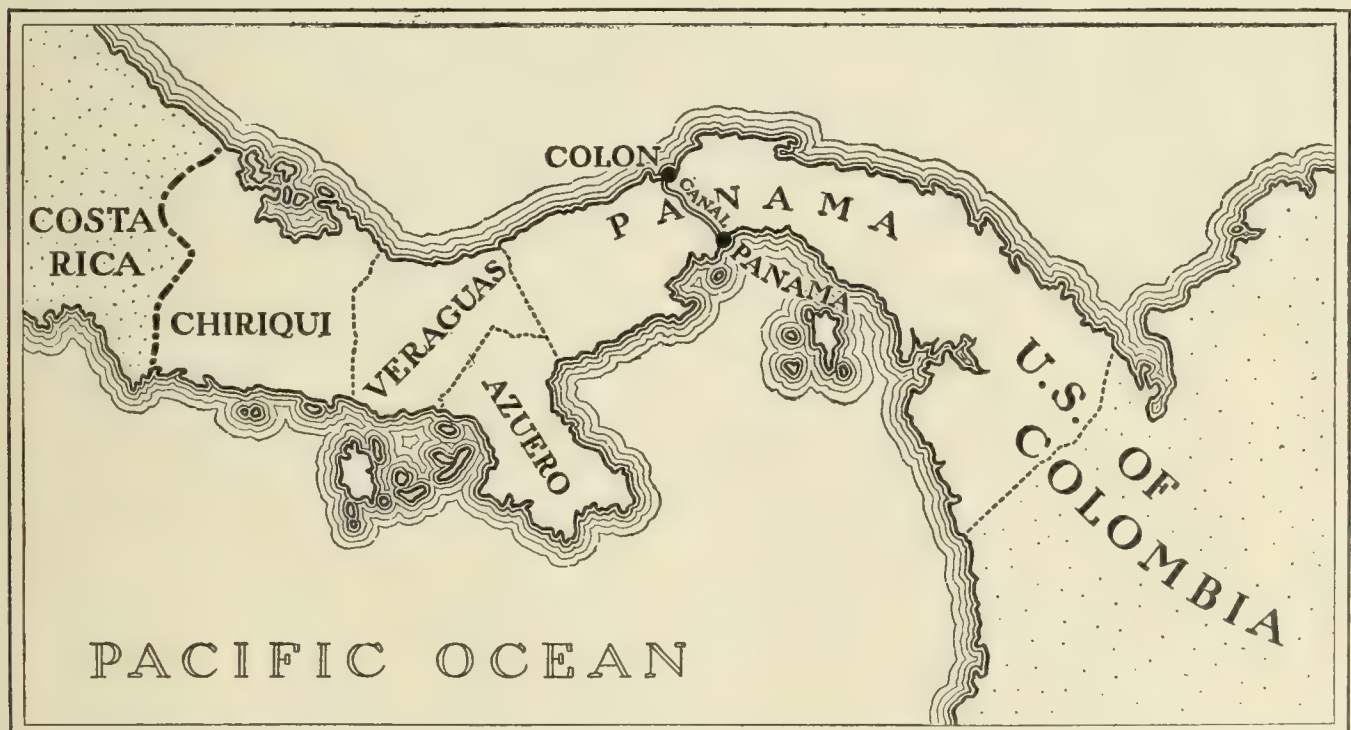
These questions are more easily asked than answered. But this much is reasonably certain: it has not yet been proved that these great captains of organization really have the power that they sometimes seem to have, and it is probable that we have not yet had a sufficient experience with these new economic phenomena to warrant any clear-cut scientific conclusion.

THE SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION IN PANAMA

THE Department (or State) of Panama declared itself independent from the United States of Colombia on November 3d.

whereby our Government would have proceeded to cut a canal across Panama; for Panama had long been restive and had several times before tried to establish its independence. It had no feeling of loyalty to the central Government, but, on the contrary, many and accumulating grievances. The Colombian rejection of the canal treaty was the crowning provocation. Naturally fertile as the isthmus is, its chief asset is not its products, but the geographical fact that it is the narrowest strip of land between the two oceans, and the consequent hope of a canal. If the central Government stupidly declined the liberal offer of the United States and defeated the chance of a canal—so the people of the isthmus declared with apparent unanimity—we will secede and see what we can do to have it cut.

When they did declare themselves independent, on November 3d, and after the Colombian troops had evacuated the country, events followed one another with surprising swiftness. The *de facto* Government, which was lodged in three men, was immediately recognized by the United States and our Government “earnestly commended to the Governments of Colombia and of Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue



MAP OF THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE ISTHMIAN PROVINCES, PANAMA, CHIRIQUI, VERAGUAS AND AZUERO, BETWEEN COSTA RICA AND COLOMBIA

This attempt to secede was expected after the rejection by the central Government at Bogota of the treaty with the United States

between them.” Our Minister was instructed to inform the Colombian Government that the President “holds that he is bound, not

merely by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilization, to see that the peaceful traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

Our navy landed marines to protect the property of the Panama Railroad Company, and our officers were instructed to prevent the landing of Colombian troops. Since Colombian troops cannot reach Panama by land, this action was in its effect equivalent to guaranteeing the new Government from attack.

The *crux* of the whole matter is this: we are bound by treaty to keep the Panama Railroad open to traffic. If Colombian troops were allowed to land in order to put down the Panama rebellion, they would surely interrupt traffic. We therefore forbade their landing. Thus in effect, whether in purpose or not, we helped the secessionists of Panama to make their independence secure. Our treaty forbids us to interfere in a domestic war there, but our action was in effect an act of interference—necessarily. Although it was not our purpose to aid the revolutionists, our action in keeping the isthmian traffic open had that result. It was by our aid, therefore, and virtually under our protection, that the new State set up its independence; and immediately we recognized its *de facto* Government and practically opened the way for full recognition of it later as an independent Government. Such was the swift succession of events that took the world somewhat by surprise and brought down upon the administration at Washington severe criticism from many quarters.

But although the world in general was surprised, everybody who knew the state of feeling at Bogota and in Panama knew that such a *coup* was planned and was expected.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECOGNITION OF PANAMA

IN the explanation of the administration's action, which was prepared by Secretary Hay, these passages occur:

"The United States has not only constantly protected Colombia from foreign invasion on the strength of the rights and the duties created by the treaty of 1846, but has time and again intervened to prevent the freedom of traffic from disturbance in the course of domestic dissensions. In these cases we have intervened, sometimes at the suggestion of Colombia,

sometimes on our own impression of the necessities of the case, but always to the profit of Colombia as well as of universal commerce.

"It must not be lost sight of that this treaty is not dependent for efficacy on the personnel of the signers or the name of the territory it affects. It is a covenant, as lawyers say, that runs with the land. The name of New Granada [with which the treaty was made] has passed away; its territory has been divided. But as long as the isthmus endures the great geographical fact keeps alive the solemn compact which binds the holders of the territory to grant us freedom of transit and binds us in return to safeguard for the isthmus and the world the exercise of that inestimable privilege."

When mere forms are distinguished from things themselves, this explanation will seem conclusive and satisfactory to our own citizens and to the world. Our action did help the Panama revolutionists. But we should not have been deterred from such action, if it were right, merely because it helped the revolutionists. That our action did help them and was fatal to the Colombian Government's efforts to coerce them—this is Panama's good fortune and Colombia's bad fortune; but it is not our fault. Nor can the administration fairly be blamed if the revolution should give us at last the opportunity to cut a canal across Panama, which the Colombian Government had denied us. That, again, is Colombia's bad fortune and our good fortune, but not our fault.

If we had not acted with decision and promptness, what would have been the alternative? Traffic might have been delayed across Panama—it would almost surely have been interrupted. Whose traffic? Germany's, perhaps. Perhaps Russia's or England's. What would have followed then? We should have been to blame for such an interruption, for we are under treaty to keep the railroad open to the traffic of the whole world. International complications of the most uncertain sort might have followed. We might have been entangled in contentions that it would have required years to settle. Every adventurous country whose government or whose citizens may have a dormant wish to prevent our Government from owning an isthmian canal would have been tempted to intrigue or to obstruction. Every government in Europe might have had a squadron at the isthmus within a month, and we should have provoked a renewed discussion of the Monroe Doctrine and of

many other things that could have done nothing but stir up international jealousies. Every feeble-minded republic in Latin America would not only have been "profoundly stirred," as it now is, but they would have received encouragement to stir up all the rest of the world as well.

Moreover, from the first extension of American influence beyond our borders till now, no administration has done a prompt or vigorous deed touching our international relations but it has provoked a storm of abuse at home. The President and the Secretary of State have saved the world more trouble by their prompt and proper action than can be calculated. That they gave help to revolutionists, that they made the work of intriguers easier, and that they opened the way, perhaps, to the cutting of the canal in spite of Colombia's obstruction—these are incidental results of their action; but their action could not have been different if these results had not followed.

AN ARTIFICIAL "REVOLUTION"

IT is probably true that the Panama "revolution" was planned in New York City. Men who are financially interested in carrying through the Panama Canal plan, working with patriotic adventurers in Panama and possibly with unpatriotic adventurers in Bogota—there is strong reason to believe that the new State owes its long-sought independence to the successful management of the "revolution" by these men. It may be called a filibustering expedition that succeeded. No great outlay was required in arms and munitions of war. It was so shrewdly managed that war was unnecessary. The peaceful methods of modern finance were the weapons used.

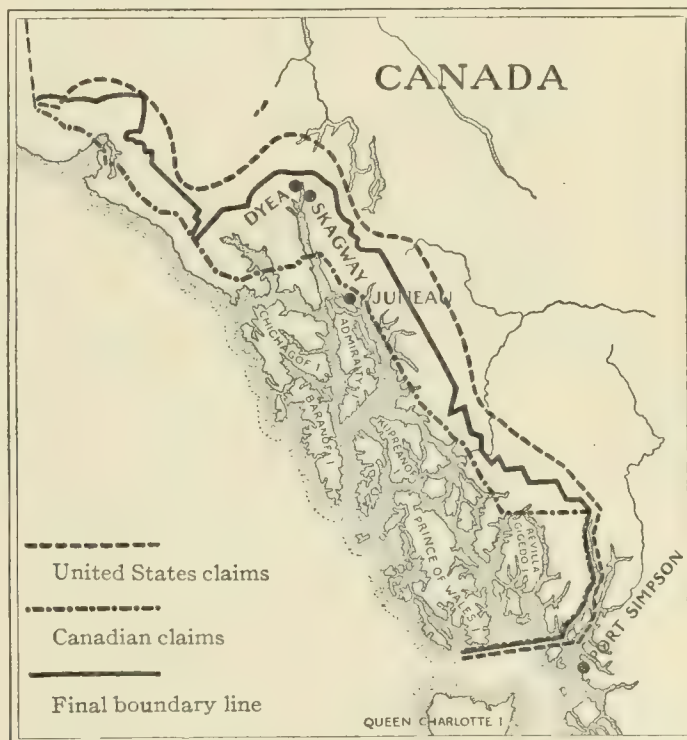
That some such effort was likely to be made, and that preparations for it were going on, were known—or half known—by many persons months ago. It may even have been known to men high in our federal Government—probably it was. But of this there is no proof.

But these facts have no bearing on the action of the President. He had to consider accomplished facts; and the facts were that the Panama Railroad must be protected, and that when the revolution was successful the new State was entitled to recognition as the only Government that had possession of the

territory through which the road runs. Into the method whereby the revolution had been brought about it was not pertinent nor necessary for them to inquire. Their duty began when obstruction to traffic was threatened, whatever the cause of the threat. As a matter of fact, practically all South American revolutions are "artificial."

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY DECISION

A MUCH greater noise has been made about the decision of the Alaskan boundary than men who read about it in the future will easily find good reasons for. It was at bottom a very simple matter. The main subject of dispute was the meaning of the word "coast" in the old Russian treaty



MAP SHOWING THE RIVAL CLAIMS AND THE FINAL DECISION OF THE ALASKAN TRIBUNAL

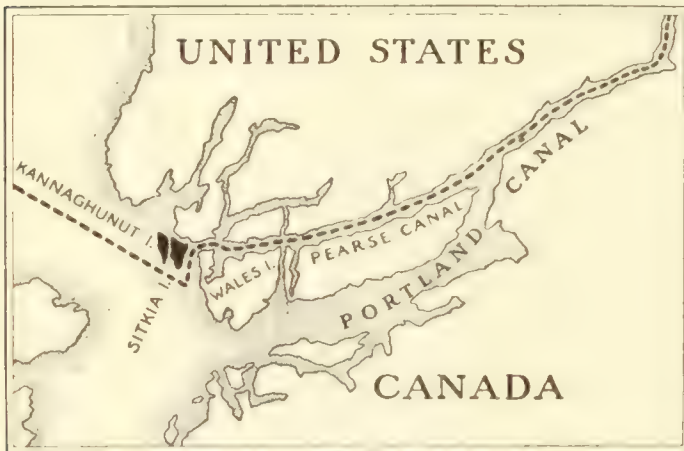
with Great Britain. The essential question was this: Was the boundary line agreed on between Great Britain and Russia in 1825, which was a "line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom," to be measured from the mouths or from the heads of the inlets and bays?

The Canadians claimed the former; the Americans the latter. If the American claim was sound, Canada would be shut out from direct access to the sea at all points north of $54^{\circ} 40'$.

The treaty of 1825 had also assumed the

existence of a chain of "mountains situated parallel to the coast," the crest of which would form a natural boundary. As a matter of fact, such mountains as are within the disputed territory are exceedingly irregular and present no distinguishable crest. This fact made the location of the line "parallel to the windings of the coast" the *crux* of the controversy.

Tentative efforts were made as early as 1885 to secure a joint survey of the line, and had they succeeded the rather bitter differences since arising would have been prevented. But neither party was much concerned at that time, and it was not until 1898 that the matter was seriously taken up, in the light of the facts above outlined, by a conference at Quebec. No permanent



THE PORTLAND CANAL

The two islands in black were awarded to the United States

settlement was reached. Arbitration was not agreeable to either party. A *modus vivendi* was arranged, however, and last spring a commission was finally created to determine the dispute if possible. It consisted of three Americans, two Canadians and one Englishman—the last being Lord Alverstone, Chief Justice. In the decision rendered, this eminent jurist sided with the Americans as to the substance of their claim, and a strip of the mainland from fifteen to thirty miles in width is secured to the United States from the mouth of Portland Channel at $54^{\circ} 40' N.$ to Mount St. Elias.

The value of the land thus secured consists mainly, at present, in the command it gives of the actual approaches to the mining region in British Columbia and of the trade therewith. Within our own now conceded boundaries, however, there is promise of considerable yield of gold, of copper, and of

tin, while the changes of the last half-dozen years show how idle it is to fix a limit to the possible achievements of the restless enterprise of our race. Nor is it to be doubted, despite some present bitterness, that the two branches of that race, on either side of the boundary now determined, will advance in substantial harmony.

THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF ALASKA

THE settlement of this long-standing dispute recalls the remarkable story of our acquisition of Alaska and our long neglect of it, and sets one to speculating on its yet undeveloped resources of many kinds.

In the light of our present knowledge of "The Great Land"—for that is the meaning of the Indian name chosen by Mr. Seward—the curious bargain of 1867 seems like a venture of inspired jingoism. At the time it seemed so much a venture of jingoism, wholly uninspired and unwarranted, that only the great influence and the ardent advocacy of Charles Sumner secured the consent of the Senate to the treaty and the appropriation of the \$7,200,000 purchase-money. Mr. Sumner had in his veins the eager blood of the earliest English colonists, whose first business, after providing themselves with rude homes and scant food, was to claim all the land, known or imagined, in every direction. It was his notion that a proper compensation for damages inflicted by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports would be the cession of all Canada to the United States. That dream was hot in his brain when he seized the opportunity to get title to the vast territory in the northwest corner of the continent, hoping ultimately to join to it the rest of the region beyond our northern boundary.

To men of duller imagination the purchase of the wild northwestern expanse seemed so unjustified by common sense that credence was readily given to the story that the United States Government was indirectly paying Russia for the presence of her two fleets—one on the Atlantic, the other on the Pacific—during the autumn of 1863, ready to fight on the Union side should the Confederate cause be espoused by France and England, and that story was not finally dismissed until, in 1901, Mr. Frederick W. Seward definitively denied it. So far as Russia was

concerned,—the coming of her fleet and the sale of Alaska alike were in part manifestations of good-will, and in part acts of obvious sound policy in view of the relations then existing between the Muscovite Empire and France and England. In Alaska she parted with a possession of no great value, exposed to attack from the ocean and difficult to defend, and she transferred it to a Power at that time more friendly to her than any in Europe. So far as concerns the United States, the purchase must be set down to the half-blind impulse of expansion that had spread American dominion from ocean to ocean and has since carried it half-way round the globe.

The idealism of Mr. Sumner saw in the transaction a change for the territory from autocratic rule to the blessed influences of ordered freedom. It was instead, at first and for nearly a generation, a change from efficient and kindly administration, by the Russian American Company, to neglect, misrule, anarchy, and demoralization under the Americans. Very slowly and only after awful cost, material and moral, a decent system was established.

Our commercial appreciation of it, at least, is now indicated by our laying a cable to connect it by wire to the United States proper.

THE GREAT POWERS AND CHINA

THE danger of a war between Russia and Japan is easy to understand, for their interests are inevitably in direct conflict. The "manifest destiny" of each country, as each country regards itself, is to be the dominant power in the far East. Russia moves farther and farther in her Asiatic encroachments, and Japan's influence in Korea is threatened—this to say nothing of the feeling of each nation that it should be the final arbiter of the fate of China.

But although war seemed inevitable a little while ago, it has not come. It may or may not come at an early time. But the simple situation of two hostile peoples coming nearer to an outbreak has changed to a complicated situation in which almost every great power has a hand—or is supposed to have. The whole world is becoming involved in this far eastern situation, and it may cause momentous changes in the relations of European governments to one another.

Since many European treaties are secretly made, there is a large field for conjecture about what is happening. But there is no doubt that strong external pressure has been made on Japan, and Japan is showing great self-restraint. Nor is there any doubt but Russia is strengthening herself before she undertakes war—if she means to undertake it at all.

The English-Japanese alliance made the first of last year has yet three years of life. By this agreement if one of these Powers becomes involved in war with a single Power, the other will remain neutral; but if it become involved in war with two Powers, the other will come to its rescue. Japan might fight Russia and England would remain neutral. But if any Power should come to the aid of Russia, England would help Japan.

Russia has her demonstrative alliance with France, which, when put to a severe test, may mean little or may mean much; and England has been fortifying her friendly relations with France and Italy.

And now comes a new alliance—at least, a new alliance is universally believed to have been made—between Germany and Russia, touching Russia's interests in the far East. Whether France, out of friendship for Russia, would range herself with Germany remains to be seen. But if there be such an alliance as is reported between Russia and Germany, serious trouble in Asia would put Russia, Germany, and probably France on one side and Japan and England on the other. Practically, such a conflict would involve all the great Powers but the United States. A war between these groups of Powers would not only shake the world, but it would be such a crime against civilization as has not been committed since the Napoleonic wars. The probability is that all these alliances really make for peace. No nation can afford to precipitate a conflict of such momentous possibilities.

THE UNITED STATES AS THE SAVIOR OF CHINA

ULTIMATELY, of course, whatever the immediate provocation, any war in the far Pacific would turn on the future mastery of China. If Russian aggression continue long enough and far enough, China will at some time become a Russian dependency—Manchuria now and the province

later, and so on. Then Japan's influence on the mainland will be stopped and her ambition thwarted.

The United States has no alliances, no territorial ambitions, no direct interest in the future of China except a commercial and humanitarian interest. This enables us to play a part—or to try to play a part—that may have far-reaching consequences. For our efforts are, as they have been ever since our relations with China began, to strengthen the empire and if possible to preserve its integrity.

We have negotiated a treaty with China—yet to be ratified—which cannot involve us in any war or world-wide alliance, but which may enable us to help the weak government to find a securer financial footing—help it to strengthen itself. By this treaty China agrees to abolish the *likin* tax on goods in transit. This tax is levied at many places by rapacious local officials. It is in effect a kind of licensed local robbery for the enrichment of the mandarins and tax-gatherers. Little of the revenue goes, or is expected to go, to defray the legitimate expenses of government. It burdens commerce and keeps official Chinese life openly venal. If the abolition of the *likin* can be accomplished, an important step will be taken toward the emancipation of trade and toward the establishment of a national and honestly administered customs tax at ports of entry only. This change would give the Chinese Government character—at least, a chance to develop character.

The treaty gives us two new treaty ports, Mukden (which the Russians occupy) and Antung, in Manchuria; it introduces other desirable changes in commercial relations; and it puts American missionaries on a clearly defined basis and gives them the right to lease property. But important as some of the other benefits of this treaty will be, if it be ratified, the abolition of the *likin* and the increasing and the proper administration of customs duties as other governments administer them, is the most important change of all for China and for the development of trade there.

Our influence in the East, then, is toward the strengthening of the flabby Government of China and toward the preservation of the empire from dismemberment. If by their jealousies and antagonisms the great Powers

offset one another and prolong peace from fear if for no higher reason, it may be possible at last so to develop Chinese trade and possibly the character of Chinese government that the empire may become a less easy and hence less tempting prey.

THE DULLEST BOOK IN THE WORLD

THE annual report of the national Commissioner of Education makes it known that last year there were 15,925,887 pupils enrolled in the public schools of the United States; that the average daily attendance was 10,999,273, or 69 per cent. of them; that the average monthly pay of male teachers was \$49 and of female teachers \$40; that less than 28 per cent. of the teachers were males; that the value of high-school property was \$125,000,000; that the total number of colleges, etc., was 638, 330 of which admit both men and women, and so on and so on through the whole thick volume of dullness that the report consists of.

The making of these endless tables gives much dull work to many dull persons, and in turn they afford dull material for an endless number of dull educational addresses by dull pedagogues for numberless dull years to come. But there is not a human being who ever got a living idea out of these totals and averages and percentages; and yet nobody complains. We all seem abjectly to accept educational literature as necessarily dull; and we all go on year by year making averages and percentages. Yet of all subjects on earth, education is the least illumined by statistics.

Now the Government ought to make the Bureau of Education a really useful thing. Doctor Harris, the Commissioner, is a man of great learning; but, it may be, he is fettered, underpaid, held down to the statistical level of mere census work. If this be true, he ought to be freed. And the endless averaging and adding and tabulating of useless knowledge, done by the uninspired workers in his office, would kill the ardor and deaden the imagination of any man.

Does it do education any service? There may be a teacher who has waited eagerly for a year to learn that "of the 43 schools of technology, 27 institutions report women among their undergraduates," but if there be such a person, he is not worth "an average of \$49 a month for males," even if he belong

to the "less than 28 per cent. of the teachers" who "were males--what are they now, pray?], or 122,392 out of a total of 439,596!"

MORLEY'S GLADSTONE, MR. LECKY, AND PROFESSOR MOMMSEN

THE publication of Mr. Morley's "Life of Gladstone" adds to the orderly and authentic materials for English history in the nineteenth century as Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln added to such materials for American history. Mr. Morley's three large volumes are more than a biography, as any satisfactory life of Gladstone was bound to be, covering the long period of the Victorian reign. It is the most important book that

has come to us from England for a very long time.

And the mention of historical subjects this month calls to mind the death of Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, in England, and of Professor Theodor Mommsen, in Germany. The work of both of them was done; for Mr. Lecky's later years were given to Parliamentary duties and to lighter studies than the "History of European Morals." He is the first of the Englishmen to die who received King Edward's decoration of the Order of Merit. Professor Mommsen's fame as a scholar will last as long as the world takes an interest in Roman history—for scholars because of his great "corpus" of Latin inscriptions, and for all others because of his History of Rome.

WHAT THE COUNTRY IS DOING

A REVIEW BY CITIES AND SECTIONS OF TRADE AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS

[THE WORLD'S WORK publishes every month an article in which some timely and vital subject of the financial world is taken up]

A FULL review and a complete understanding of the business situation in all the important commercial and financial centres increases confidence in the inherent strength of the situation. Many bankers and merchants in New York have recently been at great pains to ascertain these facts, with a wish to learn the worst and to face the situation squarely. The result is a confident belief that business is in sound condition, even where its volume is reduced. The country is doing well. There are no indications of decay, nothing on which to base a prophecy of a general collapse.

It is the purpose of this article to review the conditions as they have developed in the different sections of the country, the statements made being based on trustworthy information from the best sources.

THE DECLINE OF STOCKS

First as to the stock market. Various dates have been assigned as the beginning of the decline in stocks. Those who, for political reasons, desire to fasten upon President Roosevelt the responsibility for the decline, attribute it to his commencement of the suit against the Northern Securi-

ties Company, his interference in the coal strike, and his signing of the publicity law creating the Bureau of Corporations.

But before he became President—as early as May, 1901—an event occurred which was the starting-point of much of the trouble, if not all. This was the struggle for the control of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which precipitated the now celebrated corner and panic of that month and year. Wall Street has never fully recovered from that memorable blow.

But the highest prices of stocks were touched in September, 1902, and since then there has been almost continuous decline, greater even than that which took place in 1893. The losses have been tremendous and far-reaching, but it is significant that the fatalities have, all things considered, been very few. In New York five stock exchange houses suspended, but two or three have made arrangements to resume. The ship-building trust has fallen to pieces and is in a receiver's hands, and the revelations of the methods of promotion, underwriting, capitalization, and marketing of securities have shocked the world. This is a scandal in "high finance." Still the mercantile com-

munity has not been seriously affected. The banks have sustained, in an admirable manner, the pressure upon their resources. The building trade, however, has been greatly depressed by a prolonged strike.

THE WORST FACTS

In Philadelphia, loss has been sustained on account of the downfall of the asphalt trust and the Consolidated Lake Superior Company. In Baltimore two trust companies have failed as the result of overpromotion. One advanced \$6,000,000 to a Mexican railroad scheme, an amount larger than either its capital or its deposits. The other put \$1,000,000 into an uncompleted hotel. These failures, together with the suspension of two old and well-known banking houses identified with southern railroads and other properties, have badly shaken the confidence of Baltimore business men.

Pittsburg, made suddenly and wonderfully rich by the great profits of the iron trade, dipped deeply into the tainted pool of speculation. Its losses have been severe, but are confined mostly to its men of wealth. The losses in that city have been one of the main features of the decline in the New York stock market. The actual disorders, however, have been confined to the failure of two banks, one started by men of little practical knowledge of the business, whose methods of exploitation were such that it was refused admission to the Clearing-House; and the other an institution of good reputation, which had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the promoters of the newer bank, and was dragged down by its failure. The Pittsburg banks were able to raise a fund for self-defense, and the flurry caused by these failures quickly subsided. The troubles tested the financial strength of the city, and it has stood the test well. There has been some falling off in trade, but gradual improvement both in confidence and in business has set in.

From Pittsburg the scene of disorder shifted to St. Louis, where runs on trust companies caused much excitement. It has been charged that these runs were caused by malicious rumors started in Chicago and New York; but whatever the truth as regards this, the companies were able to meet the runs and made payment of every obligation as it matured, although insisting on the

time limit of every deposit. The excitement has died out. The fact is, that while St. Louis had caught some of the eastern fever of speculation, the attack was not so severe as in some other cities. It had engaged in few or no "underwritings." It had entered into the organization of a great world's fair with enthusiasm, and while such an undertaking, after it is over, often leaves a city exhausted, its inception generally produces much activity. St. Louis, except for the disorders noted, appears to be in a flourishing condition. Secretary Shaw recently deposited \$3,000,000 of government money in its banks, and the payment of the \$5,000,000 federal appropriation for the fair has begun.

The business of St. Louis is in excellent shape. The city is in the centre of the great corn-raising section, and this region is in fine condition, with every sign of activity and wealth. St. Louis is also the main market for the Southwest, where conditions are somewhat mixed. One half of Texas, for instance, is suffering from a cotton crop damaged by worm, weevil, and drought, but the other half is extremely prosperous, having grown big crops of wheat, corn, and cotton.

YET TRADE IS IN GOOD SHAPE

Now, the financial disorders in these various cities have naturally aroused the suspicion that the evil consequences of overspeculation and overproduction had extended over the entire country, and so weakened the structure of business as to imperil its stability. An examination, however, shows that such is not the case.

It is true that, in a degree, the West has entered into Wall Street speculation. A group of western speculators have been among the notable "plungers" in the market. But speaking broadly, the speculation mania has been an eastern disease. It has affected the West but little except sentimentally, and it may be said that eastern influence over the West is by no means as potent as it was formerly.

Chicago, according to leading bankers, has been remarkably free from speculative and promoting schemes so far as the banks and mercantile houses are concerned. Indeed, the banks in the entire Northwest are reported to be in an excellent condition. Trade in Chicago has declined somewhat, and a few concerns have suffered from overextended

credit, but no weakness has developed, and there is no reason for any depression. Collections are generally better than last year, and with a corn crop of ample dimensions and good quality every western prospect is good, though some reaction is not unreasonable in view of the Presidential election and the labor troubles. Of the latter, Chicago has already had its full share.

St. Paul and Minneapolis report some damage to crops and delay in their movement on account of a long period of bad weather. But this damage has been exaggerated. Some falling off in trade is expected, but no weakness has developed. These cities have been largely free from eastern stock speculations, though there has been in the Northwest considerable speculation in land, which in northern Iowa has done some damage. But St. Paul and Minneapolis report that their financial institutions are strong and the merchants confident but conservative. In Milwaukee, business is in a healthy condition and there has been little active interest in speculation.

Indianapolis reports that speculation and underwriting have not affected business to any extent, and trade is equal to that of 1902. The Detroit banks are entirely free from promoting interests. Trade is somewhat reduced in volume, but entirely sound, and the crop conditions are excellent. Toledo has suffered little from "indigestible securities," and banking conditions are satisfactory.

Cleveland was one of the first cities to suffer from overpromotion. That was more than a year ago, when the Everett-Moore syndicate collapsed. The city experienced considerable loss and uneasiness from that, but the riotous speculation which up to that time had prevailed has been stopped, and the syndicate failure has cleared the air. The situation of affairs is much improved. In Cincinnati there has been an absence of speculation and promotion, and trade, except in iron, in which there has been some falling off in activity, is good.

IN THE FARTHER WEST

Going farther west again, it is found that in Omaha there is no depression except such as may be the result of doubt as to the situation in the East. Omaha banks are in a most satisfactory shape, and the same appears to be true of the banks in the surrounding country.

There have been no speculation and underwriting in the State, and money conditions were never better. Large corn and other crops are an assurance of continued plenty.

From Denver, as might have been expected, come reports of business affected by the strikes in the silver-mining districts and the disputes between the coal miners and coal operators in Colorado, Utah and New Mexico. There have been, on the other hand, big crops in most parts of Colorado. The banking situation there is sound and there has been little speculation. At St. Joseph, Missouri, mercantile conditions are said to have never been better, sales being ahead of last year's. Banks are doing well and the business men are not involved in speculation.

GOOD CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH

Passing now to the South, Memphis reports that the promoting craze has not entered there, and while there has been some speculation, the losses have not been severe. The cotton crop is less in extent, but at the prevailing high prices the yield in money will be much larger than in other years. Montgomery makes substantially the same statement.

New Orleans says that the financial institutions are in better condition than ever before. There has been practically no speculating except in cotton. As is well known, New Orleans has been the seat of operations of the great bull movement in cotton, as a result of which prices have advanced so high that many cotton mills in Massachusetts and elsewhere closed. But the speculation has been confined to comparatively few, and these have made a large amount of money out of the advance. Altogether, there is a very optimistic feeling in New Orleans.

GENERAL RESULTS OF THIS SURVEY

Now, in a broad way, what may be gathered from this exhibit of conditions in the leading cities? In the first place, it is clear that the area of stock speculation has been east of the Alleghanies. Moreover, the East has had its liquidation and is recovering from its effects. Prices, indeed, may go still lower, but the main damage has been done and repairs are now being made. The banks have strengthened their position, and it is a noteworthy fact that they have been able to send millions to the relief of Baltimore and

St. Louis and to aid in the crop movement West and South. The export movement has set in, and gold has been engaged for import.

The West is prosperous without limit. No section of the country has profited more by the expansion of the past seven years, and not having been guilty of the speculative excesses of the East, it now feels less of the effects of the moderate reaction in trade. Moreover, the crops, though late, are of ample proportions, and promise another year of profit to the farmers, who in the past few years have been able to pay off their mortgages and put money in the banks and pianos and telephones in their houses. There cannot easily be a commercial collapse where the agricultural conditions are so good and speculation has not corrupted. It is not meant by this that there has been no speculation in the West. But speculation in the West has not been a vital factor.

It is easy, of course, to point out the signs of trade reaction. They are plain enough. One sign has been the retrenchments made by some of the railroads, which, having completed or suspended construction work, have laid off many of their workmen and thus reduced their pay-rolls. Nevertheless, railroad earnings are still very heavy, showing notable increases over past years, and it begins to look as if net earnings for the current fiscal year would equal, perhaps exceed, those of the year ending June 30th last. In certain sections the movement of products is greater than the capacity of the companies. Moreover, much construction work is still going on, and it is reported that railroads in the Middle West require 10,000 extra laborers for that work. The Pennsylvania Railroad is about to begin the construction of its great terminals and tunnels in New York City, and in this connection note should be taken of the fact that the people have recently voted in favor of a \$101,000,000 improvement of the Erie Canal, work on which cannot long be delayed.

The plainest evidence of reaction is in the iron and steel trade, and as this trade is rightly regarded as a barometer of business, the reduction in the output of pig iron, the decline in the price of steel billets, and the fact that 35,000 employees have been temporarily idle have been regarded as significant. And yet perhaps too much importance may be attached to this development. Already

the reduction has imparted some improvement in trade sentiment. There is a prospect of an enlarged export demand, and the decline in steel billets, leading to similar declines in structural steel and steel rails, will, it is argued, hasten the industrial revival, causing the railroads to buy more freely and active building operations to be resumed. As this is written, reports are received of the reopening of mills that have been closed for several weeks, and 5,000 workmen have resumed labor.

Instead of hunting around for signs of reaction, it is far better to inquire about the great things the country is doing. It is, for one thing, moving big crops of wheat and corn, ample to supply home consumption and have a large surplus for export. It is moving a cotton crop of reduced volume, but of so high a price as to add immensely to the profits of the South. The world must buy of us, whatever the price. Already the exports are lowering the rates of exchange to the import point. Our foreign commerce in November, December, and January will result in a great balance of trade in our favor. Merchants are conservative and cautious, but are doing a large business, and the jobbing trade in leading cities is in excess of anticipations. During October the bank clearings of the country were \$9,176,664,258. This is over 1.9 per cent. less than in October, 1902, but all of this loss is in New York, where the reduction in speculation reduced the clearings to \$5,233,275,203—a decrease of 3.02 per cent. Outside of New York, the gain was more than 2 per cent. In other words, actual trade is larger than last year, and this in spite of the signs of reaction. It is noteworthy that only two of twenty-seven cities in the Middle West reported decreased bank clearings in October, and only four out of twenty in the South.

The country, therefore, has not suspended operations. It is still "doing business at the old stand." It is still supplying the large needs of its immense population, accustomed to many luxuries and bound to have them. It is still supplying the food necessities of Europe. It is still extending its commerce in many directions. Moreover, the benefits of the great consolidations and trusts are being put to the test. If there is discontent, it is the noble discontent of ambition for still greater achievements.

PLOWING IN EGYPT

As it was under Joseph, and as it is under Lord Cromer



THE NEW FARMER AND A NEW EARTH

THE REVOLUTIONARY METHODS WHEREBY AGRICULTURE HAS BECOME AN EXACT SCIENCE—THE PASSING OF THE CLOD-HOPPER—HOW WE NOW FEED LAND WHICH THEN ABUNDANTLY FEEDS US—SOME EXAMPLES OF NEW CROPS AND NEW METHODS THAT ADD MILLIONS TO OUR WEALTH

BY

PROFESSOR B. T. GALLOWAY

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In subsequent articles Professor Galloway will explain the methods whereby men have, by the new agriculture, brought farming up among the highly profitable industries, giving a record of remarkable personal experiences.

I HAVE before me two pictures, typifying the old and the new in agriculture. An emaciated mule, a bull-tongue plow, and an unkempt man form the centre of our first group. A modern gang-plow, turning five furrows, drawn by ten horses, and handled by a young fellow keen of eye and lithe of limb, constitutes our second. It is easy to fill in the pictures. A farm of fifty acres, but one crop grown, no change year after year, no stock, no home comforts, no hope. A farm of 1,000 acres, good

modern buildings filled with machinery—gang-plows, cultivators, steam threshers, self-binders, a dairy house, water-works, and cold storage, herds of thoroughbred cattle, fat steers, horses and mules, fields of clover, corn, wheat, oats and other crops, wood lots, meadows, and pastures.

EXAMPLES OF AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

Going further, we find underlying all this a scheme of work well planned, well executed, based upon scientific knowledge, bulwarked



A MODERN STEAM PLOW THAT TURNS SEVEN FURROWS AT ONE TIME

by practical sense. There are plenty of one-mule farms still in the land, and if we but look across the waters we find conditions which make even the man and the mule objects of envy. While such farms are still to be found, their day is passing; and it is this more than anything else that has made America the wonder of the world, emancipating the tiller of the soil, and giving him an independence never before enjoyed. Up from the Gulf lands of Texas and Louisiana come annually trainload after trainload of a product which, a few years ago, it was thought would not grow there. The National Government gave a helping hand, a new industry sprang into existence, and now the coast from New Orleans to Galveston is a network of rice farms. Science and practical sense solved the problem, and as a result wealth is pouring into a country which but yesterday was considered too poor to support the lean cattle that roamed upon it. Five hundred and seventy thousand acres in rice, \$26,000,000 in canals, machinery



PREHISTORIC TYPE OF PLOW STILL IN USE IN JAPAN

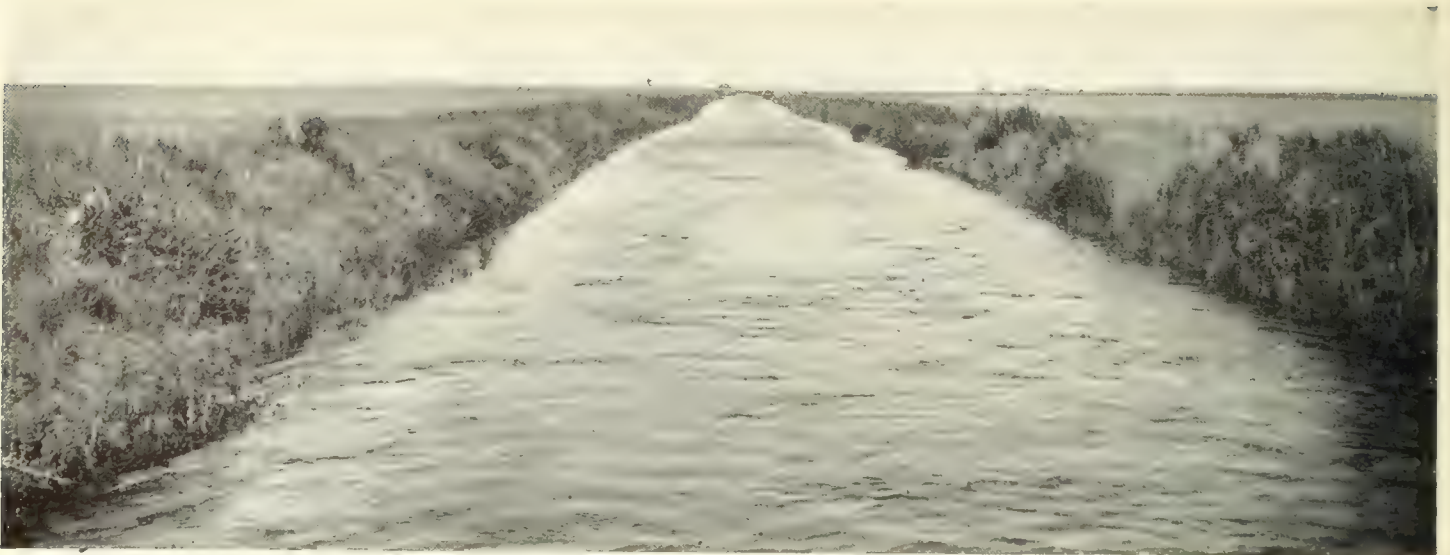
and mills, an annual product of 4,500,000 barrels, valued at \$15,500,000, is the record of a little more than ten years' work.

Out of the great Northwest, from the dry plain country, come another addition to our wealth and another example of what the new agriculture, combining science and practice, has accomplished. Three years ago the farmers of this region were induced to try



BIG CORN IN KANSAS

Photographed by Grigg



A CALIFORNIAN IRRIGATION DITCH

Photographed by Tibbits

some new wheats which had been secured in Russia. The growing of these wheats, it was believed, would not only give profitable employment to large numbers of people, but would also supply the demand for a product of which the United States imports annually something over 8,000,000 pounds. This product is high-grade macaroni, which could

not be made here on account of lack of suitable semolina, or flour. In 1901 about 75,000 bushels of the new wheats were grown; in 1902, 2,000,000 bushels; and this year probably 10,000,000 bushels will be harvested.

No more striking example than this can be found of how twenty or twenty-five years' progress in agriculture has made it possible



THE SWEETWATER DAM

Photographed by Tibbits

The largest irrigation dam in the world. It is 90 feet high and 396 feet long, and holds 6,000,000,000 gallons of water



AN IRRIGATION PUMPING STATION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE DESERT



AN ARTESIAN WELL THAT MAKES A DESERT BLOSSOM

to establish an industry of such magnitude in so short a time. The country sees the results, but behind these are the quiet forces which at the proper moment are made to spring into life. Lo! Nature starts her wondrous loom, and a new industry is born. Studies of soil and climate, markets and men in the great Northwest, by men trained to see, to learn, and to do; similar studies in the Old World, and the result lies before our eyes in the boundless fields of golden grain where prairie grass and sage-brush grew before.

Agriculture is now a diversified industry. The modern farmer is the man who has his 100, 500, or 1,000 acres. His work is as different from that of the horticulturist, the truck-grower, or the florist as the manufacture of locomotives is different from the manufacture of pins and needles.

The modern farmer is concerned with large areas of land. He treats his soil well, and

it yields him \$25 per acre. The florist treats his soil well, but it must yield him \$25,000 per acre, else he is not satisfied. Concentration of effort is required in both cases. The up-to-date farmer must have a system, and this must be correlated and harmonized with the surroundings. He must know his soil, his climate, his markets, and his crops; and the proper use of this knowledge enables him to manage his farm economically.

This means that there is a scientific side and a business side to farming. The farmer may have science galore, and yet without the ability to apply it he is a dreamer of dreams. On the other hand, he may have no knowledge of science as taught, and yet by intuitive foresight be highly successful, provided business capacity goes with the combination. In these days the man with the intuitive knowledge alone cannot be depended upon. He is too uncertain. It is the man who does things, and knows why



WATER—THE GREAT RICE PRODUCER



TREADMILL IRRIGATION IN JAPAN

he does them, who reaches the top. He is the one who is making it practicable to produce 2,500,000,000 bushels of corn. He is the one who is making it practicable for this country to put into the markets more than 600,000,000 bushels of wheat. It is he who is extending crops into the Northwest, the West, and the South, where they never grew before. It is he who is invading New England, where for years the land has been given over to boulders and summer boarders. He is bringing to bear on his work well-known

success. The modern farmer has a scheme of management. He knows his fields, what each is best capable of producing, and how long it will be safe to leave a certain crop on a certain piece of ground. Rigid rotation is practised, hence we go back again to the fields of corn, wheat, clover, and oats. Next year it may be clover, corn, wheat, and oats, and the next year perhaps some other combination.

Clover is the great renovator, the great restorer of fertility, hence the need for bring-



HAYMAKING THE OLD WAY

business principles which have been worked out and found successful in other industries. He is learning to study his markets, and to handle his products so as to reach these markets at a time when the best prices are to be secured.

He accomplishes this because he has caught the true spirit of progress and has been roused from his long sleep by the enthusiasm of those who are spending their lives in the laboratories and preaching the fundamental principles which go to make up

ing it around at the proper time in the system of rotation. Sisters, cousins, and other relations of the clover, are needed also for this purpose, hence the enormous increase in the planting of cowpeas, soy beans, vetches, velvet beans, and alfalfa. All are nitrogen-gatherers, and when grown in rotation with the cereals or with other crops they enrich the land. Down on the roots of all these crops are multitudes of little nodules, and in these nodules are millions of small organisms gathering in the nitrogen from the air and

storing it in such a way that the plant will give it up to the soil, where some other crop, like corn or wheat, can find and use it. All this the laboratory man has taught the farmer, and more still. He has just reached the stage where he can point the way to make the organisms gather ten times more nitrogen than they ever did before, and to start them in land where they did not occur before.

HOW THE MODERN FARMER FEEDS HIS FIELDS

Two important victories have been won in this field: first, the farmer is enabled

dance for all purposes in the air, and the simple means of making this available to the plant is what the farmer wants. The laboratory man isolates and grows these organisms in a pure form, and by his methods of culture intensifies their powers. The farmer has a field of cowpeas to grow. He sends to the laboratory and secures a small packet of sterilized cotton fiber upon which the organisms are growing. He also receives two little packages of chemicals, and is told to dissolve one of these in a bucket or barrel of water, and then to drop in the cotton containing the organisms. The next morning he mixes



HAYMAKING—THE NEW WAY

to make his clover crops larger by gathering more nitrogen; and, second, he is able to get these crops to grow in soil where before they have failed. One hundred million dollars' worth of nitrogen is sent out of the country annually in our principal export crops. This nitrogen must be returned to the soil, else it is only a question of time when the soil will refuse to produce anything. The farmer puts some of it back by the application of fertilizers, such as nitrate of soda, but this is costly. Moreover, it is only a question of time when the supply of such material will become practically exhausted. There is an abun-

in the second chemical, and by simple division the germs soon become so numerous as to make the water milky. This milky fluid is sprinkled on the seed, the seed is put into the ground, and, as the roots put out, the organisms find their way to them, and at once begin the work of taking in and storing up the atmospheric nitrogen. Thus is gained another step toward the ideal agriculture, an agriculture that maintains itself, and will continue forever to give good crops, for all that is taken off is put back.

The type of farmer just described is to be found in many sections of the country. He is preëminently a plant farmer—that is, he

depends essentially on plants, not only to furnish him revenue, but to maintain the fertility of his land. When he finds his fields deficient in plant food despite his rotation, he feeds them with chemicals, sometimes profitably, sometimes not. He has long since learned that chemistry is a great science, but that it cannot tell him much about the needs of his fields nor the needs of his plants. The plants themselves are the best interpreters of such requirements, and he is learning to interpret them. He is learning that the physics of the soil plays an important part in the success or failure of his work. This science tells him that soils on the same farm often have very different physical properties, different capacities for water, different capacities for air, different capacities for heat. Of what use are ten inches of rain to a crop if the soil can only retain in shape for the plant half an inch?

such as to give him the type of product which will bring the most money. All over the country the Department of Agriculture is mapping these agricultural soils, pointing out their physical differences, and teaching the farmers to profit by the facts set before them. After all this is done, however, it still rests with the farmer as a reasoning,



THE RESULTS OF SCIENCE

Two heads of a hybrid wheat and one of ordinary wheat

thinking being, to profit by what science is doing for him. All the science in the world will not make a good farmer, and all the science in the world will never make farming a mere question of mechanics. In the past, learned men have arisen, and have seen or thought they have seen a way to reduce the practices of the farmer to a set of rules. Broad generalities have been made, but all these things have been found fallacious, and the modern farmer knows it, and therefore confines himself to facts in the work he is called upon to do.

THE CATTLE FARMER ON A NEW BASIS

We have pictured the plant farmer, but he is only a type. There is the farmer who



HAIRY VETCH AND OATS

The yardstick in front shows the height of the grain

Down in the south field is a soil that has a water capacity of half an inch. Over in the north field is one that holds two inches of the ten that may fall. Crops behave differently on these two soils, and the farmer can take advantage of this and place the crops in the fields where the conditions are



IN THE LABORATORY

Preparing nitrogen-gatherers for distribution

makes the animal the central feature of his entire system. All things are subordinated to live stock, and here again science and practice must go hand in hand to achieve the highest results. Location, soil, climate, and proximity to markets must be considered, and then the successful farmer works out his scheme. Crops are grown, rotation is practised, but the crops produced (and sometimes more than is produced) are fed on the farm. The manure is returned to the soil, and thus under intelligent management the ground is constantly becoming richer, for most that is valuable which has been taken off by the crops is returned in the manure.

Into this type of farming, therefore, must come not only ability to grow crops, but ability to know animals—how to feed them; how to breed them. The science of feeding and the science of breeding reach into depths which it is unnecessary to explore. Here



MAKING NEW CEREALS

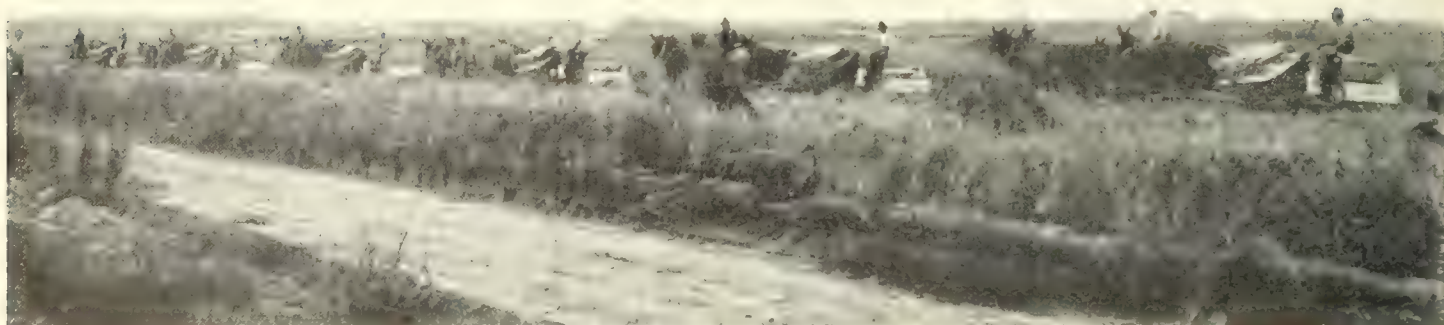
A hybridizer at work

again the laboratory man enters the field and lays down the fundamental principles which the farmer must follow if he is to attain the highest success.

It is he who has shown how the animal lives and how it utilizes its food. It is he



COTTON—THE ONE CROP THAT IS NOT HARVESTED BY MACHINERY



HARVESTING RICE

Photographed by Barnett Brothers

who has classified the foods, pointed out their different uses, and laid down the laws which enable the farmer to feed for fat, to feed for lean, or to feed for milk, as the case may be. It is he, too, who has laid the foundation for the science of breeding, without which there could be no new agriculture. It is in the

been striving. A few years ago he was restricted in his operations. His herds and his flocks were subject to virulent diseases which, sweeping through them like a pestilence, closed his own markets at home and caused the world to erect a barrier to his products.



APPLYING SCIENCE TO FARMING

Treating seed with nitrogen germs

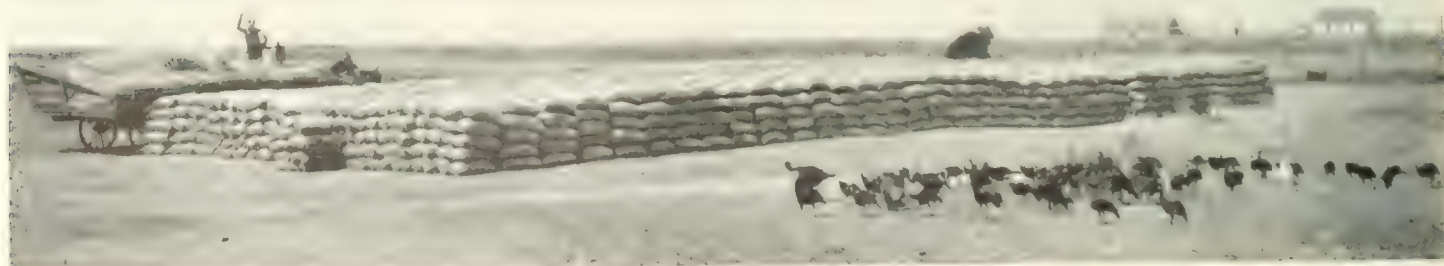


THE VELVET BEAN

A southern nitrogen-gatherer

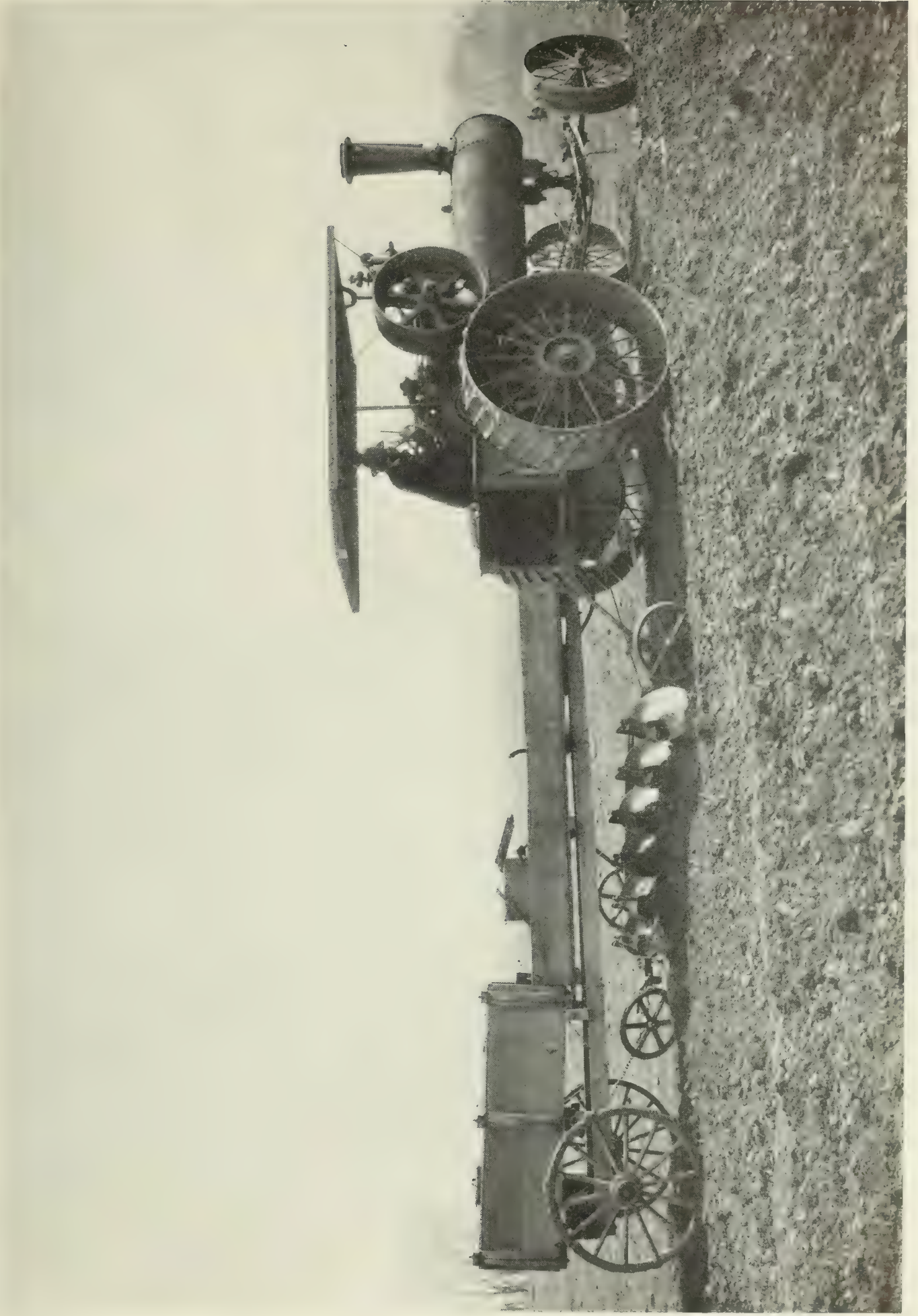
laboratory, furthermore, that there have been worked out some of the vital problems relating to the health of animals—problems that have well-nigh revolutionized some of our industries, and brought the farmer one step nearer a goal for which he has long

All this is now changed. Science has opened the way. Texas fever is a scourge no longer; the mystery of its cause and of its spread has been explained, and its prevention by immunizing has long since been proved, and is now a common practice.



A GREAT PILE OF WHEAT

Photographed by L. L. Lums



LOWING A FURROW SIX FEET WIDE WITH A TRACTION ENGINE



A FLOODED RICE FIELD IN LOUISIANA

Photographed by Barnett Brothers

Few, however, appreciate the importance of this work on the welfare of the South, for it will make it possible, as time goes on, to develop a new agriculture there, an agriculture where land-robbing will give place to land-building. In addition to the eradication of diseases such as pleuro-pneumonia, the foot-and-mouth disease, etc., witness

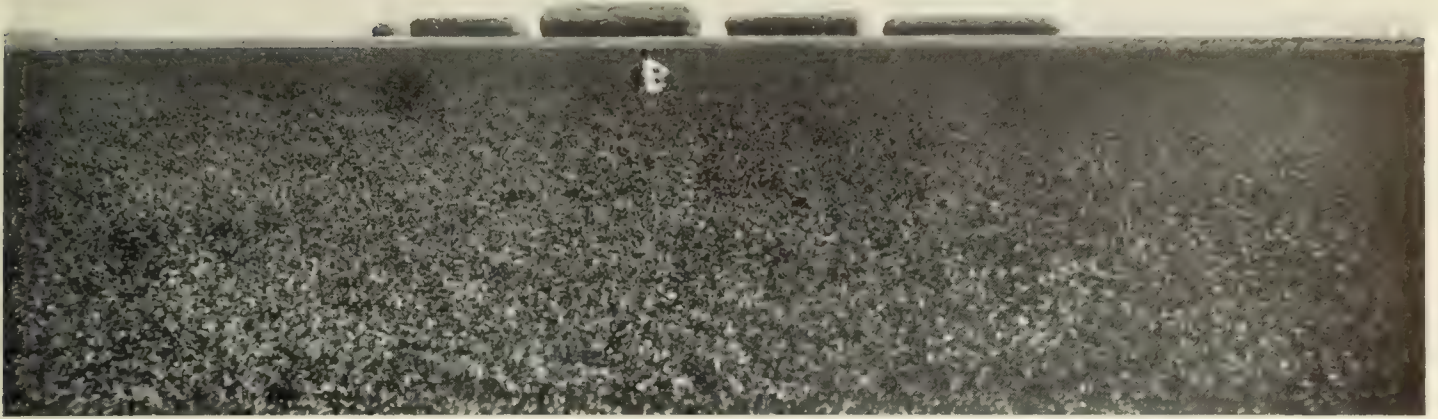
what rigid and intelligent quarantine, rigid and intelligent inspection have accomplished. Last year we sent abroad more than \$250,000,000 worth of animal products, and this was only made possible by the fact that our inspection laws are such that no foreign country can question them.

As a part of this type of modern live-stock



THE DAIRY—OLD STYLE.

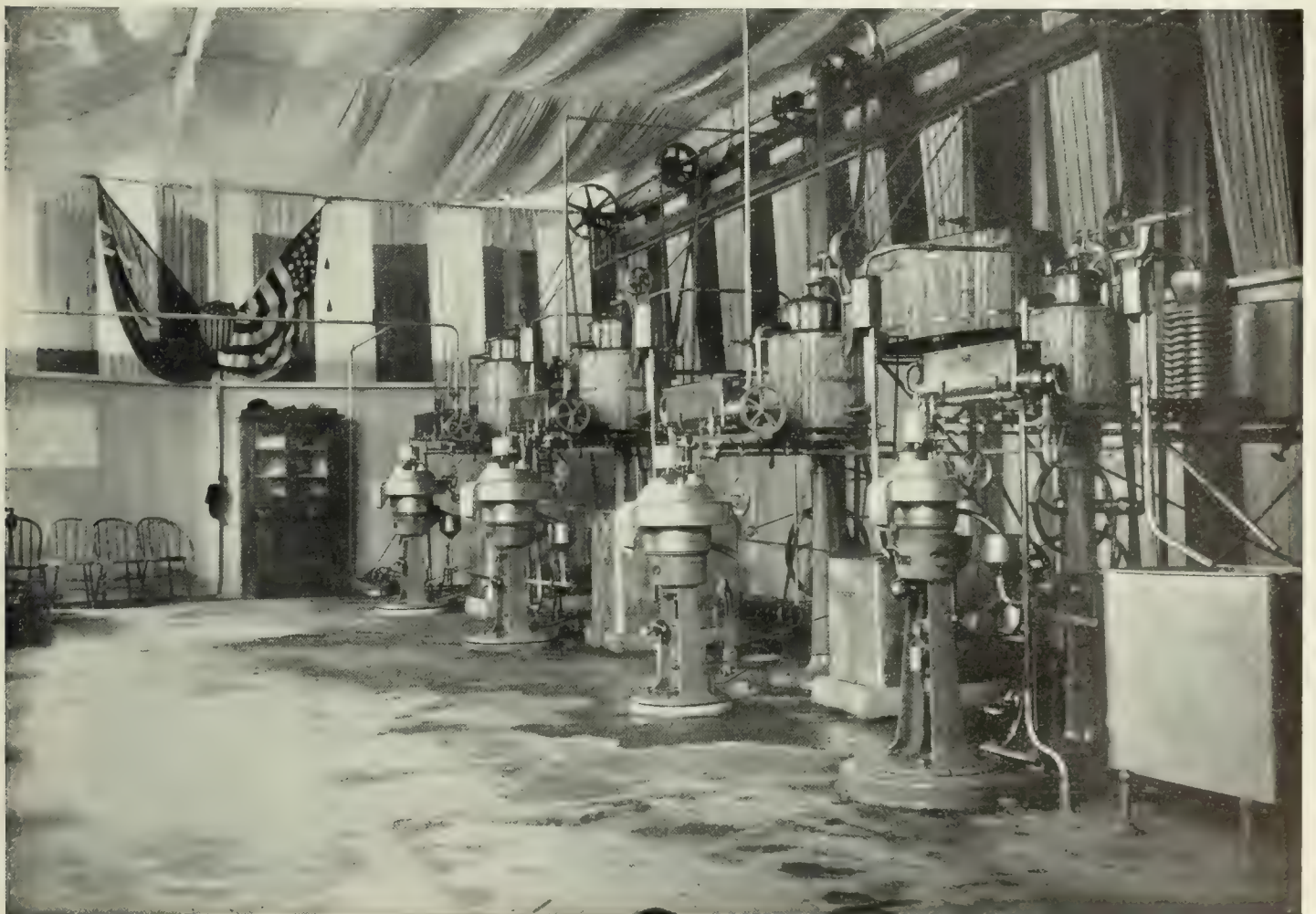
Photographed by Henry Truth



WHERE ALFALFA IS KING

farming, is dairying, an industry complicated in its various relations to other industries, but constituting one of the chief branches of the new agriculture. The adaptation of the different breeds of dairy cattle to the wide variations in conditions and needs in different parts of the country, the best methods of feeding and caring for the cows themselves, the care and handling of the milk and other dairy products, are all questions upon which light has been shed in the past few years, and

which has made this branch of farming exceedingly profitable when properly conducted. In this field chemistry has taken an active part. Chemistry has solved many of the questions relating to animal foods, such as the care of the milk and the production of butter and cheese. No more striking example of the value of science to agriculture can be found than the two discoveries that cream could be separated from milk by mechanical means, and that the fat-content



THE DAIRY—NEW STYLE

Showing the modern mechanical cream separators



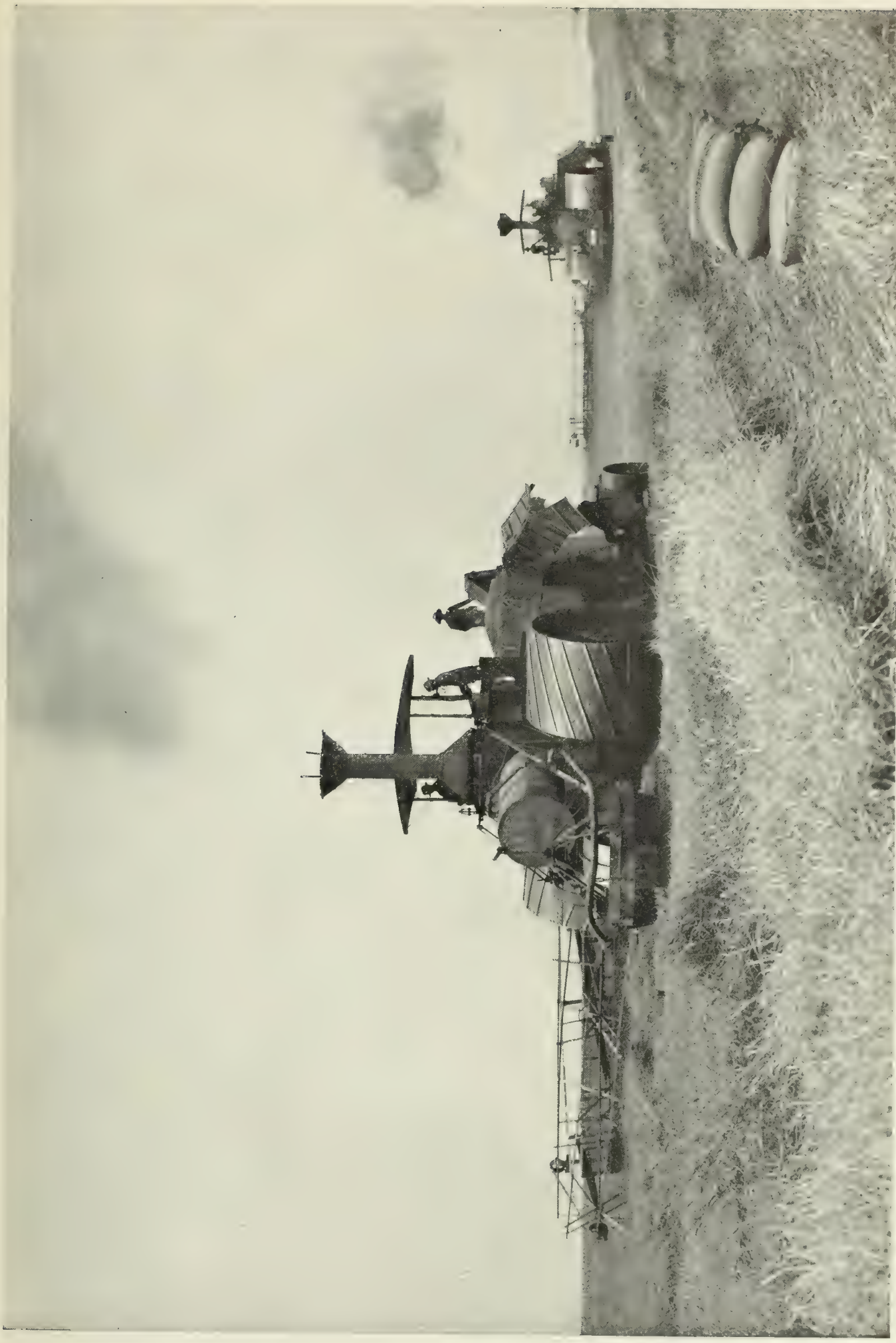
THRESHING IN EGYPT
The method of the Ptolemies still in use

of milk could be determined by a simple operation, part mechanical and part chemical. Both these discoveries have worked a revolution in the dairy industry, leading to changes in practice which a few years ago would have

been thought impossible. The country-made butter is a thing of the past, and the old-fashioned churn and spring-house have given place to the modern creamery, with skimming stations where the farmer carries his milk



A MODERN HARVESTER DRAWN BY 32 MULES



A COMBINED STEAM HARVESTER IN USE IN CALIFORNIA

The greatest of all agricultural machines, which heads the grain, threshes it clean, and lays it in bags in piles on the ground

Photograph by Tibbatts



NOT THE NEW AGRICULTURE
Subsoiling by hand-mattocks in Spain



MACARONI WHEAT
An imported variety

or his cream, and where the latter by modern devices is changed into tons of high-grade, uniform butter each day.

KEEPING THE LAND RICH

Finally, there may be considered a type of the modern farmer who may be found the world over, and who, while applying all that science has taught and is teaching, plays a losing game, if not to himself, then to the generations which follow him. Such farming has for its object getting all from the soil that can be got, but is not concerned primarily with what or how much is put back. Virgin soils and a new country breed this type; and that inherent characteristic in man to rob nature without regard to the future, fixes it. If it were not for the fact that

science has pointed a way for prolonging the life of these farms, vast tracts of land in this and other countries would now be given over to brambles and briars. The use of artificial manures has solved the problem for the time, and there is probably no greater achievement in modern agriculture than that which has placed in every farmer's hands the knowledge that with a bagful of chemicals, properly combined, and properly put on, he can feed his land so as to make it feed him.

Whether this practice may be right or wrong, the fact remains that it is giving a new impetus to agriculture, an impetus which will at least pave the way for higher and better things as the light of new facts and new discoveries are brought to bear.



A STEAM THRESHER AND ITS CREW

Of the irrigation farmer, the grass farmer, the wheat farmer, the cotton farmer, and a score of other different kinds of farmers, it is not necessary to speak at length at this time. They are for the most part specialists, but, like the types here pictured, are profiting by the vast amount of research and experi-

mental work that is being done for them. This is especially the case with the irrigation farmer, through whose energy the desert is being conquered and made to bring forth crops which play an important part in the world's great work.

Such, then, is the modern farmer.

“UNCLE JOE” CANNON AS SPEAKER

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAN—HOW HE CAME TO BE CHOSEN—THE SENATORIAL OLIGARCHY OF THE MCKINLEY RÉGIME AND WHAT HAS BECOME OF IT

BY

OTTO CARMICHAEL

AN office which has but one superior and no peer” is the phrase by which Mr. Thomas B. Reed described the Speakership of the House of Representatives, the office that is now filled by Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois—“Uncle Joe,” as he is familiarly called. He once dictated his autobiography in these words:

“Mr. Cannon was born of God-fearing and man-loving parents. He made himself, and did a darned poor job of it.”

He was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, May 7, 1836. His father, who was a country doctor, shrewd, stubborn, and honest, was drowned when Joseph was fourteen years of age. The boy's school days then ended, and he worked in a country store for small wages till he became an apprentice in a law office. In 1858 he began the practice of law in Douglass County, Illinois. Three years later he was elected district attorney, and he held this position until 1868. Since then he has held no other office than Representative in Congress.

He is of Quaker descent, and was a member of the Society of Friends until he married a Methodist. It is sometimes said that his religious convictions prevented his becoming a soldier in the Civil War. A year ago he was in Massachusetts with Secretary Moody, visiting the home of his remote ancestors. Some one remarked that the Quakers were a thrifty lot. Mr. Cannon replied quickly:

“Yes, and the fact that they left Nantucket for the Virginias and the Carolinas was perhaps as remarkable an evidence of their good judgment as was ever manifested.”

Thrift has been “Uncle Joe's” dominant trait in public and in private life. It has made him the “magnate” of his home town of Danville, Illinois, and of the county. It has been the ruling force of his extraordinary success in Congress, making of him the tireless and intelligent “watchdog of the treasury.” From his boyhood he has saved pennies that he might invest dollars. Little sums were put out to the farmers to earn interest, and with the totals he bought farms, bank stock, buildings in his own town, street railway stock later, and so on. He lives in the biggest and finest house in the town, and not one of his fellow citizens doubts his honest right to this comfortable distinction. A half-century of personal triumphs has not changed the man.

Mr. Landis, a Representative from Indiana, once went to the gallery of the House with a constituent to listen to the debate.

“Who is that?” he asked, pointing suddenly to the excited orator.

“That is Uncle Joe Cannon,” said Mr. Landis.

“I knew it—I knew it,” he said. “I used to go to a debating society with him. He acted and talked in the same way then. I have not seen him since.”

Mr. Cannon's progress in the House since

1870 has been like his steady growth at home. He was appointed to a place on the post-office committee. It soon became apparent that the somewhat uncouth new member was interested mainly in what things cost and what they were worth. To get useful information he was persistent, and the knowledge that he obtained was accurate. In his first speech he defended the first post-office bill which he had helped to make in committee. A Democratic member ventured to challenge one of his statements.

"Mr. Blank is mistaken," sharply replied Mr. Cannon. This form of denial was contrary to the rules because it mentioned a member by name instead of as "the gentleman from Indiana." The offended Democrat called the Speaker's attention to the breach of rules. The Speaker explained, and instructed the new member to proceed in order. With a sweeping and courteous bow, which has since become famous, Mr. Cannon said:

"If the venerable and august gentleman who is such a stickler for the rules will bear with me, I beg to inform him that he lies under a mistake."

This retort was received with just such a shout of laughter as has greeted thousands of others since. The present Congress will miss his speeches. They are bright, witty, and homely, but they do not often wound. While fighting the battles of his party in the House for a third of a century he has made but few personal enemies.

He soon established a reputation for frankness and friendliness, with a sharp wit when he cared to use it. With his associates he was as simple and unaffected as with his neighbors at home. In the House he sometimes took off his collar and rolled up his sleeves in the excitement of debate, just as he would take off his coat when eating dinner with the harvest hands at home. With others this might be affectation, but with this man it is merely living naturally, without more regard for the proprieties than he thinks is required. He has a fund of good stories, and a homely and unconventional way of dealing with his fellows, and he calls half the members of the House by their first names. His services have been very substantial. They would have been substantial even if he were austere. If for a quarter of a century or more he had been a county

judge, he would have been a jovial local celebrity—also a good judge. While serving his second term in Congress, he was driving on a muddy road in March, after the adjournment of a short session, when he met a township road supervisor, who said:

"Joe, do they dock you when you are away from Congress?"

"No; my wages run on just the same," said Uncle Joe.

"The township don't pay people when they don't work," said the farmer.

"I expect it would be better to dock us when we don't work," replied Uncle Joe gravely.

The remark was representative of the judgment of his constituents. That view was and is satisfactory to him. The voters of his district are mainly "God-fearing and man-loving" people. To please them is sufficient for Mr. Cannon. To be natural with them he considers a duty. It is also the best policy.

He looks at Washington from the standpoint of his own district. Successes at the capital have not made him look at his district from the standpoint of Washington.

As chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he has made the same sort of bargains for the Government as he would make as a country banker with his farmer patrons.

Once, after a New York Democratic Congressman finished a highfalutin speech, full of partizan criticism of the Republican party, Mr. Cannon said:

"Now we will resume the regular order and fool the people some more." His own people would understand that remark.

A beautiful view from the steps of the Capitol to Arlington Heights is one of the features of a plan for the harmonious beautification of Washington. Mr. Cannon does not like architects and artists or their judgments. He therefore induced the Secretary of Agriculture to locate a three-million-dollar building in the middle of this long vista. It spoiled the whole scheme. Moreover, it would show to his associates, incidentally to his constituents, his contempt for such a costly artistic effect. He prefers that the people of his district should understand that a carpenter ought to build a house and a stone-mason construct a bridge. His justification is that the work is just as enduring and useful. He has made speeches against

allowing architects their percentages for public buildings. In the end, others usually have their own way. But it is seldom shown that the vote of “Uncle Joe” has had any part in such “extravagances.” The people of his own district never have any doubt that he legislates for the Government just as he conducts his farms.

Of recent years his work has been mainly with appropriations. No one is more competent to deal with big supply bills and with general expenses. He knows the pay of all federal employees and the reasonable cost of all public works. He naturally and forcefully opposes all extraordinary appropriations. He leaves it to the others to prove their necessity. If they can convince the House he never complains afterward. The judgment of the majority is satisfactory to him.

His Republicanism is as strong as his religion. All things of Democratic origin are wrong. Lincoln is his ideal of American statesmen. Those who write about Mr. Cannon’s early life insist that when he saw Lincoln he decided to have a public career. His devotion to his party is absolute.

Nearly all Congressmen have constantly in mind the impression they are making in their own districts. Representatives know that as long as they are with “Uncle Joe” they are not out of touch with their constituents. His judgments about the sentiments and the convictions of the people are unerring. His views are wholesome and sensible, and they meet the views of intelligent and home-loving people—and the voting Republicans. For the Representative who wishes to be reelected he is a safe leader.

With this understanding of the solid confidence which his associates have in him, it requires only a few words to explain why he was made Speaker. For the first time in many sessions the Republicans of the House had an opportunity to use their own judgment in naming a Speaker. Mr. Cannon will not get the individual members into trouble. He will not ask them to stand for anything which they cannot stand for at home when election time comes. This fact is always in his mind. His wisdom and experience will keep them out of traps. The Republicans of the House know that they have a champion who is serving no special interests.

To regard him as merely a “country Congressman” would be an error. He is a man of wide reading and with a fund of accurate information about a variety of subjects. His library is large and substantial. His knowledge of standard writings is frequently revealed in his speeches. This much may be said without saying that he has the mental equipment of Mr. Reed or the intellectual strength of Mr. Carlisle, his recent predecessors in office. He has, however, a more practical knowledge of the workings of the Government than either of these men.

A NEW DEAL IN CONGRESS

The fierce political struggle at the polls in 1896 had as one of its results the strengthening of the power of the Republican leaders in the United States Senate. The interest in that Presidential election was not especially strong until the character of the Bryan campaign was vividly revealed. Instantly strong commercial and social influences which had no definite relation to the Republican party came to the support of Mr. McKinley. The issue was shifted from the tariff to the financial plank of the platform. The result was doubtful in many States and in scores of Republican districts. The State leaders sought every assistance that they could command, and used it for the national and State tickets as well as for the Congressional nominees. In many of the States of the North, Republican United States Senators were largely depended upon as the mediums through which the national committee acted.

When Mr. McKinley was elected the prestige and power of these United States Senators were enormously increased—not only in their own States, but at the national capital. The influence of these leaders had been somewhat weakened by four years of Cleveland and commercial depression.

When the first Congress assembled under the McKinley administration it was plain that Senator Cushman K. Davis was the acknowledged leader in Congress from Minnesota, controlling all the votes from that State in the House. The same was true of Allison in Iowa, of Spooner in Wisconsin, of McMillan in Michigan, of Fairbanks in Indiana, of Cullom (in a modified degree) in Illinois, of Hanna in Ohio, of Quay in Pennsylvania, of Platt (in a lesser degree) in New York,

of Sewall in New Jersey, of Platt in Connecticut, of Lodge in Massachusetts, of Frye and Hale in Maine.

These men were backed in the United States Senate by the power of their almost solid delegations in the House. The few exceptions which may be pointed out did not materially affect their sway. Out of this strong Senatorial leadership grew a legislative oligarchy. Mr. Allison grew more powerful as the recognized legislative leader of the Senate, and Mr. Aldrich became more absolute as its political ruler. It is a common mistake to suppose that the individual strength of these two men established their power in the Senate. Nor did the Senate rule the House, on account of its superior legislative position, when dealing with bills in which the members of the lower House were concerned. The Senatorial oligarchy was maintained on account of the political power in their respective States of the influential Republican Senators associated with Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Allison. At any time Mr. Fairbanks could deliver the thirteen votes of Indiana, Mr. Davis the six votes of Minnesota, and so on through the States which had dominant Republican leaders in the Senate. At times the apparent will of the Senatorial oligarchy did not prevail. The Shipping Subsidy bill is an instance of apparent failure; but this failed, not because the Senatorial oligarchy could not manage it, but because there was a break in the ranks. Some of the strongest of the Senators were secretly against Mr. Hanna, the sponsor of the measure.

President McKinley, who had had great experience in Congressional life, immediately acknowledged this Senatorial authority. All the leaders were his friends. He had many friends in the House, too. But he looked to the Senate to get results. The ambassador from the Executive Mansion was Mr. Hobart, Vice-President, whose faultless method and perfect tact fitted him to deal as a go-between with the Republican Senators over whom he presided. When Mr. McKinley cared to accomplish anything it was Mr. Hobart who diplomatically found out the feeling of the reigning group of Senators. No feature of Mr. McKinley's administration was stronger than his relation to Congress, and this was so satisfactory from his and a Republican standpoint because he recognized

the conditions and took advantage of them in a way which caused no friction.

Speaker Reed in the House was as subservient to this Senatorial authority as were many of the members under him. He was devoted to party discipline, and the partizan orders from the Senate were as a rule obeyed by him. At that time he was a little broken in spirit by his disappointment concerning the Presidency, or he might have made stronger resistance for the honor and dignity of the House. Later, he resigned, and Mr. Henderson was elected by this Senatorial influence. There was on the surface something of a contest, but in reality the election was secured by the definite agreement between certain powerful Senators, sought by Mr. Henderson when he saw that he could not win without them.

THE BREAKING-UP OF THE SENATORIAL OLIGARCHY

It was after the death of Mr. McKinley that the Senate oligarchy began to break up, although the accession of Mr. Roosevelt had little to do with the disintegration. Senator Davis died, and now the votes of Minnesota are not in the hands of a Senator, to do with them as he sees fit. Senator McMillan, too, is dead, and Senator Burrows, the senior Senator from Michigan, does not work with the oligarchy. In Indiana Senators Fairbanks and Beveridge divide in the authority over the Congressional delegation. In Ohio the same is true of Senators Hanna and Foraker. In Wisconsin Mr. Spooner has lost his dominant power over the delegation for various State reasons, and the same is true of Cullom in Illinois. In Pennsylvania Mr. Quay is transferring the leadership of the Republican party to Senator Penrose, and cannot now order the whole delegation as he could a short time ago. Senator Platt's influence with the New York delegation is much weaker than it once was, and the group of New England Senators cannot control the various State delegations.

The Senators who determined the important legislation in Congress throughout the McKinley administration can no longer do so because they have lost their hold of their Congressional delegations. Apparently, they did not even realize this themselves until the test came at the close of the last session. Senator Aldrich came forward with a financial

bill. Three years ago he could have pushed this, employing perfectly working legislative machinery. The intimations that he would punish those who would not help him were laughed at. He had no special influence at the White House. He could no longer organize the House. Many claim that the ruling forces of the Senate will reorganize in the early days of this Congress.

It was at the close of what might be termed the McKinley legislative epoch that Mr. Cannon was elected Speaker of the House. (The fact that McKinley died more than two years ago does not mean that the organization of the Congress of his administration ended then.) When Mr. Henderson resigned, the ruling group of Senators could not get together to indicate his successor. The House was left to its own devices. Thus it came about that Mr. Cannon was elected. He was fortunate to reach the chair without being hampered by a single Senatorial obligation or a promise to any powerful influence. While the American Congress is passing through the various stages of reorganization he is fortunate in being a free agent.

In the Senate, legislation proceeds by "unanimous consent." In the closing hours of the session one Senator can kill an important measure. In the House, legislation proceeds by a majority vote under special rules. The individual is suppressed. This and other reasons give the Senate a great legislative advantage over the House, and the Senate tends constantly toward an extension of privilege. The last word of Representative Cannon in the Fifty-seventh Congress was a vigorous protest against the Senate's methods. His present position makes it interesting to quote the closing sentences of that speech.

"Gentlemen, I have made my protest. I do it in sorrow and humiliation, but there it is; and in my opinion another body [the Senate] must change its methods of procedure, or our body, backed by the people, will compel that change, else this body, close to the people, shall become a mere tender, a mere bender of the pregnant hinges of the knee, to submit to what one member of the other body [the Senate] may demand of this body as the price of legislation."

SURGICAL ADVANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

THE IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN PRACTICE BY AMERICAN SURGEONS—A ROLL OF HONOR—OPERATIONS THAT ARE NOW PERFORMED IN ALL COUNTRIES

BY

FRANK P. FOSTER, M.D.

(EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK MEDICAL JOURNAL)

WE Americans are a self-critical people; that is to our advantage. We have a tendency to self-depreciation; perhaps we carry that too far. Many of us are even now prone to take it for granted that professional achievement has reached a higher plane in Europe than among ourselves. As regards surgery, this feeling has undoubtedly been intensified by the deservedly popular *éclat* that surrounded Professor Lorenz, of Vienna, during his visit to the United States a year or so ago. It is conceded that Professor

Lorenz is a man of exceptional skill in his specialty, and in addition he showed personal qualities that endeared him to the profession and to the people of this country. It is a decided mistake, however, to argue from all this that our surgeons as a body are at all inferior to their European colleagues. Indeed, quite the reverse is the case, for in no country is surgery more successfully practised than in America, and none has made more important contributions to the advance of the surgical art during the last half-century. Many of these contributions are of a nature

unsuitable to set forth in such an article as this, but some of the more salient may be mentioned to advantage.

First of all, America gave anesthesia to the world, and without that, it is safe to say, the surgery of the present day would never have come into existence. Emergency surgery, of course, would perforce have been continued, and now and then, as in former times, an occasional plucky individual would submit to an operation not absolutely essential to the actual saving of life. Even with the certainty of the "blessed oblivion" conferred by the anesthetic, it is in rather a forlorn frame of mind that the ordinary man goes to the operating table. But of the horrors of surgery before the days of anesthesia we have really no conception. Let me quote a few passages from a letter written to Sir James Simpson by a medical man who had had to undergo an amputation (cited by Doctor Ashhurst, of Philadelphia, in an essay read at the semicentennial of anesthesia, held in the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1896, and quite recently brought anew to our attention in a delightful book entitled "A Narrative of Medicine in America," by Doctor James Gregory Mumford, of Boston). The writer said:

"The operation was a more tedious one than some which involve much greater mutilation. It involved cruel cutting through inflamed and morbidly sensitive parts, and could not be dispatched by a few strokes of the knife. . . . During the operation, in spite of the pain, my senses were preternaturally acute. . . . I watched all that the surgeon did with a fascinated intensity. I still recall with unwelcome vividness the spreading out of the instruments, the twisting of the tourniquet, the first incision, the fingering of the sawed bone, the sponge pressed on the flap, the tying of the blood-vessels, the stitching of the skin, and the bloody dismembered limb lying on the floor."

He speaks also of "the blank whirlwind of emotion, the horror of great darkness, and the sense of desertion by God and man, bordering close upon despair," that swept through his mind and overwhelmed his heart. Such was operative surgery before America gave anesthesia to the world.

In the vast expansion of surgical work that was made possible by anesthesia and, twenty years later, effective by the Listerian asepticism, the men of our own country have done their full share. They had indeed,

before those epoch-making advances, done no inconsiderable part of the world's creditable surgery, as may be learned from Doctor Mumford's book, already cited. Among those of their achievements that belong to the last fifty years, the following seem worthy of particular mention.

Beginning with the surgery of the skeleton, let us first deal with the subject of dislocations. The rack could hardly have had more terrors for its victims than some of the ancient machines for the replacement of dislocated bones must have had for the subjects of dislocation, and the occasional use of the pulleys is well remembered by some of us who are still living, to say nothing of the booted foot in the armpit; but Doctor Reid, of Rochester, Doctor Bigelow, of Boston, and various other American surgeons, have virtually brought about the abandonment of such crudities, substituting for them manipulation.

The present treatment of broken bones is almost wholly the result of American ingenuity. Some of those who read this article may need to be told that in many cases of fracture there is an obstinate tendency on the part of the fragments to slip by each other. This is due to involuntary muscular action, and it sometimes leads to non-union, sometimes to union with deformity, and sometimes to noticeable shortening of the limb. Hence it has long been recognized that extension must be applied to the limb in such cases—*i. e.*, it must be stretched to its natural length, and kept so stretched until the fragments of the broken bone have united. Now, the old methods of extension were painful, required protracted confinement to the bed, and often produced ulceration of the parts on which the extending noose pressed. The first advance was made by Doctor Josiah Crosby, of Manchester, New Hampshire, who found that extension could be made by broad bands of sticking plaster, without the danger of ulceration. Doctor Gurdon Buck, of New York, took the next step when he invented his "elastic extension" apparatus, which makes traction by the simple action of a weight attached to a cord playing over a pulley at the foot of the bed. This device is now universally used for simple fractures of the thigh bone, though there are cases in which the suspension splints invented by Doctor Nathan R. Smith, of

Baltimore, and Doctor John T. Hodgen, of St. Louis, are preferred. These hold the limb suspended above the bed in a comfortable attitude and at the same time accomplish extension.

But another step was soon to be taken—one that at first seemed to have a very restricted field of availability, but that ultimately turned out to be susceptible of such association with the extension principle as to lead to one of the grandest achievements of modern surgery. The initial feature was the devising of a manageable and comfortable plaster of Paris splint by Doctor James L. Little, of New York. For some years its use was limited to cases of fracture of the leg below the knee. Its advantages were that it kept the fragments of bone motionless in their proper places, and that it admitted of the patient's walking about with the aid of crutches at the end of a few days after the occurrence of the accident, instead of languishing in bed for weeks.

Doctor Little, it is true, did not originate the idea of strict immobilization. It is, indeed, a very old one, but previous attempts to apply it had been very unsatisfactory. Accounts of the excellence of Doctor Little's splint soon found their way to Europe, but they must for some time have been lacking in accuracy, for some young American surgeons who had seen it in operation in New York were shown in certain Continental hospitals examples of the alleged adoption of the new splint, but they were astonished to see men in bed with their legs embedded in great masses of plaster of Paris. Doubtless this clumsy dressing secured immobility of the fragments, but at the entire sacrifice of facilities for testing the accuracy of their position from time to time; and so far as walking about was concerned, the men might as well have had cannon balls chained to their ankles.

For several years it was not thought safe to apply plaster of Paris at the outset; consequently the practice was to wait until the swelling of the soft parts had subsided. Now, this swelling does not come on at once, but the surgeons waited for it, and then waited for it to subside, comparative immobility being kept up in the meantime by properly confining the leg in a fracture box, which need not here be described. It was reserved for Doctor Henry B. Sands, also

of New York, to demonstrate that it was unnecessary to wait for the swelling to occur. He made the necessary extension at once, with the patient anesthetized, and applied the immobilizing plaster immediately. He also showed that not only fractures below the knee, but almost all fractures of the limbs as well, could advantageously be treated in this way.

Then came the combination of the plaster of Paris cast with extension. It was realized that when the extent of surface to which sticking plaster could be applied was so small that the plaster would not hold, its place could be taken by a plaster of Paris cast without danger of ulceration, and this made almost all fractures of the long bones amenable to efficient treatment that hardly interfered with the patient's comfort. In the meantime, Doctor Lewis A. Sayre, another New York surgeon, had adapted the sticking plaster extension idea to the treatment of hip-joint disease, and many a little sufferer who would otherwise have been forced to remain recumbent for weary months was seen hopping about the streets and parks, drinking in new strength to resist the tuberculous infection that lay at the bottom of his hip trouble. Finally Doctor Sayre applied the extension treatment to the spine, and that enlargement of its field is what I have already spoken of as "one of the grandest achievements of modern surgery."

Pott's disease (tuberculous disease of the bodies of one or more of the bones of the spinal column, the disease that gives rise to angular curvature of the spine, the hunchback deformity), in its early and curable stages, Doctor Sayre treated by hanging the patient up by the head by means of a tripod, trusting to the weight of the body to effect the necessary straightening of the spine. Then he applied a plaster of Paris jacket, and that kept the spine straight. This treatment has proved so successful that we are almost justified in expecting that before many years hunchbacks will be unknown. It is true that Doctor Sayre's methods were not altogether novel, for we know that suspension was practised many years before his time, but there was something lacking which he supplied; at all events, he perfected the treatment and made it "go," and it is probable that he was quite unaware that in any of its features it had

formerly been tried and fallen into oblivion. Then we have to record Doctor James R. Wood's wonderful success in effecting the reproduction of bone lost by operative procedures, Doctor A. M. Phelps's recognized operations for club-foot, and Doctor Adoniram B. Judson's demonstration of the *rôle* of rotation in lateral curvature of the spine—all these men New Yorkers. Surely America has distanced all rivals in the surgery of the bones.

In the surgery of the nervous system our countrymen have not perhaps so often been pioneers as in some other fields, but they have always been abreast of others, and in particular Doctor Roswell Park, of Buffalo, has done much excellent work in the operative treatment of epilepsy, and Doctor Robert F. Weir, of New York, and others have made an equally good showing in operations for tumors of the brain. Closely akin to the surgery of the nervous system is that which, though not consisting in operations directly upon that system, has for its prime object the relief of distressing nervous symptoms. The belief seems to be gaining ground in the medical profession that many such symptoms often depend on "eye strain." Doctor George T. Stevens, of New York, has been prominent among those who have contended for this view, and his operation of "graduated tenotomy" of the muscles of the eye—that is to say, partial division of their tendons—for the relief of various nervous disturbances, some of them of a very grave character, seems to be coming more and more into use.

Turning our attention to the organs of respiration, we find that Doctor Horace Green, of New York, was the first to demonstrate the practicability of passing an instrument through the opening of the larynx—that is, he demonstrated it to his own satisfaction and to that of a few appreciative physicians, but most of his professional associates were so skeptical that, to their discredit it must be said, they maligned him to the end of his life. Doctor Horace Green really did what he professed to do, and it may be questioned whether he was not entitled to stand side by side with Doctor Garcia as a founder of modern laryngology. Many years later Doctor Joseph O'Dwyer, also of New York, introduced the procedure of intubation of the larynx, as it is called, the

insertion of a small self-retaining metallic tube into the opening of the larynx to enable the patient to breathe in cases of croup or diphtheria in which the false membrane is formed in such amount as to present a mechanical impediment to inspiration. It is now the accepted resource for such emergencies all over the world. Several years earlier Doctor Bouchut, of Paris, had endeavored to establish the practice of laryngeal intubation, but his method was faulty. That same Doctor Gurdon Buck who introduced elastic extension in the treatment of fractures was the first to resort to incisions of the tissues at the top of the larynx in cases of a sudden accumulation of a watery fluid in them—edema, as it is called—causing great swelling and obstruction, a state of things of which many a man has died.

In quite recent years Doctor John B. Murphy, of Chicago, has established the highly novel practice of giving rest to the diseased lung in cases of pulmonary consumption by injecting nitrogen into the sac that encloses the lung. The gas is not irritating and it is not absorbed, so that it remains in the pleural sac and compresses the lung, reducing it from its normal spongy condition to a density almost like that of liver. In such a state, of course, the lung is quiescent, taking no part in the function of breathing, for which the other lung, provided it is healthy, is amply competent. The compressed lung, being kept at rest for a protracted period, is in a condition most favorable for repair; when it has been repaired, the nitrogen is withdrawn, and the lung then expands and resumes its function. Doctor Murphy's highly ingenious idea has not fallen flat, as might be inferred from the recent rarity of allusions to it in medical literature; on the contrary, the practice founded on it is frequently resorted to by very intelligent men who are largely occupied with the management of consumption, and there can be but little doubt that it will ultimately be recognized as of very great value in suitable cases. Long before this expedient was proposed, Doctor Henry I. Bowditch, of Boston, had shown that the mechanical removal of liquid poured out around the lung as a result of pleurisy was, when properly performed, a safe and curative procedure. Doctor Bowditch was not a surgeon, but his study of pulmonary diseases led him to adopt this surgical measure.

The surgery of the circulatory system has been most notably exemplified in the United States. Doctor Valentine Mott, of New York, has been credited by the most renowned British surgeon up to his own time, Sir Astley Cooper, with having oftener and with greater success tied large arteries for disease (chiefly for aneurism, a pouchlike dilatation of an artery that, if left to itself, almost invariably bursts and causes its victim to bleed to death) than any other surgeon in the world. But Doctor Mott's achievements were for the most part prior to the half-century that we are particularly reviewing. Laurels of the same sort were subsequently won by Doctor J. Kearny Rodgers and Doctor Willard Parker, of New York. The surgery of the heart is yet in its infancy, but American surgeons have not been backward in contributing to its progress.

In the surgery of the abdominal organs, too, Americans have made their mark. Doctor Willard Parker was the first to open abscesses which he recognized as due to that prevalent disease which is commonly known by the hybrid name of appendicitis. He even made a close approach to the formal operation of the present day, though apparently it is not known that he actually removed the vermiform appendix. Certain it is that he directed modern attention to the appendix as the origin of many a case of fatal disease that had previously been regularly recorded as "peritonitis." He paved the way for Doctor Reginald H. Fitz, of Boston, whose pathological researches in regard to the subject have thus far been unapproached anywhere in the world. In fact, the whole surgery of "appendicitis" is primarily and essentially American.

There are diseased conditions of the intestine that not infrequently call for the operation known as "intestinal anastomosis." It consists in cutting away the diseased portion and reestablishing the continuity of the digestive tube. A mechanical device invented by Doctor John B. Murphy—the same Murphy who introduced the nitrogen treatment of consumption, as has been mentioned—known as the Murphy button, has come into use all over the world as an important aid in establishing this restored intestinal continuity. Many substitutes for the Murphy button have been proposed, but Murphy's own invention is still upper-

most in the thoughts of surgeons who have to perform the operation.

The surgery of other abdominal organs has been notably cultivated and improved in our country. With no intention of being invidious, I may be allowed to mention the work of Doctor Theodore A. McGraw, of Detroit, Doctor William S. Halsted, of Baltimore, and Doctor John B. Deaver, of Philadelphia, in connection with operations on the liver and the biliary passages, and that of Doctor Francis H. Markoe, of New York, in operations for the removal of the spleen. All these men have added immensely to the world's knowledge of abdominal surgery, and so, too, have numerous other American surgeons. It was a New York surgeon, Doctor J. Marion Sims (formerly of Montgomery, Alabama), who first effectively advocated opening the abdominal cavity in cases of gunshot and other wounds of the abdomen. It was the case of the lamented Garfield that led him to the reflections on which he founded his proposal; it has since borne fruit of which we may well be proud.

Quite a recent operation of American origin is "decapsulation" of the kidney, introduced by Doctor George M. Edebohl, of New York, but sufficient experience with it has accumulated to show that it gives great promise of fulfilling its author's design, that of checking the progress of Bright's disease in a fair proportion of instances. It consists in detaching more or less of the proper capsule of the kidney. By "proper capsule" is meant the thin investment which adheres to the kidney, as distinguished from the mass of fat in which the organ is embedded. The mechanism of the remedial action of this procedure seems at present to be rather uncertain; but however that may be, the action certainly takes place.

The surgery of the diseases and injuries peculiar to women may fairly be said to have had its inception in the United States. To begin with, though it was introduced long prior to the particular period with which this article deals, there was the operation of ovariectomy, first performed and advocated by Doctor Ephraim McDowell, of Kentucky. Doctor McDowell performed it successfully in several instances in the first half of the nineteenth century, but up to the time of the establishment of Listerism it proved to be a very dangerous operation save in the

hands of a few men of exceptional skill, such as Sir Spencer Wells, of London, Doctor Keith, of Edinburgh, Doctor Clay, of Manchester, England, Doctor Peaslee, of New York, the Atlees, of Philadelphia, and Doctor Kimball, of Lowell, Massachusetts. Without the advantages of asepticism those gifted men saved, by means of McDowell's operation, thousands of lives that otherwise would infallibly have been prematurely sacrificed.

Years after Doctor McDowell's time there arose in Montgomery, Alabama, Doctor James Marion Sims, who may be called the father of modern gynecology. Soon after the attainment of his initial successes Doctor Sims came to New York, where he aroused such enthusiasm that the Woman's Hospital was straightway established. After this he spent a long time in visiting various European capitals, whither he went, not as a student, but as a teacher. So far as the profession was concerned, he was received with quite as much *éclat* as that which greeted Professor Lorenz recently in America. Not all of Doctor Sims's ideas have stood the test of time, but his work and his person-

ality made their impress upon all subsequent gynecology.

It will be seen from this brief sketch that our countrymen have not only given to the world the priceless boon of anesthesia, but have also materially advanced the surgery of almost every part of the human organism. American surgery has not a little to be proud of and stands securely on its own foundations. We are always ready to learn from others, and to that end numbers of our men annually visit European capitals for purposes of special study; but no longer, as in the remote past, do they seek for a general professional education in Edinburgh, London, Paris, Vienna, or Berlin, to mention those cities in the chronological order in which one or another of them was formerly the Mecca of the American medical student and young practitioner. Of course, the time will never come, and never should come, when American surgeons will cease their endeavor to learn all they can from those of other countries; but we feel now, as we have felt for some decades, that we can give quite as much as we are likely to take.

THE TRUE CHARACTER OF NEW YORK PUBLIC SCHOOLS

TWENTY-THREE MILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR WELL SPENT BUT WHOLLY INSUFFICIENT — GOOD WORK OF THE PRESENT BOARD — BUT UNSPEAKABLY UNSANITARY CONDITIONS IN SOME OF THE SCHOOLS— HOW PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS ARE CONDUCTED BY DOCTORS AND NURSES — BAD METHODS AND BAD MANNERS — THE IMPROVEMENTS UNDER WAY — THE PROBLEM PRESENTED BY IMMIGRATION

BY

ADELE MARIE SHAW

Illustrated from photographs by Arthur Hewitt

(The first of a series of first-hand studies of American public schools)

THE future of this country is more than ever in the hands of the public schools." We hear the statement often and are not startled. Now and then we rally (in our newspapers) to shout "Hands off!" to the sectarian and to the politician, and "Three cheers!" or "Down with fads!" to the reformer, but, unless some boy or girl in our own household raises the cry of injustice,

we bother ourselves very little about the schoolroom influences that are making or spoiling American children.

What citizen or parent, for instance, who has no official connection with the public schools, has within a year been inside a schoolroom? or knows whether the work done in the public school nearest him is good or bad?

THE PROBLEM IN NEW YORK CITY

I chose New York City as the starting point in a study of the public schools of the United States because New York's problem is so difficult that once solved it would shed a calcium light upon the problems of other places. No other municipality had ever to meet a problem so difficult, so peculiar, and at the same time so all-embracing. With eighty-five per cent. of its population foreign or of foreign parentage; its salvation dependent upon the conversion of a daily arriving cityful of Russians, Turks, Austro-Hungarians, Sicilians, Greeks, Arabs, into good Americans; its average citizen ignorant or indifferent concerning educational ideals; its present effort weighted with the ignorance and corruption of the past, the city has a problem of popular education that is staggering.

THE EXCELLENT NEW WORK NOW DONE

No New Yorker can read the last report of the City Superintendent and the next report of the building department, to be issued forthwith,—can follow the new course of study, or visit the schools where this dead print becomes living fact,—and not be thrilled.

He is proud to know that New York's school buildings are the finest in the world. He can see for himself the difference between the old packing-box type and the new "No. 153" (in the Bronx). A wrought-iron gateway, a beautiful court, a superb staircase, a light and spacious schoolroom, please the eye; and if any man casts a disapproving glance at beauty that may "cost," he will appreciate the report which shows that "the public school buildings of New York, accommodation of numbers considered, cost less by one-half than those of Boston."

If the leaven has not yet leavened the whole lump it is because the lump is so large. It is not one group of men nor one class of citizens that is to blame; for, taken altogether, the schools of Greater New York are what the public of Greater New York are content to have them.

CAN ANY AMOUNT OF WORK OR MONEY
REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

There were enrolled in the public schools last year 588,614 pupils. This year there

is an increase in the day schools of 40,408 (enrolled pupils). September 30th there were 89,316 children in part-time classes. When we consider that 73,226 of these should have been provided for during the Tammany administration, and that the new buildings when completed will furnish 21,447 more sittings than are now needed, we can guess in some fashion at the stupendous energy, skill, and determination of the present Board of Education. In the history of the world I doubt if money was ever more wisely expended than the \$23,000,000 used in 1901-2 by the present managers of the public schools of this city. How many parents have any knowledge of the enormous gain of the past two years? How many, comparing poor conditions with the best, are ready to say, "Make it all good, *no matter what it costs.*"

And it will cost. For the first time in our history all children of school age are registered and cared for, all truants are followed up, all recreant parents coerced. This alone adds an army to the school registers. Under this administration more children live and fewer die. This, as well as immigration, crowds the schools. And all the time, back of this growth by avulsion and by restoration, are the natural accretion and expansion of a great and attractive city whose normal increase is almost forgotten behind the descending avalanche of aliens.

What in the face of growth like this are 20,000 or 200,000 sittings? Unless Tammany returns forever to power (and that is not possible), East Side babies will go on improving; fewer tiny coffins will be needed, and more schoolroom chairs. Unless legislation dams the encroaching flood, more babies will be brought here and more babies will be born here than ever before. And unless New York ceases to draw like the magnet it is, its population will be swelled by contributions from the North and the East and the South and the West of our own country.

No one denies that New York's growth is abnormally large, its adoption of aliens abnormally confiding. If it hopes to Americanize a school population chiefly of foreign parentage it must use abnormal means. Last year one school had free baths; 1,000 baths were taken in that school in one week. Every school in the thickly settled districts should have free

baths. If you sniff at "frills" and say, "Give them the three R's; let them get clean at home," you forget that they will not get clean at home, and that if they stay unclean in school every child and every home is endangered.

To educate the children of our adoption we must at the same time educate their families, and in a measure the public school must be to them family as well as school. To do this and not to neglect, as we are now forced to neglect, the children who are here, needs not twenty-three million dollars in a year, but five times twenty-three millions. If we withhold it we surrender the city to crime and to disease.

SCENES FROM PRIMARY SCHOOL ROOMS

In order to make a fair picture of the work, good and bad, that is done in New York public schools, since the beginning of the school year I have visited twenty-five of the schools where little New Yorkers are trained. These schools were very carefully selected, both for location and for such other considerations as should make them representative of the elementary system, so that the change from building to building has often been as great as the change from tropic to pole. Some children spend their entire school life under a *régime* that would make criminals of harmless mollusks, and some from kindergarten to graduation know only the influences that strengthen and establish.

In one of these primary schoolrooms an eager little girl is reciting,

"Down in the meadow where the stream runs blue
Lived an old mother fish and her little fishes two."

You suspect something amiss with the natural history, but you know the atmosphere is gentleness and good-will. Across the corridor the woman whom the children call "a murder" is devoting herself to "discipline."

The lower-grade teachers bear the heaviest burden of the public school system. Their classes are too large, and the demands made upon them are exacting.

THE MATERIAL THE SCHOOLS MUST WORK ON

In a Brooklyn school not far from the Bridge I visited a room where sixty-five

very small children were packed into a space properly intended for twenty. A bright-faced young woman was steadying a sleeping baby upon his third-of-a-seat while she heard the remaining sixty-four recite. By the end of the hour she had the sleepy one at the blackboard delightedly making a figure.

"He and his brother here are little Cubans," she explained. "They speak no English, but the brother can already imitate anything the rest can do."

I saw the small class a few days later and the two were already melted into the rank and file and were losing the distinctly foreign look. Soon they will begin to be ashamed of their beautiful Spanish name, and will revise its spelling in deference to their friends' linguistic limitations. Esther Oberrhein in the entering class changes to Esther O'Brien in the next grade. Down in Marion Street a dark-eyed son of Naples who came last spring as Guiseppi Vagnotti appeared in September as Mike Jones.

The adaptability of childhood modifies more than the names. Mr. Hewitt, in looking for "types" to photograph, remarked the extraordinary homogeneousness of upper-grade children. Swedish, Norwegian, Italian—all were *American*. With every "type" the primary teacher must deal. With the cruel-fingered boy who "fell from a window a year ago and isn't quite right," to the big girl just landed guiltless of any tongue save her native Yiddish, the same magic must be made to work; the fusing and amalgamating force of interest kept at white heat. It is exhausting labor.

Did you ever try to teach sixty-five or even fifty-five little children how to thread a worsted needle? Did you ever take care of a mere dozen for a morning? If you did, you will admire and not carp at the woman who keeps her temper, treats them like human beings, and teaches them to speak English and tell the *and* story, even if she does say, as I heard one, "Don't that come in lovely," "somewheres," and "O my goodness."

The good primary teacher has the power of making you forget your environment. It was in the cavernous dimness of a very dreary room that I became so absorbed I overstayed my hour. It was here that Garcia, Mendelssohn, and Joshua sat in the same row and made well-proportioned pic-

tures with yellow crayon, and a nasturtium for model. Whether it was drawing or arithmetic, there was apparently not a minute of the day when pleased attention and earnest effort languished. The teacher was a thin, delicate girl who gave her entire mind, and soul, and heart, and strength to her task. Philanthropists who never taught, and even superintendents who have, urge such teachers to spend the remnant of their force *in visiting the homes of their pupils*, and praise is accorded those who add to an already suicidal labor the taking of their flocks upon excursions. The excursions are admirable, a wonderful stimulus to the children who share them, but why not appoint wise, wholesome, responsible men and women and give them a salary as "conductors." Let the teacher go as a guest. Otherwise we shall always have the unconscientious too much in evidence while the sensitive and magnetic are killed off.

On the fifth floor of "No. 20" (Rivington, Forsythe, and Eldridge Streets in Manhattan) are the reading-room, library, sewing-room, cooking-room, girls' gymnasium, boys' gymnasium, modeling-room, draughting-room, and carpentry room. The principal of No. 6 (Miss Clara Calkins) can make her children happy, busy, and self-controlled in a building bare of even common necessities! What would she not accomplish for body and spirit in a building light, sanitary, and well equipped? It was at No. 6 that the photographer, taking a picture of the old form of assembly room, made by sliding walls (with no corridors), exclaimed at the remarkable stillness of the six classes during a long exposure. "If this is public school training," he said, "then I wish the children that come to my studio could have it. It's *extraordinary*."

SOME EXAMPLES OF WONDERFUL WORK AND MODEL SCHOOL BUILDINGS

At 141 and 110 in Brooklyn I found the ideal principal and the modern building together. In both, sunshine—warmth and light—pervaded the place and the work. If there is any place where a citizen may find hope for the solution of an apparently insoluble problem it is in the new schools of the lower East Side of Manhattan. Let him see the cheerful athletes on

the roof playground of No. 1 (Henry and Oliver Streets); let him watch the boys and girls fresh from the shower baths of 147 (Gouverneur and Henry Streets); let him see the "little mothers" and the ambitious newsboys in the evening study rooms of the recreation centres; and let him visit that humane product of a real civilization, the ungraded class for the mentally handicapped at school No. 1. Such schools are making self-supporting men of probable paupers, good men and women of probable criminals, and good American citizens of thousands and thousands of children whose parents speak no English, and learn loyalty to government only by seeing what it does for their offspring.

The mere physical gain in these improved schools is a constantly rising scale of inventive excellence. I have pored literally hours over the plans for the new 106, realizing in them dreams that have been often scoffed at as "impossible." Here, easily accessible from the street, is to be a vast auditorium, that with its toilet rooms and special approaches can be shut off from the upper building. Weary mothers that would never have climbed four flights of stairs will slip in here to free evening lectures and rest worn eyes on stereopticon views of lake and country, sometimes the valleys and mountains of their native land. A laboratory is not in itself beautiful. But a laboratory filled with youthful workers, learning the dignity of toil and the way to think, is more than beautiful. To the patriot it is hope and assurance.

If I were to attempt the guidance of a visitor to New York schools I should not let him escape till he had seen 159, visited 77 (whose former principal, Miss Richman, is now district superintendent), had a glimpse of 170 (east of Central Park at 111th Street), and seen at least the outside of 63 and 175 in the Bronx. These are mentioned almost at random, picked out from a long list of schools that would inspire the interest of any real American from Cape Nome to the Florida Keys.

THE MEDICAL INSPECTOR AND THE NURSE

In these modern schools education begins, as far as possible, with the production of sound physical conditions in the child.

The common sense of this method is plain to the cultivated man, but ignorant parents are chronic objectors to time thrown away on the care of the body. "You must stop teach my Lizzie fysical torture she needs yet readin' and figors mit sums more as that, if I want her to do jumpin' I kin make her jump," was an exasperated mother's protest.

It is this dead weight of ignorance that fell at first upon the shoulders of the medical inspectors and the nurses. Perfunctory medical inspection has existed in Manhattan for some time. "Any sick ones today?" was the doctor's question, and if the principal answered, "No; no one sick," the visit was ended. Children sent out stayed out, got the truant habit, and the school knew them no more.

Now wherever trained nurses supplement the labors of the medical inspectors truancy is practically wiped out. I met several sorts of school doctors, but only one kind of nurse. Some of the doctors seem to be "holding down their job." In one morning I had the opportunity to compare the work of two physicians. One had inspected for "head," "eyes," and "throat" fourteen children. The other had examined nearly a thousand. Her cheeks were flushed with weariness, but by her promptness in getting the afflicted few under treatment she had saved the many from contagion. The women seemed to be always hard at work and always favorites.

One of these inspectors (a man) was giving, unasked and unpaid, a great deal of time to the care of neglected patients whose parents were unable or unwilling to follow dispensary directions. Each child that came, bringing his bottle in his tiny fist, was as gently and carefully attended to as any more fortunate fledgling in his own nursery.

As a rule, the doctor's toil is briefly over. The nurse's lasts all day. The rarely favored visitor who watches the nurse-inspectors at their work wishes that Miss Wald and Miss Rogers, of the Nurses' Settlement, would impart their principle of selection to the Board. The nurse's tact, humanity, and firmness are phenomenal. Everywhere she soothes eyes that look like martyrdom when the lids are drawn down, treats skin diseases of which ringworm and a scabby eruption are the most common, and examines heads.

The patients I saw were so little and so

plucky I found my circulation quickening in admiration. Not a child whined or begged off, and not one cried out at the smart. The thing that goes straight to one's heart is the satisfied and utter confidence with which they settle back into the nurse's hands. They *like* to be cared for.

"Did your big sister use the kerosene?" asked the nurse, parting a mop of hair to peer carefully at the forest within.

"Yes, ma'am," replied the afflicted one.

"Tell her to put on more, so it will soak all through, and come to me tomorrow," was the day's direction.

The vermin present is of many kinds. In old days, it seems, those that hopped found undisturbed delight in varied exploration; those that crawled, abode and multiplied. But the day of the hopper and of the crawler alike is over—or would be over if the city could afford to give the same care to all neglected children that it gives to some.

Not so very long ago Miss Wald found a boy "going on thirteen" who had never been in a school. And he was finding it hard to *get* in. "If I could only learn to read the street signs," he said. Now he is advancing proudly through the lower grades and learning to read more than *Mott Street* and *East Broadway*. No wonder primary classes didn't want him. In the Tammany days it was a familiar punishment for badness to drop a child into the grade below so that boys of fourteen sometimes ended full-fledged toughs in primary classes and engaged in hand-to-hand tussles with the teacher when their pleasure was disputed.

Numbers of these relics of past maladministration are being "counted" for the first time in their lives.

The house-to-house visits that fill the nurses' afternoons and Saturdays are a delicate and difficult task. Mothers are taught, and many are glad to learn. Whole families are started in a warfare upon pests hitherto regarded as the inevitable lot of all. During the past summer these nurses made a house-to-house inspection of babies under a year old, reporting incidentally on the condition of the tenements.

To the mind of the immigrant parent, children are often merely tools for the gathering in of money. Attendance at school is a secondary affair. Those that want their children educated have frequently no motive

beyond increasing the earning power for the common treasury. I saw one child "discharged" crying. Her mother had demanded her "time." She was barely fourteen; her father and brother worked, and her wages were not needed. "One of the best scholars, too," was the valedictory of the principal.

The mothers may be cruel. The fathers are often brutal. "You be good. I got a strap," growled a villainous-looking fellow at the meek little boy he was leaving at a school in Hester Street. One principal told me that he had seen a father kick a primary boy to the floor and kick him again with heavy boots after he was down. It is to such men and women that the nurse carries the illumination that makes the path of the truant officer less thorny.

In a severe service demanding the rarest qualities—qualities that go with extreme sensibility, sympathy, and discretion—the nurse works fifty weeks in the year for seventy-five dollars a month. Last year, the inaugural one of the experiment, New York paid this munificent sum to thirty women to take care of nearly 500,000 children.

I have given disproportionate time to this single phase of the school work because it is more effective in preventing the spread of disease than are even clean streets and fresh air.

In no other way can the children who are neglected in their own homes be kept from communicating their diseases to other homes, and *so long as a few schools have nurses and the rest have not, equal protection is not afforded to all.*

THE DARK SIDE OF THE PICTURE

New York children do not have equal chances, physically, in the New York schools. Yet the custom of seating two children (and in crowded classrooms I frequently saw *three*) at the same desk cannot be done away with till money can be spared for new furniture and space allowed for single desks. A New York physician has said that ninety-nine out of a hundred girls are deformed by the schoolroom postures before they reach the high school; curvature of the spine is one of the commonest effects of schoolroom chairs. Yet the new course of study, which insists upon a sensible change of

position, with calisthenics and deep breathing at frequent intervals, is condemned by old-fashioned teachers as "wasting time." At present the attention given in the lower schools to keeping children straight and well developed varies with the caprice of the individual instructor.

The conditions of public education should provide for the right growth of body, mind, and character; and proper physical training demands good air, cleanliness, and freedom from degrading surroundings. Good air in the months of September and October is not hard to obtain, yet in nearly every classroom that I entered the atmosphere was foul. Sometimes even the assembly hall and the corridors were distinctly offensive. A room in which forty-six little girls live and work five hours in the day contained only one outside window. The miserably flickering gas over their heads consumed the oxygen needed by starved lungs, and yet on the three warm days during which I visited this class I did not once see the window opened more than a few inches. The scourge of New York is consumption; the preventive of consumption is fresh air; and these children say "Draught" as they might cry "Tiger!"

A MURDEROUS HOLE OF DARKNESS

The darkness would be less oppressive in such cases if the gas that burns on cloudy days in certain rooms of half the schools I saw, and on all days in some, was good gas, but its feeble uncertainty adds a melancholy to the gloom. In one dim assembly hall I groped my way to a platform on either side of which was drawn a cloth curtain. Behind the curtains two classes went on in simultaneous confusion, and I talked with the principal in a kind of cloth-bound cave, with grammar on one side, arithmetic on the other, and a "bad boy" awaiting discipline down in front.

The gas jets that eked out the scanty daylight in the curtained recesses had in one instance been replaced by Welsbach burners, and as one of the teachers said, "They're always breaking, and then they're worse than nothing."

The windows of this building opened on two sides into tenement back yards, whose washings were strung within a few feet of the children's desks, and whose sheds and

water-closets just below were close to the schoolhouse wall.

Because of the stench that had floated in the windows, complaint had been made of the yard closets, and I was told that they had been closed and the air purified. I was not conscious of any unpleasant odor, but the closets were not entirely out of use.

In this building both principal and teachers appeared to take great pains with ventilation, but the conditions of their labors were more than difficult. The playground space was a small dark basement divided so as to give the girls the larger share. Sunken between the tenements and the school building was a narrow court not so large as a good city back yard, where 500 boys "went out to play." On rainy days they are often crowded so close in the hopeless darkness of the basement that there is barely standing-room. The teacher in charge of the playground must stay in this cell, though to see what is going on is impossible, and although on winter days the place is miserably cold for her and for the boys.

Four schools I came upon that had been condemned six or seven years ago, but as fast as new buildings had replaced them they had been filled to the brim with an overflow. To spend money on these old barracks seems almost a waste when the building department is straining every nerve to provide permanent housing for the schools, and unless the principal is a brave warrior old conditions prevail. In one, new paint had given an air of cleanliness, and in another ventilated wardrobes had taken the place of the usual upright boxes into which wet wraps are packed to ferment in seclusion.

THE WRONG KIND OF TEACHING

Nor is there any greater equality in the conditions in which the New York public-school child develops mind and character.

The well-to-do, who furnish the principal support of the public schools, send their children elsewhere. Three-fourths of New York's elementary teachers could not get positions in private schools.

"Who told you to speak out?" "You've paid attention!" scolded or sneered at a boy who is struggling to express an independent thought, will not make him a ready user of the gifts with which he is endowed.

The tone of continual exasperation in which more than one class is addressed would blight the forthputting powers of a Macaulay. Truancy from some of these classes should be imputed to a child for righteousness. In one room, where a geography recitation was in lumbering progress, I volunteered the beaming comment: "These seem like nice boys." "I haven't found them so," answered the teacher sourly, and a sudden animation and general straightening lapsed into stodginess. The lesson concerned such themes as the Ural Mountains, the boundaries of European Russia, Siberia, the Caspian Sea! Adventure suggested itself with every word. The perils of explorers; the vastness of half-known and unknown places; history old and new; the strange dwellers in far lands; the Trans-Siberian Railway, with its waiters in evening clothes serving polyglot travelers in the station on the very edge of Asia; the resources of the big country beyond; and above all, tales to make a lad's eyes shine for joy! No hour could be long enough for the delight of such a theme. But the hour was lost. Bored question and perfunctory answer read from the geography and "given in the words of the book," resolute repression of any tendency to stray from the printed page, dreariness to depress a pyramid, filled the allotted time, and geography had been recited. The place was dingy, the room dark and untidy, yet it might have been made a very Aladdin's cave.

In one school in which I spent the better part of two days I did not once hear any child express a thought in his own words. Attention was perfect. No pupil could escape from any grade without knowing the questions and answers of that grade. Every child could add, subtract, multiply, and divide with accuracy; every child could and did pronounce his reading words with unusual distinctness. The chant in which recitations were delivered was as uniform as everything else. "*Wren: w* is silent. The ónly sound of *r*; the sécond sound of *e*; the ónly sound of *n*," was as near the heavy accentuation as I can get. It was the best and the worst school I ever saw. The best, because no pains, no time, *nothing* had been spared to bring it up to the principal's ideal; and the effort had been crowned with entire success. The worst, because it ignored abso-

Dear Sir

I thank you very much for your
 kind application for position of
 Principal of School No. 110. I know
 your paper of your testimonials
 from those under ^{whom} I have worked.

I am a graduate of Wellesley
 College and very respect you to
 Mrs. Irvine, the President, or to
 Miss Mary Caswell, Secretary

A LETTER APPLYING FOR A PRINCIPALSHIP

lutely any individuality in the pupils and
 fitted them for nothing more than a mechan-
 ical obedience to another's thinking.

"In connection with the regular studies
 of the school," says the new syllabus, "certain
 aspects of contemporary civilization which
 are of value for developing the social spirit
 should receive attention. Hospitals, societies
 for the prevention of cruelty to children and
 to animals, homes for orphans and for the

Dear Miss

I am so glad to hear the
 idea to appoint a woman
 to the position of Principal
 is not only a
 good one but also
 one that will do
 good all the while
 as the women
 are so much
 more successful
 Principals than
 the men.

THE ANSWER WRITTEN ON THE BACK OF THE APPLICATION

aged and infirm, fresh air funds, and similar
 agencies for social service, should be brought
 within the child's comprehension at the
 proper stage." "The truth that success in
 life means more than mere money-getting
 can thus be brought home again and again."



FREQUENT EXERCISE IS MADE NECESSARY BY DARK, ILL-VENTILATED, AND CROWDED ROOMS



AT NOON TIME

NO SCHOOL BETTER THAN THIS SCHOOL.

In this school there exists a rigidity that is like a *rigor mortis*; it forbids such a natural outgiving of the natural teacher as

the syllabus suggests. Here the subordinate must be forever on the jump to accomplish the set end of her day's labor, and while the principal is calm, pleasant in manner, and God-fearing in her life, most of the teachers



ONE OF THE BOYS' ROOF PLAYGROUNDS

The roof is covered with a heavy steel netting that makes any accident impossible

who carry out her conscientiously relentless will are harassed, visibly worn, harsh, and unkind.

The children are apparently callous and happy in their indifference toward their environments. I saw a small boy whose elbow was suddenly jerked and shaken sneak a little mischievous grin toward the back of the room.

In one class the very way in which the teacher intoned "You—are—not—still" gave me a sensation of quick fright that brought back the awful moment of my childhood when I saw a boy arrested and haled away by a policeman. "Somebody—foot!" the same teacher shouted suddenly, and my circulation stopped. My own foot, I felt sure, had moved.



THE CARPENTER SHOP AT SCHOOL NO. 1

One of the best-equipped elementary schools in the world



AN ASSEMBLY ROOM WITH CURTAIN PARTITIONS WHICH IS SO DARK THAT GAS HAS TO BE BURNED ALL DAY LONG ALL THROUGH THE YEAR

No child in this school ever "raises his hand" above the level of the shoulder excepting during the arithmetic recitation, when pencils that are not in actual use are held in the clenched fingers of the right

hand, the right elbow resting on the desk, the left hand laid flat on the other side.

"My answer is——" began an infant arithmetician.



"DO OR DIE" THE MOST DIFFICULT POSITION IN THE EXERCISES

"Don't say that in my class." . . .
 "Don't stand in my class with pencil, pen,
 or book in hand," snapped the teacher.

"Indeed! But you'll please sit down,"
 was the sneer that greeted a wrong answer.

Neither the principal nor her first assistant,
 who was both sweet and gentle, "snapped,"
 but the manner of one of the younger teachers

cruelty that kept me "on edge" is not half
 so fatal as the actual cruelty of methods
 known elsewhere.

"You dirty little Russian Jew, what are
 you doing?" seems even more ruinous to a
 child's spirit and temper.

The school most unrelieved in badness
 had no principal in evidence. Opposite the



A TYPICAL SCHOOLBOY



"THE MAP OF GREATER NEW YORK"

Showing a pupil where he lives

who seemed a "kind of right-hand man,"
 gave me an overwhelming desire to rescue
 the class committed to her, and to do it, if
 necessary, by physical violence.

In this school, probably the only one of
 its kind in the world, there is at least no
 indirection, no flabbiness. The apparent

name of the "head" in charge I wrote in
 my notebook: "Coarse, fat woman, sensual
 look, youngish, diamond earrings, talks
 dialect." This woman's methods are
 summary, but according to her lights. If a
 child gets in her way she throws him out,



DOCTOR AND NURSE TREATING CHILDREN FOR SORE EYES AND THROATS



"TRANSFER" CHILDREN WAITING TO BE ADMITTED TO A NEW SCHOOL

lifting him by any portion of his person that "comes handy." From such a school graduate the brutal truck-drivers, the amateur criminals who, having little better in their minds, devise much mischief.

That the imitative powers of childhood are startling; that the teacher's thoughts, feelings, aspirations even, transfer themselves on

invisible wings to the members of her class, proves itself every instant of the day. Yet in a majority of the schools I was continually embarrassed by the discourtesy with which the children were addressed—or ignored. There is sentimentalism that forgets the teacher's difficulties and there is "plain good sense." It is not sentimentality to recognize



A KINDERGARTEN IN ONE OF THE NEW PARTLY FINISHED SCHOOLS



TENEMENTS AND YARD CLOSETS THAT FLANK A DIRTY SCHOOL PLAYGROUND



SCHOOL WINDOWS COVERED WITH WIRE NETTING TO PREVENT TENEMENT THIEVES CRAWLING IN

rudeness as rudeness even when its object is a child. What possible end but a common misery is to be attained by pointing out the "bad boy" to a stranger? What sort of example is the taste that discusses quick-eared children even in lowered tones when they are present? "Get on to those eyes!" brought me a glance quite unforgettable but already self-conscious. "*He* is a degenerate!" procured a sullen look of blank defiance that changed to sullen watchfulness as the talk went on

ABOUT SCHOOL BOARDS AND EXAMINATIONS

The stupid discourtesy of a good deal of schoolroom behavior is a direct reflex of the treatment of the teacher or the would-be teacher by the Board, and its employees. The old days when the teaching force of Brooklyn was at the mercy of such local committeemen as wrote the note reproduced with this article are, luckily for all of us, gone by. But the "manners" of the writer of the note are reproduced in the attitude



THE UNGRADED CLASS FOR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN AT SCHOOL NO. 1

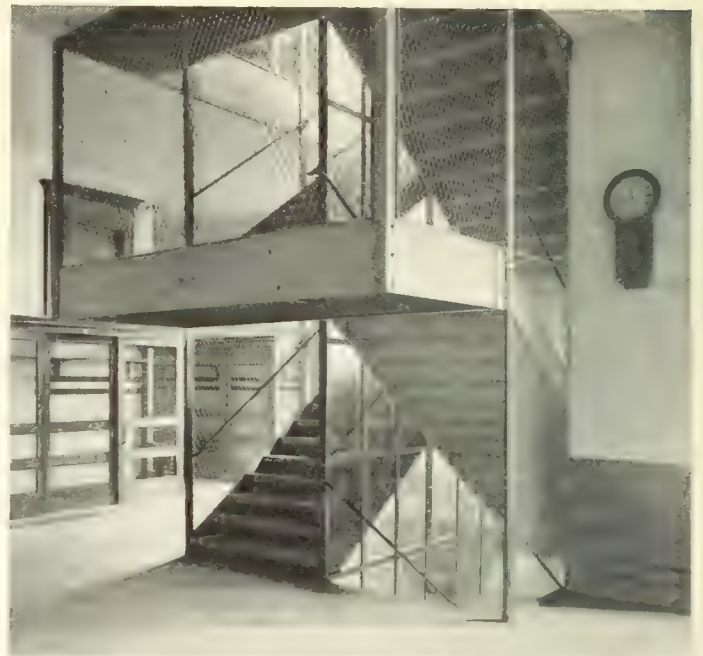
of men even now in authority. How deeply the teachers resent the very treatment they too frequently "pass on to the children" only they and their intimates know.

"I could have borne it better," said a much-trying soul, "but from the Superintendent down every man made me feel he was sole owner and proprietor of the city schools and that I had intruded on his private business."



CHILDREN BEING DISMISSED DOWN A FIRE-ESCAPE TO FAMILIARIZE THEM WITH IT

Not long ago a New York teacher had occasion to be examined, and after several written requests that elicited no information she was sent by her principal to the office of Mr. Z—. Mr. Z— was the wrong man, but he directed her to Mr. Y—. It was not Mr. Y—'s "day," so she returned at another time and waited long upon a desolate



NEW DOUBLE STAIRCASES SEPARATED BY GLASS AND NETTING FROM HALLWAYS, AND VENTILATED CLOTHING LOCKERS

bench until the interview was secured. Mr. Y— was also the wrong man, but he kindly conducted her to Mr. X—, to whom she was evidently *non grata*.

"I can't see you today," he snarled with the air of an angry plutocrat dismissing a persistent beggar.



CHILDREN GOING TO AN AFTERNOON PART-TIME CLASS

The teacher went. As she retired, Mr. Y——, who seemed to have a vein of true humanity, instructed her that she must fill out a certain printed blank and present it to Mr. X—— before she left the building for the day.

She filled the paper and with trepidation reentered the presence of the summary X——. For an hour she sat waiting before him while others who came later were received and dismissed, till, time failing, she ventured to approach the desk.

"I told you I couldn't see you," raged the indignant authority.

no less than in new are to be found a great corps of gently bred, enlightened teachers spending and being spent in the service of the city. All this ungracious setting forth of the dark side of things is the necessary and unpleasing task of one who tries to show that the opportunities of New York children are not all alike and not all good.

THE PAY OF TEACHERS

The most rational of all the good salary bills (the Pettengill schedule) made advance in the pay of teachers dependent on merit



DOCTOR EXAMINING CHILD'S EYES FOR TRACHOMA



MOTHERS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN-TO-BE

She halted, and, explaining deprecatingly, dropped the document upon the nearest support and fled—fled as incontinently as self-respect would permit.

It took six journeys from her remote borough by steam and trolley before this unfortunate teacher was able to get that examination.

All servants of the Board are not like this, all buildings are not old, all teachers are not faulty. Mr. Snyder is the architect and head of the building department, and, busy as he is, his courtesy never fails, nor is he the only one of the authorities who can be approached without revolt. Moreover, in old buildings

as well as on length of service. At present, length of service alone governs the advance in salary.

There are certain injustices in the distribution of salaries. It is an injustice that a woman who is principal of a school of 2,500 children should receive \$750 less a year than a man head of a high school department, and \$150 less than a woman high school assistant. If the men now wailing in the newspapers about their inability to secure elementary school positions would equalize the salaries so these should no longer be like animals male and female, they would have their positions.



PROPOSED PUBLIC SCHOOL No. 106

To be the finest school building in the world, with separate playgrounds and auditorium below the street level

Economy now keeps them out. Everywhere women teachers have to keep order for the men who are getting so many hundreds more for their virile authority! No influence effeminizes the schools so fast as the average man teacher. Men like Mr. Doty, who will rule in the beautiful 106, are not common in the public schools. Men's or women's, the New York salaries are generous and promptly paid. They should command the best service in the world. That they do not is chiefly



THE MORRIS HIGH SCHOOL IN THE BRONX

Just being finished

because our energy is increasingly absorbed in providing for immigration.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Four conclusions stand out in my mind as the result of these weeks of visiting New York public schools and of study of the huge problem



A GATEWAY AT ONE OF THE NEW SCHOOLS



ANOTHER NEW SCHOOL DOORWAY



THE STREETS THAT ARE THE HOMES OF MANY OF THE CHILDREN

1. New York City has the most difficult educational problem in the country. It stands in a class by itself and has difficulties that no other city presents.

2. Under the present school administration it is doing wonderful work toward solving that problem.

3. But conditions still exist that put the complete solution of the problem beyond the reach of any normal effort and expense.

4. The only remedies for such conditions are the restriction of immigration and a vast increase in expenditure—larger than has yet been dreamed of.



A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR

THE WORK OF GOVERNOR TAFT IN THE PHILIPPINES—AN HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT—HOW HE CONCILIATED THE FILIPINOS—HIS ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION—DANCING WITH THE FILIPINO LADIES—THE TACT SHOWN IN SETTLING THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND SCHOOLS

BY

BERNARD MOSES

(PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND ECONOMICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, AND MEMBER OF THE SECOND PHILIPPINE COMMISSION)

WILLIAM H. TAFT, formerly judge of the United States Circuit Court, went to the Philippine Islands in 1900 as President of the United States Philippine Commission. After having served as the first civil governor of the islands, he returns to become Secretary of War. To his reputation as a great lawyer he has added the reputation of a great administrator, and his successful accomplishment of the task assigned to him by President McKinley has made him a conspicuous figure in the political affairs of the nation.

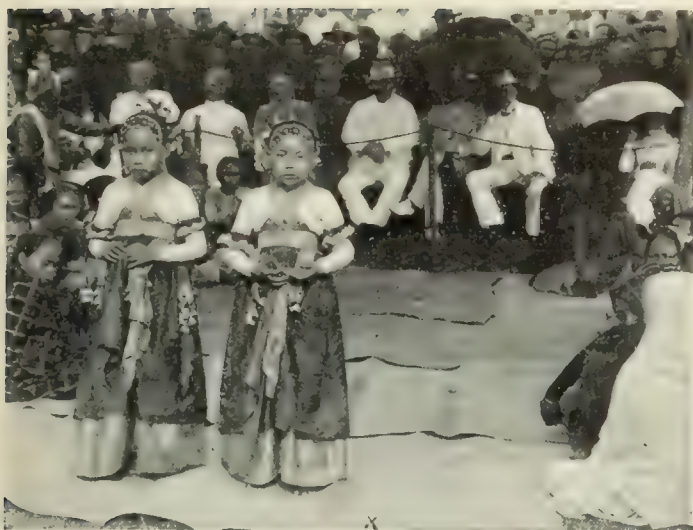
As a student of Yale University he demonstrated the possibility of holding a prominent position as an athlete and at the same time winning distinction as a scholar. Now, at forty-five, he retains the strength, the power of endurance, and much of the agility of his earlier years. To his great physical and intellectual power is added the attractiveness of a remarkably genial and sympathetic personality.

Judge Taft's general view of the Philippine question in the beginning was in some sense a composite of the different views of his

countrymen. His addresses before he left the United States gave expression to some of the doubts that were involved in the general view. His addresses somewhat later, in Manila and the provinces, were clear and decided. They left on the minds of the persons who heard them a distinct impression of the policy of the United States. They made it clear, moreover, not only that the speaker was there to carry out that policy, but that at the same time he was in complete sympathy with it.

It was provided in the instructions issued by the President to the United States Philippine Commission that, beginning with September 1, 1900, it should exercise legislative authority over the islands, and that at the same time it should have power to appoint such officers under the judicial, educational, and civil-service systems, and in the municipal and departmental Governments, as should be provided for. The commission had, therefore, three months in which to study the affairs of the islands.

Next the provincial law had to be applied



LITTLE DANCING GIRLS AT AN ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN TO THE GOVERNOR



THE DANCE IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF EVERY FESTIVITY

to the several provinces. This task necessitated a journey to each of the provinces to find out by inquiry and discussion in public assemblies what modifications of the general law were needed in the province in

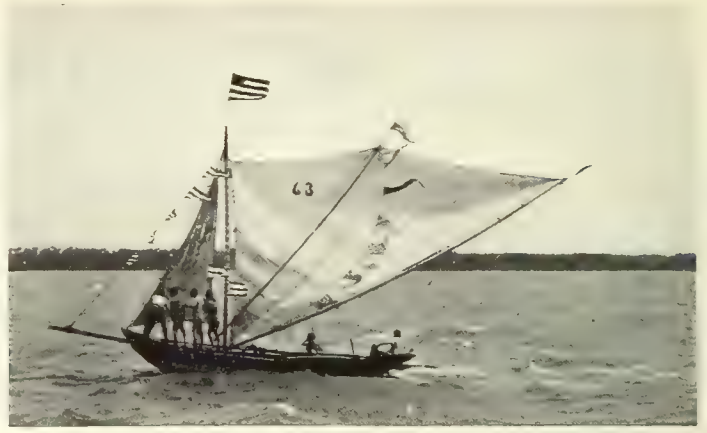
question. The usual programme of the meeting involved, in the first place, a presentation and discussion, by Judge Taft, of the general law. Judge Taft's style of public speech was eminently suited to the



GOVERNOR TAFT AT A NATIVE ENTERTAINMENT



A NATIVE BOAT AT BALANGA



RUNNING BEFORE A "FOUR MAN WIND"

work. It consists of a series of clear, logical statements, free from all oratorical extravagance. It is impressive because the mind of the listener is not confused by side issues, or distracted by words that are used only for the sake of ornament. It is a style of speech that inspires confidence, not the fluency that awakens distrust. After the opening address there was a discussion by members of the assembly relating to the modifications and additions that ought to be made. Judge Taft's speech was translated into Spanish as it proceeded, and the discussion by members of the assembly was translated into English. The repetition in another language of every sentence uttered consumed time, taxed the patience of both speaker and listener, and drew out the length of the meetings.

On one occasion, some one, wearied by a series of long-winded Filipino speakers, suggested that the speeches be cut short. "No," replied the Judge; "I am determined the

Filipinos shall at last have an opportunity to say all they have to say." Finally, in each case a law was enacted by the commission applying to the province the general provincial law with the special modifications agreed upon.

These meetings lasted one or two days and were held in nearly all of the forty provinces, and all but a few of them were conducted by Judge Taft, who thus became known to a large majority of the municipal officers of the thousand towns of the archipelago, as well as to a very large part of the rest of the inhabitants. Through these meetings the leading men of the islands obtained a large amount of information concerning the new government.

The Filipinos had very little knowledge of America or Americans, and what they had had been recently acquired. Before the fall of Manila they had been told dreadful stories about the Americans—sometimes by persons on whose words they had been ac-



PARADE OF THE MANILA FIRE BRIGADE



THE STARS AND STRIPES WAVED OVER ALL THE ARCHES

customed to rely. When they heard the wild war-whoop of the soldiers, as they swept over the country, they were convinced that some of the things they had been told were not true, particularly the tales about the

cowardice of the Americans. The informers of the people had, to a certain extent, undermined their own cause by statements that did not appear to be supported by evident facts. The minds of the people were thus



ORNATE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES THAT MARKED THE GOVERNOR'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE ISLANDS

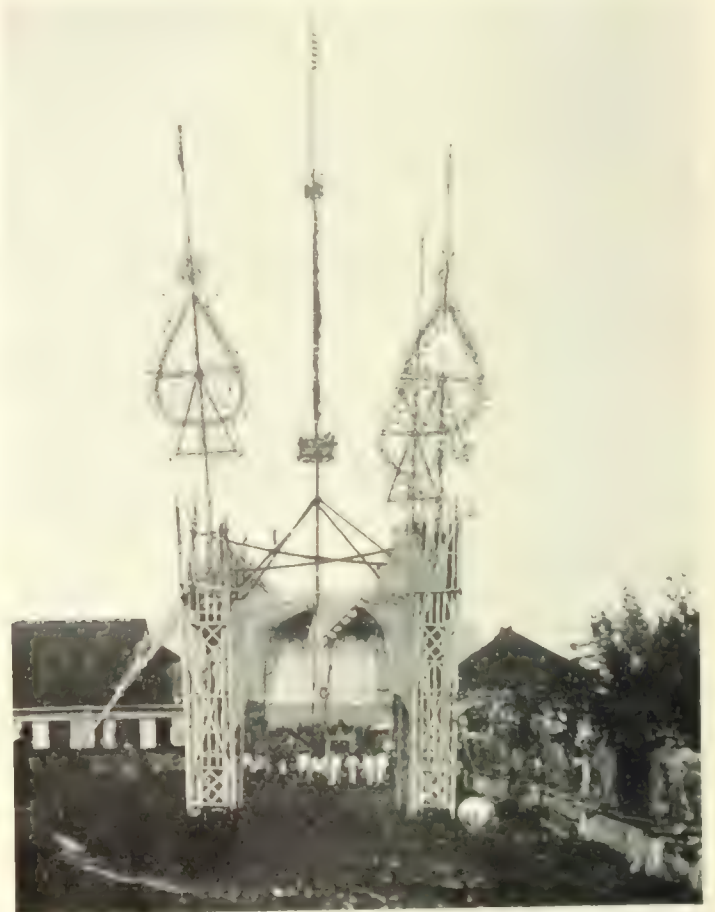


THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT SAN JOSÉ

in a mood to be enlightened when Judge Taft began his propaganda of American good-will. One of the serious difficulties to be overcome arose from the fact that the Filipinos were tired of promises. The Spaniards had been extravagant in making them, but economical in carrying them out; and the Filipinos themselves were too glib talkers not to know how cheap and unreliable talk may be. In the campaign to overthrow the Filipinos' prejudice against Americans Judge Taft won through his clear understanding of the situation and his ability to say at the proper time the thing

that needed to be said, and by the force of his attractive personality. The Filipinos had never heard a Spaniard laugh as Judge Taft laughed. The cordiality of it disarmed prejudice and won their confidence, and when he told them that the new government would recognize their rights and protect their interests they were inclined to believe it.

When Judge Taft and his associates arrived at the station, to go by rail to the provinces immediately north of Manila to establish the first provincial governments, he found a large number of Filipinos gathered there with their band of music to show



ELABORATE FESTIVAL ARCHES UNDER WHICH GOVERNOR TAFT PASSED

their appreciation of the undertaking and to do honor to the president of the commission. They were doubtless also moved by their never-failing desire to make a holiday. At the stations along the road large crowds were assembled. They were always led by a delegation of the principal citizens, and were accompanied by the omnipresent Filipino band. During the few minutes' halt of the train, the compliment involved in the gathering of the people was acknowledged, and Judge Taft or some other member of the party explained the character of the government it was proposed to establish. On these expeditions there were usually two or three Filipinos of distinction who addressed the people either in Spanish or in Tagalog, and their addresses often produced a marked effect on their hearers. It was not supposed that these brief campaign speeches would convey a very clear idea of the proposed government, but it became evident in the course of time that they affected more or less the sentiments of the people. They conveyed, at least, the idea that a new organization was to be created, and served as a motive to a further inquiry. This was probably the first time that a genuine campaign of education was ever undertaken in the Far East.

In the province of Antique, the inhabitants of a small village seven or eight miles from the provincial capital went to their little church, took a wooden statue of the Virgin, draped it as the Goddess of Liberty with the American flag, placed it on a square pedestal, mounted the statue and pedestal on wheels, and dragged them seven miles over a rough road to the public square of the capital. As the little procession of Americans moved up from the landing and entered the square, there stood the Virgin Goddess of Liberty, somewhat the worse for the jolting she had received in passing over the long, rough road. On the four sides of the white pedestal were the four names: Washington, Lincoln, McKinley, Taft.

After the assembly came the banquet, and after the banquet usually a ball. Good form seemed to require that the Filipino ladies should come late, and when they arrived they went directly to the chairs that had been placed along the side of the ball-room. Here they sat demurely apart, in gay dresses of brilliant colors. The dapper

little Filipinos, dressed in black, gathered in another part of the hall. The invitation to dance extended by Judge Taft to the first lady of the province was the sign for opening the festivities. Presenting a striking contrast with his diminutive partner, he passed up and down the floor with a lightness and apparent ease that was somewhat surprising to the spectators. And this was part of the propaganda of American good-will.

The cordiality of the Governor's social intercourse with the Filipinos made him appear to them as the real friend of the people. It was sincere and unaffected, and the Filipinos were quick to mark the agreeable contrast which it presented to the severe and condescending bearing of the Spanish high officials. And his simple dress was in marked contrast with the pretentious style of the Spanish Governor-General. There is no doubt that the democratic manners of the Governor provoked comment at first. The Filipinos did not understand him, and they were hopelessly mystified by his jovial jokes. The interpreter struggled with them, but the lordly Spanish would not readily lend itself to such trivial uses. But in the course of time the quick-witted Filipino learned to read in the Governor's expressive countenance the signs of the coming joke, and he had his amusement without the aid of a translator.

It is not quite clear whether at first the Filipinos thought the Americans were generous or weak, because their manners were democratic and they showed a disposition to consult with them on matters of public interest. When the commission began to exercise legislative power, the question arose as to what extent meetings for this purpose should be public. It was finally provided that all bills should be published after the second reading, that a date should be fixed when the commission would hold a public session, and that at this session any person might discuss fully and freely the bill in question. Under this arrangement the discussion of a single bill often lasted through several sessions, and these discussions sometimes brought into public notice persons whose ability made it desirable that they should be known to the authorities. One Filipino speaker, who appeared first in discussing the municipal code, whose straightforward and forceful presentation of the

subject made a very favorable impression, some months later was made a governor of a province, and subsequently became a most effective judge. Throughout the long discussions Judge Taft remained always patient and imperturbable.

Before the insurrection was completely overthrown it was asserted that it would be necessary to maintain an army of 50,000 or 60,000 American soldiers, and to keep the islands ten years under military rule. Judge Taft, however, affirmed that within a year not more than 15,000 American soldiers would be needed in the Philippines. Within the period mentioned the force was reduced to about that number.

At the same time some persons entertained serious doubts as to the advisability of arming any considerable number of Filipinos for service in an insular militia, or constabulary, under the civil government. But neither the president of the commission nor any of his associates shared in these doubts. A constabulary was therefore organized with American officers. It consisted of between 5,000 and 6,000 men, thoroughly armed and equipped. It has been loyal. It has been efficient. As hunters of brigands the Filipinos of the constabulary have certain qualifications which the American soldier lacks. They know better than the American soldiers the habits and tricks of the Filipino thieves. They also know the country.

The task which Judge Taft had in hand required something more than a lawyer's view and a lawyer's disposition to abide by precedent; it required the ability to comprehend new problems in rapid succession—problems, too, of the widest range, from warding off famine to the settlement of the conflicting interests of Church and State. He had to do things not prescribed in the *laissez-faire* text-books.

At one time famine seemed to be imminent. The effects of six years of rebellion were manifest in neglected fields and a demoralized population. There was apparently not rice enough to feed the people till the new crop might be harvested. The dealers raised the price and by this at once spread the alarm and seemed to threaten to put food out of the reach of the poor. The Governor quickly reached a conclusion. There were several millions of dollars in the central treasury, bearing no interest and not immediately

demanded for other purposes. Some part of it might be used for the purchase of rice to be sold in the provinces where the supply was short, and the proceeds returned to the treasury. By this course the Government would lose nothing, and the people would have food within reach practically at the cost that would be necessary to purchase it in large quantities. Rice was accordingly bought in Saigon, Bangkok, and Calcutta, stored in Manila, and thence transported to the provinces where the local supply of food was inadequate. The funds of the treasury were replenished from the sales and the people were relieved. The only persons whose happiness was not considered in this transaction were the dealers of Manila who had prepared to make a corner in this principal element of the food of the people.

As in this case, the view generally taken by Judge Taft was the humane, the larger view. When the bill organizing a system of public schools for the islands was about to be presented to the commission, there was some doubt as to whether it should provide for the employment of 600 American teachers or a larger number. On this point the president of the commission did not hesitate; he pronounced at once for the larger number. This resolved the doubt, and thus the general school law authorized the appointment of 1,000 American teachers.

His liberality became manifest in his views concerning the attitude which the public schools ought to hold in relation to the affairs of the Church. There were two lines of policy. The schools might be conducted as they are conducted in the United States, leaving the religious instruction of the pupils entirely to the family and the Church; or, the priest or minister of any church established in the town where the public school might be situated, or a designated teacher of religion, might teach religion for half an hour three times a week in the school building to public school pupils whose parents might desire it. The second course was advocated by Judge Taft as involving a certain concession to the Church, which appeared to be justified by the fact that for many generations the Church had practically controlled education. It is not important that the opportunity here presented was seldom if ever embraced by the authorized teachers of religion. The fact that the opportunity was

presented is sufficient to illustrate the conciliatory spirit of the Governor.

The same spirit of conciliation was manifest in the appointment of certain Filipino generals to the important office of provincial governor. Delgado in Iloilo, Trias in Cavite, Flores in Rizal, and Cailles in Laguna were given an opportunity to show their efficiency and loyalty.

It became evident very early that a certain difficulty of the Philippine situation lay in the fact that there were three important organizations each holding different views as to their respective jurisdictions—the Church, the army, and the civil authorities. The Church might be expected to claim whatever it had administered; the army would naturally be reluctant to abandon any part of the field it had controlled; and the civil authorities were under definite orders to establish a government consistent with the principles set forth in the President's instructions. The claims in reality overlapped one another, and lines separating their several fields of authority could not be drawn without curtailing some of them. There was no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that the Church must be separated from the State, but it was not so easy to indicate where the line should be drawn, or, in other words, to determine what property and what institutions should go with the Church and what remain with the State.

Similar questions appeared in connection

with the attempt to adjust the line between the proper jurisdiction of the army and that of the civil authorities. There arose necessarily in the course of the negotiations differences of opinion on points of law, but no personal friction was engendered. The vigorous advocacy of the conflicting claims helped in reaching a right conclusion. Thus in due time the Church went its way with its own, leaving unsettled questions to be referred to the courts for final adjudication. The army, having in the period of transition controlled both military and civil affairs, finally surrendered the management of civil affairs to the civil authorities and assumed the position that it normally occupies in a free State in the time of peace.

Because of the Filipinos' conception of government as the rule of persons instead of the rule of law, the separation of a conspicuous and popular officer from his charge among them has an importance not fully appreciated in the United States. They have been accustomed to depend upon a person, and not upon law, for protection. Their loyalty is loyalty to a person. Therefore, on account of his just and vigorous administration, his genial personality, and his democratic simplicity and accessibility, the withdrawal of Governor Taft will be regarded by all classes of Filipinos as an injury to their sense of personal loyalty, and as doing violence to their sentiment of devotion to a leader in whom they have unbounded confidence.

STORIES OF GOVERNOR TAFT IN THE PHILIPPINES

WHEN it became known in Manila last year that Governor Taft had been offered a Supreme Court judgeship there was the most remarkable demonstration, opposing his departure, in the history of the island. On that occasion Paterno, who had been a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet, and who had been regarded as one of the most bitter of the insurgents, made an impassioned speech on his front porch, lauding Governor Taft and expressing the hope that he would

remain. Paterno's attitude represented the feeling of the Filipinos generally toward the Governor, who had sought by every act to carry out his policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos."

When Judge Taft became governor the Spaniards had drawn the color line in Manila. He set about breaking it down. He not only invited the leading Filipinos to the official Wednesday receptions at his palace, but native women were also asked to receive with Mrs. Taft. When he attended a Filipino

dinner he always made it a point to take in one of the leading native women. He studied the Filipinos at work and at play, and his ability to join in their national life was a factor that contributed much to his popularity.

MASTERED THE FILIPINO QUADRILLE

When Governor Taft was on his way to the capital of the Tayabos province it was observed that he was in close conference with a prominent young Filipino lawyer, who went along as representative of the Federal party newspaper. The lawyer left in the Governor's hand a piece of paper on which he had made some drawings. The following night the inevitable banquet and ball which formed part of the entertainment at every provincial capital took place. The ball began with the *regodon*, the Spanish quadrille, much more difficult than our quadrille. The various steps are not called out. As the music sounded, Governor Taft stepped off with the wife of the Presidente and escorted her to a place in the first set. The young Americans in the party were expecting their chief to make a mistake in the complicated figures, but he made only one slip—a record better than most of the Filipino dancers. It developed, however, that the Governor had got the Filipino lawyer to draw a diagram of the quadrille figures, and he carried the paper in his hand when he made his first attempt.

Governor Taft leaves the islands with the insular government not only self-supporting, but even lending money to provinces and municipalities. Under the Spanish rule the rich man imported champagne free of duty and the poor man paid a prohibitive duty on kerosene and wheat flour. Under the new insular government the tariff has been removed from necessities and increased on luxuries. The revenue, instead of decreasing, has shown an increase. Out of the surplus a coast-guard service has been established, which not only affords protection, but also establishes quick communication between the islands. This coast-guard fleet includes twenty vessels, each 140 feet in length, manned by Filipino crews and American engineers. These boats carry mails and enforce the customs laws. This service was installed at a cost of \$1,000,000, which was a surplus out of the revenues of the islands.

HEARD BOTH SIDES

If Governor Taft's offer to purchase the friars' lands is accepted, it will record his greatest achievement as Governor. When he assumed the reins of government the question of the friars' lands was the burning question in the islands. Governor Taft determined on a business course. He had the land surveyed and a fair valuation (approximately \$5,000,000) placed on it. He then heard both sides. He questioned the friars frankly about the charges of immorality that had been made against them; he questioned the people, who hated the friars for acquiring the best land. It is Governor Taft's plan to buy the land and give first chance for ownership to the present tenants. His visit to Pope Leo was an evidence of his desire to act in harmony with the Church.

As president of the first Philippine Commission Judge Taft drafted the Civil Service act, and as Governor he witnessed its successful operation. He required efficiency as the first qualification, and no drones were allowed. Heads of departments reported to him directly instead of to the head of the bureau. He encouraged the appointment of natives to offices of trust.

Governor Taft found an oppressive tax system. The poor man was paying a tax on his plow, which was a necessity, and the rich man who owned hundreds of acres paid no land tax. A land tax is now assessed and yields a large revenue.

Governor Taft once found, in his desire to deal first-hand with the people, that it would be necessary to use very plain language. He was visiting at a small province, and through his interpreter he cautioned the natives who had been appointed to office to be faithful to their trust.

"If you are not, your official heads will be cut off," he added.

The native officials looked at him in horror. One put his hand nervously to his throat. Here was a new form of punishment. Governor Taft quickly saw how his words had been misinterpreted, and hastened to assure his hearers that he had no designs on their lives.

THE GOVERNOR AND THE HORSE

Complete accessibility marked Governor Taft's attitude toward the people. In his various visits to provinces, and in his first

long trip in which he established provincial government in twenty provinces, he worked harder than any member of his party. He listened patiently to every long speech by natives, and he accepted every hospitality. After this arduous trip he was induced to make a visit to Benquet, which is noted for its cooling breezes. The trip was up the rocky bed of a mountain torrent. Governor Taft rode part of the way in an ambulance and toiled the last five miles up a narrow road on horseback. His great weight made the ride very fatiguing. He was so delighted with the place, after all the discomfort of the journey, that he dictated a cablegram to Secretary Root, telling of his pleasure at shivering within a hundred miles of Manila, which was very hot. He also described his rough ride on horseback. The next day he received the following cablegram from Mr. Root:

Glad you had such a comfortable trip. How is the horse?

At his offices in Manila Governor Taft received the lowliest Filipino. He once kept a prominent American capitalist waiting while he listened to the story of an old woman whose house had been burned during a cholera epidemic and whose remuneration by the government was one gold dollar short of what she had expected.

The success of the constabulary, an armed native force of 6,000, has been a vindication of Governor Taft's confidence in the Filipinos. The desertions from the constabulary are fewer in proportion than those from the army now in the islands.

In the early days of the insular government, when there was frequent conflict between the civil and the military branches of the government, Governor Taft, by his unfailing amiability and good temper, prevented many serious clashes. On one occasion he received a communication from the military end of the government. It was the culmination of a series of manifestations of spite and jealousy. Governor Taft scanned the paper absentmindedly, then he straightened up in his chair and his feet struck the ground. His face flushed and then the red deepened. There was a frown on his brow. Then he whirled suddenly in his chair, broke into a merry infectious laugh, and turning to a subordinate

said: "Read this. It's about the funniest of all funny things from that service." His power to laugh off his gravest and pettiest annoyances carried him through many difficulties.

DEVOTION TO DUTY

When he started back to the Philippines in 1902 he had just recovered from an ailment that had necessitated several difficult operations. His physician said to him:

"You are cured now; but if you return to the tropics we cannot answer for your remaining so."

At the time, he said to an ex-employee of the Philippine Government who had been invalidated home and was consulting him about going back:

"We want in the service all the men that we can get with experience and with interest in the work; this is one of our 'problems. But I cannot feel it right to urge, even to advise you to return there, when you risk your health in doing so."

The tears stood in his eyes as he spoke. He realized the risk he was taking.

Governor Taft was popular with the American as well as native residents. Two American promoters were criticizing the work of the Philippine Commission. One of them criticized Governor Taft personally.

"Do you know Taft?" asked the other.

"No. I never met him," was the reply.

"I thought not," said the first. "When you have once met him you will never have another word to say against him."

Governor Taft has given his active coöperation to public education. Early in his life on the islands he saw that the natives were united on two things: a detestation of the friars, and a desire for education. During his administration 1,000 teachers were brought over from the United States to teach English. Primary schools have been established in every province. There are numerous provincial secondary high schools, while at Manila there is an excellent normal school. One hundred Filipinos will be sent to the United States to get technical and university educations.

Governor Taft's administration has witnessed the introduction of a sound currency, the improvement of harbors, the establishment of cable service, and the taking of a census which cost \$1,000,000.

LIFE IN THE CORN BELT

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE MOST PROSPEROUS AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD—TIRED AND RETIRED FARMERS—THE LABOR PROBLEM VERY SIMPLE—HOME LIFE AND SOCIAL DIVERSIONS—IS THIS THE HIGHEST LEVEL ATTAINABLE BY A FARMING POPULATION?

BY

T. N. CARVER

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THOSE who derive their knowledge of the world from the comic papers and cheap theatres think of the farmer as a lean, gawky, bewhiskered creature, ignorant of all topics that lie outside the sphere of farms and crops. A closer acquaintance with the western farmer, such as I had the good fortune to secure last summer in a 1,000-mile horseback ride through the corn belt, would do such people good.

The average western farmer is as well informed upon the questions of the day as the average business or professional man of our eastern cities, though he lacks acquaintance with many things which some regard as essential to culture. He takes a deep interest in politics, and he is better informed about what goes on in our legislative halls than any other class.

I remember the chagrin expressed by an aged farmer, whom one would not pick out as an unusually well-informed man, because of his inability to tell me of a recent act of his legislature. He assured me that he always made it a practice to know what the legislature was doing, but in some way or other this had slipped his mind. In western farmhouses one sees a great many copies of reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, and there are indications that these reports have been studied. Agricultural papers are to be found in all farmhouses.

In Emporia I met a farmer with "Oom Paul" whiskers, a large, benevolent nose, and a face as bland as a May morning, but in whose eye there lingered no trace of greenness. He told me with the utmost naïveté of a transaction that he had had with a man fresh from New York who "thought he knew it all," a transaction which had made him

richer and the New Yorker poorer by some hundreds of dollars.

"I hated to do it," he said, "but it was just like finding money; if I hadn't picked it up some one else would."

The transaction related to steers, and there was nothing which the New Yorker was accustomed to buying that required so much knowledge and careful judgment as steers. A common case is that of a retired merchant who had made a snug little fortune in business, and had decided to buy himself a good farm and to spend his declining years in the light work of superintending it. Now, a man who has lived continually on a farm until past middle life will frequently move to town and make a success as a merchant or as a banker. I know of at least a half-dozen such cases. But I have yet to find a man who had lived continually in the city until past middle life and had then moved to the country and made a success of corn-growing and cattle-feeding. The inevitable result was that the retired merchant lost money on every trade he made, and in the course of a few years was sold out by the sheriff. The corn belt is full of monuments of just this kind of foolishness. Eastern men and city men, who have imagined that farming consisted simply in planting seed and then gathering the harvest when the crop ripened of itself, have gone West or moved to the country to try their hand at it. In the language of the neighboring farmers, "they have cut quite a spludge" for a time, but have either failed completely or sold out for whatever they could get.

TIRED AND RETIRED FARMERS

And yet the corn belt is probably the most prosperous agricultural region of any con-

siderable size in the world, but success requires great industry and a degree of knowledge that comes only from experience. In the East, especially in New England, where farming is not prosperous and the cities furnish better opportunities for men of capacity, it happens that the best men are drawn from the country to the city, leaving, as a rule, only the less competent to people the country districts. That is why there has been so much discussion during the last year or two over the degeneracy of the farming regions. But in the corn belt the conditions are quite reversed; the best opportunities are furnished by the farms, and one of the most striking facts that one observes on a tour of this kind is the manifest superiority of the average farmer, physically, intellectually, and morally, to the average dweller in the towns of that region. With the exception of the retired farmers, who make up a fair proportion of the population of the country towns and small cities of the West, the bulk of the population seems to be made up of people who are not fit to make good farmers. Even some of the so-called retired farmers have retired, not because they have accumulated a competence, but because they were unable to make farming pay or because they have found the work too hard. They have moved to town, where their wives keep boarders while they loaf around the stores. For this reason there is a sharp distinction made between "tired" and "retired" farmers. The hotels and livery stables also are generally kept by this class of tired farmers.

THE ADVANTAGE OF FARM OVER TOWN

It seems that every line of business carried on in the towns and small cities in the corn belt is largely in the hands of inferior men, though of course there are numerous brilliant exceptions. Almost every town or city will have one or two newspapers, which claim to be the organs of the leading political parties, but which really seem to be published for the purpose of apologizing for their own existence. The manual labor which is done about such towns is almost invariably done by men who are not fit for farm hands. Some are so profane and obscene in their language that a decent farmer would not have them around, but they will work as section hands on the railroad for less wages than farm hands get, and loaf about the

depot and the streets at night, play Sunday baseball, and have other similar enjoyments not usually open to the farm hand. Even a good deal of the mercantile business is carried on by men who do not show a degree of intelligence at all comparable to that of the average farmer. And in more than one State capital the ramshackle street-railway system does not show in its management a degree of executive capacity much superior to that of the average farm hand.

Nothing better illustrates the superior advantages of farm over town life than the class of houses one finds. "There, now!" exclaimed a lady in a small Kansas town, "there comes another farmhouse into town." As she spoke she was looking at a small, one-story, square-roofed house being drawn into town on trucks. When asked for an explanation, she replied that the farmers were building themselves new houses and selling their old houses to people in town. "About half the houses in this town," she asserted, "have been moved in from the country in this manner. Oh, the farmers are the aristocrats here!"

A LAND OF PLENTY

The housekeeper of an eastern city who has learned to calculate with some degree of precision upon the capacity of the various stomachs to be filled, and whose table is provided on the basis of these calculations, is at first shocked at the apparent extravagance of the western housewives in table supplies; but upon a closer acquaintance she simply finds that she has reached the land of plenty.

I remember one Sunday dinner of which I was privileged to partake. Another family had been invited home to dinner after church, making a total of twelve persons. There was roast beef, bought in town the day before, as a special treat. As a commonplace there was a huge pyramid of fried chicken. As many as four fair-sized spring chickens must have been sacrificed for the feast. There were mashed potatoes and gravy, bread, butter, coffee and tea, with real cream, besides milk for the children; there were several kinds of jam and preserves, with which one was expected to use cream; there was unlimited pie and two mountainous cakes, evidently the pride of the housewife. And to crown it all, there was a freezerful

of ice-cream, of such dimensions that no one, not even two growing boys from ten to twelve years of age, needed to feel any apprehension of the supply running short. Though this is only a single instance, I assure the reader that it is by no means an isolated one. Of course, this superabundance and the high quality of the cooking at this farmhouse are not universally maintained. But wherever in the corn belt you find native Americans, especially of the Hoosier type (those of New England are, as a rule, somewhat better cooks, but somewhat less prodigal of material), Germans or Swedes, who are generally good "feeders"—though the cooking is not always suited to the fastidious palate of the native American—you will find the table abundantly provided.

One hears a great deal of shockingly bad grammar in the corn country, but correct speech is really a matter of conventionality, and a farmer's success does not depend upon his observance of conventionalities. On the other hand, there are certain things which he must know, and which no amount of suavity or grace or good form will enable him to dispense with. He is dealing with nature rather than with men, and nature cannot be deluded by a pleasant front nor a smooth tongue. One must not be hasty in forming conclusions as to the farmer's intelligence on the basis of his clothes, his knowledge of the forms of polite society, nor even his use of grammar. So persistently does one hear certain mistakes repeated, such as "It is me," "I done well on that trade," "I would have went to town if it hadn't rained," that one wonders whether the western country is not developing a grammar of its own.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE CORN BELT

The injudicious and uncritical discussion of such inapt expressions as race suicide lead me to observe somewhat carefully the tendency among the farmers. Though the average family is somewhat larger than that of the well-to-do urbanite, there is a manifest decline even in the country districts. Families of four or five children among the native Americans are quite common, but one almost never finds such patriarchal families of ten and twelve children as were common in the days of our grandfathers. The most conspicuous case of this kind that I saw was a

family of eight children belonging to an Iowa farmer. The mother, who is still slightly on the sunny side of forty, was a daughter of a well-to-do farmer and had excellent "schooling" for the time and place. She was a country schoolma'am at the age of eighteen, and also gave music lessons to a few children in the community. She spent one year at a small western college, but was married at the age of twenty-two to a young farmer who was living on a rented farm and whose only capital consisted of his team and farming implements. She has raised or is raising her eight children; they have bought a farm of 160 acres, which is now paid for; they have a comfortable house; and they are just beginning to feel in easy circumstances. The long, hard struggle through which they have gone has in no way embittered their dispositions. They are active in church work; the mother teaches a class in Sunday-school; and the eldest daughter, seventeen years of age, is the organist. The children were unusually bright and healthy, and the mother insists that some way must be found to send them all through college, and I have little doubt that they will succeed. The husband is a hard-working man of kindly disposition, but considerably her inferior in mental and social endowments, of which fact, however, both seemed utterly oblivious.

One form of social diversion common throughout the corn belt is what is known as the "basket-meeting." A basket-meeting is nothing more nor less than a regular church service turned into a picnic. Some grove near the country church is selected, and on Saturday afternoon the men gather and erect an outdoor pulpit, with a sufficient number of benches for the congregation, and on the following Sunday, at the regular hour, the church service is held here instead of in the church. After the service the members of the congregation, having come supplied with baskets of provisions, spread them upon the benches and partake of a bountiful dinner.

But such a minor festivity pales into insignificance in comparison with such annual events as the Fourth of July, Old Settlers' Day, and the County Fair, though the latter has sadly degenerated since it fell into the hands of city sports, who make it simply an occasion for horse-racing, accompanied by

all the devices for separating a fool from his money which usually surround a circus.

NO SERIOUS LABOR PROBLEM

The western farm hand gets \$25 a month the year around, board, washing, and pasture for a horse (for, mind you, the western farm hand usually owns his horse, and not infrequently a top buggy besides).

The farmer in the corn belt has his labor problem, too, though I have never heard any one predicting the doom of the corn belt on that ground. The fact is, that while the existence of the labor problem is recognized, it is of such minor significance as to be almost negligible. Fortunately for western agriculture and American society in general, there is no proletariat of agricultural laborers. The cases of large corn-growers who depend almost altogether on hired help are so few in number as to count but little in the aggregate, and even these men are forced by the necessities of their situation to be exceedingly active in direct supervision and management. There are practically no farm laborers of the European type—that is, men who expect always to work for wages as farm hands. In all my trip I met with only one married farm hand, though doubtless there are a considerable number, in the aggregate, scattered over the country. The typical farm hand is a young unmarried man, usually the son of a farmer living in the neighborhood—though frequently a foreign immigrant—who “works out” for a few years merely to get money enough to begin farming on his own responsibility on a rented farm. Under such conditions it would be manifestly impossible to organize a successful labor union among farm hands. If such a union were organized it would necessarily be confined to the worst and least efficient element among them, since only such men continue long in that occupation.

This scarcity of farm labor, however, in no way interferes with the success of corn-growing. In the first place, the corn-grower works with his own hands, and so do the other members of his family. Riding plows and cultivators, disk harrows and corn harvesters, as well as twine binders and hay stackers, so reduce the amount of muscular strength needed that a boy of ten years of age will frequently render almost as much service as a grown man. I was shown one

corn field of 120 acres which had been cultivated almost entirely by two girls, aged thirteen and fifteen, using riding cultivators.

Another factor which contributes to the solution of the labor problem is the distribution of the work of the farm over the year. On a typical corn farm there is no season which is preëminently the busy season, unless the corn-plowing has fallen behind because of wet weather. Though farmers with whom I talked universally agreed that corn was by far their most profitable crop, there were very few farms where corn was grown exclusively. With a given labor force, only a certain amount of corn can be cultivated, anyway, and it requires no more labor force to grow a certain amount of other crops in addition. Wheat and oats are sown before corn-planting time, and are harvested after the corn has been “laid by”—that is, after the plowing is finished. The hay harvest also comes in this interval, and the threshing is usually done before the corn-husking begins. Moreover, the stubble fields can usually be plowed in the interval between the harvesting of the small grain (wheat and oats) and the husking of the corn. Thus the farmer in the corn belt has practically eliminated the labor problem, so that even the limited supply of farm hands is no serious handicap upon the corn-growing industry.

As to the problem of domestic service, there is practically none. Hired girls are almost non-existent. Every farmer's wife expects to do her own work, and if in time of sickness or special stress of work she can induce some girl from the neighborhood, belonging to a family where perhaps there is a surplus of girls, to come in and help her, she considers herself fortunate.

Like other parts of the West, the corn belt was settled by people from a great variety of sources, and has not been without its share of tough communities; but the land was too valuable, and there was too high a premium on thrift and industry, for such communities long to remain.

“The magic of property,” wrote Arthur Young, “turns sand into gold.” It seems to me that a justifiable paraphrase would be, “The magic of prosperity turns worthless characters into model citizens”—though I do not think it would be safe to apply this in every individual case.

THE RESULTS OF THRIFT

Everywhere in the corn belt, and indeed wherever farming is prosperous, one meets with the interesting phenomenon of the retired farmer. In general, he is a man considerably past middle age, who has by hard work and careful management become the owner of a fair-sized farm, with perhaps a moderate bank account besides, and who has either sold or rented his farm and moved to town to spend his declining years in rest. From the number of such cases one might almost conclude that the average farmer's idea of paradise was a country town where he could live comfortably, supplying his daily needs without denying himself rest or sleep, and where he would be free from the wear and tear of continually guessing at the weather, caring for his live-stock, battling with weeds and the thousand-and-one other relentless enemies of the farmer. But when he reaches this paradise, unless he has retired on account of old age, he is almost invariably disappointed, if not demoralized. The life soon grows monotonous. Having always been accustomed to an active outdoor life, he becomes restive and discontented. Sometimes he takes up some other line of business—goes into a store, starts a hotel or livery stable, or goes into the real estate business; and again he sometimes degenerates into an ordinary town loafer. He frequently makes a poor urbanite, for his ideas of living were developed under rural conditions. He is somewhat slow to appreciate the value of good sewage, generally opposes levying taxes for street improvements, and is almost invariably disliked by the merchants because of his parsimonious way of buying goods. The habits of his early life stay with him and dominate all his business transactions. The effect of town life upon the retired farmer is, however, by no means to be compared with its demoralizing effect upon his minor children, especially his boys, if he happens to have any.

RURAL CALLS BY TELEPHONE

One of the most important problems of life in rural America is the problem of relieving its monotony and isolation. Rural free delivery, which is now almost universal throughout the corn belt, was expected to accomplish something in this direction, but will probably accomplish very little. One

farmer's wife in particular complained that whereas formerly she had occasion to go to town once or twice a week to get the mail, if for nothing else, now she had no such excuse, and left the farm less frequently than before. The rural telephone is, in my opinion, the most effective agency in this direction that has yet been invented. Rural telephone systems are found almost everywhere throughout the central West, and they are generally arranged with a number of houses, sometimes fifteen or twenty, on the same circuit. This arrangement gives little privacy in the use of the telephone, but it has its compensating advantages. Whatever one says all who are so disposed can hear, and this favors a general neighborhood conversation without an actual meeting. Where it is a recognized custom it loses the stigma which attaches to ordinary eavesdropping.

Being alone in the sitting-room of a farmhouse one morning, I heard the telephone bell ring several times. Thinking that possibly some one was trying to call up the house, I took down the receiver and placed it to my ear. What I heard was so characteristic, and therefore so interesting, that (please do not expect me to blush; it is more or less the custom of the country) my arm failed to remove the receiver from my ear, and in consequence my ear could not do otherwise than hear.

First Female Voice: Is that you, Sarah?

Second F. V.: Yes, it's me.

First F. V.: Have you got your dishes washed yet?

Second F. V.: No; we're just through breakfast.

First F. V.: What did you have for breakfast?

Second F. V.: Fried mush, and eggs, and pork, and—say, what did you have?

First F. V.: Oh, we had graham gems! We're going to have roasting ears for dinner.

Third F. V. (breaking in; evidently some one else is listening, too): So are we.

Second F. V.: Ours aren't ripe yet.

Third F. V.: We've got lots. Send Sammy over after them and I'll give you some.

Fourth F. V. (another listener): "Say, Mary, how is the baby?"

First F. V.: Not very well. He is teething.

Fourth F. V.: Have you tried that medicine I gave you?

First F. V.: Not yet.

Fifth F. V. (still another listener): Say, Florence says she is going to have old Ben's tail docked. [Universal gigglement. This is evidently a neighborhood joke, intelligible only to the initiated.]

Third F. V.: Say, next Sunday's quarterly meeting. Who is going to have the elder for dinner? [I do not think that she meant that there were cannibals in the neighborhood.]

Fourth F. V.: He has promised to come to our house.

And so the conversation ran on for ten or fifteen minutes; and I predict that the opportunity for just such neighborhood visiting by telephone will do more to break up the retiring habit among farmers than any other agency now at work.

DIFFERENCES IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Two opposing tendencies of the profoundest interest to the economist are visibly at work in the corn belt. On the one hand, there is going on a constant improvement of the population in the standard of living, in culture, and in all that makes human life superior to brute life. On the other hand, there is a constant displacement of that part of the population which has shown the most marked improvement in these particulars by a population whose standards are lower. A quarter of a century is not a very long time in the development of a people, but the last twenty-five years have witnessed remarkable changes in the agricultural population of the central West. Twenty-five years ago upholstered furniture was found in the houses only of the most well-to-do farmers. Today it is found in the majority of the houses of the native Americans. Twenty-five years ago a cabinet organ was a sign of affluence. Today they are found in many of the poorer houses, while pianos are more common than organs were then. Twenty-five years ago church-goers uniformly rode in farm wagons, the younger members of the family sitting on boards laid across the wagon-box, and considering themselves fortunate if they had a quilt folded up for a cushion. There were a few spring wagons, but covered carriages were rare indeed. Today conditions are exactly reversed; bug-

gies and carriages are the rule, and farm wagons are rarely used as a means of conveyance.

On the other hand, there are opposing forces at work. A high standard of living is expensive, and frequently fails in competition with a lower standard. Those who have acquired these expensive wants sometimes have to give way before a class whose lower wants enable them to live more cheaply. This is noticeably the case in many parts of the country, and especially in the West. I heard many bitter complaints on the ground that foreigners were buying up all the best land and displacing native Americans with their two centuries of social and economic development. Foreign immigrants, with their low standard of living, could afford to pay a price for land which would bankrupt a native American. Since it costs them so much less to live, they have a larger surplus left with which to pay for their land. A settlement of Hollanders, Germans or Swedes will almost invariably spread over the surrounding country by this process of buying out the native Americans.

An illustration of what can be done with a low standard of living combined with great industry may be found in the case of Mr. Z——, a farmer in southwestern Iowa. He is a native of Switzerland, arrived in this country sixteen years ago absolutely without means, began working as a farm hand, saved his wages, bought a team and farming implements, and began as a renter. He now owns 120 acres of first-class land, lying mostly on the Nishnabotany River bottoms, and worth close to \$100 per acre. But there is an unpaid mortgage of \$2,700; to partly offset this, however, he has two good teams of work-horses, thirty or forty shoats, and about twenty head of cattle, and a full equipment of farm implements. He has two children, both girls, aged nine and five; complained that he had hard luck with his children, there being no boys, but said that the girls would have to work in the fields when they got old enough. The manner of living of the family is simple in the extreme, there being very little furniture in the house, and that of the plainest sort, and the food being almost entirely raised on the farm and in the garden. His wife tends the garden in addition to doing the housework. The clothing, likewise, was of the coarsest and cheapest

sort, but Mr. Z—— and his wife are both very hard workers, and he is a skilful farmer, having been trained to intensive cultivation in his native country. He uses the very latest and most improved farm machinery, including a gang plow, riding cultivators, a corn harvester, a hay loader, etc. In short, though he is exceedingly parsimonious in supplying his own wants and those of his family, he does not scruple to spend money in any way which will add to the profits of farming.

As applied to the country districts, the great question is, therefore—and it is by far the most important and far-reaching question relating to rural life in America—Can we ultimately develop a rural population with a high standard of living, or must the land continue to pass into the hands of a population with a low standard of living but great industry? This is a question which goes to the very foundations of American civilization. Upon its answer depends the question whether the rural districts—the great seed-bed of our population, or of any population, for that matter—shall be the home of a cultured, progressive, liberal-minded people, or of a “peasant-minded” people whose interest in life, aside from the instinct of acquisition, is bounded by three elementary wants—hunger, thirst, and sex.

MORAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Closely akin to the question of the standard of living is the question of the moral and social development of the corn-growing population. As a traveler moves westward, if he keeps his eyes, or rather his ears, open, he becomes more and more impressed at the roughness and even profanity of the language which he hears in public places. This impression, however, is due partly to the fact that the ordinary traveler only sees and hears what goes on about railway stations, hotel corridors, and similar places, and the class of people who infest such places are by no means representative. When he gets away from beaten lines of travel, out into the rural districts, this impression is by no means so vivid. Nevertheless, it remains, and it is undoubtedly true that there is more rough language used in the West than in the East. At the same time, if he takes the trouble to attend country churches and to form some idea of the popular interest

in religious matters, he is impressed with the piety of the people. It will usually take him some time to reconcile these two apparently contradictory impressions, but the explanation is that as one moves westward through the agricultural districts he meets fewer and fewer of that class which is so numerous in cities and also in the rural districts of the East, who are neither pious nor wicked—simply indifferent. In other words, it seems that throughout the West, especially beyond the Missouri River, every man is either pious or profane, and the prevailing type of piety is of the Methodistic sort, just as the prevailing type of impiety is of the turbulent, swearing sort. Both are demonstrative.

A friend of mine, a clergyman and a very close observer, told me that upon one of his trips through the West almost every man he met and spoke with used profanity; but finally he found one man who talked to him for twenty minutes without using an oath. As they were about to separate, my friend shook hands with the stranger and said:

“You don’t know how glad I am to have a chance to have a talk with a man like you. You are the first man I have met for three days who could talk for five minutes without swearing.”

The stranger was so surprised and shocked at this deplorable state of affairs that he instantly and innocently ejaculated:

“Well, I’ll be damned!”

Another friend, an unusually handsome and venerable-looking farmer, told me of a delicate compliment he once received from a cattleman. Meeting several drovers, he inquired the road to a certain place and engaged in a few minutes’ conversation. As he rode on he overheard one remark to another: “Say, that was a damned fine-looking old devil, wasn’t it?”

However, as the country grows older and more settled, and the population becomes more stable in its character, the extremely demonstrative types of piety and impiety both tend to disappear. That perhaps accounts for their growing scarcity as one proceeds eastward. This is probably due partly to the development of definite social relations after a generation or two have grown up in a locality, partly to the building up of family pride and family traditions, but mainly to the greater prevalence of

educational and moral training of the youth. The fact of the matter is, that in the early settlement of most sections of the West there were no well-established social relations and no family traditions to maintain, and very little systematic moral training of the youth.

Politically, the West is rapidly settling down to more fixed habits of thought, though it has had its period of unrest. In the early seventies, and again in the early nineties, the western farmer became the spoiled child of American politics. He had been flattered and cajoled by demagogues until he came to think himself the most important factor in our social system. This position he has now been deprived of by the wage-worker, who is today laying the flattering unction to his soul that he is the most important personage in the universe. To be sure, neither the Grange nor the Farmers' Alliance in their wildest days approached in arrogance the labor organizations of the present; nor did they ever, either directly or indirectly, countenance violence or lawlessness of any kind. This is probably due to the fact that the farmers as a class are vastly more intelligent and law-abiding than the rank and file

of the wage-workers, though they are more numerous and politically more powerful.

No such interest attaches to a journey such as that which I have just made as is now found in the account of Arthur Young's travels in France on the eve of the French Revolution, nor is it of such historic interest, in that it describes a decaying civilization, as Frederick Law Olmsted's "Journeys Through the Cotton Country" just before the Civil War. The conditions in the corn belt are preëminently normal, and therefore one sees little that appeals to the natural human interest for the curious and abnormal.

But, on the other hand, the corn belt is the most considerable area in the world where agriculture is uniformly prosperous. This prosperity is, moreover, healthful and natural, and not artificial, like the sugar-beet industry, for example, which has never in any country shown its ability to stand alone unaided by government favors, nor, like much of our manufacturing prosperity, based upon government protection. The people engaged in the corn-growing industry are an independent, progressive class, drawing their sustenance from the soil, and not from other people.

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE NEGRO REPUBLIC

THE APPROACHING CELEBRATION OF HAITIAN INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEGLECTED GARDEN-SPOT OF THE WORLD, BY A PEOPLE WHO ARE FALLING BACKWARD IN CIVILIZATION—A PATHETIC PRETENSE OF GOVERNMENT

BY

FRANCIS TREVELYAN MILLER

EDITOR OF THE *Connecticut Magazine*, WHO RECENTLY VISITED THE WEST INDIES, AND REPORTS HIS OBSERVATIONS

A GOVERNMENT without a practical school system, a government whose expenditures are seldom made for improvements, a government without adequate asylums or hospitals, a government of petty thieving, continual insurrection, promiscuous poisoning, and counterfeit finance—this is the Negro republic of Haiti, the land where the black rules, and which on January 1, 1904, will celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of its independence.

Like a fairy land is this tropical island—a garden of graceful palms, Nature's own beauty-spot of the most beautiful colors and of the richest possibilities. "For forty years I have sailed the seas and touched every port from Shanghai back to Shanghai. I have followed the coast lines around the world, and I declare today that the island of Haiti is the gem of the oceans," said an old sea captain with whom I was following the Gulf Stream a little while ago. "In

richness and variety of vegetable products it is not excelled by any other country on earth."

In this perpetual summer-land, with its vast natural resources, where tropical plants grow in profusion and vegetables and fruits of the temperate climate may be successfully cultivated in its highlands, live nearly 1,250,000 people, at least 70 per cent. of whom are of illegitimate birth. Brilliant in their garbs of pink and green and violet, women carrying freight upon their heads and degraded to the level of beasts of burden, and men whose only care is fear of permanent occupation by foreigners, will hail the anniversary of freedom and self-government; and they will spend \$300,000 in the most spectacular celebration that they can conceive. "All men are created free and equal"—they have caught the literal translation, but they fail to grasp the meaning of the responsibility of our Declaration of Independence.

In the president's residence in the city of Port-au-Prince sits a worn but vigorous man eighty-seven years of age, a typical Haitian Negro, conducting the affairs of state in debased French, with a constitution with seemingly an American maternity and a French paternity. Under this constitution, which suffers kaleidoscopic changes according to the whims of the people, the chief executive is nominally elected by the people, practically by Congress, and more frequently by force; and his term of office is generally ended by revolution. He is surrounded by a cabinet physically powerful and intellectually weak, and his Senate convenes in chambers the walls of which are adorned with paintings of John Brown and Charles Sumner, American abolitionists, surrounded by portraits of Negro celebrities and black statesmen.

In all the world's work there is not a scene more pathetic. Conscientious, patriotic, ever hopeful and kindly, old Alexis Nord struggles to lead his people into the ways of industry and perseverance; but they comprehend only the glamor and not the meaning of freedom, shouting triumphantly "*Vive la république!*" and then leaving it to decay and ruin.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are proclaimed by the Haitian constitution, and yet only a few weeks ago a duel took place in Port-au-Prince between M. Clement Magloire, editor of *Le Moment*, and M. Adam,

Postmaster-General. The duel was the result of an article against M. Adam which was published in the paper. It was fought in a café opposite the general post-office. The contestants drew their revolvers, but M. Adam's revolver would not go off. M. Magloire fired five shots at him, three of which wounded him in the abdomen. A Negro woman was passing the place at the time on her way to market, carrying her produce on her head, and she was killed instantly by a bullet which went wide of the mark. M. Adam, though severely wounded, stepped toward M. Magloire and cut him across the throat with a razor. Two duels were to have taken place the last Sunday I was in the West Indies, between prominent and influential Deputies; and yet almost at that very moment a competition was held in Haiti for the best national anthem for the republic. Many persons took part in the competition, Justin L. Herisson, editor of *Le Soir*, winning the prize, his anthem having been adopted.

While the Chambers were voting a large appropriation for an elaborate celebration of independence, M. Tizan, Minister of the Interior, returned to his home and found his wife seriously ill, death ensuing a few hours later from poisoning. His two children also died from the same cause. According to the authorities, the crime was committed "by a servant girl who has fled to the United States."

In the constitution of this Negro republic compulsory military service is not enforced, and the drafting system in cases of necessity has been adopted. When General Fouchard, aspirant for the presidential chair, intimated a little while ago that he was about to plead his cause with a gun, a rabble army, which has a paper enlistment of 20,000, was considered insufficient for the emergency, and scouts on mounted mules were sent into the interior to seek recruits. The common system of drafting resembles lassoing wild cattle on the western prairies of the United States. The republican patriot is persuaded, by means of a rope fastened securely about his wrist, to lay down his life for his country, and the superior officers drive the newly drafted soldiers down the mountainsides in herds of twenty or thirty, safely united by hempen cords. During the recent insurrection 10,000 Negroes were stationed at Port-au-Prince,

ragged, barefoot, burly fellows, sitting about the walls protecting the president's home and napping under the soothing influence of the tropical sun, with their guns propped up against the nearest palms. The Haitian republic has never considered necessary the erection of barracks for its army, and its soldiers sleep under the trees or about the streets, undisturbed in the unusual times of peace excepting by crawling lizards that climb about them hunting for palatable insects.

General Fouchard in his last insurrection was guarded by a private army of 300 men, who slept in his yard, opposite the German legation. Familiarity is a commoner quality in the Haitian soldier than courage, and the more fastidious assemble at nightfall at the private residences, which have porticoes, and swing their hammocks from the pillars. Their term of service generally ends by desertion, and the War Department seldom finds it necessary to grant payment for service, the appropriation generally going into the pockets of the authorities. Freedom of the press in the Haitian constitution is interpreted to mean suppression of the truth, and consequently the world knows but little of the doings in this land of black supremacy.

"Now, regarding your navy—of what does your fleet consist?" a cabinet minister was recently asked.

"Navy? We have none. I am very sorry to state that our last boat was destroyed by the Germans last fall. They said that it fired upon one of the German merchantmen, and although we needed it greatly, we were unable to save it from destruction."

The affairs of state are conducted with pathetic seriousness. When the octogenarian executive appears in public he is royally accompanied by 115 gaily uniformed Negroes, drilled under a French officer. But state affairs are managed in curious, not to say trivial, ways. An Italian man-of-war came into port and the marine corps were allowed to leave ship. Taking advantage of the brief furlough, they wandered about the mountains and made ridiculing remarks regarding the dignity of the State. This might have been overlooked had they not extended their disrespect even further by amusing themselves in firing broadsides into the hogs that sat in the front doorways

or wandered about in the thoroughfares. The disturbed republican citizens hurriedly dispatched an envoy to the government, the Paul Revere of the Haitian republic dashing down the mountain road on a jack-ass, proclaiming the terror to the city. Statesmen convened, and the serious aspects of the situation were considered. Then a demand was sent to the Italian man-of-war suggesting an apology or reimbursement. Upon the explanation that the marine corps had labored under the misapprehension that the black hogs of the republic were but wild animals infesting the mountains, the matter was finally quietly settled.

Another of the recent international problems began in a case in court. A Negro peasant-justice sat in a case against a German firm, and after hearing the evidence he gave judgment to his fellow citizen, thus following precedents. As the action progressed it involved a sum of about \$6,000. The German defendant appealed to his legation, and the *charge d'affaires* consulted with the Haitian Government, which, preferring to remain friendly with the European power rather than to uphold their system of court justice, assumed the responsibility and paid the judgment.

General Fouchard, who was a candidate at the last presidential election in the republic, is now in exile in the neighboring British island of Jamaica, as a result of his attempt to overthrow the government of General Nord early in September. About twenty of his followers are exiled with him in the city of Kingston, and others have fled to the United States. The election of President Nord was vigorously contested for seven months. The cabinet succeeded in defeating the scheme of his opponent, and forced the leader of the revolutionists to take refuge in the American consulate at Port-au-Prince, creating much excitement in the republic. On the following Sunday President Nord stood before his people and spoke gallantly, his six-foot figure erect and vibrating with emotion.

"I repeat what I told you at my last reception—the country is quiet and the people desire a lasting peace, and my government is alive to the necessities and will work to assure the republic a new era of prosperity.

"It is necessary that all the thieves be

punished and that the State take possession of the vouchers fraudulently issued.

"Justice will be rigorously enforced against all those responsible for this crime against the nation.

"When I have realized my ideal I shall have stopped stealing in the administration, and the country will again become prosperous.

"Haiti will be regenerated, and henceforth great by work, strong by the union of her children, respected for her probity and a religious and scrupulous observance of her engagements, her laws, her constitution."

"We shall soon be celebrating our centenary," he said later in a private interview with an English journalist, "and all my countrymen should see, as I do, that our backward position is the outcome of our internal strifes, which have impoverished our country financially, morally, and materially."

Confident of the ultimate regeneration of his people, General Nord has probed into official scandals. Several chiefs of departments, all formerly in the employ of the national bank, and former President Sam and nearly all his ministers, are charged with complicity in the issuing of the fraudulent Haitian Government securities to the amount of \$200,000. American movements are closely watched, and consequently they feel somewhat relieved in their misfortunes by the recent postal frauds in the neighboring American republic.

It is said that there is more counterfeit

money in circulation in Haiti than there is genuine currency. The Haitian dollar is equal to about 96½ cents of United States currency, and the national paper currency has greatly depreciated. The government has passed a law to substitute new paper money for the old currency. The amount of paper money to be circulated will be \$3,700,000.

The finances of the republic are in very bad shape, and with the irregularities it is doubtful if an accurate statement can be produced. The most authoritative information estimates that the country is struggling under a debt of nearly \$35,000,000, with the interest at various rates amounting to something like \$2,000,000 annually. The interest, however, on many of the debts remained unpaid for several years, and the obligations are still met somewhat irregularly.

Agriculture has been declining, and there are few implements to till the soil. The staple products are neglected and the natural resources undeveloped, while the business of the country is rapidly becoming concentrated in the hands of foreigners. Slumber is the most enviable occupation, and labor the most undesirable. Marriage relations are almost ignored.

The aged President's deep-set eyes fill with tears as he pleads for truth and loyalty and justice, and lends his ebbing energy to persuade them that liberty means not license and idleness. The people have presented him with a gold medal, but they do not understand what government means.

CHRISTMAS IN BUSINESS LIFE

THE CUSTOM OF SOME MERCHANTS AND BANKERS OF MAKING HANDSOME PRESENTS TO EMPLOYEES—AN EXAMPLE OF A FINE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT SHOWN BY AN OLD FIRM—THE EASY ABUSE OF THE CUSTOM—THE LABOR-LEADER'S OBJECTION

BY

RALPH D. PAINE

LAST year the owner of one of the largest department stores in the country expanded his customary system of rewards by giving \$50 to each of the drivers of his delivery wagons. There were 150 of them, and they received \$8,000.

They were paid for their overtime, but their work was so uncommonly arduous that they deserved something more, and it came to them as a surprise. In the height of the rush the wagons were delivering from 40,000 to 50,000 packages daily. On the

day before Christmas 100,000 patrons visited the store, and it was promised that all purchases, including pianos, made before six o'clock at night, should be delivered at their homes before breakfast Christmas morning. This immense undertaking was accomplished, and it was loyalty as well as wages that inspired these drivers to make good the promise of their employer. To them the extra fifty-dollar checks came as wealth unforeseen and were accepted in the true spirit of Christmas. The Christmas spirit was in this transaction, although the employer was paying for value received, and this year he will similarly surprise some other column of his vast army of industry.

This proprietor has on his payrolls during Christmas time more than 11,000 employees, and a system is in operation whereby the majority of them receive extra money in the holiday season. It is in payment of extra services, yet it is so distributed that the Christmas spirit is not wholly obliterated. For ten days the store is kept open until ten o'clock in the evening, and for this work after regular hours the salespeople receive a commission on their sales instead of fixed wages for overtime. Last year saleswomen made as much as \$50, \$75 and \$100 on these holiday commissions. It meant more to them than wages, as they showed in documentary evidence, for they sent scores of letters to the manager's office, telling what had been done with the "Christmas fund."

Those who hold positions of greater responsibility in this store receive checks at Christmas time; but in many cases, knowing about how much to expect, they fall into the habit of reckoning with this "present" as a part of their income, and the programme becomes too cut-and-dried to be sweetened by the flavor of the holiday season, save as the expenditure of these special amounts increases the home pleasures of Christmas. For, after all, whether in the business house or at the fireside, the quality of Christmas giving which rings true is such as is "twice blessed; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

One New York merchant has for many years presided over a Christmas gathering of his entire force. The custom, begun when less than 100 guests were eligible, is maintained now when 1,000 employees, from

managers to cash-boys, meet on equal footing for one night of the year and listen to the sincere greeting and recognition of loyal service which are spoken by the proprietor as the head of the table. This traditional observance has done much to inspire in this force a notable *esprit de corps*. It is a genuine Christmas festival.

In the words of a humble toiler of the house: "It doesn't help pay my bills and it doesn't raise my wages, but the dinner is the real thing, for to hear the old man talk of his start as an errand-boy in a country store, and how he fought his way up to the top, makes him one of us. And when we wish him 'Merry Christmas,' a thousand strong, a good many of us mean it, and I think he does when he shouts it back."

But the old-fashioned Christmas in business, it must be said regretfully, does not find room for expansion in the crowded rush of "up-to-date" methods. It is safe to say that \$1,000,000 is given to employees now where \$1,000 was distributed a generation ago, but in many cases the outlay is charged to the expense or the wage account, and adjusted according to a carefully calculated scale whereby at the end of the year the employee shall have received what he has been worth to the house, by adding together wages and bonus. Yet there are in New York firms of age and dignity which have preserved with a fine flavor the policy that on one day of the year the faithful employee and his employer have common ground for saying "God bless us, every one."

There is one commission house whose history is a part of the coffee trade for four generations. The present partners are two brothers, both bachelors, who have added wealth to inherited fortunes. It has been their custom, since they succeeded in control of the house, to present each of their clerks with a Christmas gift, sometimes equal to half his yearly salary. The amounts are not fixed, however, and unlike most rewards of this kind, the partners take into account not only the services rendered, but also the personal needs of the recipient. In other words, the friendly interest is not bounded by the office walls, and the brothers find a quiet pleasure in investigating the conditions which please or worry the young men who work for them. One of them who told me this story said:

"If one of the office staff is single and is able to live comfortably on his salary, he may get \$500 for Christmas, while a young fellow who was threatening matrimony last year was handed a check for \$1,500, and an old gray-haired clerk who is supporting a sister and a half-dozen of her children, and has other relatives hanging on his coat-tails, got \$1,000, when his salary is only \$1,800, which is all he is worth to the firm. Of course, good work and loyalty are counted in, and it's a system of reward and merit, but it is finely tempered with human interest." These gifts are distributed with a formal courtesy and a personal greeting that make of this office the reception-room of a host and his guests for a brief time on the day before Christmas.

Wall Street is lavish in its gifts when the stock market is free with its favors, and last year made a high-water mark for this form of distribution. A conservative estimate is that bankers and brokers gave away \$1,000,000 in rewards to employees, and in the Stock Exchange \$10,000 was raised for its working force. These gifts included five-thousand-dollar gold certificates in one house and an entire year's salary to employees of more than one bank. While such munificence made one joyful Christmas, failure to equal it this year will spoil many holidays. Such magnificent generosity has its flaw, as shown by the lament of one favored bank clerk:

"It was a wonderful Christmas last year. I received a whole year's salary, and I had been with the firm only one year, and I was so happy when I went home that I did not bother to criticize the fact that the salary was in Steel stock at the market rate. My wife and I were beside ourselves planning a country cottage, the dream of our lives, and of course when Steel began to 'slump' we held on and hoped for an upward turn, and are still holding on. My Christmas present has shrunk and our dream is smashed, and all I ask of Kriss Kringle this year is that he will restore my last year's present to its original size."

In the same institution there was an employee whose Christmas gift had the saving grace of individual consideration. He was a bookkeeper, nearly forty years in harness, and he had been overlooked in former years of fatness in Wall Street, except for a custom-

ary and unvarying ten-dollar gold piece. Several days before Christmas last year, the office became agitated with rumors of an unprecedented flood of good fortune. The old bookkeeper tried to keep calm, but his hopes ran riot, and the day before Christmas found him in a nervous flurry. He saw his fellow employees called into the cashier's office one by one, each returning with a sealed envelope. The bookkeeper waited for his summons, but it came not. Even the office-boys emerged, biting new gold pieces to test them, and the roll was complete an hour before the bookkeeper summoned courage to send in an inquiry whether a mistake had been made in the case of Mr. Blank, and whether an envelope had been overlooked. The answer was:

"There is no envelope for Mr. Blank, but the president wishes to see him for a moment."

The bookkeeper saw only one interpretation. This meant his discharge for failing efficiency. He fairly tottered into the sanctum, a pitiful figure of panic fear.

"Sit down, Mr. Blank," said the president. "I have omitted your name in the list of Christmas rewards for faithful service, and I regret that the bank will have to find another man to fill your position after tomorrow. Compose yourself, sir; tears are undignified in this office. You should know better after being here for so long a term of service. Don't go. I have a few words more to say before you leave. The directors have decided to retire you on full pay for the rest of your life, and the year's salary will be paid you in advance. This does not establish a ruinous precedent, for employees with thirty-eight years of faithful service to their credit are not sprinkled very plentifully through Wall Street."

There is one New York newspaper office in which Christmas has a place, although Christmas meets with the scantiest courtesy in the usual round of daily journalism. The proprietor has done more to make Christmas a conspicuous day of the year for his employees than any other newspaper owner in New York. For several years there has been posted on a bulletin board on the editorial floor, in holiday week, a list of reporters, editors, copy-readers, etc., specially commended for brilliant achievement during the year. These gifts are usually \$50 or \$100, with now and then a two-

hundred-dollar prize, and the element of uncertainty makes the announcement a series of surprises. They are often awarded for the writing or handling of one "news story," which the recipient has forgotten all about and for which he was well paid at the time.

Railroads, express companies, and other corporations make Christmas time an occasion for distributing rewards for the year's work, and the fashion of sending turkeys broadcast still holds a commanding place on the holiday programme.

THE POST-OFFICE AND THE PEOPLE

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SERVICE—A REMARKABLE CONVENIENCE AND WHY IT WAS ADOPTED—PERFUNCTORY POSTMASTERS-GENERAL—HOW MR. LOUD HAS BLOCKED POSTAL IMPROVEMENT—WHY THE POST-OFFICE HAS FAILED TO MAKE MORE THAN ONE MATERIAL ADVANCE IN A DECADE

BY

M. G. CUNNIFF

THE SECOND OF A SERIES OF FIRST-HAND INVESTIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE

It is the purpose of these articles to lead to a realization of our postal shortcomings, and to help to secure improvements which will put the United States service on a par with the service of other civilized lands. As the Department is now conducted the service is inadequate and has made no material advance in a decade, except the rural free-delivery system.

The Department is administered with inefficiency, lack of economy, and without appreciation of the increased needs of the country. The real managers of the service hold their positions, not because of their knowledge of the business, but for other reasons—chiefly political.

The payment for the transportation of the mails is at practically the same rate as it was a score of years ago, while the cost of transporting other classes of matter has been reduced from one-third to one-half.

The service given the public is in some ways even less liberal than it was ten years ago.

The frauds and scandals recently made known are trifles compared with the greater loss and waste which are a daily burden upon federal revenues.

FROM the Minneapolis post-office a heavy street-car traffic runs across the river to the St. Paul post-office, and similar traffic returns. Every car in the shuttle-like system bears a letter-box. No machinery of hourly carrier collection, of preliminary sorting in the post-office, and of transfer by tardy wagon service or infrequent special cars—which, outside the few pneumatic-tube zones, is the regular system of moving city mail—delays the letter of a St. Paul citizen writing to a correspondent in the sister city. He stops a car at a crossing and posts his letter. When the car arrives at St. Paul a collector unlocks the box and removes the gathered mail to the post-office for immediate distribution. A constant stream of mail matter flows between the cities. The sender of a letter sees it move away as soon as he posts it, the delay of the cars is

trifling, and the central offices are no longer congested by the evening mail as before.

Consider the advantages of such a system to those who live along suburban trolley lines or within a reasonable distance of a city post-office.

The Minneapolis-St. Paul service is but a tiny detail in the United States Post-Office, an isolated example of excellent method contrasting with the lack of such efficiency elsewhere, but it has a meaning.

WHY THE POSTAL SERVICE HAS NOT IMPROVED

When postmasters-general change, as they do every three or four years, tens of thousands of subordinates, down to \$15-a-year fourth-class postmasters, begin to "feel out" the incoming chief. According to his policy they trim their sails. And thus on him, in a measure, depends the *morale* of the Depart-

ment, on him depends the service the public is to receive.

I asked the Minneapolis postmaster, who suggested the traveling mail-box system, how he got his plan adopted.

"I brought it," said he, "to Postmaster-General Wanamaker. It gave a new convenience to the public, and every official knew that wide public service was Mr. Wanamaker's hobby. His presence at the head of the Department instilled progressiveness throughout."

I asked a man who for years had been head of one of the most important of the post-office divisions whether all postmasters-general were eager to meet such suggestions, whether all inspired progressiveness. "Well," said he, "I once had a vital improvement under way in my own division. Every day for a week I tried to see Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith about it, and when I caught him at last he gave me five minutes. A postmaster-general who spends half the day signing routine mail and most of the other half receiving political callers does no violence to the traditions of the office."

And there have been far more postmasters-general of this type than of the Wanamaker type.

One other hint completes an outline of the story of the post-office in recent years—the story of a government institution that is needlessly the most unprogressive business organization in the United States. It has been this for generations, and especially since Postmaster-General Wanamaker left office, with business increasing meanwhile at the rate of \$10,000,000 a year until this year it passed the billion-dollar mark.

Ex-Congressman E. F. Loud, of California, from 1893 until last year, when the labor vote defeated him for reelection, was virtually the dictator of the post-office. He was head of the House Post-Office Committee, the House expert on post-office affairs to such an extent that I have heard even Democratic Congressmen say, "What Loud said about postal matters as a rule we accepted; and as Loud went, so went the committee and the House." He had many bitter fights on postal matters and was sometimes beaten: he was never able, for example, to pass a bill further restricting the second-class mailing privilege. But Mr. Loud, for or against a post-office measure, has usually been immovable.

His attitude was this: I asked him whether he believed the post-office should extend its facilities, and he replied with a grim set of his firm jaws:

"Such business as the post-office now does in carrying fourth-class mail should be done by private enterprise. If I had my way, the post-office would give no more facilities than it gives today—it would give fewer."

In brief, then, though here and there the public are receiving better postal service than they received ten or twelve years ago, improvements have depended on the progressiveness of postmasters-general, who in the main have been so fully taken up with routine details and political activities as not to have been able to devote their time to the development of this great business institution, and on Congresses that have left postal affairs very largely in the hands of Mr. Loud, whose attitude has been indicated. An assistant postmaster-general naïvely explained to me that Congress governs the post-office and that the people direct Congress, but in reality if there is one element neglected in postal matters it is emphatically the people—all of us who put two-cent stamps on letters that cost less than one cent to deliver.

HOW ONE NOTABLE ADVANCE WAS MADE

Rural free delivery, it must be granted, has advanced with marvelous rapidity from a service costing \$20,000 a year at its inception in 1891 to one that will cost this fiscal year nearly \$7,000,000. Postmaster-General Wanamaker proposed to Congress that letters should be collected and delivered in both city and country from house to house, and a meagre rural free-delivery service was at once introduced. Under Postmasters-General Bissell and Wilson no increase was made in the appropriation. Indeed, both officials recommended discontinuance of the service. Under Postmaster-General Gary the appropriation grew, and it has grown year by year since. No institution is more closely shackled with antiquated laws than the United States Post-Office, yet no law governs rural free delivery—it expanded to its present compass as an "experiment." Officially, it is still an "experiment." August W. Machen, now under indictment for bribery, had the experiment in charge. Under him it grew. Under him it secured its appropriations. How?

Machen had plums to deliver. It may

profit a Congressman nothing to fight for a postal reform that shall benefit all the people; it profits him much to control a few appointments in his district or to bring conveniences to the doors of his constituents. It was not strange that Congressmen and Senators flocked to Mr. Machen's office with demands for rural routes in their districts and States, nor strange that appropriations for rural free delivery were passed with ease. They leaped, for example, from \$450,000 in 1900 to nearly \$4,000,000 in 1902. Indeed, so thorough was the reciprocity that the last Congress refused to endorse a post-office recommendation for an increase in the salary of the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Mr. Machen's superior, and did pass an item, against the Postmaster-General's protest, increasing the salary of the Superintendent of the Rural Free Delivery Service—at that time Mr. Machen. Thus rural free delivery grew not merely because it is a public service, but because it is a public service the introduction of which has benefited legislators politically.

Small storekeepers complain that rural delivery hurts their business by enabling their customers to deal with mail-order houses, and for this reason the postal authorities lately stopped posting up in the Washington office lists of dwellers on the rural routes, because these lists were copied and used by mail-order houses and advertisers. In the main, however, rural free delivery has proved so widely popular by the increase in profitable first-class mail in the districts covered by the routes—in some cases, as in Carroll County, Maryland, it has doubled in a very short time—that it is the one important improvement in recent years in the postal service.

TWENTY YEARS AGO AND NOW

Postmaster-General Vilas, under Cleveland's first administration, was a vigorous official. No sooner had he been installed than he began investigating postal abuses. First investigating the methods of securing post-office supplies, he discharged the superintendent and changed the methods. Yet, with business increasing yearly, these methods are not sound. Recent officials are now under indictment for "grafting" in the purchase of post-office materials, and the auditor for the Post-Office Department declares that there is no adequate accounting check on the system of procuring

and distributing such valuable supplies as stamps.

Next Mr. Vilas investigated the railway mail service, to learn why the annual rate per mile for carrying mail had risen from \$108 in 1880 to \$126 in 1885, and to discover whether other railroad abuses existed. The investigation showed over-payments to the railroads—in one specific item running back for a decade, an annual payment of \$10,000 quite unwarranted by law. Further investigation forced from him the conclusion that the whole system of measuring the compensation to the railroads was clumsy and inaccurate. The same system is still in vogue. The United States is divided into four post-office districts. Every year a weighing goes on in each district, not by a post-office inspector, but by a temporary employee. On every railroad every sack of mail is weighed as it enters the car, and the results are sent to Washington and tabulated. The weighing goes on for thirty, sixty, or ninety days. On the average struck the rate of compensation to the railroad is fixed for the next four years. No reduction has been made in the rate since Mr. Vilas criticized it. No change has been made in the system. The post-office auditor complains that he is obliged to certify vouchers for railroad mail pay—which aggregates \$40,000,000 a year—with no better evidence that the claims are correct than a memorandum from the Second Assistant Postmaster-General's office based on the word of a haphazard thirty, sixty, or ninety-day employee. The employees may be honest, but ramshackle is a mild word to apply to such a system of disbursing \$40,000,000 a year.

HOW POSTAL REFORMS LAG

When Postmaster-General Wanamaker entered office after Don M. Dickinson's short service following Mr. Vilas's resignation, his trained business sense showed him that the whole postal system needed a drastic reorganization. He was the first official to regard the service as a business pure and simple. If the reforms he suggested had been carried out the United States Post-Office would now be a model for the world instead of a national disgrace.

The first official duty Mr. Wanamaker encountered appalled him. Not he, but another Postmaster-General, found on his

first day of duty a pile of official documents on his desk to be signed. A colored messenger stood at his elbow.

"Right here, sir," said the messenger, pointing to the proper line on the topmost letter.

The Postmaster-General signed, and as his pen made the final flourish the messenger whisked away the paper. So the pile was lowered. But suddenly the eye of the Postmaster-General caught something significant.

"Come, what's this?" said he, as he paused to read the document.

"Yes, sir, right here," said the expressionless messenger, covering the paper with the right hand and pointing at the signature line with the forefinger of the left.

"Eh? What?" exclaimed the Postmaster-General.

"Right here," repeated the messenger—and the Postmaster-General signed. Briefly, Mr. Wanamaker objected to wasting his days writing signatures on endless documents which he did not have time to read or understand.

The other day I called on Postmaster-General Payne. His desk was strewn with heaps of papers.

"Do you see those?" said he disgustedly. "Nearly half—yes, a full half—of my working time I am obliged by law to devote to such trivial details as signing those. If the post-office spends \$10,000 or twenty-five cents I must sign the warrant. I must sign everything. Time to read the papers? No. If they bear the proper initials they are signed without question. Is that the work for a postmaster-general?"

With the natural increase in postal business, unless a change is made, the only qualification requisite for a postmaster-general will be brevity of patronymic, and his only duty will be to write his autograph ten hours a day. The shorter the name the better will he discharge his duty.

Mr. Wanamaker's remedy for this was a reorganization that should put the post-office on a business basis, with properly ranked officials qualified to sign documents. He took the first step by coordinating the various departments into the form they now have—except for some temporary arrangements made since the recent scandals appeared—by securing from Congress the establishment

of the office of Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, and distributing the various divisions, hitherto reporting to the Postmaster-General, under the four assistants. Then he unceasingly besought Congress for still another officer, comparable to the secretary in the English post-office, to be known as the Manager or Director of the Post-Office—a permanent business head of the Department, to manage the service, under the supervision of the Postmaster-General, as the capable manager of a great business under the eye of the owner.

No such office has ever been created. Mr. Payne declares that it should be. Even Mr. Loud believes in it. *Why does Congress not provide a post-office manager? The recent scandals, if nothing else, show that the post-office has long needed one.*

Further, Mr. Wanamaker endeavored to establish a coordination of post-offices that should make one post-office in a county the central one and the others branches, with a supervisor over all, in such fashion as to bind into a related system the whole postal machine. No private business would be conducted in any other way. Yet except in cities the thing has not been done. The post-offices throughout the country are as distinct from one another as individual bricks in a pile.

THE SERVICE IMPROVES BUT LITTLE

In the matter of service Mr. Wanamaker could see no reason why England and Germany should give better postal service than the United States. Accordingly he secured the introduction of rural free delivery, of house-to-house collection—in vogue now outside the large cities—of the sea post-office, of trolley-car service, and of pneumatic-tube service. He also introduced the stamp-canceling machine. He increased the free-delivery offices 58 per cent. and added carriers to the service at the rate of 1,000 a year. He endeavored to secure a parcels post, a postal savings bank, and a postal telegraph; and he decided, too, that the payment to the railroads was exorbitant.

How did these improvements fare? The rural free delivery became a success, for reasons already shown. Carriers will receive and deliver mail, register letters, and sell and pay money-orders from house to house through the country districts. As far as is

practicable the system is being extended to reach every dweller in the country. Towns with less than 10,000 population present the anomaly of lacking free delivery, while the sparsely settled country outside enjoys carriers, but progress is being made in covering these districts too. The sea post-office is in use on an increasing number of ships, so that much of the foreign mail that arrives in New York never goes to the central post-office, but is sent at once from the dock to the railroad stations or to the proper sub-station for distribution.

But city delivery is still woefully below the standard Mr. Wanamaker set for it. A trolley-car service is in use in Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, and many other cities—though not in New York—but so short are the distances traveled that the sorting of mail in transit is meagre, and as the mail cars seldom stop it is practicably impossible to mail a letter on one. Only Minneapolis and St. Paul have a service with letter-boxes on every car. Electric street-railways have made a marvelous advance since Mr. Wanamaker's time: they now run everywhere. The post-office has been blind to the uses to which they could be cheaply put.

The advance of the pneumatic-tube service has been inordinately slow. An experimental system proved an immediate success in Philadelphia. Shortly afterward the New York post-office was connected with Brooklyn and with the railroad post-office at the Grand Central Station. Then there was a check. In 1900, however, a commission, after investigating the pneumatic-tube service, reported so favorably on it that Congress appropriated \$500,000 to extend the system under contract—and the service is now being extended. As the devices are complicated the service is costly, but, as the investigating commission declared, not out of proportion to its benefits in large cities where the volume of business mail is heavy. Even with the extensions now under way in Chicago, however, the American pneumatic-tube system, in any American city, will be less comprehensive than that in London and Berlin. New York will have but thirty miles; Chicago eight. Berlin has forty-six.

DISGRACEFUL WAGON SERVICE

In the matter of wagon service the post-office pursues, in accordance with the law—

which is extravagantly generous in arranging railroad pay—a policy of niggardliness. Post-offices are so arranged in relation to railroad stations that slow hauling is done that would not be necessary if the Government were as keen as the express companies in securing handling-room in terminals. In New York City, for example, there is a railroad post-office contiguous to the east side of the Grand Central Station, but the mail must be hauled by wagon down to Forty-second Street and around to the west side of the station to be loaded into the cars. And even necessary wagon service is badly managed.

The contracts for service are let to the lowest responsible bidder. In the competition it frequently happens that the lowest bidder names a price on which he can make no profit with proper equipment. Accordingly, he shaves out a profit by using poor horses and wagons and hiring boys to drive them, or he throws up the contract. In this last contingency the post-office hires another contractor and mulcts the first the difference between his bid and what the Department is forced in the end to pay. The devil is now being whipped around the stump in Chicago—and this has happened recently in the city of New York—by the surety company who gave the contractor's bond. In order not to be mulcted by the Government, they are running the service themselves. The Post-Office Department has discretion in awarding contracts and in supervising service. There would be more severe criticism of the Post-Office Department, as Mr. Payne justly says, if the lowest bidders were passed over for contractors able, at a higher price, to furnish better equipment. One of the recent scandals arose over an effort to do this in the furnishing of supplies. But keeping contractors up to specifications would be merely good business method. New York now spends \$100,000 more than ever before in an effort to get high-grade service.

THE FLAWS IN CITY DELIVERY

In the last few years country delivery has advanced, while city delivery, with a slight increase in speed through the use of pneumatic tubes, has stood still. Special-delivery letters from city to city are not distinguished from other mail. Posted in cities, they are thrown out on the sorting-table and sent to the central post-office or the proper sub-

station with whatever package of mail happens to go next. They do not begin to hurry in reality until they reach the station of distribution, where a special messenger takes them out. Ordinarily, the only appreciable gain in speed is the difference between the time a carrier takes to sort his mail and reach your address on his round and the time a special messenger takes—though this, to be sure, may mean all night if an ordinary letter reaches the office too late to go out on the last delivery. To believe that postal clerks have a tremor of excitement when they see the blue stamp, and that they speed it along, is a fallacy. Nor is the overnight gain on special deliveries warranted. If London can have deliveries in the residential districts up to nine o'clock at night, great American cities should have it.

A wagon service to deliver fourth-class mail—much of which one now has to go to the post-office to get—has been a crying need for years. Nothing has been done about it. And what does this mean?

In many of the small post-offices in the country, especially in the West, the postmaster is also an express agent. The rural carriers are wisely forbidden to act in this dual capacity, but not the fourth-class postmasters, who depend for pay on an absolutely unbusinesslike system of counting as theirs all the stamps they cancel, or a proportion of the stamps above a certain limit, and therefore must have some outside income.

A citizen brings a parcel to such an official.

"What's the tax on this by mail to Chicago?" he will say, handing in a four-pound package.

"Thirty-six cents," is the postmaster's reply.

"Will it be delivered?"

"No. The receiver must go to the post-office for it."

"Do I get a receipt for it?"

"No."

"What will the express company do?"

"Give you a receipt, charge you thirty-five cents to Chicago, and deliver the package."

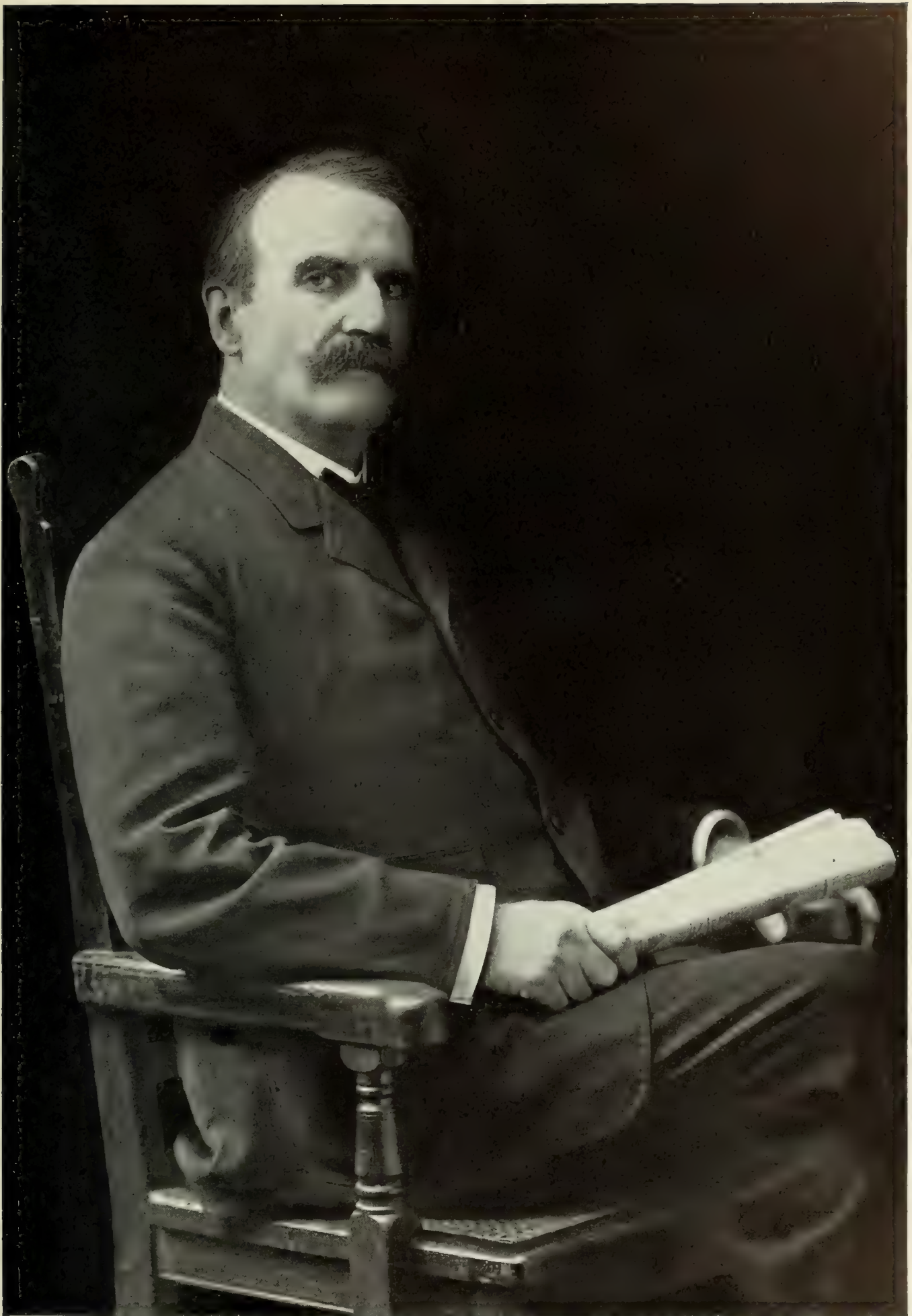
Can such a postmaster follow Mr. Wanamaker's advice to postmasters—"Conduct your post-office as if you were running a store to put your competitor across the street out of business?" Or is the post-office method businesslike? City people have no time to go to the post-office for their bulky fourth-class mail.

MONEY ORDERS

Then take the money-order system. There is no business in the world that grows half so fast. Last year its total business *increased at the rate of \$1,000,000 a week*. To make it plainer, the money-order department will handle next week \$1,000,000 more than it handled last week. It loses by fraud less than \$1,000 a year. It showed its regular annual increase in the period of financial depression from 1893 to 1897—perhaps the only large business in the country that did.

Mr. J. T. Metcalf, now awaiting trial under indictment, conducted this division as a business man would conduct his business. He visited mail-order houses and tried to learn how the money-order system might be made to serve them. He had blank money-orders printed with the name of the business house on the face, so that the houses might send out such orders with their advertising literature and guide their customers to the post-office by offering them the facility of a blank already made out. Mr. Metcalf built up the money-order office by following the practices of business. But the system is still inadequate.

The Canadian post-office issues a form of postal note or restricted currency in denominations of twenty-five and fifty cents and other convenient small amounts. The sender buys one, draws it in favor of the receiver, affixes enough stamps to bring it to the required amount—if, for example, he wishes to send fifty-three cents instead of the even fifty—and sends it in his letter. By merely endorsing it the receiver can collect it at the designated post-office, or, indeed, in any post-office where he can be identified or where his indorsement is certified, either in Canada or in the United States. Another plan, the post-check system, was introduced in a bill before the last Congress. This provides for a supplementary currency, issued by the Treasury in the form of notes like one-dollar bills, in various small denominations. These are designed to circulate like other money, but blank places are to be left. A man wishing to mail one simply fills in the name of the receiver, so that the note is no longer currency until the receiver has endorsed it. To-day, mail-order business is increasing with marvelous rapidity. The post-office should provide post-checks for it.



POSTMASTER GENERAL HENRY C. PAYNE

Copyright, 1902, by J. E. Purdy

"How does the United States Post-Office compare in efficiency with foreign Post-Offices and private business organizations, Mr. Payne?"

"How do I know? I've been Postmaster General only a year."

Later:

"Half the Postmaster General's time is taken up by trivial routine details; thus he cannot attend adequately to the larger interests of the service."

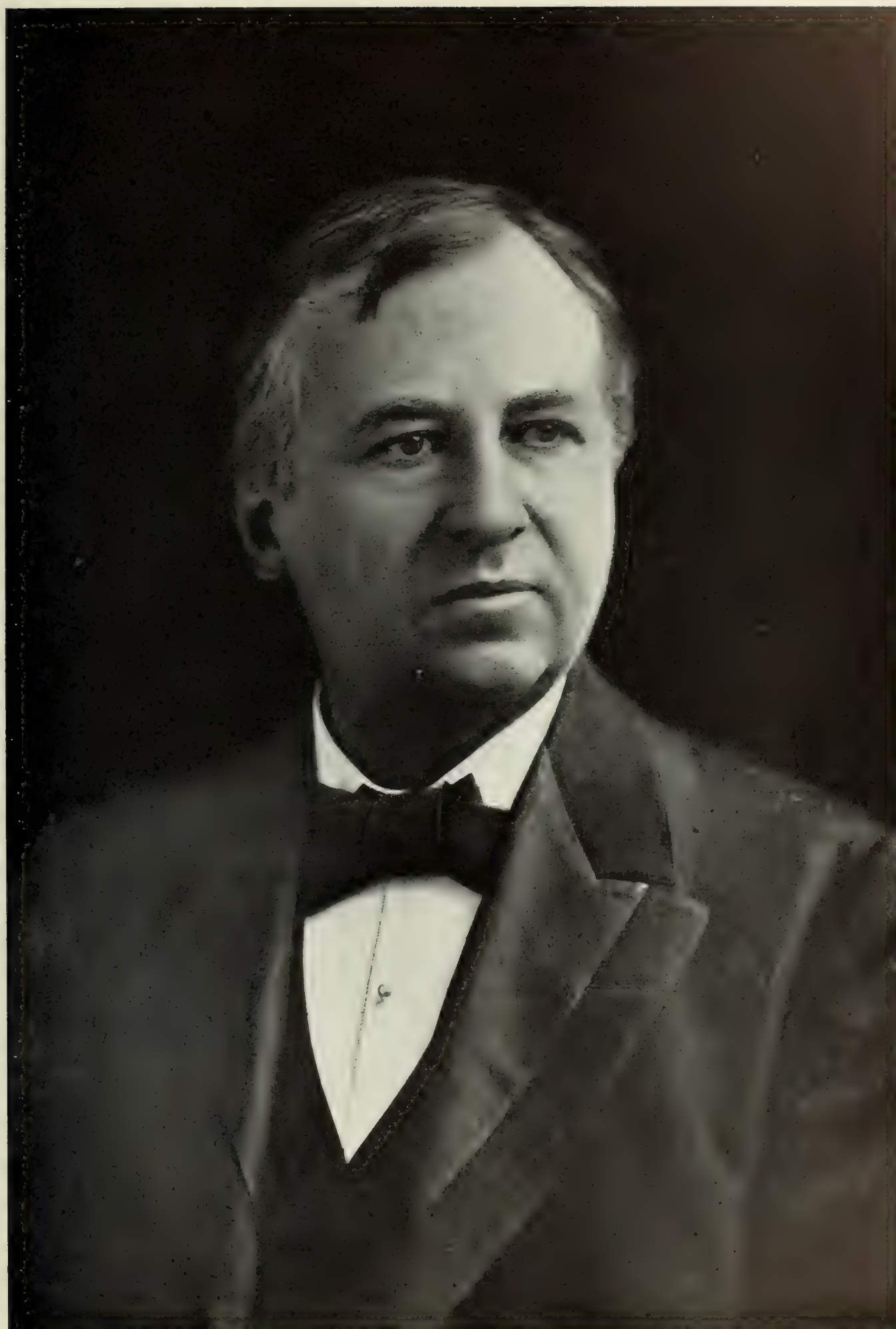


COLONEL WILLIAM F. VILAS

POSTMASTER GENERAL FROM 1885 TO 1888

Photographed by Curtis

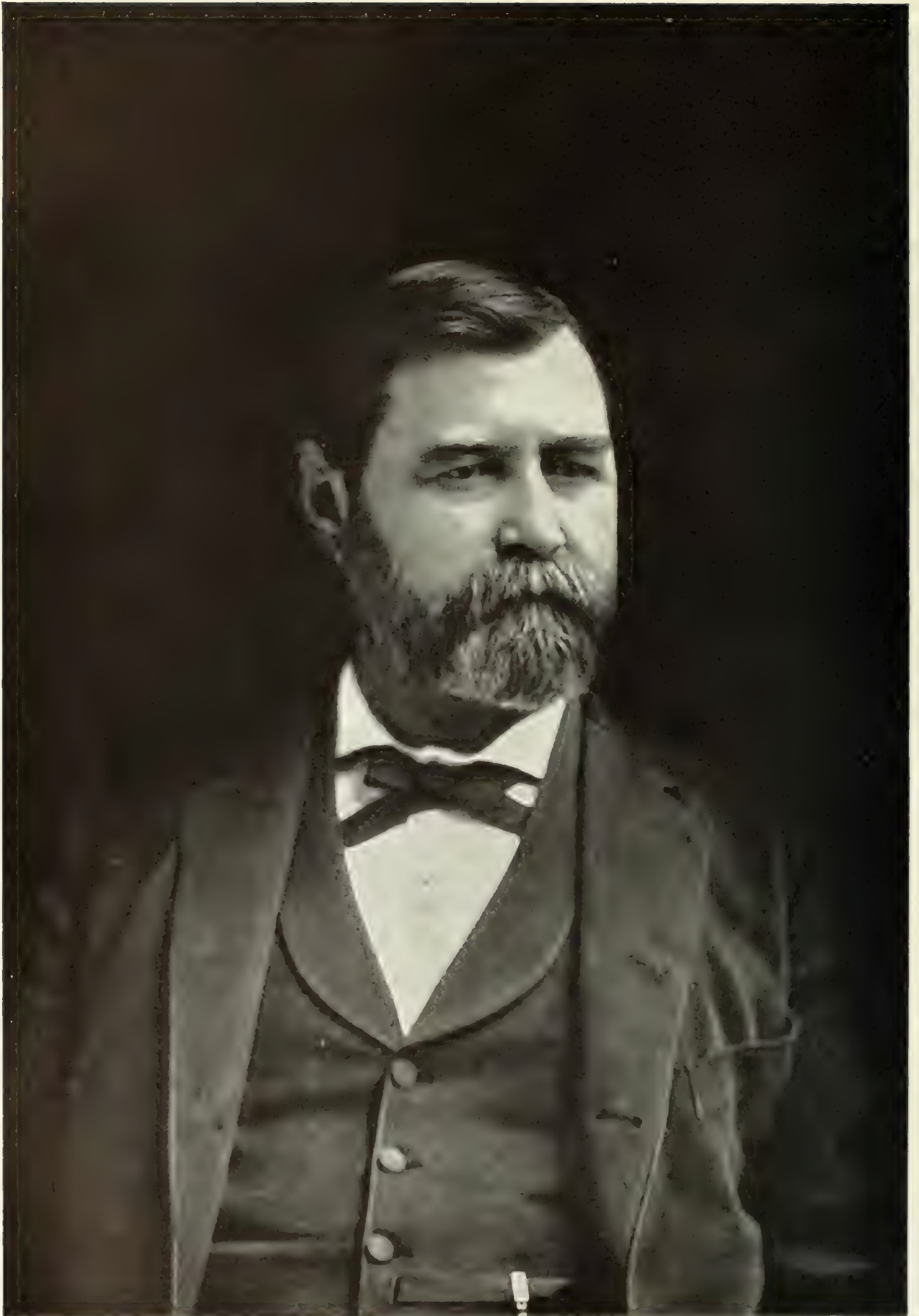
"The present method of measuring the compensation to railroads for mail transportation is clumsy, unequal in facts, difficult of satisfactory adjustment, and by no means fixed upon a true basis."



MR. JOHN WANAMAKER

Postmaster General from 1889 to 1893, who as the most progressive postal official in recent years reorganized the Post-Office, set rural free delivery in motion, and tried to secure a postal telegraph, a postal savings bank, a parcels post and one-cent letter postage.

"The Post-Office should lead the times, not merely unwillingly keep abreast of the times. A broad policy must inevitably lift the entire service into a larger usefulness for the people and a larger increase for itself."



Photographed by Bell

EX-CONGRESSMAN E. F. LOUD

Through successive sessions of Congress the Chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and for nearly a decade, until his defeat last year, the practical arbiter of postal changes

"The post-office, in carrying fourth-class matter, is now doing business that private enterprise should handle. If I had my way, the post-office would give the public no more facilities than it does at present."



GLIMPSES OF A GREAT CAMPAIGN

CAUSES OF THE TAMMANY VICTORY IN NEW YORK CITY AND
INCIDENTS OF THE STRUGGLE WHEREBY IT WAS WON

MANY men and journals have declared that the city of New York decided by its last election that the Ten Commandments are antiquated and superfluous, and that the city should for two years be given over to political plundering and moral infamy. The vote was 313,000 for Colonel McClellan against 251,000 for Mayor Low. Perhaps not even the most vehement and bitter moralist really believes that the 313,000 voters who declared that they did not want Mr. Low for mayor again are all gamblers, dive-keepers, and followers of evil lives. Such a statement belongs in the Dowie vocabulary. There were explicable and less uncomplimentary reasons why McClellan was elected.

The main reason was the feeling of the masses, whom Tammany has the machinery

to reach, that the Fusion administration was oppressive to them. It closed the saloons on Sundays. It enforced other laws that had never before been rigidly enforced. Many of these laws made for good and decent government; but their enforcement seemed rather in the nature of the restriction of personal liberty. One man, for instance, complained that the Board of Health made him whitewash his cellar!

The main matter was the Sunday-closing law. Since it is on the statute-books, it is the duty of the city government to enforce it. But any administration that enforces it cannot hope for reelection. Until the saloons may lawfully be opened for a part of Sunday, no reform administration is likely to have two successive terms of office.

Then there were very many men—good

citizens that favored the reform side—who thought that Mayor Low was not the best candidate. Some thought that a Fusion Democrat ought to have been nominated. Many shared Mr. Jerome's opinion that Mr. Low was personally the wrong candidate.

Finally, the Fusion campaign lacked snap. The difference between good campaigning and bad was given at a Cooper Union meeting. It was the first meeting that Mr. Jerome addressed. No announcement that he was to appear was made before the meeting. The low-ceiled hall, in which Lincoln spoke,

the next administration was good or bad. Then there came a jostling in one of the entrances, and somebody in the middle of the hall yelled "Jerome!" Five thousand voices took up the shout. Climbing on their chairs, the people took off their coats and waved them in the air. Women screamed and waved their handkerchiefs. Mr. Jerome walked out to the edge of the platform and looked into the eyes of his audience. The tumult went on. The effect was electrical. Mr. Jerome was not a candidate for election, but they knew that he knew the people and



A TAMMANY PARADE—WHICH WAS NOT TALKED ABOUT MUCH IN THE NEWSPAPERS BUT WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF MANY EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN METHODS EMPLOYED BY THE WIGWAM

was crowded. The meeting opened with platitudes and solemn assertions of Tammany iniquities, which, however true, lacked novelty. An orator was saying something like this: "During the last Tammany administration the city's paupers on Blackwell's Island did not get enough to eat. Ladies and gentlemen, since Mayor Low came into power 2,106 tons of prunes have been consumed on Blackwell's Island alone." The crowd was bored, and did not care whether

that he was in earnest about important things; and they knew that he spoke frankly.

WHAT REALLY WON THE ELECTION

What really won the election in New York City? The same thing that wins every election in which Tammany Hall is successful. The Tammany vote is a fixed quantity. There are men who spend their lives studying how to control that vote and who make a good living by controlling



ONE OF THE BEST-ADVERTISED SPEAKING PLACES

it. When an election day comes, whether it be raining or clear, the Tammany vote comes out. The vote of the reformers does not come out unless they are excited. Unless a red-hot campaign stirs them to action, they



ONE OF THE MOST CONSPICUOUS BANNERS

will not go to the polls. Perhaps through lack of money, perhaps through lack of sincerity, the Fusion campaign lacked enthusiasm.

A GLIMPSE OF MURPHY

The man who did it all was Charles F. Murphy, a saloon-keeper and a politician and nothing else, who knew the people of the city and knew the situation well enough to make every single element share in his opposition to Mr. Low. As soon as the news



THE ACORN'S LIVE TIGER, A WINDOW DISPLAY THAT ATTRACTED MUCH ATTENTION

that Mr. McClellan had been elected was flashed up and down the city, a great mob of Mr. Murphy's neighbors captured a band somewhere, and, with two or three wagon-loads of red-fire, marched to his home. He was not there. It is one of the characteristics of the man that he is never where the crowd is. He sits by himself and never gabbles.

THE BILL-BOARD APPEAL

One important factor in the campaign was the plenty of money which the Tammany leaders used with recklessness in hanging out banners proclaiming the names and

virtues of their candidates. No one who walked through the tenement district of the East Side could fail to be astonished at the way in which the streets were festooned, banners strung from fire-escape to fire-escape and across the streets. There was very little money in the Fusion chest, but they felt that this tremendous appeal to the eyes of the voters must be met in some spectacular way. The use of all available space on blank walls, fences and bill-boards, which had for years been eloquent in the praises of breakfast

and combined his name with Mr. Low's by writing a combination word, **LOW-DELL**, and running great black elimination marks through the "L" and the "W" in Mr. Low's name. This somewhat clumsy trick was to impress on the voter the connection which was supposed to exist between the Republican State machine and the non-partisan Fusion candidates.

THE TIGER ACROSS THE BRIDGE

There is a tall, sandy-haired Irishman in



By courtesy of the New York Herald

THE MOST STRIKING CARTOON OF THE CAMPAIGN

"The Tiger now has a bridge pass."—a daily paper several days after the election

foods, liniments and cigars, was bought. On every one of them, in the background of glaring red, was painted in great simple letters, "VOTE FOR LOW AND KEEP THE GRAFTERS OUT." Tammany took the suggestion, bought up all the space that Fusion had not had the money to buy (and there were hundreds and hundreds of fences and houses), and in the same staring letters, against the same background, put up a portrait of Odell

Brooklyn named Patrick H. McCarren. He owns race-horses. He is a politician of wonderful cunning and of brutal force. Mr. McClellan picked out this man to be his instrument for the defeat of old Mr. McLaughlin, the unruly Brooklyn boss.

One night McLaughlin hired a great hall in Brooklyn and explained his position to his adherents and incited them to the cutting of the Tammany ticket. That night Mr.

McLaughlin sat in the dining-room of one of the most fashionable hotels in Brooklyn eating his dinner. About him were scores of good God-fearing, solemn Brooklyn citizens. They did not know Pat McCarren by sight. But McCarren, too, was there. To him across the dining-room during the evening came men, roughly dressed, their hats cocked over their eyes, their massive jaws stuck forward, and with every indication that they were embarrassed by their surroundings.

Waiters brought them chairs by Mr. McCarren's side. They sat on the edge of the chairs, their hats held stiffly in their hands before them, made their reports in whispers, receiving his suggestions with a sort of canine attention, accepted the honor of a drink of whisky from the "boss," and went away. The Tiger had come over the bridge and was marking out the hunting-ground for future exploitation, and little these good Brooklyn people knew it.

WHO OWNS THE UNITED STATES?

HOW CONTROL IS GOT AND KEPT—RAILROADS PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF BANKS, AND BANKS DIRECT INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES—BY COMMUNITY OF INTEREST THE SURPLUS CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY IS USED BY A SMALL GROUP OF MEN—WHO THEY ARE—THE GRAVEST QUESTION OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

BY

SERENO S. PRATT

AUTHOR OF "THE WORK OF WALL STREET"

ONE-TWELFTH of the estimated wealth of the United States is represented at the meeting of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation when they are all present. The twenty-four directors are:

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER,	J. PIERPONT MORGAN,
MARSHALL FIELD,	H. H. ROGERS,
E. H. GARY,	GEORGE W. PERKINS,
W. H. MOORE,	NORMAN B. REAM,
HENRY C. FRICK,	CHARLES M. SCHWAB,
W. E. COREY,	C. A. GRISCOM,
F. H. PEABODY,	DANIEL G. REID,
CHARLES STEELE,	J. D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.,
P. A. B. WIDENER,	ALFORD CLIFFORD,
JAMES H. REID,	ROBERT BACON,
WILLIAM EDENBORN,	NATHANIEL THAYER,
E. C. CONVERSE,	JAMES GAYLEY.

They represent as influential directors more than 200 other companies. These companies operate nearly one-half of the railroad mileage of the United States. They are the great miners and carriers of coal. Among these companies are such industrial trusts as the Standard Oil, the Amalgamated Copper, the International Harvester, the Pullman, the General Electric, the International Mercantile Marine, the United States Realty and Construction, and the American Linseed. The leading telegraph system, the traction lines of New

York, of Philadelphia, of Pittsburg, of Buffalo, of Chicago, and of Milwaukee, and one of the principal express companies, are represented in the board. This group includes also directors of five insurance companies, two of which have assets of \$700,000,000. In the Steel board are men who speak for five banks and ten trust companies in New York City including the First National, the National City, and the Bank of Commerce, the three greatest banks in the country, and the head of important chains of financial institutions; for two banks and three trust companies in Philadelphia; for two banks and two trust companies in Chicago; for one bank and two trust companies in Boston; and for one bank and one trust company in Pittsburg, besides banking institutions in smaller cities. Telephone, electric, real estate, cable and publishing companies are represented there; and our greatest merchant sits at the board table.

What the individual wealth of these men is it would be impossible and beside the point to estimate; but one of them, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, is generally esteemed to be the richest individual in the world. But it is not the personal, but the represent-

ative, wealth of these men that makes the group extraordinary. They control corporations whose capitalizations aggregate more than \$9,000,000,000—an amount (if the capitalizations are real values) equal to about the combined public debts of Great Britain, France and the United States.

OWNERSHIP NOT NECESSARY FOR CONTROL

Concentration of wealth does not mean merely the amassing of vast fortunes by individuals. It is doubtful if these are much, if any, larger today in proportion to the total resources of the country than they were fifty years ago. A man worth \$5,000,000 today is no richer, as related to the aggregate wealth of the United States, than a man worth \$370,000 in 1850. Moreover, concentration of wealth does not necessarily mean actual ownership by groups of capitalists, for few corporations are owned outright, or even a majority of their stock, by individuals or by affiliated interests. Concentration means, rather, the control by direction or influence of great aggregations of capital.

For instance, it is not essential for the control of the Steel Corporation that the directors themselves should own a majority of the shares. Moreover, it should not be taken for granted that because these men are associated together in this company they are closely affiliated in all their interests. On the contrary, in some instances they are probably in direct antagonism. While Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan meet together in the Steel board and in other things may often join forces, they are recognized as the heads of two distinct and independent spheres of influence in American finance. But taking into account these distinctions and limitations, it is proper to speak of this group of capitalists in the world's biggest company as a notable example of what we mean by concentration of wealth, which in its largest significance is a community of interest between individuals and corporate capital, commonly working together for the attainment of certain ends in finance and commerce.

Starting, then, from this point, it is important to consider how far this concentration has gone. In short, the question is, Who owns the United States—the 76,000,000 people who inhabit it or a small group of men, rich themselves, but mainly powerful by reason of the wealth they represent, con-

trolling the railroads, the supplies of fuel, the output of iron and the principal trusts, able in no small measure to sway the markets, build or destroy business activity, advance or lower prices, and even dictate the policies of parties and mold legislation?

CONTROL BY THE VERY DIFFUSION AND TRUSTEESHIP OF WEALTH

This concentration of wealth goes on, hand in hand, with a wide diffusion of wealth. A simple illustration will show what is meant. There were at the time of the last statement 69,955 stockholders in the Steel Corporation. This is diffusion of wealth. The vast majority of these holders of stock would have been unable to buy any interest in the iron business but for the modern invention of the stock company, which by dividing the capital into small shares makes it possible for persons of limited means to own an interest in great properties. But the control of this corporation is vested in twenty-four directors, and this board of directors is guided by the executive and finance committees, which in turn are largely directed by their chairmen, who are probably selected for these positions by the great banker who organized the corporation and who in large part sways its policy. Here we have, then, a diffusion and a concentration of wealth.

It is the distinguishing feature of this age that so much of our wealth is placed in the hands of others for safe-keeping and increment. Once this was not so. People took care of their own money and generally invested it in a business they managed themselves. Now they invest it in stocks or bonds, deposit it in banks, or buy insurance policies, all of which is practically the lending of money to others to use for their own and for the lenders' profit. Thus it happens that a comparatively few persons may control millions of aggregated wealth belonging to thousands of other individuals.

The rapid conversion of large business into stock companies, which has been going on in the past few years, has served to distribute ownership among hundreds of thousands of persons who would otherwise have had no part in the industrial and transportation enterprises of the country.

In 1897 it was estimated that the stocks of the railroads in the United States were held by 950,000 persons. Since then there

as been an immense increase in the number of stockholders, while at the same time the concentration of control through great systems has gone on rapidly, so that less than a dozen men control the property owned by more than the million of shareholders. The *Wall Street Journal* recently published a list of ten railroads and ten industrial companies, having a total capitalization of \$2,417,173,590, in which there were 199,090 stockholders. It would not be difficult to show that in the final analysis these twenty great properties, whose ownership is so widely distributed, are controlled by less than twenty persons. The Pennsylvania Railroad has 4,500 owners, but is controlled by a handful of capitalists, among whom two or three constitute the dominating force.

THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH OWNED BY THE PEOPLE, BUT CONTROLLED BY A FEW MEN

Our business concerns are thus largely owned by the people, but they are controlled by a few capitalists. The number of owners is growing larger all the time, but the tendency is continually to concentrate the power of control. Corporations are combined into trusts, railroads are consolidated into systems, banks are linked together in chains of financial institutions, and these trusts, systems, and chains are in turn united by communities of interests, and these communities of interests are subject to certain spheres of influence which are discovered to centre in a handful of great financiers whose character, courage and skill, and their personal wealth, have lifted them into positions of supreme leadership.

Our question must be changed. It is no longer, Who owns the United States? but, Who controls the United States? As the power to make rates of freight and rates of interest on loans is the highest power in the business world, and as the power of our railroad rates and, to a large degree, the power over rates of interest, are wielded by the same small group of capitalists, it would not be impossible to name, say, twenty or thirty men as practically controlling the trade and thus the wealth of the United States.

How immense has been the development of corporations, which are the first stage in the evolution of concentrated wealth, is indicated by the fact that while in 1868 the total amount of stocks and bonds admitted

to dealings in the New York Stock Exchange was only about \$3,000,000,000, par value, the amount in 1903 is six times that sum—a sum, if it represented real values, equal to nearly one-fifth of the wealth of the United States. Moreover, there is a vast output of corporate securities that are not admitted to the Stock Exchange. In seven years the output of new corporate capital (nominal) has been \$10,000,000,000.

The manufactures of the United States are owned by 708,623 individuals, the capital represented being \$9,831,486,500, an average of \$12,463 to each person: a very fair diffusion of wealth. But of the manufacturing companies 40,743 produce 60 per cent. of the manufacturing products of the country, and the more important of these companies—those whose output is largest and whose influence on the markets is most powerful—are under the control of a comparatively small number of men. The four industries producing food, textiles, iron and steel and lumber are largely controlled by corporate capital, and the same is true of slaughtering and meat-packing. Nearly 90 per cent. of the cotton mills and 84 per cent. of the iron and steel trade are controlled by companies.

The wealth of the nation in 1900 was estimated by our Government to be \$94,000,000,000, of which the most valuable part is land. Farm property alone is estimated to have a value of \$20,514,000,000. Now, there is no property which is generally less subject to concentration than land; but while the actual ownership and control of farms are widely diffused, the distribution of farm products is in the hands of comparatively few. The farmer is dependent upon the railroads for a market for his products, and the power to make freight rates has a vital bearing on the farmer's profits. This power is wielded by the men who control the railroads, and their number is growing smaller each year. The railroads control the lake lines, so that the farmer or the big grain-shipper always finds the railroad magnate between his market and himself. To be sure, the railroad men are not as arbitrary in the making of rates as they were before federal and State laws prohibited the formation of railroad pools and the making of freight arrangements. The interstate commerce law and other restrictive railroad statutes protect the shipper only in

a measure, however, for the growing commonality of interests among railroad men causes them to act in concert in the making of rates without any agreement that the law can lay hold of.

Railroad domination of the grain traffic is strengthened also by the practical control of the grain-elevating facilities by the railroads. Although there are some independent elevating associations still in existence, they do but a small proportion of the business. When Mr. James J. Hill erected his mammoth steel granaries for the use of the Great Northern Railway he set an example that all of the grain-handling railroads promptly followed, and the doom of the individually owned elevator was sealed. In recent years the bulk of the grain-elevating and freight-lighterage business has been gradually absorbed by the railroads.

CONTROL OF RAILROAD CONCENTRATION

In no other branch of business has concentration of control of wealth been so complete as in the railroads. It might be said that the very laws that have been passed to prohibit railroad monopolies have thus far served only to promote concentration. When the railroads were free to enter into pools and agreements, they were continually violating them, and the cutting of rates was a widespread evil. But when the Supreme Court of the United States decided that pooling and traffic agreements were illegal, the men in control of the competing lines deemed it necessary to consolidate them or to enter into communities of interest in order to put an end to wasteful competition.

There are 204,000 miles of railroad in the United States owned by companies having a total capitalization of more than \$12,000,000,000, par value, affording livelihood to 5,000,000 of persons (employees and their families), and distributing \$15,685,950 in dividends to owners and \$610,713,701 in wages. These railroads are nominally controlled by 2,000 corporations, of which about 1,015 are operating companies. Most of these, however, form parts of great systems. Professor Emory R. Johnson, in his recent book on "American Railway Transportation," gives a list of nineteen different railway systems whose aggregate mileage is 165,321, or nearly 81 per cent. of the whole. This, however, gives but a

partial idea of the extent of the concentration. In reality, the consolidation is closer. These nineteen systems are practically controlled by nine men—Messrs. J. P. Morgan, J. D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, George J. Gould, W. K. Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, A. J. Cassatt, William Rockefeller and W. H. Moore.

THE GREAT GROUPS OF RAILROAD CONTROL

Mr. Morgan is the controlling force in two of these systems, made up of coal lines and southern railways. In company with Mr. Hill he controls a third system, comprising the roads included in the Northern Securities Company, while he has also an influential voice in the management of the Vanderbilt system. He is thus a most important factor in the trunk-line territory, in the southern group, in the anthracite coal producers and carriers, and in the northern transcontinental lines. The Rockefellers are heavily interested in the St. Paul and the Lackawanna, and have large interests in the New York Central and the New York, New Haven & Hartford, and are closely affiliated with the Gould system. Not one of the great railroad groups bears the Rockefeller name, and yet Messrs. John D. and William Rockefeller, next to Mr. Morgan, constitute the most powerful single influence in the railroads of the United States. They are understood to be actively supporting Mr. Gould in his plans to push his system to the Atlantic seaboard, which he refuses to give up.

Mr. Cassatt represents 19,301 miles of railroad and Mr. Vanderbilt 20,798 miles, and both systems have large interests in common, notably in the Philadelphia & Reading. Mr. Harriman represents 21,848 miles of road, Mr. Gould 15,504 miles, and Judge Moore upwards of 18,000 miles.

The Morgan-Hill group, including the Erie, comprises 20,507 miles of road. This group is chiefly notable because it includes the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the three lines to control which the Northern Securities Company was organized. This colossal corporation has 19,951 miles of railroad and is capitalized for \$400,000,000, while the three subordinate companies have stock amounting to \$634,389,585 and bonds of \$283,008,871.

THE EFFORT AT CONTINUITY OF CONTROL

Immense significance attaches to this corporation, because it was intended to carry the process of consolidation a long step further. Concentration had been carried to the point where a handful of men controlled the railroads of the United States, but it did not secure absolute continuity of control. It was deemed necessary not only to arrange for continuity of control, but to insure this control against the attack of any speculative interest that might seek to buy a majority of the stock in the open market. The "holding company"—for such is the nature of the Northern Securities Company—was the expedient adopted. It had already been employed in bringing together large systems of connecting lines, but it was now used for the first time on a colossal scale in combining competing roads. So admirable was the scheme that other great capitalists prepared to follow the Morgan-Hill example, and if the Northern Securities Company had not been pronounced illegal by the United States Circuit Court there would probably soon have been a Vanderbilt Securities Company, a Harriman Securities Company and a Southern Securities Company, as there may yet be if this decision of the lower court be reversed. It is conceivable that securities companies may be united and one enormous corporation be formed to control all the railroads of the United States, with one man controlling the corporation.

The act of President Roosevelt in ordering his Attorney General to bring suit against the Northern Securities Company for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law has served to check for the present further progress of concentration in this direction. Appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court. On its decision depends the future progress of the movement toward concentration of the control of corporate wealth.

CONCENTRATION OF BANKING POWER

In no other line of business do wider contrasts present themselves than in banking. Here are to be found both concentration and diffusion, both centralized power and competition. There has been in the past three years a notable expansion of the national bank system, due to the act of March 14, 1900, which authorized the organization of banks having a minimum capital of \$25,000.

Since then, 1708 new banks have been formed, of which 1,101 have less than \$50,000 capital. There are now in the United States 5,096 national banks with a capital of \$761,417,095. These banks had one year ago 330,124 stockholders. Not only is there this wide diffusion of wealth, but it cannot be said of banks, as it can of railroads, that there are eight men who virtually control the great bulk of their resources of cash and credit. Add to these 5,096 national banks the State banks, the trust companies and the private bankers, the whole having a banking power of \$12,434,721,178, and there is an aggregate so stupendous as to be almost beyond human conception. The deposits in the savings banks amount to \$2,750,177,290, and the number of depositors is 6,666,672. Now, we have here an aggregate of wealth most widely diffused, among millions of people.

Yet all this wealth is deposited in a few thousand institutions owned by a few hundreds of thousands of stockholders and managed by a small number of directors. Most of these directors, however, exercise only a limited control over the institutions, the real authority being centered commonly in one man in every bank. Even if concentration of control did not proceed any further than this, it would still mean a voluntary placing of the wealth of the people in the keeping of a comparatively few individuals—a development which, if it were not so familiar a spectacle, would be regarded as a marvelous economic evolution, as indeed it is.

But concentration has gone much further than this. Of the banking power of the United States, nearly one-half is in New York and the other eastern States. Of the aggregate of loans made by the national banks on September 15, 1902, amounting to \$3,280,127,480, the amount outstanding in the banks of New York, Chicago and St. Louis, the three central reserve cities, was \$877,934,942. The banks in these three cities, being the great reserve institutions of the nation, are in virtual control of the money market. In connection with the banks in Philadelphia, Boston and other large cities, they hold the key to the banking situation. Examinations show that concentration of control of these great city banks has gone so far that a comparatively small group of capitalists possesses the power to

regulate the flow of credit in this country. This is said with full allowance for the keen competition for deposits that is going on between banks and trust companies.

In New York City big chains of banking institutions have been formed corresponding to the railroad systems. Moreover, the men in control of railroads and trusts have found it convenient, and indeed needful, to extend their control to banks, so that they are often closely allied to great groups of corporations.

THE TWO GREAT BANK GROUPS IN NEW YORK

There are seven of these chains of banks and trust companies in New York, but as there are close communities of interests between some of these, the seven groups may properly be reduced to four, and in the last analysis it is found that there are actually only two main influences, and that these are centered in Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller. There are, however, a number of independent banks not connected with any of the groups, though no doubt subject more or less to the power exerted by the groups.

THE MORGAN INFLUENCE

The Bank of Commerce, of which Mr. Morgan is vice-president, is the head of one of the Morgan groups. In its board of directors are officers and directors of the Equitable and the Mutual Life Insurance Companies, whose assets aggregate \$741,000,000, of the Morton Trust Company, the Equitable Trust Company, the Mercantile Trust Company, the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, the Guaranty Trust Company and the Fifth Avenue Trust Company. These two insurance and six trust companies, with the Bank of Commerce, constitute one complete financial chain. But the president and four directors of the Central Trust Company and the president of the Metropolitan Trust Company are also members of the Bank of Commerce board. Moreover, between the Bank of Commerce and the First National Bank there are close alliances. President Baker, of the First National, is a director of the Bank of Commerce, and Mr. Morgan is a director of the First National, and wherever he sits he is apt to be, like MacGregor, at the head of the table. The First National is at the head of a notable group, in which are included the Chase National Bank, the Liberty National, the

Astor National and the Manhattan Trust Company. President Baker is a director in the First National Bank of Chicago, the most powerful western institution, and Mr. Morgan is understood to be also largely interested in it. The New York Life Insurance Company is intimately associated with this group through its president, Mr. McCall, who is a director of the First National of New York, and its vice-president, Mr. Perkins, who is one of Mr. Morgan's partners. Here, then, we have two groups of financial institutions of which Mr. Morgan is the powerful connecting link. They constitute what may fairly be termed the Morgan chain, which includes three insurance companies with assets of \$1,063,000,000, and six banks and seven trust companies having at the time this was written total deposits of \$630,000,000 and influential connections throughout the country. It is now possible to express in approximate figures the extent of the Morgan influence. It is as follows:

Insurance companies, assets.....	\$1,063,000,000
Banks and trust companies, deposits.....	630,000,000
Railroad capitalization, par value...	2,447,171,300
United States Steel Corporation, par value.....	1,528,000,000
International Mercantile Marine, par value.....	195,000,000
General Electric, par value.....	45,000,000
International Harvester, par value...	120,000,000
Other industrials, par value.....	240,000,000

THE ROCKEFELLER INFLUENCE

The same alliance of railroad and industrial corporations with the banking power is exhibited in the Rockefeller group, only the investments of the Standard Oil capitalists, extensive as they are, cannot so easily be traced. Mr. John D. Rockefeller is himself a director of a very few companies. He exerts his power through others who represent him.

The Rockefeller chain of banking institutions is headed by the National City Bank, and includes the Second National, the Lincoln National, the Bank of the Metropolis, the National Citizens', the National Butchers' and Drivers, the Fidelity Bank, the United States Trust Company, the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, the New York Life and Trust Company and the Central Realty Bond and Trust Company. Mr. James Stillman, president of the National City Bank, is united by marriage ties with the Rockefeller family. Closely allied with this group

is the Hanover National Bank, of which Mr. William Rockefeller and Mr. James Stillman are directors, and in the Hanover group is the New York National Exchange Bank, the Greenwich Bank and the Trust Company of America. The National City Bank has a large interest in the Riggs National Bank of Washington. Standard Oil influence is also exerted in at least two other banks in New York City. How extensive are the other Rockefeller investments in banking it is impossible to say, but the remark was made not long ago, by a banker who had just returned from a tour of the country, that wherever he went he found by scratching beneath the surface a Standard Oil connection with some leading bank in the locality. No more than a mere approximation to the truth is attempted in the following summary of the Rockefeller influence in the financial world.

Banks and trust companies, deposits . . .	\$419,571,166
Standard Oil Company, par value	97,500,000
Amalgamated Copper, par value	155,000,000
American Linseed Oil, par value	35,500,000
Lackawanna Steel, par value	60,000,000
St. Paul Railroad, par value	230,164,300
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, par value	29,267,000
Missouri, Kansas & Texas, par value . . .	148,700,300
Missouri Pacific, par value	212,400,000
Consolidated Gas of New York, par value	147,000,000
United States Realty and Construction, par value	66,000,000

That much of the surplus wealth of the Standard Oil group of capitalists has sought investments in mining properties is a well-known fact. Through the control of the Amalgamated Copper Company it dominates the iron ore production of the Northwest, it is largely interested in the mining of lead, and is steadily increasing its interest in gold, silver and tin mining. Capital furnished by the Rockefellers and affiliated interests is now developing Alaskan mines on a large scale and has extensive properties in Mexico.

THE GREAT MINING INTERESTS

The Guggenheim Exploration Company, in which William C. Whitney and Thomas F. Ryan are interested with the Guggenheim family, is rapidly acquiring the practical control of the varied mining industries of the Southwest and across the Mexican border. The great American Smelting and Refining Company, with its capitalization of \$100,000,000, is a Guggenheim project. For the control of the copper production of the

country a struggle of intense dramatic interest has been going on for years. For a long time the competition between Senator Clark and the late Marcus Daly occupied the centre of the stage, but now the contest between the Amalgamated Copper Company and Mr. F. Augustus Heinze is most in the public eye. Montana is the scene of this tremendous struggle. The battle is waged in the courts, the legislature, the newspapers and the markets, and what the Erie wars were to New York thirty-five years ago this contest is to Montana.

The recent report of the Commission on International Exchange says that four great organizations of smelters and refiners have at their disposal nearly 75,000,000 ounces of silver a year, the product of the United States and Mexico.

PHILADELPHIA, CHICAGO AND PITTSBURG AFFILIATED WITH NEW YORK INTERESTS

In the other large cities of the country it is found that the biggest banks and trust companies are affiliated with the greatest financial interests. In Philadelphia, for instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is a dominating influence in four banks and three trust companies, Mr. Cassatt himself being connected with three of these. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company is also a power in molding the policy of one of the big New York banks. In Chicago, as has been seen, the First National Bank has connections with the First National Bank in New York. Mr. E. H. Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, is a director of one bank and two trust companies. Mr. Marshall Field is identified with the Merchants' Loan Company, having a capital of \$4,109,000. Mr. Norman B. Ream is in two institutions.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE SAME INFLUENCE

The process of concentration has in the past seven years been most conspicuous in the industrial field. Here it has taken the place of the organization of trusts. The last census gave a list of 183 industrial combinations having an authorized capital of \$3,619,039,200. These trusts controlled 489 iron and steel plants, 288 food establishments, 297 chemical, 113 metal, 108 leather, 119 paper, and many other plants in the textile,

liquor, tobacco, leather, vehicle and other trades. *Moody's Manual* for 1903 contains a list of 233 industrial trusts from which all traction and other kindred companies are excluded. An examination of the most important of these—the 31 companies having a capitalization of \$50,000,000 and over, the aggregate capitalization being more than \$4,000,000,000—reveals a strong family relationship between them. They are not all in the control of the same interests, but the capitalists controlling any one or two of them are identified, more or less closely, with several others, which in turn are controlled by capitalists who are interested in still another group.

THE SAME CONTROL OF THE FUEL SUPPLY

Fuel is largely under concentrated control. The coal traffic is virtually owned by the railroads, and in many instances the railroad companies or their associated corporations operate the mines. All important coal shipments from the mines to the market are controlled by the railroads which haul the coal. These railroads nurse the markets by limiting the output so as not to permit abnormal accumulations of the fuel. There are cases where industrial plants own coal fields and take out their own fuel, but the larger proportion of the coal produced in this country is hauled to the market and controlled by railroads which take orders from Mr. Morgan, President Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Vanderbilts. These companies have an understanding as to the apportionment of the coal traffic. The Rockefellers, in connection with Mr. Gould, control the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which owns extensive bituminous coal fields in Colorado and adjoining States.

OTHER CONSOLIDATIONS

The principal traction companies are under highly centralized control by capitalists identified with interests already mentioned.

Half a dozen firms practically control the meat output of this country, and own or otherwise control three-fourths of the railroad cars used in transporting the meat from the ranch to the packing-house and from the packing-house to the market.

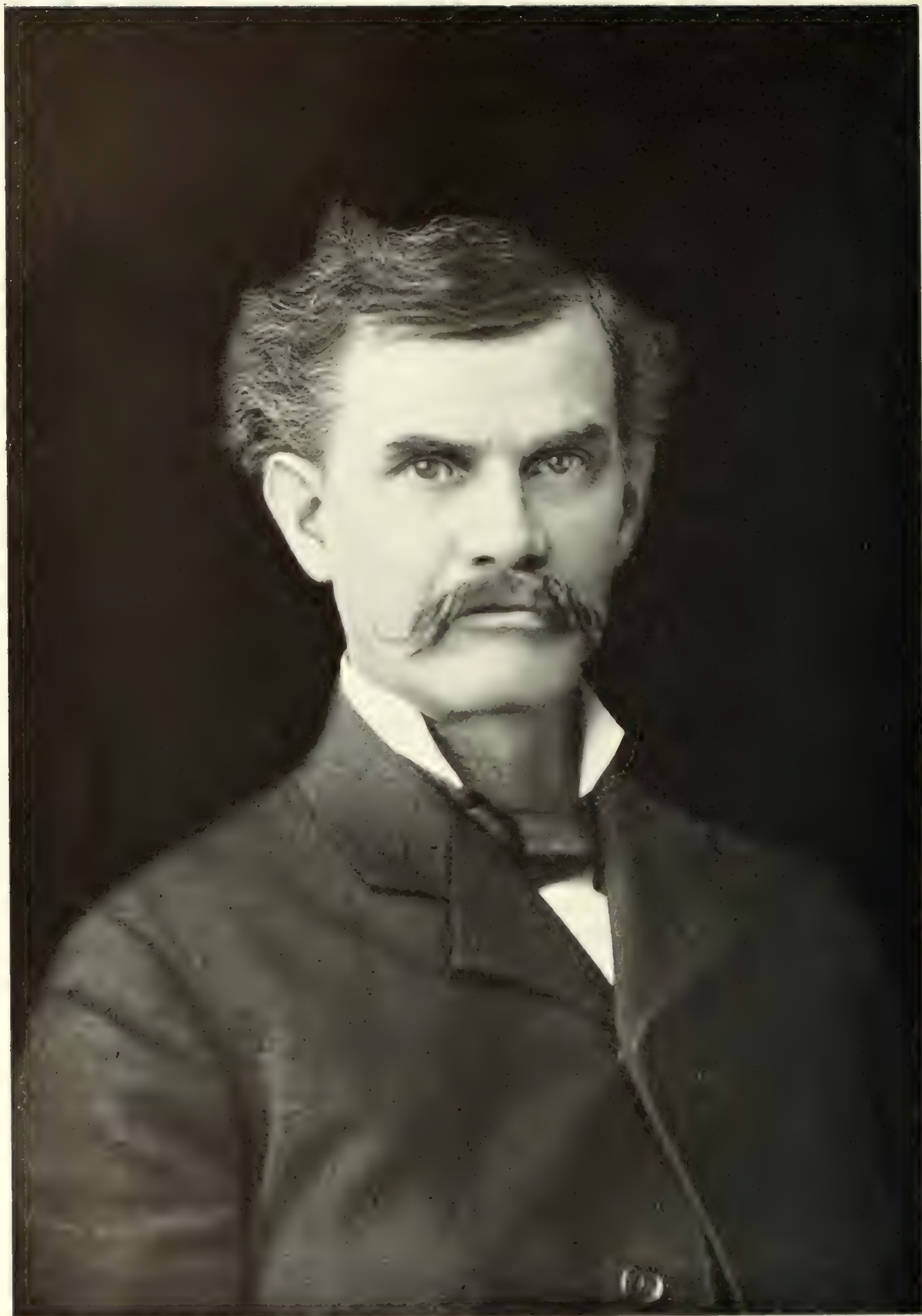
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Enough has been said to establish these main facts:

1. There is a wide diffusion of wealth in this country. While it is true that the rich have been getting richer, it is not true that the poor have been getting poorer. The vast number of the steadily employed, the ease with which, as a rule, they have obtained advances of wages in the past few years, the enormous immigration, and the immense deposits in the savings banks and building and loan associations, all testify to the higher average of prosperity among working classes.

2. This diffusion of wealth has been attended by an extraordinary concentration of capital. As a people we are rich, but we have put our wealth into a comparatively few hands to manage for us. This concentration of control is less apparent in some lines of business than in others, but it is steadily growing in all, while in railroads, banks and the leading industries it has reached a point where a few communities of interest, directed by a score or so of individuals, regulate, to a large extent, the rates of freight and of interest and in no small measure the prices of securities and commodities.

This concentration has its undoubted advantages. It is an economic evolution of tremendous power. It has, among other causes, enabled this country in the past twenty years to develop more wealth than in all the preceding years since the discovery of America. It may be argued, however, that this concentration is too high a price to pay even for benefits such as these. Concentration of the control of wealth certainly presents problems the gravity of which it is impossible to conceal or evade. How to preserve the advantages of concentration and at the same time to get rid of its evils; how to prevent the waste of competition without destroying it; how to secure stability and strength without loss of individual liberty; how to permit the railroads to combine and at the same time to provide for Government regulation of rates; how to make possible the achievement of great enterprises without resort to methods involving the violation of law and the corruption of legislatures; how to encourage promotion without the evils of overcapitalization and overspeculation; how to secure comprehensive publicity without disclosure of proper trade secrets—these form the one large problem before us that overshadows and includes all others.



REPRESENTATIVE JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, OF MISSISSIPPI
THE LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC MINORITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THE WORLD'S WORK

JANUARY, 1904

VOLUME VII



NUMBER 3

The March of Events

THE new year finds the American people in a mood of sober cheerfulness.

We always begin a year of a presidential election with a certain foreboding; for, if nothing worse happens, the politicians will claim undue attention. We must talk politics and read about politics when we prefer to read books, to manage our factories, to plant our crops, to enjoy domestic life, to attend to our individual affairs. And there is always danger that worse things may happen than a mere distraction of attention from our every-day duties. Business conditions suffer some disturbance at the best. The energy of the commercial world is slackened. During the last two election years there was fear lest a policy of business disaster might prevail—an experience that is not likely to be repeated.

Nor is politics the only cause of seriousness. We have gone through a period of speculation and of punishment—let us hope that the punishment is ended. We have learned again that the greater the haste the less the speed in getting rich by “organization.” If politics be more with us this year than usual, Wall Street will be less; and this is something to be thankful for.

The larger world moves on without great regard to our moods, gay or grave; but the grave mood rather than the gay holds other nations as well as our own nation. In

England the year will be memorable for the desperate effort of Mr. Chamberlain to change the fiscal basis of the United Kingdom by substituting protection for free trade. In Russia there is not only serious domestic unrest—even more serious than usual—but the ever-present danger of war in the Far East—a war that might light a general conflagration. This danger is keeping all the chancelleries of Europe busy seeking new alliances, and the map of friendships is constantly changing. There is a world-wide apprehension lest the apparently inevitable clash come in the Orient.

For the moment the troubles in Turkey are quiescent, as they usually are in cold weather; but this political plague-spot remains a serious task for the future.

To return to our own continent, Canadian sentiment is recovering from the smart of the decision of the Alaskan boundary tribunal. There is no permanent result of this discontent, or, if there be any, it is an almost imperceptible loosening of the bonds of sentimental loyalty to the mother country.

The one great gain of the past year for the whole world was the practical settlement of the question of the Panama Canal. We shall cut it and control it, and that is as it ought to be. The folly of Colombia and the secession of Panama and our own prompt action made for the progress of the world.



SIR HENRY MORTIMER DURAND
THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

(See "The March of Events")



FREDERICK JOB

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CHICAGO EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION

(See page 4399)

The new year promises to become historic because it will probably witness the beginning of work on this great thoroughfare for which the centuries have waited.

The past year was the most troublesome in our history for labor and for employers of labor—full of blind, foolish struggles that delayed industry without bringing general gain to the belligerent unions. There always has been and there is yet throughout American life an active sympathy for the man that is struggling for a better position—for higher pay, for greater leisure, for wider opportunity. But speaking generally, the labor unions have lost rather than gained public sympathy these twelve months, because in conspicuous instances they have not fought fairly. The humiliating revelations of extortion have left a permanent impression on the public mind. The criminal weakness of employers is not less discouraging than the criminal aggression of some of the "business agents" of the unions. Both lose the natural sympathy of the public in proportion to their departure from open and straightforward methods.

With general prosperity, in a spirit of greater economy, with an increased cost of living on somewhat reduced incomes, yet with cheerfulness, the American people enter the new year, as they spent the old one, building houses, bridges, roads, institutions, trade—building always, making firmer the two pillars of democratic development—material prosperity and individual opportunity—with no fear for the future.

A WORLD-WIDE APPREHENSION

THERE is a world-wide apprehension. In our own country it is a fear lest the recklessness of promoters and of labor leaders bring discouragement to industry in spite of the very general and solid prosperity that we yet enjoy. In the Old World, besides great political dangers—the Turk as a spoiler in Europe and the Chinaman to be despoiled in Asia—there is everywhere on the Continent a great social unrest. The spectacular and energetic Kaiser cannot suppress it in Germany; the governing class in Russia foment it from Finland to the Jewish settlements of southern Russia; in Spain it has caused the resignation of the Liberal Premier, Silvela; in Italy it expresses itself, among other ways, in a continued emigration

—everywhere a hard economic or political pressure on the toiling masses that makes them restless.

Yet this weary world has been thus weary for many a century, and there is nothing new in this condition nor any cause for hopelessness. There may even be cause for hope in this very restlessness. For no peasantry that was supine and contented ever made either economic or political gain.

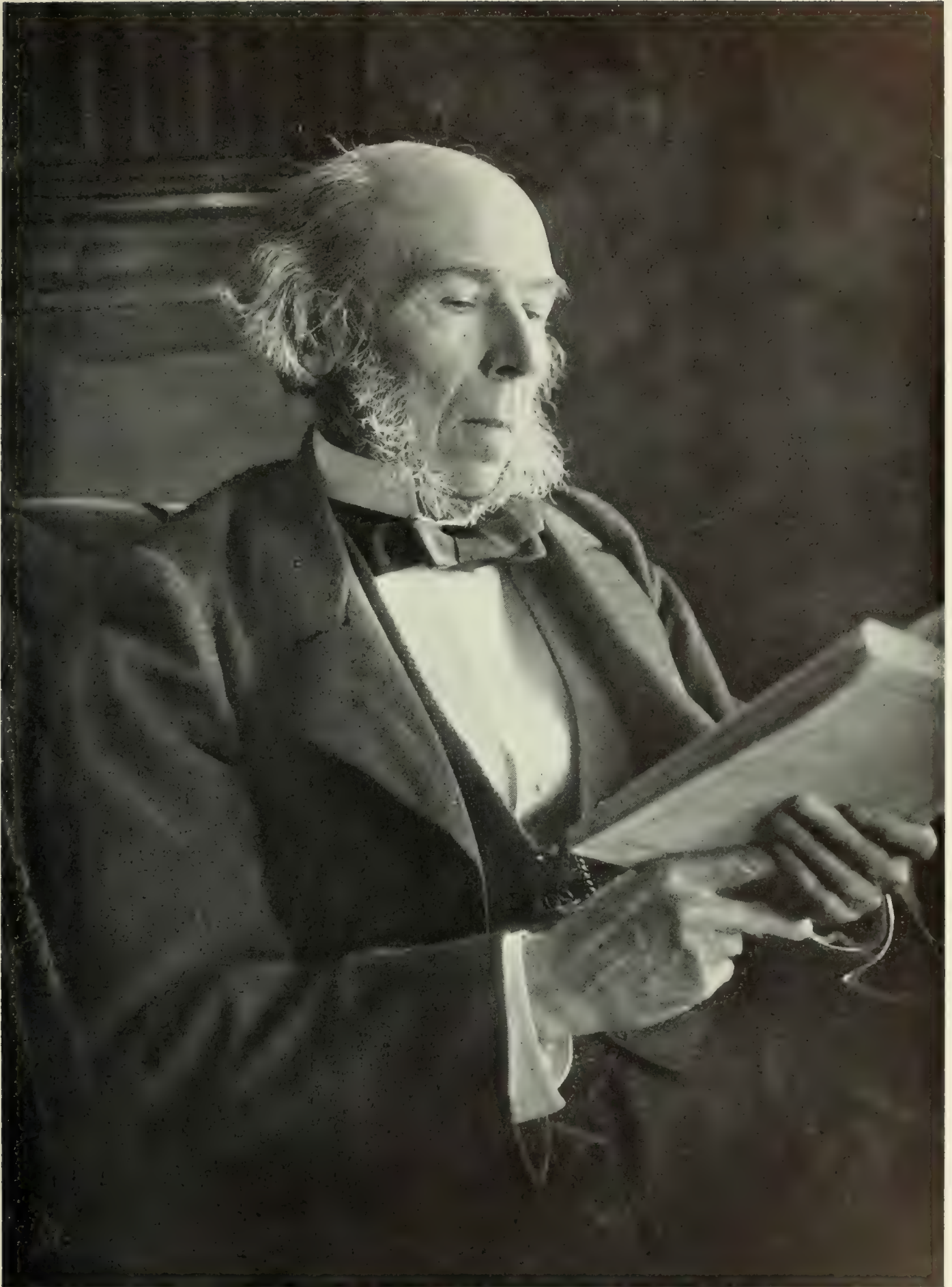
It is cause for thankfulness to us, now as ever, that, small as the earth has become, we live yet a long way from these Old World sorrows. To be sure, we have sorrows of our own, some of them close akin to these. But we have a broader sweep of continent, a tonic freedom of institutions yet, and yet a wider range of opportunity. True, the swarming millions of the oppressed and restless who come to us from the Old World, while they better their condition, pull our level of life down somewhat toward their own. But we are yet able to hold the type and standard of manhood high enough to make American citizenship synonymous with individual opportunity. A wide and sane view brings any philosophic mind to this:

"The people! Like our huge earth itself, which, to ordinary scansion, is full of vulgar contradictions and offense, man, viewed in the lump, displeases, and is a constant puzzle and affront to the merely educated classes. . . . the people are ungrammatical, untidy, and their sins gaunt and ill-bred."

Yet, "if we think of it, what does civilization itself rest upon, and what object has it, with its religions, arts, schools, but rich, luxuriant, varied personalism? To that all bends; and it is because toward such result democracy alone, on anything like Nature's scale, breaks up the limitless fallows of her mankind, and plants the seed and gives fair play, that its claims now precede the rest. . . . While other theories, as in the past histories of nations, have proved wise enough and indispensable perhaps for their conditions, *this*, as matters now stand in our civilized world, is the only scheme worth working from as warranting results like those of Nature's laws, reliable, when once established, to carry on themselves."

RIGHT ACTION IN THE PANAMA MATTER

WE are a people of swift thought as well as of swift action. We have therefore adjusted ourselves to the Administration's conduct toward Panama, and we are already in a mood to see work on the



HERBERT SPENCER

(See page 1314)



M. PHILLIPE BUNAU-VARILLA

THE REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON OF THE NEW PANAMANIAN REPUBLIC

(See "The Union of Friends")

canal begin—as soon as the treaty with Panama is ratified by the Senate. The President's energetic action forestalled controversy, and controversy has been of little use since. The public opinion of the world in general (though the European press has paid very little attention to the subject) and of our own country in particular has approved the action of the Administration.

The one point whereat fair-minded, conservative men have halted is this: Did we not do violence to our old treaty with New Grenada when we followed our incidental aid to Panama with such swift recognition of the new Government? That treaty imposed on us two obligations—(1) to protect commerce across the isthmus and (2) to do nothing to dismember New Grenada.

Now, these two obligations really became contradictory. When, fulfilling one obligation, we prevented Colombia from landing troops to oppose the secession of Panama, we necessarily helped Panama to secede. We could hardly live up to one obligation without violating the other—at least, the letter of the other. The only sensible interpretation of the treaty, in view of our moral obligations to the whole world, was Secretary Hay's interpretation that it "ran with the land." It is dangerously near to a quibble, therefore, to debate the question of a breach of the old treaty. There were conflicting responsibilities; we assumed the larger. Any other great responsible government would have done the same thing; and it is matter for sincere congratulation that two such men as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hay—men not afraid to take the responsibility of action—were in command.

As to the other criticism—that there was undue haste—why should there have been delay? To give time to every quibbling objection to gather doubt to itself? To provoke world-wide discussion to no purpose? To permit every adventurer in the world who has some sort of "concession" for a canal across the isthmus (and there are several) to begin an agitation and to try to have the whole subject opened afresh? To provoke by delay and indecision all the opposition to a canal, secret and open, to assert itself anew? If the action of the Administration was right, its swiftness was the best quality of it. Everybody in the world now knows that we are going to cut the canal. It required a

century of diplomacy to make the way to cutting it clear. It would have been criminal to put the question back again—or to run any risk of putting it back—into the region of fresh discussion and of new dangers of delay.

THE ULTIMATE "CONQUEST" OF LATIN-AMERICA

ONE indirect result of the quick recognition of Panama by the United States is the suspicion that has been aroused in other emotional Central and South American States that our Government may have or may develop a policy of conquest and annexation.

While conquest and annexation are worse than absurd—for no sane man in the United States desires it and no administration or party that should propose it could survive—yet in the course of time these countries must and will come more and more under our influence. But this influence will be won in the peaceful ways of trade. Their development is a duty and a necessity, and we have been slow to undertake it seriously and consecutively. Our influence there has too often been the influence of our commercial adventurers. But already vast permanent improvements are in progress under American ownership or control—notably railroads. Such development will go on faster than ever after the canal is cut.

Every far-sighted man knows that South America must more and more, by these peaceful and helpful methods, come virtually under North American direction. It is, in fact, our duty that they should so come; for this influence is the only one in the world that can be reckoned on to develop stable governments and to make civilization there move forward. A time will come—perhaps with our next great leap forward in prosperity or perhaps when the canal is completed—when Yankee capital and energy will go to South America in such a volume as our sporadic enterprises have hitherto given no hint of. The radical difficulty is, of course, with the people themselves. But even their medievalism will not remain proof against the North American spirit.

THE TREATY WITH PANAMA

THE quickly signed treaty with Panama puts our control of the canal on a very much better basis than the treaty that Colombia rejected. Panama grants to the

United States, "in perpetuity, the use, occupation, and control" of a zone of land ten miles wide; it grants us a monopoly of traffic—whether by rail or canal—across the isthmus; and it declares free from duties on transisthmian traffic for all time the ports of Panama and Colon.

In return for this perpetual monopoly and control the United States guarantees the independence of the Republic of Panama and is to pay \$10,000,000 when the treaty becomes active and after nine years an annual payment of \$250,000. These are the main matters of the treaty.

But there are many important details, such as these: The Republic of Panama retains the cities of Colon and Panama, but it grants the United States the right to prevent epidemics in them and to do sanitary work if it be needed; it grants islands to the United States which may be used for effective fortification; the United States makes sure that this treaty "runs with the land," and Panama agrees that no change in her political relations with her neighbors shall affect the treaty. In a word, the treaty is drawn by the light of our long and troublesome experience with treaties about the isthmus; and what an experience we have had!

This is not "annexation," but it is control, and effective control is what we want. It will insure not only the construction of the canal as soon as may be, but our undisputed management of it in our way for all time to come. It will enable us to open the great highway on equal terms to all nations, and to make the strip of land about it as healthful as we made the cities of Cuba.

During the long years when we were negotiating with England to get free access to the isthmus, nobody dared hope for as favorable conditions as this Panama treaty gives us—favorable not to the United States in a selfish way, but to the commerce of all nations for all time to come. The foreign press has noticed this beneficent result, and the hubbub about the Administration's swift action is almost wholly American. The London *Times* expressed the practically unanimous opinion of the world when it said:

"Mr. Hay's vigilant and skilful diplomacy turned the opportunity to full account, and without any transgression of the law of nations the United States Government comes in sight of the fulfilment of its cherished scheme for building the canal."

The *Independance Belge*, one of the most important journals on the continent, said:

"It may be true that the United States have somewhat abused their power, but in considering matters from an abstract standpoint, in putting oneself at a general point of view, one cannot blame the present attitude of the great republic or the political maneuver which permits the immediate realization of the great interoceanic canal scheme. This project interests the commerce of the whole world, its realization will greatly facilitate communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and thus it is absolutely necessary that the canal be constructed under the best conditions and with as little delay as possible. All that forms an obstacle to the realization of a plan of general interest should be put aside, whatever particular interest may be involved, and there are no sentimental reasons which a small state can urge against a great power which, under certain circumstances, forces the hand of the former."

MR. ROOSEVELT, MR. HANNA, AND THE PEOPLE

IT is six months till the national nominating conventions will meet, and there is yet time for points to be lost and won in the political game. If the Republican convention were held this month Mr. Roosevelt would be nominated by acclamation; and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that six months hence he will be as strong as he is now.

Yet a journal that is not suspected of friendliness to the President recently declared that

"It virtually lies with five United States Senators—Mr. Platt, of New York, Mr. Quay, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Cullom, of Illinois, Mr. Allison, of Iowa, and Mr. Spooner, of Wisconsin—to say, at the last moment, whether Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Hanna shall be put forward as the standard-bearer of the Republican party . . . It follows that Mr. Roosevelt cannot feel absolutely sure of the nomination for the presidency until it has been actually made. . . . There are many New Yorkers who think that Mr. Hanna would run incomparably better in the State of New York than would Mr. Roosevelt, and should the prospect of carrying the empire commonwealth look doubtful, Mr. Roosevelt may be set aside. Senator Hanna may not want the crown, but he is scarcely the man to refuse it if it be offered."

In plain English, all this means two things: The Republican machine would prefer a machine man to Mr. Roosevelt; and Wall Street does not like him. Each of these

influences would prefer Senator Hanna—if they dared.

But the managers must look beyond the nomination. If the Democratic candidate be a man who will command the confidence of the business world, Senator Hanna would be beaten. Whatever his personal and political good qualities may be, he would be regarded as the candidate of the trusts. If the Republican party chooses thus sharply to draw the line between the trusts and the people, and if the Democrats nominate a sane and safe man, the people would outvote all the trust-ruled commonwealths. If the machine opposition to Mr. Roosevelt should prevail against him, the chance is that such a man as Governor Herrick, of Ohio, would be nominated, and not Mr. Hanna.

But it is a rash political prophet who forgets the people while he prophesies, and as soon as the people of the Republican States are reckoned in the calculation it is as plain as it ever was that Mr. Roosevelt is the most popular man in the country.

Mr. Roosevelt on one side and of a conservative Democrat on the other side—the following:

REPUBLICAN STATES

States	Electoral Votes	States	Electoral Votes
Connecticut	7	New Jersey	12
Delaware	3	North Dakota	4
Illinois	27	Ohio	23
Indiana	15	Pennsylvania	34
Iowa	13	Rhode Island	4
Kansas	10	South Dakota	4
Maine	6	Vermont	4
Massachusetts	16	Washington	5
Michigan	14	West Virginia	7
Minnesota	11	Wisconsin	13
Nebraska	8	Wyoming	3
New Hampshire	4		
		Total	247

DEMOCRATIC STATES

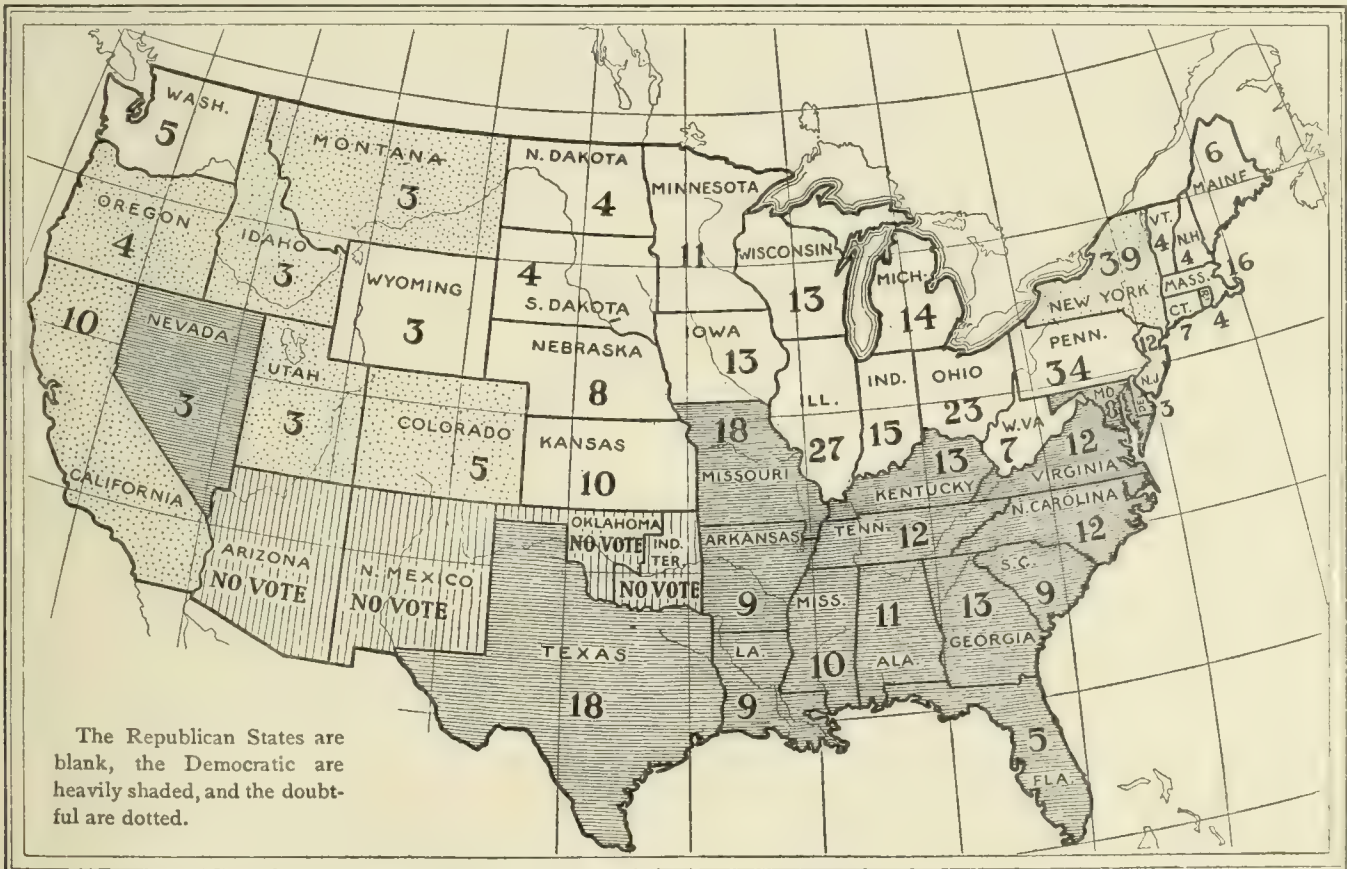
States	Electoral Votes	States	Electoral Votes
Alabama	11	Missouri	18
Arkansas	9	Nevada	3
Florida	5	North Carolina	12
Georgia	13	South Carolina	9
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	9	Texas	18
Maryland	8	Virginia	12
Mississippi	10		
		Total	162

DOUBTFUL STATES

States	Electoral Votes	States	Electoral Votes
California	10	New York	39
Colorado	5	Oregon	4
Idaho	3	Utah	3
Montana	3		
		Total	67

A POLITICAL MAP OF THE UNION

LOOKING toward the Presidential election, any careful independent student of politics would set down as surely Republican States—assuming the nomination of



A POLITICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, SHOWING THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF EACH STATE

CORPORATION PUBLICITY OR A MORE RADICAL MEASURE

THE law establishing the new Cabinet Department of Commerce and Labor gave it authority to compel corporations that do an interstate business to answer questions about their organization and conduct. This information may be published at the discretion of the President. This law is the form that the demand for publicity took.

It has been reported that the Standard Oil Company has declined to answer the inquiries of the Department, with the purpose to test the constitutionality of the law. The policy of the Standard Oil Company has always been a policy of secrecy rather than of publicity. Its stock is not even listed on the New York Stock Exchange. It makes no such elaborate reports to its stockholders as the United States Steel Corporation, for example, makes. It regards its business as its own, and not as the public's. To make a test of the law to compel publicity is in keeping with its policy and method and with the convictions of the men who control it. This is a perfectly legitimate and natural view to take. And making such a test, the Standard Oil Company will move the whole question about the relation of the National Government to corporations one important step toward an answer.

But it has already been made plain that the public heartily favors a policy of publicity. If it can secure publicity it may be contented. But failing this, it may favor a policy of more direct and stringent regulation.

Just at present the whole question of the regulation of trusts is quiescent; but if it should be thrust into discussion—especially partizan discussion—by a decision that the Government cannot compel publicity, a very much more radical agitation would be likely to follow than we have yet had. The trust question in general—how great corporations may be restrained—has possibilities of violent discussion and even of violent action that no other matter of controversy has.

It will for this reason be fortunate if the present rather mild law be upheld. It gives the President unprecedented inquisitorial power, but there is less likelihood that any President would abuse this power than that a more radical law would be enacted if this be taken from him; and worse yet, a great agitation for more radical action

might swing public thought far out of a safe orbit.

We are going slowly about finding a final answer to the great question that lies at the bottom of our new economic experience—the question whether the corporations or the people are the masters—and it becomes us to go slowly. The more that President Roosevelt's general policy is studied the wiser it seems. If the great corporations do not approve it, would they be likely to approve very much more radical action? More radical action is the danger that they may yet have to face.

THE POSITION OF MR. CLEVELAND

IT was very interesting and significant—the increasing movement in the Democratic party, led by the Brooklyn *Eagle* and the New York *World*, to bring about the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. True, it showed a paucity of great men in the party, but it showed also a return to sincerity and good sense. But there was never reason to suppose that Mr. Cleveland would again be a presidential candidate; and in a letter full of good sense and appreciation he has declared that he will not be.

Mr. Cleveland's position, like his character, is unique. He will live in our history as one of our greatest Presidents. Yet a large part of the American people link his name in their thoughts with commercial depression. Still he commands the respect of the conservative business interests of the country as no other Democrat of this generation has. He was described, early in his career, by Mr. Tilden as a man who would rather do a thing wrong in his own way than to do it right by anybody else's help. His stubborn independence prevented him from working with the rank and file of a demoralized party, and he failed—and philosophically accepted his failure—to become a successful party manager. His party revolted from him. There was a base ingratitude in the South's treatment of him. He invited the southern States to return to a proper share in the government of their country. He was of the South's own political faith. Southern men sat in his cabinet. Yet the South turned on him with fury, and the coarsest personal abuse was his reward. Since then southern influence in national life has steadily waned. At the end of his last term he retired with the maledictions of

the managers of his own party. Eight years have passed, and there is yet no vigorous personality like his to lift his party again into national respect. Few men have lived to see their stars rise and set and rise and set and rise again to a steady radiance as he has.

WHAT THE DIETRICH CASE SHOWS

UNITED States Senator Charles H. Dietrich, of Nebraska, has been indicted by a federal grand jury for selling an appointment to a post-office. Until all the evidence is properly heard it would be unfair to form an opinion about his conduct. But, whether he be guilty or not, this is true—our whole system of making federal appointments is shameful.

The civil-service law has worked a revolution in the making of appointments to the thousands of minor offices—clerkships and the like. On the appointees' side it is now respectable to be a government clerk—it was once a reason for suspicion; and on the side of the appointing authorities—from the President down to the humblest Congressman—relief has been given from a thankless task. Of course, too, the public service has been greatly improved by the merit system of appointment. If it has brought into the service a sort of dead level of mediocrity, it has given stability to it. But the greatest benefit of all is the removal of these appointments from political influence and the freedom of members of Congress from this old traffic in spoils. The smaller post-offices ought to be filled by men chosen under the civil-service rules, for the existing machinery is good enough to select capable men.

But even if this were done the reform of the civil service would be but half-finished. To have taken 100,000 or less minor appointments out of the hands of spoilsmen is a big achievement. But there are thousands of other federal appointments of a more important kind now made by the President which ought to be made in some other way. Postmasters, prosecuting attorneys, internal-revenue collectors, other posts under the Interior Department, consuls—these large groups of officials and many more must now be selected by the President. The number is large and the burden of selecting them great.

The methods of Presidential appointment to most of these offices is through Senators and members of Congress. The candidates

that the Senators approve are usually chosen. This has almost always been the custom; but Mr. Roosevelt, with his usual frankness, has somewhat more openly followed this plan than some of his predecessors. His conduct has not differed from the conduct of his predecessors except in frankness. It is perfectly well known that if Senator So-and-so desires the appointment of a certain man to an office in his State—especially if the Representatives from that State and the State machine all favor him—he is appointed, provided he seems to the President to be a fit person. It is only under such a system that Senator Dietrich or any other Senator could have an appointment that he might sell.

Now, the point is, this system of appointment to important offices is as bad as the old spoils system of appointment was to the minor offices. The President ought to be relieved of this necessity. Senators and Congressmen and party bosses ought to be stripped of this power. It would add enormously to the dignity of the Presidential office if the President were relieved of the necessity of making any appointments except the most important, such as judges, ambassadors and ministers, and army and navy appointments. It would be quite as great a relief, too, to Senators and Congressmen.

The movement for civil-service reform has so far included only appointments to minor offices. The indictment of a United States Senator for traffic in a higher office gives emphasis to the need of extending the reform upward by some suitable machinery.

RELIEVE THE PRESIDENT OF MAKING APPOINTMENTS

NO right-minded citizen can spend even a short time in official circles in Washington without a shock when he discovers how large a part of the time and energy of Senators, of members of the Cabinet, and necessarily of the President, is given to the selection of men for federal offices. Even in quiet times, not to speak of the beginning of a new administration, half the people at the hotels in Washington are applicants for office, or friends of applicants. Rival applicants for many an appointment—with their "endorsers"—go into camp there. They besiege the com-

mittee rooms of the Senate; they block the approaches to the Departments; they intrigue for what they regard as advantageous audiences with the President. A visitor who sees the inside of official life hears more of these things than he hears of any work done by any great branch of the Government. You are surprised to meet in your hotel a man whom you know from a State 1,000 miles away. "All the boys are here," he will tell you, "for we have a little contest in our State about the appointment of a revenue collector."

Most of the important federal offices are filled by competent men in spite of this system; but at what a foolish and unnecessary cost! The President is overworked—shamefully overworked—Senators must give much of their time to this wasteful occupation, and Cabinet officers hardly learn their business because of it.

The existing machinery of the civil-service commission whereby appointments to minor offices are made by competitive examinations would not apply to revenue collectors, district attorneys, postmasters of high grade and the like; but the civil-service reformers ought to devise machinery that would fill these places with good men, to the infinite relief and dignity of the President, of his Cabinet and of the Senators. The President ought not to be bothered with the making of appointments to any offices below the rank of ministers and judges.

THE REAL MEANING OF THE POSTAL SCANDAL

THE extent to which dishonesty has permeated the Post-Office Department, as shown by Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow's report to the President, is appalling. There are seven post-office bureaus: the Postmaster-General's, the four assistants', the Assistant Attorney-General's, and the Auditor's. From 1899, when Perry S. Heath was First Assistant Postmaster-General, up to the time when Robert J. Wynne, the present First Assistant, took office and discovered the trail of dishonesty, the following men held the highest places in two of the seven bureaus, and the appended comment shows their record:

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR THE POST-OFFICE

Assistant Attorney-General, James N. Tyner—indicted.

Assistant Attorney, Harrison J. Barret—indicted.
Assistant Attorney, D. V. Miller—indicted.
Assistant Attorney, G. A. C. Christiancy—resigned.

OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL

First Assistant Postmaster-General, Perry S. Heath—resigned.
First Assistant Postmaster-General, W. M. Johnson—resigned.
Chief Clerk, G. M. Allen.
Chief Clerk, J. M. Masten.
Chief of Salary and Allowance Division, G. W. Beavers—indicted.
Superintendent of Post-Office Supplies, M. W. Louis—indicted.
Superintendent of Free Delivery Division, A. W. Machen—indicted.
Delivery Division, Superintendent City Delivery, Charles Hedges—indicted.
Superintendent Dead Letter Office, D. P. Leibhardt.
Superintendent Money-Order Division, J. T. Metcalf—indicted.

Five subordinates in this office, and Louis Kempner, Chief of the Registry Division, and Otto F. Weis, Assistant Superintendent of the Registry Division in the Third Assistant Postmaster-General's office, as well as twenty outsiders, have also been indicted.

In brief, with the exception of two cases, the "graft" has been confined to two bureaus. But the significant point is that in these bureaus it has made almost a clean sweep of every man with a larger salary than \$2,000 a year. Christiancy was not involved in the frauds in the Assistant Attorney-General's office: he resigned this fall because the office was in a state of demoralization. The Chief Clerk and the Superintendent of the Dead Letter Office in the First Assistant's office came through with clean skirts. Every other important official in the two bureaus was involved in the scandal. Conspiracies were entered into to allow fraudulent concerns to use the mails; unnecessary supplies were purchased at exorbitant prices; blackmail was extorted for promotion; and unduly high rents were paid for post-office buildings as favors to Congressmen. The dishonest officials received, according to Mr. Bristow's calculation, between \$300,000 and \$400,000; the Government lost through inadequate supplies and service an incalculable amount. But the chief evil of the saturnalia was its effect on the service.

Every postmaster who received poor supplies or unnecessary appliances, every postal clerk who knew of the promotion scandals, every assistant who knew that his chief was receiving commissions, became sophisticated to arrogant dishonesty "higher up." The extent to which this poison harmed the service will never be known; but the excuses made for the indicted men by friends still in the service indicate a far lower standard of official rectitude than that which, according to the President's ringing declaration, a successful democracy requires.

In the Attorney-General's office the onus of the evil rests on James N. Tyner. Even if he were not involved in the frauds, as he declares he was not, it was his business to keep his office honest and efficient. In the First Assistant's office the responsible officials were Perry S. Heath and W. M. Johnson. When Robert J. Wynne came into office he discovered what was going on, and it was he who laid the matter before the President in the Postmaster-General's absence. Either Mr. Heath or Mr. Johnson could have done the like. Mr. Johnson, during his term of office, was ill the greater part of the time and away from Washington. It is not charged that he knew the condition of his office; it is charged that he was incompetent to discharge his duties. The pitiless logic of facts brings the main responsibility home, therefore, to Perry S. Heath. Mr. Bristow's report plainly hints at Mr. Heath's complicity in the frauds, and even if he profited nothing by actual conspiracy he hardly was ignorant—at any rate, he should not have been ignorant—of the "graft" going on among his subordinates. The postal scandal in the First Assistant's office is a Heath scandal, for Mr. Heath was in a position and in a state of health to discover and stop the "graft," and did not.

But it is more. As the series of articles on the Post-Office and the People now running in this magazine have already shown, the organization of the post-office and the spirit that governs the Department are in urgent need of immediate improvement. Mr. Bristow declares in his report that a better system of checks on the action of officials must be employed, that a reorganization of the Department is necessary, and that there is a need of restrictive legislation. These are points that have been made in THE WORLD'S

WORK series of articles, the third of which will appear in the February number of the magazine. Mr. Bristow's report, corroborative of all that has been said in these pages, should awaken Congress to one of the crying needs of our public service. If Congress should take hold of reorganizing the Post-Office Department with the vigor President Roosevelt has exhibited in pressing the investigation against the suspected men who have been indicted, postal scandals on a large scale would scarcely be possible.

NEW GROUPINGS OF GREAT POWERS

THE two great European alliances are breaking up. The old triple alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, which was made by Bismarck to give Germany time and chance to strengthen itself, has practically ceased to be a force in international politics. The reasons for it are gone. The other noteworthy alliance, between France and Russia, is illogical and seems likely to yield to more natural influences. These existed for military reasons rather than for reasons of natural unity or similarity of aims.

But now there is coming into play another and more logical grouping of the powers. England and France and Italy have as a bond "a common love for democratic institutions," as King Edward expressed it; and these three nations are drawing together. The exchange of visits between the President of France and the Kings of England and Italy, the framing of arbitration treaties between these countries, the anti-Austrian riots in Italy, the fraternizing of Austria and Russia and of Russia and Germany—these things show the new and more natural grouping.

France and Italy now appreciate the importance of determining in sympathy the future of North Africa and the destiny of the Mediterranean. This purpose England, both by reason of her large African ambitions and of the necessity of safeguarding the route to India, has peculiar cause to encourage. There are prevailing arguments based in racial kinship between the Italians and the French peoples, while there has long existed a unique mutual appreciation between the Italians and the English. It was in England that the exile patriots of the wars of liberation found refuge; it is in Italy that the English are most welcomed.

Similar coincidences of interest and racial sympathy are operating to bring about the alliance of Russia, Austria, and Germany. Yet it is not these considerations alone that are readjusting the international relations of Europe. What we are witnessing in the assembling of these two new groups of powers is a response to the tendencies which broadly divide the modern nations. One idea seeks the national destiny through the development in freedom of the people's bent and aspiration; the other conceives it resident in the will of absolute rulers. One type of national policy is concerned to open the way to the productive effort of the people; the other is anxious to advance interests which correspond to the personal ambitions of rulers. There can be no question as to how, with regard to these ideas, the nations of Europe group themselves: England, France, and Italy; Russia, Austria, and Germany.

These things are happening just when the thunder of war may roll round the world from the Sea of Japan.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THIBET

L YING on the roof of the world, and closed to all civilized mankind by the oligarchy of ruling lamas, Thibet has remained a stubborn secret. Just enough is known about it to excite geographical and social curiosity, but neither politics nor trade has had a strong enough inducement to invade it. It is in the main a wretched land of fanatics, nominally under Chinese control, and so long as it was left alone it was of no political importance. But the high table-land of Thibet—an area three times as large as France—happens to lie south of the area of Russian influence and north of British India.

The English have reason to suspect that the Russians have been "tampering with" the ruling lamas—in a word, that Russian influence is becoming dominant in Thibet; and they sent a commission some time ago to make friendly inquiries. These representatives of English authority in Asia were turned back—in effect, sent out of the country.

The British Government in India regards such an insult as fatal to its prestige, and a large expedition, under the well-known soldier and explorer, Colonel Younghusband, has set out to demand an explanation. Since this is really the first military expedition that has ever entered this forbidden land

from a western nation, the result will have a world-wide interest.

The main point, of course, is the ever-nearing danger of a clash in Asia between Russian and English authority. The English regard Russian tampering with the lamas as significant. It is a strange premonition of what may prove to be the great conflict of the future that is given by this clash on this barren table-land in the least-known part of the habitable world.

THE INDIGESTIBLE VERBOSITY OF PUBLIC REPORTS

THE Governor of the Territory of Arizona recently made his report to the Secretary of the Interior, as the law requires. But he violated all the laws of common sense by making it 225,000 words long—as long as two big novels. It would require a swift reader two days to read it rapidly. These 270 pages of fine type not only cost money—public money—but that is not the worst of it; for the length of the report nullifies the purpose for which it was written. No human being will read it. We have the spectacle, then, of a public officer spending weeks and weeks compiling and writing "stuff" which is printed at the public expense with no result whatever, for it consists of endless repetitions and of such information as this:

"Arizona, a political subdivision of the United States, is bounded on the north by Utah, on the east by New Mexico, on the south by Mexico, and on the west by California and Nevada."

It is a little matter, perhaps, that a stupid governor of a territory wastes \$1,000 of public money and a few weeks of his own time in this kind of composition. But it is big matter that this same fashion of undigested verbosity is well-nigh universal. It has been said that the report of the investigation of the postal frauds made by Mr Bristow was sent back twice by the President for condensation, and that it was reduced from 100,000 words to 12,000. It is hardly too much to say that almost every public document is made practically unintelligible by its length.

But the waste of money is the least evil. The main matter is that the public never finds out what half its officers and bureaus and departments undertake to present. It is a safe guess that half the matter printed in

public documents (not to say magazines, books, and newspapers) is never read by a single person after it leaves the proof-readers.

The Governor of Arizona is a type of the American official expressing himself—all his thought lost in a grand cañon of verbosity.

COMMERCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER

MR. W. R. LAWSON, an Englishman, in a book on "American Industrial Problems," declares that "There is no institution, local or national [in the United States], which is not imbued with a commercial spirit. The whole republic, from the White House downward, lives in a commercial atmosphere."

Of course most men in the United States, as elsewhere, work for their living; but the question is of the love of mere gain. Whether one shares the oft-repeated opinion that we are a sordid people depends much on his own character and more on the company he keeps. Most persons who keep good intellectual company will find that a very small part of their acquaintances lay undue stress on money.

There is, in fact, one great advance that the American man of high intellectual and moral aim has made over his brother of the Old World; and our Old World critics forget this. The democratic spirit has made Americans less willing than Europeans are to be personally dependent on inheritances, endowments, and institutions. Many an Englishman, for instance, who wishes to lead an intellectual life will wrap the vestments of the Church about him to gain his purpose. The corresponding American will enter a profession or go into trade till he has made a competence. Then he will set about what he regards as his real career. The spirit of personal economic independence is stronger—very much stronger—in our democracy than it is anywhere else in the world.

This is an American trait that we ourselves often forget. There is something in the self-respecting American that impels him to earn his own living, to achieve personal independence by his own efforts, and not to be content with anything else. Many men refrain from seeking college professorships, for instance, because they prefer not to be dependent on salaries voted by boards. Lowell gave as his reason for not becoming

a preacher his unwillingness to be economically dependent on a church. Yet, though our life is full of such cases, by much repetition the opinion seems to be generally accepted that the typical American is a mere cog in a commercial wheel. The prevalence of the notion is due in great measure, too, to the periodical wailing of preachers and teachers who themselves live and work by the generosity of men of affairs.

DO YOU KNOW THE PUBLIC SCHOOL NEAREST YOU?

WE talk much in public and private orations about our public schools, and they are what we say they are—the very bulwarks of American life. But who ever goes into one? Who really knows how well they do their work? We fill our heads with long tables of comparative statistics about illiteracy in South Carolina, but do you know whether the work done day by day in the public school nearest you is good work? Do you even know the teachers? Do you know who are members of the school board in your district and whether they know a good school when they see it? There is a great difference between general talk about a great system and personal knowledge of one schoolroom.

It is to bridge this distance that Miss Shaw is writing the series of articles that are now running in this magazine. She writes them straight out of hundreds of schoolrooms where, as a trained teacher, she has made observations. She is telling, therefore, just what kind of work is done in the schools of different cities and communities. It is gratifying that her articles are attracting the appreciative attention of many persons.

There is a general feeling, which gathers strength year by year, that the public-school system in general (excellent as it is in many communities, wretched as it is in more) has reached a place in its development where a concerted strong effort is demanded to make it far and away the best educational machinery that there has ever been in the world. There are many signs that such a purpose is shaping itself in the minds of many communities. To do this we must spend money, time, effort; we must build up the profession of the teachers—almost everywhere there is need of better equipment, of better method, of better work.

MR. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, the new Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, has shown the good sense to regard his important place not as an opportunity for obstruction, but as a chance for the real leadership of a minority. In fact, it gives a chance for a man to win for his side of the House the esteem of the majority and of the whole country. Mr. Williams seems to hold his duty on a higher level than the level of nagging partizanship.

THE new British Ambassador, Sir Mortimer Durand, who succeeds the late Sir Michael Herbert, comes with a hearty welcome to Washington, for he is a worthy representative of his government and a man of sterling qualities and of long diplomatic experience, having won distinction in India, in Persia, and as Ambassador to Spain. The selection of him shows the English appreciation of the cordial relations between the two countries.

A NOTABLE VICTORY FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM

PROFESSOR JOHN S. BASSETT, of Trinity College, at Durham, North Carolina, published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*—a journal of which he is the editor—an article about the relations of the races in the South in which he made a liberal plea for just judgment of the Negro. A storm of angry criticism followed. He was, in effect, brought to trial, and the victory that the college won for free speech and academic freedom is worth explaining in some detail.

Doctor Bassett is a native of North Carolina, a man trained at the Johns Hopkins University, a well-equipped scholar, and a successful teacher. He has probably done more than any other one man these ten years to put historical study in the South on a sound basis. One of his associates recently said of him:

"I doubt if there is another southern man who has the same amount of genuine work to show for the same period of time. He has been one of our most successful teachers, universally popular. He has stimulated some of our strongest men to devote themselves to historical work. He has been a fine faculty officer, doing more than any other man in the faculty, or all combined, to put our library into good working shape. Through the Trinity College Historical Society, the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, the State Literary and Historical Association, the Southern History Association, and the American Historical Association he has made his department a vital factor in the life of the people. Men in his own department

of work have frequently said that he is our 'foremost historical scholar' in the South. In addition to all his work as teacher and as organizer and as editor he has found time to do original and scholarly production. His bibliography is a long one, and compares favorably with those of the best of the younger historians of the country.

"The best inspiration that I have to do good work myself is his example. The light shines from his library window into the small hours, cheering us all to noble endeavor."

Trinity College, though now a private corporation and not the property of any church, is closely allied with the Methodist Church. It has had the benefit of a generous endowment by Mr. Washington Duke and his sons, Mr. B. N. Duke and Mr. J. B. Duke, and its work in its principal departments is of high grade. It is one of the most important and thorough colleges in the South.

Doctor Bassett's article that gave offense was on "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy." It was frank, but not revolutionary. The particular sentence that gave most offense was in praise of the work done by Mr. Booker T. Washington. The article was written with the most peaceful intent—to call attention to the great danger of passion and prejudice in dealing with the race question. It was a judicial and frank discussion of some recent tendencies—North and South. From the standpoint of expediency—and wisdom, perhaps—Doctor Bassett made a mistake in an incidental comparison of Mr. Booker T. Washington with

other southern leaders, which touched southern feeling at its most sensitive point. The article was not written, however, in an inflammatory spirit, nor would any liberal educated southern man find fault with it.

Two weeks after its publication the editor of the Democratic organ published at the capital of the State reprinted the entire article, and wrote a long editorial in which he distorted passages and made sensational appeals to the prejudice and passions of the people. If he had been as eager for the welfare of the people and for the suppression of everything calculated to make the race question more serious as he has claimed to be, he would never have given wider circulation to an article which, according to his judgment, was of the most inflammatory character. Prompted by a desire to make political capital out of the article, he began a campaign of bitter opposition to Doctor Bassett. He was joined by a large proportion of the newspapers of the State, and they indulged in vituperation, invective, and scurrility not surpassed since the days of reconstruction. The columns of the Democratic organ were taken up for weeks with these appeals to sectionalism, partisanship, religious bigotry, and personal enmities. As the discussion waxed in passion it took a wider range and made an attack on the president of the college, the benefactors, and the faculty. The general policy of the institution was said to be out of harmony with "old-fashioned North Carolina Methodism" and opposed to everything that was best in southern life.

The very men who had insisted that the elimination of the Negro from politics would permit greater freedom of discussion led the cry for Doctor Bassett's expulsion—the men who live on stirring up race-hatred whenever it serves their purpose.

A boycott of the college was proposed. Parents were urged to take their sons away. Then it was demanded that Doctor Bassett, and perhaps others, should be summarily dismissed from the faculty. Against both these suggestions a few notable protests were made. The editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, in an editorial of great dignity and poise, while regretting "the radical statements" of Professor Bassett, called attention to his noteworthy services in behalf of the college and the State, and made a plea with

the public not to allow the usefulness of a worthy institution to be impaired by the blunder of one man. The editors of the *Biblical Recorder*, the Baptist paper, and of the *Progressive Farmer*, an influential rural paper, argued with equal earnestness against the dismissal of Doctor Bassett as a menace to the cause of free thought and free speech. But these appeals were not heard in the general clamor of the multitude.

Besides the extremely prejudiced writers on the subject, there were some honest men—loyal but mistaken friends of the college and even of Doctor Bassett—who believed that the best interests of the institution demanded his unconditional resignation. They argued with sincerity that any other policy would bring immediate ruin upon the college and a division in the Methodist Church. There were others who held to the theory that a teacher in a southern college ought to teach only those things that are in harmony with "southern public opinion," and that as soon as a college teacher found himself out of agreement with that opinion he should immediately retire or the college should dispense with his services. To very few did the question of academic freedom even suggest itself.

In view of this widespread agitation and almost universal demand for his resignation, Doctor Bassett offered to resign in case the trustees thought it best for the institution. As soon as this announcement was made and a meeting of the board was called, tremendous pressure was brought to bear on every one of the trustees—pressure through political and ecclesiastical leaders. Up to the time the board met no statement had been given out from the college. There were rumors that President Kilgo, the faculty, and students would stand by Doctor Bassett, but no public statement had been made. When the board met, the general impression was that the resignation would undoubtedly be accepted.

But the public had left out of their reckoning the most vital factor in the situation—the spirit of a young, progressive, unhampered, free institution which for ten years has been steadily growing in endowment, in influence, and in the spirit of freedom and nationalism.

President Kilgo, in a strong address to the board, gave his view of the situation. He

outlined the ten-years' record of Doctor Bassett, commending in the highest terms his moral character, his scholarship, his great services to the institution as teacher, faculty officer, and efficient organizer of his department. He made a plea for a spirit of tolerance in the case of one who had done such valuable service for the institution.

Passing from the consideration of an individual, he presented the principle of academic freedom as it affected the life and destiny of Trinity College and all other institutions of learning. "I am ready to assert," he said, "that coercion of opinion in all times has been a miserable failure; that truth and reason and life have never been advanced by force and physical pain. . . . Tolerance is a virtue which has been well established in all modern civilization, and is the foundation virtue upon which the American civilization has been built and developed."

In answer to those friends of the college who maintained that the retention of Doctor Bassett would seriously impair the usefulness of the institution, he said: "You cannot hurt this institution more fatally, you cannot deal it a severer blow, you cannot bring upon it more fully the suspicions of just and honorable men than by enthroning coercion and intolerance. Bury liberty here, and with it the college is buried. . . . It were better that Trinity College should work with ten students than that it should repudiate and violate every noble principle of the Christian religion, the high virtues of this commonwealth, and the foundation spirit of this nation. . . . Personally, I should prefer to see a hurricane sweep from the face of the earth every brick and piece of timber here than to see the college committed to policies of the Inquisition."

To the same effect spoke the faculty in a formal statement of their position—a statement signed by every member. They did not defend or approve of some of the expressions in their colleague's article, but they declared that the spirit of the college must be preserved from violation. They stated the problem in the light of their own work and that of other institutions of learning. "We should be recreant to the principle and false to our brothers in other colleges if we did not now urge upon your body the gravity of the crisis. If American colleges are to be

the homes of seekers after truth, their atmosphere must be favorable to the free expression of opinion. This college has now the opportunity to show that its campus is undeniably one spot on southern soil where men's minds are free, and to maintain that the social order of the South need not be shielded from criticism, because it has no reason to fear it, because it is not too weak to bear it. . . . Money, students, friends are not for one moment to be weighed in the balance with tolerance, with fairness, and with freedom."

In a final appeal to the board they said: "We urge you to say of Trinity College what Thomas Jefferson, the founder of American Democracy, said of the institution he founded: 'This institution will be based upon the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it.'"

The students were not less loyal to the ideals of their institution. Their confidence in their teacher, and their demand that the ideals that they had been taught to reverence should be strictly maintained, were made manifest to the board. No more gratifying thing ever happened in the southern States than the unanimity of this student body in the crisis through which the college was passing. In spite of all the attempts to bring about a boycott, not one student had left the college.

Letters were read to the board also from many alumni of the college—especially those of recent years—pleading that the spirit of the college might be preserved. And besides all these counter-influences was the active sympathy of the Duke family—the generous benefactors of the institution.

And yet, against all these contentions, a strong element in the board made a determined fight. It was led by the most successful politician of the State, United States Senator F. M. Simmons, who demanded that the voice of the people should be heard. He said that expediency was the only idea involved. He appealed strongly to race prejudice, saying that he was making a fight for "white supremacy." After a seven-hours' session the board voted—eighteen to seven—not to accept the resignation of Professor Bassett, and it adopted a

strong statement of the reasons of its action. "We cannot lend countenance to the degrading notion," this declaration ran, "that professors in American colleges have not an equal liberty of thought and speech with all other Americans. . . . Liberty may sometimes lead to folly; yet it is better that some should be tolerated than that all should think and speak under the deadening influence of repression. . . . It were better that Trinity should suffer—even that it should close its doors—than that it should enter upon a policy of coercion and intolerance."

When the decision of the board was announced, at three o'clock in the morning, the students, who had waited eagerly for the outcome, rejoiced beyond measure. The bell was rung and bonfires were lighted. It seemed to them that their college had resisted one of the strongest attacks ever made by the forces of intolerance, bigotry, and mistaken friendship.

The inside history of this incident is exceedingly illuminating. In the first place, the cry against Doctor Bassett was led by the organ of the Democratic party at the capital, and the fight against him in the board was led by United States Senator Simmons. In other words, the organized howl against liberality of opinion and conduct toward the Negro came from the political source

of Negro disfranchisement. This was the main opposition. The other source of opposition was from the church element of the board. It is not fair to imply that all the clergy were opposed to Doctor Bassett. The president of the college is himself a Methodist clergyman, and he stood firmly, and there were others who were unafraid.

But most of the board who voted for the retention of Doctor Bassett were laymen—men of affairs. They are men who are engaged in manufactures, in banking, in transportation—men who are doing things.

The significance of this analysis is the revelation it affords of the forces that are at work in the South. Political and ecclesiastical forces as a rule are reactionary; the men who do things are the men who are moving forward. The colleges and the men of affairs are the strong forces for liberality and growth. The constructive life and the intellectual life of the South are working together. The political and ecclesiastical life lags even when it does not drag.

By this emphatic action Trinity College did an enormous service to academic life everywhere and gave an impetus to southern liberality of opinion that cannot be overestimated. It has made friends for itself and admirers in every enlightened community in the whole country, and its future development will be watched with pride.

THE MONOPOLY OF "NATURAL PRODUCTS"

TO WHAT EXTENT THEY HAVE BEEN ACQUIRED IN THE UNITED STATES BY SMALL GROUPS OF MEN—THE MONOPOLY, ALSO, OF PUBLIC-SERVICE FRANCHISES—A GREAT LAW OF INVESTMENT

[THE WORLD'S WORK publishes every month an article in which some timely and vital subject of the financial world is taken up]

TO what extent have the "natural products" of the earth been monopolized in the United States—such as coal, petroleum, iron, copper, lead, zinc, salt, phosphates, and the like?

To what extent have the "natural monopolies," such as street-railway franchises and the like, been monopolized?

These questions cannot be answered in a magazine article, nor will any attempt here be made to answer them, but only to show how rapidly the monopolization of these things is going on. It will be interesting to inquire whether the complete monopoly of them is inevitable.

The two greatest trusts in the world are

the United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Company. Both, although they are manufacturers and refiners, belong also to the class of natural monopolies. The Steel Corporation is estimated to control from 65 to 75 per cent. of the iron and steel output, and the Standard Oil Company has an almost complete mastery of the petroleum production of the United States, which is at present nearly one-half of the world's output.

The Steel Corporation, with stocks and bonds having a par value of \$1,528,000,000, owns 78 blast-furnaces with an annual capacity of 6,500,000 tons of pig-iron—about half the product of the United States. It owns 150 steel works and 6 finishing plants, with an annual capacity of about 10,000,000 tons of finished material. It owns about 75 per cent. of ore mines in the Lake Superior region, 72,000 acres of coal lands, 18,500 coke-ovens, and 125 lake vessels.

The Standard Oil Company, with a capital stock of \$97,000,000, controls petroleum refineries in all of the principal northern cities in the United States, produces about 70 per cent. of this country's total output of refined oil, and also controls oil-wells in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

There is one significant difference between the two trusts. The Standard Oil monopoly is founded upon secrecy. Its owners are not friendly to the publicity law which created the Bureau of Corporations at Washington, and will not assist it in obtaining information for the use of the President. The Standard Oil stock has never been listed on the New York Stock Exchange. It is traded in freely on the "curb," where it is not required to make any statements or reports. The company has never made any voluntary disclosure of its financial condition or trade operations. No Masonic lodge has ever guarded its secrets more closely. The same policy has been pursued as regards the other Rockefeller trust—the Amalgamated Copper Company.

On the other hand, the United States Steel Corporation has been a publicity company. Its financial operations have been conducted in the open. Its securities have been placed on the regular list of the New York Stock Exchange after meeting every requirement of the Governing Committee

of that institution. It has, moreover, made regular and very full reports of its financial condition, and has generally pursued the policy of taking the public into its confidence.

As between the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation, one as an example of secrecy in business administration and the other of publicity, the latter, measured by market prices, is a failure compared with the other, for while the stock of the Standard Oil sells far above par, the stocks of the Steel Corporation sell at figures which, from the Wall Street standpoint, are a public vote of "no confidence." But it may be questioned whether this is a complete test of the market value of publicity. The Amalgamated Copper Company is quite as secretive as the Standard Oil, and its stock has declined proportionately to that of the Steel Corporation.

Control of the coal output of the United States is practically in the hands of the railroads. More than nine-tenths of the known anthracite deposits in the Pennsylvania coal fields are owned directly by a comparatively few railroad interests, and the output is completely controlled by the presidents of what is generally termed the Morgan-Vanderbilt group of railroads. This group includes the Reading, the Erie, the Jersey Central, the Lehigh Valley, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the Delaware & Hudson, the New York, Ontario & Western, and the Pennsylvania roads. Although having no written agreement to act in unison, and without ostensible organization as a coal-trade board, these railroad interests act as a unit in controlling the production and marketing of anthracite. This concentration of power constitutes an actual natural monopoly, and yet there is no tangible concentration of responsibility. Officially, the president of each of the railroads named will deny that there is any coal combination. The protracted strike of anthracite miners in 1902, however, revealed to the public the identity of the men who regulate the annual production of anthracite, fix the prices, employ the miners, and make agreements as to wages and terms of employment.

It is customary for these railroad presidents to get together as often as it is necessary for them to take some action in unison. Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Reading

system, which is the largest carrier of anthracite, usually acts as chairman of these meetings. Each year's production is governed by trade conditions, systematic computation being followed in regulating the output. It is for the interest of all concerned to keep the output restricted, in order that the market may not be glutted or that overproduction may not force prices to consumers down to a point deemed unprofitable by the producers. The output of anthracite has increased from 41,893,320 gross tons in 1892 to 67,471,667 gross tons in 1901, and there has been no appreciable decrease in price. In consequence of the miners' strike, the total shipments of anthracite in 1902 fell off to 41,843,218 gross tons. The proportions in which the different railroads controlled this decreased tonnage of 1902 is shown in the following table:

	Gross Tons
Reading and Lehigh Valley	15,135,582
Central Railroad of New Jersey	5,271,132
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western	6,529,649
Delaware & Hudson Company	4,058,526
Pennsylvania Railroad	5,571,220
Erie	3,259,850
Ontario & Western	807,072
Delaware, Susquehanna & Schuylkill	1,210,187
Total	41,843,218

The proportion of shipments remains about the same from year to year, and are regulated by an official allotment of percentages to each road. This allotment is made once a year by the coal-road presidents in joint session. Experts in coal-mining estimate that the Pennsylvania anthracite fields will last from 70 to 125 years longer, much depending on the rate of increase of consumption of hard coal. No satisfactory basis for an estimate of this rate of increase is afforded, because of the growing tendency in the industrial plants to substitute bituminous coal for anthracite and the increasing use of natural gas and other forms of fuel in place of anthracite. The great strike in the anthracite fields last year gave an extraordinary stimulus to the bituminous coal trade, and practical coal men now declare that the cheaper soft coal has permanently crowded anthracite out of numerous places of consumption. The percentage of increase in the output of bituminous coal is increasing much more rapidly than the percentage of

increase in the anthracite output. Of a total production of 292,240,758 net tons of coal in this country in 1901, 224,769,091 tons were bituminous. While ownership of the bituminous coal fields is widely distributed, distribution of the product is mainly controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad. During the years 1899 and 1900 the Pennsylvania secured a dominating influence in the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Norfolk & Western. Here is a combination of the four greatest carriers of bituminous coal, and since it was effected freight rates and prices have been regulated to suit the railroad managers and the mine owners. The producing regions have been so apportioned that each of the four roads has been given definite spheres of operation, and the price of bituminous coal has been advanced, in some instances, fifty cents per ton above the average for 1899. The consumer's greatest encouragement for future advantage in the way of cheapness lies in the apparently unlimited supply of bituminous coal in this country.

The rapid development of electricity and the increased use of brass for machinery and interior decorations have greatly increased the demand for copper and copper products in recent years, and there has been a spirited struggle between rival interests to get control of the output and dominate the market. The Amalgamated Copper Company, which was formed in 1899, has \$155,000,000 of capital stock, and is believed to control about 60 per cent. of the total annual production in this country. Standard Oil interests, as has been said, are back of this corporation. Between 1894 and 1899 the price of copper was more than doubled, but in the winter of 1901-2 the price of this commodity was reduced from 17 to 11¼ cents per pound. This reduction was attributed to the strife between the Amalgamated company and rival producers. This strife is still in progress, and is one of the greatest trade wars that was ever fought in this country. On its result depends the question whether or not the entire copper production of the United States shall be monopolized by the Standard Oil group of capitalists.

In addition to the "natural products," such as the minerals, many of the crops have been partially or almost completely monop-

lized, such as sugar and tobacco. These are controlled by those who have the control of the manufacture of products from them. They are, therefore, in a sense, rather "industrial" than "natural" monopolies. But they fall into the class of "natural" monopolies whenever the whole area of production is practically controlled by one organization.

Now, the enormous practical success which has attended the monopolization of petroleum, iron ore, anthracite coal, copper, lead, silver, and other metals has given an impetus to this form of monopoly that has probably made its course certain till practically all these natural products shall be under monopoly. This tendency is now too strong to resist. Most of them are already monopolies. The rest will undoubtedly be in time.

There is another class of natural monopolies—public-service franchises. Perhaps the best illustration that could be given is the street-railway, gas, and electric-light companies of Manhattan Island, which are controlled by a single group of capitalists, who are identical or closely allied with capitalists controlling similar franchises in Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities. This is one of the most remarkable monopolies in the United States, and its financial and political power is far-reaching. It had much to do with Tammany's recent return to power in New York City.

The Consolidated Gas Company controls all of the gas and electric lighting on Manhattan Island, having absorbed one after another every competing concern. It also owns the subway in which, by direction of law, all electrical conductors must be buried. It is controlled chiefly by William Rockefeller, Thomas F. Ryan, Anthony N. Brady, and William C. Whitney. The Brooklyn Union Gas Company, which owns all of the gas plants in that borough, is controlled chiefly by William Rockefeller and H. H. Rogers, of the Standard Oil group of capitalists. The United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which operates gas plants in forty different cities, has been controlled chiefly by P. A. B. Widener, the late W. L. Elkins, and Thomas Dolan—the latter being president.

The Metropolitan Securities Company owns the Metropolitan Street Railway, and through it the surface lines of railroad in Manhattan Island. The only "rival" of this system is

the Interborough Company, which has the contract for the construction and operation of the underground railroad in Manhattan, and which a few months ago leased the Manhattan Elevated Railroad. The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company operates nearly every line of surface and elevated railroad in that borough.

There are more or less close ties that bind all these different public utility corporations in New York and Philadelphia, and it is not strange that plans are thought to be "under way for a consolidation of the surface, elevated, and subway lines in New York City, the Long Island Railroad, Brooklyn Rapid Transit, the lines in Queens Borough, and ultimately the other trolley roads on Long Island so far as they may be important aids in the scheme for the efficient handling of New York's enormous passenger business."

Such a combination, taken together with the gas and electric-light companies owned, in part at least, by the same interests, would represent a total franchise monopoly of practically incalculable value.

The same tendency is felt all over the country toward the consolidation of street-railroad lines, in many cases these being allied with the electric-light companies and gas companies. For instance, one combination in Massachusetts controls 36 railway and electric-light companies, the former operating 860 miles of track through 26 cities. Competition has been virtually, or is being rapidly, eliminated in the various large cities and towns.

Two directions, then, in which monopoly is fast becoming complete and in which it is sure to go on are these—the monopoly of natural products and of franchises for the public service. The great combinations of capital that have been acquiring these natural monopolies with such rapidity have worked out this rule of action: *A natural monopoly is worth any price for which it can be acquired, provided the buyers have money enough to develop it or to await its natural development.*

This sound principle of investment has governed the action of the most far-sighted group of business men now living, and it has laid the foundations of the largest aggregations of values in the world and of the greatest incomes of the future—in some cases for all time to come.

MOUNT VERNON

Which was designed by Washington himself, and is the most original and representative of Colonial homes



THE BEST HOUSE TO LIVE IN

THE HOME IDEA EXPRESSED IN A DWELLING—THE FINE HOUSES OF THE EARLY COLONIES—MELANCHOLY RESIDENCES IN THE THIRTIES—THE EFFECT OF SUDDEN RICHES LATER—HOW WE ARE NOW BUILDING REAL AMERICAN HOMES

BY

JOY WHEELER DOW

Illustrated from photographs by the author

THERE are two arts that the most progressive people of the globe should wish to cultivate in particular. One of the arts is courtesy, the other is architecture. It must be through the sheerest oversight, therefore, that neither has been taught in the public schools. If we have national excellence in either direction, it is largely to the credit of individual observation. If there be mediocrity to condone, we have a valid excuse for it. We know no better, as the wife of a professor at one of our universities recently explained to me why she once permitted a variegated marble mantel, fashioned at a time when popular

taste was at its lowest ebb, to be set up in "ye greate louer room" of an admirable seventeenth-century dwelling-house at Old Lyme, in Connecticut, supplanting a beautifully carved wood chimney-piece in historic American Renaissance.

But it is difficult to conceive of any handicap entirely adequate to withstand the impetuosity of the American people long; and what we *have* achieved—or, rather, what we have permitted our architects to achieve for us, in good architectural development—the domestic phase of it—and what the various compelling forces have been, form the object of this review.



A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE AT GUILFORD, CONNECTICUT

“ . . . The outcome of centuries of tried and proved development in home architecture ”

The first duty of the architect who plans and erects a dwelling should be to express with the building material at his command as much of all the personal association of the home idea as may be; and it is the first duty of the public to appreciate it; while just so



“ THE ORNE-ROPES HOUSE AT SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, BUILT ABOUT 1720 ”

“ There was a time when a knowledge of architecture was an integral part of a polite education ”



“ WYCK,” AT GERMANTOWN, BUILT ABOUT 1700
“ Architectural history, and not a particular style of architecture, invest the old houses with their personality, their atmosphere, and their charm



GOOD DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

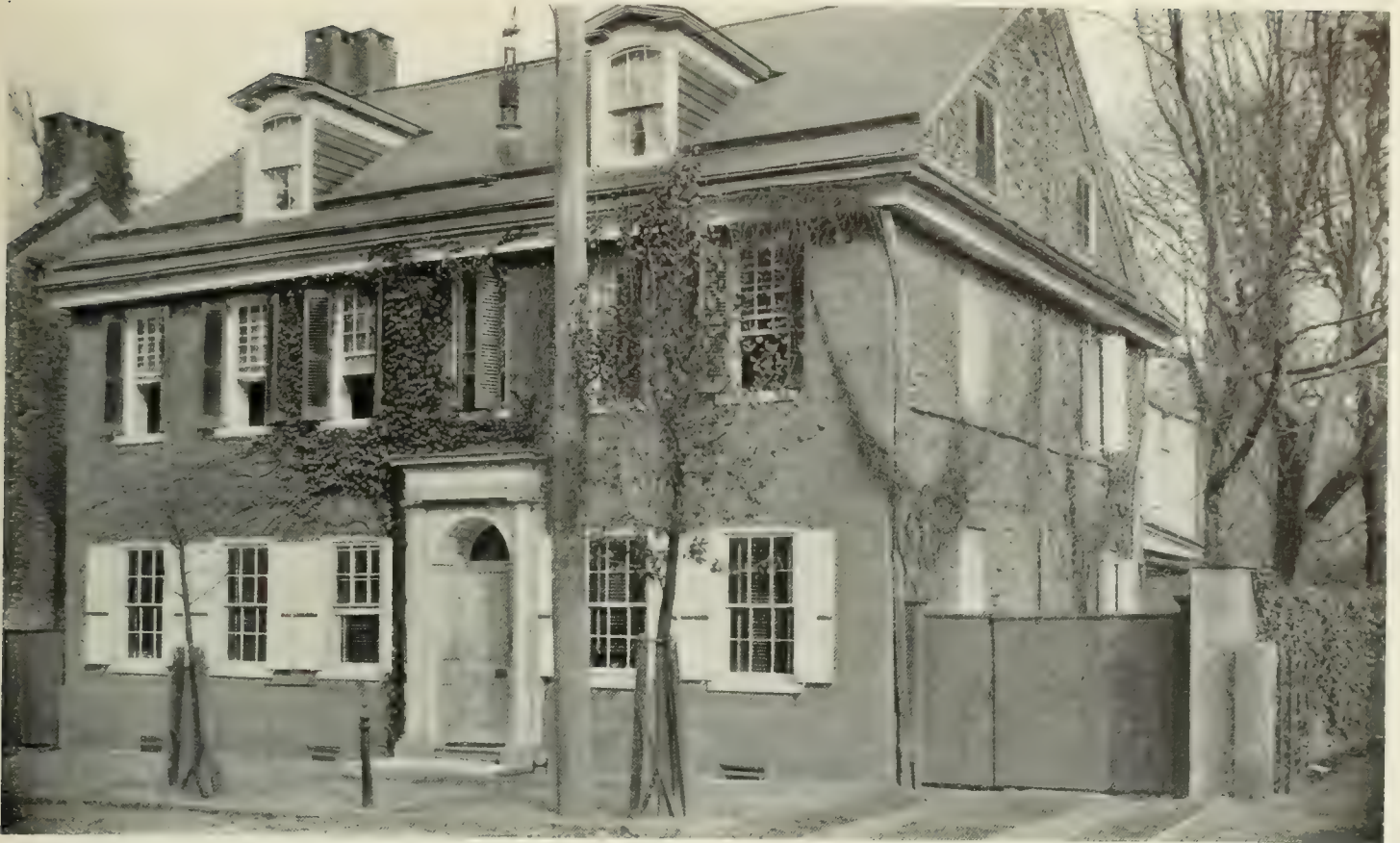
A sporadic instance of refusal to deteriorate during the transitional period

far as either disregards it in the interests of expediency or commercialism—to make the dwelling-house *pay*, to make it fashionable, perhaps—or because of other arguments equally irrelevant to art, just so far do both fail in the undertaking.



A FINE OLD HOUSE IN NORWICH, CONNECTICUT

Early eighteenth-century architecture



THE WISTER HOUSE AT GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, MIDDLE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

“The Colonial builders played the game strictly according to Hoyle”

Distinctively American architecture dates from the respective years of the first successful settlements by Europeans in America, and principally from the colonization of the

thirteen original States. For a man to think he knows more and better than his grandfather, which is so customary with the later generations of Americans, was of



THE GOVERNOR SMITH HOUSE AT WISCASSET, MAINE

“The first duty of the architect is to express as much of the personal association of the home idea as may be”



MONROE-FRENCH HOUSE, BRISTOL, RHODE ISLAND, 1800

These apprentices essayed no 'stunts'



THE CAPTAIN WHITE HOUSE, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, 1810

A most beautiful example of early nineteenth-century workmanship

rare occurrence in Colonial days. Hence the old house at Guilford, Connecticut, shown here, was distinctly not the fanciful dream of its designer, but the outcome of centuries of tried and proved development in home architecture. That is the thing which signifies—not the lines or detail of the house. Wyck, at Germantown, has very beautiful lines; but even a modern shoe factory may be made to incorporate

these with academic detail of a high order without affecting us very deeply. So it must be architectural history, and not a particular style of architecture, that invests the old houses with their personality, their atmosphere, their charm.

American architecture is an architecture of wood. It has been criticized because of this, but unjustly, and curiously enough by the Americans themselves—point-device indi-



COLONIAL HOUSE, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY



THE WHITTINGHAM HOUSE, MILLBURN, NEW JERSEY

“ To make the jig-saw and the arts of the world embrace and be friends was the anxiety of every architect ”

viduals who have tried to make out that while it was permissible to carve wood for the interior after classic models it was excessively bad taste to use it, so fashioned, upon the exterior of buildings. Yet Switzerland has an excellent national architecture

in wood, only the inhabitants of Switzerland chose the Gothic mode of expression, in theory equally offensive to the hypercritical; but their selection was made so long ago that its hall-mark is indisputable, viz., historic precedent. While our wooden architecture



TRANSITIONAL ARCHITECTURE, RUSKIN INFLUENCE, DATE ABOUT 1850

“ . . . There were people who fell easy victims to the pointed-leaf theory ”

is not so old as the wooden Gothic of Switzerland, it has outlived the vicissitudes of two centuries—sufficient test.

The eighteenth-century *chalets* are the Colonial houses of Switzerland, and a corresponding attention is being bestowed upon them by the Swiss architects. They have legends and inscriptions beautifully cut into the exposed timbers of their facades; and were we confining ourselves to the romantic side of architecture, I think the Swiss *chalets* have no rivals in any country. I refer, of



"THEY WERE COMMODIOUS HOUSES. THESE SCARAMOUCHES," REIGN OF TERROR, ABOUT 1867

course, to the old *chalets*, for as it is here in America, irresponsible designing, with perhaps a leaven of commercialism, tends to make the modern *chalets* extremely disappointing.

All Colonial architecture has been recently classified as "Georgian." That is a mistake. Some of the old houses herein appearing antedate the Georges considerably, belonging to the reigns of Charles II., William and Mary, and Queen Anne. Certainly these are not Georgian houses. I subdivide these very early

examples by calling them Witch-Colonial. The blue Puritan smoke seems still to be curling from their chimneys. The influence that produced most of them was English influence, because the colonists mostly emigrated from England, but the Dutch influence also had a following. The home atmosphere of the early Dutch houses in America was scarcely less delightful than that of the English ones, especially that of those bewitchingly hooded edifices still standing in various parts of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

I am not prepared to say that the Colonial builders appreciated the esthetic qualities of the houses they erected as do we. There was the element of hardship that interfered sadly with sentimental reflection; there was the absolute lack of the graciousness which we may embody beneath the venerable hewn roof-tree today, to make us conscious there has taken place a truly marvelous restoration. We may see the huge chimney-stack silhouetted against a fiery winter sunset as of yore, a wide field of snow in the foreground, small-paned casements brilliant with the light from within; but we know that a very powerful hot-water heating apparatus is vanquishing the effect of the zero temperature without, and blazing logs of wood in the great chimney-place are only the picturesque accessory, as are the candelabras wired for electricity and subdued by tiny pink or yellow shades. We know that the uneven floors constructed of wide deals are now level with a covering of waxed parquetry, about which are judiciously distributed Persian rugs for the feet; and in place of the meagre "parsnip stew" upon the dining-table is a service of silver and cut crystal and a dainty supper spread. The warming-pans displayed in the chambers overhead are only for ornament now, for no longer are these chambers the cold-storage warehouses they used to be, while the round or oval braided mats beside the bedsteads are scarcely necessary except for atmosphere. Yes, the Colonial builders missed much, but from lack of means and opportunity to experiment they played the architectural game strictly according to Hoyle; and with all our modern advantages, may we improve upon the method? I think not. In architecture, at least, it may be accepted as an axiom that a man cannot know more nor better than did his grandsire.



ULTRA-FASHIONABLE QUEEN ANNE ARCHITECTURE, DATE ABOUT 1883

Architecture reduced to absurdity

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT UP TO 1825
AND THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century there occurred an era of Colonial prosperity, of affluence, of royal patents, and manor-houses—the Grand Epoch. George II.

was then on the throne of England, and the influence of Sir Christopher Wren and Inigo Jones was at its height. The extravagance of the colonists was commented upon; still, not one would have dared to depart from architectural precedent. It is only in our own



TYPICAL ARCHITECTURE OF TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Modern and commonplace; hopelessly sordid and melancholy



"SILVER-GATE," SUMMIT, NEW JERSEY, 1901

"The Eastlake has gone, the Victorian-Gothic has departed, Romanesque is no more, and Queen Anne; but we are still erecting Colonial houses"



COTTAGE AT EAST ORANGE, 1902

time that representative people do not mind having their houses masquerade in clown's apparel. The same sense of decency and propriety which regulates clothes regulated architecture as well in Colonial days. Originality (see "Newly Invented Architecture," page 4305) and eccentricity (see "Ultra-fashionable Queen Anne Architecture," page 4299) were to be scrupulously avoided as the worst possible form. It is extremely problematical whether or no our forefathers were as keenly alive to the ethics of the home atmosphere as we like to pretend they were,

Mount Vernon, made for his architects, bespeaks a perfect familiarity with his task.

With the Transitional period architecture was promptly dropped from the popular curriculum, till now it has come to be that a representative American, covered with the dust and grime of travel, steps down from his ungainly and lumbering motor-car, enthusiastic to explain to you every greasy link of its mechanism, while, should you ask him, he will tell you without a blush that he knows nothing concerning architecture except, perhaps, the architecture of this road-machine.



THE EFFLORESCENCE OF COMMERCIALISM

"Do what he will, no man may cut himself off from the rest of the world and be happy"

but they must have held them a sacred obligation not to caricature home architecture, as the modern American sometimes does (see "Efflorescence of Commercialism," page 4301).

The man of achievement under the old *régime* considered a knowledge of architecture to be part of his regular education. There was no country gentleman, proprietor of a demesne, but could draw a very accurate plan and sketch above it a suitable elevation. Washington was a connoisseur of American architecture, and his original sketch of

Indeed, I know of instances where brilliant American scholars and literary people live in houses the architecture of which baffles description, wholly indifferent to, if not ignorant of, the profanity they are thereby expressing architecturally to their countrymen. I have it from the architect of one of the finest estates in our country that he has to be continually taking away the ragged-edged stones the owner has the gardener place about the formal flower-beds.

The architectural development up to 1825 is illustrated by the following subjects:



A QUEEN ANNE HOUSE AT SHORT HILLS, NEW JERSEY, BUILT IN 1882

Successful because it has the earmarks of home



KINGDOR, BUILT IN 1911

A Swiss chalet, abhorrent to the fastidious, but sufficiently sanctioned by centuries of home use

Orne-Ropes house at Salem, A.D. 1720. Wister house at Germantown, date about 1750. Mount Vernon, in Virginia, the most representative of Colonial exemplars. House of Captain Churchill, sometime master of the United States privateer *Yankee*, at Bristol, Rhode Island, date 1807; and the White house on Essex Street, Salem—the latter the scene of a celebrated tragedy in 1830, and a most

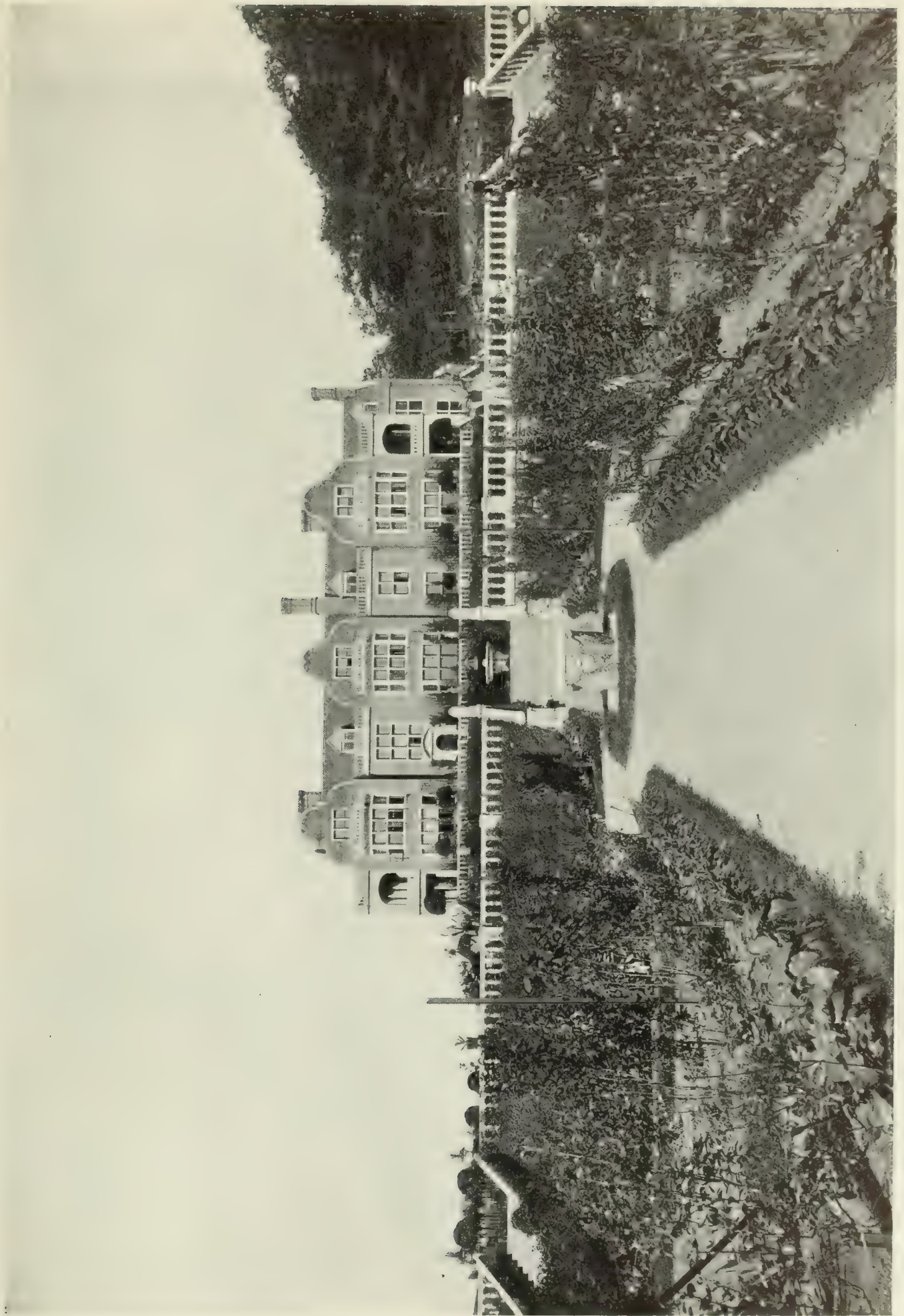
beautiful example of early nineteenth-century workmanship.

On March 4, 1829, a veritable architectural revolution was inaugurated in America simultaneously with a new president who possessed "great presence of mind but no delicacy"—General Andrew Jackson. Jackson was "anti-patron," "antimanor-lord," as some of our own distracted economists are "antitrust."



CANTERBURY KEYS, BUILT IN 1854

A successful revival of the Elizabethan style



HOUSE AND GARDENS OF HENRY W. POOR AT TUXEDO PARK, NEW YORK
A fine example of Jacobean architecture



PRINCESSGATE. 1876

The election of Andrew Jackson was the red-flag signal of license and anarchy in art matters, a turning-point in our history. The ancient *régime* gave place to a modern and commonplace one hopelessly sordid and melancholy. On page 4299 will be found illustrated the typical home architecture of the Transitional period. Note the national deterioration herein shown. But in the darkest hour of the Transitional period there were sporadic instances of refusal to deteriorate. Here and there we may yet discover a really good Transitional exemplar, such as we have in the house at Northampton, Massachusetts, shown on page 4294. The best things are in the cities, however, for the country gentleman of the Transitional period



EASTOVER, GARDEN FRONT, WYOMING, NEW JERSEY

A good type of the modern house built to be a home

was an anomalous factor in the great counting-house age and perihelion of the spittoon.

EPHEMERAL AND PERVERTED INFLUENCE OF
JOHN RUSKIN

John Ruskin was the bright particular art-prophet of this dreary epoch. Ruskin thought, or pretended to think, it would be a good thing to adapt ecclesiastic Gothic to the needs of dwelling-houses, and there were people upon this side of the Atlantic who fell easy victims to the pointed-leaf theory and other fallacious arguments.

The two illustrations of Ruskin Gothic as it was practised in America the reader will have no difficulty in recognizing. Ecclesiastic Gothic is not suitable to dwelling-houses.



THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TASTE

No chimneys in sight, though they are the symbols of the home

The ceilings are made too high; the lancet windows, through which the sunlight struggles with difficulty, are too narrow. The house on High Street, in Middletown, Connecticut, might answer very well for a rectory or parish house, but it is not the kind of Gothic

to build fanciful houses—the more fanciful the better; to exploit an Italian villa for \$5,000—something hardly to be attained with scenery upon the stage. (See page 4298.) But one has to admit they were commodious houses, these scaramouches, and that they



THE NEWLY INVENTED ARCHITECTURE
ANALYSIS:

Moresque, Spain	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 per cent
“ Algiers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 “ “
“ California Mission	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 “ “
East Indian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	05 “ “
Newly reclaimed land	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 “ “
Chinese ornament	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	05 “ “
Modern invention, pure	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50 “ “
Anglo-Saxon home atmosphere	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	00 “ “
								100 “ “

architecture that fulfils the home requirements. For this we must turn either to the early domestic Gothic of England or to the chalets of Switzerland.

EFFECT OF SUDDEN RICHES UPON THE DWELLING FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR

The situation of art in this country was next modified by the Civil War, when a régime of quickly acquired riches suddenly supervened. This was the Quixotic era of commercialism in its relation to architecture. The main idea, as nearly as one may judge at this somewhat remote day, was to make the greatest amount of show with the least money;

possessed other redeeming points of utility, if not of art, which are apt to be entirely lost sight of in the popular clamor for their extinction. Their short and brilliant career was brought to a close by the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, when the assembled arts of the world absorbed the nation’s attention. Let us mark with a suitable milestone this event important to American architecture. The revival of art started by the exposition has seen only its beginning.

There was a serviceable tool in use in America that we were loth to part with. It was the jig-saw, which had performed such



BILTMORE, IN NORTH CAROLINA

A very perfect example of early French Renaissance, the achievement of fine taste and unlimited command of money

amazing stunts during the "Reign of Terror"; and to make that tool and the arts of the world embrace and be friends was the anxiety of every architect who designed domestic architecture. An adjustment of this difficulty was a new style, called the "Eastlake," partially evolved from Swiss-Gothic. The roofs and eaves of the *chalets* belonging to the mountainous cantons of Switzerland—that is to say, the low-roof *chalets*—supplied inviting three-cornered spaces for the American jig-saw to work its wonders, while the gables of the Eastlake house could be battened and fringed by the jig-saw. At a distance, much of this picky detail was happily lost, so that the Eastlake cottage, with its straight lines of construction, was a somewhat grateful relief to the circular work of the house with the crested French roof and its cupola.

The Eastlake architecture, however, was soon superseded by a kind of Victorian-Gothic, a style in which the late Richard Morris Hunt was the leading exponent, and in which the jig-saw was materially restricted and subdued; and then there came a decided innovation with Queen Anne and Romanesque for pattern, all of which architectural development—except perhaps the Romanesque style—was directly traceable to the Centennial Exposition.

BEGINNINGS OF THE PRESENT ART MOVEMENT—FASHIONABLE ARCHITECTURE

Down in the south of France and in a few other remote parts of Europe are some medieval cathedrals and monasteries not greatly patronized, as yet, by the Cook excursions. And thirty years ago an observing American student, Richardson by name, discovered in these Romanesque remains the germ of a grand idea. Accordingly, he filled his portfolio and memory with all the Romanesque material they would contain, and awaited the opportunity to spring it upon his countrymen. There were the usual years of discouragement and disappointment, but finally the opportunity arrived, which he turned, by the way, into a splendid success—Trinity Church, Boston. But these Romanesque cathedrals and monasteries pretended to nothing of the Anglo-Saxon home feeling, nor had they a single suggestion to contribute to it, so that when Richardson and his imitators—and he once had nearly the whole

country in that stupid *rôle*—attempted to erect Romanesque dwelling-houses, the failure was as great as the churches and libraries had been successful.

The much-ridiculed Queen Anne houses were far better suited to domestic purposes, principally because their prototypes—little as they may be recognized in the offspring—were once, and in many cases continue to be, Anglo-Saxon dwellings. And I have an instance to show that their adaptation during our great Queen Anne revival—1878 to 1888—was sometimes successfully achieved. The reader is referred to the illustration of a Queen Anne house at Short Hills, New Jersey, designed by the late Frederick B. White.

Thus we continued to experiment with all *fashionable* architecture. The architects of it ever seemed to repeat for explanation of it the amiable reply of the Duchesse de Bourgogne, as reported by Saint-Simon: "I know there to be neither sense nor reason in what I say or do, but *he* [alluding to the King, Louis XIV.] must have a stir!" Of the newly invented style I owe it to say that it has plenty of originality, which, unfortunately, in architecture is not a virtue. It has also harmonious lines and good proportions, but these of themselves signify nothing without the historic associations.

THE COLONIAL REVIVAL

The Colonial revival dates from the eighties of the last century, and, considering the early fate of its contemporaries, proves itself a remarkable style of architecture to have continued with us. The Eastlake has gone, the Victorian-Gothic has departed, Romanesque is no more, nor Queen Anne; but we are still erecting Colonial houses more and more orthodox with each year. What is the latent secret of the longevity? Some people will tell you it is simplicity of design and white paint—always a safe scheme; there are others who aver it is good proportion and breadth of frontage—geometricians who explain that a square house is always the most economical—while somebody else says naively: "Why, it's columns and Palladian windows!" What they have all said is true, but it is *not* the reason.

Do what he will, no man may cut himself off from the rest of the world and be happy. Linking him with the past and the future there is a system of strings, impalpable to him

at first, which has more to do with his happiness than he imagines. By degrees, however, this system of strings becomes absorbingly interesting till he grows, at length, to be intolerant of whatever tends to disrupt it or to leave him out of historical succession whereby he may play a useful and honorable part in the history of his family, at least, and in family traditions and genealogy where he is catalogued for all time. The memoirs of people who have already played such parts and with whom he may compare impressions belong to his choicest reading, and the house that best expresses traditions and history is his choice in architecture.

Now, how can a newly invented house, a Moresque house, a Japanese house, or a typical modern house answer the purposes of a man with much cultivation of this sort, who would like to make believe that his father and grandfather before him actually lived in the house he proposes not to *build*, but to *restore*? Ah! there we have the hidden secret of the Colonial houses. It is the history of the American people—the history of the Anglo-Saxon home as it has existed in America—which we read in the architectural crystallization. I submit a single illustration—Silvergate.

THE ART OF ADAPTATION—THE BEST ACHIEVEMENT

If it be ancestors, and not fashion nor fancy, that govern the architectural development of dwelling-houses, surely we shall not have to retrace our steps very far before we find most of our ancestors permanently residing either in some one of the British Isles or else in Holland or France, but not many in Egypt nor the Levant nor about the Alhambra, for which reason the architecture of the first-named countries comprises about all the valuable suggestion there is to offer the younger Renaissance of America. And to make these several schools of design perform silent evolution, bringing them up to date without disturbing the illusion of their atmosphere, is the highest art of the architect. The best achievement of our time is indicative of this. There are submitted two examples of the most sumptuous domestic architecture of this country, both admirable, one adapted from the French—Biltmore, in the North Carolina mountains, designed by Richard Morris Hunt—and the other, from English

Renaissance (Jacobean period), by T. Henry Randall. See the H. W. Poor house at Tuxedo, New York.

There were not many Swiss families in America in prerevolutionary times, but the close relationship Switzerland bears to France, together with an unusual fondness for home, outside of England, and its romantic side, have caused the seventeenth and eighteenth century *chalets* also to be extremely inviting subjects for adaptation. "Kingdor," shown on page 4302, is an adaptation of a historic Swiss *chalet*. In one particular it is the only one of its kind in this country, so far as the writer is aware. It is a high-roof *chalet* with two different pitches and canted gables—that is, developed from the *chalets* of the plain in the lower cantons of Switzerland where rain rather than snow is to be provided for and conducted safely to the ground. I know of no more forcible medium of expressing the home idea than the Swiss *chalet*, to say nothing of its picturesque merit and possibility to people of moderate means.

I have also to commend Elizabethan houses for equal historic and picturesque value besides their economy, the projecting stories usual in this adaptation always gaining space for the bedrooms, where it is generally very badly needed by the American house-builder in what would be an otherwise satisfactory plan. See Canterbury Keys, page 4302.

PRODIGIOUS SUCCESS ATTAINED BY THE AMERICAN HOUSE-BUILDERS IN SANITARY AND HEATING ARRANGEMENTS—THE OUTLOOK.

But when it comes to sanitary and heating appliances, the American house-builder has no rivals in Christendom, the only trouble being to make these wonderful scientific apparatus of ours harmonize and not conflict with historic atmosphere, which their manufacturers do not, as a rule, understand at all. What they often call their "art fixtures" are generally the worst in their catalogues, and to mollify this trying ugliness is the ambition of every architect.

Of course, the steward's and engineer's departments of a household have mainly to deal with commercial problems, and could we only keep these commercial problems and commercial arguments in their places, so that they would not try to dictate and supervise the architecture of the house itself, well,

But, unfortunately, the old marks of our trade, learned during the Transitional period, we cannot seem entirely to erase from our hands. That is the trouble. The idea still largely obtains that the house a man erects, instead of being a work of art, is purely a commercial problem, the exigencies of which being first attended to, then whatever meretricious finery may be made to serve as an obedient handmaiden to the rate-per-cent. theory is gladly arranged for. I regret that the average taste of educated Americans in domestic architecture continues to be about as indicated by the row of typical

suburban houses shown on page 4304, and that the voice of art should continue the still small voice hardly discernible through the din of commerce.

Perhaps I am a bit oversanguine and imaginative, but I fancy I am conscious of the distant detonations of an under-current at the beginning of the twentieth century, ultimately to come to the surface and overcome the noise of commercialism sufficiently to adjust the awkward discrepancies from which art now suffers, and to place it where it indeed belongs—upon the altar of our faith.

LABOR MET BY ITS OWN METHODS

THE WORK OF THE CHICAGO EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION—
HOW IT ENDED THE RECENT STREET-CAR STRIKE—PREVIOUS
LABOR TROUBLES IT HAS SETTLED—A COMPACT ORGANIZATION
THAT BINDS EMPLOYERS TOGETHER FOR THEIR PROTECTION

BY

ISAAC F. MARCOSSON

TWO strikers were picketing the entrance of an alley during the strike at the factory of the Kellogg Switchboard and Supply Company in Chicago last May. A non-union man came out of the factory and started across the street. One of the strikers picked up a brick. As he looked at it, an expression of disgust came over his face and he threw it down.

"Why didn't you throw it at that scab?" asked the other striker.

"Because it is a non-union brick."

There are more non-union bricks and fewer pickets in Chicago today than there were last May; for, helped by the Employers' Association, this Kellogg Company made a fight against the tyranny of labor organizations that revolutionized strike conditions in the most strongly unionized city in the country. The Kellogg factory was an open shop, employing union and non-union men alike. Ninety per cent. of them were union men. There was no quarrel about wages or hours, but only about the open shop. The seven unions represented by the men demanded the closed shop—the complete unionization of the factory.

The company refused to make it a closed shop, and a strike, marked by violence and disorder, followed. The non-union men who took the strikers' places were assaulted and the factory was besieged. The company secured an injunction restraining the strikers from interfering with its business and declaring picketing unlawful. The police performed their duty perfunctorily. The Chicago teamsters' union to a man refused to deliver goods to the factory. When the company bought its own teams the union teamsters blocked their way and the strikers dragged the non-union drivers from their seats. The police were seldom in sight when these things happened. The firm's business dropped from \$200,000 a month to \$60,000. It was impossible to get goods in or out. Then the firm appealed to the Employers' Association.

A NEW WEAPON AGAINST LABOR

What is the Employers' Association? For months Chicago employers had secretly been perfecting the organization. The beginning of it is interesting. In an office on the ground floor of Marshall Field & Company's store,

where he can see 1,000 clerks and stenographers, sits Mr. John G. Shedd. He does not talk much, but he sees a great deal. During the summer of 1902 he saw that in Chicago union labor troubles had driven in a single month \$2,000,000 in capital from the city, and would drive more; that the sympathetic strike of the teamsters during the freight-handlers' strike of June of the same year had tied up the State Street stores, entailing a loss of \$1,000,000 a day for a week. At Dayton, Ohio, there was an employers' association. It was composed of manufacturers, and it had been organized to fight strikes and to protect capital from the bad methods of labor. It gave Mr. Shedd an idea. He asked a number of Chicago employers to meet him at his office. There came a dozen men or less who employed more than 15,000 men.

"Labor is organized," said Mr. Shedd. "We, too, must organize." In Mr. Shedd's office they fashioned a new weapon against labor. This is the Employers' Association.

A constitution was drawn up which declared for four basic principles: first, the open shop; second, no sympathetic strike; third, no limitation of output; fourth, the enforcement of the law. The association was not incorporated, because incorporation meant publicity, and these business men wanted no publicity until they were ready to strike. They needed a secretary, and they secured Mr. Frederick W. Job, a lawyer, who had been a member of the Illinois State Board of Arbitration. Every employer in Chicago was notified that the association would stand behind him in labor trouble whether he was a member of it or not.

Mr. Job set to work to organize the various kinds of employers into subassociations. The owners of office buildings, for instance, were having trouble with elevator men. Mr. Job got them together and organized the Building Owners' Association. After the manner of a union organizer, he did not wait until trouble was started, but anticipated trouble by organization.

The association, when the Kellogg Company appealed to it, went to work. A committee from the association, headed by Mr. Shedd, appealed to Mayor Harrison for police protection at the factory. "The business interests of the city of Chicago demand it," the committee said. Mr. Harrison had been elected

mayor four times; the labor vote was instrumental in electing him, and by ordering out a big police detail he knew he would antagonize labor. Nevertheless, on that very day the police force at the Kellogg factory was doubled.

The Kellogg Company had ordered goods from Marshall Field & Company, from J. V. Farwell & Company, and from the Carson, Pirie & Scott Company, but the drivers could not deliver goods because the strikers and the union teamsters blocked the way.

"We will deliver the goods," said the Employers' Association. Flanked by police, the wagons of these firms made their way to the Kellogg factory and unloaded. The first wedge had been driven into the strike.

Guarded by more police, the Kellogg wagons went to a freight depot, but the freight handlers there refused to handle the goods. They were discharged. The association aided in the prosecution of every violation of the injunction. Fifteen strikers were indicted; fifty were fined. Damage suits, alleging conspiracy to ruin business, and aggregating \$75,000, were filed by the company against the strikers who owned real estate.

In the meantime the factory was filled with non-union workers, and they were protected as they came and went from work. The strikers found their jobs gone and the homes they owned in danger of attachment. They were defendants in litigation, and that meant the employment of lawyers, and the lawyers had no unions and must be paid. The strikers had met the enforcement of the law not only in the shape of the policeman's club, but also in the form of the injunction and the damage suit.

HOW THE LOCKOUT WAS USED

The 5,000 laundry workers in Chicago had a strong union organization. They threatened to make a demand for the closed shop. The Employers' Association heard of this threat and Mr. Job set to work to check it. The association has a way of hearing about moves in the unions and anticipating them by organization, and this is a new terror to the unions. He organized the Laundry Owners' Association under the auspices of the Employers' Association. When the workers made their demands they were met by a solid front of employers.

The workers ordered strikes at nine laundries, and on the same day every laundry owner in the organization locked his shop—locked out his workers. Labor was surprised. In former strikes the employers, whether laundry owners or other people, had profited by strikes at rival shops, and union labor had a chance to work and earn money for strike funds. But it was different now. Every work-door was closed.

For eight weeks the lockout continued. When the funds of the Laundry Owners' Association ran low the Employers' Association sent it a large check. Many of the smaller laundries felt the strain of interrupted business. Some had notes falling due. The Employers' Association saw that the notes were carried by the banks. At the end of the eight weeks of the lockout the workers sued for peace. They got a slight increase in wages, but they went back to the open shop; and the open shop was, of course, all that the association wanted.

THE COÖPERATION OF COMPETITORS

Before the Employers' Association was organized the attitude of many employers toward their competitors who were fighting strikers was like the attitude of the western mountaineer to his wife when he came home one day and found her fighting a bear: "Go it hard," he said, "and I hope both of you will get licked."

In the organization of employers, trade competition has vanished in times of trouble. Take the case of the Ladies' Garment Manufacturers. Turk Brothers discharged three union pressers for inefficiency. The union demanded their reinstatement and the firm refused. A strike was called in the busiest season and the firm lost much money by delayed orders. Other such strikes drove four garment manufacturers, with a total capitalization of \$1,000,000, out of Chicago within a month. Then came the organization of twenty-three ladies' garment manufacturers. One of the members was Kedansky & Sloan. During the busiest season their pressers demanded higher wages. The firm refused; the men went out. Other union employees struck in sympathy. The firm had scores of orders to fill, and it was impossible to get skilled non-union help at once. The other twenty-two members of the association took the unfinished goods of the Kedansky & Sloan

shop and finished and shipped them. The bills went out in the name of Kedansky & Sloan, and the firm got the profits and lost none of its customers.

Or take the case of the candy manufacturers. There was a strong union organization among the workers. They threatened to strike for the closed shop. Mr. Job heard of this threat and organized the Manufacturing Confectioners' Association, comprising sixteen firms employing 1,600 workers. The unions made their demand; the manufacturers locked their shops. It was the case of the laundrymen all over again. The strikers faced a solid front. During this strike the Employers' Association announced that it would spend \$1,000,000 to win the strike for the Confectioners' Association. The strikers, who had been receiving twenty-five per cent. more wages than any other candy-workers in the country, gave up the fight and went back to the open shop.

The same thing that happened to the laundrymen, the confectioners, and the garment makers happened also to the tanners, the trunk manufacturers, and the picture framemakers. Wherever the unions made their demands they found the employers organized, and they faced lockouts and defeat. With scores of victories over isolated firms, labor suddenly ran up against a compact organization everywhere. The effect was to make other unions more cautious about ordering strikes.

SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENTS

The unions in Chicago are not talking so much about agreements as they once talked. Take the agreement of the Employers' Association of hotel-keepers with the cooks, waiters, bartenders, and other allied unions. It grew out of the strike of waiters last June, when the cooks, bartenders, and chambermaids struck in sympathy. The unions were prepared to fight the hotels as individual firms. But they found the hotel-keepers and the restaurant owners had organized and were members of the Employers' Association. They were out a week, and were glad to make an agreement and to come back to the open shop. A single paragraph of that agreement tells the whole story. It reads:

"It is agreed that no discrimination in employment shall be made *against* members of Cooks' Union, Local 249.

Two years before, every agreement that the Chicago unions, whether cooks, bartenders or brass-workers, were forcing on the employers contained the stipulation that "*only* members of ——— union shall be employed." The unions are now asking not to be discriminated against. Formerly it was they who did, all the discriminating.

HOW THE STREET-CAR STRIKE WAS STOPPED

And then came the recent street-railway strike. My investigation of the work of the Employers' Association was going on while this strike was in progress. Many persons wondered how the association could help the Chicago Street Railway Company; there were no lockouts to be ordered; no unfinished goods to finish. The street-railway company was a member of the association.

"How are you helping the company?" I asked Mr. Job.

"By making the company's fight our own fight," he said.

On the first day of the strike the association announced that it was sustaining the street-car company in its demand for the open shop. The strikers had assured Mayor Harrison that it would be a peaceful strike, but when the company began to run cars there was disorder. The next day 1,500 police—nearly half the force—were on duty in the strike territory. It was the arm of the Employers' Association. The union teamsters began to block the cars. The firms who belonged to the Employers' Association warned their own thousands of teamsters to keep off the principal street where trouble with the strikers was feared; and they kept off. This clearing of this usually crowded street was a great help toward keeping order.

The strikers met every day at their headquarters to discuss the situation. "We are fighting not only the car company," said a striker to me; "we are fighting the whole town." This is exactly what the Employers' Association brought about. In the newspapers and in circulars to business men the association declared that the fight of the street-car company for the open shop was the fight of the business interests of the city. When sixty teamsters, hauling coal to the street-car company's power-house, struck in sympathy, the Employers' Association said: "We will deliver it." They employed drivers, and the police guarded them to the power-

house. Every day during the strike the Executive Committee of the association met and discussed it. Every day they sent this message to Superintendent McCulloch, of the street-car company: "We are behind you."

Three hundred thousand people in Chicago were put to inconvenience by this strike. Yet public sympathy was with the street-car company. In former street-car strikes the public had not been with the company. I asked a man on the street if he thought the company should win.

"Of course," he replied.

"Why?"

"Because it is the business men's fight against the union, and we want the business men to win."

A significant thing happened at the meeting of the Teamsters' Joint Council on the night before the strike ended. At that time there was no indication of an early settlement of the trouble. This council comprises all the 30,000 teamsters. They showed a disposition to endorse the action of the coal teamsters who had refused to deliver coal to the car barns despite the fact that all the teamsters have an agreement with their employers not to go on a sympathetic strike. But at this meeting the Truck Drivers' Local (a union of 12,000 men), the largest and most powerful in Chicago, protested and withdrew from the meeting. Their president, Mr. Hugh McGee, said: "We won't stand for broken contracts. The coal should have been delivered according to contract." A year ago these truck-drivers would have gone on a sympathetic strike at the drop of a striker's hat. The employees of the Chicago Union Traction Company have an agreement with their employers not to go on sympathetic strike. They remained on their cars; and the Chicago Railway Company won its fight for the open shop.

RESULTS OF THE YEAR'S WORK

The concrete results of the first year of the Employers' Association may be summed up as follows:

- (1) The sympathetic strike has practically been abolished in Chicago.
- (2) The movement of capital from Chicago on account of labor troubles has been checked.
- (3) The effectiveness of the lockout as a means of breaking a strike has been proved.
- (4) The non-union man has been protected

in his desire to work wherever he pleases. This is the open shop.

(5) The employer has been educated to appreciate the value of organization.

How was all this accomplished? Simply by organization. The Employers' Association is a federation of smaller organizations, each one representing a different business. An individual firm cannot join the association. If it is a candy firm, it must join the Manufacturing Confectioners' Association, which is affiliated with the central body. Every affiliated association of employers has a delegate in the board of directors of the central body, and these directors select the executive committee which conducts the affairs of the association. The affiliated associations pay dues according to the number of their employees and the likelihood of having strikes. The firms who employ printers and engravers and other highly skilled workmen pay less than those who hire common laborers. Few of the members of the association know who the other members are; but they know the members of their own particular subassociation. Mr. Job may be called the business agent of the whole federation. The labor-union men call him "the walking delegate of the millionaires' club."

One day a Chicago foundryman rushed into Mr. Job's office. "Have you any information about the Steam Power Council?" he asked.

Mr. Job turned to his cabinet of clippings. Among them he found a package of clippings and pamphlets explaining this council. In five minutes the foundryman knew just how many unions were included in the council, what its agreements were, and its scale of wages.

The employers are not the only people who are being educated. The Employers' Association is quietly carrying on a campaign of education, which is having a decided effect on employees and the general public, who are the great factors in these matters. This work is accomplished by sending literature, such as pamphlets and newspaper and magazine articles and editorials to members of labor unions, public men, etc. These articles are sent to the homes of the recipients. In this way significant facts and figures concerning the costs and results of strikes are brought to the people who are directly

affected and thus the employes are also receiving instruction.

There are not less than forty subassociations affiliated with the central Employers' Association. Yet there are some organizations of employers that are not members of the Employers' Association. One such is a combination of owners of small stores, called the North Side Business Men's Protective Association.

THE UNION-LABOR SIDE

On its side, labor, too, is more and more compactly organized. In nearly every union in the city there has been a tightening of forces. Within twelve months the Chicago Federation of Labor has grown from 124,000 to 250,000 members. Four hundred and six "locals" are affiliated.

"What has been the effect of the Employers' Association on union labor?" I asked Mr. Barney Cohen, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

"It is getting the unions closer together," he said.

"Offensively or defensively?" I asked.

"Defensively," he said.

Two years ago union labor was on the offensive.

The difference is important. For instance: the Chicago Metal Trades Association (the association of metal manufacturers which is a member of the Employers' Association) has made an agreement with the men who work at the lathes and the forges that there shall be no limitation of output, no discrimination against the union, and a fair increase in wages.

Under agreements like this the walking delegate cannot go in and out of the shops as he pleases. If he wants to confer with the members of his union who work there he must do it elsewhere—at the union. If he has a grievance to present to the employer, he presents it to the secretary of the subassociation, and it is heard by the association, and not by a single employer. All these affiliated associations of employers have lawyers for secretaries. It is a significant alliance.

In ninety per cent. of the shops which have been "opened" by the Employers' Association there has been an increase in wages. During 1903 the total increase of wages in Chicago was \$9,300,000.

The lesson that the Employers' Association has taught union labor in Chicago is that the isolated firm can no longer be crushed by labor unions. Organization has been met by organization. The end of the year finds two big forces arrayed against each other. On the one side is the Employers' Association, representing \$150,000,000 in

capital, 1,000 firms, and 125,000 employees. On the other side is the Chicago Federation of Labor, with 243,000 members, backed up by the American Federation of Labor. There has been less violence since the Employers' Association showed their hand, and more frequent resort to the law as a remedy. The situation is a sort of armed peace.

HERBERT SPENCER

THE PROPHET OF EVOLUTION—HIS CONTRIBUTION TO
THOUGHT AND ITS BEARING ON THE LIFE OF TODAY

BY

GEORGE ILES

HERBERT SPENCER displayed as a thinker an organizing faculty never exceeded among men. To him scientific philosophy owes the conception of universal evolution, whose detailed proofs he marshaled with a master hand, whose *a priori* principles, in harmony with these proofs, he outlined with a power that marks him one of the great generalizers of all time.

His path, it is true, had been broken. Kant had suggested and Laplace had demonstrated the high probability of a nebular origin for the solar system. Lyell had arrayed evidence that forces at work before our eyes—wind, wave, and frost, earthquake and volcano—account for every change the earth has undergone. Erasmus Darwin, Lamarck, and other naturalists, had speculated as to the descent of species from common stock. Von Baer had remarked that animals, strongly contrasted as adults, sprang from embryos presenting in their earlier stages so close a resemblance as to suggest one parenthood for them all.

Evolution, plainly enough, was much in the minds of inquirers in 1852, when Spencer wrote for the *Leader* an article on "The Development Hypothesis," arguing with clearness and force against the idea of special creation, and for the appearance of species according to laws of natural descent and modification. This argument appeared in the first volume of his "Biology." It is an example of his power to marshal a group of

diverse facts in their most telling order and distil their meaning into a paragraph. Evolution is the cardinal thought in his "Psychology," first published in 1855. In January, 1858, when he drew up the programme of his "Synthetic Philosophy," it was with evolution as its keynote. This was six months before Darwin and Wallace gave the Linnean Society their papers unfolding the theory of natural selection. That theory Spencer adopted in his "Biology" to knit together and explain a host of facts otherwise without bond or meaning.

When Spencer began the study of evolution, its probability was indicated by much that was known of the skies, of the earth, and of living forms. He believed that evidence yet to be gathered, added to evidence already in hand, would reveal unbroken derivation between the universe of to-day and the simplest conceivable state of being—a nebula, if you will. In fifty years his prophetic vision has been largely fulfilled.

Recent photographs of nebulae in successive phases of condensation display evolution in spaces all but infinite in their sweep. "The heavens," in the words of Sir William Herschel, "are, as it were, a forest where we see around us trees in every stage of their life history. There are the seedlings just bursting from the acorn, the sturdy oaks in their full vigor, those also that are old and near decay, and the prostrate trunks of the dead."

Fifty years ago fossils were few in comparison with those which fill our museums today. Here is one piece of their testimony from much that might be cited. Mr. F. A. Lucas, in "Animals of the Past," says: "If we compare the skeleton of the dinosaur with that of an ostrich—a young one is preferable—and with those of earlier birds, we shall find that many of the barriers existing between reptiles and birds are broken down, and that they have many points in common. In fact, save in the matter of clothes, wherein birds differ from all other animals, the two great groups are not so far apart." Dinosaurs are largely in evidence in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, as also the remains which link the horse with a quadruped no bigger than a fox. In the same hall we can trace the pedigrees of the camel and the rhinoceros from less specialized types, and acquaint ourselves with the extinct cousinry of the pig. In the museum of Yale University are remains of the toothed bird *hesperornis*, discovered by Professor O. C. Marsh, and other relics as significant. Professor E. S. Morse has shown that the ankle bone of the tern, the razor-bill muir, the sea pigeon, and other aquatic birds, is of thoroughly reptilian character.

Biologists have proved that new varieties of infusoria, mollusks, and fish are readily produced by marked changes of light, temperature, food, or immersing fluid. For example, a brine shrimp is lengthened as soon as it is taken from weak to strong brine. A certain mollusk removed from France to a warmer climate in Algeria becomes ninefold heavier than if it had remained in its native waters.

While all the recent proofs of evolution were as yet undisclosed, Spencer cast the glance of a seer upon such evidence as lay before him. Building carefully upon fact, he formulated the principles which may link the simplest state of matter with the present living universe. He showed how the simplest elements, by virtue of their mutual affinities, unite as aggregates of higher and higher orders, less and less separable by the shocks to which they are exposed. He then pointed out how a single impinging force produces effects circling out with an intricacy ever increasing. And how, as nature and art unfold, they display new diversities in their several parts, while these yield a unity ever

strengthened by new interlacements. In the literature of science there is no work which exhibits greater organizing genius than does "First Principles." The volumes which succeed it in the "Synthetic Philosophy" find in its broad and simple formulæ their constant support and elucidation. Every discovery added in the future to the vast accumulations of fact on which Spencer has reared his philosophy may well fall within the lines he has here laid down.

As the prophet of the philosophy of evolution, Spencer dealt with life, mind, society, and conduct. He encountered platoons of critics, many of them masters of special fields of work or thought. When Spencer wrote his "Biology" and "Psychology" it was universally held that modifications of structure and function taking place during the life of a parent are transmitted to offspring. This principle commended itself to the sagacious mind of Darwin; Spencer made it the corner-stone of his expositions of life and mind. In opposition to this belief, Weismann and his allies argue that "acquired characters" are not transmissible; that variation and natural selection fully account for the facts sought to be clarified by the older view. Let us illustrate the contrast between the two schools: In caves where light for ages has been excluded fish are found with eyes reduced to the vanishing-point and sightless. Spencer would say that the first generation of fish thus withdrawn from light underwent a gradual shrinkage of their eyes through disuse, which peculiarity, inherited and increased by further disuse century after century, brought the eyes at last to the verge of disappearance. Weismann would say that the first generation of fish to be immured in the caves had eyes varying in size; such fish as had the smallest eyes had the best chance of survival, because in darkness eyes are sources of harm and danger to their possessors. In successive generations the fish with yet smaller and smaller eyes were the most fortunate, until in the end the organs of sight became mere sightless specks. Weismann has won to his interpretations the majority of living naturalists; he has received the adhesion of Huxley and Wallace. In the latest edition of Spencer's "Biology" the Weismannian controversy appears in detail. Patient observation and crucial experiment, now proceeding, must

decide a question which has stirred the philosophy of evolution to its depths.

Spencer also received hard blows for his belief in the continuity of the inorganic and organic worlds. Could a chemical compound, prepared from its elements in the laboratory, be observed to pass to the lowest plane of life, thence might, in time, supposably arise higher and higher forms, with mind at last. This translation remains undetected.

When he had treated biology and psychology Spencer next addressed himself to sociology. In his original programme for its three volumes he proposed to include human progress in its linguistic, intellectual, moral, and esthetic aspects: these chapters remain unwritten. As a student of society and of conduct Spencer was an uncompromising individualist. He pointed out how state officials, instead of being the servants of the people, are really their masters, ever encroaching upon individual freedom; how, unstimulated by personal interest, they become victims of sloth and inefficiency, while eager to enlarge the scope of their power to the still greater waste of the public wealth. The errors of aim and of method into which popular governments have fallen find their keenest critic in Spencer; and although he often takes the tone of a prosecuting attorney, no political student can afford to ignore the arraignments of "The Man *versus* the State," where blow upon blow is dealt upon political fallacies and usurpations.

Spencer knew that in a wise evolution of citizenship its basis must be individual character. With him justice is the supreme virtue, because it is "a condition to the maintenance of life." His formula of justice is: "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." In his ethical system happiness is at once the end and the guide of action.

In his ethical code Spencer dismissed the sanctions of theology. At the very outset of "First Principles" he maintained that the absolute reality beneath phenomena is unknowable.

Darwin wrought a revolution in popular thought by discerning the significance of every-day facts. In the twist of a human ear he read derivation from an ape-like ancestor. He scraped from a bird's foot scores of seeds and spores, of which he thus

proved the bird to be the sower hundreds of miles from home. The variations in the plumage, skeletons, and habits of pigeons, familiar for generations, in his eye furnished the key to the accentuations which at last divide one species from another. Of still higher import was the thought of Spencer as he laid the work of Darwin and his compeers under contribution. From their facts and theories he reared the stupendous hypothesis that the cosmos from the simplest possible phase has come to be what it is by virtue of forces at work under our eyes. It must be admitted, however, that Spencer overstated what may thus early in knowledge lend itself to evolutionary formula and rule. As Professor William James points out, Spencer gives a verbal gloss to a real difficulty when in his "Psychology" he says: "In tracing up the increase [of adjustments] we found ourselves passing without break from the phenomena of bodily life to the phenomena of mental life."

Spencer, too, was fond of carrying a belief to an extreme. He maintained his ghost theory as the sole explanation of the origin of religion. Whereupon Professor Morris Jastrow, in "The Study of Religion," observes: "Religion is too complex a phenomenon to be accounted for by the growth and spread of a single custom."

In the same way his diatribes on the shortcomings of governments have been so unmeasured as to win him popularity in the camp of anarchy. It filled him with bitterness to contrast the actual conduct he saw with the conduct he imagined and prescribed so vehemently. And the strong drifts of the time were against him. Men are more and more joining hands for the creation of that Greater Man who, as the State, may banish ills long borne and reach benefits long desired. Yet thus far the result has been little else than the exchange of one burden for another just as heavy. With the people enthroned and dispensing favor, complacency is the publicist's temptation. All honor, then, to the spiritual descendant of Isaiah or Milton who faithfully utters his message. He may have no compassion to soften his upbraidings; but if ever the ship of State is to reach her haven, it must be through heed of warnings such as his, of rock and reef, of compasses swerved from truth.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ABOUT NEW YORK

SUBURBAN SCHOOLS BETTER THAN CITY SCHOOLS—SCHOOLS THAT
"SPECIALIZE" IN EVERYTHING—INADEQUATE SALARIES IN NEW
JERSEY—HOW THE UNIQUE ELIZABETH PROMOTION SYSTEM WORKS—
LITTLE SNOBS AND HORRID CHILDREN—THE SEGREGATION OF THE POOR

BY

ADELE MARIE SHAW

Illustrated from photographs by A. R. Dugmore, S. A. Lottridge, and A. W. Booram.

This is one of a series of articles containing the results of a first-hand investigation of the public schools. The next article will be about the schools of Philadelphia.

TO RAISE the public schools of Greater New York to an approximately even plane of excellence will take years of concentrated effort. Their efficiency will for a long time show gross discrepancies. In the suburban towns the general level is already higher. The inequalities have already been merged by the growth of improvements introduced into whole systems long before New York even attempted them in individual schools.

INTERESTING WORK IN SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

I have visited eight of the towns and cities that are New York's neighbors to see in operation the outside schools where new ideas are often given the earliest chance. In all except Newark and Elizabeth, New Jersey, I found a higher average in the quality of teachers and teaching than I had found in the elementary grades of the once Tammanyized system of Greater New York.

MANUAL TRAINING

New York City, for instance, had the earliest opportunity to see the practical results of manual training (in the Ethical Culture School), but Montclair, New Jersey, was nearly twenty years ahead of New York in incorporating hand work into its scheme of public education. In the smaller city this work has grown and developed with each successive year of experiment, and the visitor sees it in its home.

I began in Montclair with the clay-modeling and overstayed my hour. A class of the younger children perched along the parallel

sides of the well-sloped modeling-tables had possession of the long room, and though there was an emphatic difference in their "output," I did not see a slack or idle hand.

In the carpentry shop the director of manual training, Mr. Walter Cleaveland (an Institute of Technology and Teachers' College man), allowed me to wander about among the girls and see the work in progress. One child who was searching the floor explained as I bent to help her, "We must leave everything in place just as we find it; I'm looking for the eraser that belongs on my bench." When the eraser was discovered she rubbed out a false line on the board she had been marking, put in the correct one, and took up her plane to bevel *exactly* the edges marked. Several pupils came back at recess asking for time to make up lost work, or just "to get it right." One boy whose measurements had been careless evidently took to heart the lesson that his meaning well had not saved the block from being spoiled.

In the last half of the grammar school the boys have the best of it. They keep to interesting things, study wood fibre and tree growth, make flower stands and picture frames, are divided into factory squads with foremen chosen from their own number, construct bridges of bent iron, and have a year with the machines. Beside this the girls' work seemed tame. They cook and sew.

In the East Orange high school I spent a very suggestive hour with the "arts and crafts." The director, Miss Josephine Mahon,

told me that 70 per cent. of the school had elected the work in old days when it was voluntary. Work in leather, bent iron, copper, and wood was in all stages, from the bare material to the finished carved chairs and metal stands.

"I don't care so much for the copper," explained the girl who was striking steady blows with mallet and chisel upon the strip of metal on her bench, "but I've just finished a leather belt, and Miss Mahon wants me to make the buckle myself."

THE VALUE OF MANUAL TRAINING

Concerning the value of manual training in the public schools I am starting with an open mind. Observation in other cities may contradict generalizations from what I have already seen. In these eight cities:

1. The best "all-around" work is found in schools where a certain amount of "manual" training is required.

2. The schools in which manual training, sloyd, or any form of industrial work is undertaken accomplish with no greater effort and no longer sessions all the work done in schools that reject hand labor.

3. The manual training raises the general average of work in two ways, for the poorest mathematician is often the best wood-worker; and in the majority of cases improvement in other studies follows the discovery of an aptitude for the hand work.

4. The work acts as a moral corrective, giving a wholesome humility to the "prodigy" in English or "numbers," and a needed self-respect to the slow student in history and composition.

One boy, from this suburban school, delightful in manner, frank and vigorous in character, with everything at home to make life pleasant, was his own despair and the despair of his teachers because he could not learn. His marks read "25 per cent. in arithmetic," "15 per cent. in spelling," and he was seventeen years old, and going daily lower in his record, when he was set to work with the wood.

"He had wonderful hands," the teacher told me, "and was away ahead of the others from the start. I shall never forget his look—amazed, incredulous—when he found he was *first* in manual training." The self-respect that grew upon this discovery showed immediately in the class-room work. He

lost his timidity, and began to say more than "I don't know." Very soon after this upward turn the boy's family moved to a western city where he entered another manual-training high school. The first year he stood ninety-fifth from the top in a class of 115; the second year, forty-fifth in a class of ninety-five; the third year, eighth in a class of eighty, and when he was last heard from he bade fair to outdistance every other pupil in the division.

This boy was neither vacant nor troublesome, but I came upon one case where an idle and very "trying" boy had developed a sudden taste for mechanical drawing, had not improved in his other work, but had thrown his whole energy into his chosen labor, and left the high school to take a position in a big railroad office as draftsman and surveyor. The surveying he worked out after he obtained the position.

EFFECTIVELY TEACHING THE ART OF EXPRESSION

The training by industrial work offers more picturesque features than the ordinary classroom routine, but it occupies little time compared with that given, for instance, to English. Here is a bit of "language" work from the Central School, Montclair. The "story" was written in the class by a boy of eight. It was spelled and punctuated exactly as it is given. The preparation consisted in talks on the mosquito (and mosquito haunts and habits) given at different times during the preceding two weeks. The narrative effort is not a reproduction:

Once there was a prudent old mosquito, who selected the most stagnant water to lay her eggs in. When the larvæ hatched forth they were delighted with the surroundings, and played and wriggled with all their might. One day a strange creature came and laid her eggs. It was a dragon-fly.

"Well," said one of the larvæ in mosquito-talk, "I'm going to find out what that is."

All went well until he got to the surface when he was hurriedly gobbled up by the dragon-fly.

Suddenly the skin of one of the larvæ cracked open, and a pupa came forth. After that the change was wonderful. There was not one larva to be seen. In about a week the skins of many pupæ could be seen on the mud in the bottom of the pool. Soon all the pupæ were full-grown mosquitoes.

From the first day of this child's school existence his class had received just the drill to

loosen the cramp of the tongue-tied and give words to the not-common imagination that dramatizes the "prudent old mosquito."

I heard children just out of the kindergarten tell the story of the Ugly Duckling. The sentences were short and the language simple, but there was no self-consciousness and very little hesitation. Nor was there any servile following of the teacher's words.

In Yonkers, Miss Lucy Earle, the principal of No. 10, believes in language lessons that contain a daily drill in spelling. I could not see that the reading, which is taught by phonics, suffered because the readers could also spell.

Here is the attractive beginning of a fifteen-minute class exercise written by a ten-year-old (in Montclair):

I was reading my book of Natural History one day when I was frightened almost out of my wits to hear the book talking. I put it back on the shelf and got behind the desk to hear what it would say. First it said "Hellow" to Robinson Cruiso.

Children that can think can read aloud. I heard good reading—reading that was reading and not intoning—in many of the suburban schools, but the best I have heard in any class-room was in the Washington School in Plainfield. The principal, Miss Humpstone, gave the reading lesson herself, and though the subject, Boston, was not especially inspiring to New Jersey children, I was sorry when the bell struck for dismissal.

Enunciation and expression mean mental qualities that effect more than reading. I cannot imagine one of these children writing, like another public-school child of their own grade, "Praise Peter God" as an ascription to the Deity.

ARITHMETIC—THE SPEER METHOD

Everywhere that I mentioned "number" I was asked: "Have you seen the Speer method?" I can now truthfully answer: "I have seen it—in four schools, two in Yonkers and two in Plainfield."

It is a method built upon ratio. Every mass, every dimension, every weight is seen in relation to other masses, dimensions, and weights, first in actual objects—blocks, rulers, paper surfaces, bags—then mentally, visualized from objects out of sight. I once was present at a geometry lesson conducted without the drawing of figures. It gave the same impression of concentrated attention

that is given by a lesson (well taught) in the Speer method.

SCHOOLS THAT "SPECIALIZE" IN EVERYTHING— WONDERFUL NUMBER WORK

Passaic, New Jersey, has the most breathtaking system of number work in nine counties! To the visitor who sees nothing else it is as startling as the Fourth of July in December; to the lingerer who studies the "way it's done" it seems as natural as most wonderful things. The Passaic children are taught to read numbers as other children read words. When they see 9-8-4 they think 21, just as the reader when he sees c-a-t thinks *cat*.

The number work is so striking that a teacher from another town told me she was sure that out in Passaic they must eat and drink, sleep and wake, rise up and sit down, to numbers! In reality, thirty-five minutes a day is the longest arithmetic period in any grade.

To me, the English was quite as attractive and more interesting. The children recited to me long selections from "Hiawatha," sang Indian songs from the poem, quoted much other good poetry, and looked and spoke as if they understood and liked it. Miss Bryce, who, with the Superintendent, has compiled the books from which these selections are drawn, has done a royal thing for the children of Passaic.

I do not know the Superintendent, Mr. F. E. Spaulding, but the more I saw of his "system of education" the more I liked it. He invented the number drill, planned the English course, introducing at great pains a body of ready-to-hand material to prop the feeble teacher and save the time of the strong, and is the moving spirit in a scheme of things that educates the whole community.

SOME ATTRACTIVE RESULTS OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT

Even in the dingy Joseph Wood building in Trenton, the hospitality of Mr. Wooley, the principal, made the place seem better than it was. In the Trenton Cadwalader School, named for the city's first burgess, Miss Anna Fell, the principal, has worked private miracles, with the aid of her teachers, the parents, and Mr. C. E. Hill, who has given statuary, furniture, and pictures. The city provides no pianos, not even in the kindergarten, but this school has two,

At No. 3 in Yonkers a beautiful assembly hall is the work of the principal, Mrs. Bruce. Parents' meetings lend dignity to the place, and the programmes of the parents' evening are sensible and suggestive. Yonkers children are apparently motherless, for only fathers are heard. The printed reports make them utter occasional nonsense. One clergyman is quoted as saying that men read "general literature" but have little "time for books." Another father thinks that the "parents teach by example, the teacher by precept." A poor sort of teacher!

Superintendent Spaulding, of Montclair, and Miss Eldridge, the efficient supervisor, add to mothers' meetings and parents' meetings other forms of vital civic and school activity. Here is genuine growth. I never saw out of college finer, more vigorous, more graceful, more truly educated girls than Mr. Spaulding's high-school seniors. Their gymnasium is not a bare hall where they practise dancing steps; it is a work-room where, under Miss Ames's scientific and genuine training, they are getting springy, well-educated bodies.

East Orange and Plainfield believe in physical training, though Plainfield's gymnasium is still to come, and Miss Jackson, who is responsible for the bodies of the whole school population, has sufficient enthusiasm to inspire an even larger army.

Mr. Robinson, at the Cherry Street building in Elizabeth, has, quite unaided, so far as I could see, instituted a happy *regime* in the big elementary school of which he is principal. The janitor, Mr. Blakeley, was once a florist. Behind the exercise ground, so that it can be seen during all recesses, is a beautiful garden. Between this garden and the school the boys play basket ball and the girls, with much vim, captain ball.

THE DARKER SIDE—TRENTON SCHOOLS

The public schools of Trenton reflect the penuriousness of that city's policy. They are generally ill-equipped, old-fashioned, and depressing. Fresh paint would do a great deal for the dingy building of the Joseph Wood school, and I suspected its sanitary arrangements, although my only evidence was a discolored wash-bowl that received the drippings of plumbing apparently as old as the bowl itself. This convenience was in the corner of a class-room to which

the children of several other classes came to drink.

A PENURIOUS POLICY

Salaries are not generous in any of the towns I visited. Teachers have classes far too large, and the introduction of improved methods leaves the teaching force in a worse plight than before. Imagine the Passaic teacher, who is supposed to know intimately the physical, mental, and moral history of fifty children, to confer with their parents, play games with them in the evening, and take them touring on instructive expeditions. Some of the schools substitute the expeditions in geography, for instance, for the indoor recitation, but in most cases the reasonable education of fifty children is too heavy a drain upon the time and strength of one woman. This would be bad enough, but it is not the worst. For this work she is miserably underpaid. The natural tendency in the more thickly settled, less desirable residence cities is to leave in possession a less progressive set of teachers, and in the more attractive towns, like Plainfield, Montclair, and East Orange, to send at least a certain proportion of the best teachers yearly in pursuit of larger salaries elsewhere.

TEACHERS' SALARIES IN NEW JERSEY

In matters of education the State of New Jersey is particularly stingy. In Trenton a regular teacher in the primary school receives for each of the first three months \$32.50. At the end of that time, if her work is satisfactory, she may hope for an additional \$2.50, and by the end of another quarter she is receiving \$37.50 for the calendar month. Board in Trenton—comfortable board—is \$9 a week. The ten months' payments must provide for twelve months' living, and every salary is taxed 1 per cent. to support the pension fund.

After a year of service the primary teacher gets \$40 a month, and if she lasts through ten years of faithful labor she is rewarded with \$600 (for the eleventh). The principal of a ten-room building works ten years in that position to reach the maximum salary, \$900. High-school teachers, college graduates, are supposed to take without protest \$550.

In some of the northern towns of the State there is a trifling gain, but farther south educational work is even more lightly valued;

in less important places salaries reach practically a vanishing point. I did not hear of any case where the teacher, instead of receiving a salary, paid one to the authorities, but the tendency seemed to be that way. What teacher can support herself properly, have any opportunities for improvement, or keep herself physically and mentally "in trim" under such conditions? A great grief may enoble. Petty, nagging worry about money deteriorates. The energy given to endurance, and the futile struggle to make both ends of an income meet around a circumference twice its size, is a waste of strength better used in work.

That women are driven by the pressure of circumstances to accept these salaries is no excuse for the "powers." The schedule-makers take advantage of the helplessness of an unrepresented class to require of them each year more complex and difficult toil for wages less than those of unskilled labor. There is a certain calm impertinence in the expectation that a college graduate of the right sort will sue meekly for work whose pay a Brooklyn motorman would scorn.

WANTS WITH NO EXCUSE

Many present wants may be laid to the door of "boards, governors, and supervisors," but blame for some of the deficiencies belongs under the school roof. When air is as free and obtainable as it is in Montclair, why should children stifle in rooms containing barely enough oxygen for a cat? On pleasant Indian Summer days I entered three rooms in the Central School where not a window was open at top or bottom. In no room was the air really clean. In Passaic, at the Dundee School, the atmosphere was horrible, and the suffering and oppression produced indescribable. Once when I was left alone I pushed up a window in the principal's office and breathed an instant at the crack. It was a mistake. The one genuine breath made the poison inside all the more nauseating. In Yonkers, in a Plainfield school, and in the East Orange high school things were better. I was able to give my attention, without actual suffering, to the work. Mr. Lottridge's laboratories and lecture-room at East Orange had some excuse for smells, for he is a scientist as well as a teacher of science, and in addition to class-work has on hand experiments of his own. But he

allows his pupils to breathe. In most places there was no excuse for the condition of the air but the ignorance, negligence, and general callousness of the teacher. Sensitiveness to good air is a matter of education, like sensitiveness of touch.

POOR SCHOOLS IN ELIZABETH

I had expected to find in Elizabeth, even if ineffective ventilating "fans" failed to clear the rooms of carbonic acid gas, *at least the spirit of progress*. Mr. Shearer, the superintendent, is progressive in every written or spoken utterance. The schools of Elizabeth, excepting the poorer New York City schools, are the worst of all that I have visited. The Cherry Street principal was making a brave fight to produce his tale of bricks under impossible conditions. He neither complained of those conditions nor excused the poverty-stricken equipment by laying any blame on others. He believes in manual training, and said it was a sad day for Elizabeth when it was thrown out of her schools, but the dreariness of Elizabeth's educational atmosphere I did not mention and he did not explain.

Excepting for some smattering of physical training, I saw and heard nothing to indicate that the board of education of Elizabeth had really moved for the last fifty years. I wished I had time to find out what manner of men so ignored the children of today and the Elizabeth of tomorrow. No amount of questioning elicited from the principals or teachers anything to show what directions they receive for the application of Mr. Shearer's admirable promotion idea. It seems a sort of go-as-you-please on the part of the school concerned.

At No. 1, the largest school in the city, with the finest building, I had exactly thirty-one minutes. It was quite enough. I doubt if I should have had the opportunity to get even a genuine glimpse of the school if I had not come upon the assistant principal first. She received me pleasantly and took me to an English class. I heard a dozen children read in the old-fashioned way, giving the words plainly, but without the expression that counts, and moved on to another room and division of the same grade to see if I could find any record of children promoted or transferred. Here I commended a little girl's work, and the teacher endorsed

my commendation, saying: "She draws lovely."

The principal of the school agreed to meet me a little later in the office, and I ensconced myself there and waited. A boy whom I had noticed earlier sitting behind the office door was still sitting. His hands were "dirty." At twenty minutes past nine it is the custom to send such delinquents to the principal. The boy had been idle through a wasted morning in an imprisonment that seemed to me stupidly ordered. I had seen similar cases better and more effectively treated in Brooklyn schools without this loss of time. The atmosphere that surrounded this principal was repellant, hard, and uncultivated.

One bit of information she gave me. They have a rapid dismissal drill (not called a fire drill), but "I do not think," she said, "we could get the children out in case of fire." But the principal's complete lack of interest in the subject of her own school, her entire attitude and manner, made a harsh contrast to the day before, when I had seen Miss Bullock, Miss Day, and Miss Humpstone at the Plainfield schools.

Another Elizabeth building was near at hand. As I entered, the principal was reducing to powder, with every appearance of violent temper, a small boy who had lost his pencil. She was less ungracious than the principal of No. 1, but the atmosphere of the building was the same. The whole place had a deadness that was distressing. I heard a few children quote gems like "It is not right or manly to tell a lie," and saw a class file into an assembly room where the physical training director, Doctor Funk, had just dismissed a small group of teachers he had been drilling.

The principal wore earrings and was not the sort of woman most mothers would choose to teach their children, though she was more amiable (to me) than the stony principal at No. 1. I lingered very briefly, and as I went away asked for her name.

After she had told me, she added: "My sister is the principal of No. 1."

From all that I could find out about Elizabeth's promotion system, it is much better applied elsewhere. In nearly every place visited each grade has three or four divisions, and often these divisions are subdivided. As fast as a child shows the capacity

for advancement he slips up a notch, and as the highest division of one year is very close to the lowest of the next (regular promotions are once a year), he sometimes climbs from grade to grade, and from being First Grammar A becomes Second Grammar D. In Elizabeth I could not discover that any child had anywhere gained time, though I questioned diligently, nor could I see that their advance was more rapid than the advance of children in other schools. They certainly get less as they go. The principle is good; the application of it in Elizabeth vague and ineffectual.

THE SEGREGATION OF THE POOR LITTLE SNOBS AND "HORRID CHILDREN"

One feature of the suburban schools, alarming to an outsider who loves his country, is the separation of rich and poor, not by districts, but by class and social position.

In the larger towns, where residents have both their business and their homes, this tendency is visible only as a "good-natured" superintendent permits the more or less frequent transfer of children to newer buildings, better neighborhoods, or to the classes of well-known teachers. The poor live, if possible, near their work, herd together in cheap "rents," and form communities like Dundee in Passaic, where the population is almost entirely foreign. The segregation here is chiefly a matter of geography. In smaller places—places where most of the well-to-do have their business in New York—it is not geography, but social selection.

In some of these places good private schools take many of the richer children from the public school; in others the high school alone receives the patronage of all classes of citizens; often one or two elementary schools draw from the others the "better class"; in one city of no mean dimensions a single primary school broods almost exclusively the children of the socially elect. In a town not an hour from Wall Street two babies were overheard talking of their respective educational plans.

"Where you going, Mildred?" asked the smaller baby.

"A me! I'm *not* going to the school where all those howwid childwen are!" sniffed Mildred. "My papa's going to ask the supewintendent to put me in Wosamond's school."

Rosamond's school was not in Mildred's



CHILDREN AT PLAY IN THE CAPACIOUS GROUNDS OF ONE OF MONTCLAIR'S MODEL SCHOOLS



THE GIRLS TAKE A DEEP INTEREST IN WORK IN WOOD

district, but Mildred was "transferred," and every morning trots past the building where the "horrid children go" on her way to a more select establishment.

Past this scorned and forsaken school streams daily a procession of little boys and

girls whose fathers or mothers have "asked the superintendent," and from the charmed association of the chosen one by one the "less desirable" drop out to join the plebeians under other roofs. Such a boy—a hobbledehoy with a tendency to futile clownishness—was



THE STORY OF THE UGLY DUCKLING TOLD BY ONE OF THE CHILDREN AND ILLUSTRATED BY CLAY MODELS WHICH WERE MADE BY THEM

Every child in turn has to tell a story to the class



CLAY MODELING DONE BY CHILDREN OF FOURTH AND FIFTH GRADES IN MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

All this work is original except the ram's head, which was copied

for a time in the more refined companionship of the special school. Here he appeared well dressed, subdued, and made rapid improvement. Now, removed from this restraining companionship to another building, he struts and plays the fool, makes himself unpleasantly conspicuous, appears in slovenly clothing, and is equally slovenly in his recitations.

The entire foreign and really poor popula-

tion of this town, save perhaps a small colony naturally segregated by district lines, is so lost a minority that if the natural geographical divisions were allowed to stand every child would attend a school where the dominating influence was the right one. *If the children of each section were registered where they belong there would be no school of odds and ends.*



IN THIS SCHOOL CHILDREN OF ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY ACQUIRE DEFT FINGERS BY PRACTICE AT A HANDICRAFT. MANUAL TRAINING INCREASES THEIR MENTAL EFFICIENCY



FROM SUCH HOUSES COME MANY OF THE CHILDREN OF THE SUBURBAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS



ACQUIRING A KNOWLEDGE OF SCIENCE IN THE HIGH SCHOOL CHEMICAL LABORATORY

As it is, I saw one class where more than half the registration was colored. *Which idiom is going to prevail?* The spirit of this school, the character and influence of the principal and teachers, seemed to me superior to that of almost every other school I had visited in the eight cities of my pilgrimage. The only reason for the gradual withdrawal of the patronage of the well-dressed children from this school has been a social one.

None of the children come from tenements; the fear of disease is hardly a factor. And

the fear of moral contagion is not a factor at all. Any one who knows the children of private schools knows that moral contamination is to be feared everywhere, but quite as much from the child of the merchant and club-man as from the son or daughter of the mill-hand. Nurse-girls are often a source of "contamination," filling the minds of other people's children with evil they would never think of suggesting to their own offspring. If a child's home cannot counteract the dangers of association with other children he will not be saved by the elimina-



THE FREEDOM OF A SUBURBAN TOWN PERMITS EXERCISES THAT CITY CHILDREN ARE DENIED

tion of the poor and badly dressed, even the rough and uncouth, from the list of his schoolmates.

The complaint heard most often among the teachers in every city is this: "It's unfair to those of meagre opportunities to shut them away from association with the more refined."

I contend that it is *unfair to the more refined to shut them away from association with those of meagre opportunities.*

What does democracy mean if not tolera-



GIRLS ACQUIRING GRACE AND STRENGTH IN THE GYMNASIUM OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL

tion, recognition of common virtues, the struggle for a common end? What sense of proportion, what scale of values, has a child whose distinctions are based on a knowledge of one class alone? The positive element in refinement, in good manners even, is stronger than the persistence of the unrefinement out of which part of our population is struggling. The difficulties the child of the mixed school must meet and conquer make the discipline that fit him to live. Even if he fall into a mistake now and then, even if he come home

with a word unsuited to ears fastidious, and make a temporary hero of a swaggerer or a fool, it won't hurt him half so much as to start out later to get his first knowledge of the "mixed" world untutored by the experience of childhood.

This separation of social classes in our public schools threatens the understanding between class and class, between capital and labor, between men and women who resent and ought to resent being called the "masses" and men and women who know them only



A GIRL RECITING RATIOS ACCORDING TO THE SPEED METHOD IN ARITHMETIC

as the employer knows the employed. Hate on one hand, disgust for the "*canaille*" on the other, seem far enough from a modern republic, but they are easily reached when the children are divided, the sheep on one side the educational fence, the goats on the other. "We used to go to school together. Do you remember?" is more than the formula of common greeting.

It is easy to cry "Wolf," and harder to show the wolf when he lurks behind a fair thicket of "reasons" and "excuses." "It's



EACH CHILD PUSHES THE PUNCHING-BAG
WITH HER HEAD

A novel method of strengthening neck muscles



A PUPIL EXPLAINING PROBLEMS GIVEN UNDER THE
SPEER SYSTEM OF TEACHING ARITHMETIC

of no use to struggle for other people; we're being swamped. Let's get what comfort we can," is the commonest reply to a protest, even in places where the swamping is far off.

To the smaller places I had confidently believed we could look for the preservation of the best ideals in American education. In them the immigration problem is still rather an "excuse" than a burden; in them the children of every class of citizens can still sit in the same class-room and go and come

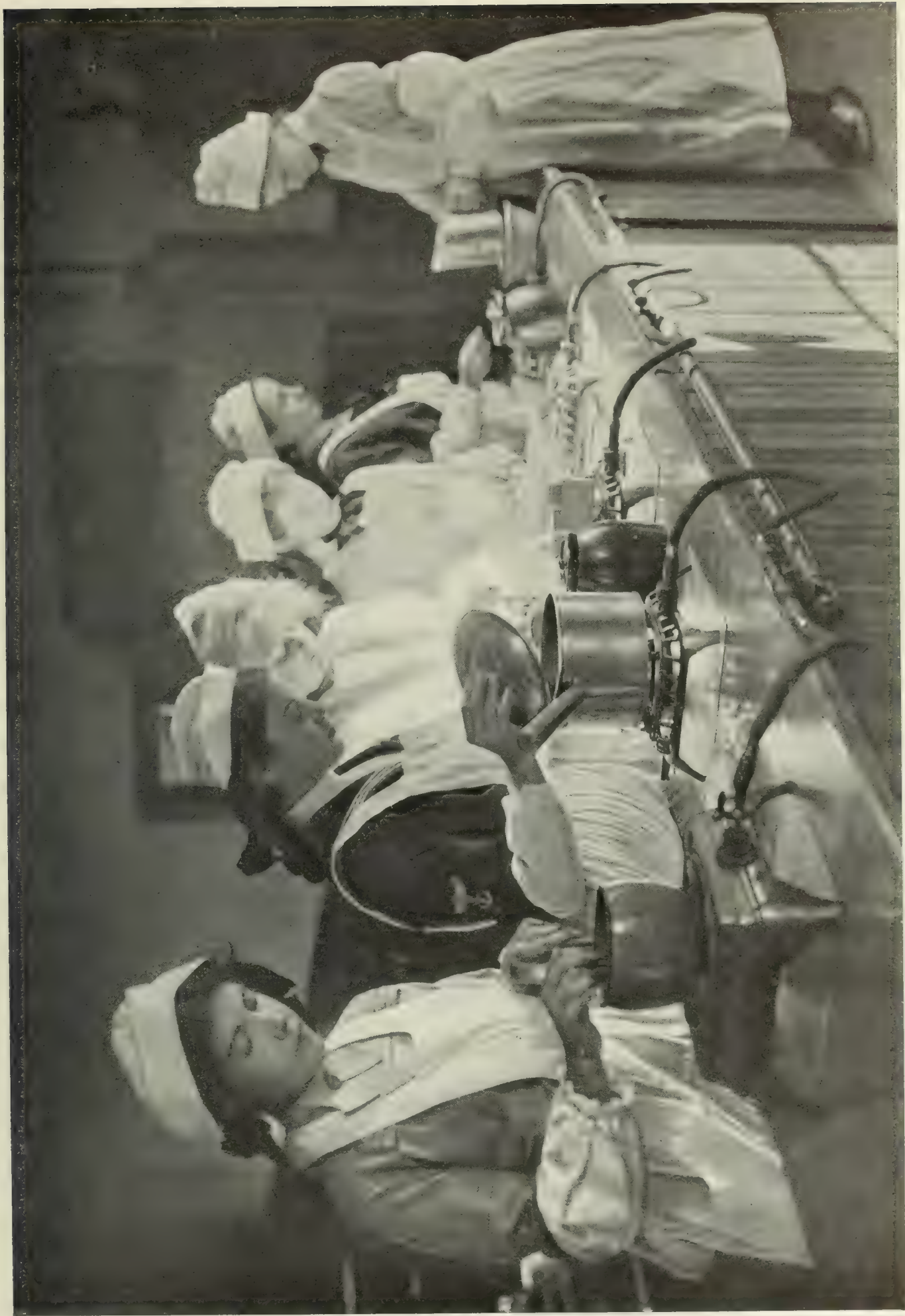
by the same gateway with a general gain to all without exception.

What waste and folly to educate in one school all the prosperous and well-fed and to crowd into others barely a stone's throw away all the unprosperous and the poor! What end can be attained but the sacrifice of vigor to make a "softly" set of young people, in whom snobbery is ingrained, growing up side by side with those in whom envy and resentment follow the loss of self-respect?

To the good American—whether his ante-



HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS PLAYING BASKET BALL ON A PLEASANT SCHOOL LAWN



IN THE LAST TWO YEARS AT THE HIGH SCHOOL IN MONTCLAIR THE GIRLS DO COOKING, WHILE THE BOYS
CONTINUE MANUAL TRAINING



ORIGINAL CLAY IMAGES MADE BY THE YOUNGER PUPILS OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD GRADES AT MONTCLAIR

Which show remarkable powers of observation, as the work was done entirely from memory

cedents be German or Italian, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish, French, or Russian—the preservation of the democratic spirit that uplifts the weak and strengthens the strong is more than the accumulation of national wealth. It is that spirit which the segregation of the poor in country towns is sure to kill.

WHAT IT ALL MEANS

The impressions most vivid in my mind after the weeks spent among the schools of New York City's neighbors are these:

1. There is in the public schools of suburban cities a more generally vigorous life than in those of the greater city still bearing scars of Tammany claws.

2. Certain unexpected provincialisms, like trained gowns and moppy hair "droops," bad English and indifference to foul air, still mark the occasional suburban as well as the big city teacher.

3. The better the "system" the more one teacher is made to do two teachers' work for one-half a teacher's pay.

4. The places known for admirable theory are not always distinguished for excellent practice.

5. The worst feature of schools in "commuters' towns" is the tendency to separate the school population, not by districts, but by the social position of the families from which it comes.



THE OLDER BOYS MODEL POTTERY AND MINIATURE HOUSES



A DAY WITH ESKIMO SEAL HUNTERS

SLEDDING ON JAMES'S BAY IN 38° BELOW ZERO—LIVING IN AN IGLOO WITH THE ESKIMOS—HOW THE HUNTER SPEARS THE SEALS THROUGH THE ICE

BY

F. SWINDLEHURST

(ILLUSTRATED FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR)

WITH Mr. Nicholson, of the Hudson Bay Company, I paid a visit to the Eskimos who live on the group of islands in James's Bay, the southern end of Hudson Bay. We set out in the early morning, with a tent, ten dogs, and two Indian drivers. After traveling all day, we arrived at Sherrick's Mount, where we camped. The drivers trampled down the snow and set up our tent. A carpet of red spruce boughs was laid, and over these deerskins were spread. A small stove inside and a huge bonfire outside made things cheery and comfortable. It proved a bitterly cold night, the temperature falling to 38 degrees below zero. Mr. Nicholson had his toes frozen, I slept very little, and we were both glad when morning dawned and we could resume our journey. We pushed on to Jack Creek, camped there, and next day struck out toward the middle of James's Bay. The weather had become milder. The sun, brilliant as only a northern sun in spring can be, shone upon the mirrorlike ice. We

seemed to have entered fairy-land—to be traveling over a surface of burnished silver. The only sounds were the "whiss" of the sleigh-runners and patter-patter of dogs' feet, and when, in a fit of temper, their driver shouted "*Ouk Lip—Lip, you debble!*" it came upon us like a thunderclap.

Early next morning we crossed the islands and reached their extreme point after a few hours' journey. But where were the Eskimos?

Suddenly, just in front of us, from mounds of snow, popped up a head, then another and another, as though the Eskimos were emerging from colossal eggs incubated by the sun. Here at last were the people we had come to see. Quickly they disappeared, in order, as we afterward learned, to put on what little finery they possessed to welcome us in true Eskimo fashion.

The igloos, or snow houses, are dome-shaped structures, exposed to the full blast of the north wind, and are hardly distinguishable from the surrounding snow-drifts.



THE SNUG IGLOO IN WHICH THE AUTHOR SPENT A NIGHT ON THE SHORE OF JAMES'S BAY

They are built entirely with a view to keeping out the cold air, and admirably serve the purposes of their rude but skilful architects. At the entrance stands a large block of snow. This is the door. In the daytime it is pushed aside. At night it is drawn before the opening, which it completely fills, keeping out of the passage both drifting snow and prowling animals. In order to enter the snow house, it is necessary to crawl on "all fours" along a tunnel about thirty feet long. At the end is the storehouse, which leads to the living apartment.

The Eskimos are a jovial race. Laughing



THE AUTHOR'S COMPANION ENTERING THE IGLOO

and shouting, with cries of "*Chimo! Chimo!*" (welcome, welcome), they ushered us to seats. The interior wall of the igloo was of smooth ice which resembled ground glass. It was plentifully bespattered with the blood of seals. Light came through a large clear sheet of ice which did duty for a window. Near the centre of the room stood the "kudlik," a saucerlike thing full of moss and seal-oil which serves as stove by day and lamp at night. Gory knives, harpoons, and the like gave a rather savage tone to an otherwise peaceful interior, the atmosphere of which reminded me of a glue-factory.

The only enemy to comparative comfort was the dripping of water from the dome. "First-rate quarters," remarked my companion, as he lighted his pipe. "Y-e-s," I replied, as a drop of water trickled down my neck; "but don't you find it rather damp?" "Not where I am," he calmly said, adding significantly, "you see the advantage of coming in first," and he sent a small cloud of tobacco smoke curling toward the ceiling. An Eskimo woman, noticing my discomfort, immediately cut out a piece of snow and plugged the leak. We then had dinner, which consisted of some meat-balls we had brought with us, with tea and sea-biscuit as dessert. The Eskimos had broiled seal, which they eagerly devoured, fingers taking

the place of knives and forks. We gave them tea and biscuits, which they consider luxuries and greatly enjoyed.

After eating, I went out and watched the Eskimo boys at play. One youth, fastening a piece of bark to a harpoon, raised it above his head. This was a target. Another boy withdrew some distance, balanced his harpoon, and with splendid aim sent it



AN ESKIMO BOY ENGAGED IN THE GAME OF THROWING THE DART

through the bark. I took part in the sport, my clumsiness causing the greatest amusement. The harpoon is as necessary to the young Eskimo as the pocket-knife to a schoolboy in civilization. Throwing the weapon is their play.

We next prepared to accompany the men



WAITING FOR THE SEAL TO RISE FOR BREATH

on a seal-hunting expedition. Previous to starting, the Eskimos tested their weapons, dog-traces, and whips, and then they prepared their sleds. Black earth was mixed into a sort of mortar and plastered on the runners until their width was increased from one inch to about three and a half. Saturating a cloth in warm water, the Eskimos made the surface of the prepared earth as wet as possible. It froze almost immediately. It was then smoothed over with a planelike implement, and the finishing touch was given by again gently rubbing the surface with a wet rag in order that the frost might cause an icy varnish to form. The runners thus treated do not sink in the soft snow.



A QUICK THRUST AS THE SEAL APPEARED

When we reached the hunting-grounds the Eskimos searched for holes in the ice where seal come up to breathe. In this their dogs proved of great assistance. When a hole was discovered, the Eskimo, harpoon in readiness, waited for his victim. The slightest noise would cause him to lose his quarry.

A thin cloud of steam, discernible only by the experienced hunter, announces the coming of the seal. Suddenly the stooping

the body, he drags it to the sled, then goes to watch another hole and get another seal.

Were it not that the waters of James's Bay teem with seal, the Eskimo could not live. The meat is his food, the blubber furnishes light and heat, while the offal satisfies the craving of the ever-hungry dogs. By far the most important part of the animal is the pelt. The Eskimo could obtain meat and blubber from the white porpoise, but he can



BRINGING HOME THE BOOTY - FOOD, CLOTHING, AND MATERIAL FOR A HUNDRED USES

form straightens up, and with a lightning motion the harpoon is cast into the head of the poor animal, which sinks immediately, drawing with it the line attached to the harpoon. No coiled snake could strike with greater speed or certainty.

The hunter next draws the animal to the surface, widening the aperture in the ice with a chisel until it is large enough to draw the seal through. Fastening a cord around

find no substitute for the sealskin. His kayak, or boat, is made from it, a number of skins being sewn together and stretched over a skeleton framework, the whole forming a very light, water-tight canoe. Cut into strips, the sealskin furnishes traces for the dogs and lashing for the sleds. From it is made the long whip which the Eskimo uses so skilfully and which his dogs greatly fear. The industrious Eskimo women also find in

the seal pelt their most useful material. From it they fashion clothing for the children, waterproof boots, and many small articles. These women bear their share of the day's work. They are never idle. In addition to taking charge of the igloo, all the care of curing and making use of the seal and other skins falls to their lot. In hunting they display great ability, and are thoroughly at home with both rifle and harpoon. The

and original mechanic. He is never at a loss how to mend or make anything he uses, and in this respect completely outclasses his Indian brother. Given a jack-knife and piece of wood, bone, or ivory, these northerners with their hard, rough hands will produce results of which the most skilful workmen of Japan would not be ashamed. The Eskimo also displays more courage than the Indian, but lacks discretion. He will launch



A HALT ON THE HOMEWARD TRIP FOR THE DOGS TO REST

children do just as they please, and entirely lack education.

The Eskimos never wash. Each layer of dirt and seal-oil is an extra protection against the cold. They never appear to be as dirty or untidy as Indians, but I have yet to see the Eskimo or Indian who would not be improved by an application of soap and water. In examining the Eskimo appliances—his kayak, hunting weapons, and so on—it is at once apparent that he is a clever

his kayak in a raging sea, while the Indian is quite contented to remain on shore and wait for calm weather. The Eskimo will unflinchingly face the "nanook," or white bear, at close quarters. The Indian prefers to let this animal severely alone.

The Eskimo wastes nothing. The careless white man drops a nail or throws away a broken tool or empty tobacco-can. These are seized with avidity by the Eskimos, who convert them into articles more or less useful.



COLOMBIA: THE GOVERNMENT, THE COUNTRY, AND THE PEOPLE

THE DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION AS SHOWN BY THE ARMY, THE PRIESTS, AND BY THEIR OPINION OF FOREIGNERS—STORIES OF THE LAST REVOLUTION THERE

BY

THOMAS S. ALEXANDER

A NATURALIST AND TRADER WHO HAS JUST RETURNED AFTER FIVE YEARS OF EXCITING ADVENTURE

Illustrated in part with photographs by the author

DURING the eventful years from 1899 to 1903, when for the greater part of the time Colombia was torn with revolution, I had occasion to travel on many business and exploring expeditions over the country, and was in touch with both Liberals and Conservatives. Americans have been accustomed to regard this revolution, the details of which cast a vivid light on Colombian civilization and explain in a measure the justification of our attitude toward Colombia since the isthmian canal negotiations fell through, as a squalid struggle in which there was little real fighting but a good deal of *opera bouffe*. It was squalid enough, but it was by no means a farce.

There are no warriors more terrible than the *machetatos*, or machete-men, of the Cauca, in spite of the fact that the troops are raised and trained in the following way: An Indian boy of twelve or fourteen years is out in the field cutting sugar-cane. All of

a sudden he sees three or four soldiers. He becomes scared and runs away. They shoot at him. If he stops without being shot, he is in luck. Then they catch him, tie a rope round his neck, bind him with another long rope to several other luckless lads caught in the same way, and march the batch to the barracks at the nearest town.

The boy, half Negro and half Indian, has



THE SKULL AND CROSS-BONES BATTLE-FLAG OF SOME PANAMANIAN INSURGENTS IN 1900



A BODY OF INSURGENT TROOPS DRAWN UP FOR INSPECTION

probably never been in a town before, and never handled a gun. He sleeps that night at the barracks. Next morning, at four o'clock, he is awakened by a heavy kick and given a rifle which he can hardly carry, not to say shoot. It is usually taller than himself, for he is generally a weak, under-sized, narrow-chested brat. He is thrust into the "awkward squad" and marches to the square for his first drill. The sergeant, a



A GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARY GENERALS IN A LEISURE MOMENT

burly Negro, enforces his commands by many stripes of a rawhide six feet long, until the boy is beaten into absolute stupidity. At eleven o'clock he goes to his breakfast—if he can get any. Usually he cannot, unless he steals. In the afternoon an officer comes along, teaches him how to load and unload



AN AMAZON WHO WAS RENOWNED FOR HER PROWESS IN BATTLE



ONE OF THE AMAZONS WHO REACHED HIGH RANK IN AN INSURGENT ARMY

his rifle, and incidentally thrashes him again with the rawhide.

That night the boy, who does not even know how to handle his rifle, is put on the streets of the town at nine o'clock to do sentry duty. There is a boy at every street-corner, with orders to fire on anybody who does not answer his challenge in the proper form. He is supposed to hail a passer-by three times before he shoots, but as a matter of fact he is so afraid of his rifle that his



THE COLOR-BEARER IN CHARGE OF THE DEATH'S-HEAD FLAG

fingers tremble on the trigger and it goes off before he challenges. Time and again bullets have whistled past me at night in the streets of Cali before I even saw the poor, little, forlorn sentry at the corner. He usually fires at everything he sees moving—dogs, mules, cattle, and cats, as well as men.

Although the Colombians are extremely brave, their generals care nothing for the

lives of their men, as the following incident will show.

At the battle of Palo Negro, when General Uribe Uribe, the Liberal leader, was beaten back in his efforts to reach Bogota, over 7,000 men were left dead upon the field and many terrible atrocities were enacted. One of the worst was related to me by a government officer, General Triana, after he returned from the fight.

"It was a glorious victory and a horrible affair, and we whipped the Liberals properly," he told me. "But one thing happened which has disgusted me with the whole war. I never want to see any fighting again.

"There was a strong force of Liberals



A VESSEL BURNED BY SHOTS FROM A COLOMBIAN GUNBOAT

ambushed in thick brushwood on the side of a hill. One of our generals was ordered to clear them out, but he could not locate their exact position, and he knew that to advance blindly upon them would mean the loss of a great many of his men.

"What do you think he did? Among his troops there were about forty little boys from ten to fourteen years old. He picked them out and told them to march across the exposed ground toward the enemy. They had never faced death before, and were proud to march ahead of the rest. Before they had gone far, thousands of riflemen opened fire on them, and every one of the

forty was killed. Then, the enemy having unmasked their position, our general easily drove them away. A pit was dug after the battle, and the corpses of the forty boys were all thrown into it together."

No other war of modern times has cost half as many lives or one-tenth of the misery for which this unwritten campaign has been responsible.

I have witnessed barbarities which cannot be described here—women and children tortured to death in a manner that made the stories of Armenian and Macedonian massacres seem mild. It is a common thing for a boy of twelve or fourteen to be thrashed to death with cowhide whips for "deserting" from the army—that is to say, running back home after he had been forcibly enlisted. It is generally common for a mere child to be hung up by the thumbs until he dies, because he will not—or cannot—say where his father is hidden. Women have been crucified because they have refused to betray their husbands, and others have been treated infinitely worse. I can give chapter and verse for dozens of atrocities which prove conclusively that Colombia has no title to be dealt with by the United States or any other power as a civilized nation. Here is one typical story:

A dentist named Theophile Borraro came to me one day and asked if I wanted to buy some gold. I said yes, and he unwrapped a bundle and showed me about a pound of gold teeth-fillings, some of which had fragments of teeth still sticking to them.

"Where did you get them?" I asked in horrified amazement.

"I got some of them in the fight at San José," he replied, "and the rest were got by a government colonel in the last engagement at Buenaventura."

"But how did you get them out?"

"We just knocked them out with bayonets and the butt-ends of rifles. The soldiers did that to all the bodies, and I bought the gold for a mere trifle."

The revolution, although so terrible in its results, was not without its humorous features. One of the funniest of these was the incident of the general who would not fight without his milk.

General Perez was in command of the government troops at Cali. One day news arrived that the Liberals had captured a

neighboring town. Perez was ordered to start with his army at seven o'clock next morning to attack them. He went to the barracks, made a patriotic speech to the soldiers, and told them to parade at the appointed hour. Then he sauntered into the Hotel America, Cali's finest restaurant, and ordered coffee for 6:30 in the morning.

The troops were lined up at that hour outside the hotel, and the General strutted to and fro, waiting for his coffee and telling everybody what terrible things he was going to do to the enemy. But a complication arose. Perez had not been a general long, but he had acquired luxurious tastes. He wanted milk in his coffee, whereas nine Colombians out of ten are content with black coffee. There was no milk. The cows are kept three or four hours' journey out of town, and, of course, milk cannot be kept overnight in that tropical climate. The hotel folk figured that the milk could not arrive before eleven o'clock.

The General fumed and fretted. Some of his officers suggested that he had better start without the milk or the enemy would escape, but he said it was impossible to fight on black coffee. He sent a soldier post haste to fetch the milk, and then another after him to hurry him up. Meanwhile, the army stood in the broiling sun for hours, awaiting the order to march. It was nearly noon when the messengers returned.

"No milk," they reported.

"*Caramba!* Then I won't march till tomorrow."

And the General dismissed his men and would not go until next morning, after his *café au lait*. Of course, when he reached his destination the Liberals had flown, and he was deprived of his glorious victory by a miserable spoonful of milk.

Both sides constantly missed their chances ridiculously, and to that fact the protracted nature of the struggle was due. In May, 1900, there were only forty soldiers in Cali guarding 400 prisoners. In Buenaventura, the neighboring seaport, Colombia's only Pacific port worth reckoning south of Panama, there were about 200 soldiers, including those who were guarding the road between Cali and Buenaventura. I know the number, because I went down to Buenaventura on a secret mission for the Liberals in Cali and counted them. A Liberal general, named Castillo,

was encamped a few miles away with 1,500 men, of whom more than 1,000 were armed with modern rifles. He remained inactive, and my mission was to find out the strength of the government troops and then urge him to attack them.

On my way back from Buenaventura a letter was given to me which had been sent by a Liberal in the country north of Buenaventura to a doctor in Cali who was a secret friend of the Liberal cause. On the face of it the letter read:

"*Dear Doctor:* My little girl has a very bad cold. What would you recommend?"

But between the lines another message had been written in invisible ink, which came out when the letter was washed with an acid. "For God's sake, strike at once!" it ran. "We have 2,000 men ready to rise the moment Buenaventura is taken, and we also have two Krupp rapid-firing guns hidden away."

Here was a splendid chance! If Buenaventura and Cali had been taken the Liberal cause would have been immensely strengthened. The revolutionists would have gained an important seaport, from which they could have attacked Panama, and they would have had a base for operations against Bogota. Regardless of the danger, I pushed through to Castillo with my important news. Twice the government soldiers held me up and searched me, but the letter to the doctor told them nothing, and my messages to Castillo from the Liberals in Cali and Buenaventura were hidden in the ribbon round my hat, where they never thought of looking. At last I reached Castillo safely and told him what a splendid *coup* he could make. But he never acted on the information. He frittered away valuable time waiting for orders from Uribe Uribe, the Liberal leader, until he lost his chance. He was afraid to move until he was told to by the commander-in-chief.

The Liberals had many clever dodges for keeping themselves supplied with ammunition and war materials. Their secret service was excellent. They always seemed to know when the Government was sending a convoy of rifles and cartridges from one point to another, and they usually contrived to capture it. Although they smuggled several cases of rifles and cannon into the country in piano-cases and bales of merchandise, the

Government bought nearly all their ammunition for them.

Two-thirds of the women in Colombia appear to sympathize with the Liberals. They bought millions of cartridges from the starving government soldiers for loaves of bread, chocolate balls, fruit, and other food. There was a regular tariff, and the children generally carried the deal through. Every day their mothers sent them to the barracks and other places where the soldiers congregated. For one cartridge they gave a small loaf of bread or a ball of chocolate; for a Mauser packet of five they had, of course, to pay higher. In the evening an officer would ask his men why their cartridge-belts were empty. Of course, they feigned ignorance and supposed they must have slipped out of the badly made belts and got lost. This seemed feasible, because the parade-ground was always littered with cartridges lost in that manner while the men drilled. But after some months the officers grasped the truth, and thereafter never allowed their men to carry cartridges except when they were actually going into battle.

The poor soldiers would have sold their souls, very often, for a square meal, let alone their cartridges. Their daily pay, when they got it, was only from 80 cents to \$1.20, Colombian paper money, which was at that time equivalent to eight or twelve cents in American gold. They had to feed themselves, and it cost them from 20 to 60 cents (gold) to keep body and soul together. No wonder they were glad to make something "on the side"! The policemen were paid \$90 a month, paper money—equal to \$9.00 in gold. The breakfast of a common peon cost \$14 (paper). Meat cost \$9 in gold a pound. In consequence they lived on what they could steal or extort from their unhappy prisoners.

When the war broke out in 1899 I tried to continue my collecting of natural-history specimens, but was obliged to give it up after a few months. The countryside was everywhere dotted with pickets and small bodies of troops. When I shot a specimen in a wood or swamp I would hear the crack of a Mauser the next moment, and a bullet would whiz past my head. Then a couple of soldiers would dash through the brush and say that they thought I was the enemy, and that I must please excuse them. This kind of thing happened several times, and a

bullet-wound in my leg is a memento of one occasion. At last it grew wearing, even to an ardent naturalist, and I went out armed only with a butterfly net. But when they saw the green net waving in the woods some government soldiers arrested me on the charge of signaling to the revolutionists. So I gave up my collecting and started a drug business in Cali, where I lived until September of the present year, when I returned to the United States.

Under the cloak of a republican form of government Colombia is despotically ruled. The despots are the priests, who are mostly Jesuits. President Marroquin and his Cabinet and Congress are their puppets. All the recent troubles of the country may be traced to their intrigues and the repressive, retrograde legislation they have inaugurated. The ruin of their country, the death of nearly 200,000 men in battle and by disease, the murder of many thousands of women and children, the misery, ignorance, and poverty of the whole people—all these lie at their door.

Clericalism is the curse of the country. It was the direct cause of the recent revolution, which caused such a holocaust of lives. It is the real cause of the secession of Panama.

From practically every pulpit in the interior the priests preached against the canal. They brought every influence in their power to bear in order to secure the rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty. They had to contend with the greed of the Bogota politicians, but they cleverly got over that by suggesting the exorbitant counter-proposition which they knew full well the United States would never accept. Their motive was simple enough. They knew that the construction of the canal would lead to the building of railways, the introduction of foreign capital and foreign ideas, and the speedy opening up of the entire country to a civilization and progress that would put an end to their absolute power.

In proportion to her size, Colombia contributes more to the Roman Catholic Church than any other Latin-American country. She does not pay her foreign debts, but she sends huge sums to Rome every year. The official subsidy to the Church is \$200,000 (gold) per annum, but the private contributions and the money drawn from the public treasury in indirect ways exceed that sum a hundredfold.

The priests who control affairs do not mean to lose the handling of this money if they can help it. They were reënforced recently by a large proportion of the Jesuits expelled from France by the Association law.

In their crusade against the canal and all outside civilizing influences the priests have been helped by the Colombians' intense hatred and distrust of foreigners, especially of the Americans. In this country people think that South Americans must love the kind elder brother who casts the protecting wing of the Monroe Doctrine over them. It is not so, for they simply regard it as an attempt on the part of "Uncle Sam" to keep Latin-America as a private feast which he can gobble up at leisure. Besides that, it offends their keen national pride.

Foreigners in Colombia have suffered terribly, and will suffer in the future, through the backing which America has given to the Panama Republic. It will take months to find out what has happened to them in the remote parts of the interior. It may never be found out, but from my knowledge of the Colombians I believe that Americans and other foreigners have been maltreated, plundered, thrown into jail, and even murdered.

There must have been a change of heart among the people if this has not happened. When Italy sent war-ships to Colombia years ago, at the time of the Cerruti incident, every Italian in the country was in jeopardy of his life, and many of them perished in out-of-the-way corners of the country and were never heard of again. During the last revolution the foreigners were hated intensely, because they were believed to be helping the Liberals. Many a priest from his pulpit called upon his flock to kill the *gringos*. Often our lives were in danger, and when we parted of an evening in the Strangers' Club at Cali we never knew whether we would meet one another again.

An Englishman named Paris was thrown into jail at Buenaventura at that time and forgotten for three days. When they went to fetch him he was dead. This case is at the present moment the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the British and Colombian Governments. The Germans had their flag torn down and spat upon at Baranguilla, but the "mailed fist" never smote Colombia. A Frenchman named Abadaut, who was fond of drinking too much liquor and airing

his opinions of the country very indiscreetly, got into the black books of the Government. He was arrested at Santander on a trumped-up charge of building trenches for the revolutionists. They marched him into Cali. His arms were strapped to his sides by a rawhide, and he was dragged by another rawhide round his neck. After being paraded round the streets and maltreated by a howling mob, he was taken to the jail, given thirty lashes, and otherwise brutally tortured. He was kept in a filthy cell for a week with a herd of diseased Negro criminals, and at the end of the week was nearly dead of starvation. We heard of his case at the Strangers' Club and supplied him with food. After being kept in jail, without trial, for several months, he was suddenly released, with no excuse or explanation, and shipped off to France, where he is now bringing a claim for indemnity against the Colombian Government.

These incidents show the manner in which foreigners are treated in Colombia when there is really no special grievance against them, and I shudder to think what the isthmian affair has meant to Americans there. The Colombians have no respect for the power of the United States; indeed, they have no conception of it. American consuls are treated with contempt, and American passports are often torn up in disdain when presented to an official. They are not of much use, anyway, for many of the officials who are supposed to handle them cannot read Spanish, not to speak of English.

This is the kind of people the Colombians are. They deserve nobody's sympathy in their latest national misfortune. They do not desire civilization, in our sense of the term, though they tell you that they are infinitely more civilized than the "barbarous North Americans" or any other *gringos*. The opposition to the Hay-Herran treaty at Bogota and throughout Colombia was conscientious enough; it was not prompted by a mere desire for "loot," as the American newspapers think. The majority of the Colombians do not want the canal on any terms, so they made a proposition which they knew would be spurned as ridiculous and impossible. They fear that a canal will lead to the foreign domination of their country. "Why can't you leave us alone?" says the average Colombian. "We can get along very well without you. We don't want

any foreigners or foreign institutions here. They only lead to trouble."

Everybody who knows Colombia must congratulate Panama on her good sense in breaking away from that country. The isthmians are a decent set of people who would like to live a peaceable, civilized, money-making life, if only Colombia would give them the chance. But there is a breed of professional revolutionists among them who will have to be sternly repressed if the new republic is to prosper.

The patience of the Panamanians under the tyranny of the uncouth savages set over them as officials by the Bogota oligarchy has been truly remarkable, but the gradual tightening of the clerical bonds was bound to prove too much for them. What can be thought of the government which passed and enforced such an enactment as Article 34 of the Marriage law of 1888?

"Marriage contracted according to the rites of the Catholic religion of itself annuls *ipso jure* a purely civil marriage previously celebrated by a contractant with another person."

This law has had much to do with the steadily growing hatred of Panama for Colombia. It is said that General Herrera, who led the Liberal revolutionists on the isthmus so ably for years, joined the revolt against the Government because his sister was discarded by her husband under this law. Other men were moved by the same worthy motive.

Enough has been said to show the justice of Panama's bid for freedom. The future of their republic is a serious question. Unless the Panamanians are permanently protected by this country they will be exposed to the vengeance of Colombia, which is sure to be wreaked sooner or later. The influential Panamanians—men who have business interests and desire the prosperity of their country—have been anxious for many years past to see it annexed to the United States. They think that is their only hope for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—and profit. Now they will see in annexation their best safeguard against the revenge of Colombia. They appear to dominate the Government of the new republic. I believe that Colombians are capable of fighting the quarrel out—perhaps not now, but later on, when they can get their scattered forces together.

In such a war, appealing strongly to their patriotism and their deep-seated hatred of all foreigners, especially Americans, Liberals and Conservatives would unite, and an army of 70,000 men could easily be raised. It is generally assumed here that the Colombians could only invade the isthmus by sea. That is not the truth. They could march an army overland from the Choco district of the Cauca department. To be sure, such a march would entail enormous loss of life and terrible suffering, but the Colombian generals care nothing for that. Their hardy soldiers can march thirty or forty miles a day over mountains and jungles on one *pancla* (a cake of brown sugar) a day. There would only

be 250 miles of really hard and difficult country to cover, and on the way they would recruit their diminishing forces among the wild Indian tribes who own the southeastern part of the isthmus. The Colombians have no idea of the power of the United States, and even the men in authority at Bogota would think that in such a contest they had a fair chance of success. They would count on getting the aid of Venezuela, Ecuador, and other Latin-American countries by raising the cry that America must be prevented from attacking the independence of South American States. A very heavy responsibility has been cast upon us, and it cannot be fulfilled simply by the patrolling of war-ships.

PANAMA AND COLOMBIA

HOW THE SECESSION WAS ACCOMPLISHED—THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES

BY

JOHN M. WILLIAMS

THE recent serious comedy that was enacted at the Isthmus of Panama has called forth a storm of comment in this country that has been remarkable for its general lack of knowledge of past conditions and events. The fact that the country had been in continuous rebellion since the latter end of 1899 has been overlooked, as well as the fact that Panama has for many years been to all intents and purposes practically independent, managing its affairs as it pleased, with but little and sporadic interference by the chaotic and priest-ridden Government at Bogota.

The people of Panama, as represented by a junta of serious and responsible men, had been making ready for a blow for absolute independence for many years, but were calmed for a while by the abortive hope that this country would be able to complete satisfactory negotiations with Colombia which would give it a preponderant influence for peace and stable government on the isthmus. When the negotiations fell through because of the overreaching cupidity of the clique at Bogota, the provincial junta began to

make preparations for final and decisive action. In the middle of September it was known in New York that plans were being made. About November 1st the junta heard that Bogota had found out what was going on at Panama, and had despatched an army to the isthmus to take control and to see that the junta were placed in a powerless position. The junta made up their minds that their best chances for life lay in immediate action. By their previous care they had assured the adherence of the few troops that happened to be on the isthmus, and so they had nothing to fear from that quarter; but at the same time they had reason to reckon on help from the United States.

On the morning of November 3d the inhabitants of the isthmus awoke to find the town walls covered with placards announcing that Panama had seceded from Colombia, and that a provisional republican government was in control. Nowhere was there any opposition, as everybody was heartily in favor of independence. The day was peaceably and joyfully spent by the people in firing cannon crackers and rockets, just as

if it were one of the great festival days of the Church. In the evening the officers of the Colombian gunboat *Bogota*, which had been cruising about among the islands off the harbor of Panama, heard what had happened. At half-past nine the *Bogota* steamed up to a convenient place off the wharves without warning, and after throwing about eleven shells into the city, which killed two Chinamen and a donkey, but did absolutely no other damage, sailed away in the direction of Buenaventura and was not seen again, although it was known that she did not have enough coal in her bunkers to carry her very far.

The next day a Colombian government army of about 400 boys between twelve and fourteen years old arrived at Colon under command of General Tovar, who had been despatched some time previously to take command on the isthmus, and who knew nothing of what had happened. In complete ignorance of the state of affairs, he left his army at Colon, and, taking his staff with him, hastened to Panama to assume command. The junta received him with open arms and invited him to a great banquet to be given that evening in his honor as the general who on the morrow was to be the highest military official in the department. Toward the close of the dinner the political condition was explained to him and his staff. At first he thought that it must be a joke, but finally, seeing that his hosts were in deadly earnest, he got angry and made a typically fiery speech, in which he told what he meant to do to them, incidentally informing them that they might consider themselves under arrest.

One of the junta demurred very politely, and told him that if he would be kind enough to look out any window he pleased he would see soldiers lined up who were to escort, in a most gentlemanly way, himself and his aides to the military prison, and that, moreover, any resistance would be most heartily regrettable, as the troops had been instructed to shoot to kill. The General, being calmed by this information, was told that if he would return to Cartagena, whence he had come, and take his troops with him, he would be immediately put upon a train that would make record time across the isthmus. But he preferred to go to jail, where he was assured that he would be most comfortably

lodged and considerately treated, rather than go back to Cartagena, for what good would his life be if he were to return without orders from some superior officer? This judicious determination of General Tovar's remained unshaken during the next few days.

In the meantime, the troops at Colon were getting restless and thoughtful at the continual lack of news or orders from their officers, so they scattered themselves about the town in a way that would give them immediate control of it should occasion demand. After a day of waiting they asked and were refused transportation across the isthmus by the Panama Railroad, which promptly called upon Captain Hubbard, of the American gunboat *Nashville*, for marines. A small force of marines and the armed employees of the railroad made a little fortification of cotton-bales around the station, and prepared to defend the property of the American railway corporation.

This action of the representatives of our Government, the news that the new Government had been recognized at Washington, and the fact that the boys in the army at Colon were for the most part utterly incapacitated by the frightful sea-sickness that they had so recently undergone, induced Tovar to listen a little more to reason. When to these arguments was added \$8,000 in American gold which had been subscribed by the Panamanians to pay for the transportation of the troops back to Cartagena—\$5,000 for the officers and \$3,000 for the men—Tovar succumbed, and on November 7th he and his troops left Colon on the Royal Mail liner *Orinoco*. As the *Orinoco* sailed out of the harbor she passed the United States ship *Dixie*, which just happened to be coming in, and which, although cruising, happened to have 400 marines on board.

The whole proceedings were conducted with the utmost decorum imaginable, the junta having timed things so exactly, and having taken such advantage of our treaty, that nothing could be done by the Colombian troops. Our Government having been convinced by its own knowledge that there had been no opposition at the time the republic was declared, recognized its independence without delay. The French Government immediately afterward joined us in our action, while Germany notified us that it was in hearty accord.

As much has been said about the recklessness and undue haste of the officials at Washington in apparently breaking with all principles of international law in this recognition, it may not be out of place to give a short historical and political account of Colombia, the country whose rights are said to have been so wantonly and selfishly ignored in their action.

HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA

On July 20, 1810, General Bolivar was proclaimed president of the newly revolted territory of New Granada, the first of the South American republics to gain independence. By 1822, what are now Ecuador and Venezuela had been added to the union. This unwieldy State lasted but a few years, for in 1829 Venezuela and in 1830 Ecuador revolted anew and established themselves as independent republics. Since 1831, when the country was known as the Republic of New Granada, it has three times—in 1857, in 1861, and in 1886—changed its name and its system of government. Under the so-called constitution of 1861 the country was composed of eight constituent States, which were, for almost all purposes of administration, independent. In 1885, President Rafael Nunez, who had been elected as a Liberal, dissolved by force and in contravention of all precedent or right the State Assembly of Santander. After harshly stamping out the rebellion caused by this action, he assumed the dictatorship of the country by a *coup d'etat* and abolished the constitution under whose provisions he had been elected. In 1886 he appointed a Council of Delegates, who framed a new constitution that not only suited his own private purposes, but also gave him a piece of paper by which to justify his actions.

This constitution made of Colombia a highly centralized republic in which all power was taken from the assemblies of the constituent States, which were reduced to the rank of mere departments with little or no local government, while the State of Panama, which was the most valuable asset the Government had, was reduced to a still lower level and placed on a basis which made it the private plundering-ground of the clique in control at Bogota. It was with this Bogota Government that the greater

part of the "crooked" deals made by the French Panama Company were carried out, many of the bribes having reached fabulous figures. It is said that for the extension of time granted in 1891 one man received more than \$1,000,000, while many others received amounts in like proportion. Under the government of Marroquin the \$250,000 paid yearly by the Panama Railroad Company for its franchise had in every case dwindled to less than \$25,000 by the time it reached the local officials for whose uses it was supposed to be used.

The clique of 1886 was finally ousted when General Marroquin, the Vice-President, and General Casabianca, the Minister of War, imprisoned Doctor Sanclemente, the President, in July of 1900. These plotters have kept themselves in power by might alone, being opposed by the Liberals, the National Conservatives, and the Historical Conservatives, the only three political parties in the country. No attempt at decent government has been made, as the constitution has been completely forgotten in the ensuing four years' bloody struggle for supremacy.

Since 1899, when the Liberals started a revolution against the Conservatives in office, the country has been a political chaos, no one paying any regard to any one else except at the muzzle of a rifle. There have been many rival factions, each fighting against the other indiscriminately, their only object being to get control of the purse-strings of the nation. All business has naturally come to a stand-still, as more money can be made, and more rapidly, by seizing with force anything that hands can be laid on than by honest merchandizing.

Panama has had its full share of these difficulties, but at the same time it was the only part of the country that had a large body of stable business men who were opposed to revolution, and who in consequence had been using their utmost endeavor to bring about a condition that would enable them to conduct their businesses in peace and comfort. When they had succeeded in getting their State quieted and rid of the armed bodies of freebooters on either side, they very quickly and very properly declared a bloodless revolution, whose sole object was to restore peace to the isthmus in a way that seemed to them to promise permanent security for their goods and lives.

THE HOME OF INVENTION

THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT PROLIFIC OF NEW DEVICES—MEN EMPLOYED AT HIGH SALARIES TO DO NOTHING BUT INVENT—AUTOMATIC MACHINES DESIGNED WHILE YOU WAIT—A ROMANCE IN AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT

BY

ARTHUR GOODRICH

TWO men in a car in which I was riding in Connecticut were talking. One, who had evidently been explaining something to the other, brought his hand down on his knee and said:

"That change in the machine will take the place of three operations. It will pay for itself," calculating roughly, "in less than six months."

Who they were I don't know. They might have been machinists or foremen or officers of large manufacturing companies. It is hard to divide people into classes in Connecticut. The head of one of the largest corporations in the State looks, except about the eyes, decidedly like an old yard-man in an adjacent factory. But the fragment of conversation overheard in the car typifies the State and its history far more than the characteristic Connecticut country through which we were passing, although the rounded hills were typical of New England.

From the Connecticut statute of 1672 which said, "It is ordered that there shall be no monopolies granted among us but of such new inventions as shall be judged profitable to the country and for such time as the General Court shall judge meet," until the last twenty years, during which, by the Patent Office record Connecticut has led every State in the country in inventiveness, except in four separate years, when it stood second in the list, the people have shown their tendency. Every one knows the story of Eli Whitney and the revolution his cotton-gin accomplished, although fewer know of his experiments in firearms, from which there was developed by regular stages one of the greatest manufacturing companies in the country. Many know how Asa Buell used part of the statue of George III., which, according to tradition, was melted into bullets for the Continental Army, to make some of the

first type cast in America, and how after his death the head of the statue was found in his garret. John Fitch's part in the evolution of the steamboat is common history. The picture of Eli Terry riding along the Naugatuck Valley roads with wooden clocks, made entirely by hand, dangling, dials out, in the place of saddlebags, is hardly less well known, or the story of the development of clock-making by the inventor and by Seth Thomas, one of his employees, and later by dozens of others, until 75 cents' worth of common iron is converted into \$200,000 worth of watch-springs.

The development of any old-time Connecticut industry shows successive layers of new inventions. Take, for example, the making of axes. Until, back in 1826, two or three Connecticut store clerks became interested in some particularly good axes that a visiting blacksmith made, axes were hammered out by hand on common forges. These men devised some elementary machines and rented a mill. Early in the growth of the industry a young mechanic, who was afterward to make a greater name with another Connecticut concern, became its superintendent. He was one of those mechanical geniuses who seem to be a New England product. One day a machine refused to work. He sat by it for a day and a half, and in the end simplified it greatly and made it much more useful than it had ever been. Shortly after, he invented a machine by which the eye of the axe was punched out of the solid metal, and another for shaving instead of grinding the edge. Through his work and that of men who followed him an immense factory grew up, until the nearly fifty different buildings cover seventeen acres of ground.

The company makes most of its own machinery and sells three-fourths of its

product abroad, notwithstanding high wages and duties. The old-time hammering is almost entirely done by machinery. A single machine, for example, takes a bar of heated iron, cuts it into proper lengths, beats it into shape, and punches roughly the eye. A trip-hammer beats the steel which is to be inserted, and another welds the steel edge into the split-iron poll. Heavy drops with dies form the head into the exact shape required. Long lines of grindstones and emery-wheels prepare the edge of steel, and except for decoration and inspection the head is ready to be boxed and shipped.

The edged-tool industry may be paralleled by dozens of other Connecticut manufactories. The first invention is the beginning of an endless chain. Every new invention begets another. Competition prods the manufacturer constantly to make new articles and to improve those already in the market, to simplify machines, and to build new ones that cheapen cost. A patent solicitor, speaking of recent Connecticut patents, remarked that many of them are of small proportions, and that they have been the invention often of the men who work at the machines. An instance of the truth of this is a recent simple improvement of a machine by a man who worked at it, which is saving the company nearly \$40,000 yearly. A prominent manufacturer, asked for his experience, said: "The men who work out inventions are often employees, but the ideas usually come from some one who is interested financially in a company. The necessity of reducing expense is not apt to appeal to a man who gets his day's pay. Necessity is still the mother of invention."

Both are probably right. It is the combined inventive power of employer and employee that gives Connecticut an invention every year for every 1,000 inhabitants in the State.

Inventors as a separate class have disappeared from Connecticut—the improvident, always poverty-squeezed, traditional inventors—except occasionally a man who devises novelties or Yankee gimcracks, and is usually considered a crank by the manufacturers to whom he goes

The late Mr. Simonds used to tell a story of the German who came to a factory with what he thought was a great invention. He was very anxious about secrecy. When he finally displayed it the superintendent saw

a common hose-nozzle with corrugations and rough prominences of metal inside.

"What are these?" he asked.

"Why," said the German proudly, "that is the invention. The brook runs down-hill faster because of the pebbles. Those are the pebbles to make the water go faster."

A large proportion of new inventions are improvements on machines rather than entirely new productions, and, as a Connecticut manufacturer said recently, the process is usually as follows: "A cost clerk who knows nothing about machinery suggests the possibility of limiting costs, the superintendent or an officer in the company with his aids works out the improvement on paper, and a practical machinist furnishes the details." In many shops there are ingenious men who hold what is known as a "roving commission"—men whose single duty it is to devise changes on machinery and to suggest developments in product.

Why is Connecticut prominent in invention? Probably because it was settled by ingenious people who took the best method open to them to make a living. Agriculture is not profitable, except in individual small farms and for tobacco-raising. There is indeed little raw material for manufacturing there, but there was water-power and there were men, and invention begets invention.

There is scarcely an article in common use about your house that is not made in Connecticut, from the hinges and locks on the door to the billiard-table, the clock on your mantel, the sewing-machine in the workroom, your silverware, your gun, your bicycle or automobile, your piano and piano-player, and many such simple things as axes, nails, kitchen hardware, knives and forks, and needles, and chains. If there be anything that you cannot trace to Connecticut, you will find that the machinery for making it or the first shaping of raw material came from this State. The letter-box you pass on the way to your office, and the typewriter in use there, the ship in the harbor and the railroad train you ride in, all have the Connecticut stamp on them somewhere.

Important instances of the inventiveness that has made this possible can be cited without end.

A young man who at twenty-one had been before the mast, had worked in the

chemical department of a mill, and had lectured upon nitrous-oxide gas throughout the country, patented the rotating chamber for a pistol. It was not considered particularly valuable until after his first company that made it had failed and fights in Texas and with the Seminoles in Florida proved its worth. The Mexican War made a demand for it.

The same mechanic who did so much for early ax-making developed details in revolver-making. The American plan of not hesitating at the cost of new appliances was never better shown than in this big armory. The owner was probably the first man to suggest the mining of harbors with torpedoes for defense, and he was the first to lay a submarine electric cable.

One day a young man from Vermont came to his works.

"What can you do?" asked the general superintendent.

"I'm a machinist, a tool-maker, and a die-sinker, and I can play a horn in a band," was the reply.

He went to work the next day. A few years later he multiplied by forty the value of certain labor in another factory, and by another invention saved the company \$50,000 on contracts already made. Later, with a sewing-machine company, he forged shuttles from one piece of bar steel and cut previous costs in half. Since that time he has made forgings by the use of drops weighing as much as a ton dropping with dies sometimes six feet upon iron, steel, and copper. An example of his inventive genius is the instance of his forging offhand, from a single piece of copper, commutator bars for electric dynamos, after the electrician in charge had said that such a scheme was absolutely impossible.

Another company in the same town, through its capacity for outdoing its competitors in invention, delivered \$1,200,000 worth of gun machinery to the German Government in three years. Men employed by the same concern developed later a machine for uniform measurements. In England, an engineer, to the bewilderment of his people, will specify whatever he wishes. By the three years' work done in this factory a computator for correct measurements was made by which uniformity of measurements within one-fifty-seven-thousandth of an

inch was obtained throughout the country. Nuts and bolts became interchangeable, and a definite standard gauge was established. It is hard to remember so important an advance in the simplification of machinery. Another interesting instance of striking ingenuity nearby is the automatic machine that, after years of experimenting and testing, is taking plain wire and from it turning out 110 complete horse-shoe nails per minute.

The early story of the modern sewing-machine, one of the "seven wonders of American invention," is a Connecticut story. A dozen men have contributed revolutionary changes since the first patent was issued in 1850. A young chromo artist, many years ago, made some drawings of needle machines. Since that time, associated with one of the sewing-machine companies in the State, he has built up machine after machine so rapidly that not long ago a rival company came to him and wished to buy a machine that they knew was standing idle because he had invented a better one.

The immense business developed through costly experimenting, inventing, and testing which followed in the trail of the man who twenty-five years ago rode an English bicycle past staring people to the office of a Connecticut sewing-machine company and interested them in bicycle manufacture is a rapid and dramatic one. The most remarkable thing about a cheap watch which has made one Connecticut town famous the world over was the inventive ingenuity that made the escapement, upon which English watch-makers had worked and failed, a practicable feature of every watch. The shaping of tinware by hammering it with wooden mallets over anvils developed in Connecticut by invention after invention until long rows of constantly improving tinner's machines replaced the older method. The number of inventions of articles and of methods of manufacture that have had a share in the making of britannia and silverware will run into many hundreds. It would be interesting to know the exact amount of money that one invention alone—electro-plating—has saved in the country. The advance in lock-making in Connecticut, notable with the invention, first, of the separation of key mechanism and bolting mechanism—in which the variation of one-fiftieth of an inch in the fitting of the key prevents the working of

the lock—and the coming of the small, flat key, and later by the endeavors of large rival Connecticut companies to outstrip each other until the latest lock has its key-hole in the knob of the door, are marked with many inventions for safety, such, for example, as the automatic bolt-operating mechanism of a bank-vault door. Indeed, there is scarcely a manufactory in the State, from novelty companies to great brass-mills, that does not owe its inception, its growth, and its continued and advancing precedence over rival companies to the inventive genius of its owners and employees.

How quickly a company which follows English methods of using old machines until they fall to pieces is beaten down by American competition is made plain by one Connecticut company which paid 24 per cent. dividends to its stockholders, and would not allow its superintendent to make a single new machine. It was absorbed by a trust recently, after years of rapidly decreasing profits.

Most of the successful companies pay only moderate dividends if they can, and are constantly investing further profits in improvements. "Any reasonable investment inside a factory will pay for itself in five years," said a Connecticut manufacturer recently. "Of course you can't tell what will happen in five years, but that's a risk you must take."

One factory I visited in Connecticut is characteristic of the most successful of them. In the first room we entered was an immense hut-like mechanism, awkward, ungainly, and complicated. Two or three women worked at it. It was explained in two minutes, and it is as simple as it seems complicated, and yet it includes every necessary detail for that one part of manufacture. It requires one-eighth the cost of labor used in the older method, and it reduces considerably the cost of operation. It will pay for itself within a year.

Passing in this factory an overhead carrier which will take the place of men hauling partly finished goods from one part of the factory to another, we came to a room lined with automatic machines spouting oil and waste. Nine or ten machines are in the care of a workman and they supply him just enough work to keep him busy. Over in the corner, centrifugal separators divide the oil from the metal of the waste, and the oil is used again.

The metal waste also is separated by machinery. In a room beyond, three powerful machines, running day and night, are doing all the work which was previously done by two entire floors of men and machines in a large factory. These three machines mean a saving of \$20,000 a year to the company. With another machine a single workman does the work of twelve, more rapidly than he could have done his single task before, and by simple arrangement every particle of waste is saved. Throughout the shop are such comparatively small devices as those for feeding different kinds of material into machines automatically and for distribution of material for time-saving before and after an operation. So carefully is the factory supervised that every movement of each machine is calculated to a nicety, and added methods of saving are constantly put into common use. Every movement of a workman's arm means something.

The way in which the inventive preëminence of Connecticut is measured is, of course, by the number of patents issued. There are, however, a number of factories in the State which believe themselves safer without patents. One manufacturer, asked why his company, a large one, took out comparatively few patents, said:

"We patent new articles which go to the public, but we seldom patent our methods of making these articles. I'll tell you why. A German engineer came to this country recently, and was hired by some Americans to make preparations for the manufacture of certain goods. The engineer, naturally, went to Washington, and in two weeks he learned from a study of the patents more about the making of machines for this particular manufacturer than he could have acquired in five years' practical experience. He then went to work at new machinery that would not infringe on present patents. The companies which had carefully patented their machinery had made it infinitely easy for the starting of a new competitor. From the point of view of our business it is better to have a hundred workmen see our machines daily than to have them recorded in the Patent Office."

A large proportion of inventions, however, are patented. In many cases the public receives more value than the inventor during the life of the patent. One article of Connecticut manufacture, for example, saved

the public \$7 while it made \$5 for the inventor. Mr. James Shepard, in his little book which shows that New Britain is the most inventive city in the world, gives the answers he received from four hardware manufacturers in that town to the question of the approximate value of their best-paying patent, as, respectively, \$5,000, \$85,000, \$100,000, and \$200,000. He says, further, that more than half of New Britain patents have been paying patents. One inventor in this town holds upward of 125 patents, every one of which has paid.

The value of a patent is often deceiving. One concern, which decided to buy all patents of value in its line of business, paid \$60,000 for three patents which seemed worthless for its use and stored them away in the safe. A few years later one of those patents was worth more than the cost of all by keeping a rival concern from manufacturing the goods.

One of the most successful manufacturers in Connecticut's history, who had been making a bare living at wood-turning, was called to take charge of a trunk-hinge factory which his brother had controlled. One day a man came to him with a trunk-fastener. He bought the patent for \$2,000 and later a previous basic patent for about half that amount. The first month of its manufacture he paid for the patent, and during the life of the patent he cleared from \$3,000 to \$5,000 a month in trunk-fasteners. A single recent patent—that for the making of washers by a single turn of flattened wire—is likely to revolutionize the entire business. A descendant of old Eli Terry went some years ago to a company in Hartford to show a water-wheel that he had made. He was told that it wouldn't work, and it didn't. Later he was, I believe, the first man to work out the transmission of electric power for manufacturing, bringing in electricity from Tariffville to Hartford, and selling it as the truck farmer sells his potatoes.

While the large majority of inventions in Connecticut are little things brought about by the needs of inside manufacturing, there have been and are men at work who are born inventors—veritable geniuses. The man who devised axe machines and machines for the making of firearms was one of a considerable number. One old man, whose machines, put up twenty-five years ago, are working still un-

changed in one of the most progressive shops in the State, would sit in a quiet corner of the factory by the hour, planning. Then he would put on paper a mass of lines and figures that meant nothing to any one else, for, as he said himself, he "couldn't draw very well," and at last he would begin to build the machine. It is told of him that one day, after fixing a small lock for a bank, he surprised the officers by telling them that their vault locks were useless. They didn't believe him, and he said he would get into the vault within a certain time without hurting a lock, and he did it, to their amazement and chagrin. There is a man who, by sheer inventive genius, in the last few years has put on its feet once more an old-established concern which had been beaten down by ingenious competitors.

Machine companies which have sprung up throughout the State are racking their brains for new ideas and are building machinery with which some manufacturing concern will increase profits. Many big concerns make all their own machinery.

"Why?" an officer of one such company was asked.

"First of all," was the answer, "because a machine company is naturally more anxious about the durability and the reputation of its machine than it is about our business and our profits. We make a machine to drive it hard if necessary to get our results. Then, too, if we make the machine ourselves there is no chance of its duplication."

In separate machine-shops and in those connected with large works the mass of inventions are commonplace, but are saving hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly to the manufacturer—a profit which competition forces him to share with the public.

Connecticut has until very recently been spared large labor troubles or the organization of trusts. It has been a community of old-fashioned organization while it has led the world in modern manufacture. Even now the conditions are only slightly changed. Connecticut employers are usually fair and the unions are usually sensible. Labor has put little obstruction in the way of the rapid progress in automatic machinery or in modern methods of manufacture, for the reason that common sense, in the unions and out of them, knows the futility and unreasonableness of such action. Labor cried out

against the sewing-machine, and said that it would take work from thousands of poor women. It has displaced no one, has increased demand, and has given work to many thousands of workmen. The growth of invention in the big workshops has almost invariably increased wages, decreased the working-time, and cheapened the product.

Connecticut manufacturers, with skilled labor working by their sides, with few natural advantages to help them, have developed the most inventive community in the world. New product has been made and bettered and cheapened. Skilled workmanship well paid for, and constantly new and cheaper

methods of manufacture, have beaten down not only competition in this country, but also European competition on its own ground. There are few very rich men whose wealth has come alone from Connecticut factories. There are few skilled workers there who do not live well. And this community of workers, perhaps better than any other single community in the world, has shown that by progressive invention it is possible to pay double wages and at the same time make and sell better products cheaper than any one else in the world. Given a Yankee and water-power, and there is nothing that he cannot do.

A BUSY CITY UNDERGROUND

LIFE IN THE FOURTH SUBSTORY OF A NEW YORK SKY-SCRAPER
FIFTY FEET BELOW THE PAVEMENT—AN ARMY OF HIDDEN
WORKERS PROVIDING COMFORT FOR BUSINESS MEN
THROUGH THE VAST MECHANISM OF A MODERN BUILDING

BY

WILLIAM R. STEWART

OF ALL the thousands who daily walk the streets of New York looking admiringly at the towering buildings, few know that the vitals of the city are beneath their feet, that life throbs far below the pavement in the thrust of a hundred thousand piston-rods, in churning engines, in the hum of ventilating fans, the buzz of dynamos, and the choked roar of the furnaces. And yet, buried fifty feet or more beneath the sidewalk, far below the tide-water of the rivers on either side, bulked in by coffer-dams of steel and rock, are mechanical plants which represent the acme of engineering achievement. A great steamship has no greater proportion of its bulk concealed below the water-line than the modern "sky-scraper" has beneath the line of the asphalt.

In this underground city everything is systematized. Drafts of cool air fan the hot breath of the furnace from the brow of the coal-heaver. Every furnace has a human purpose to perform. Every engine means foot-pounds of energy to be transformed into something serviceable.

It is no mere theory that the time will come when climate will be regulated by human agencies. In underground New York a beginning has been made. Great drafts of air, cooled by their passage between hundreds of coils of ammonia-chilled pipes and then filtered, are fanned into every room of a many-storied building above, cooling the hottest summer day; and in winter the same ducts convey air heated by the furnaces. With a ship, every throb as its screw churns the water bespeaks machinery; the long, black cloud of smoke tells of coal consumed, of a deep, dark hold where grimy men wheel ton after ton to the naked, perspiring stokers. In a "sky-scraper," the clatter of machinery is drowned by the sullen roar of the city before it reaches the surface, and no black volumes stream from its anthracite-fed furnaces. Yet the building does as much work as the ship, whose life is motion. The dozen or score of smooth-running elevators, the twenty-five thousand electric lights, the clear running water, every particle filtered, the tons of artificial ice, the refrigerated

meats—these and a dozen more are evidences of the life and work beneath the pavements of the great city.

The foundations of the great fifteen- or twenty-story structures of lower New York are sunk beneath the level of the bottom of the East and North rivers. Nothing but bed-rock is firm enough to support their giant proportions. Then, built around the sunken caissons, and within coffer-dams of steel and concrete, are three, four, and five stories of the building lower than the street.

On the lowest of the floors the great machinery is installed. The newest and the most complete of the installations are those under the new Stock Exchange building, on Broad Street, which was opened in April, and under the new wing of the building of one of the big life insurance companies. The latter, which will supply not only the power for the complete block which the building covers, but also, by tunnels to be cut through the intervening roadways, the power for two other office buildings, is the largest isolated electric plant in the world. The machinery, both here and under the Stock Exchange, is on the fourth subfloor, fifty-two feet beneath the street, and lower than the river bottom.

For a trip through one of these great sub-basements one may follow stairways and galleries, narrow passages, and ladders in true steamer style, but it is simpler to use the elevator.

At the fourth subfloor one first sees great white mains, some carrying steam, some compressed air, others exhausts, in endless coils, suspended close to the ceiling, extending in every direction. Beneath is machinery of every description—red dynamos, white-painted pumps, black, oily engines, air-compressors, and ice-machines. Beyond, in the background, filling up the interstices of the meshwork of suspended mains, loom blackly the great water-tube boilers, six or seven of them, cars, loaded with a ton of coal each, running on tracks in front, with men to shovel in the fuel. And everywhere is light from a hundred electric sparks—the brightness of midday.

Men appear and disappear noiselessly. Some are oilers—you know that by the cans they carry; others are various grades of engineers and engineers' assistants. All appear busy, but there is no rush and no confusion;

there is little talking. The machinist is a silent man while he works.

Military precision characterizes everything. The chief engineer has his quarters at the most accessible place to the machinery for the efficiency of which he is responsible. If anything should go wrong he is ready at hand. He knows every piece and section in the great system of iron and steel and brass, and what to do in an emergency and how to do it—though very few loopholes for emergency exist. Not a single important function of boiler or engine, pump or hoist or other machinery, has been overlooked in the provision against accident. Should an ejector refuse to work, there are auxiliary ejectors to work until matters are righted; should a feed-water heater get out of order, there are spare ones in order. And so on through all the intricate list.

Nothing is left to chance. There are pumps for putting out fires, pumps for filling boilers, pumps for hoisting refuse, and each does its own work. But let a fire start, and the fire-pump need help, and all the others would at once become fire-fighters.

The most comprehensive plant so far installed for the purpose of circulating chilled air during hot weather is installed in the new Stock Exchange. As one stands at the bottom of the great shaft down which the air is brought by natural draft from above the roof, it is difficult to keep one's hat on, even after it is jammed down over the ears, and the low sound of the sifting air might be mistaken for the whistling wind through a vessel's shrouds.

As the air rushes to the lower floor it encounters a roomful of iron coils through which ice-cold brine, chilled by the ammonia refrigerating plant, runs in a steady stream, passing from the ammonia-tank into the pipes, through them, then back, to be once more chilled for another circuit. Blowing through the meshwork of cold pipes, gathering from them a breath of frostiness, the cooled air swishes through close-meshed screens of very fine cheese-cloth, by which it is filtered. Fine particles of soot, dust specks, and other undesirable objects, are thus prevented from gaining access to the interior.

The cheese-cloth screens are not set so that the air-current strikes them at broadside, but are so placed in racks as to form a continuous series of the letter V, with the

result that even greater opposition than the fineness of the mesh is offered to the air, and a more thorough filtering accomplished. After passing through the screens, the air finds its way into great closed canals by which it passes into the smaller ducts and is fanned to the floors above. Each floor has its separate supply-pipes and fan. On the roof of the building is another fan, which sucks out the vitiated atmosphere and makes room for the fresh. The screening and fanning proceed uninterruptedly so long as there is occasion for it. All the windows in the great building might as well be hermetically sealed for all the need there is of them for ventilation.

A look into the great coal-bunker reveals every aspect of a coal-breaker. Circling around the four sides are car-tracks, on which heavy dump cars, each containing about a ton of coal, are propelled, carrying the coal from the outside to feed the boilers underneath. The capacity of the bunker in one New York building is five hundred tons, and a car is kept in continuous operation in carrying the supply. In winter about fifty tons a day are consumed.

The boiler-room is like the boiler-room of a great steamship, but infinitely more comfortable. Every boiler is self-stoking, and no half-naked men toil sweltering in the heat. Instead, the temperature is almost pleasant.

The boiler-plant in the building to which reference has just been made, which is fifty-two feet below the level of the street and thirty-three feet below tide-water, supplies 2,400 horse-power. The largest class of Atlantic liners, with machinery designed specially to furnish tremendous propelling power, have boilers supplying from 6,000 to 10,000 horse-power. The building requires one-third as much steam energy as the steamship. The electric plant consists of four engines each of 600 horse-power.

Every drop of water which the underground "sky-scraper" consumes is filtered, even that for the great boilers, which evaporate 50,000 gallons a day, to the dapper little fire-pumps, for impurities in the water cling to the iron pipes and to the inside lining of the furnaces, retarding the generation of steam, and causing undue wear and finally destruction to the plant. Every week 2,300,000 gallons of water are used—enough to supply the wants of a village. The actual

capacity of the filters is 1,000,000 gallons daily. The plant consists of two tanks, with a perforated copper partition inserted at the largest part. At the top of this is a bed, six inches deep, of clean, sharp sand, and above that a bed of charcoal. The water is received downward through the charcoal and sand into one of the tanks, passed over to a duplicate tank, and then forced upward by an air-compressor through other beds of the same substance. The reverse process removes from the water any substances which may have been carried with it in the first filtering process.

The water used in the boilers is pumped in through two feed-water heaters, one of 2,000 horse-power and a smaller auxiliary heater of 1,000 horse-power. The hot-water service of the complete system is furnished by two heaters of a special type. The elevator service—there are twenty-eight hydraulic lifts—is driven by five compound duplex pumps. Two similar pumps are used for the house-supply system, and one large pump is for the fire service. All eight pumps are so connected that they can be immediately thrown into fire service if needed.

An interesting feature of the underground plant is the ice-machinery. In the building under description this consists of a ten-ton bellows. Besides making from eight to ten tons of ice every day, this also circulates cold brine through the meat-house and cold water through the dining-rooms. Hauling out parallelepipeds of clear crystal from a huge tank in the brick floor, with the atmosphere marking 100 degrees Fahrenheit on the thermometer, is not quite the same as sawing it out of a frozen lake, but the ice is just as good, if not better, and costs less.

Other portions of the basement plant are a huge ejector for handling the refuse—for this is many feet below the city sewer—and an endless chain studded with receptacles which hoists the ashes in a continuous stream from the boiler-room floor to the street surface. This chain when not in use is folded back against the wall. But its moments of relaxation are few, for the fires in the furnaces burn always, and the task of cleaning out the ashes is far from easy.

The miles and miles of pipes and wires which wind their way through the underground structure, thence up through the columns of the building, underneath the floors, and

over the ceilings, can scarcely be realized. A superintendent of a "sky-scraper" says that the wire used in the private telephone system of that building exceeds forty miles in length; he estimates the length of the various pipes—water, steam, drain, etc.—at more than 100 miles.

Crews of from forty to sixty men are required to operate the engineering mechanism of the great office buildings. In the boiler- and engine-rooms the force works in three shifts of eight hours each. The early watch begins at 7 A. M. and ends at 3 P. M. Then the middle watch comes on and works till 11 P. M., when the late watch begins. No man leaves his post till he is relieved by his successor. Each watch comprises an engineer, an oiler, two firemen, and two coal-passers, and there is always ready at hand if wanted a chief engineer, with his assistant. The remainder of the working force of the building is composed of oilers (one for each four elevators), electricians, plumbers, steam-fitters, machinists, carpenters, cabinet-makers, masons, plasterers, painters, and cleaners. From 30,000 to 40,000 passengers a day travel up and down the elevators.

At every hour of the day or night the engineer in charge is in a position to know at just what rate of consumption the coal is being burned, how many amperes of electricity the dynamos are generating, how much water is passing through the filters, or what the steam pressure is. Moreover, a month or a year later he would have the same knowledge ready filed away for reference, not only in rows of figures, but graphically also, in lines running irregularly across other straight horizontal lines, the latter indicating the twenty-four hours, beginning very near to the bottom, at 7 A. M., when the early shift starts, jumping quickly up the page at 8 A. M., when the tenants begin to arrive, the elevators to run, the lights to burn, and perhaps the electric fans to revolve. About four o'clock in the afternoon the zig-zag line slumps suddenly downward—the lawyers, and brokers, and all the army of occupants are beginning to go home—and by six o'clock it is once more trailing along near the bottom of the score-sheet, for then only a few amperes are required to keep the building above the street in operation.

The locker-rooms for each group of the building force are on the second floor under-

ground, above the boiler-, engine-, and pump-plants. They are provided with all lavatory and toilet facilities. Tubs for bathing, shower-baths, dressing-cabinets, marble hand-basins, towel-racks—everything, in short, which the most luxurious city dwelling might possess—are furnished for the use of the working staff, three stories below the nearest open-air windows.

Usually the building really works only ten hours, and the night shift is smaller than the day shift. In one or two of the large hotels, where the day overlaps the night and the night merges with the day, there is no difference. In the power-rooms of the Waldorf-Astoria, three stories below the street, 150 men are employed. There, too, in winter 100 tons of coal a day are consumed in seven furnaces, for a hotel must keep itself warm at every hour of the twenty-four. Fifty tons of artificial ice are used daily during the summer, and half a thousand carafes of water chilled by the ice-machine; 4,000 pounds of meat, fish, and game are kept at freezing temperature in the refrigerators.

The population of this great underground city, which sees sunlight on only one day a week, must be larger than that of many incorporated cities. The engineers and firemen and oilers who largely compose it are nearly all men past the middle of life. In their earlier days they were marine engineers. There is something of the pathetic in this exchange from the restless tossing of the steamship to the rock-riveted basement of the "sky-scraper." The hole in the ground underneath the great structure is frequently a "snug harbor!"

What will yet be the history of New York below the pavement? Already stores along the Subway are in perspective, while the great subterranean borings of the Pennsylvania Railroad, with the world's largest passenger station to be built more than half underground, equipped with moving platforms and stairways, and other projected subways to come, open up visions of a city beneath a city, of great buildings connected underneath by tunnels, till passage over wide areas may be accomplished without the need of mounting to the surface. Perhaps in the New York of another century much of the heavy truck traffic will be carried on underground, leaving the surface streets to the pedestrian and the light vehicles.

THE HALL OF FESTIVALS

Which is the artistic centre of the St. Louis Exposition; the Colonnade of the fourteen States and Territories made out of the Louisiana Purchase, in the background



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THE MAIN PLAN OF THE FAIR

THE PRINCIPAL SCENIC FEATURE OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION WILL BE COMPOSED OF GARDENS AND CASCADES, A FESTIVAL HALL WITH A HIGH DOME, AND A MAJESTIC COLONNADE, ALL ADORNED WITH SCULPTURE—THE COOPERATIVE WORK OF SCULPTOR, ARCHITECT, AND LANDSCAPE ARTIST

BY

EDWARD HALE BRUSH

THE plan of the central portion of the St. Louis exposition grounds suggests a fan. The great exhibit buildings are on avenues which radiate from the Hall of Festivals, at the centre of a long colonnade called the Colonnade of States. This curved colonnade terminates at either end in circular pavilions each 140 feet high, surmounted by domes and somewhat corresponding in architectural treatment to Festival Hall. The colonnade, which is 52 feet high and more than a quarter of a mile long, extends gracefully in a semicircle along the brow of a hill, crowning, as it were, the crest of a natural amphitheatre, 70 feet high. In the rear of the Colonnade and of Festival Hall, and partially screened by them, though on a higher level, is the Art Palace.

The face of the hillside has been terraced;



Photograph by D. W. C. Ward

"PHYSICAL LIBERTY"

By H. A. MacNeil, in the Central Cascades



Photograph by D. D. Allen & Co.

"WYOMING"

By C. F. Hamann, in the Colonnade of States



Photograph by C. Ording

"NORTH DAKOTA"

By B. L. Zimm, in the Colonnade of States

and descending from the front of Festival Hall and the flanking pavilions there are to be three cascades. The water which gushes

forth from the central fountain spreads into a stream 50 feet wide as it pours over the first fall of 25 feet. It widens out still more



Photograph by C. Ording

"OKLAHOMA"

By J. S. Conway, in the Colonnade of States



Photograph by C. Ording

"INDIAN TERRITORY"

By C. A. Heber, in the Colonnade of States



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DETAIL SKETCH OF THE GREAT HALL OF FESTIVALS AND THE CENTRAL CASCADE



A GROUP ON ONE OF THE SIDE CASCADES
By Isidore Konti

Photograph by D. D. Alley & Co.



A CHILD RIDING A FISH
By Mrs. MacNeil, in the central cascades

Photograph by D. W. C. Ward



"THE TRIUMPH OF MUSIC AND ART"
By Phillip Martiny, in the Hall of Festivals

Photograph by D. W. C. Ward

as one fall succeeds another until it is a stream 152 feet wide when it reaches the basin at the foot of the slope. The total fall is 95 feet and the length of the central cascade is about 300 feet. The side cascades are still longer.



"THE SPIRIT OF THE ATLANTIC"

By Isidore Kouti, at the head of one of the side cascades

All three fall into the cascades basin, 600 feet wide, which will reflect the picture above it and at night will aid in enhancing the beauty of the electric illumination. Nearly 90,000 gallons of water per minute will be discharged

into this basin from the three cascades when they are in full operation. The slope between the cascades and in front of Festival Hall and the Colonnade of States is to be made into a formal garden, richly adorned with flowers and shrubs. The design of the cascades and of the Colonnade of States and the pavilions, with the approaches and surrounding gardens, is the work of Mr. Emmanuel L. Masqueray, Chief of Design of the Exposition.

The Hall of Festivals, the great central structure, has a dome larger than St. Peter's at Rome. As the principal point of emphasis in the design of the exposition, it impresses its character upon the whole composition. Its height is emphasized by the terraces immediately in front and the wide basin at the foot of the slope. It is on the main axis of the grand court and faces toward the principal entrance to the grounds. A monumental archway 65 feet high, richly decorated with sculpture, forms the main entrance to the hall. A group over the archway typifies "The Triumph of Music and Art." "Music" and "Dance" are allegorically represented in groups flanking the entrance. The decorative details of the building are suggestive of music and the drama. Lyres, harps, Greek masks, names of composers, and the like, are used both for ornamental effect and to express the festive ideas associated with the structure. The main entrance is flanked on the sides by colonnaded walls. The drum of the dome is treated with a series of circular openings, decorated architecturally in the same spirit as the rest of the building. The dome is 145 feet in diameter. That of St. Peter's at Rome is 144 feet. The height from the ground, of course, is not so great as St. Peter's. It is 450 feet from the ground to the highest point of St. Peter's dome, while it is 250 feet from the level of the grand court to the top of the dome of Festival Hall. The diameter of the building at its base is 192 feet, exclusive of the balustraded terrace upon which it stands. The structure as a whole covers more than two acres. The auditorium is intended for the accommodation of about 4,000 people, being arranged on the interior like a theatre and finished like a permanent building. Its many windows will furnish an excellent light by day, and at night the electric illumination, both without and within, is expected to be a triumph of the electrician's skill. The architect of the Hall

of Festivals is Mr. Cass Gilbert, of New York and St. Paul. The design of the interior, however, is in the hands of Mr. Masqueray.

The entire composition made up of the Cascade Gardens, Festival Hall, and the Colonnade of States has an historic as well as allegorical significance, and is meant to express the jubilation which a great nation feels that the sway of liberty was extended by the Louisiana Purchase practically from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This idea is especially conveyed in the sculptural decorations which portray the various phases of the central theme. From a distance the "Fountain of Liberty," which stands at the head of the central cascades, seems almost to form a part of the archway by which entrance is afforded to the hall. Mr. Hermon A. MacNeil, who has modeled the statuary for these cascades, has typified in sculpture the ideas associated with such sentiments as Liberty, Patriotism, Freedom, Truth, Justice, and the Family.

Around the central cascades stairways descend on both sides and swing away in opposite directions until the level of the basin below is reached. Flanking the waterways, and between them and the stairways, run the groups of sculpture which serve both to illustrate the theme and to enhance the decorative effect of the composition. The Fountain of Liberty, with its goddess holding aloft the symbolic torch, and its figures of Truth and Justice, commands the scene, and from beneath the arch upon which the figures rest the water rushes. From the springing of the arch come forth men of heroic proportions riding fish-horses, and on either side heralds proclaim the advent of the goddess. At the base of the arch and flanking the ramp which swings from its sides are groups representing Patriotism and the Family, these being at the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon idea of liberty. Next beyond these groups, as one descends to the grand basin, come two others, one representing the idea of freedom and physical liberty, the other intellectual liberty as it exists under the restraining institutions of civilization. The series terminate in large groups surmounting pedestals 16 feet in height, the groups themselves being about 20 feet in height. The sculptor has portrayed in the latter groups the ideas underlying the development of the arts and sciences.

The side cascades, whose sculptural figures and groups are by Mr. Isidore Konti, are equal in importance in this composition with the central cascades. The side cascades are more than 400 feet in length, and the architect's plan provided for fifteen groups for each side. At the head of each



"THE SPIRIT OF THE PACIFIC"

By Isidore Konti, at the head of one of the side cascades

cascade and in front of the ornate pavilions which terminate the Colonnade of States are fountains, and the groups surmounting these the sculptor calls respectively "The Spirit of the Atlantic" and "The Spirit of the Pacific." The Atlantic Ocean is symbolized

by a vigorous and graceful youth who stands in clouds with arm raised as if controlling the tempest. At his feet an eagle soars, typifying the restless and turbulent character of the Atlantic. Beneath are children and forms of sea-life, and the whole group surmounts a globe whence fall the waters that pour over the cascades. A graceful girl reclining over a sea-gull, a grizzled sea-god with a sea-lion, and other allegorical expressions of the animal wealth of the Atlantic, meet us as we follow the flow of the waters to the basin.

The doorway of Festival Hall, by Mr. Charles J. Pike, suggests gaiety, and is composed of two flying figures supporting a lyre. The groups entitled "Music" and "Dance," on either side of the entrance to the Hall of Festivals, present an interesting contrast. Mr. Augustus Lukeman is the author of "Music." The group consists of five figures. In the upper part is a figure of Orpheus playing the lyre, accompanying the voice of a beautiful woman who forms the foremost figure in the group and who represents vocal music. To her left is a female figure playing the 'cello. On her right is a group of two figures, Pan playing his pipes and a bacchante playing a timbrel and leading a panther. Opposite the group by Mr. Lukeman will stand the companion group by Mr. Tonetti, entitled "Dance," which presents an admirable foil. A figure in the upper part of the group urges on the dancers. The various forms of the dance and its national characteristics are represented by the different figures. A faun dancing with

a nymph, both being strong-limbed and unconventional, present a contrast to two other figures, a delicately proportioned girl and a man, portraying a more modern type of dance. A girl in the centre of the group is poised in a graceful attitude and personifies the grace in the dance. The theme of the group is not novel, but its treatment is picturesque.

The Colonnade of States, in the background, affords opportunity for the use of statuary typifying the twelve States and two Territories that were formed from the original Louisiana Purchase. Square pylons alternate with the columns, and the effect suggests somewhat the majestic approach of St. Peter's at Rome. It may remind some of the beautiful peristyle at Chicago. The electrical illumination at night of the gardens, the cascades, the Colonnade, the Festival Hall, the Cascades Basin, and fountains, with the many fanciful effects to be introduced, will give a fairylike aspect to the scene. The whole spectacle will be a revelation to many of the possibilities of a great work when landscape artist, sculptor, and architect labor together. From the decorative point of view this composition forms the triumph of the fair. With the work of sculptor, architect, and landscape artist reënforced by that of experts in electrical illumination, the beauty of the picture, by day or by night, will make it the great spectacular feature of the exposition. It will doubtless be the scene of all others most admired—a picture different from anything seen before and most fitly expressing the joy of the nation over an event of great import in its history.



THE HALL OF FESTIVALS AND COLONNADE OF STATES AS THEY WILL APPEAR AT NIGHT

THE POLITICIAN IN LIFE AND IN FICTION

BY

CHURCHILL WILLIAMS

AMONG my acquaintances is an influential ward-leader—a man of ready-made clothes and few graces of manner or speech, but with plenty of space between his temples and eyes, which miss little within their range. In the upper story of his house is a room lined with pine shelves crowded with five-pound books. Many of these are the gifts of a prodigal and paternal government—the official history of the Civil War, and census, agricultural, and educational reports. Among other volumes are an encyclopedia, Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," Grant's Recollections, and a subscription Life of Lincoln. Here the owner sat in his shirt-sleeves when I asked him what he thought of three novels of American political life which I had handed him some weeks before.

"I've read them," he said. "A good many things happen the way they tell."

"How about the men in them?"

"I've heard of men like them."

"Haven't you met men like them?"

"I don't meet them any more than I have to." His eyes twinkled. "It's this way: they're newspaper politicians or else they're reformers. Too bad and too good for me."

"Then they're not real?"

"Oh, real enough; but there's others. A lot of little fellows—with nothing in *them* for a book, I guess."

The three novels upon which this judgment was passed fairly represented the range of recent American political fiction. One dealt with official life at Washington; another was a story of country politics in the Middle West; the third told about a stubborn municipal campaign in a big city. Separately and collectively, of course, they did not account for many of the figures in the life they pictured. But it was not so much the absence of any one or any number of these figures which my critic noted as a lack of

proportion in the figures which were there. In his own bailiwick he made it his business to know how his men lived—what they earned, how they earned it; whether they paid their bills; their personal habits, likes, and dislikes; whether they went to church; if unmarried, how they behaved toward their kin; if they were married, how they provided for their families; whether their children attended school. All this information entered into his estimate of their usefulness to him and to themselves. Performance was the test of their usefulness, but the opportunities for performance were largely in his hand. To give these opportunities to the right men at the right time was to make sure of his plans. So he had learned that every bully had his merciful moment, every thief his charity, every honest man his weakness or vice. In the books which I gave him he had found comparatively little of these. Therefore in the fictional figures he did not recognize the likenesses of the "little fellows," of which he himself is in a way one.

There seems to be, indeed, a larger realization of the human and likable qualities of the politician than there used to be, but the popular conception of him still fails to comprehend certain of the qualities which are essential to his personal success and therefore to the dominance of the political "machine," which, after all, is "politics" itself as commonly referred to.

It is acknowledged that chance plays a small part, if any, in political happenings; that things happen, not because of fortunate accident, but as the result of careful planning and hard work; that what the people at large see and hear of political doings is but the formal execution of what has been determined upon and arranged for long before. But an old misapprehension as to methods survives in the face of history and reason, and political power is attributed either to a shrewdness amounting almost to prescience or to bribery

and bullying. It is the modicum of truth in each of these explanations—a modicum of truth of which it is so easy to cite illustration—that makes them plausible; it is the large amount of exaggeration in each—an exaggeration not so evident because its proof is almost wholly negative—which makes each dangerous to build upon. The political leader to whom politics is a means of livelihood must be shrewd beyond his fellows if he is to rule them. But this shrewdness is born of a careful and laborious analysis of the human factors with which he deals rather than of any extraordinary intellectual resources. He has wit, and by long experience he is enabled sometimes to make a short cut to conclusions, which passes for intuition. But in the bare matter of brains he is seldom as well off as is the leader of a political reform movement, who, as a rule, already has distinguished himself in mercantile or professional life by superior ability. As to the bullying and bribes with which the politician is charged, it requires but a little unprejudiced reflection to demonstrate that he never controlled or long could control a sufficient following by such methods alone.

The man who is bribed is for sale to the enemy at a higher price, and usually allows this to be known. The man who is bullied nurses a desire for revenge, and sooner or later satisfies it. Besides, bullying and bribing may be done only with extreme caution. They are outside the law. And the first precept of the political kindergarten is: *Keep within the law*. Unless the law is so constructed that its execution is merely nominal, and therefore no law at all, *keep within the law*. If the law may not be so interpreted officially as to countenance what you wish to do, see that a new law replaces it which does. In any event, *keep within the law*. If the Ten Commandments were obeyed in the letter as are the laws of the land by the politician who is a real power and goes far, there would be small need for the Church as a spiritual guide. It is an obliquity of civil vision which obscures this fact. We behold the mote in the eye of the professional politician and call it by worse names than a moral squint; we are blissfully ignorant the while of the beam in our own—a beam which, once removed, would let in a flood of light upon the folly of our judgment.

Political reform movements, in the main,

are emotional excesses in which the blind lead the blind. When they win a temporary victory it is virtually by a blundering, headlong rush of overwhelming numbers—a rush which clears the way for the time being, but soon loses its impetus. Then strikes the hour of reckoning. Those reformers who have not fallen by the wayside or are not seeking the quickest road back to the peace of home and the profit of private employment waste their breath in self-congratulation, bicker over the choice of a leader and the right thing to reform first, or stand appalled by the proportions of a task to which they recognize they have just put their hands.

“Politics is a continuous performance, you see,” once remarked to me a thin-lipped philosopher whose watch-chain and bunchy seal ring are favorite marks for the political cartoonist. “I’m real sorry for the amateurs. They do their ‘turn’ a sight better than some of the ‘boys.’ But then they want to climb down and see the show a while. And that ain’t according to the rules of the game.”

The simile has its pictorial value, but lacks an essential point of contact. There is nothing theatrical in the politician’s performance not deliberately so, and therefore a subterfuge. It is stating nothing new or startling, yet it is a fact commonly forgotten, to say that politics is a business, and that to a failure to recognize this, with all that it implies, is due the disheartening repulses or breakdowns which characterize the bulk of attempts of political reform.

Politics is a business in the fullest sense. It is in its requirements anything but a profession. It is a matter of buying and selling—of buying at the lowest price the men most competent to carry on its work and the utilities which best serve the purpose of those who control them; of selling at the highest price privileges represented by taxation and franchises. Whether this buying and selling be done for the legitimate purpose of conserving the people’s comfort and safety and providing for the speedy and effective conduct of public business or for the filling of the pockets of office-holders and those directly responsible for them is a question apart. Politics remains a business—a business in its methods and its machinery of card indexes, ledger, and day-book. It is a general dry-goods business, a hardware business a manufacturing business; a wholesale and a

retail business rolled into one. It is a department-store business in which two of the recognized professions figure largely, but only as departments. It is bigger, more exacting, and requires finer administrative capacity than any other business in the world. Perhaps to call it the man business is to comprehend it in words as nearly as may be. And having called it that, is any one willing to affirm that the methods attributed to the politician who is the general manager or the assistant in this business are of necessity any less systematic, thorough, and constant in their application than the methods of the most successful merchant in private life? Or may the man who has had little or no experience in this particular business, and who at best has no more knowledge of its details than has the grocer of the production of the sugar which he purchases by the barrel at the market price—may such a man reasonably undertake to drive out another who has made politics the single study and occupation of perhaps his best years? Finally, having been enabled by circumstances to drive him out, has he any justification for the belief that he can run this new business satisfactorily to himself and to those he represents with any less faithful attention than his predecessor gave to it, or with any less than he has employed himself in his private business? We hear much of "business administrations" in the promises of reform campaigns. Business principles applied to the elements with which politics deals are the first things forgotten or deliberately repudiated when a reform administration is accomplished. After writing Honesty over the front door of its establishment, the reform administration usually retires to its offices of polished wood and luxuriant leather and—issues orders. The needs, the requests, the grievances of its small customers seldom come to its ears, because it is engrossed in the larger cares of its office and in the splendid opportunities for putting its theories into execution. When these applications do reach it, they have been filtered through the officialdom of self-important bureaus and tied up in red tape, all of which must be carefully unwound and rewound before anything is accomplished. Moreover, in these suggestions of the little customers there is, to the sensitive organism of the reform administration, a hint of reward for services rendered

which is not compatible with the loftiest ideals, and so the suggestions are rejected with indignation. *Quid pro quo* is, indeed, the red rag to a reform administration.

Yet, verily, the laborer is worthy of his hire, and so long as the reformer insists that all who assist him shall observe that virtue is its own reward, so long will he pay excessive interest on his taxable property, two prices for the public privileges which he enjoys, a bonus "on the side" for every official, and contribute in other various and devious ways to the maintenance of those who are doing for him what he will not do for himself. Self-government is a phrase which sounds well and enables one to indulge an agreeable complacency of spirit. For that reason it is perhaps worth while; a respectable name, after all, is a good deal to most of us. In any event, until we take hold ourselves with both hands and apply our best intelligence consistently to the business of government, common sense and regard for our peace of mind should seal our eyes to the fact that the governing class, inseparable from a government constituted as is ours, is not all that it should be in point of honesty.

There is no substantial evidence of immediate preparation for such organized movement for good government, yet the recent increase of interest in novels which have a political setting speaks for a curiosity that may not be without its useful discoveries. To satisfy that curiosity as far as a fictitious representation may should prove a congenial task to the considerable number of our writers who are making honest effort in their books to give romantic expression to American life and conditions of today. To these the politician offers peculiar advantages. What his person and manner lack in refinement they make up for in picturesqueness. He is indisputably the most individual product of our national life, and stands quite apart from the politician of England and of Europe. His career is exciting, dramatic in external aspects, and sharp with contrasts.

But how have our novelists so far treated him? Is the politician of the romance in any large part the politician of life except in externals? We have had some interesting pictures of him in our books in the various phases of his activity, from the "division worker" of the city ward to the leader of a Congressional district. He has been shown

to us in Congress itself. Fictional heroes have ranged from the orator of the country "corners" to the officer of the State. Mrs. Atherton, Mrs. Burnett, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Low, and the anonymous author of one of the most recent novels have been more or less successful in reproducing the circumstances which attend the larger political life at Washington, influence directly the private and the public character of the newcomer to Congress, and give color to the social life at the national capital. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, Mr. Robert Barr, Mr. McIntyre, and Mr. Elliott Flower and Mr. Alfred Henry Lewis have indicated the development of the "boss," and made of him the trickster, the bully, the intriguer, the leader of men by force of his own determination and shrewdness. Mr. Whitlock has offered an uncompromising sketch of the politics of a Middle West Congressional campaign; Mr. Mark Lee Luther, with more art if with less realism, has related some dramatic chapters in the public life of a candidate of a New York country district for the office of governor; Mr. Guy Wetmore Carryl has told of the battle between a "ring" and an honest State official; Mr. Edgar L. Vincent has made a romance out of a legislative campaign; Mr. Alfred Lewis has given a clearly recognizable picture of a Tammany leader in a searching story, and there have been others besides who, with more or less interest and fidelity to fact, have represented the politician as a public personage accountable to his opportunities and his ambitions and occasionally to his conscience. But sense of accountability to his heart is missing in the composition of almost

all the politicians of our novels. Together with the failure satisfactorily to explain the genesis of the politician's power—to emphasize the constant factor of responsibility to his "people" (which, it should be repeated, after all is what makes it difficult to overthrow him and almost as difficult to hold him down)—this lack of elemental affection is largely responsible for the fact that fictional representations of the American politician so far have been disappointing. At some point every character must touch the reader's sympathy if it is to convey an impression of reality. And sympathy springs from the heart.

What has not been done in any large degree, and what is needed most, is a full-length portrait of the politician at close range—a portrait which shall have depth and the lights which, not less than the shadows, enter into every truthful likeness. The politician has moments when he is "off guard," as it were—moments when the game of politics is forgotten by him in the sweetness of his home, the touch of his wife's hand, the sound of his children's voices. Let us see him at play as well as at work. Then, I venture to think, we will distrust him less than we do now. At least, we will know him better than we have done in the past, and come to a clearer and, therefore, more useful understanding of the conditions of which he is the outgrowth. Only in some such way can we expect to address ourselves intelligently and effectively to the correction of abuses which for long have rendered abortive almost all attempts to realize in our political system a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG READERS

CHILDREN'S reading, like their eating, "depends." It depends upon many things, whether they are born on the Bowery or on Beacon Street, whether they belong to the complacent average or to the eager few.

If they fall into the hands of the Jebusite and the Philistine they will find "enough reading in their text-books" and grow up content with "ten dollars' worth of best

authors." If their lot lie among the chosen they will know and love a goodly library before the printed word assumes an individual significance. Bible tales—Daniel, David, Ruth—will not be new to them. Mowgli, the little man-cub of the Jungle Books; Rikki Tikki, the wonderful mongoose; Old Man Kangaroo and The Elephant's Child in the Just So Stories; Oliver Herford's Yak that "lived so far from Anywhere" and the

April Babies in their "Book of Tunes"; the Dumb Soldier of Stevenson's "Garden of Verses"; the Calico Cat of Field's "Lullaby Land"; Johnny Bear in "Lives of the Hunted," will be as real to them as the children next door. The child that must wait for "Man Friday" and "Alice in Wonderland" till he can make them out for himself is ill-used.

I once asked for lists of favorite books from five boys ten to fifteen years old. Sixty-eight books were mentioned. Of these, seventeen were by authors of some reputation. Seven were by such writers as Dickens, Scott, Stevenson, and George Eliot. One small lad loved "A Young Knight—Arrant"; another headed the list with "The Henty Books by Henty"; and the boy who liked "Rob Roy" and "Kenilworth" thought Scott and Waverley different authors.

The same number of girls from the same group of families—the average age about the same—mentioned 112 favorites, sixty authors to the boys' twelve, with the proportion of good writers much larger. "Romeo and Juliet" and "The Merchant of Venice" were on the lists of girls too young to have read them in school. Stevenson's name occurred often. The letters, poems, "Virginibus Puerisque," were each mentioned once. "Treasure Island," as well as "Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," were popular. George Eliot, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Anthony Hope, Dickens, Stanley Weyman, Louisa Alcott, Crawford, Mary Johnston, Mary Wilkins, Austin Dobson, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Barrett Browning ("The Browning Letters" once), Agnes Repplier, Frank Norris, Coleridge, Longfellow, Tennyson, Whittier, Joel Chandler Harris, Conan Doyle, Mason (of "The Four Feathers"), and Richard Harding Davis figured cheek by jowl with Mary J. Holmes. With "Treasure Island" these particular little girls (about thirteen years old) cared most for the books of Kate Douglas Wiggin, Laura Richards, and Thompson Seton. They were inclined to write *Twain* and *Eliot* alone and to spell curiously, like their brothers.

Both boys and girls mentioned Grimm, Andersen, Oliver Optic, Henty, Fraser, Lewis Carroll, Hughes, Eugene Field, Cooper, Kingsley, Conan Doyle, Seton, Stevenson, and Kipling. Authors like Gilbert Parker and Mrs. Ward appeared on the girls' lists only.

The prolific Henty, earliest of adventure writers for the boys, irritates the grown-up, but he gives to the average untraveled, unimaginative child pictures clearer than that child can produce for himself, and if he puts twentieth-century lads into medieval

ships the readers seem none the worse for the anachronism. Without him the names in their school geographies might have remained names!

The very same girls and boys who have read the Wonder Books and Grace Denio Litchfield's idyllic "Nine Worlds," who have taken the cream of the "Arabian Nights" at the right age (and that is very young), who know "Pilgrim's Progress" as adventure with but a vague suspicion of the allegory, and have begun on "The Spy" and "The Water Witch," even delved in "The Boys' King Arthur" and found satisfaction in the "Idylls of the King"—these children have an insatiable greed for even the poorest book where young people do things which in real life most of them can only dream. They may prowl hastily over the instructive, sympathy-stirring prelude of Kirk Munroe's "Under the Great Bear," but the frozen North with the ice-bound boat, the Indians, the wolf-man with his Aladdin's Cave, have a lively fascination.

"The New Boy at Dale's" sends forth the youth of rival schools—self-commanded—with guns and powder, to encamp in gaily hostile squads upon the shore of a most "affording" lake. The story that follows goes with the dash of tumbling events that the youthful have a healthful fondness for. To the child "verisimilitude" does not matter. He fills gaps as he fills them in his play.

One of the best of the do-as-we-dream books is Katharine Birdsall's "Jacks of All Trades." Its children are real, wholesome, lovable, and plucky. You cannot prove that they might not have accomplished all the things the book describes. Refinement that isn't wishy-washy and "go" without vulgarity, ambition that spells education as an object rather than money alone, and a world where people are set in natural relations, belong to the children of "Jacks of All Trades."

Unimaginative people are almost always cruel. The Just So Stories make a happy prelude to animal books because they appeal to the imagination. The child *revels* in them. I know a child who clung to an all-too-willing papa one long and blissful holiday till every word of the book had been read and heard. Kipling's animals live in a child's mind as do people.

The value of the Just So Stories, and in a much greater degree the value of the Jungle Books is that they stir and wake a power in the child that other books cannot rouse, and so far as that power is roused the child becomes a candidate for moral development.

Two Jungle Books—"Wild Animals I Have Known" and "Lives of the Hunted"—have done more to make gentlemen and gentlewomen of boys and girls than all the dull-and-accurate-habits-of-animals treatises ever written.

Two recent books—"Following the Deer" and "A Little Brother to the Bear"—emphasize the value of William J. Long's entertaining stories of wild life in attaining a like result. The story element is in them; they are tinged with kindly sentiment; they bring the wood smells and the wild things very near to one.

He teaches them because he makes them feel as well as think, and most of the world acts more by feeling than by thought.

Books like "Trapper Jim," by Edwin Sandys, have in them the element of killing, but they, too, have their uses. Boys will kill; let them learn to kill wisely and for a purpose. Such books show how animals may become food and clothing. Too many boys wantonly render them carrion. To this field of practical woodcraft Mr. Seton turns in his latest spirited volume, "Two Little Savages." The heart of any live boy will thrill at this tale of two youngsters who played Indian to the very hilt, living in the woods, building dams, using bows and arrows, feigning tribal customs for a long season of boyish bliss. A rapidly moving story of brisk boy play, the book is also a practical manual of camping methods.

John Burroughs in his quiet way pleases the grown-up, but Fraser's "Mooswa," or even "Beautiful Joe," give more to the child. Chambers's "Outdoorland" is worth more than many records of nature "facts" to the mother who wants her children broad in mind and chivalrous in character.

Between the parents who will not permit a child to consult the dictionary unchaperoned and the greater number who never know what their offspring read there lie manifold shades of opinion, but if the experience of the many is to count for anything, the best results are not found in restriction

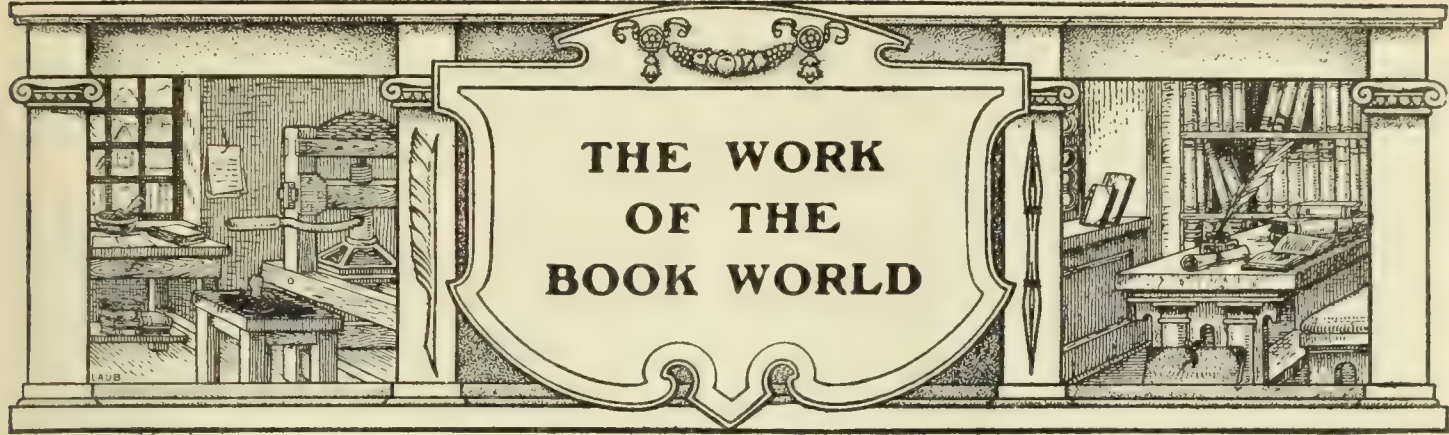
any more than in coercion. If a well-meaning obstinate wants to spoil forever the flavor of a good thing for any boy or girl, let him try to cram it down the child's throat before the palate is ready. And if he wants to make a self-satisfied literary provincial of his son or daughter, let him set forth a weighed-and-measured diet of his own prescribing. "My mother won't let me read love stories" and "My father thinks I ought to read all of Dickens now I've begun" come always from the painstaking and generally self-satisfied children whose minds are as inelastic as the parental code.

Nimbleness of wit is most often the characteristic of the children who "browse." They possess the faculty of unconscious selection. They have untouched the bits we would expurgate. Any man can verify that by his own experience—how little he noticed, how seldom he was harmed by the very things he might hesitate to put into the hands of his children. The danger lies in making them conscious—in the "thou shalt not" of locked shelves.

It is the commonplace we have most to fear, not the obscene, the vulgarizing influence of the yellow journal on which millions of children are educated, rather than the book forbidden to the mails.

The animal books are an antidote for poison and a goodly nourishment. If a taste of the unstinted melodrama of "Fair but False" and "The Blood-marked Trail" has substituted unwholesome cravings for wholesome appetite, the hunger must be appeased by a gradual differentiation in the diet. The Jungle Books may not come next, but the transition can be made from Southworth heroines and Jesse James heroes to "Jane Eyre" or "Captains Courageous." If he could have what is his full right, every child's library should possess some travel, some biography, some poetry, some plays. The Golden Treasury and Golden Numbers should be there. The Jungle Books should be owned. The finest climax that I know in an English story is the end of "Toomai of the Elephants," "Kindred of the Wild," all the Seton tales, Fanny Hardy Eckstorm's "Bird Book," and "The Woodpeckers" and such books.

Arbitrary safeguards are as futile as straw dams before Niagara. Companionship is what the child needs. Comprehension that is not oppressive, restrictive, egotistic.



THE WORK OF THE BOOK WORLD

BIOGRAPHY

MR. MORLEY'S "Life of Gladstone" stands out among the books of the winter, not as the most interesting, but surely as the most important. Since the death of Abraham Lincoln, Gladstone is the largest personality in the public life of the English-speaking world; and there was never a public man happier in his biographer. How completely Mr. Morley gave himself to the task, with all his equipment, literary and political, is shown by the answer he gave when he was asked if he did not feel relieved after the task was done. "Yes," said he; "I am very thankful and very—lonely."

Mr. Morley's aim was to write a biography and not a history; but no history of the long period covered by Mr. Gladstone's activity could give a clearer insight into many of the most important events and especially the important tendencies. If ever a biographer was excusable for filling three large volumes, surely Mr. Morley is; for he has not only a long career of the most varied activities to follow, but a career that covered many changes of political point of view. Mr. Morley's sympathetic interpretation of Gladstone's several stages of growth is perhaps the single greatest quality of the book. Nor does he forget or neglect the religious side of the man, for he was always, on one side of him, very like an English bishop. His colossal figure stands in English history during that period of the broadening of democracy as no other modern figure stands; and this record of his career is as worthy as any biography written by a contemporary and by a friend could be.

A RARE BIOGRAPHY

Mr. Henry James's "William Wetmore Story" is biography with a finish. William Wetmore Story, at first lawyer and writer of

law-books, close friend of Lowell and Charles Sumner, relinquished a brilliant legal career to study plastic art in Italy, primarily for the purpose of modeling his own father's statue on commission. In Italy, Story essayed other arts than sculpture, but it was in this alone that he won a modicum of success. Essentially, Mr. James's narrative is the record of a life spent in proving the value of Harvard and Boston artistic ideals, in contradistinction to the more practical Boston-American ideals of such men as Sumner and Lowell.

Mr. James arranges an "interesting boxful" of letters, notes, and scraps from journals, valuable not merely as elucidating a cultivated character, but as showing from afar off "the dawning of American consciousness of the complicated world it was so persistently to annex"—the world of art, of esthetic social development. The material is highly interesting. Story knew many people eminently worth knowing—not only the New England literary circle, but Browning and Mrs. Browning, Landor, Dickens, Mazzini, and other distinguished Europeans. Indeed, for a time the Storys, like others, housed Landor and knew his idiosyncrasies well. It was in the villa secured for Landor by the Storys and the Brownings that Landor had the memorable fit of anger that caused him to throw dinner dishes through the window. Browning writes entertainingly and intimately to the Storys of Landor. Other letters have equally vivid interest, the American ones—some of Sumner's—of particular significance.

Mr. James with subtle touches brings the personalities of the book into high relief. He has the trick of clothing reminiscence with imaginative charm; he keeps his backgrounds unobtrusive without loss of their color and meaning; he interprets so sympathetically as to afford the reader swift and

welcome recognitions. These boxfuls of old letters and relics "are in five boxfuls of ghosts and echoes." But the ghosts are made to live again by Mr. James and the echoes are interpreted. A rare biography.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

Wilfrid Meynell's "Benjamin Disraeli: An Unconventional Biography" is an attempt to rectify what the author believes the misjudgments of former biographers—to give the true salt of Disraeli's human story. The method is unusual, since the text, as the writer says, is Disraeli's, his but the commentary. A Boswell, however, must know his Doctor Johnson through all the commonplaces of daily intercourse to write biography thus. It is true of Mr. Meynell's unconventional biography, as it is of Boswell's Johnson, that one can begin anywhere and stop anywhere and meanwhile be entertained; but first-hand reporting is one thing and stringing together heterogeneous quotations and stories gained at second hand, another. The first suggests the instancy of drama; the second the aloofness of the chronicle, the hollowness of repeated anecdote. Mr. Meynell's book, then, is a treasury of carefully collected Disraeliana not to be read without keen enjoyment, but unorganized. It is biographical rather than biography, suggestive rather than direct. It is the gathered material of a "Dizzyite" patiently avaricious of all scraps of information bearing on his hero; not an intimate study, but a volume full of entertaining Disraeli lore.

M. DE BLOWITZ

If Mr. Meynell's "Disraeli" keeps the reader a little aloof from the hero, the "Memoirs of M. de Blowitz" takes him into the hero's very secrets. This is a conventional merit of a hundred other memoirs, but who can go behind the scenes of political life in Paris and Berlin just after the Franco-Prussian War without a thrill? M. de Blowitz, Paris representative of the *London Times*, was for thirty years the most famous journalist of Europe. He knew the minor details of political intrigues; he had a five-hour interview with Bismarck, and as a result unsuccessfully undertook to bring Bismarck and Gambetta together; he performed the journalistic feat of securing the text of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 the day before the

delegates in secret conclave signed it; his strange experiences were manifold. He tells of these in his *Memoirs*, even relating how he secured the treaty, a secret Bismarck tried in vain to extract from him. Romances and dramas are unfolded that could fall within the ken of no man but one with de Blowitz's talents in de Blowitz's position. The book has the interest of revelation.

A NEW NAPOLEON

"Talks of Napoleon at St. Helena," which comprises the journal of General Gourgaud, reveals an intimate view of the Emperor in triumph and in exile. It is a new Napoleon, patient, gentle, even sweet-tempered in adversity. He constantly regrets that he did not remain in Egypt and become the lord of the Orient. General Gourgaud, who was himself a tried soldier and who followed his chief to St. Helena, gives a clear impression of the large personality of the first soldier of Europe.

"THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JEFFERSON"

Thomas E. Watson is so fulsome as to be dangerously near a eulogy in his sympathetic attempt "to deal fairly with the man, the facts, the times, the different sections—his friends and his enemies." Too ardent in his feeling against New England representation and interpretation of the South and its famous men, Mr. Watson swings back too violently to reach a just mean historically or biographically. Yet his book convinces one that a fairer and more intimate conception of Jefferson the man than the general public possesses lies between past biographies and the present enthusiastic volume.

A PATHETIC HISTORY

"The Life of Robert Morris," patriot and financier, by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, is founded for the most part on manuscript volumes which have a history as interesting as fiction. They mysteriously disappeared from the United States, and after many years were discovered in a pile of rubbish in a French village by General John Meredith Read, from whose estate they were acquired by the library of Congress. Morris's life was one of pathetically dogged endeavor. He financed the Revolution, particularly the Yorktown campaign, where he rendered conspicuous service in the raising of funds in a pressing

emergency which decided the war, yet his acts aroused bitter criticism. When he appealed to legislatures for funds he said it was like "preaching to the dead." After brilliantly financing the war, he fell into unfortunate speculation and was forced to go to debtors' prison, where he was allowed to lie until an opportune law released him.

GENERAL GORDON'S REMINISCENCES

At the outbreak of the Civil War John B. Gordon was captain of a company of Tennessee mountaineers who wore coonskin caps; at Appomattox he was in command of a wing of Lee's army. His *Reminiscences*, which cover the entire war, comprise a fresh and striking contribution to Civil War literature. Not in the least partizan, the volume is the record of a brave man who tested the steel of a worthy foe and who now pays him tribute. General Gordon follows the progress of the conflict with first-hand incident and entertaining anecdote rather than with detailed narrative of engagements.

One of the most interesting stories concerns Gettysburg. General Gordon's brigade was rushing to the support of a hard-pressed column, when he noticed a desperately wounded Federal officer in the glaring sun. He dismounted and gave him water. The Federal, who was General Francis Barlow, of New York, asked the Confederate to destroy a package of his wife's letters, sent her a message, and asked the name of his benefactor. Then he sank back. General Gordon delivered the message and supposed the Federal had died. A year later his kinsman of the same name, General J. B. Gordon, of North Carolina, was killed. General Barlow, who survived his wound, saw the announcement. To General Gordon General Barlow was dead, and to General Barlow General Gordon was dead. Fifteen years later, when General Gordon was United States Senator, he was invited to dinner in Washington to meet a General Barlow. At the table he said to the guest of honor: "General, are you related to the General Barlow who was killed at Gettysburg?" He replied: "Why, I am the man, sir. Are you related to the Gordon who killed me?" "I am the man, sir," said Gordon. A close friendship followed. General Gordon brightens the grim picture of war with flashes of humor caught in camp and field, and he unflinchingly describes the

last days of the Confederacy, in which he took a dramatic part.

HENRY WARD BEECHER

Doctor Lyman Abbott's "Henry Ward Beecher" is a thorough and careful biographical study containing some terse summaries of the national crises in which Beecher took, in his way, a vigorous part. To interpret the significance of Beecher's pulpit and platform activity, Doctor Abbott elucidates in brief exposition the state of public opinion before and during the Civil War and the condition of affairs in England when Beecher went there to persuade a hot-headed British populace of the merit of the northern cause. He shows, too, the advance of religious and scientific thought that accounted for a mind like Beecher's in a popular preacher and writer. The book is thus a well-compacted bit of historical commentary as well as a sympathetic but well-balanced study of Beecher. The significant aspects of Beecher's existence are emphasized at the expense of gossipy personal details, and the book is the better for it. Yet there is enough of the human element in the book to give it vitality. Mr. Beecher was not a great man; Doctor Abbott with clarity of vision sees why he was a notable one.

STORIES OF FRUITFUL LIVES

It is peculiarly appropriate that two books, to be valued for their intimate personal studies and pictures of men who made possible the golden age of American literature, should appear almost coincidentally. They are J. T. Trowbridge's "My Own Story" and the late R. H. Stoddard's "Recollections, Personal and Literary." Each man came to New York and endured the struggle of the unknown ambitious writer, each attained a literary reputation, and each in the evening of his life drew on interesting memories of significant literary times and events to tell a readable human story. Mr. Trowbridge was the contemporary of Emerson, Lowell, Holmes, Alcott, Whittier, and Whitman; Mr. Stoddard knew Bryant, Halleck, Willis, and Poe, and was the intimate friend of Bayard Taylor, Buchanan Read, and George Boker. Mr. Stoddard recalls an experience with Poe when the poet, then editor of the *Broadway Magazine*, declined Stoddard's "Ode on a Grecian Flute," doubting its authorship, and

ordering him out of his office in a rage. Such little stories abound in both books, which are the records of days of fruitful achievement.

THE STORY OF LAURA BRIDGEMAN

The forerunner of Helen Keller both in affliction and in emancipation from ignorance was Laura Bridgeman, whose story is told in a volume by Maude Howe and Florence Howe Hall, daughters of her distinguished teacher and the pioneer of education of the deaf and blind, Doctor S. G. Howe. He awakened the soul and mind of many unfortunates, but his success with Laura Bridgeman was his greatest educational achievement. Laura was born on a farm in New Hampshire, and had but one sense—that of touch. On her were tried the experiments which reached their fruition in the education of Helen Keller. Doctor Howe's methods are carefully explained, and details are given of the acts and sayings of Laura Bridgeman that show the gradual awakening of the darkened mind. It is such books as this biography and Helen Keller's "Story of My Life" that are the human documents which show the spirit of civilization.

MUSICAL LIFE IN LONDON

Lovers of musical lions will welcome the anecdotes and slight sketches of the temperament and character of famous musical personages in Hermann Klein's "Thirty Years of Musical Life in London." The history of the personally witnessed picture of operatic and musical life in England by London's best musical critic possesses genuine interest and merit. Of especial interest is the account of the renaissance of opera under that remarkable *impresario*, Sir Augustus Harris, probably the first traced of that movement.

SOCIOLOGY IN HUMAN STORIES

FOR nearly twenty-five years Mr. Jacob Riis was a police reporter in New York. For the service he has done in awakening public interest in the close-packed, teeming hordes of the New York poor and unfortunate Mr. Roosevelt has called him "the most valuable American." In "Children of the Tenements" he has told over again a number of little stories somewhat known under the title of "Out of

Mulberry Street." They have the air of fiction, the body of truth. They are all pathetic little incidents in unfortunate lives, intensely human, and worth a barrel of social-settlement theory. Mr. Jack London comes even closer to actual conditions. He went down as a lone first-hand investigator into the purlieus of East London, living with tramps and outcasts and all manner of "unfit" unfortunates. The narrative of Mr. London's experience has a horrible fascination. Three hundred thousand people in London are in families living in one-room tenements. Mr. London quotes instances of lodgers in such miserable warrens hiring beds on the "three-relay" system—three lodgers to one bed, eight hours apiece. Such horrors are manifold. There is no American city containing the widespread misery that Mr. London found in the limbo he discovered East London to be.

ESSAYS

MR. THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH'S talk is delightful. "Ponkapog Papers" is his talk in type—little nuggets, clearly taken from a note-book, of dilettante thought, followed by "Asides" in the form of tiny random essays, ranging from one on the oddity of the name Fleabody to a very clever note on the poetry of Emily Dickinson. These are Mr. Aldrich's "daily themes," as the term goes at Harvard. They are so suggestive, even the tiniest of the six-line paragraphs, as to haunt. They are literature—a sufficient rarity.

C. K. Chesterton's "Varied Types" covers notable people from Savonarola to Queen Victoria. They are essays that give old views garbed in picturesque paradox, and not a few radical new ones in persuasively clever dress. One of the latter sort is "The Optimism of Byron." Mr. Chesterton affirms Byron's much-famed pessimism to be at bottom sturdy optimism, as wine seems black and is in reality deep red. The proof, he asserts, is the metre of Byron's poetry. Chesterton's challenge, likely to arouse controversy, has the quality of his statement that the class of unconscious optimists are very often most uncompromising conscious pessimists, "because the exuberance of their nature demands for an adversary a dragon as big as the world."

Keen and sharp, each essay is a clever probing into qualities or a quality of its subject. That on Tolstoi is refreshing. Chesterton admires Tolstoi, but has not allowed his judgment to be clouded by hero-worship. He exploits the personality of the great Russian novelists with some very sane critical comment.

Mr. Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., has come to be known through his contributions to periodical literature as a graceful writer and a capable critic. His "Essays on Great Writers" is a series of appreciations of eight writers, ranging from Cervantes to D'Annunzio, done very sanely and charmingly, and with a certain American careless certitude of aim.

The essay on "Lockhart's 'Life of Scott'" and the one on "Don Quixote" are essentially pleas to readers to keep in mind the joys of good old English novels and the philosophy of humor, good nature and optimism. The essay on D'Annunzio's night-shade genius is Mr. Sedgwick's most searching bit of criticism. He justly appraises D'Annunzio's delicate art, but he takes strong ground against D'Annunzio's feeling that morbid pathology is a fruitful field for novelists. Mr. Sedgwick's philosophy is the philosophy of sunshine, and when he calls the D'Annunzio attitude of mind alien to English-speaking peoples, he expresses, after all, the secret conviction of every American and English reader. In his treatment of Montaigne and of Thackeray he continues to emphasize the value of cheerfulness and sanity. An evening with Mr. Sedgwick's book is an evening pleasantly and healthfully spent.

FICTION

OFF the coast of Newfoundland a sturdy fisherfolk goes daily to the trap baited by the sea. From "lagging dawn" to whirling night they are buffeted by the waves. The savage irony of the combat is revealed in Norman Duncan's "The Way of the Sea," a group of haunting tales of action and danger "in the unleashed swirling passion of wind, night, and sea." With grim realism worthy of Joseph Conrad and a color sense typical of Louis Becke, Mr. Duncan follows the fortunes of these people, some of them gripped by an inflexible icy fate. None of the stories is more characteristic than "The Strength of Men," the narra-

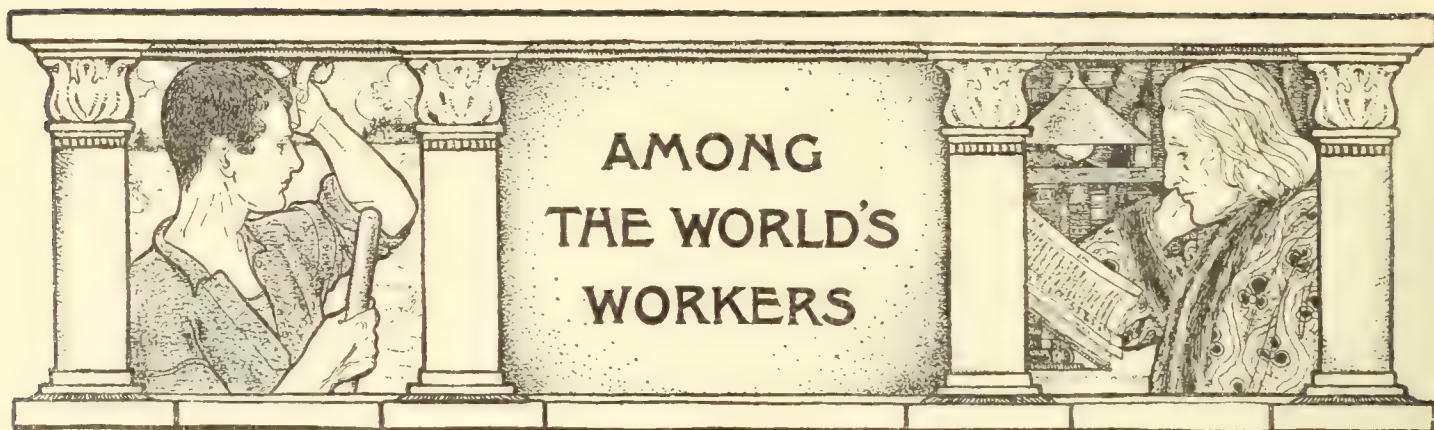
tive of the battle of strong men drifting to death on the floes. These tales are all terse, keen, and dramatic.

An old friend returns in Sir Conan Doyle's "The Adventures of Gerard." He is as welcome as was "Sherlock Holmes" in his recrudescence after his reported fall over the cliff. His egotism is still refreshing and his narrative of fruitful exploits is given with zest and snap. Mr. Henry Seton Merriman lays most of the scenes of "Barlasch of the Guard" in Dantzig, while the French army is in Russia. The story is a romance of stirring days, with a background filled in with the tragedy of the proud host that was literally fed to the frozen white empire of the Czar.

A story of vicarious remorse, elaborated a little too subtly; a story of coddled vice sympathizing with honesty in despair; a story of dilemma most provokingly unsolved; ghost stories and stories of pure, humorous fancy make up Doctor Weir Mitchell's "Little Stories," a volume that holds the attention absorbingly for a delightful hour—and afterward—for a disturbing question or two.

"The Mark," by Aquila Kempster, a most promising first book, is a rapid and dramatic tale of Hindu magic suffused with the haunting witchery of India. English life overlapping the border of the strange existence of princes and rajahs, hypnotists and magicians, takes on weird colors; the hero becomes intimate with Brahmans, beggars, and mysterious prophets, and his adventures keep the interest of the story unusually tense.

Striking and contrasting phases of western life are exploited in three virile novels—Hamlin Garland's "Hesper," W. R. Lighton's "The Ultimate Moment," and Marie Manning's "Judith of the Plains." Strong characters are set against the vivid background of camp, ranch, and city. Mr. Garland's novel is his best long story and a distinct advance in his art. He describes life in a mountain mining settlement where a bloody strike is in progress. Mr. Lighton develops a refreshing love story, shifting his principals from country to city. Miss Manning surrounds her interesting and attractive characters with the invigorating atmosphere of prairies where romance is interspersed with cattle-stealing and lynchings.



OUR FOOD-SUPPLY KEEPING PACE WITH THE POPULATION

SINCE 1870 we have gained from 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 in population in each census period of ten years. At the end of the twentieth century, granting a similar rate of increase, how shall Americans of that day be fed?

Sir William Crookes asserted not long ago that in the near future the world will be wheat-hungry, and an eminent American statistician thinks that by 1931 the United States alone will need a wheat crop of 700,000,000 bushels, with none to spare for export. Other staples will, of course, be proportionately in demand, and if we have no wheat to export by 1931, hard indeed will be the pinch by the end of the century.

Since the twentieth century opened we have seen a wheat crop of 748,000,000 bushels, a corn crop of more than 2,500,000,000 bushels, an oat crop of close upon 1,000,000,000 bushels, a rye crop of 33,630,000 bushels, a potato crop of nearly 285,000,000 bushels, and incidentally something more than 821,000,000 pounds of tobacco. We feed ourselves, in fact, better than any other nation is fed, and we help to feed many of the peoples of the Old World. But will there be the proper increase?

Let us see. The average production of wheat per acre has gradually increased since 1866, though the increase has not been regular. The average yield per acre has been raised from 10 bushels per acre in 1866 to 15 bushels in 1901, and there is little doubt that it can be raised even higher by improved cultivation, by the selection of better varieties, and by increasing knowledge of ways to combat diseases. By the use of wheats that grow well in regions of light rainfall the area of actual production has already been considerably extended, and there is every reason to suppose that this increased area can be still further widened.

Look, for a moment, at corn. The 1902

corn crop of more than 2,500,000,000 bushels was produced by an average yield for the whole country of 26.8 bushels per acre—not equaling, in this respect, the crop of thirty years ago. If the 1902 acreage in corn (94,000,000 acres) were not widened a rod, but if the general average for the country were raised to something like the highest State average for that year, the total production of corn would be increased by more than 1,000,000,000 bushels. The heaviest recorded yields are many times the highest State averages for the crop of 1902, and good farmers often produce from 75 to 100 bushels per acre. There is a low average yield in some of the southern States, where it often falls below 10 bushels per acre, but southern agriculture is improving in two directions—farmers cultivate a greater variety of crops, which improves their farms, and they are learning to farm more scientifically.

Rice is not as popular a food in the United States as it should be. For many years the United States has imported rice, but within the last six or eight years Louisiana and Texas have come so rapidly to the front as rice-producers that it is believed our home production this year will fully equal the home demand and possibly exceed it. In 1898 we produced about 115,000,000 pounds; in 1902, 331,000,000 pounds. No more notable addition to the food resources of a people was ever made than this, and the credit is largely due to the Department of Agriculture, by which new varieties were introduced that proved specially adapted to conditions in Louisiana and Texas. Macaroni wheat, another introduction by the Department, though but of two or three years' standing, is already an established success, and probably 10,000,000 bushels have been raised this year. This variety of wheat extends the area of wheat production over great regions in the West where it was formerly not thought possible to raise wheat at all because of the scant rainfall. An extension of the winter wheat area several hundred miles to the north has also been made possible by

the introduction of hardy varieties from East and South Russia.

Throughout the century the nation might be as well nourished as it is today with a considerably smaller expenditure for food. Dietary studies are proving that many of the cheaper sorts of food are as nourishing, though possibly not so palatable, as the more costly kinds. It may be that the people of the United States will have to make a larger use of these cheaper foods, and it is extremely probable that they will have to learn less wasteful ways of feeding themselves. Possibly by the end of the century Congress will see the wisdom of endowing agricultural research with a somewhat larger proportion of its total annual appropriations than the one or one and a half per cent (about \$6,000,000) which it now sets aside for this purpose.

FORTY YEARS' ADVANCE IN RAILROAD EFFICIENCY

SINCE 1860 the railroad mileage of the United States has increased 534 per cent., while the population has increased but 143 per cent., but this fact does not half tell the story of actual railroad advance.

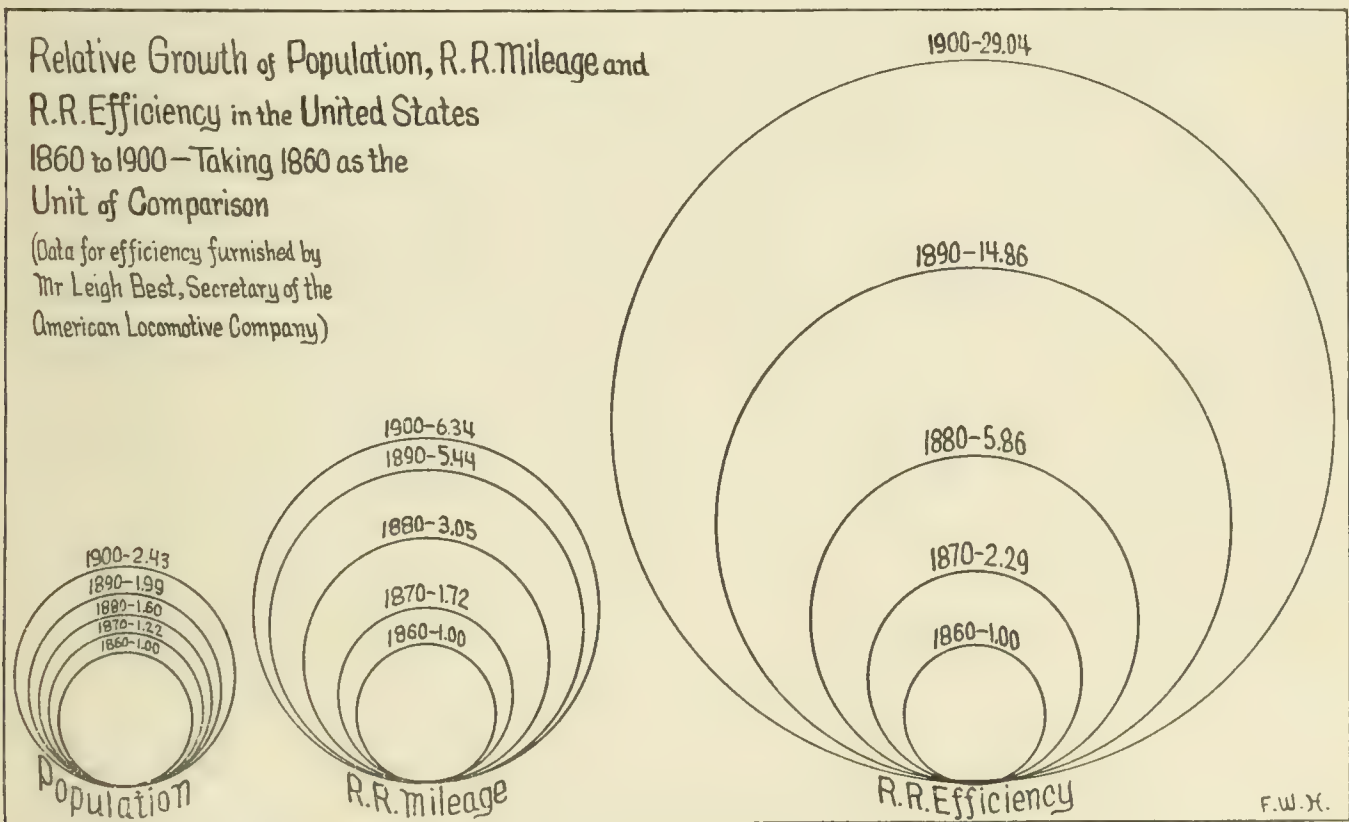
how in these past forty years locomotives have grown in size and power:

Date.	Type.	Tons Capacity on Level.
1860	Mogul	2,400
1870	10-Wheel	3,200
1880	Consol	4,600
1890	Decapod	6,600
1900	Decapod	11,000

This wonderful increase in tractive power, or ability to haul, has caused railroad efficiency far to outstrip mere railroad mileage. The accompanying diagram graphically exhibits the measure of advance, though even this is an understatement of the actual progress. The diagram shows the growth of the total locomotive efficiency of the country between 1860 and the present time, the number of locomotives as well as their power having greatly increased.

HOW FAST CAN A HORSE GO IN HARNESS ?

TWENTY years ago, when his famous horse, Maud S., trotted a mile in 2:10, Robert Bonner said that the two-minute trotter was an impossibility, yet the two-minute trotter not only arrived this year, but



Freight and passenger rates in the United States are the lowest in the world, not because we have more lines of railroad than other countries, but because our railroads use more efficient locomotives. The following table, prepared by Mr. Leigh Best, of the American Locomotive Company, shows

lowered that mark. When Lou Dillon went a mile in 1:58½ at Memphis, on October 24th, the greatest achievement of the American harness horse was recorded. This performance was the crowning event of a season marked by remarkable exhibitions of trotting and pacing speed. Lou Dillon was the first

two-minute trotter. She established a record of two minutes at Readville, Massachusetts, on August 4th. She was paced by two thoroughbred running horses, each hitched to a sulky. One runner remained about six lengths ahead of the trotter and the other ran alongside. Attached to the sulky in front was a wind shield, a strip of canvas as high as the driver's head. Horsemen believed this feat emphasized the perfection of breeding. Then the two-minute record was equaled by Major Delmar at New York. Horsemen wondered if the speed limit had been reached. On October 20th, Cresceus, who had been king of the trotters at the beginning of the season with a record of 2:02 $\frac{1}{4}$, trotted a mile in 1:59 $\frac{3}{4}$ at Wichita, Kansas, but four days later Lou Dillon became champion by establishing the record at 1:58 $\frac{1}{2}$. Shortly before the beginning of the harness season Lou Dillon was sold at auction for \$12,500. Now she could not be bought for \$75,000.

The pacer, which for years ranked below the trotter in the estimation of harness horsemen, maintained his end in record-breaking. Twenty years ago, when Johnston paced a mile in 2:06 $\frac{1}{4}$ at Chicago, it was regarded as remarkable. On August 23d of this year, at Brighton Beach, New York, Dan Patch went the distance in 1:59. That record was reduced to 1:57 by Prince Alert on September 24th, at New York. The season closed, however, with Dan Patch the champion, at Memphis, in 1:56 $\frac{1}{2}$.

How fast, then, can the harness horse go? It was the perfection of breeding that made possible the records of 1903, and horsemen now believe that, the two-minute trotting mark having been passed, the possibility for next season is a mile in 1:56 or lower. The American trotting horse is the wonder of horse-breeding. He has been developed in fifty years and he combines a utilitarian value with racing speed.

MAKING MOVING PICTURES

A SET of moving pictures of a horse race was taken at Sheepshead Bay track near New York City not long ago, and two hours and fifteen minutes later the pictures were being shown on the screen in a New York theatre. As the race proceeded the photographer kept his eyes on his machine, which rattled away like a rapidly beaten drum, impressing pictures on a sensitized film at the rate of forty a second. When the horses flashed under the wire, he stopped the motor and opened the box, and from its dark interior he drew another box con-

taining the record of the race on a strip of film two hundred and fifty feet long. This was hurried across Brooklyn, over the bridge and across New York and the North River to Hoboken, New Jersey, where the long strip of pictures was developed all at once. As soon as a positive strip, showing the figures as they should appear, had been made from this negative, which showed everything reversed, the new strip was hurried back to the theatre ready for use.

Pictures of this kind—everyone has seen them—are all made in essentially the same way, though the machines are called vitascopes, biographs, mutoscopes, kinetoscopes, and cinematographs. A moving-picture machine is really a rapid-fire repeating camera. An electric motor or a hand-crank moves the film along in front of the lens and winds the exposed film in a dark box, opening and closing the shutter at regular intervals. The film is fed along by cogged wheels which start and stop, start and stop, in rhythm with the rapid winking of the shutter. Each section of film comes to a dead stop while the shutter opens for one three-hundredth of a second. There were 5,000 of these incredibly swift exposures in photographing the horse race: the result was 5,000 pictures.

All the pictures are developed at once. The long film is wound on a reel in a dark room, and the whole reel is dipped into the necessary solutions, the whole process being one of developing by wholesale.

MACHINES THAT THINK

IN factories and offices, increasing yearly in numbers, are a thousand machines that surpass human fingers in deftness and even outthink the human brain. New ones are constantly invented.

Thus the new machine for decorating crockery puts on the china, by a single action, the border patterns and monogram centres, which formerly required a whole process of handwork. The machine is operated by compressed air, and has a maximum capacity of decorating, in this manner, 120 dozen pieces of crockery in a single hour with the assistance of two boys.

A new speed indicator has been added to locomotive practice that not only indicates the varying speed of the engine, but automatically applies the brakes when the speed exceeds the established safety limit, thus successfully replacing the "speed feel" of engineers.

A Canadian railroad has instituted a novel electric system for keeping employees' time. Cabinets containing brass checks are

distributed throughout the shops, each check stamped with a number. The men retain their respective checks when they are not working, and deposit them in the cabinet when they go to work. Previous to 7:00 A. M. all checks dropped in the cabinet fall into an upper drawer, indicating that the holder is on duty on time. As the whistle ceases to sound, the timekeeper, who sits in front of a standard-time clock and operates two switches, closes the electric switch which controls the deflector, so that all checks deposited after seven go into a lower drawer, showing that the holders were not on duty on time.

To do away with guesswork in office and shop management, and to find out the real amount and value of each and every different kind of labor expended on a given piece of work, there is a machine which makes a permanent record by card-printing, not only of a single period of time, but also of an indefinite number of periods. This record shows the number of hours and minutes put on the job, and also the time of day when the job was started. When the job is done the totals of labor costs are entered on the outside of the envelope containing them, together with a record of the material used. Each record is entered on the factory books for permanent reference.

The sewing of buttons on shoes and on garments is no longer done by hand in modern factories. There is a machine that sews 5,300 buttons on garments in nine hours—or more than eight expert sewers could possibly do in the same time. This machine requires no expert operator. A boy or a girl runs it.

And in one insurance office, where it was formerly necessary for a force of clerks to copy names on reference cards to be filed in various places, one clerk now writes the name on a single card with metallic ink, clamps it in a holder with a number of blank cards, and flashes an X-ray through the packet. Thus by a single motion one man writes, or rather prints, all the cards.

HOW OUR COMMON FOODS ARE ADULTERATED

IN these days of butter not traceable to the cow, of wine innocent of the grape, of beer estranged from hops and malt, of coffee berries made in a mold and not grown on the bush, of honey not made in a beehive but in a factory, and a thousand-and-one audacious frauds, although only 2 per cent. of our annual food value—which is \$5,000,000,000—is adulterated, we consume \$100,000,000 worth of fraudulently prepared food a year. About 90 per cent. of this is

officially rated as “non-prejudicial to health” (exclusive of meat and milk), while the remaining 10 per cent. is set down as containing “poisonous and otherwise noxious ingredients.” In brief, we consume a total value of \$10,000,000 in dangerous and deleterious food.

Fraud has been officially detected in more than 3,000 samples of food and articles for general physical use. From the cheapest and most ordinary article of diet, such as “French sardines” (caught off the Isle of Shoals, Maine!) and “canned salmon” (with apologies to the swordfish!), to such costly delicacies as “Russian sturgeon caviare” (collected in Delaware Bay) and “pure imported Lucca oil” (from the cotton fields of Georgia), there is imposition. The celebrated lard investigation, in which our national reputation for honest manufacture suffered severely, disclosed that many respected business people were selling compound articles branded as pure, and that they thought nothing of their illegal methods.

One of the most widespread fraudulents is oleomargarin—a mixture of stearic and palmitic acids chiefly—which is so very difficult to expose, since not only the apparent but the real differences between the genuine and the artificial analysis will show about 87 per cent. of permanent fatty acids in butter and about 95 per cent. in the fats used for manufactured butter. Out of 68 butter samples recently examined, 24 were found pure, while 44 were impure. Out of 141 lard samples, 80 proved pure and 61 were not. The expense of examining suspected samples is large, but science is at work on a cheaper method to protect the farmer and the housekeeper. As it is, there is consumed in the United States a sufficient quantity of oleomargarin to supply each inhabitant with more than one pound annually. This unwholesome substitute, which obtains the regular market price of ordinary butter, costs 7 cents a pound to make, or only half that of absolutely pure butter. More than \$17,000,000 is annually extracted from poor people's pockets by the oleomargarin swindle.

Coffee-berry adulterants are seeds like beans and peas and roots like chicory, dandelion, and carrot. No one has ever been able to compute the extent to which coffee, our most popular beverage, is being adulterated, but experts agree that it must be more widespread than the oleo evil. There are more than six firms in this country regularly engaged in the manufacture of coffee bean-making machinery. Each firm has scores of clients using the machines,

which grind out bogus berries by the ton. There are hundreds of bean-making machines in daily operation, and they are producing a better-looking berry than the bush-grown bean. The factory-made berry is the more perfectly formed, and has a glossy appearance generally wanting in the true coffee berry; this is the only apparent difference. Buying the roasted berry in pulverized form, as many people do, is fraught with considerable risk. Of 24 such samples submitted to the official test, only 8 were pure, while 16 were adulterated. In any event, the best Java berry seldom reaches us. The Javanese believe that the raw berry when kept dry improves with age, and they keep their very finest brands for seven and eight years in storage before disposing of them. The national taste in this country, debased by adulteration, is not fit to appreciate eight-year-old Mocha or Java, and even if it were none but millionaires would be able to enjoy it, since a thimbleful of the genuine thing, costing 60 pfennigs in Germany, would probably cost almost \$1 here.

Tea is now so cheap that the vegetable adulterants formerly used have become unprofitable, and it is safe to say that every pound sold in the market is actually grown on the tea-tree. Good tea should yield 26 per cent., and often as high as 36 per cent., of its weight to boiling water. But a process exists for coloring the leaves to a desired tinge, which is seldom applied to any brands but those of the choicest, or such as are "made to sell" as choice by coloring. The coloring ingredients, or "facings," most frequently employed are Prussian blue and Indigo. The cheapest kinds of tea consist, to a great extent, of exhausted leaves, and to remedy this the Chinese put in a little coloring matter. Moral: Scrutinize the very cheap and the very dear tea.

You can buy "cocoa," so-called, in New York cheaper than the Venezuelans can buy this, their national beverage, in the stores of Caracas! The starch-and-sugar compound added to these extremely healthful decoctions is not always harmless. Noxious foreign fats, and even ferruginous earthy substances, have recently been detected in both cocoa and chocolate.

The adulterant most frequently employed in the production of sugar is glucose, a very much cheaper but less sweet substitute, and insoluble substances like marble-dust are often added, especially for use by manufacturing confectioners. Other foreign substances, such as ultra-marine, are often left in from the process of manufacture, so as

to give a certain blue color required for some brands of sugar.

The adulteration of drugs, spices, and preserved things is a veritable craft. It is such a deep-seated evil that all the law-making of many centuries has failed to prevent it from spreading, to say nothing of stopping it. The substitution of red lead and rice flour for Cayenne pepper; of flour and turmeric for mustard; of cereals, mustard-hulls, and peas for ginger; of charcoal, cracker-dust, and spent cloves for allspice; of burnt meal, mustard, buckwheat hulls, and dust for "pure" pepper—these are only a few comparative innocents out of a time-honored company of classic frauds. The most poisonous known are the adulterants used for coloring or cheapening confectionery and liquors. Out of 92 candy samples examined by the Massachusetts Board of Health, 18 were colored with deadly lead chromate; out of 41 Cayenne pepper samples, 40 were bogus; 68 samples of molasses brought out 33 cases containing tin; 16 mustard samples yielded 20 genuine and 26 adulterated, and out of a total of 1,468 samples investigated 926 were good, while 542 were gently put down as "not conforming to the statutes."

The substitution prevalent in drugs and medicines is an evil that merits the closest official scrutiny. The recent substitution on a very large scale of acetanilid, a very dangerous drug, for phenacetin, which is practically harmless, was perpetrated despite the fact that an overdose of acetanilid means death. In patent medicines the method of substitution is a fact regarded practically as a business asset, and though many good remedies are on the market, the public health is injured rather than benefited by the exploitation of many patent drugs.

Even honey is not exempt. The greater part sold in this country never saw the inside of a beehive. A little dextro-glucose, a drop of water, and a little levo-glucose, and behold! there is your "pure, select table honey." Many a bee has made 2,625,000 individual "calls" on flowers to make one pound of honest honey, but unscrupulous commercialism cannot wait for the swiftest and most thorough of nature's workmen.

Massachusetts, New York, and various other States are investigating food frauds more vigorously every year, and much has been accomplished to check these food adulterations. But care is still necessary in these days of mercenary merchandising in purchasing articles for the consumption of human beings.



Photographed by W. Kurtz

AUGUSTUS SAINT GAUDENS
FROM A PAINTING BY KENYON COX

THE WORLD'S WORK

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The March of Events

FAR off as the election is, far off as even the nominating conventions are, we have entered upon the Presidential campaign, whether we wished to or not. The early stages of it consist of more or less foolish speculation and talk for talk's sake, such as "Can Mr. Roosevelt carry New York?" "Will Wall Street put up money for him?" "Can an election be won without a great campaign fund?" "What Democrat can command the support of the business world and carry New York?"

Premature as all this talk is, it brings the campaign fairly within sight, since we have turned the calendar year; and it has more or less influence on all our affairs, from our private business plans to our international relations. For instance, if no campaign had been in sight there would have been less criticism of the administration's conduct in Panama and there would probably have been no organized effort to defeat the treaty in the Senate. If no campaign were in sight there would be less talk about business depression and the uncertainty of the future; for men and journals that wish to find reasons to discourage the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt and to fabricate campaign arguments against him naturally seize dramatic events and untoward conditions. In a word, we are come again into the quadrennial period of the politicians' too great prominence. When we

find no better reason for anything that disturbs us, we say that it is a Presidential year. Thinking so and saying so make it so, and the campaign thus comes to have more or less influence on our every-day life in spite of sound reason and good sense.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

TO an independent journal that champions neither party and no candidate it seems probable—practically certain, in fact—that the early threshing of loose straw will the more surely leave the wheat to Mr. Roosevelt. His enemies in his own party could do him no greater service than to keep emphasizing the fact that he is not the servant of Wall Street. They win votes for him every time they say that the great corporations do not like him.

They win votes for him, too, every time they say that he was too rash in recognizing Panama; for every great government has recognized it, and thereby practically approved our action. We have waited the full lifetime of a generation to get to work on the canal; we have had long diplomatic negotiations; we have sent commissions to the isthmus; we have shown infinite patience in clearing the way to construct a great work for the benefit of the whole world; and the people want the canal cut, in spite of the criticism of party enemies and of those who get



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GOVERNOR LUKE E. WRIGHT OF THE PHILIPPINES



ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF
THE RUSSIAN VICEROY OF THE FAR EAST

their information about international affairs from books. To say, then, that the President acted too hastily—well, Senator Gorman knows by this time how to aid Mr. Roosevelt if he should wish to help him again. Perhaps the only policy under the wide heavens or within the reach of the wildest imagination upon which the South would stand with Mr. Roosevelt is his Panama policy. Yet it was this that Senator Gorman chose as a campaign issue against him!

From an outside point of view it looks as if Mr. Roosevelt were peculiarly fortunate in the folly of his enemies, within his party and without it. The greatest risk he runs is of estranging men who are his friends by his cock-sure manner. He has a most attractive personality. He has as many personal friends, perhaps, as any man living. But he is not a good listener. He interrupts; he says "yes" and "no" upon apparently insufficient knowledge. Thus he produces the impression of making "snap judgments." He once sent for a committee of gentlemen to confer with him about a matter of public importance—as an oft-repeated story goes. He received them most cordially. He told them anecdotes. He recalled pleasant personal experiences with them of years before in a most interesting way. The half-hour was gone. As they were bowing themselves out he remarked that the subject about which they had come a thousand miles to talk with him was "all right." They had no chance to say anything. Stories like this are told in almost every State.

A mere mannerism, perhaps, but it has had more to do with keeping in the public mind the fear that he may act rashly than any definite action of his life.

Yet the way seems as clear before him as it ever seemed and as it could seem at this distance from the convention. Whether he can carry New York will depend chiefly on the character of the Democratic candidate. But New York is nominally, though not certainly, a Republican State.

CONDITIONS THAT MAKE FOR STEADINESS IN BUSINESS

THE further we go into the present period of financial and industrial depression—so far as it may properly be called a period of depression—the more noteworthy differences does the economic student

find from previous periods and the sounder the business condition of the country seems to be.

The chief change of all is that the speculative man, the speculative mood, the speculative enterprise are at a discount. The conservative and productive man and mood and enterprise are dominant. Visions of sudden wealth are less common, but steady progress in legitimate industry continues.

Our agricultural wealth has become so enormous that even the millions made (and lost) by those who speculate in these products are as nothing compared with their total value. Our dozen principal crops last year were worth more than three hundred billions.

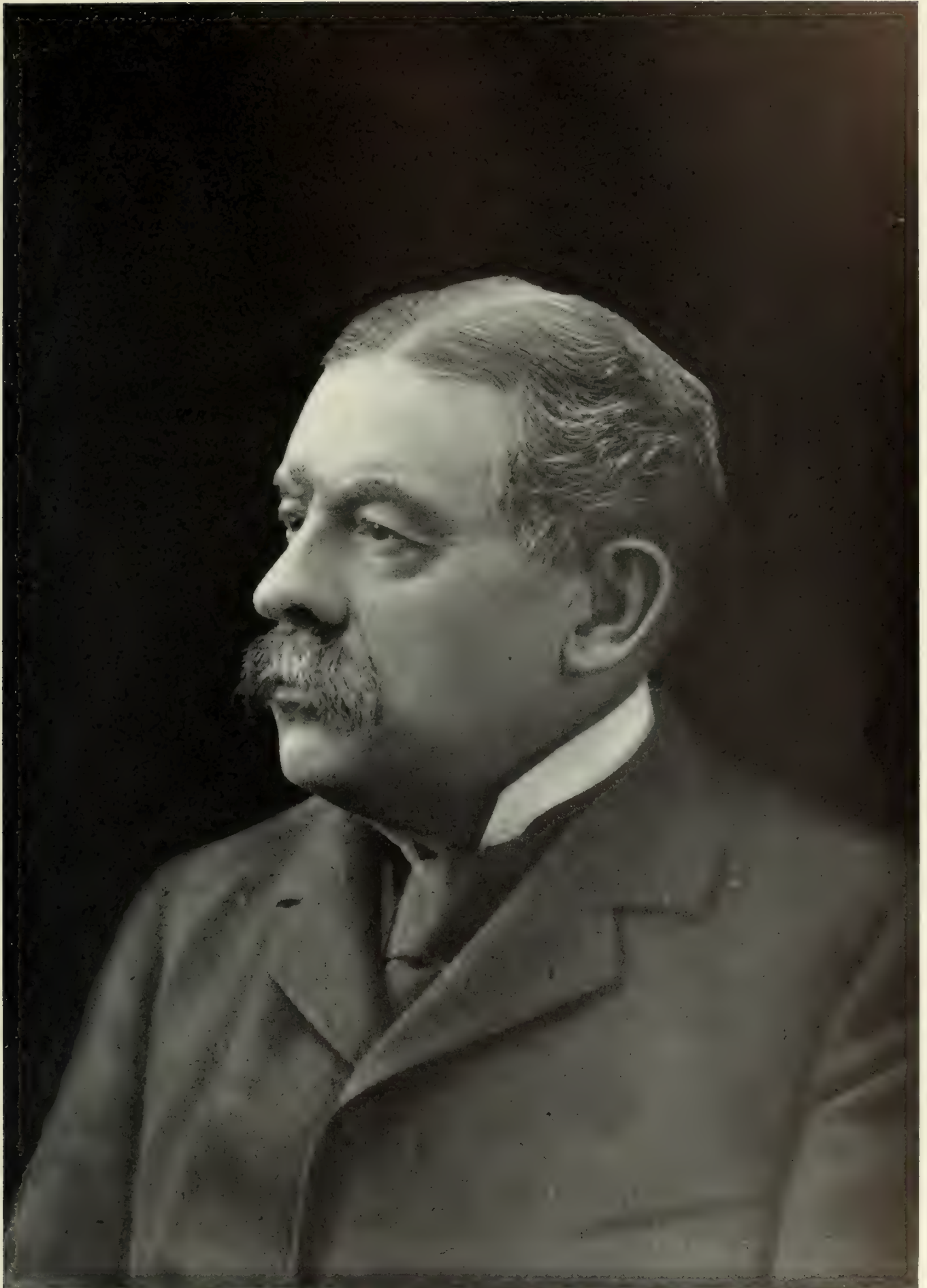
The high price of cotton has brought temporary embarrassment to mill-owners, but it has given a new impetus to southern agriculture. Better methods of cultivation, better care of land, the reclaiming of worn-out lands—these and other practical improvements will follow the increasing prosperity of the farmers. The South is a new industrial South. For several decades gradual improvement has been going on. But the change in many parts of it has lately been by leaps and bounds. The mass of the people have more money than they have ever had, before the Civil War or since. In fact, the old order of life knew no such prosperity as now prevails.

In the railroad world there is greater security. Rate wars are past; earnings are good; and the policy of publicity enables the public to know what the roads are doing and what they are earning.

There is some depression in the iron and steel market, but there is no probability of a period of loss. It is reported that the increasing scarcity of lumber will make the iron and steel market continuously wider. The time is thought to be near when steel-frame construction will still more generally displace wood construction in almost all classes of buildings, including residences.

The farmers and manufacturers of the country have a much larger home market (to say nothing of the expanding foreign market) than they ever had before. Our population is 80,000,000. Nearly 1,000,000 immigrants came to our shores last year. They must be fed and clothed and sheltered.

The labor world, after a wild debauch of unreason, is returning to the common sense



Photographed by Kenney

RICHARD OLNEY

WHO HAS BEEN RECENTLY TALKED OF AS A POSSIBLE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



Photographed by Cheyne

GENERAL SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG
FOUNDER OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE AND THE PIONEER IN MODERN
INDUSTRIAL TRAINING FOR THE NEGRO AND THE INDIAN

that distinguishes the American workingman as an individual.

Men who take a long and wide view of industrial conditions feel that the check put on reckless industrial organization and on the tendency to monopoly by the President's enforcement of the law has been salutary. However the Northern Securities case may be decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, no shock will be given to the financial world.

The effect of the Presidential campaign will be toward conservatism and not toward disturbance. All the conditions, therefore, that are visible are conditions that make for steadiness and away from panic.

THE PASSING OF THE SPECULATOR AND THE COMING OF THE INVESTOR

THE period of slackened business activity has now continued for several months, yet there is neither a panic nor fear of a panic. The business and financial world shows a steadier mood than it showed in any previous time of slackened prosperity, and thus gives proof of a greatly improved permanent condition. The evidences of this fundamentally improved condition are interesting, for they show the passing of a speculative era and the coming of an era of careful investment. The United States may, in fact, now be said definitely to have reached the status, long held by England, of a country of investors rather than of speculators. This is perhaps the most important financial fact of the last decade.

Consider how rapid has been the rise of many kinds of securities into the class of good investments. It was not many years ago when only two kinds of property were regarded as safe forms for trust funds—good real-estate mortgages and government bonds. The additions to the list of investments, which time and even depression are proving safe, have been numerous and of many kinds. The law has allowed savings banks a greatly increased range of investments and they have turned out to be sound. The great insurance companies, too, have pursued a similar course.

Before 1896, or thereabout, few railroad securities were entirely safe. The bonds of a few great companies were classed among the best securities. But as a class, railroad stock and even bonds were under speculative

suspicion. The general railroad reorganization has put many of them on a safer basis—some on a permanently safe basis. The large companies have leased or otherwise absorbed many small companies, guaranteeing the bonds of the small companies and thus adding to their safety. American railroad securities are not likely again, as a class, to sink to a doubtful level, and since the best of them have acquired high character, the tendency of the others is to rise. It is now more distinctly disreputable to wreck or to mismanage or even to overcapitalize a railroad than it was during the era of general wrecking and mismanagement. An investing public is more exacting than a speculative public was.

The large volume of securities of street-railways of comparatively recent development have been brought into the investment market, and while there are cases of gross overcapitalization, the general tendency is toward regular dividends and the prompt payment of interest.

With the general growth of wealth, the number of perfectly safe municipal bonds has increased. Many such bonds issued for electric plants and water-works are among the best investments.

We have even reached a stage of development where certain industrial securities are beyond suspicion. Some of the best managed of these have now paid dividends so long and so regularly that their stock takes rank with the best railroad stock. As a general class "industrials" are yet justly under suspicion, for any group of adventurers may organize anything and put dishonest stock on the market. But the older and more conservative "industrials" that have proved themselves are as safe—for a long time to come, at least—as any other class of investments, and the investing public is now so accepting them.

Such is the change that the actual possession of wealth has brought. So long as we dealt in expectations we could not apply the real investor's care to securities. Now that we have real wealth we demand greater security, and we get it. It is a radical change in the financial mood—a great advance in character.

We may take a measure of this advance in character, as well as of our increased wealth, by recalling the foreign investments that Americans are making. Not only have we

almost cleaned Europe of good American securities (where a few years ago so many good and bad American investments were held), but we now buy British consols and other European State bonds. We have large investments in Mexico. Foreign governments place loans here, and applications from the undesirable are refused by us. The Cuban loan will be held here. We shall presently be investing considerable sums in Porto Rico and in the Philippines. We already have large investments in Canada, which will become larger.

It is the speculator who causes panics. It is the investor who keeps the financial world steady. Our present experience proves that as a people we have passed the speculative era. In the whole history of our development no more important change has come.

THE LABOR UNIONS' RECENT LESSONS

THE labor unions have had an experience, naturally enough, parallel to the experience of the reckless organizers of industry, and they, too, seem to be coming to a more conservative mood. No organizations catch the speculative fever more quickly than some of these. If all the world seems to be getting rich, they must strike for higher pay. When industry seems arrogantly successful, they, too, must show arrogance. The connection between "booms" and strikes is logical and obvious.

But with them also a day of reckoning and steadiness is coming. They have during the last year or two caused the public, including their own members, incalculable loss. And now, when wages are reduced in many industries and men are laid off in some, strikes are fewer. They are always fewer when wages are falling than when wages are rising—a fact that shows the natural working of the mind of a mob. And there are many other evidences of a return to common sense. For instance, at the last convention of the Federation of Labor a socialistic resolution was defeated, and it received only about half as many votes as were cast a year before for a corresponding resolution.

But an unfortunate economic law here asserts itself—that when depression comes the wage-worker suffers first and worst. Although there have been loss of work and reduction of wages in some trades, which in

the aggregate mean the loss of many millions to workingmen, the cost of living has not been reduced. In the period of rising wages the cost of living rose, but with the decline of wages it has not fallen. In one respect at least it has increased, for a hard winter is come. This means a smaller margin of comfort for many. To some it will mean suffering. And the misfortune is that those who suffer most are likely to be the weakest and the most innocent of wrongdoing.

The most important definite result of the unions' undisciplined indulgence in strikes has been the organization of associations of employers that use the same methods of warfare that the unions have used. These have come in time to hasten the return of union management to the more conservative mood that all American organizations swing back into after a period of booms and recklessness. Thus labor, too, seems likely to come into soberness and manly consideration of its obligations to society.

PROGRESS OF THE PANAMA INCIDENT

THE Panama incident may be regarded as practically closed. The new Government has now been recognized by all the principal governments, including the British. The threat of war by Colombia, to reduce Panama to subjection, may possibly cause some diplomatic and even military trouble, though such a result seems unlikely. The Colombian remonstrance against the action of the United States, although it was expressed by General Reyes in a dignified way and included a request to submit the subject to the Hague tribunal, can have no effect. If our action was right there is no question to submit.

The debate on the treaty in the Senate provoked Senator Gorman to speak of the President as a Napoleon and to call his action the "most flagrant act of transgression that has ever taken place in the history of the country."

Senator Gorman, in his search not for a principle of opposition to the administration, but for a plausible excuse, had a caucus of Democratic Senators held, and he tried to pledge them to oppose the ratification of the treaty with Panama. But some refused to be bound, and others were immediately instructed by the Legislature of Louisiana

and by emphatic expressions of public opinion in other States to vote for the treaty; for the public opinion of the South heartily favors it.

The information laid before Congress by the President and the revelations made in Paris at the meeting of the Panama Canal Company have made it even plainer than it was before that the administration pursued the only practicable course. Definite evidence came out in Paris that the Colombian authorities had planned to delay negotiations with the United States till the French company's concession might be extinguished. Then the Colombians hoped themselves to sell the company's property and rights to the United States for \$40,000,000. The further that events and inquiry reveal the Colombian attitude the worse it appears.

But that, too, is now past history. It can have only an academic interest. The public sentiment of the world has practically approved the action of our Government. The public sentiment of our own country emphatically approves it. The criticism—some of it harsh and intemperate, although it has come from respectable sources—is, to a degree, temperamental. It is chiefly the criticism of men who differ by temperament, and therefore by necessity, with Mr. Roosevelt, and who cannot approve his manner of doing even those things that they commend. His promptness is to them rashness. His vigor they regard as a sort of insane strenuousness.

The way seems clear soon to begin work on the canal, and the Panama incident will not play a more important part in the campaign than the Philippine incident played before it under the forgotten name of "anti-imperialism."

POSSIBLE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES

WHO the Democratic candidate for the Presidency will be not even newspaper canvasses of public opinion can foreshadow, because the party has no central principle to stand by. The other party, for that matter, has no superfluity of great principles, but the Republicans have at least an active personality. The Democrats seem willing to nominate anybody that can win. The talk of Judge Parker, of New York, is without enthusiasm because he is unknown both to the leaders and to the masses. But

he is much talked of because it is hoped that he might carry New York. Senator Gorman is spoken of because—because he is intriguing for the nomination, and he may secure it.

There is more earnest talk than has before been heard of Mr. Olney, who is a strong personality and was the most distinguished figure, next to his chief, in the second Cleveland administration. Born in 1835, a graduate of Brown and of the Harvard Law School, he was a successful corporation lawyer in Boston when, in 1893, he became Attorney-General. He had been interested in politics, but he was too independent, too intolerant of small bosses, to be a politician. As soon as he entered the Cabinet his local reputation as a man of force broadened into national fame: he occupied a place in the public eye comparable to that of Secretary Hay or Secretary Root today. When the Chicago riots of 1894 halted the mails he advised using federal troops, and when the "Debs case" dragged the question into court he fought it through with vigor and skill. In 1895 he became Secretary of State and was sponsor for the "Venezuela message."

His nomination is hardly possible. Though he may have the support of Massachusetts and some neighboring States, he cannot count even upon a solid New England vote. Even with all New England for him, Mr. Olney could scarcely carry the convention, because he is still hated by the populist and the labor and socialist elements of his party. To the populists he was always a graven image of financial conservatism and legality; to the labor unionists a personification of the ruthless power of the Government. His plea for labor unions before the Federal Court in the District of Pennsylvania, and his denunciation in 1902 of the coal operators, have been only partial atonement for his guilt. Too many of the class whom the rise of Bryan has lifted into the Democratic organization will never forgive him through all eternity.

His natural appeal is to those who admire Mr. Cleveland; like the latter, he lacks an ingratiating manner and personal popularity; and he lacks also Mr. Cleveland's long record of conspicuous service, which makes mere popularity a secondary consideration.

Massachusetts, however, in suggesting him offers another proof that the party is recovering from demoralization and feels the need of a really strong character.

SENATOR SMOOT AND THE MORMON HIERARCHY

THE agitation to induce the United States Senate to expel the Mormon Senator Smoot, of Utah, will not succeed unless it can be proved that he has a "plural" wife; and it is understood and generally admitted that no such charge can be proved against him. That he is theoretically or doctrinally a "polygamist" may be true; for, although the Church has openly, at least, forbidden plural marriages since they were made illegal, one of its cardinal doctrines is that men attain greater glory (or something to that effect) by plural marriages. The doctrine of polygamy is a part of the Mormon creed. And Senator Smoot is one of the Twelve Apostles of the Church.

But this is quite another matter. A man may believe in what he please—the having of one wife or a dozen; but, if he do not violate the law against polygamy, there is no lawful reason to punish him. And it is well that there is not—fundamentally well for the safety of our institutions.

The organized movement against Senator Smoot may in part be traced to personal political opposition, and in part to opposition to the Mormon hierarchy as a political machine. There is a more or less vague idea that in some way it may be proved that there is in Utah, and to a degree in some of the adjacent States, a union of Church and State. No doubt there is such a union. The hierarchy may decide and has decided who shall be elected to many political offices. But, since every apostle and bishop and elder is also an American citizen, and every American citizen may be a boss if he can, it is difficult to see how the power of the Church in politics can be lessened by the Senate. It can be lessened by the citizens of Utah if they have a mind to lessen it, but in no other way. The work of "disestablishing" the Church under these conditions is missionary and political work that must be done within the region of the Church's domination.

THE GOVERNORS OF THE PHILIPPINES

GOVERNOR TAFT'S return from his post in the Philippines is a triumphal return. He has laid the foundations of order and civilization in long-misruled oriental populations of great differences of character, and justified the most daring experiment in government that we have ever

tried. His last important act was almost his most important—the purchase of the friars' lands for a little more than \$7,000,000, with the approval of the Church of Rome, which was won by patient diplomacy. These lands will be paid for by bonds of the Philippine Government guaranteed by the United States, and they will be sold to occupants and settlers to the great economic benefit of the people. The grave scandal and disquiet of the friars' authority over the people is thus happily ended. In the Cabinet Mr. Taft follows one of the most brilliant Secretaries of War that we ever had; but no man could follow Mr. Root with a better outlook for success.

Mr. Luke E. Wright, who succeeds Mr. Taft as Governor of the Philippine Islands, is a man of strong qualities, and he has had the benefit of these several years' experience as a member of the commission. The criticism that has been made of him, because he was reared in a southern State and is therefore unfit to deal generously with colored peoples, is singularly ungenerous. There is every reason to suppose that he will prove a worthy successor to Governor Taft.

PAY OF TEACHERS AND WHAT IT DENOTES

A COMMITTEE of the National Educational Association has begun an investigation of teachers' salaries, and an article in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* has started a discussion of the pay of college professors. Teachers' wages have always been low. In this country the monthly average for men is \$49 and for women \$40, and many receive far less—some as little as \$15 to \$20. But certain advantages are a partial offset. The long vacation affords a chance to rest, to study, or possibly to engage in different work. The social distinction—not unlike that of the ministry—is to an extent another makeweight.

But other causes keep them not only ill paid, but undervalued. Many teachers look to the school as a makeshift—women till they can marry, men till they can establish themselves in business or a profession. These do not take their trade seriously; they do not prepare for it, and they devote their most serious thought to escaping from it. Under such conditions the calling is crowded with women who have failed to marry and with men who are incompetent—a survival of the

unfittest. Many of these lead disappointed lives, and make the schools unattractive.

An increasing proportion of teachers are of another sort. There have always been competent men and women to make deliberate choice of the profession and duly prepare for it; their number is growing and the facilities for preparation are improving. Such an institution as the Teachers' College of Columbia University trains experts, who are beginning to receive better salaries and the consideration given to the members of other professions. In our larger cities good positions are increasing, and in rural districts the plan of collecting children into a central building instead of scattering them in detached school-houses is creating places for qualified teachers.

This raising of the professional standard is the only thing that can lift the pay to a legitimate level. So long as school boards accept untrained youths, so long the capable teachers will receive less money and respect than they ought to receive.

In college the salary is generally larger. A professor at Harvard may earn as much as \$4,500 to \$5,000, at Yale \$3,750, and so on down. Besides the security of the position and the social standing, the intellectual freedom is a strong attraction. In the leading colleges "the teachers are not the slaves of sect or party. . . . If they have outgrown early creeds in politics or religion, they are not forced to juggle with language or conscience." None of these precious privileges can quite console a man who is growing gray in some small college that pays only \$1,200 to \$1,500. He is unable to save for old age or to educate his children. Such colleges must continue to accept third- and fourth-rate men unless the weaker institutions will unite or America can produce an enormous crop of philanthropists.

The economic rule will hold that better pay would secure better teachers, and better teachers would lift our educational work. We have not yet become really in earnest about educational work. When we do, the very strongest men and women will enter it, and they will be everywhere the real leaders of our intellectual life.

LAST YEAR'S LARGE BENEFACTIONS

THE sum of the larger benefactions for philanthropic purposes last year in the United States, although it exceeded

\$85,000,000, was considerably smaller than the gifts of either of the two preceding years. In the list of philanthropies the gifts to promote education are the largest, being about \$40,000,000, besides nearly \$8,000,000 that were given for libraries. The larger donations to "charities" (including hospitals and the like) which are classified by the statisticians were only half as great as the gifts to schools and colleges. "Religion" received less than \$4,000,000. The gifts both to charitable institutions and to churches are, of course, greatly understated in these totals of large benefactions, for they always receive more in small donations, which are never reported and catalogued, than in large ones.

The giver of the largest sum last year to philanthropic uses was Mr. Carnegie, whose benefactions were more than \$16,000,000. Mr. John D. Rockefeller's gifts, chiefly to educational institutions, are reported to have been \$12,000,000.

This princely generosity to education—and there were many other gifts of millions to schools—shows that the most astute men of affairs whom we have produced regard the strengthening of our universities and colleges and schools as the most helpful way in which they can use their money for the public good; for the giving of large sums of money by rich men is now, in the case of almost every one of them, the result of careful and even scientific investigation of the whole subject of helpful philanthropy. No rich man escapes misjudgment of his motives (few poor men do, for that matter), and we hear much of the shrewdness with which they give money for the building of monuments to themselves. But it is well known that Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller, for examples, direct their philanthropies with the same care for results as they direct their other activities. They have considered thoroughly, each from his own point of view, whether hospitals, or museums, or libraries, or churches, or schools, or other things will yield the best return to mankind for financial help. It is therefore significant of the educational earnestness of our period that so large a part of all the great benefactions goes to schools and libraries.

The man who feels sure that he could spend \$85,000,000 a year better than the men who give it may be wiser than they, but he may be merely more opinionated.

It is probable that the great American philanthropists have reduced helpful giving to a more exact science than it was ever before reduced to. In spite of misjudgments of their motives and of other criticism, it is true, too, that their benefactions are keenly appreciated and that they bring enormous benefits to society.

In spite of all this, the economist can never quite get away from the conviction that universities and colleges and schools and hospitals and museums ought to be provided and equipped in a democracy at the public expense. There is no better way for rich men to spend their money than these ways, and it would be ungracious to do less than heartily to applaud them; but a perfectly developed and robust democracy would have no need of such help. Whether their giving retards the development of a robuster democracy, perhaps no man is wise enough to say; and in the meantime it is certain that many a youth receives better training by reason of these benefactions than he could otherwise receive—better training, too, in many departments of work and learning, than the youth of any other country receives.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS ON HERBERT SPENCER

THE liberal religious press of the United States and England has spoken in the highest praise of the work and influence of Herbert Spencer; and it thus gives a striking measure of the profound change of orthodox feeling that has come within twenty-five years. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall were long the objects of especial condemnation by both the religious press and by the pulpit in England and America. It was they who were meant when ecclesiastics spoke of "profane and vain babblings and the opposition of science, falsely so called." Spencer in particular, being the most comprehensive of the group, was the object of bitter assault. Darwin's offense of applying the theory of evolution to biology was aggravated by Spencer, who applied it to everything, including religion itself. The ecclesiastics who replied to him often made heavy work of it—as that bishop did who tried to crush Huxley by asking whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed descent from a monkey.

We have come into a better, wider, more

liberal time, and this old conflict is now seldom renewed in any form. The main idea of evolutionary philosophy which seemed so revolutionary a generation ago (and *was* revolutionary, but in ways then hardly suspected) has filtered into the common thought of men. An incidental benefit that it brought, hardly less than its main benefit, is the wider toleration that it encouraged—the hospitality of mind to new ideas, which is the greatest gift of science to society. We have learned, as no preceding generation knew, that religion itself, as all other priceless things, thrives best in an atmosphere of perfect freedom from dogmatism and abuse.

The broader view is well expressed by the *New York Outlook*, a distinctly religious journal, though a liberal one:

"We are inclined to think that his most considerable influence is that which he has exerted on the religious thought of his age, and that it has been largely beneficent."

And by the *Anglican Church Times* (of London):

"A man of unfaltering honesty, of invincible belief in goodness, a laborious and patient worker, he has conquered the ungrudging respect of those with whom he was least in sympathy, and whom he understood least of all. . . . He did for the narrow English thought of the nineteenth century what Kant had already done for the wider thought of Europe in the eighteenth century. He compelled Englishmen—a most unwilling, stiff-necked race—to recognize the limits of their knowledge and the unknown reality that lay beyond. . . . His teaching has certainly cut the ground from under many pious believers, and their individual failure is lamentable; but he did this only because they stood on radically false ground."

SUCCESSFUL REFORMATION OF THE DRAM-SHOP

THE movement to elevate dram-shops in England to something of the dignity of clubs has been very successful, and its experience is an important addition to our knowledge of the regulation of the drink habit. Under the general management of Lord Grey, who has made an interesting report of the movement through the *London Times*, dram-shops have been conducted by the "trust." Respectable men own them. Drinks are sold, but food also is generally served; disorder is forbidden; the houses are made attractive; they are places

of respectable refreshment instead of mere drinking and lounging places. The aim is "to convert the public house, as far as possible, from a mere drinking-bar into something more closely resembling a well-conducted club." The gist of the report of the Central Public House Trust Association, made after a tour of inspection, is this:

"Houses in which, at the best, the interest and therefore the object of the managers were the sale of intoxicants up to the limits allowed by the law, having regard to the apparent capacity of each customer to carry his liquor steadily, and which, in some cases, were distinctly centres of moral deterioration for the neighborhood in which they are situated, have been beneficially transformed. They have become houses to which respectable people of both sexes and all ages can resort with pleasure and comfort and, amid an atmosphere physically and morally wholesome, can obtain wholesome refreshment, solid or liquid, with no encouragement to the preference of stimulants, but rather the reverse, and with a firm prevention of all approach to excess."

The movement is spreading fast over England, and it contains a lesson for us that, whereas the extermination of the saloon in most places is impossible, its reformation is a task worthy of the best members of society, and is a possible task.

THE FEAR OF SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

THE ruling class in Germany cannot quiet the fear of socialism. Baron von Kardorff, one of the Conservative leaders, declared in the Reichstag not long ago that Germany was "rolling with wind velocity into the socialized state of the future." The remedy that he proposed was "to withdraw the suffrage for five years from Socialists who profess to be revolutionists or republicans." He incidentally expressed fears about the reliability of the army in case of revolution. All this sounds ominous, and at the first glance seems warranted by the rapid increase of the Socialists' vote throughout the empire. But the German electoral system makes them comparatively powerless in practical legislation.

The Socialists polled at the general election last summer about 3,000,000 votes, or two-fifths of the total. But they are massed in the cities and in industrial districts, and they elected only a few more than one-fifth of the delegates to the Reichstag—81

members out of 397. It must be remembered, too, that their vote was swelled by a large number of men who are not really Socialists, but who voted with the Socialist party as the only means of expressing dissatisfaction with some particular policy of the Emperor. Some of the causes of the growth of the Socialistic party are temporary and would disappear with a more liberal government.

But, even if the party continues to grow, it cannot hope to win practical power, except by an open revolution, which is not feared. For the Government of Germany has three branches—the Reichstag, the Bundesrath, and the Kaiser with the Imperial Cabinet. The powers of the Bundesrath are much larger than of the Reichstag. The Bundesrath is composed of delegates appointed by the sovereigns of the twenty-five States of the empire, and this body not only originates nearly all the bills which subsequently go to the Reichstag, but its powers to nullify the Reichstag's legislation are supreme; and the Bundesrath and the Kaiser have the execution of all laws. In the legislatures of the twenty-five German States there are scarcely any Socialists, because of the property qualifications and other restrictions on suffrage that antedate the founding of the empire in 1871. The Socialists are powerless to influence the politics of these States or the appointment of their officers. Moreover, the constitutional rights and powers of the Kaiser are very comprehensive, and include the full control of the army and of the navy, the undisputed power of the appointment of all public officers, the power to declare war and to conclude peace, and the power to manage the foreign policy of the empire. Besides, no doubt two-thirds of the population of the empire are monarchical in sentiment. Even many of the Socialists are believers in the monarchy, and perhaps not one-tenth of them at present favor a violent revolution.

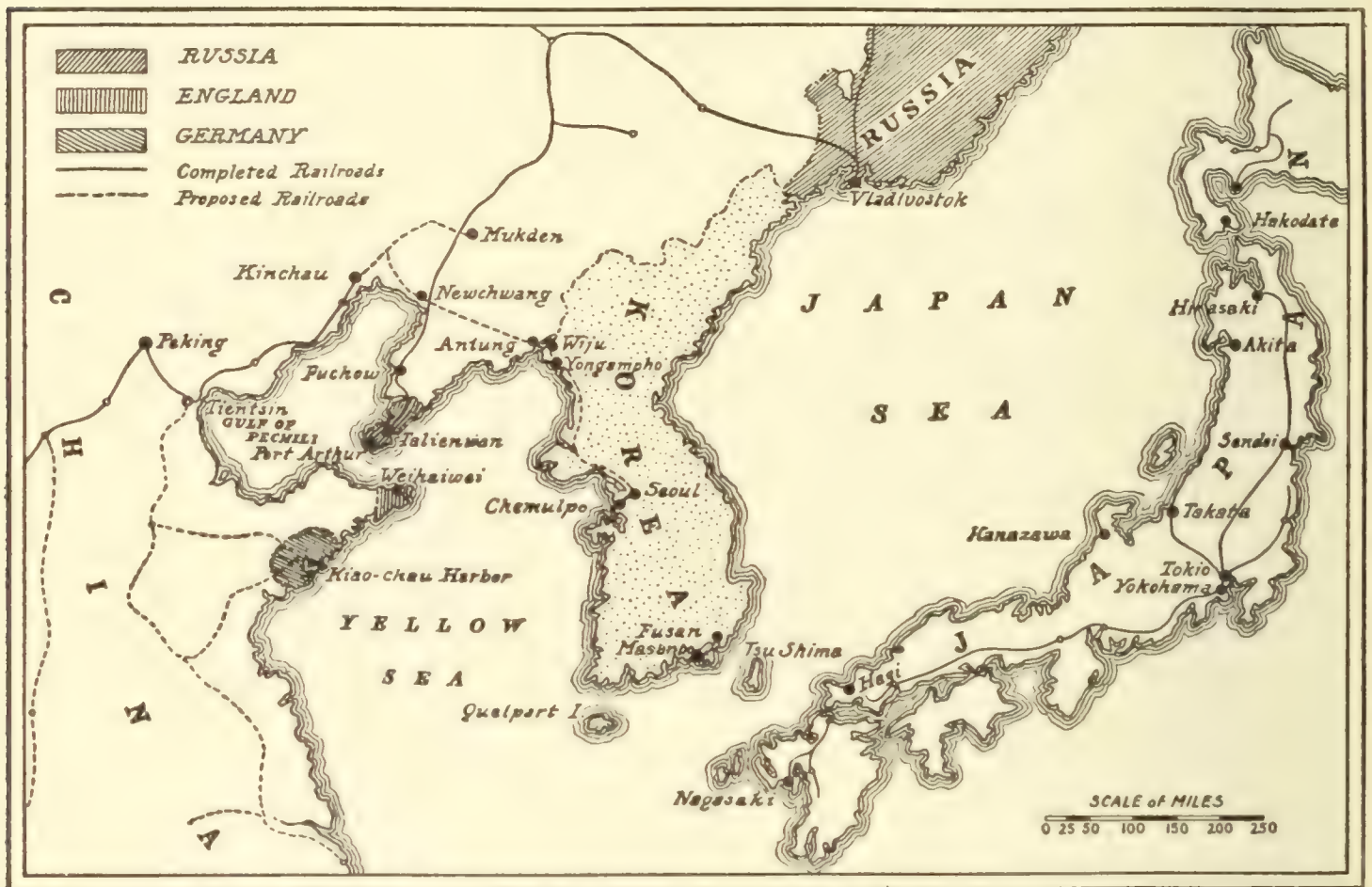
The further growth of the Socialistic party, therefore, is not at all certain, and even if it do continue to grow, it could not hope, under the present election law, to control even the Reichstag. Even if it should control the Reichstag it would not control the country or the Government. As to the army, it is safe to say that it would not again lend itself to a bloody suppression of such a popular revolution as occurred in 1848, but for all other purposes it is loyal to the Emperor.

THE WORLD-WIDE DANGER OF THE JAPAN-RUSSIAN CONFLICT

THE inherent conflict between Russia and Japan—the Russian policy requiring practical control on the eastern Asiatic coast and the expansion of Japan requiring that *she* should be mistress there—would be serious enough if it involved only these two nations. But the danger is that it may at last involve all Europe as well. England, Germany, and France all have important Asiatic interests—England in particular; and the whole world is interested in the future of China. This, indeed, is the

a definite stage of the great conflict which seems inevitable at some time between Russia and England. It is, therefore, an ominous time. The greatest visible unsolved national problems of the future may be thrust at once upon the world.

The contemplation of these grave dangers brings cause for supreme thankfulness that, whatever come, we have a self-maintaining continent of our own, and that, with wise guidance, there is no necessary reason why we should be drawn into the conflict. Whatever we may be able to do—if we can do anything—to avert or to postpone a general



MAP SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF JAPAN, KOREA, AND THE RUSSIAN POSSESSIONS

great prize of war and of diplomacy. Dominance in this part of the world means ultimately dominance over China.

The struggle thus involves the future of three nations—Japan, whether she shall have a great future; Russia, whether she shall become the great Asiatic power; and England, whether her control of India and her Asiatic trade shall remain secure. If a world-wide war be prevented it will be a distinct triumph of civilization; and, if it come, it will shake European civilization to its foundations, and plunge us at once into

war that may sweep over the rest of the world will be a clear gain to civilization.

GENERAL S. C. ARMSTRONG AND HIS WORK

A GREAT educational movement—meaning far more than the proper training of the Negro, much as that means—had its beginning in the work of General Samuel C. Armstrong at Hampton Institute. He did more than any other man to make the training of the hand a part of our fundamental conception of education. He has been dead only ten years, but the idea that he

developed is already fairly making its way even into the most conservative educational corners of the world. Very fitly on the anniversary of his birth (January 30th) appears a study of the man and of his work by his daughter, Mrs. Talbot. The book is so full of General Armstrong's own letters and extracts from his diary, his reports and his conversations that it is almost an autobiography.

Mr. Robert C. Ogden, his friend from boyhood and the chairman of the board of trustees of Hampton Institute, has written for these pages the brief estimate and reminiscence of him that follow. Because of the intimate relations of these men, what Mr. Ogden writes is of peculiar interest.

It was in the autumn of 1860, through the introduction of his uncle, Judge Reuben A. Chapman—afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts—that I made the acquaintance of Samuel Chapman Armstrong. He had just arrived from the Sandwich Islands, prepared to enter the junior class at Williams College, with the money—his own hard earnings—in his possession to pay the expenses of his college course. His personality was unique, and he came into my life with the charm of a dominating power altogether new. We struck hands at the first with a grip that relaxed only when he joined the great majority.

That Armstrong was far and away out of the common appears in the fact that, after the lapse of more than four decades, his picture remains in my thought thoroughly defined in bold, clear outlines. He was just past his majority, a splendid specimen of youthful manliness. The regular features of his face habitually wore a kindly expression; his mouth, firmly set, betokened power of decision; and his wonderful, deeply set blue-gray eyes indicated vivacious humor and keen intelligence. In manners and speech he was perfectly frank, and his talk never failed to sparkle with originality. His vocal organs, more than normal in power, were never equal to the demands of his mind, and his language often indicated a slight stuttering in the impetuous rapidity of utterance that seemed like a competitive struggle of words to secure expression.

In reviewing the masterful results—mental, spiritual, physical—of his many-sided life, it is most interesting to recall the traits of his very young manhood. Then, as always—casting away tradition, despising cant, finding his own way to truth, full of an abounding, effervescent, spontaneous activity, courageous in all things—he was pure of heart, clean of speech, and manful in the best sense. All this gave indication of the moral altruism that matured early, continued to expand

until the end, and still remains a rich legacy to the world through the objects to which his life was given. Even in his college days he made efforts at moral service that were so peculiarly original as to be almost Quixotic and so courageous as to approach the heroic.

Great interest surrounds the salient points in Armstrong's career. From infancy to early manhood he had lived in the strong moral and intellectual power of a missionary centre among a subtropical people of soft and emotional nature. During the period of his later education he was under the influence of the best New England thought as expressed through Dr. Mark Hopkins, Williams College, and life in the Berkshire Hills. In the military service of the war for the Union and against slavery his experiences, varied and deep, especially remarkable in the survival of dangers unusually great, brought him convictions and knowledge on other broad lines.

These several forces produced in Armstrong a remarkable philanthropist, statesman, and educator. His letters upon the questions involved in the education and treatment of the Negro, written in 1868, when read in the light of present conditions seem like inspired prophecy; and but little has been added to the principles involved in the uplift of the Negroes and Indians evolved by his clear thinking between 1865 and 1878. His annual reports as the principal of the Hampton Institute to the board of trustees are State papers that will prove of great value to the future historian. The last of his reports, for the year closing in May, 1893, was written and the printer's proofs revised by his own hand. Among other remarkable passages it contains the expression, "Reconstruction measures were a bridge of wood over a river of fire"—an illustration of his epigrammatic style. He was in his grave when this report was presented, and the effect upon the board of what seemed a voice from the spirit-world will never fade from the minds of any who were present.

Dr. Mayo, the veteran observer of education in the South, says in a paper prepared for the United States Bureau of Education, that the largest contribution to popular education made by any individual in America since the days of Horace Mann was that made by General Samuel C. Armstrong.

Interest in Armstrong's life and work is increasing with the wider appreciation of his service to education and national progress. He forbade a biography. But no violence is done to his command in the preparation by his daughter, Mrs. Talbot, of her book concerning his life, published on his birthday. He was willing that information concerning his army record should be printed, and was particular that it should be accurate. In this fact is found a large measure of justification for the publication of the book.

My last interview with Armstrong was on a Sunday at Hampton, late in April, 1893. The afternoon service in the beautiful church was over. The choir had lingered at the General's suggestion to sing some of the old slave hymns. The singers had retired; we two only remained. The youngster of 1860 was now prematurely old, his hair was white, his left side was paralyzed, but his eye was undimmed and his brain unclouded. We talked through the twilight and into the darkness, his theme being the school, the Negro, the country; and never in all the years had I heard from him more intelligent and hopeful expressions or greater enthusiasm for the future. His soul was marching on with faith and courage undaunted. We left the church and parted beneath the shining stars—I to go North, he in a few days to say: "My work is done. I must go."

The Hampton Institute stands as Armstrong's monument. Since his death ten years have passed. But so strong is the spiritual life of the organization that everything which he originated and planned has gone forward with a progressive, cumulative power. The creation of an organism composed of human elements that retain the power of vital growth after the inspiration and will of the creator is withdrawn is positive testimony to the genius of originality and spirituality. Armstrong was fortunate in his associates and successor at the Hampton Institute. Through his spiritual legatees the continual growth of his great "experiment station" is assured, and his memorial stands a witness to his life-work.

THE PROLONGATION OF THE WORKING PERIOD

THERE is now enough exact information about healthful and natural living to warrant the conclusion that human life could be very greatly lengthened. Especially is there enough such information about nutrition—the proper foods and the best way to eat them. The lives of all persons who are born with robust constitutions could be lengthened far beyond the average age now attained, and not only could they be greatly lengthened, but they could be kept vigorous for a longer period. An old age of decaying faculties is not an intellectual or social gain, but an old age with perfectly preserved faculties is an inestimable gain. There is, in fact, no other end so well worth attaining as the prolongation of the working period of great men—thinkers, writers, administrators—if their work can be continued at its best. Much of the best work of the world has been done by old men, and if men who produce great results in youth or in middle life could have the period of their

best activity greatly extended, the gain to society would be incalculable. Since the same methods that will prolong the working period will make men more vigorous in youth and middle life, the proposition becomes the most important in the whole range of human problems.

"Preventive medicine" we already have, but it yet deals chiefly with the large tasks of sanitation and the contagious diseases. We have not developed, in general practice, what might be called individual preventive medicine. Many a man after breakdown begins puts himself in the care of a trained physician. The wiser thing would be to put himself in the care of a physician before breakdown began. Preventive medicine should, in fact, begin in childhood. Every human being should ascertain by experiment and by the skilful attention of a trained man of science precisely what routine of life is best for *him*—not what is best for another or for most persons, but for him alone—what food, what hours of sleep, what exercise, what clothing.

If any considerable part of society should take to scientific living, what a multitude of follies and conventionalities would fall into disuse! All long dinners, all late functions, all stuffy dwellings—these would go the way of other barbaric things that we have discarded. The simple life would become the only respectable life. Our food bills would be reduced by half or more. Most of the drug stores and all the patent-remedy factories would become bankrupt. There would be physicians who seldom saw sick persons, for their practice would be chiefly among the well, and it would consist in keeping them well.

More than that—and this is the constructive and consoling thought built up in M. Metchnikoff's new great book on "The Nature of Man"—if men so live as to preserve their bodies and their faculties in harmony till a perfectly natural death come in old age, they would be as willing and as ready to die as they are to lie down to sleep. To die would seem the natural and desirable as well as inevitable thing. When we live so naturally that death will not come prematurely and will come only for natural causes we shall no longer dread it—we shall have an "instinct" to die.

This thought as the basis of a cheerful

philosophy—a kind of religion, if you so choose to call it—is justified by the advances of the prevention of disease. It is a conception of life and of a definite progress in human society and in happiness that the conquest of disease has now for the first time made possible. For all the religions and philosophies have endeavored to reconcile men to short lives, to premature death, to unfinished

tasks. It is science that for the first time offers the possibility of really finished life, of perfectly natural and unregrettable death, of a longer time for cheerful labor, of a lengthened period of wisdom and of the perfect play of mature faculties—for an afternoon of maturer work that shall be as long as the morning was for its energetic beginnings.

THE PRESIDENT AND WALL STREET

BY

SERENO S. PRATT

IT is a serious thing for a chief magistrate to arouse the antagonism of the country's business men. It is equally serious for business men to be hostile to a President simply because he is doing his duty.

Yet President Roosevelt and certain financial interests are in opposition. Many influential bankers and merchants cordially approve of his policies. But certain interests—and those the most powerful in the financial world, in control of great railroad and industrial corporations and chains of banks—would like, for their own reasons, to defeat him for another term. It is not surprising, however, that so many find this difficult to believe. In the last two Presidential campaigns the financial interests supported the Republican party and spent their money lavishly to elect its candidates.

WHY WALL STREET OPPOSES THE PRESIDENT

Indeed, the political and financial situation can be put in a form like this:

Roosevelt Publicity Antitrust law enforcement	} vs. {	The Standard Oil Company Coal trust The Northern Securities Company
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Accordingly, these questions naturally present themselves:

1. What acts of the President led to this antagonism?
2. What were the reasons for his policy?
3. What are the motives of the financial interests opposing him?

4. What is the character and the probable result of their opposition?

The acts leading to the antagonism are three:

1. The enactment last February, in accordance with the President's policy, of the so-called publicity law creating the Bureau of Corporations in the new Department of Commerce and Labor.

2. The commencement, on February 19, 1902, of the suit by the Attorney-General against the Northern Securities Company for violation of the Sherman Antitrust law.

3. The White House conference, October 3, 1902, on the anthracite coal strike, the President's invitation to John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, to attend this conference, and his subsequent appointment of a commission to settle the strike.

First, as to publicity. Briefly, the law confers on the Bureau of Corporations the same powers over the industrial corporations that the Interstate Commerce Commission has over the railroads. It authorizes the bureau to obtain from the trusts information of two kinds regarding their financial condition and their operations: (a) Information to guide the President in his recommendations to Congress and in his enforcement of laws for the protection of the public interests; (b) information to be published for the guidance of investors and for their protection against such evils as overcapitalization and speculative direction of corporations.

It has been asserted—though formal denial has been made—that information demanded of the Standard Oil Company by this bureau was refused.

THE POLICY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY

Such a refusal would be in keeping with the persistent policy of the Standard Oil Company, which has never made any public statement of its affairs, except when compelled to do so in courts of law or by legislative committees.

The Standard Oil Company is conducted by men of the highest order of ability, on the principle that business is war and that success is to be attained best by the military organization of industry. It has developed machinery of the utmost perfection for obtaining information regarding the operations of rivals, and at the same time surrounds its own operations with the impenetrable mystery of a Masonic lodge. It moves secretly, quickly, and powerfully to accomplish its ends. It is usually able to attain results legally, but many of its acts can be justified only on the ground of military necessity.

If this colossal financial power, extending all over the country, refuses to give to the United States Government information authorized by law, the constitutional right of the federal Government to deal with interstate corporations on the basis of a fair publicity may have to be tested in the courts.

The situation as to the Northern Securities case and the coal strike is well understood. The settlement of the coal strike, however, is satisfactory. No hardship has been worked to either side, and the public entered upon this winter with an assurance of an ample supply of fuel. As to the Northern Securities case, the principle of "the holding company"—that latest device of "high finance" for concentrating the control of the railroads of the country forever in a few hands—is soon to be upheld or overthrown by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Immense as are the interests involved in the Northern Securities combination, and far-reaching in its effects as the Supreme Court decision may be, the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt is not so much that he instituted the suit against the company as a monopoly in restraint of trade as that *he did not give notice in advance*.

FINANCIAL INTERESTS DEMAND ADVANCE INFORMATION

The financiers of the Northern Securities Company maintain that in view of the magnitude of the financial interests concerned, and in view of all that they had done for the Republican party, they were entitled to special consideration. Consider what that means. Here were certain acts committed that the President believed to be a violation of law. Was it his duty to inform the powerful interests that he intended to bring suit against them, in order that they might prepare for the action and take measures to protect themselves in the stock market from the effects on prices which such an action might reasonably have? Should he favor the violators of law at the expense possibly of thousands of others in the stock market who, though not parties to the violation of law, would not secure the same advantage of advance information?

That the President did not notify them was the very point which the President most desired to emphasize. He enforced the law against the rich and the powerful as impartially as against the poor and weak. It is easy to understand with what amazement and indignation the financial interests learned what the President had done. They had contributed liberally to the campaign fund raised to elect President McKinley and yet Mr. Roosevelt did not recognize the obligation which this fact established.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

President Roosevelt has given no one authority to speak for him on these matters, but he has spoken frequently for himself, and the following is undoubtedly a fair statement of his position:

He is no enemy of capital. He has no hatred of wealth. He believes in the protective tariff. He stands upon sound money. He has spoken for a more "elastic" currency. His position is at the opposite pole to populism. But he refuses to be controlled by Wall Street. He declines to notify corporate interests in advance when his official duty compels him to proceed against them. He believes that it is his duty to enforce the law. He found a law on the statute-books that prohibited monopolies in restraint of trade. He believed that

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. James J. Hill, and others had created such a monopoly by uniting three rival railroad systems under the Northern Securities Company. He directed his Attorney-General to bring suit to enforce the law.

He saw a terrific contest in progress between capital and labor in the anthracite coal fields and the country in a fuel famine. He had evidence submitted to him that riots and bloodshed and far-reaching horrors were imminent. Other efforts failing to settle the strike, he called the contestants before him, and by his influence compelled them to submit their differences to the tribunal of an impartial commission.

He recognized the economic benefits of organization and combinations in the industries. He had no desire to interfere in the operation of natural laws or to strike at the rights of property. But he witnessed abuses in the promotion of trusts, the marketing of their securities, and the management of their properties such as the world had not experienced since the collapse of the South Sea and the Mississippi Company bubbles nearly two centuries ago. There were gross overcapitalizations, lying prospectuses, extravagant profits to promoters and underwriters, secret agreements for the sale of the stock of "insiders," the payment of dividends to facilitate the marketing of stock, while at the same time bonds had to be issued to furnish working capital. The President saw these things and looked around for a remedy that would reform the evils without in any degree shackling commercial enterprise. He found it. In one word it was "Publicity."

The President stood for the fair deal, the equal opportunity, the enforcement of law against rich and poor alike, the recognition of the right of labor to organize, but the insistence upon the American doctrine of the "open shop"—in brief, the conditions of life and business that would enable "every American to carry his own weight."

Here are a few significant sentences from his last annual message:

"Publicity in corporate affairs will tend to do away with 'ignorance.'"

"The purpose is not to embarrass or assail legitimate business, but to aid in bringing about a better industrial condition, a condition under which there shall be obedience to law and recognition

of public obligation by all corporations, great or small."

"We drew the line against misconduct, not against wealth."

"Publicity can do no harm to the honest corporation. The only corporation that has cause to dread it is the corporation which shrinks from the light, and about the welfare of such corporations we need not be oversensitive."

"Whenever either corporation, labor union, or individual disregards the law or acts in a spirit of arbitrary and tyrannous interference with the rights of others, whether corporations or individuals, then where the federal Government has jurisdiction it will see to it that the misconduct is stopped, paying not the slightest heed to the power or position of the corporation, the union, or the individual, but only to one vital fact—that is, the question whether or not the conduct of the individual or aggregate of individuals is in accordance with the law of the land."

"Therefore the work will stand. There shall be no backward step."

SECRET INFLUENCES OF WORK

The Wall Street opposition to Mr. Roosevelt has not been open. It has been a secret influence, but none the less at work to overthrow him in the Republican convention if possible; if not there, in the election, provided an acceptable Democratic candidate is nominated. The Wall Street leaders have not publicly criticized the President. But all through the spheres of influence of these men there is a plain manifestation of antagonism. The newspaper mouthpieces of these financial interests—the financial "court circulars"—voice, as far as they dare, this opposition; and in the clubs and bank parlors it is whispered that the business welfare of the country requires the defeat of a President who has dared to enforce the law against the most powerful corporations and communities of interests in the world.

What is the motive of this financial antagonism? No friend of Mr. Roosevelt will deny that there are many business men who dislike him because they think him "unsafe." Business men, as a rule, are ultra-conservative. They dread change, agitation, progress. Anything that disturbs prevailing conditions alarms them. For years it has been a common view to say of Mr. Roosevelt that he acts on his impulses—that he "does" things first and "thinks" afterward. True, Mr. Roosevelt is always moving. For twenty

years his activity has been simply amazing. Many people associate wisdom with repose, and the President is rarely in repose; so he is said to be unsafe. Only a few days ago one of New York's more eminent business men said:

"I am not opposed to Roosevelt because of his action in the Northern Securities case. On the whole, I think he was right in that. Moreover, I think he acted properly in regard to Panama, although I wish he had not been so precipitate, and I am fearful that he may act with similar haste in other international affairs. But I am opposed to him because he is unsafe. You never can tell what he is going to do next. There is something strange about his mental make-up. He says and does things that make business men uneasy."

THE PRESIDENT NEVER A BOLTER

Now, this opinion is at strange variance with the facts of Theodore Roosevelt's political career. For twenty years he has been prominently before the country. When a young man, just out of college, he was a member of the New York Legislature. When only thirty years old he was his party's candidate for Mayor of New York. Although a Republican, he was continued in office by a Democratic president as chairman of the Civil Service Commission. He was the first police commissioner in years to enforce the laws and cleanse the city of New York. Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Governor of New York, Vice-President and President—this is a wonderful record for a man forty-five years old. And the remarkable thing is that in spite of Mr. Roosevelt's reputation for "impetuosity" and "recklessness," his political record is one of absolute consistency. He has gained the reputation of being independent, but he never bolted a party ticket. His devotion to his party has been constant. In fact, the men who think that he is "impetuous" do not know him for what he is—namely, one of the ablest politicians in this country, one of the few reformers who have been practical, one of the few independents who have always been "regular."

Nevertheless, it is probable that to the end of his career some people will always regard him as erratic. Even in his college days he seems to have had that reputation. Jacob A. Riis says that his classmates "laughed at his oddities, at his unrepressed enthusiasm, voted him 'more or less crazy,'

with true Harvard conservatism." Yet Mr. Riis says that he "acted upon the coolest judgment, and however much he might seem to be speeding toward extremes he never got there." So now.

Even his publicity programme is very moderate, and the Bureau of Corporations develops conservatively. There are sincere folks who honestly believe that the President made a grave mistake in recognizing labor leaders in a strike. They may not appreciate the seriousness of the facts the President possessed, but they believe in good faith that he aroused the labor unions to hopes and to undertakings fatal to business prosperity. When it is recalled that the people, as a rule, do not elect "brilliant" men to the Presidency, and that they refused that office to Webster, Clay, and Blaine, it is not surprising that Mr. Roosevelt's strenuous way of talking and acting causes a good many to shake their heads in doubt. It is a good rule for a President who wants a second term to do nothing but to look solemn in his first term.

THE ANTAGONISM OF FINANCIAL INTERESTS

But, after all, this criticism would not be important in the situation were it not for the antagonism of the great financial interests. Some of these have accomplished many notable and enduring works for the benefit of the country. Mr. Morgan is just now an unpopular man. A year ago in a position of undisputed leadership at home and with his genius feared abroad, he is now in the position of the proverbial pitcher that went to the well just once too often; and the world is talking only of his latest one or two failures, paying no attention to his splendid achievements in the past—those labors in behalf of railroad peace and business stability and the extension of American finance and commerce which entitle him to a high place in American history. Mr. Hill, a man of marvelous gifts of organization, has been a great creator of wealth, not merely for himself, but for the country. He has reduced railroad operation to an exact science.

Such men as these charge President Roosevelt with catering to anticorporation sentiment and the hatred of wealth in order to further his ambition for a second term. They say that he has struck a blow at American enterprise by blocking what they maintain

is the legitimate advance toward concentration of control in order to prevent the wastes of competition. The Standard Oil interests are definitely opposed to publicity. They are fond of saying that reports and statements and book-keeping prove nothing, and that the only guide for investors is the character of the men in directions of the corporations.

Moreover, some of these same interests were opposed also to Mayor Low in New York City during the last campaign for much the same reason—they could not “do business with him,” and Mayor Low was defeated. It has not failed of public notice that since the election of the Tammany Mayor, McClellan, there has been a remarkable advance in the prices of traction and gas stocks in the city of New York. Is this merely a coincidence or is it cause and effect? In like manner millions of holders of American stocks are being made aware that the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt by “a conservative” would cause an advance in the prices of securities. This is the great bribe offered to American electors.

The power of the financial interests opposed

to Mr. Roosevelt should not be minimized, and yet there is a power greater than they—the people. Wall Street is in disgrace just now. It has committed gross excesses in speculation and promotion, and if the people really get impressed with the belief that Wall Street is opposed to Mr. Roosevelt because it could not control him, the financial opposition may actually help him in the election. Even a rise in the prices of stocks on the prospect of his defeat might not tempt them into an alliance with this Wall Street opposition. It is, moreover, important to know that many even in Wall Street, and some powerful independent interests there, feel that the President has conferred a benefit upon it and the country by calling a halt to the excesses of promotion and speculation and corporate greed of power.

His policy is the enforcement of the law; and one who daily toils beneath the deepest shadow of the financial powers, who is in Wall Street though not of it, is amazed at the courage of a President who takes these great financial interests by the throat and says:

“Thou must obey the law!”

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE

THE WORLD'S WORK sent a specific inquiry to representative, well-informed men in every State west of New York—men who are in positions to make accurate judgment of public sentiment—about the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt, and the answers are exceedingly interesting. The men who made these answers are all—so far as could be ascertained—outside both Senatorial influence and Wall Street influence. Most of them are Republicans, but some are Democrats. They are editors, lawyers, men of affairs—not office-holders. The first question asked was:

“Do you regard Mr. Roosevelt's nomination as assured?” Practically all answer yes. Only 2 per cent. say, blankly, no. Representative comments are such remarks as these:

“The West does not appreciate or sympathize with eastern opposition to him, nor does it pay any attention to Wall Street and its class interests.”

“While there are rumors of threatened opposition, he cannot be beaten, barring accidents.”

“His nomination is assured unless there be a party cataclysm which his strenuous ways may bring about.”

“His nomination is as certain as any event can be that is six months ahead.”

“While his nomination seems assured, there is an undercurrent of opposition by the allied banking and privileged interests in favor of Mr. Hanna.”

“It is not absolutely assured. The forces against him control vast sums of money.”

“The people are for him. The political machine is against him.”

“The people are all for him.”

“Even those who prefer Hanna concede the nomination of Roosevelt.”

“Absolutely assured unless he makes some unexpected grave mistake.”

The next question was: "Has there been any diminution of his popularity during the last few months?" Eighty per cent. of the answers from the West are "No." The others express varying degrees of doubt. Some of the explanatory remarks are:

"Although he is still strong with the people, there is sometimes a weariness shown when he is spoken of."

"Some diminution. The continued iteration by party leaders of his 'unsafeness' has slightly cooled the public mind. But he is yet very popular."

"The President's popularity in the Middle West has grown, not diminished, and it is still growing."

"He is as popular with the people as ever. But the party organs controlled by United States Senators are doing what they can to injure him."

"The people have faith in his sincerity and good intentions."

"No diminution. He has won the confidence not only of his own party, but of many Democrats."

"Stronger every day."

"He has never been popular in the South since his Negro policy developed." [From a border State.]

"No falling off in his popularity."

Another question was: "Has his policy in dealing with the trusts, etc., hurt him in the esteem of the people?" The answers show that this has increased his hold on the popular good will—almost unanimously. Some of them are:

"This is one of his strongest claims to the good opinion of the people."

"What he has done has helped him. If he had done more he would be still stronger."

"Business men here like his attitude, without regard to party."

"The stock-gamblers complain. Everybody else approves."

"To attack trusts was one of the most popular things that any executive could do. But attacking the Northern Securities Company was personal to the Northwest. If the question were put to the people here whether the 'merger' should be disorganized or Mr. J. J. Hill's plans carried out, nine-tenths of the voters would vote for Hill's plan."

"If his policy goes beyond the barking point and bites it will help him."

"It has helped him. But he is not radical enough to please the majority."

To the question whether the President's Panama policy is popular the answers are practically all in the affirmative. Many report, however, that the people have not paid particular attention to it nor expressed

themselves. One correspondent (Kansas) writes:

"The West does not ask to see the inwardness of the matter. If it satisfies the Roosevelt conscience—that settles it with the West."

Others say:

"Our people [Louisville, Kentucky] want the canal, and they do not understand why we should not take advantage of a political revolution in Panama to secure it."

"Public opinion strongly approves it, but regards it as arbitrary."

The effort to ascertain the most popular and the least popular acts of the administration brought no satisfactory report of public opinion in general. Local feeling appears in almost every answer. The most unpopular act of the President, for example, in one part of the Northwest is reported to be his treatment of General Miles. In the beet-sugar region he is criticized for his insistence on Cuban reciprocity. The appointment of Mr. Payne to the Postmaster-Generalship is severely criticized in several States. In the far West the irrigation law is his most popular act. But these questions brought less instructive answers than any others.

In response to a request to write at some length about the popular attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt and his nomination, these correspondents have made it clear that in the Middle West and the farther West he is by far the most popular man in public life. His "straight ways," his "incorruptibility," his "independence of the politicians and of Wall Street," his "strong moral fiber," his quality as "a man of the people," his "courage," are spoken of by nearly all.

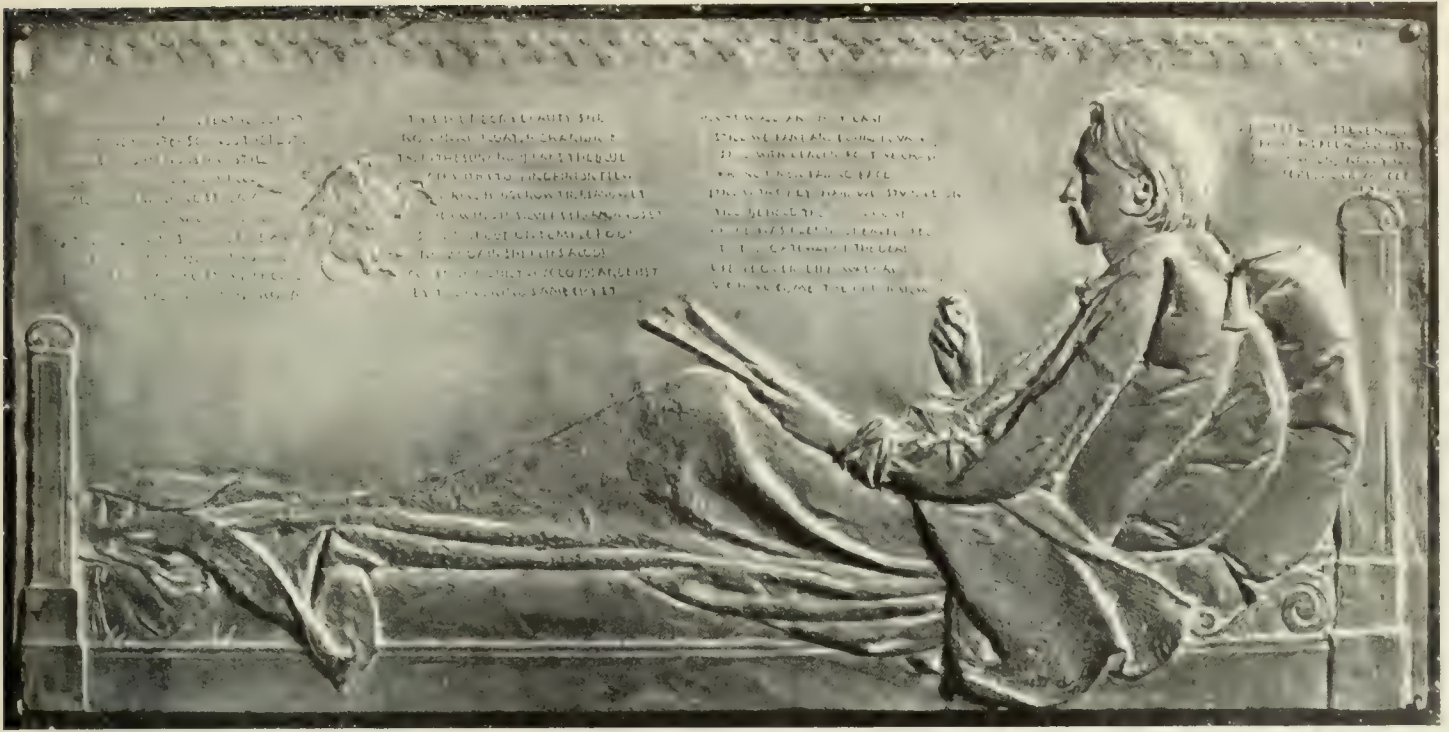
But there is some criticism, such as—

"He is playing politics too much. If he forsake his old candor and frankness for a trading policy he will invite defeat."

"Some of us are coming to fear that he, too, is a politician. Still he remains the best of the lot—head and shoulders above the others."

"The greatest danger to the President is his own early excessive popularity. He was at first too popular. We are given to hero-worship—then to hero-forgetfulness."

But the total impression given by these letters is the impression of an overwhelming personal popularity of the President in the West and of hearty approval of all the important actions and policies of his administration.



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THE WORK OF THE SCULPTOR AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

BY

CHARLES H. CAFFIN

A CONTRAST frequently drawn between the man of affairs and the artist is that the former deals in facts, the latter in ideas. Moreover, in an age which is practical and inclined to materialism a great deal is made of this distinction, and often to the depreciation of the artist.

But what if your man of affairs have a strong vein of idealism and your artist bases his imaginings on facts?

Neither case is inconceivable; it is more common, indeed, than some people suppose. Napoleon was unquestionably in part an idealist, and what is it that raises up some men so far above the average that we call them Napoleons of finance and commerce? Is it only their grip on facts—the facts of things and of human nature? Is it not also their far-sighted vision into the future—their power to devise new combinations and managements of facts; in a word, a gift of superior imagination?

So it may not be far wrong to state the contrast differently as between mere facts

and facts *plus* imagination. Suppose we sum it up this wise: while the mere knowledge of facts, the familiarity with, devotion to and even slavery to mere facts characterize the average man, it is a streak of idealism in others, a capacity to illuminate the facts by the light of their imagination, which lifts such above their fellows and makes them originators, creators, men of genius.

And what of the artist? Again the same distinction holds. There are some who cannot rise above the record of facts; they are the average. There are a few who can dip right down into the fact and pluck from it the heart. They, in *their* way, are men of genius. It is among these that we shall rightly include the sculptor Saint-Gaudens.

Yes, this habit of striking a cleavage between facts and ideas is certainly a very unreasonable one; and to suppose that the modern artist is mainly concerned with ideas is a mistake. The main tendency of the nineteenth century, as much in art as in



From a Copley Print Copyright, 1875, by Curtis & Cameron

THE SHAW MONUMENT
On Boston Common, opposite the State House

C. Curtis & C. Cameron, Boston



THE PURITAN
In Springfield, Massachusetts

the other affairs of life, was to get at the facts, and men as unlike as Millet and Whistler were great because they took the commonplace subjects ready to their hand, found the beauty that was in them, and through the power of their imagination made it plain to others.

It cannot be said that commonplace subjects have occupied the art of Saint-Gaudens, but many of them are such as a sculptor less gifted with imagination might easily have treated in a commonplace way. For the chief demand made upon American

remembered; but there is no reminder of it in his memorial, only this ridiculous insistence on the facts which brought him down to the level of other men, now abominably out of fashion, oftentimes never in it—his clothes. So American sculptors frequently lament that they have had next to no opportunity of executing *ideal* statues; which again, in the light of Saint-Gaudens's art, may be judged to be, in a measure, their own fault.

For what he has done is to take the fact as he found it, trousers, frock-coats and all, and to discover the man beneath them—to



THE CHILDREN OF PRESCOTT HALL BUTLER

Copyright, 1901, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens

sculptors during a quarter of a century has been for memorials of great men, and with the lack of imagination that characterizes our average man of facts the insistence has been for portrait statues. Nor is it only a lack of imagination that this displays, but of logic and reasonableness also.

They propose to honor a great man, and devote seven-eighths of their money to the exploitation of his tailor—the man who made his coat and trousers! He did something, this great man, which made him worthy to be

reach through his imagination the soul of the fact, and by his capacity to idealize the fact, and make it ring true with powerful appeal to our imaginations.

Saint-Gaudens comes of a blending of the Celt with the Latin—of a French father and an Irish mother; he was born in Dublin in 1848, brought up in this country, and taught his art in Paris. He is our greatest sculptor, ranking among the foremost in the modern world, and his name does not appear in the latest American edition of the



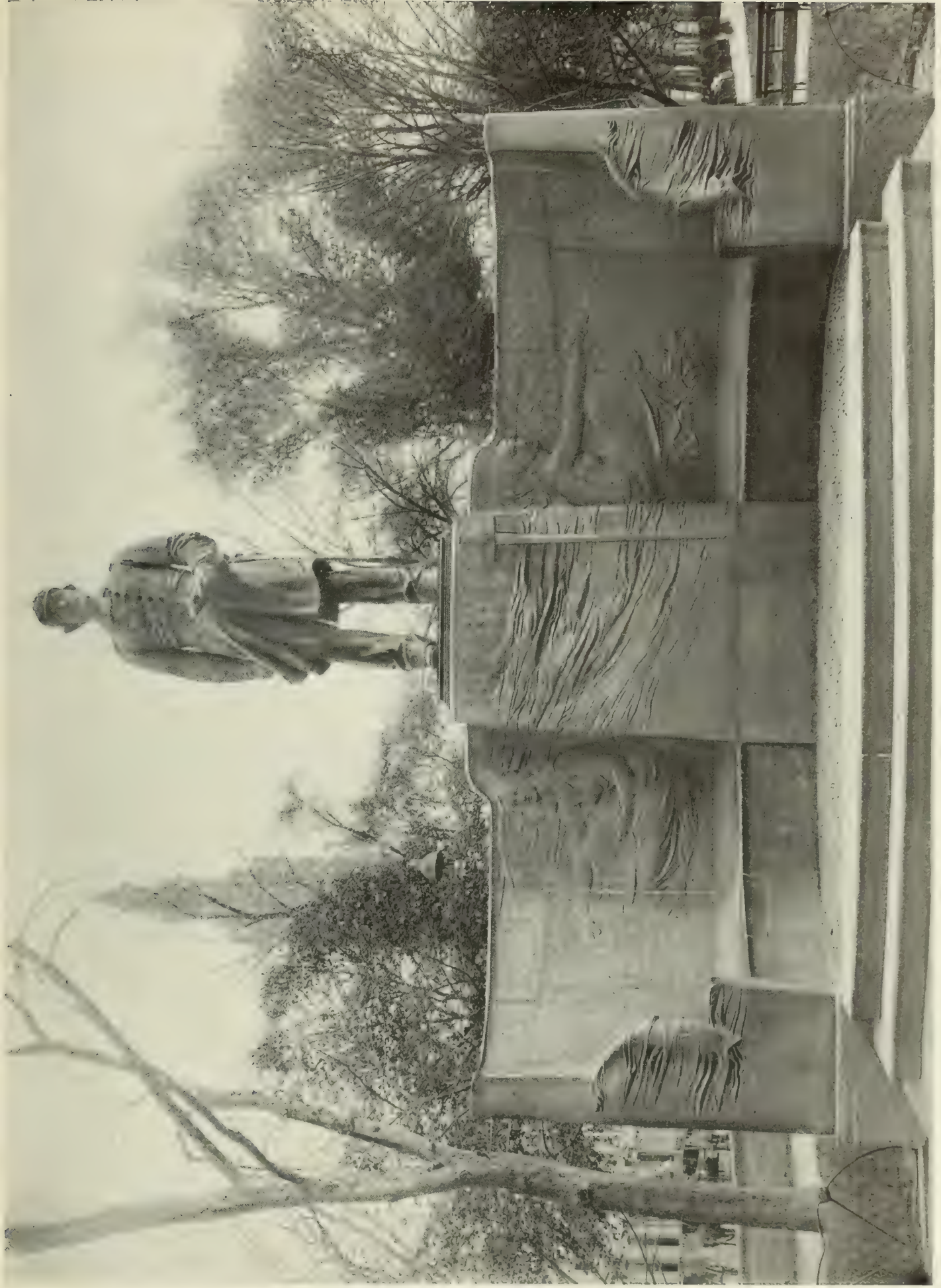
ONE OF THE ANGELS FROM THE MORGAN TOMB



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THE SHERMAN MONUMENT

At the entrance to Central Park, in New York City



Photographed by Turnbull

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT
In Madison Square, New York City

"Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas." Another example of the limitations of facts!

A great deal might be said of the way in which the craftsmanship which he acquired in Paris has been modified by his sojourn in America and by his absorption in American subjects. But, to avoid all technicalities, it may be summed up in the statement that, while no less nervous and refined than the best productions of the academic school in Paris, it is altogether freer and more natural—a breezier product, disengaged from theories and vigorously expressive of life—of the life and spirit of the American ideal



BASTIEN LE PAGE

as he conceives it. I have before me a letter which he wrote to me in 1901, shortly after his return from a prolonged stay in Paris. He is referring to the impression made upon him by the American art at the Buffalo Exposition, doubtless with recollection of the comparison of American with European art at the Paris Exposition of the year before.

"The directness and energy, the healthfulness and promise of it all impress me extraordinarily."

It is a generous recognition of his brother artists and represents very clearly the qualities which seem of prime importance to him and which characterize his own work. But we must add to them the quality of a very sincere imagination—one that has not expended itself in speculation or soared very far from earth, but is of that inseeing and sympathetic kind which has penetrated deeply into the inner heart of facts.

Note, for example, how he has treated the fact of Puritanism in the statue at Springfield, Massachusetts. He did not select the phases of it illustrated in Roger Williams or John Harvard, but the militant, aggressive type that pitted itself against kings and established the kingship of the people—a stern, dour type, angular and self-assertive. The figure grasps a Bible and a staff, and looks ready to enforce its interpretation of the one by cudgeling with the other; no pleasant figure, but to be reckoned with; a force as inevitable in its progression as time, as unyielding as granite. There is little of the Celt or Latin in this conception: both have been absorbed into the extraordinary receptivity of the artist toward the realities of the problem with which he was confronted.

Is it not worth while to remark, as evidence that there is no necessary gulf between art and the practicalities of life, that the quality of imagination illustrated in this statue is akin to that which makes men great in business—a clear, direct vision, comprehending all the circumstances of the case, but making sure selection of the essentials and then marshaling them into a large compact, homogeneous unity? And if men realized that this is how all great modern artists work, perhaps they would not so misunderstand the status of art and dismiss it as a triviality or wantonness.

Again, refer to Saint-Gaudens's conception of Lincoln. The statue stands in Chicago, hard by the waters of the great lake, with the vista of Lincoln Park stretching behind it—lifted up in grand isolation, as Lincoln himself was above the tides of passion of his time. It is absolutely free of any trick or device to arouse sentiment; the frankest, most soberly reserved statement imaginable of the man as he was. How many orators, think you, could succeed in satisfying our recollection or imagination of Lincoln without use of kindling metaphors



MISS VIOLET SARGENT

Copyright, 1914, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens



THE GARFIELD MONUMENT

In Philadelphia

Photographed by A. W. 1891



PETER COOPER

In front of Cooper Union, in New York City

Photographed by Turnbull



Photo by J. J. & C. Co., N. Y.

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DIANA OF THE TOWER

A replica of the figure on the top of the Madison Square Garden in New York City.

and glowing adjectives? How many would try? None, unless their own imagination and depth of feeling were so profound that through themselves rather than through their actual words they could make us share the breadth and sincerity of what they feel. Precisely so it is that Saint-Gaudens appeals to us in this statue.

Can there be a greater gift than this—the power to grasp a fact, to analyze it, to get at the very marrow of it and discover its relation to other facts and to the necessities of our life? It is the gift which removes mountains and all the litter occasioned by smaller intellects; which raises up Napoleons of business and invention, and is less at the highest service of mankind in the discoveries of medicine and surgery and in the illuminating influence of preachers and artists.

Again, how has Saint-Gaudens treated the fact of grief—an abstract idea? You will discover by a visit to the Rock Creek Cemetery, near Washington, District of Columbia. The figure, rather more than life size, is of bronze, seated upon a granite rock raised above the ground only by a low slab. In front of it, perhaps fifteen feet away, is a semicircular seat where you may rest and commune with the Presence, closed in from the outer world of the dead and the living by a hedge of dark cypress. The statue is the expression of the ineffaceable grief of a husband whose wife, a woman of beauty and social charms, was snatched from him with terrible abruptness. But no name appears, no word nor date nor personal record of any kind. The statue passes beyond a local and individual significance into the abstract mystery of the universal grief which sooner or later befalls every child of man; a grief supreme, unrelieved by any symbol or grace of faith and hope, the unequivocal, relentless pain of loss, such as even a believer in the first pang of his desolation must experience. No photograph can represent the solemn agony of this figure, but it can show the kind of way in which the artist has produced the impression. Here again it is by avoidance of any littleness of device whatever—by the bald, bleak statement of the essential thing—the *fact* of grief.

Or is it the fact of patriotism—devotion to the cause of duty? The Shaw Memorial, opposite the State House, at the top of Boston Common, illustrates it. It stands where the fact which it commemorates occurred, facing

the street along which the young white leader passed with his colored troops *en route* to the front. Seldom shall you see as fine an idealization of a fact—a representation of the fact, at once so graphic and intelligible, and with so full a suggestion of its true inwardness. The prescience of death upon the leader's face, the intuition of self-sacrifice for the cause of country, or the dumb willingness to endure upon the faces of the blacks—I know not which is the more pathetic; while through the pathos of it all rings the praise-be-to-God of victory that cannot be gainsaid.

If you recall François Rude's masterpiece upon the Arc de l'Etoile in Paris—the decorative group representing "The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792"—you will obtain by comparing it with the Shaw Memorial a pretty clear insight into the special quality of Saint-Gaudens's imagination. The French artist, in the spirit of his day, idealized the fact by representing the young conscript nude and the rest of the soldiery clothed in tight-fitting Roman corselets which leave the arms bare. Notwithstanding this affectation of classicism, there is a rush and rhythm of emotion through the group which render it a plastic counterpart of the Marseillaise, composed by Roget de Lisle in that same year of national ecstasy. But since 1826, when Rude completed his masterpiece, naturalism has swept over the artistic world, a part of the great flood of scientific inquiry that has covered the world of endeavor and of art. Now it is the externals of the fact as well as the spirit of it that the artist must represent if he is to make a profound appeal to the modern mind. In the completeness with which Saint-Gaudens thus idealizes the fact consists his greatness.

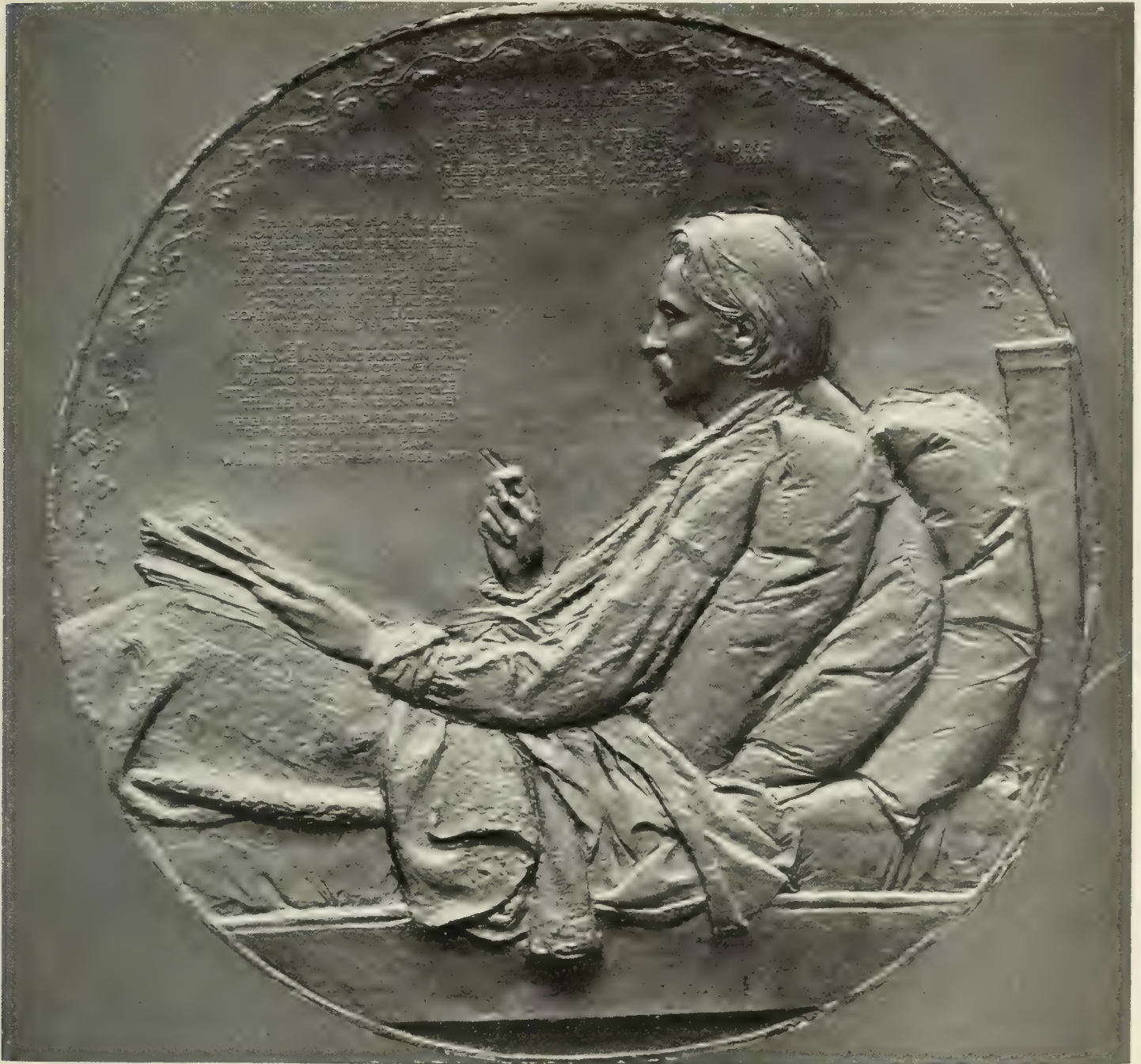
Yet in this Shaw Memorial it would almost seem as if he had doubted his power to rely solely upon the facts, for he has introduced a symbolic figure of Victory floating over the heads of the soldiers. The more one studies it the less value does it appear to have, either as an integral part of the composition or as a contribution to the expression of sentiment. This interpolation of an ideal figure is repeated in his latest statue of General Sherman, erected this summer at the Plaza approach to Central Park, New York. But in this case the figure is at once related to the equestrian statue as a structural part of the whole, and adds very materially to the ex-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
In Chicago

pression of feeling. It moves with the horse and rider, is an important feature in the general impression of irresistible, inevitable onward movement, and by filling up the space beneath the horse's head gives additional decorative grandeur and impressiveness to the whole bulk. Moreover, it serves its individual part in the aggregate of sentiment. The figure, both in gesture and in movement,

There is no doubt that this combination of a figure on foot with an equestrian statue presented a problem of unusual difficulty, and it is admirable how harmonious an *ensemble* the composition presents from every point of sight. The units mingle in one decorative mass, individually differing in character, but alike, nevertheless, in expression and in movement.



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

echoes the relentless, fateful purpose of the general, grim, implacable, nowise to be turned aside. In the strained, set expression of the face and in the pain of the parted lips there is surely a suggestion of the terror and sadness of victory as the one thing only less terrible than defeat.

Yet decorative as this group is, it is marked also by a very strict reserve, which makes it more imposing than the more ornate and unrestrained equestrian statue of General Logan by Saint-Gaudens on the lake front, Chicago. It is also more characteristic of the artist, whose power consists not less in



GRIEF

In the Rock Creek Cemetery near Washington

the restraint than in the vigor of his imagination. And the vigor is displayed in various ways—touched with blunt alacrity in the statue of Farragut, with solemn homely force in that of Peter Cooper, and then with nervous delicacy and refinement in his many low relief portraits. Among the latter may especially be mentioned those of Robert Louis Stevenson, Miss Violet Sargent, Miss Mildred Howells, and the children, respectively, of Prescott Hall Butler and of Jacob H. Schiff.

The delicacy of these reliefs may be due in part to the artist's early experience as a cameo-cutter, but it is the direct expression also of his exceeding sensitiveness. They are, indeed, a very intimate revelation of the man within the artist. For in his more important works this quality of sensitiveness may escape attention, though if one thinks a little closely it becomes apparent in the measure of his power to discover and to express the soul in the fact. Yet in these portrait reliefs it is more obviously represented. In them it is that the Celt and the Latin pronounce their characteristics. The refined precision and orderliness of arrangement is not more noticeable than their dreamy creativeness,

so that they are full at once of character and of tender elusiveness. The latter, however, is the more unusual, the most essentially individual quality. It is expressed by sensitive variations in the swelling of the surfaces so that the outlines of the figures emerge from and fade into the background with infinite *finesse*.

This trait may well serve as the final note in a brief appreciation of this artist, because it is unanalyzable, the product of a cultivated instinct for beauty. And while I have tried to place Saint-Gaudens among the other workers of the world whose work is vital, by proving the kinship of his methods with theirs—namely, that it results from a most direct recognition of facts, itself the product of a powerful imagination—yet in all great men there is a residuum of something not to be grasped, ticketed, or pigeon-holed. Heaven forbid that some knowledge which we gain of them should abate our wonder in their work, and reduce us to the mental barrenness so admirably travestied by Mr. Gerald Stanley Lee in "The Lost Art of Reading":

"Twinkle, twinkle, little star!
Teacher's told us what you are."

PROFITS OF GARDEN AND ORCHARD

EXAMPLES OF SUCCESS BY MEN WHO HAVE APPLIED
THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD TO THE CULTURE OF SMALL
AREAS—A NEW ERA IN THE USE OF THE SOIL

BY

B. T. GALLOWAY

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

THE modern horticulturist makes his living from the soil by concentration of effort on a comparatively limited area. He takes a considerable risk, for the crops he grows are in most cases more perishable than those produced by the farmer on large areas. It naturally follows that greater attention to detail and management is required for growing horticultural crops than for growing those ordinarily produced on the farm. The farmer is satisfied

if his cereal crop yields him a profit of \$15 or \$20 an acre. The horticulturist—and I mean by this term the man who grows fruits or vegetables outdoors—must get from \$50 to \$5,000 per acre; and to do this must be able to make use of every possible fact which science and practice have shown to be of value.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF HORTICULTURE

It is only within the last twenty-five years

that horticulture has come to be recognized as a vital factor in the building up of a new husbandry and a new earth. The horticulturist is the pioneer in showing the immense possibilities of an acre of ground. He is a ceaseless, tireless worker, and the things that he has shown to be practicable give a stimulus to every operation which creates wealth from the soil.

Fruit and vegetable growing has been practised for ages, but it is only within the past few years that the production of these crops for money has been sharply segregated from farming or the growing of general crops, such as corn, wheat, oats, etc. The modern horticulturist may be a small-fruit grower who from his acre or two acres of ground is making a good living; he may be a specialist in grape-growing and from his five acres of selected vines be supplying a fancy market with a fancy fruit and receiving a net income of \$600 to \$800 per acre; he may be an apple king, or a peach or pear king, with his thousands of trees and modern facilities for harvesting, storing, and shipping; he may be a grower of oranges, lemons, figs, or dates, or he may have his acres covered with garden vegetables, forcing the soil to yield him two, three, and even five crops in a single year.

A LIVING FROM A TOWN LOT

In a small western town, some years ago, there lived a man who thought that horticulture could be made profitable on a small amount of ground. This man's capital was limited. The total area of land at his disposal was a little less than one acre. He had energy and ambition and a desire to make his efforts successful. The man selected as his two main crops strawberries and celery. One-fourth of an acre was devoted to strawberries, one-fourth of an acre to celery, and one-fourth of an acre to miscellaneous garden vegetables, to be sold in the town. The problem was so to handle these crops as to secure the very highest returns for the outlay involved. No other labor than that of the man himself was needed. The soil was ordinary, but was made rich by the application of stable-manure. The man developed a system which involved a shifting of crops each year. This, he gathered from what he could read, was necessary, first, to avoid diseases and insects, and, second, to rest the land. Eight thousand strawberry plants

were put out on one-quarter of the acre, the plants all being grown in small pots so that they could be planted in the latter part of June, leaving the ground free up to that time for miscellaneous vegetable crops. The strawberries planted in June gave him a full harvest the following May and June, and from these plants the average yield amounted to \$500 for his one-quarter of an acre. His celery he planted in the latter part of July on the ground that his strawberries had occupied. This celery was taken off in October, and the ground was therefore free the next spring for his vegetable crops. His one-fourth of an acre of celery handled in this way gave him \$400 average yield. His miscellaneous vegetables, grown in rotation, such as green peas, green beans, beets, lettuce, and crops of this nature, gave him \$400 more, making his receipts from his three-quarters of an acre \$1,400, of which approximately \$400 was expended for fertilizers, necessary help, etc. Such results could not have been accomplished except by rigid attention to details. His knowledge gained from the experience and experiments of others taught him that his berries could be made firm and bright-colored by the application of phosphate manures. He brought to bear the discoveries of the laboratory in preventing the attacks of serious diseases, which otherwise would have injured his celery. His promises to his customers were always fulfilled. His products were always put up in good shape, and thus by the application of scientific and business knowledge he made a success of his operations.

A TWO-ACRE GRAPE FARM

Near one of our eastern cities another man with little capital undertook, in the face of very grave difficulties, the growing of fancy table grapes for a fancy city market. Not many years ago it would have been largely a waste of money to invest in grape-culture anywhere in the United States, except in some very favored regions, on account of the serious diseases which attacked the fruit and the foliage. The man, however, believed that by the proper application of scientific knowledge he could be successful. All around him grape-growing had been abandoned. Two acres of grapes was the limit of his farm. The needs and wants of his market were studied carefully and critically. It was

found that certain large hotels and other establishments would always pay a fancy price for a fancy product of this kind, provided the supply could be depended upon. Varieties of grapes were selected to give a range of season extending over two or three months, and also to enable him to dress his packages in a fancy way with white, red, and black grapes mixed. His efforts were successful, as by properly fertilizing the vines and treating them for the prevention of diseases he was able to keep his yield at the maximum and to secure returns averaging from \$600 to \$800 per acre. Now, the story of how this man met diseases is important, as it emphasizes the advances made in horticultural science in recent years. The two worst diseases were confined to the fruit and the leaves, and were due to microscopic, parasitic plants. Science had shown how these little parasites lived over winter. It pointed out how their reproductive bodies were wafted from place to place in the spring, and how the young fruit and tender foliage were infected. Then it went further, and showed that by putting a simple chemical mixture on the fruit and foliage at the right time the parasites would be killed, the fruit saved, and the foliage kept on. The preservation of the leaves was a vital matter, as without them there would be no good wood for the next season's crop. The practical man had found, moreover, that it was a paying investment to bag each bunch of fruit. Thus the application of the chemical sprays kept the vines free from diseases, enabling them to make better growth, and the bagging of the bunches enabled them to come from their quarters as ripe and beautiful as nature could make them.

DEVELOPING A WORN-OUT FARM

One of the most important considerations in connection with horticultural work is the fact that virgin soil is not always the essential feature. Soil of this kind is now becoming so rare that proximity to good markets, facilities for rapid transportation and handling of produce, and ability to get good labor at the right time are more important factors. The thousands of acres of practically abandoned lands in the East offer a fertile field for the development of this work.

Almost within sight of Washington there was a worn-out farm of 500 acres which was

offered to the writer at one time for \$1,500. The writer could not use it, but he had with him an energetic man, Mr. M. B. Waite, who was up to that time more or less of a theorist in horticulture. He secured this farm. It was practically sterile, covered in large part by pine woods, but contained a considerable quantity of land which he believed could be successfully cultivated. Capital was not abundant. The use of stable-manure was out of the question. The problem was to make this land become at least self-supporting as soon as possible. Orchard fruits—the pear, the apple, and the peach—were selected as the specialties to be grown. Good markets were within easy reach and shipping facilities were accessible. In order to achieve the best results, only a portion of the farm was cultivated at first. Nitrogen gatherers—that is, the green crops, such as cowpeas, crimson clover, etc.—were planted in order to bring organic matter into the soil. Young trees were secured, rigidly inspected for the presence of injurious insects, and thoroughly fumigated. The trees, of course, would not come into bearing for some years, and the problem was to make the place self-supporting in the meantime. This was accomplished by planting catch crops—fancy cantaloups and sweet potatoes for the fancy markets of the cities.

Mr. Waite, in the course of his scientific investigations, had discovered the necessity for mixing varieties of pears and apples when they were planted in the same orchard. He had also made important scientific discoveries in preventing the ravages of the most dreaded pear disease, the so-called fire-blight, which is due to a little organism similar to that which causes tuberculosis in man. Knowing that a particular variety of pear must have another variety near by in order to cross-pollinate it, he did not make the mistakes made by others, while the knowledge of how the pear-blight organism lived taught him to out-manuever this fatal malady. Moreover, the proper application of fungicides enabled him to keep the leaves on the growing trees. Chemistry was brought to his aid in the matter of securing the proper fertilizers.

Seven years have passed since this farm came under Mr. Waite's care, and its value is now, at a conservative estimate, \$15,000. There are on the place something like 6,500

pear-trees, 4,500 apple-trees, 3,500 peach-trees, and 700 plum-trees, making more than 15,000 trees in all. These were not all planted at once, but were put out from time to time as the funds at hand, secured largely through the annual crops, would permit. In all of this planting, however, the fact was kept constantly in mind that to be highly successful in work of this nature no pains must be spared to keep every tree up to the highest state of development. A good season does not come every year, but notwithstanding this the trees must be kept up to the very highest standard of fertility. Then when climatic conditions are favorable and everything is in the proper condition, a mammoth crop is produced, which will oftentimes pay for the cost of the entire plant. Within the next few years such a combination of conditions will come about on Mr. Waite's plantation, and he may expect and will receive in one year \$15,000 to \$20,000 for his output. By judicious management and the application of theory to practice he has been able to make the annual crops yield him from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per year—a sufficient amount to permit him to extend his plantings and pay the necessary expenses connected therewith.

HOW A MAN BECAME A PEACH KING

A number of years ago Mr. S. H. Rumph started peach-growing in a small way at Marshallville, Georgia. Mr. Rumph was a native of that region, was familiar with the horticultural conditions existing, and was a believer in the advantages of the section for growing early peaches for northern markets. At that time transportation facilities were exceedingly poor. Refrigerator cars were not in use, and it was necessary to depend upon steamers for getting the fruit into northern markets. Undaunted by these difficulties, Mr. Rumph systematically began planting peaches, and has built up a business of great magnitude. He now has between 800 and 1,000 acres with something like 200,000 trees. Mr. Rumph's investigation resulted in the Elberta peach, a yellow variety of immense value to all southern growers, which was secured by crossing the Chinese Cling and the Early Crawford peaches. A fine white variety—the Belle of Georgia—was also originated by him. Mr. Rumph keeps pace with every modern improvement in the cultivation of the soil, the treatment of diseases, and in

packing, storing, etc. He is a strong believer in the application of science to work of this kind, and has done much to bring about a better understanding of the great value of laboratory work when applied in the field. Chemistry has been brought to bear as an aid in feeding his trees. Plant pathology has enabled him to control some of the most serious diseases, and entomology has put him in possession of facts of great value in controlling insect pests.

SENDING PEACHES AND PEARS ABROAD

The development of such lines of work as that just described brought out the fact that in certain seasons when there were abundant crops produced along the Atlantic seaboard foreign markets would be very desirable. This led the national Government to aid the introduction of such perishable fruits as the pear and peach into European markets. The important questions of how best to gather the fruit, pack it, and treat it while in transit all had to be worked out, and such was the uncertain prospect of success that to encourage practical fruit-growers to undertake it the Government guaranteed certain experimental shipments. By careful investigations conducted in the laboratory and elsewhere these trial shipments of fruit were finally made highly successful, as in most cases fruit sent abroad has brought a larger profit than that sold at home. The eastern peach-growers were alive to this early work, and it was so successful that last year several carloads of peaches were shipped directly to London. Pears and other similar perishable fruits have been handled in the same way, with the result that foreign markets are rapidly being opened to many productions which a few years ago could only be disposed of in our own country.

CULTIVATING FRUITS IN CALIFORNIA

In no section of the country has horticulture received such careful attention as on the Pacific Coast, and especially in California, where the entire fruit industry has been developed in a comparatively short time. In 1902 there were 700,000 tons of fruits and fruit products shipped from California alone. More than 7,000 carloads of deciduous fruits, such as cherries, peaches, plums, and apricots, were sent out of the State and not only sold in the markets of the East, but shipped

abroad and sold successfully there. It is in California that the highest development has been reached in the art of packing for show purposes. Every attention is given to making a favorable impression when the fruit reaches its destination. Here, too, the most thorough and systematic efforts have been made in the matter of coöperative transportation and marketing problems.

In California the individual, owing to his environment, is able to utilize all that science and art have made known. With sunshine that is nearly continuous and with water always available results can be secured which are not practicable anywhere else. Vital questions pertaining to the control of insects and diseases have confronted these energetic men. At times it has appeared as if nature and nature's enemies would conquer, but in the end science has prevailed and pointed a way to meet the emergencies. The nature of the work in this region has made the horticulturist less conservative than he is in other sections. He is preëminently progressive, ready at all times to take hold of new propositions, and has met difficulties which under other conditions might have been insurmountable. When, a few years ago, the vine industry of the southern part of the State was swept away by a serious disease, the vine-growers immediately put in other crops, such as the walnut, which today is even more profitable than the grape. The grape, however, is preëminently the great industry, and with proper management is still made to yield from \$75 to \$150 per acre.

This region, since the great freeze a few years ago which carried off the greater part of the citrus trees in Florida, has been the chief source of fruit of this kind. Here, again, the national Government has been of great aid, for the chief orange which is now grown on the Pacific Coast—the navel—was originally secured by the Department of Agriculture, and the first two trees, the parents of this great industry in California, are still in the conservatories at Washington.

MAKING A NEW ORANGE

In the cases cited I have referred from time to time to results brought about by the laboratory man—the man who devotes his life to the study of horticultural crops, devising better methods for growing them and enabling them better to meet the enemies

which attack them. It is the laboratory worker who is coming to the front now as the creator of new fruits. When the cold winds from the north destroyed the citrus industry of Florida, work was undertaken at once by the national Government to secure an orange which would be more hardy than any now in existence. Growing in many parts of the East, as far north as Philadelphia, is a small hardy Japanese orange which is only suitable for ornamental purposes and which bears a fruit the size of a walnut. Here was the hardiness. By using this plant as the mother and the tender sweet orange of Florida as the father, and *vice versa*, hybrids have been produced which partake of the characteristics of both. These hybrids are now beginning to fruit for the first time. They are, of course, not so hardy as the hardy mother, but are much more hardy than the sweet orange, the other parent. The fruit secured has some of the characteristics of a lemon, but is valuable for marmalades and other purposes—and unquestionably can be grown in every back yard in the South. When the characteristics of the sweet orange have been bred into this fruit the result aimed for at the outset will be accomplished.

THE TANGELO—A NEW FRUIT

The pomelo is coming rapidly into favor as a tonic breakfast fruit. But it has objections. The scientist, recognizing that the pomelo could be improved, has used it as one parent, the small tangerine, or velvet-skinned orange, as the other, and secured a hybrid to which is given the name tangelo. The tangelo possesses all of the desirable qualities of the pomelo and yet has a skin like the tangerine orange, and can be eaten out of hand in the same way.

Probably of far more vital importance than any of the other subjects discussed are the modern methods of combating the diseases which affect horticultural crops and which have enabled the horticulturist to establish his industry on a plane higher than ever before. The results brought about in this field have all been accomplished within the last fifteen years, and through the knowledge acquired in the laboratory many of the problems which in former times were considered useless to attack have now become comparatively simple. The causes of many

of these diseases have been worked out. Sometimes these investigations lead into very remote fields. Diseases may be caused by some conditions of soil or climate which are not at first apparent. These are the most difficult of all maladies to control. Those which are produced by parasitic organisms are the simplest, and the practices now followed in combating them are looked upon in the same light as the application of fertilizers and the cultivation of the soil.

COLD STORAGE LENGTHENS FRUIT SEASONS

As the production of fruits and vegetables has increased, the necessity for proper methods of handling and storing them has become more and more recognized. Thus there has been built up within the past few years the refrigeration, storage, and general warehousing of such fruits as the apple, pear, and peach, and other crops of a similar nature. Great quantities of these fruits are now stored each year, with the result that markets are better controlled and the season of consumption much extended. The national Government has become interested in this question of storage, and science has made easy the proper gathering, packing, and shipping of the fruits.

Fruits are recognized as living organisms that have a life-history extending from the time the blossom falls until they are used or destroyed. Science shows that the keeping qualities of fruits depend on numerous conditions. The time of gathering, the portion of the tree from which the fruit comes, the character of the soil upon which it is grown—all have important bearings on its life and must receive consideration in questions relating to storage work. The types of packages, also, have an important bearing on the life of fruits, and the manner in which the individual fruits themselves may be wrapped has much to do with their keeping qualities and ability to withstand the various diseases which may attack them after being brought into the warehouse. Before the advent of cold storage the supply of many of the summer fruits, such as pears, exceeded the demand. Cold storage has obviated many difficulties of this kind, and as a result the storage of the pear alone has developed immensely in the East. Probably 300,000 bushels of this perishable fruit are stored annually in a few of our eastern cities.

Far more attention is paid, of course, to the storage of apples, but the questions involved are similar to those for other fruits.

MARKET-GARDENING A NEW INDUSTRY

As a special branch of horticulture, market-gardening and truck-growing may be mentioned. Twenty-five years ago market-gardening was the principal industry of this kind. In the vicinity of every large city considerable areas of ground were devoted to most intensive work in growing vegetable crops for the city markets. These crops, in most cases, were confined to the vicinity of cities for several reasons. First, there was a good market; second, they could be in most cases hauled in by the market gardener himself; and, third, there was easily available a good supply of stable-manure—a necessary material for all such work. Within recent years this work has materially changed, and now the New York merchant finds on his table choice garden vegetables grown in Florida or some of the other southern States.

Through the careful scientific study of the soils of our eastern seacoast the valuable truck lands have been pointed out. This work has had nothing to do with the chemistry of the soil, but has been a study of its physical properties, as it is recognized that these properties are vital in determining a productive or non-productive truck area. Earliness is a vital feature in truck-growing. Soils that contain a certain proportion of clay cannot be early. The work of the soil physicist has been to make possible the mapping of these valuable truck lands. It has shown the would-be investor where he can safely put his money and has done much to encourage and build up the industry. Transportation facilities have done a great deal, and the knowledge of how and when properly to apply the necessary plant foods has also been of vital importance.

"GO EAST, YOUNG MAN"

All these things have made horticulture a broad and varied field. Its profits are large and the opportunities for future work are still great. If I were asked to give a final word of advice in this whole matter, I would not say, as did Horace Greeley, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country," but, "Come East, young man, buy a worn-out farm, and go into horticulture."

THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

HOW THE CANAL WILL BENEFIT THE STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE COUNTRY'S GREAT CENTRAL PLAIN—IT WILL CHANGE TRADE CURRENTS AND BUILD UP THE CITIES OF THE VALLEY—THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WATERWAY FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BY

CHARLES M. HARVEY

A QUARTER of a century ago, L. U. Reavis, in a book entitled "St. Louis, the Future Great City of the World," said that it would one day be the capital of the United States. New Orleans, according to James D. B. DeBow, an ante-bellum economist and superintendent of the census, is destined to be our commercial centre. More than two centuries ago Louis Joliet, New France's discoverer of the Mississippi, standing where Chicago is now built, predicted that the narrow portage separating the Chicago River and the neighboring streams running into Lake Michigan and out into the Atlantic by way of the St. Lawrence from the Illinois and the other rivers running west and south would be pierced, and the waters of the lake would flow into the Mississippi and down into the Gulf of Mexico.

Upon all these old predictions the Panama Canal will have a decisive influence. The nation's capital will remain on the Potomac, but the isthmian waterway will aid the ambition of St. Louis to become a seaport by way of the Gulf of Mexico and also by way of the Great Lakes. Chicago's drainage canal already connects the waters of Lake Michigan with the Mississippi; but Panama's highway will give momentum to the influences which will impel the United States to accept Chicago's proffered gift of the drainage canal on condition that the deep water be extended through the Illinois to the Mississippi and the Mississippi to Cairo (below which the depth is fairly adequate now). This will give Chicago an outlet for ocean vessels by way of the gulf, to supplement that which it already has by way of the lakes and the St. Lawrence.

Memphis, St. Paul, Louisville, Cincinnati,

Pittsburg, Kansas City, and Omaha are beginning, in anticipation, to feel the thrill of the new life which the isthmian short-cut to the west coast of the United States, to the west coast of South America, and to Australia and Asia will bring. Indianapolis, Wichita, Denver, and all the other great interior railroad centres will feel the canal's quickening effects. The railroads will be benefited even more promptly and more powerfully than the rivers. New Orleans, the point at which nearly all the great valley's waters and most of its north-and-south railroads converge, will probably gain more through the canal than any other city.

By their capture of Constantinople in 1453 the Turks thrust themselves across the routes by which the silks, dyewoods, perfumes, and precious stones of India and China were carried by caravan through the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris and on the Mediterranean to the western nations, and Europe was compelled to seek an ocean route to Asia. This started Columbus across the Atlantic in 1492, and sent Vasco da Gama in 1498 down along the coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope, through the Indian Ocean, and into the Bay of Bengal. Da Gama's all-ocean route killed Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and Venice as trade centres, built up some of Portugal's ports, and ultimately made the fortune of Amsterdam and Antwerp. Columbus's discovery made the Spain of the days of Charles V. almost as powerful in the world's politics as Rome was in the time of Cæsar and Trajan.

In a similar way the Panama Canal will shift trade currents and build up new centres of empire. Until a few years before the Civil War the Mississippi carried a very large

part of the great valley's products to the markets of the Atlantic seaboard States and the rest of the world, and the city at its mouth reflected this condition. New Orleans, which would have been twelfth on the population-roll of the country's cities in 1790 if it had been in the United States, and ninth in 1800, went up to the seventh place in 1810, was fifth in 1820 and 1830, and stood third in 1840, being led at that time by New York and Philadelphia only. Then it began to decline relatively—that is, some other towns began to grow more rapidly—and it held the fifth place in 1850, the sixth in 1860. The war and the subsequent demoralization and stagnation reduced it again to the twelfth place in 1900.

This expansion and shrinkage in the relative population of New Orleans measures, in a general way, the rise and fall of the Mississippi's fortunes as a carrier of merchandise. The building of the railroads in the West in the '40s and their connection with the roads east of the Alleghanies soon afterward changed the north-and-south trade currents into east-and-west currents, and began to rob the Mississippi of its commercial importance. By the completion of the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad in 1853 through connection between Chicago and New York and Boston was obtained. In 1854 the Chicago & Rock Island road brought the Mississippi into rail connection with the Atlantic. The Baltimore & Ohio's western connections struck the Mississippi opposite St. Louis in 1857, and that city got the open door to the Atlantic; and in 1859 the Hannibal & St. Joseph road brought through railroad communication to the Missouri.

Slavery and war discouraged railroad-building in the South. When railroads were built they almost all ran east and west, and nearly all of them were north of the Ohio and of the Potomac. The roads also detracted from the Mississippi's economic importance, and built up the Atlantic ports at the expense of the gulf outlets. In 1902 the amount of freight received and shipped at St. Louis was 29,000,000 tons by rail and 641,000 tons by the rivers—the upper Mississippi, the lower Mississippi, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Missouri, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee—or more than forty-five times as much by rail as by water, and the gap between them was made still wider in 1903. Mike Fink

and his fellow flatboatmen of eighty years ago would be ashamed of the river if they saw it today. Not in all the years that have passed since the *General Pike* steamed up to St. Louis, in 1817, and brought in the new era in river navigation has the Mississippi filled so small a place among the transportation agencies of the central and upper part of the valley as it does at this moment.

But the Panama gateway between the world's two great oceans will establish new balances and shift the country's trade centre to the Mississippi Valley, just as DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal, opened in 1826, which was a much smaller factor in America's economic forces, ended the contest for supremacy among the Atlantic coast cities and gave New York a long lead over its rivals—Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. It will do this by creating new forces and by giving added momentum to influences already at work. Mills are getting nearer and nearer to the sources of supply, and the supplies of four-fifths of the more important commodities are in the great central plain between the Alleghanies and the Rockies. Finished products cost less to carry than raw materials. Thirteen years ago the North took 76 per cent. of the home consumption of American cotton and the South 24 per cent.; but the ratio today is 50 per cent. for each section. A large and steadily increasing proportion of the new southern mills is between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River.

The natural outlets for a large and rapidly growing part of this southern cotton manufacture are the gulf ports. The centre of the country's cotton-growing today is in the State of Mississippi, a few miles from Jackson. Moreover, the 20,000,000 acres of the "drowned" lands along the border of the river in Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana are among the most fertile in the world, and will be reclaimed by the nationalization and improvement of the levee system that the Panama waterway will incite; and they will produce an additional 10,000,000 bales.

The centre of the production of the most important cereals—corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, and buckwheat—taken in the aggregate, is in Illinois, a few miles north of Quincy. Flour and grist mills, following the raw materials, are clustering near the Mississippi.

In the valley, too, is the centre of the production of iron ore, coal, lead, zinc, tobacco, timber, petroleum, and other important commodities. The centre of the country's manufactures is in Ohio, and, like the centre of population, which is in Indiana, it is moving in the direction of the great river.

One of the effects of this shifting of industries to the Mississippi Valley is seen in the great gain in the commerce of the gulf ports. The value of the whole country's exports in 1903 was 58 per cent. greater than in 1883; but the gain in New York was only 31 per cent., and the gain at New Orleans was 69 per cent., at Galveston 239 per cent., and at Mobile 422 per cent. In 1903 New Orleans exceeded New York by more than 1,000,000 bushels in the exportation of corn and wheat. New Orleans is now the second of the country's cities in aggregate exports, ranking next to New York. Galveston was the fourth city in exports in 1903, exceeding all the country's Atlantic ports except New York and Boston. In 1904 it has passed Boston.

New York State has just voted to expend \$101,000,000 to deepen and widen the Erie Canal to carry barges of 1,000 tons capacity, with the hope of meeting the competition of Montreal and the gulf ports in the carrying trade. The expenditure may avail in the case of Montreal, but it will not prevent the coming supremacy of the gulf ports.

A bill for the construction of a ship canal by the national Government from Chicago to the Mississippi River (utilizing Chicago's drainage canal) and for the deepening of the Mississippi down to Cairo is before Congress. The Panama Canal sentiment will push this measure to enactment. Into this waterway from Lake Michigan downward to the gulf will be diverted a large part of that vast stream of freight which flows through the "Soo" Canal between Lakes Superior and Huron, and which now moves eastward through the other lakes (or through Canadian canals) and the St. Lawrence or by way of the Erie Canal and the Hudson River to the Atlantic. This shifting of the main channel of commerce will have stimulating effects on Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans as compared with Montreal, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, just as Antwerp, by the magnificent canal system tributary to it, has just displaced Hamburg as the third seaport of the world.

Through the "Soo" in 1903 passed 35,000,000 tons of freight—three times as much as was carried by the Suez Canal. A great portion of this immense traffic will move toward the Gulf, and will be reënforced by much of the freight originating east of the canal for hundreds of miles, as well as by a large part of that originating at Chicago and on Lake Michigan.

The opposition of the trunk railway lines to the Lake Michigan-Mississippi ship canal and river improvement will be encountered. This hostility delayed the beginning of the isthmian canal, but did not prevent it. It will be equally vain in this case. Some Atlantic coast shipping interests will also be adverse, but these, too, will be overcome. Chicago and St. Louis will be allies in the ship-canal project. They will be aided by the "On-to-Cairo" enthusiasts of Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, and the rest of the Ohio Valley, as well as by the "On-to-St. Louis" advocates of Kansas City, Omaha, and the other important towns on the Missouri. All the Mississippi watershed will be enlisted. The Mississippi drains the whole of ten and parts of twenty-two other States and Territories, extending from the Appalachian divide to the crest of the Rockies. It has an area of 1,260,000 square miles, more than two-fifths of the contiguous part of the United States, and has more than 16,000 miles of navigable waters. In this effort the valley will be aided by the States of the Pacific Coast.

The Mississippi Valley is the industrial and social heart of the United States. It is the most populous watershed on the globe and the richest in natural resources. For decades past it has been the country's political centre. It has contributed every elected President, except Cleveland, since Buchanan. In this fight for industrial and commercial supremacy it will be practically invincible.

New Orleans is nearer to the centres of the Middle West and Southwest that produce and manufacture food and raw material than are New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and it is as near as those Atlantic coast points to the great wheat and corn fields of the Northwest. By rail from all those localities to the Atlantic coast the Appalachian Mountain chain must be crossed. The roads running to the gulf ports, on the other hand, go down

an easy slope, are operated more cheaply, and carry freight at lower rates. Then, too, the valley's waterways will be of great importance. Moreover, though like Chicago physically outside the Mississippi watershed, Galveston and Mobile—Galveston, of course, in a larger degree than Mobile—are within the sphere of the great valley's influence.

"The nation," said Sir Walter Raleigh, "which controls the Isthmus of Darien is master of the world." The gathering of the United States fleets in the gulf and the Caribbean for their winter maneuvers in 1904 is not temporary or arbitrary. It is a permanent function. Those waters are a strategic point from which the United States would be open to assault in a war between this country and a great naval power. From our bases at Porto Rico, at Guantanamo, and at Panama we gain a mastery in our southern seas which adds vastly to our prestige in the western hemisphere and which increases our influence throughout the world. It also entails upon us the creation of a very large navy.

Through the Panama Canal will flow all the commerce from Europe and our Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi Valley bound to the western coast of the United States and of South America, much of that to Australia and Asia, and traffic from the western coast of the United States with the Atlantic border of the United States and of South America. Through it also most of the east coast and the west coast of South America will communicate with each other, as well as the two coasts of Canada. It will be the busiest waterway in the world, ultimately exceeding the Soo Canal in activity as much as the Soo surpasses the Suez. It will become the point at which the trade streams from the four quarters of the globe converge.

At the gateway stands the Mississippi Valley. Thus New Orleans, Galveston, and Mobile will be in a commanding position. The number of railroads securing terminals at each of those points, particularly at New Orleans, is steadily increasing. Six trunk lines, representing 30,000 miles of road, touch at New Orleans in 1904, and other roads are reaching toward that point. Its docks, wharves, and elevators are of the latest pattern. Vessels of the deepest draft pass freely in and out of its harbor. It has steamship connection already with New York,

England, Germany, France, Cuba, and Central America. Galveston's railway and ocean steamship connections are likewise extensive and rapidly growing.

Benefits to the gulf ports from the canal will begin immediately. The bulk of the machinery and of the implements for the thousands of laborers who will be at work on the canal will be furnished by New York, but the greater part of the food and the other supplies will be shipped by way of New Orleans and Galveston. The demands for these will be more continuous and will entail a larger outlay than the demands for tools.

Panama's influence on the Mississippi Valley's outlets is already showing itself. Senator Taliaferro, of Florida, has introduced a bill in Congress for an appropriation for a preliminary survey for a canal route across the northern end of Florida for ocean vessels which will shorten by hundreds of miles the distance by water from the Gulf ports to New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Europe. The New Orleans Board of Trade is working in coöperation with a committee of citizens of that city to organize the "Mississippi Valley and Orient Steamship Company," with a capital of \$5,000,000, to build a line of swift and powerful passenger and freight steamers to trade by way of the canal between New Orleans and the west coast of South America, the west coast of the United States, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Asia.

In speaking of the Mississippi Valley's seaports, Pittsburg, the world's greatest steel centre, St. Louis, near the confluence of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Illinois rivers, and Chicago must be taken into account, as well as Memphis, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Paul, Kansas City, Omaha, and other great towns on the big river and its navigable affluents. All are nearer to sources of supplies, but all, in some degree, must pay tribute to New Orleans.

The canal's economic, social, and political consequences will be vast. When, in 1869, De Lesseps finished his Suez short-cut between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, he not only immediately increased the world's trade with Asia, but he decisively contributed to the elements which, beginning with Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry's United States treaty in 1853, drew Japan out of her seclusion and absolutism and placed her

on the roll of modern States. The canal will not only strengthen our hold on Hawaii, the Philippines, and our other islands of the Pacific, but it will give us an imperative reason for insisting on the preservation of the open door in China, and will make the United States a power in the politics of Asia.

As a United States highway the canal will give this country a larger stake in the welfare of the peoples within and on the borders of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and give them a greater interest in us. Jefferson's vision of a confederated West Indies under a United States protectorate was something more than a dream. Porto Rico belongs to us. Cuba will one day be a State of the Union. The aspirations of Jamaica and the other British islands in the Caribbean for annexation may be gratified ultimately by an amicable arrangement with England. San Domingo and Haiti are drifting toward us, whether we like it or not. President Diaz is reported to have predicted that within half a century Mexico, in which \$500,000,000

of United States capital is invested, will ask for political union. The protectorate over Panama, from which we have gained by treaty a ten-mile-wide strip in which our sovereignty is absolute, is only a preliminary to annexation, and the rest of Central America sooner or later will be with us. With much of Canada's trade from the interior diverted to the Lake Michigan-Illinois River-Mississippi route to the Gulf of Mexico instead of passing through her own canals and the St. Lawrence, and with a large and steadily increasing part of her Atlantic and Pacific Coast commerce passing through our interoceanic waterway, an immense impetus will be given to the forces of political gravitation which are drawing the Dominion as well as all the rest of North America to the United States.

With the focus of its social and political activities permanently fixed in its great central plain, the American republic, before the close of the first quarter of the twentieth century, will be filling a larger place in the world's affairs than Spain did in the sixteenth.

PROVIDING THE WORLD WITH POWER

THE MARVELOUS INCREASE IN THE USE OF ELECTRICITY—WHERE THE MACHINERY IS MADE—FACTORIES WHICH PRODUCE ELECTRICAL DEVICES FOR ALL THE USES OF MODERN LIFE, FROM LIGHTS TO LOCOMOTIVES—HOW THE MACHINES ARE SENT ALL OVER THE WORLD

BY

ARTHUR GOODRICH

THREE or four of us were riding on a crosstown horse-car in New York recently," said an electrical engineer of a large electric works. "It made us think. Hardly more than fifteen years ago there were perhaps 100 electric cars in existence. Last year my firm alone had orders for railway motors equalling in power 500,000 horses. Only a few years ago we surprised ourselves by making 125 electric lights in a week—a new record. Today we are making about 2,000. A few years ago the average size of our motors was five horse-power. Today it's fifty instead of five.

"You can't turn around on a street

corner, in a store, or in your own house, not to speak of visiting mines and factories, without meeting electric power at work. Even in the backwoods you'll probably find a lumber mill sawing logs by electricity. Most of this development has come in the last fifteen years. Inventions? Patents? Our company has \$5,000,000 worth."

"Less than fifteen years ago," said another, "the company for which I was working built a 200-horse-power generator, and we thought it a monster. We are now building generators of 5,000 or 10,000 horse-power so rapidly that I can't keep track of them. Electricity will soon replace steam on rail-

roads. The steam turbine engine is certain to replace present methods of generating electricity, because of its added power for the floor space occupied and the ease with which it is handled. For example, turbines will be used to produce the power for running the New York Central's electric line through the tunnel into New York City."

I recently visited an electrical works which employs 12,000 people—three-quarters of them skilled workmen—a veritable army as it trudges out toward home every night. The works are so large that one of the superintendents lost his way while taking me to one of his aids.

From this factory goes each day, to every part of the globe, machinery to produce more than 8,000 horse-power, making this daily addition to the working power of the world.

"We used to have a map," said one of the employes, "on which red dots showed the places where our machines were installed; but soon the entire map was red. Then we gave it up."

The power of the mills comes by electricity from falls forty miles distant, which also furnish light to the city and provide its street-railway with power. The furnace is fed and the ashes are removed automatically. The furnaceman's only duty is to watch the fire and turn an electric switch for more coal or fewer ashes. Lining the gallery of the engine-room are switchboards that show at a glance the exact amount of electricity being used in every one of the hundred buildings. In the offices and drafting-room 500 engineers are working out devices, for electrical machinery is made to order as well as ready-made. More than 1,000,000 blue prints are made every year—on dark days with the aid of a reflector and arc lamps—and washed and dried automatically, so that the prints are ready in a few minutes. These drawings and prints are sent from building to building in an electrically run carrier. Laboratories develop new inventions, test completed work, and manufacture and repair apparatus for the shops. A complete photographic department takes pictures, and a printery and bindery and an engraving shop prepare publications and make books, pamphlets, pads, and tags without end. A gas plant large enough to light a small city furnishes gas to the works. Besides a complete electric railroad connecting

the different buildings, there is an experimental road fitted to test electric locomotives, railway motors, and controllers, to experiment with the effect of wind upon trains, and to investigate the causes of difficulties. Every new invention for power-house or car is tried thoroughly on this road.

In the wire mill rows of machines that hesitate only long enough to receive new spools automatically wind small wire into slender rope of many strands, and this rope is again wound into heavier rope and again into cable. On dozens of machines busy shuttles or mechanical contrivances, feeding material faster than the eye can follow, weave yarn or thread or silk over miles of wire. Wire goes into one machine round and comes out flattened and covered with two or three layers of insulation. Crude rubber entering the first of a line of machines comes out at the farther end in long, thin sheets ready to be used for insulation. Beyond, automatic machines take this rubber and wind it upon four wires at a time. Another machine is similarly covering wire with paper insulation, and still another is winding together into a compact cable three already insulated wire ropes and two heavy lines of yarn.

A great hydraulic press is coating cables with lead by a pressure of 1,000 tons. Workmen and girls stand by, watching and feeding machines and repairing breaks. Here is wire for metre measuring so small that it takes six miles to weigh a pound, and transmission cable so bulky that a mile of it will weigh 65,000 pounds. The weekly product of this mill would wind around the world five coils of insulated wire. Every ounce of it is baked and thoroughly tested.

The four-acre iron foundry at "pouring-off" time is an inferno of grim activity. A regiment of men are at work, but they seem lilliputian in the gigantic spectacle. Tons upon tons of molten iron pour down in steady streams from the roaring cupolas, to be caught in immense ladles which twenty-five electric cranes catch up and carry to the big molds embedded in the floor at the other side of the room. Great gallowlike jib-cranes are picked up by the overhead "travelers," and each is carried to the work that it must do. Cars are coming in with loads of crude iron, coke, coal, molasses, lime, and flour. Cars are running out carrying rough castings to the machine-shop.

In the machine-shop, on an iron floor upon which machines and immense castings can be bolted down, great cranes, which easily pick up seventy-five tons, carry the roughly formed metal to its place. Each of the big slotting-machines, fitted with its own motor, is set down by a crane within one of the great frames of iron, clamped to the floor, and forthwith put into operation. Overhead, the big "travelers" swing loads up and down, and immense beetlelike pieces of mechanism above, to the right and to the left, to any part of the great shops.

As one looks down upon the floor from the galleries the massive frames of the machinery being made stand out like lines of double-sized monitor turrets. Within them are machines at work smoothing them into shape, or groups of little men are toiling to make them into armatures. A big boring-mill is prodding at prodigious iron frames. At one end, merely for a test, and at great expense, men are building equipment equal to that at Niagara about a big generator. Car-tracks run from end to end of the building, and near one door a few mining locomotives for Pennsylvania coal mines are on the way toward completion.

In one building an automatic process completes in ten seconds parts of machines that it formerly took forty-eight hours to manufacture. In another, mica is sorted and split and gauged and made ready for the machines that will stamp and press it into the necessary shapes for insulation. A complete brass foundry turns out yearly thousands of tons of brass, aluminum, and composition castings. Every bolt and nut in the electrical machines is made in the works. Rough slabs of marble and slate come to the factory and go out switchboards fitted with switches. Automatic drilling-presses and tapping-machines replace the labor of many workmen. For example, a machine, with the help of one girl, drills and taps 20,000 socket parts every day. Soldering is done entirely by electrically heated irons. One room is filled with rows of machines that look like rapid-fire guns—automatic screw-machines, each of which do the work five men did previously. Four of them are attended now by one workman. One building is given over entirely to porcelain, where the clay is mixed, molded by presses, and baked in great funnel-like kilns. Every machine that goes out of the mills

is tested by a force of nearly 400 men, most of them fresh from technical schools, more thoroughly than it is ever likely to be tested afterward.

The way through the mill seems endless. Lines follow lines of men and machines. The echo of thudding power-presses succeeds the noise of pounding wooden wedges from the cabinet-making department, and echoes of both remain when the steady throb of rows of automatic machines reaches you. Men are everywhere; but most of them merely guide the big electrical machines. There is the pulsing of compressed-air drills, but in many cases electric drills have taken their place. There is little grinding of belts, for each good-sized machine has its own motor, although often half a dozen machines will be driven by a single motor. No smoke or soot or dirt soils the floors and side walls, except in the foundry. Electricity brings material to its place; electricity hoists it and carries it, molds it and finishes it; electricity prepares it for the trains and puts aboard the cars the finished material now wrought into electrical machines ready to add to the power and light of the world.

Into one building come castings and parts from a dozen others. Cars at the other end of the building take out complete railway motors. In another, 25,000 controllers which motor-men handle on the street-cars—and which, by the way, are in use throughout the mills on cranes and machines—are put together every year. In one building a boy pulls a rope and a small crane lifts a mass of iron or steel and carries it rapidly along the room. Another pull of the rope, and the crane stops and lowers the material into place. In another building a machine is winding in close coil a thick ribbon of copper that you find it difficult to bend in your fingers.

In rooms where underground tubes are made wood is put in a vacuum tank heated by steam. The heat takes all the air and moisture out of the wood. Resin is then put into the tank, and a hydraulic press forces the resin to replace the air and moisture. The result is thoroughly insulated wood. In the buildings where transformers are made are baking-ovens in which hundreds of coils of wire can be placed at a time. In the swiftly growing part of the works, where steam turbines are being built—and engines to produce 250,000 horse-power were ordered

before one was ready for commercial use—is a striking machine which automatically cuts out of metal disks the oddly shaped little buckets against which the steam beats in the completed engine.

Searchlights of from two to three million candle-power, and with a diameter of eight feet, which in clear weather can give a signal 200 miles away, are being made by machinery. They are constructed so as to turn in any direction by a little lever that may be placed at almost any distance from the light itself. So powerful is the light that the heavy glass that covers it must be built in strips rather than in a single piece. One workman who exposed himself too closely was badly "sun-burned." Electric controllers are being made which can change by a touch of the hand the color of the signal on a ship's masthead, and small searchlights for automobiles, small generators for yachts and generators sixty times as large for war-ships, electric compressors for air brakes, large electric locomotives for tunnel work, little turtle-back engines for mines, and big electric blowers for steamships and for shop ventilation.

Wires from the factory we saw first are in St. Peter's at Rome. A transmission line, with equipment made here, is operating Indian gold fields from sacred falls more than ninety miles distant. Power set in motion by machines built here is driving the twopenny tubes in London, lighting the way for people, and carrying them or their goods at rapid speed in Mexico, in Brazil, in Peru, along the streets of Tokio and of Bangkok, Siam, in Korea, and in South Africa. It is conveying tourists from Cairo to the Pyramids, and colonists in Australia.

"How about German competition?" I asked one of the men, for three or four large German companies have followed quickly the lead of the American pioneers in electrical industry.

"It holds Germany, and we meet it in South America. The Germans organize their business well. Not long ago we bid on some South American work. Our figures were \$2,500 under the German bid, but the Germans got the contract, for they had combined with a bank that was furnishing capital for the project. The bank would not advance the money unless the German firm received the contract."

"How do you get foreign work?"

"Chiefly because there are still many people who think American apparatus is better than any other; our prices don't differ greatly from foreign prices. Our superior machine equipment counteracts the expense of high wages."

In the shipping-rooms there is a constant supply of about 2,000,000 separate pieces, from small springs to seventy-ton machines. The shipper can put his hand immediately on any one of them. You could build a wall fifty feet high, forty feet wide, and twenty-five miles long with the goods that go out every year. Here a machine makes a box from raw lumber in less than a minute; traveling cranes bring in the big masses, machines help to box them, and the cranes lift them on board the freight cars, of which forty, well filled, go out every day.

In fact, so complete is the equipment of machines that three-quarters of this immense shipping is done by half a dozen men. If a generator is going to Niagara, the packers know the exact height of the doors through which it must go, and the problems of railway transportation to be solved. Big machines going to inland Peru must be split into small parts to be carried on muleback, and re-assembled on the ground. The facility of every waterway must be known adequately. One machine, dumped overboard in Japan, had to be brought back and rebuilt. If machines are going to India or Manila they must be tarred thoroughly and then wrapped in tar paper, to keep the peculiar ants in those countries from eating up the insulation of the machine.

The tests of cases already packed are thorough. A large marble switchboard, for example, enclosed in a leather case and then boxed with thick layers of excelsior, is attached to the chains of a crane and tumbled up and down on the floor. Sometimes it is attached to the end of a car and dragged along the ties in the yard. Recently, in an installation in Colorado mountains, material had to be hauled in wagons up to the plant. On the way up the horses which were dragging some switchboards tumbled over a cliff and fell some sixty feet on the rocks below. The horses and driver were killed and the wagon was broken to pieces. Literally, the only things unharmed were the brittle marble switchboards shipped from the East.

What does all this machinery do when it

is in place besides giving people a chance to talk and send messages across continents and seas, besides lighting streets, public buildings, and homes, besides running car-lines in cities and from city to city? One of the striking developments of the last few years is the transmission of electricity. Four or five years ago engineers in the Mysore territory in southern India conceived the idea of making the Cauvery Falls furnish power to the Kolar gold mines, ninety-two miles away. An American company was chosen to furnish the electrical machinery. An American engineer and fifteen assistants, with a large force of natives, began the work in 1900. The difficulties were numerous. First of all, cholera broke out in the labor camps and stopped work for a month. Ants did great damage for a time. All the poles had to be placed in steel sockets. One workman, who left his tool-chest out one night, found next morning only the steel part of one tool and a few buttons from his overalls. After a week of operation of some of the machines it was found that something was wrong with the lubrication. The oil disappeared. They discovered that a Hindu must, by his religion, take a periodical bath in oil. To him oil is oil. The workmen had drained the bearings for bathing purposes. How to stop the thieving was a puzzling problem until some one solved it. The Hindu does not eat meat, and he will not touch anything that has blood in it. Two or three animals were killed, therefore, and blood was dripped into the bearings. There was no more stealing of oil, however many other things were stolen.

Luckily, the stone and bricks for construction were all obtained near by. Early in the work a little town of eighty houses grew up suddenly around the site of the power-house, with a water-supply, a branch post-office, telephones, and a provision store, in a region where no man had ever been a few months before. Gradually the power-houses were built, and the line started from the gold-field through the jungle. But the roads were so soggy that to help drag the heavy machinery eight State elephants were pressed into service. "Though it did seem," said the engineer, "like using the tenth century to help the twentieth."

The timber came from Australia, insulations from Italy, the hydraulic plant from Switzerland, the penstock pipes from Scotland, and

the entire electric plant, with a capacity of 4,000 horse-power, from America. From the power-house at the falls the current follows two parallel lines of wire to the gold-fields, where the power is turned over to thirty or more motors. These furnish it to crush quartz above ground and to air-compressors for underground drilling. The loss of power is only twenty per cent. in ninety-two miles.

A southern cotton-mill is in a town nearly three miles from the dam which furnishes the power. Without electrical transmission the mill must have been built beside the dam; a canal would have been necessary and a railroad would have been constructed to connect mill and town, new tenement-houses and other buildings would have been built, and the weekly payroll would have been considerably larger. At first the transmission line was the wonder of the Negroes, who half expected to see power drop from the wires; but now many of the large mills are using the system.

The ease and cleanliness with which motors are handled, the large and steady power they furnish, and the slight care they need have made them satisfactory for driving machinery within many mills. In many shops overhead belts spoil clean jobs by the drippings of dirt and oil. Motors give no such trouble. Moreover, motor-driven machines can be placed anywhere instead of being lined in arbitrary rows. No power is thrown away when a machine stops running. Many small manufacturers buy electrical power exactly as they would buy light, paying only for what they use. No better example of the values of electrically driven machines can be found than in the big electrical mills themselves.

"We couldn't afford to use electric machines ourselves," said a superintendent in an electrical mill, "if they weren't the best and cheapest."

The huge electric cranes are particularly interesting. One used in a shipyard runs on an elevated track between two ships on the ways and brings into place each piece of heavy steel for the hull. In the steel works big cranes with a span of 250 feet unload ore from cars and charge the mill's furnaces. One of these has averaged 200 tons of ore an hour.

On shipboard, electricity lights the ship

throughout, operates the searchlights, hoists freight, helps in ventilation, and cares for the signals. The engineer searches a dark part of his machinery with a harmless and brilliant incandescent light. The pumps are worked with motors. A glance at the tell-tale board will show how the running-lights are aloft. If a light goes out, a corresponding light on the board is lighted and a "buzzer" sounds a warning. By the naval signaling system forty-one combinations of lights are used as secret signals. Portable electric hoists move material on ships and on the wharves. In mines, also, drills, hoists, pumps, and engines are run by motors. A small hoist that two men can carry will handle more material than a small force of workmen.

Not long ago a fruit company that imports about 7,000,000 bunches of bananas a year grew tired of the slow process of unloading by long lines of Negroes. The fruit was often bruised and the stems broken. A machine similar to the "carrier" of a thrashing-machine was devised, one end of which reaches into the hold of the ship. It then runs upward a few feet above the deck and then down to the wharf. One man in a small tower runs the machine that carries the bananas easily into canvas pockets. With three hatches the machinery unloads, without bruising, 15,000 bunches an hour.

Silk mills in Italy, France, and America are running by electric power. In the big lumber mills of the Northwest portable saw-mills are kept running by a portable generating plant. Instead of carrying logs to the mill, the machines are moved to the logs wherever they fall in the forest.

In the modern hotel evidences of electrical power are everywhere. An automatic refrigerating apparatus makes two and a half tons of ice a day. The laundry washes and irons all plain clothes by electricity. The elevator, which must stop at will and start again at full speed, is run by a motor. Fans and blowers help to give the building ventilation. The kitchens are equipped with electrical machines that polish silver, clean knives, pitchers, and carafes, freeze ice-cream, mix bread, and chop and grind food into the proper form. The lights in the rooms are perhaps the new meridian lights that diffuse the brilliancy equally over a large space, and outside there are likely soon to be some of the new luminous arc lights that give three

times the light of the present kind for the same amount of power.

Churches have electric organs, and doctors next door discover disease with wonderful little electrical devices. Hospitals have electrical refrigerating machines, and typewriters in business offices are perhaps made to work easily by electric power. Electric bellows save time and worry for the blacksmith. Electric machines sew and make buttonholes in clothing factories. At Niagara are the electrochemical works where new tests and new discoveries are constantly made. Manufacturing plants far out in the country are lighted from their own little power-houses. Electric signs of changing words and colors blaze along city streets; electric candelabra make brilliant the dining-table, and miniature lights shine from modern Christmas trees. Rows of lights on the telephone switchboard announce calls to the telephone girls, and others, backed by reflectors, warn wayfarers on the road of the swift electric automobile. The dentist uses electricity, and the grocer, the engraver, the gasfitter, the optician, the shoemaker, the stationer, the tobacconist, and the tailor. In fact, it may be said that there is scarcely a man in active life who does not use electrical power in some way.

A quarter of a century ago the motor was an experiment. Even now its possibilities are only beginning to be realized. It has been estimated, for example, that less than seven per cent. of the power used in manufacturing plants in the United States is electric. New uses of electricity of which there is now definite promise will readjust many settled conditions of living. Transmission lines in their further development, the wireless telegraph, the wireless telephone, the railway motor eventually to run heavy freight and passenger trains, the storage battery, the new lights that men like Mr. Charles P. Steinmetz and Mr. Peter Cooper Hewitt have invented, and the chemical discoveries that have been made—before these are all adapted to their many uses other great improvements will be made and hundreds of lesser inventions will be working in all parts of the world.

A mechanical invention makes one thing possible; an electrical invention often makes a hundred things possible and simplifies a hundred more. It flashes a pillar of fire before the advancing civilization of the world.



LUMBERING BY MACHINERY

A SIXTY-MILE FLUME FOR CARRYING LUMBER FROM THE MILLS — A RAFT OF SEVEN THOUSAND LOGS EACH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY FEET LONG — OREGON FIR USED FOR MASTS BY SHIP-BUILDERS THE WORLD OVER — LARGE TOWNS BUILT UP BY THE INDUSTRY

BY

K. SMITH

WHAT the discovery of gold accomplished for California is being done again for the Northern Pacific States by the forests. During the past twenty years the profits to be derived from the forests have drawn to the Coast many far-seeing business men, who have built towns and given employment to an army of workmen in the logging-camps and sawmills and in many other of the varied branches of the lumber industry.

A hundred years ago logging interests were centred in the then untouched Maine forests. By 1850 these had been reduced till it was necessary to draw on the supply

of the Middle West. The pine forests of Wisconsin and Michigan were cut into and in twenty-five years were making a yield equal to that of the eastern forests. In hardly more than fifteen years thereafter the Lake States were supplying more than one-third of the demand.

Some idea of the value of the lumber industry can be formed from government reports, which in 1890 ranked lumbering fourth among the great industries of the country. Further reports show that the forestry yield for 1890 alone was nearly as great as the output of gold for the fifty years following its discovery in California.

The last ten years have shown a marked decrease in the lumber yield of the lake region. Its rapid exhaustion has moved the lumber centre to the Pacific slope. Though northern California, Washington, and Oregon at present supply but ten per cent. of the demand, they contain between one-half and one-third of the entire supply of the country. It is estimated that they contain 840,000,000,000 feet of uncut timber. Enormous as the figures seem, careful estimates show that at the

fir is the most valuable. It rivals pine in lightness and oak in strength and durability. It grows very straight and often attains a height of 300 feet.

Ship-builders the world over have learned the exceptional durability of Coast fir and use it for masts. The United States Navy Department has recommended the use of fir on war-vessels for all wood purposes except decorative interiors. The flags on Windsor Castle and on the castle of the Japanese



THE FALL OF A GIANT CEDAR



"SIGHTING" BEFORE FELLING A GREAT TREE

present rate ninety years' cutting will completely exhaust the forest regions unless measures are taken at once to preserve young growth and replant denuded areas.

The United States is one of four countries that export lumber, Canada, Russia, and Austria being the other three. Billions of feet of lumber are shipped each year from Pacific ports to Asia and South America.

The most abundant and valuable of the Coast timbers are California redwood, Washington fir, and Oregon pine. Of these, the

Emperor fly from Oregon fir. The masts and spars on the racing-yachts of Emperor William and King Edward were shipped from Puget Sound. Washington and Oregon are to supply the millions of feet to be used in building the Panama Canal.

The revenue derived from the lumber industry on the Pacific Coast exceeds that of all other industries combined. Nearly every town of the Northwest owes its prosperity to the lumber trade. Tacoma and Seattle on Puget Sound, Portland in Oregon, and



A SIXTY-MILE FLUME THAT CARRIES LOGS FROM THE MILL TO THE RIVER



A CABLEWAY THAT CARRIES ENORMOUS LOGS ACROSS A WIDE VALLEY

San Francisco for California are the principal shipping-points. The town of Everett, in Washington, is a most remarkable instance of what a great industry backed by capital can effect in a short time. Ten years ago the forest was cleared to establish a terminus for the Great Northern Railroad, where a few basket-weaving Indians were huddled at the mouth of the Snohomish River. Today a busy town of 20,000 boasts nine sawmills, twelve shingle-mills, six planing-mills, and numerous shops and factories. Its annual output in wood products alone is nearly \$7,500,000.

The pioneers of the Northwest were the



THE FIRST CUT ON A WASHINGTON FIR

lumbermen. Pushing into an unbroken wilderness, they took settlers' claims of 160 acres adjacent to the rivers. They felled great trees, cut them into log lengths, dragged them by horses or oxen to the river, and there made them into rafts to be floated to the nearest mill. As the ground was cleared they moved to new claims.

Operations on western timber claims are conducted on a gigantic scale. One company owns 1,000,000 acres of heavily timbered land, employs about 500 men, uses seventy-five

horses, twenty "donkey-engines," and has built nearly one hundred miles of railway.

The work of a logging-camp is systematized as nicely as that of a factory. Each man has but one kind of work to do. Except for an occasional heavy rain, the men work the year round. The long winter has very little snow, but there is a succession of gray days filled with a misty, fog-like rain, heavy enough to keep things dripping, but not heavy enough to stop work.

They decide the direction the tree shall fall and cut a notch on each side of the tree. In these notches are stuck spring-boards, on which the fellers stand to work. Two fellers work on one tree, using a saw eight or ten feet long, with a handle on each end. For the very large trees it is necessary to splice two of the saws together.

The first cut is made from six to eight feet from the ground—high enough to avoid the hard grain and heavy sap at the base of the



THE NEW WAY

Donkey engine charging a log to the landing. "Hookster" pulling.

When a camp is established a cook-house and bunk-house are built. Before dawn the cooks are busy preparing breakfast, and the day is still new when the men begin work. Within an hour the wood echoes to the signaling toot of engines, the ringing blows of axes, the steady scrape of saws, and the thundering crash of falling trees.

The trees that are to fall are marked by men who tell at a glance which to select.

tree. It is made on the side of fall, at a true right angle to the line of direction and about one-third through the trunk. When in its fall the tree might crash into other trees or be shattered by an elevation of the ground, the men sight very carefully to get the direction, and so skilful are they in making the undercut and in the use of wedges that they can send the tree to the ground within a very few inches of the position decided



THE OLD WAY OF LOADING WITH OXEN



A TYPICAL RAILROAD SCENE IN THE NORTHWEST

The road runs for miles through dense pine forests.

upon. After making the undercut with sharp two-edged axes, the fellers begin sawing from the opposite side. A bottle of coal-oil hangs against the tree to clear the saw of resin

The cut made, wedges are inserted to guide the fall. The giant bends, there is an ominous cracking, then a thunderous roar as the tree pounds against the earth, which trembles from the blow. The echo is hardly still before the tree is measured into lengths

“Swampers” clear away the underbrush and make a passage for the logs, which are pulled into position by a horse. The “hook-tender” then takes charge and fastens to the log by gripping-hooks a heavy chain attached to a cable.

Formerly the logs were moved by ox-teams or horses, as in eastern camps, but the great size of Coast timber has made the use of engines much more practicable, and nearly all the well-equipped camps have



A DONKEY-ENGINE LOADING FLAT CARS AT A LANDING

of from twenty-eight to forty feet, and the fellers are gone to the next tree.

“Buckers” cut the tree into logs, using a stiff saw very like the fellers’, but with only one handle, as most of the cuts can be made by one man.

“Barkers” chop the bark from the side on which the log is to be dragged. This is very necessary, as the bark is so stout and rough that it catches and hinders the movement of the log.

supplanted the picturesque ox-team by busy tooting “donkey-engines.” These engines have reels wound with steel-wire cable from one-half to one inch thick and from 500 to 3,000 feet long. Two engines are stationed the length of the cable apart. One, called the yarding-engine, drags the logs from the place of fall to the main road. The cable from the other engine is then fastened to the log, which is dragged swiftly over the “skid road,” either to the nearest stream, where



RAFTS OF LOOSE LOGS AT THE MILL ON THE WILLAMETTE RIVER



THE EMPTY "CRADLE" FOR BUILDING A GREAT RAFT—ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, NEAR ASTORIA

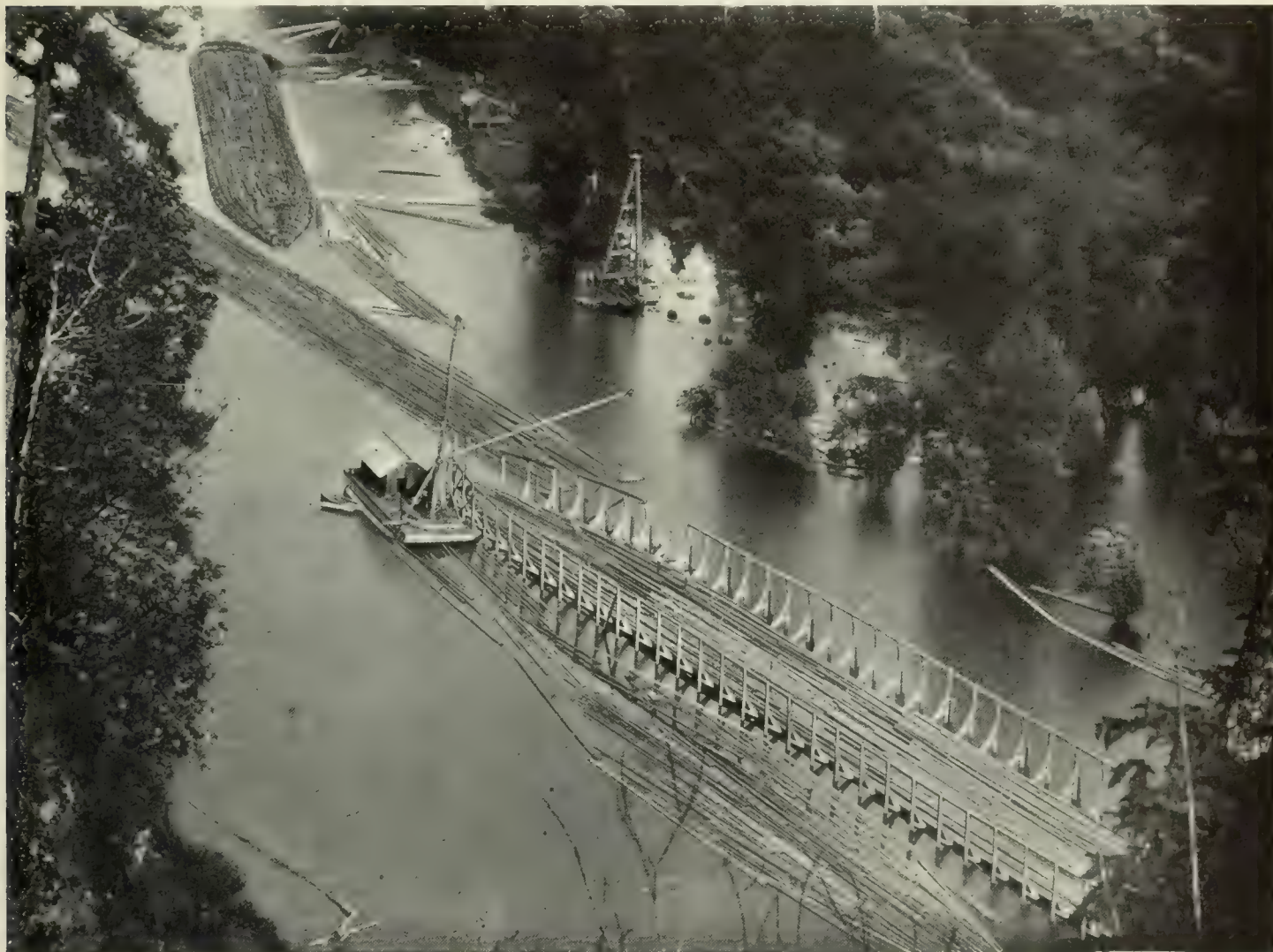
logs are made into rafts and floated to the mill, or to the branch railway landing.

Nothing but a break in the cable stops the progress of a log. Turns in the road are made by running the cable over blocks fastened to trees and stumps. As these are reached the hook-tender signals, the engine stops till the block is removed, when the log travels on. The cable from the landing-engine is drawn back to the yarding-engine by a smaller cable which trails after the log.

The hook-tender must see the logs safe

The engines run by steam, and all day long a pack-horse is kept busy carrying water. When the engines are moved the heavy chains that hold them in place are unfastened, one end of the cable is attached to a distant tree, and as the cable is wound the engine hobbles over the ground like a great panting, clumsy monster.

Many thousands of dollars are spent in building skid roads and branch railways to facilitate the handling of the timber. The location and lay of the land often call



ON ONE OF THE TRIBUTARIES OF THE COLUMBIA

View showing a finished raft, a cradle being filled, and a raft of loose logs to go into the cradle

to the landing. Venturesome ones often jump on the moving log and ride in. This is forbidden, as any small obstacle may cause the log to turn suddenly and maim its rider.

The same engines do the work of loading cars. A block is suspended above the car, and over it is passed a cable with heavy hooks on the end. The hooks are fastened in the log, and as the cable is reeled the log is drawn on an incline from the landing to the car. Men guide the logs with iron-shod poles.

for ingenious application of varied mechanical devices. A lumber claim in Oregon that lies on both sides of a deep cañon has a steel cable stretched across the cañon. Great logs, swinging on a chain by one end, slide across on a pulley, just as the package-baskets in a department store go to the desk. A California sawmill in the heart of the Sierras is connected with the outside world by a flume sixty miles long. Six days of the week dressed lumber goes sailing down

on this flume, skirting the sides of high mountains, across deep gulches, following the bend of the cañon till it reaches the valley shipping-point.

The rafting business between Columbia River points and San Francisco is fast becoming prominent. In the fall of 1902 a monster raft 700 feet long, 53 feet wide, drawing $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water, and 12 feet from the water's edge to the top, was safely towed 700 miles to the Golden Gate.

by the derrick into the cradle, where men fasten them securely with heavy chains and cables. From 80 to 100 tons of chain are used on one raft. When the raft is finished the keys that held the parts of the cradle together are drawn, engines pull away the side of the cradle opposite the piling, and the raft floats out on the water. Tugs then go steaming with it to the river, down the Columbia, and out on the ocean. Occasionally the rafts have been towed south



A GIANT RAFT ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, BOUND FOR SAN FRANCISCO

The logs, which were for piling, telegraph-poles, etc., were 120 feet long and from 12 to 20 inches in diameter. In all, there were 7,000 pieces, valued at \$60,000.

To build these rafts a great "cradle" of heavy timbers is built on a slough connected with the Columbia River. A row of piling is driven in deep water. The frame of the cradle floats up and down on this row of piling and is held in place by it. A large scow with a derrick on it is anchored beside the cradle. Log-booms or small rafts are towed to it, and one by one the logs are lifted

by one steamer, but usually they are conveyed by two tugs, one at each end.

The men in the logging-camps are sturdy, active fellows. About three-fourths of them are of Scandinavian birth; the rest are French-Canadians and Americans. Wages in logging-camps vary from \$40 to \$100 a month and board. A few unions have been organized, but they have little power. Strikes are practically unknown. Whatever differences arise between the companies and employees are generally settled by the "bosses" in charge of the men.



ONE TRUST AND WHAT BECAME OF IT

THE STORY, TOLD MAINLY BY ITS CREATORS, OF HOW THE UNITED STATES SHIPBUILDING COMPANY DISCOVERED ITSELF AFTER A YEAR OF EXISTENCE TO BE NOT A \$71,000,000 COLOSSUS, BUT "MERELY A THEORY"

BY

HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

"2 · 3 = 23 (less as much as the public suspects of the truth)"—*The New Financial Arithmetic*

IF an outsider had been privileged to be present in a certain Jersey City office on June 24, 1902, he would have been profoundly impressed. For in spite of billion-dollar corporations and the vastness of American industrial expansion, most of us are still not on particularly intimate terms with millions in the flesh; and the three men who sat about a table in this office on the day mentioned weremaking financial history on a large scale. These magnates were the president, the vice-president and the secretary and treasurer of the United States Shipbuilding Company (familarly known as the "Shipbuilding Trust"); and since they comprised the entire board of directors, they proceeded to consummate business of vast importance.

The secretary-treasurer read a long and detailed letter from one John W. Young, offering to sell to their company the entire capital stock and property of seven shipbuilding concerns (one of them among the three largest in the country), the Bethlehem Steel Works, and sundry trifles of real estate and the like; for about \$71,000,000 in stocks and bonds, and this offer was immediately and unanimously accepted, without even a discussion.

"Clearly," the innocent beholder would have remarked, his eyes bulging with wonder, "these men must be giants of industry, at whose tread the world of finance shakes, to handle thus so huge a deal."

Yet one may look in vain in the financial

directories or the lists of "wealthiest Americans" for the names of these gentlemen: Louis B. Dailey, Frederick K. Seward, and Raymond Newman. Indeed, we have Mr. Dailey's own word for it that he did not even have a bank account at the time.

"At least, then, they must have been ship-building experts, familiar with every detail of the business and of the plants purchased."

Well, the vice-president testified a year later that he had never heard of the Hyde Windlass Company, one of the concerns he bought; the secretary-treasurer was aged twenty-five, an eight months' lawyer, an ex-insurance agent and bill collector: on the witness stand he expressed belief that the Bethlehem Steel Works, also purchased, was located at Homestead Pa. (it is really at Bethlehem), and declared that he knew the Canda Manufacturing Company (another plant in the deal) was in the ship-building business because he had seen its firm name stamped on a piece of ironwork on a Fall River steamer! (The Canda plant made car-wheels when it did anything—and the best-informed people are still wondering what good it was supposed to be to the ship-building concern.)

It does not take any special acuteness to see that these three individuals were "dummies," going through the forms of directors' duties at somebody else's direction. In point of fact, to leave one of the most farcical proceedings on record in modern business, they were all irresponsible young clerks in the office of a trust company in New Jersey, who voted for anything that was put before them as part of their regular routine duties. They were puppets, who made motions when the string was pulled. The question becomes

WHO PULLED THE STRING?

The investigator gets little light on this by a glance at the natural point of inquiry—the beginnings of the ship-building company itself. This enterprising concern had come into being only a week before the events narrated. It was capitalized at \$3,000, and the three incorporators were Howard K. Wood, Horace S. Gould, and Kenneth K. McLaren, who subscribed for all the thirty shares of preferred and common stock. These individuals seem to figure in no public records I have been able to discover outside of the Jersey City Directory, but by a strange coincidence they, too, were all employees of

the same trust company. Mr. Gould declared on the witness stand that he "received from somebody a share of preferred and a share of common stock," and saw these paid for at the incorporators' meeting with a check drawn "on or by the Trust Company of the Republic." Not much in the way of responsibility here!

Now, it was from these three incorporators that our three "dummy" directors obtained a supposedly legal right to exercise their function, Mr. Wood (one of the former) assigning *his right* to one share of common stock to each of them to qualify them for the office. *But the records show no stock whatever issued to these gentlemen or placed in their names*—which raises an exceedingly interesting point of law as to whether the Shipbuilding Company ever had any legal existence, or if it was not as Mr. Untermeyer claims, "merely a theory."

In a word, therefore, during the incorporation of the company and during the most important acts of its career—raising its capitalization from \$3,000 to \$71,000,000 and spending the whole thing for a group of shipyards—no one of the responsible people appears in any official record. Fortunately, the efforts of two men have helped to pry the lid off this mysterious pot sufficiently to give the public a sight of the devil's broth inside. James Smith, Jr., the receiver, in his extraordinary report of October 31st, and Samuel Untermeyer, the lawyer conducting the case for the *bona fide* bondholders, with the help of some financial and shipping experts, have enabled us to come very close to the details of one of the most amazing and disgraceful chapters in American business history.

THE FIRST OF THE SHIPBUILDING TRUST

People who ought to know say that the original idea of the combination came from Mr. Lewis Nixon. This much is certain: nearly two years before the project finally took shape the trade was full of stories regarding such a consolidation, and these all centred around Mr. Nixon. Mr. Nixon had been a government naval engineer of distinction: many of the battle-ships now being built are from his designs; he resigned from the navy in 1890 to go to the Cramps, and started the Crescent yards in 1895, with what he called a "capital" of \$10,000, including in this term his lease, his salary as consulting



CHARLES M. SCHWAB

WHO "SOLD" THE BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS TO THE UNITED STATES SHIP-BUILDING COMPANY IN SUCH A MANNER THAT HE CONTROLLED BOTH CONCERNS



THE CRESCENT SHIP-BUILDING YARD AT ELIZABETH, N. J.

Started by Mr. Nixon in 1853, capitalized at \$1,000,000 just before it was taken in by the combination, and now recommended by the receiver to be sold. The first week after it joined the United States Shipbuilding Company the central organization advanced several thousand dollars to pay wages here, and Mr. Nixon testified that the yard was "a burden" on the Trust up to the end.

engineer from the Cramps, and his contracts! The only statements he would make on the stand as to working capital were that he had "very little" and that his first deposit was \$700. From these insignificant begin-

nings Mr. Nixon made a success; he tells us he built "a hundred ships" in six years; he began to be looked on as one of the coming men in business and politics.

The ship-building plan was first discussed,



LEWIS NIXON

Official head of the United States Shipbuilding Company during most of its brief existence. A photograph made in his own Crescent yard.



W. D. GUTHRIE

Copyright by Moses King

Counsel for the United States Shipbuilding Company in the suit brought by the bona-fide bondholders



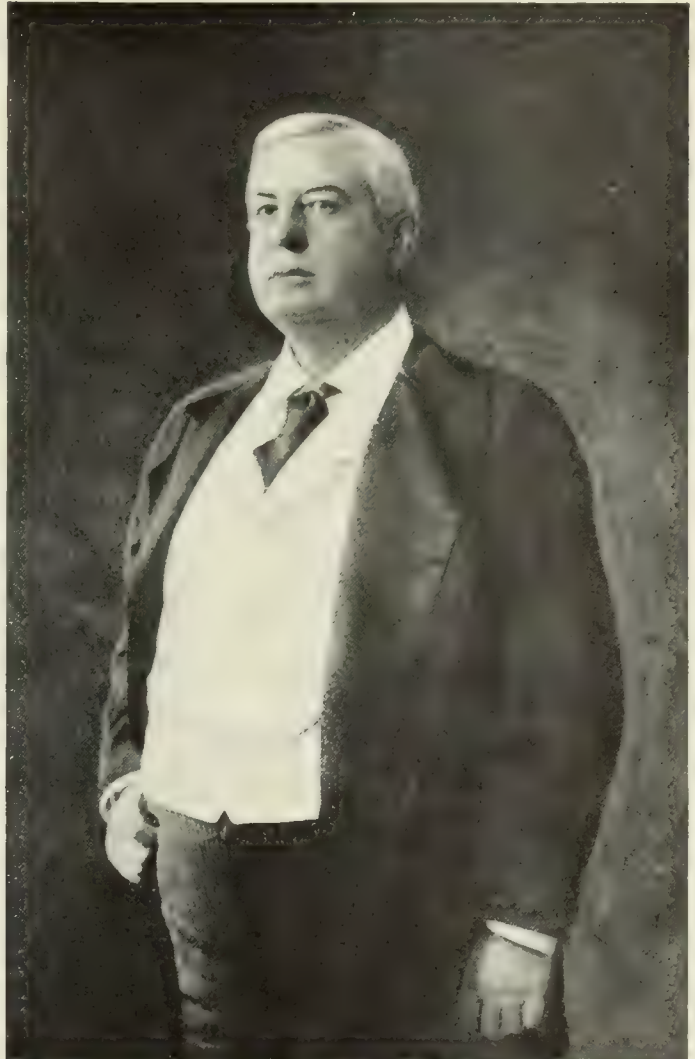
SAMUEL UNTERMEYER

Copyright by Moses King

Counsel for the bondholders in their suit against the Shipbuilding Trust. It has been largely through Mr. Untermyer's efforts that the public has learned so much of the inside history of the combination

he says, in Andrew Freedman's office, in a talk between himself and John W. Young during 1900. This projected amalgamation fell through because the bankers in charge, Poor & Company, failed to collect the necessary subscriptions.

But some time during the winter of 1901-2, Mr. Young, or somebody, had an inspiration to the effect that the psychological moment had at last arrived. Mr. Nixon had become the ostensible head of Tammany Hall that



Photographed by Walters

HONORABLE JAMES SMITH, JR.

The receiver of the Shipbuilding Company, whose remarkable report alleges wilful dishonesty on the part of some of the manipulators of the concern

November; bewildering political possibilities appeared on his horizon; no wonder that he was considered and came to consider himself a man of destiny.

Very shortly things began to happen.

No one ever claimed for Mr. Young a knowledge of ship-building, but his gifts as a promoter seem to come legitimately from the character of the great Mormon leader, his father. He scurried abroad to see about



D. LEROY DRESSLER

Formerly head of the Trust Company of the Republic which underwrote the Shipbuilding Company's bonds in this country



McCook King

COLONEL J. J. MCCOOK

A prominent figure in the formation of the United States Shipbuilding Company

having \$6,000,000 of bonds "underwritten" by London and Paris financiers. Speedily the air of maritime and financial circles became thick with rumors of a great consolidation which was to take in the Cramps, Roach's, the big Newport News yards, the Union Iron Works, and any number of lesser concerns, controlling the whole American

Private and Confidential.

Preliminary Prospectus April 10, 1902.

The United States Shipbuilding Company.

A corporation to be organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey, either by that or some similar name, proposes to acquire the plants and equipment, of the following concerns or their capital stocks, free from any liens:

- THE UNION IRON WORKS
- THE BATH IRON WORKS
- THE HYDE WINDLASS COMPANY
- THE CRESCENT SHIP YARD
- THE SAMUEL T. MOORE & SONS COMPANY
- THE EASTON SHIPBUILDING COMPANY
- THE HARLAN & HOLLINGSWORTH COMPANY
- THE HANCOCK MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Issue of \$2,000,000 Series A First Mortgage Five Per Cent Sinking Fund and Bond due 1912, part of an A-1 \$10,000,000 Issue of \$4,000,000 Bonds of \$1,000 each, as also Long Working Warrants for 1,000,000 Shares, to be disposed under the Vendors and Shareholders Contracts and Sinking Fund Receipts to the Treasury of the company. All of the Bonds and Warrants to be issued for the Purpose of Acquiring A definite Plant and Equipment for the Construction and Equipment upon such Terms and Conditions as shall be approved by the Board of Directors and a Majority of the Bonds and the Proceeds of the Issue of the Bonds and the Warrants to be Applied

CAPITAL STOCK.

Preferred Stock, Six Per Cent, Non-Cumulative	\$10,000,000
Common Stock	\$10,000,000

DIRECTORS

- LEWIS NIXON
- E. W. HYDE
- FRANK M. SCOTT
- JOHN W. GAUSE

TRUSTEE FOR THE BONDS.

THE MERCANTILE TRUST COMPANY
New York, N. Y.

BANKERS

TRUST COMPANY OF THE REPUBLIC
New York, N. Y.

TRANSFER AGENTS

TRUST COMPANY OF THE REPUBLIC

COUNSEL

ALEXANDER S. GREEN

EXAMINING AUDITORS

W. T. SIMMONS, C. R. RIDGELL & COMMON

TEMPORARY OFFICES.

127 BROADWAY NEW YORK

PAGE ONE OF THE "PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL" PROSPECTUS OF APRIL 10, 1902 WHICH THE RECEIVER SAYS WAS FULL OF GROSS MISSTATEMENTS

industry. In April (1902) a preliminary prospectus marked "Private and Confidential" was put into circulation. This contained a letter purporting to be signed by a firm of expert accountants, says the receiver, but "making such exaggerated representations with reference to the profits, present

and prospective, as to make it absolutely worthless as a guide to the real condition of the plants." Moreover, the later reports from the same accountants contradicted it entirely. The gentlemen in charge, mindful of the public coyness two years before, were taking no chances of failure due to understatement.

MR. DRESSER, FINANCIER

In this precious document it was stated that the Mercantile Trust Company (with which Mr. Young was affiliated) was the trustee for the \$9,000,000 of bonds—which meant, apparently, that it was entrusted with the task of unloading the burden onto somebody else's shoulders. The ideal pair of shoulders had just appeared upon the banking horizon in the person of an amateur financier, D. Leroy Dresser, whose loudly heralded Trust Company of the Republic was a scant four weeks old. Mr. Dresser had been for some years a well-known figure in mercantile circles, and the social and financial prestige accruing from his connection by marriage with one of the richest New York families was an important asset in his new departure.

To him late in April came Colonel J. J. McCook, of the firm of Alexander & Green, offering him a rare stroke of business with which to inaugurate his triumphal career; \$6,000,000 of the \$9,000,000 required had already been arranged for in London and Paris—did not Mr. Dresser wish to clean up half a million by underwriting the remainder?

Mr. Dresser was delighted; and forthwith the Trust Company of the Republic became transfer agent of the combination. In ten days the sum had been raised.

The memorandum left by this agent with Mr. Dresser shows an allowance of \$3,000,000 for underwriting commissions and \$12,000,000 for "promotion"!

In a few days came Colonel McCook again. The Londoners, with the proverbial stupidity of Britons, were slow in taking up their allotment of subscriptions. Paris had been permitted to have another million and a quarter and the promoters had decided to give Mr. Dresser the first chance at the remaining \$1,750,000. Mr. Dresser was still more delighted, and added sixty per cent. to his mental profits.

So, thus far, everything seemed to be going swimmingly. The Paris underwriting was

being taken care of by a special agent, the American end was arranged, and the actual work of getting out the bonds began. The most important step in this was naturally the preparation of a prospectus which should show the fortunate investors among the public what they were buying and what an unimpeachable directorate had lent its countenance to the enterprise.

ENTER MR. SCHWAB

During these literary labors an odd change took place in the situation. The inventory of available assets for enumeration comprised seven ship-building concerns and the Canda Manufacturing Company's real estate. Possibly these did not easily add up to the rotund figures so freely exploited hitherto; those in charge of the affair may have begun to realize that several of these yards were, in Wall Street parlance, "cats and dogs"; probably there were premonitions of an inexplicable hesitancy on the part of the French underwriters, who had been entrusted to the charge of Mr. C. B. Alexander, and the amalgamators began to feel the need of more and substantial metal instead of "hot air" in the crucible. At any rate, on June 11th, while Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dresser were lunching at the Lawyers' Club, they met Charles M. Schwab, who had subscribed to \$500,000 worth of bonds in the first attempt and had renewed his subscription in the present venture.

"Why don't you buy the Bethlehem plant?" asked Mr. Schwab casually in the course of the conversation.

Mr. Dresser expressed surprise at this question; he thought the Bethlehem works were owned by the Steel Trust.

Mr. Schwab assured them, however, that he controlled all the stock, and proceeded to prove that the "logical place" for the plant was in the shipyard combination. Then the party broke up, he suggesting that they should come to his office next day to talk it over.

Mr. Nixon was greatly impressed. From his testimony it seems probable that the steel works had been in his mind before, and that he had even discussed with Mr. Schwab their value to the ship-building company. He had believed in the combination idea originally, he says, because he had become impressed with the disadvantages of American ship-

builders in having to construct a variety of vessels in the same yard.

"For instance, there was one time when the Cramps were putting together simultaneously a battleship, a revenue-cutter, a pleasure-yacht, and a big ferry-boat. I don't believe the Almighty Himself could have practised economy under those conditions."

So he hoped to specialize, using each plant for certain kinds of vessels, abolishing the distributed designing work, and centralizing at Bethlehem the best force of designers obtainable. Moreover, as he declared later, in showing why he wanted the steel works:

"In no country was there one plant that could make a complete ship, as we wished ours to do. The Krupps built guns, but not ships. Another built ships, but not armor or guns. So it was over the world. I knew if we could arrange to build them all we could secure an unprecedented prestige."

Besides, the Bethlehem was a most tangible and substantial addition to the prospectus aforesaid, which needed bolstering at this crucial time.

So he and Mr. Dresser met Mr. Schwab as appointed, and the latter repeated his statement that he owned all but fifteen or twenty shares, which he could get. He told them to wait till he could cable J. Pierpont Morgan regarding the matter.

The following day they called again. No mention was made of Mr. Morgan this time, but Mr. Schwab declared he was ready to sell. The stock had cost him \$7,200,000; the plant had earned that year \$1,400,000 net above all charges, and would make easily twice this before long. There was a first mortgage on it for \$8,000,000, he added. He was willing to sell for \$9,000,000 cash.

Mr. Nixon was more than ever eager to buy when he heard of these net profits, for he afterward testified that from his expert knowledge he was sure they were bound to "increase greatly year by year." The little matter of an eight-million-dollar prior lien seems to have had no significance for either him or Mr. Dresser.

* The reason for this misstatement is interesting. The stock was to have been \$20,000,000. When the Bethlehem deal was consummated this had to be raised to \$40,000,000 to give Mr. Schwab his bonus of stock. But Mr. Dresser declared he was doing much and getting nothing, so the promoters clapped on an extra \$5,000,000 and divided it up—\$1,000,000 to Dresser, \$1,000,000 to Pam, \$1,000,000 to the Trust Company of the Republic, \$1,000,000 probably to Schwab, and \$1,000,000 to Nixon, which he turned over to the ship-building company. A queer conception of "stock," this! And the gentlemen in charge didn't even bother to change the \$20,000,000 to \$45,000,000 in their statements to the public.

On one point they were clear: the ship-building company had no cash to spare, but Mr. Dresser solved the difficulty by suggesting that Mr. Schwab take \$10,000,000 of bonds, to which was presently added a bonus of \$9,000,000 of common stock and the same amount of preferred.

Again Mr. Schwab postponed the talk; but on the afternoon of the same day he made a counter proposition, increasing the stock bonus to \$10,000,000 of each issue and explaining that he had to give a quarter of this to J. P. Morgan & Company. On this basis it was agreed that his lawyer, Max Pam, was to draw up a contract.

This was June 13th.

On June 14th, *three days before the company was incorporated*, and two months before the Bethlehem contract was signed, an elaborate prospectus was issued to the public asking for subscriptions to the bonds.

AN UNKNOWN FICTION WRITER

Mr. Dresser says that either Mr. Deming or Colonel McCook (counsel for Mr. Young and the ship-building company), supplied most of the "facts" for this document. It is a pity that such an alluring romance must so far remain anonymous. Whoever the author, he did not dally on the plateaus of exaggeration, as in the first "private and confidential" communication, but soared boldly into the heights of falsehood. The very first statement was a lie—"this company has been organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey." Leaving aside for the moment the important question of the value of the constituent plants, here is the sad havoc the receiver's unimaginative and distressingly practical report makes of the six main statements:

PROSPECTUS	THE TRUTH
1 The company has been organized—	1. It didn't exist.
2 Its total capital stock is \$20,000,000, half preferred, half common stock.	2. The capital stock began three days later at \$3,000 and was "boosted" to \$45,000,000.*

3. Its ten directors are—
4. The company has in hand contracts amounting to more than \$36,000,000.
5. The combined working capital is over \$5,000,000.
6. The profits will be over \$5,000,000 in the next eighteen months.

3. Six of these ten were not and never became directors.
4. The *uncompleted* part of these contracts was less than \$20,000,000.
5. The *accountants* only showed \$3,250,000—most of which was “obliterated by subsequent adjustment.”
6. They were actually about \$1,000,000—realizable in three years.

Although there were various imposing statements from chartered accountants, most of the valuations and figures were prepared, Mr. Nixon says, by John W. Young, the promoter, and with a touching confidence he accepted them blindly. He even refused to value his own plant, lest he lay himself open to the charge of unfairness; but by way of fixing an “upset price” he incorporated it (the Crescent yards) on the eve of the combination for \$1,200,000, \$3,000 of this being paid in. If this seems high, one should turn back to Mr. Nixon’s idea of “capital.”

Mr. Dresser asserts for his part that the “O. K.” of the Mercantile Trust Company and of Colonel McCook (both Mr. Young’s agents, apparently) as to the representations were good enough for him. So the Trust Company of the Republic, as the American financial agent of the combination, issued this tissue of falsehoods and blazoned it through the newspapers before the investors of nine cities.

Three days afterward, as already related, the ship-building company first actually came into existence, and the following week the automatic “directors” accepted John W. Young’s offer of all the constituent plants, raising the capitalization and indebtedness from \$3,000 to \$71,000,000 to pay for them—actions not ratified by the dummy stockholders till July 31st, so that the actual conveyance of the properties did not occur till between August 5th and 12th.

Before returning to Mr. Schwab and Bethlehem (the contract for which had not even been drawn), let us see just what our three “dummy” directors got for the \$70,-

000,000 of securities paid to Mr. John W. Young. The minutes assert their action was based upon reports from two firms of expert accountants, but the actual figures are so different, says the receiver, “as to impel the belief that the figures contained in the minutes were wilfully misstated.” Probably there was really no accountants’ report made as of that time. (In more than one case the ingenious promoters of this scheme had a pleasant way of presenting as true, say, in July, part of what had been reported the previous December—with deductions that may be imagined.)

Anyhow, by the acts of these youths the United States Shipbuilding Company acquired all the capital stock and property of the Bath Iron Works, the Hyde Windlass Company, the Crescent Shipyard Company, Samuel L. Moore & Sons Company, the Eastern Shipbuilding Company, Harlan & Hollingsworth Company, and the Union Iron Works, the stock of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and the real estate of the Canda Manufacturing Company. The net surplus of these concerns, as shown by their own books on July 31, 1902, amounted to about \$12,000,000; the company paid for them \$68,000,000 (\$1,500,000 of cash and the same amount of bonds were returned to it).

That is to say, the directors gave away for no equivalent \$56,000,000.

Mr. Nixon might say, however, that book values are not to be considered in such a case, and that one must look to the earnings of the plants for their true valuation.

The directors’ minutes assert the earning capacity to have been \$4,000,000 a year—\$2,250,000 for the shipyards, the rest for Bethlehem. A careful investigation by the receiver shows that the *full capacity* of the yards was only \$14,000,000 a year, while \$12,000,000 was the average volume of business—and the average annual profit did not exceed 10 per cent., or \$1,200,000. (The actual earnings for the year ending July, 1903, were only \$833,000.) The actual earnings of the Bethlehem company had been less than \$400,000 in 1900-1 and less than \$1,000,000 in 1901-2.

Even with good times, therefore, the company could not have met its obligations on its bonds and preferred stock, to say nothing of the \$20,000,000 of common stock; and these years had been anything but good

times for ship-builders. It was, on the contrary, a period of extreme depression, due to increased cost of materials, labor troubles, and the loss of hope of subsidy legislation—a period which caused the oldest and best-known firm of ship-builders in the country to part with the control and a three-fourths interest of their business for money to meet their obligations.

Possibly there were other advantages? Increased working capital and economies are the shibboleths of the trust-builders. As to the former, instead of the \$3,250,000 claimed for the yards, there was only about half that amount, and leaving out the Union Iron Works, the other six concerns showed an aggregate *deficit* of \$294,000! As Mr. Smith remarks, not only did they collectively have no working capital, but they were "in immediate need of financial assistance." One of Mr. Nixon's strong arguments was economies: yet this preposterous agreement saddled the combination for five years with fourteen irremovable local managers, engineers, and the like, at salaries aggregating \$125,000.

Details might be multiplied, but they are not necessary. The facts above are indicative of the conditions which one finds at each probe into the affair, and they amply justify the receiver's assertion that

"it seems to have been the intention of those responsible for the statements and figures . . . to mislead and deceive the investing public and the then present and future creditors of the company."

But to continue our story.

The first weeks of July saw a deal of cabling from Paris by Mr. Young and Mr. Alexander regarding the bonds supposed to be placed there. The latter's messages comprise most amusing personal reports on the financiers involved—how this one had a rich mother, and that one kept a steam yacht, and the other was a "stupid boy," and these were "hysterical women ready to ruin themselves by a default on the indication of any hostile Jew banker."

But despite Mr. Alexander's "heart to heart talk" with Rogniat (who had originally undertaken the whole \$3,000,000), nothing came from France except his own frequent sanguine and comical reports.

In this state of affairs Messrs. Dresser and Nixon went to Schwab's office again to close

the Bethlehem deal. Here they were confronted by a proposed agreement which startled them. It provided that on August 11th they should purchase the works from J. P. Morgan & Company, "syndicate managers," for \$7,200,000.

They declared they had made no such bargain and didn't have the money; but Mr. Schwab insisted that his "personal affairs" made it necessary to do the thing in this way. It was all right. He would furnish the \$7,200,000.

The formal statement issued by Morgan & Company during the investigation helps to solve this mystery. Mr. Schwab knew that the Morgan firm, as managers of the United States Steel Syndicate, were holding the stock till they could find a purchaser at cost. He supplied the purchasers, taking as a commission pretty much everything in sight, as will be shown.

On the appointed day in August (in the same week in which all the other plants were actually taken over by the ship-building company), Nixon and Dresser, George W. Perkins, and Schwab's representatives (he had gone to Europe) met at the Morgan office. The private secretary turned over to the ship-building gentlemen Schwab's check for \$7,200,000; this was handed to Mr. Perkins; the Bethlehem stock was given to the ship-building company's lawyer—Mr. Nixon says it was put into some trust company, he didn't know which, by somebody, he didn't know whom; orders were presented to Max Pam, Schwab's lawyer, for \$10,000,000 of bonds, \$10,000,000 of preferred stock, and \$10,000,000 of common; Mr. Nixon as vice-president (though he was not yet a director) "glanced through" the mortgage for \$10,000,000 which was to secure Mr. Schwab and signed it. He says naively that in a conversation with Max Pam the lawyer told him that this "ought to be very strict," to guard Mr. Schwab against loss, adding: "I did not consider myself competent to pass on these legal documents. I signed all the papers that were laid before me."

NIXON SIGNS AWAY THE SHIP-BUILDING COMPANY

What he signed this day gave Mr. Schwab for his \$7,200,000 check the \$30,000,000 of securities described, less \$5,000,000, which

the latter says went to J. P. Morgan & Company, with this mortgage containing a provision *by which his bonds had voting power*. Since the stock issue was only \$45,000,000, the literal result was that Mr. Schwab did not sell his steel works, but kept it and took over the ship-building concern! From that day he was in absolute control. Fearing, however, that "something might have been overlooked," his advisers added a contract by which the ship-building company guaranteed the payment of six per cent. dividends on the Bethlehem stock and agreed to keep the working capital of the steel company always up to \$4,000,000.

Finally, it was triangularly agreed that the Schwab securities (Mr. Dresser says, also, those given to J. P. Morgan & Company, but that firm denies being a party to any such agreement, and declares that their stock was sold privately for \$75,000, which was distributed as part of the profits of the steel syndicate) should be marketed before any of the others were offered to the public, and that Harris, Gates & Company should "make a market" for the stock at \$65 for the preferred and \$25 for the common.

Comprehensive and thorough that day's work was. Mr. Schwab could apparently either sell out at a profit of over \$9,000,000 cash, or sell a couple of million dollars' worth of bonds and still hold the whole thing in the hollow of his hand.

The only plausible explanation of this amazing proceeding is that by using the acquisition of Bethlehem everywhere as their foremost asset before it was actually acquired, and by the blazing irregularities already described, the ship-building company had put itself absolutely at Mr. Schwab's mercy.

Thus did the United States Shipbuilding Company commence actual operations in September, 1902, already a water-logged wreck.

Mr. Nixon was the ostensible head of the concern, having been elected president on September 10th, but he devoted himself entirely to the "practical" work, merely signing any papers put before him. He was "not interested" in these financial transactions, he tells us, and felt entirely at ease, knowing they were in the hands of those "responsible financiers, Mr. Dresser and the Trust Company of the Republic"—which surely

needs no comment and belongs in the literary collections of "wit and humor." In this blithe manner, for instance, he endorsed notes for more than \$4,000,000 "as an accommodation to Mr. Dresser" when that gentleman's Trust Company of the Republic began to realize that underwriting bond issues was not all beer and skittles—and had to raise money. He explains that "everybody knew" he wasn't worth that amount; it was a mere friendly form.

Mr. Schwab's actions can hardly be said to have lacked practicality. To be sure, he sailed off to Europe to rest after his labors, but Max Pam was left in charge, and he absolutely controlled the board of directors through Mr. Schwab's holdings. Mr. Pam was not elected chairman of the executive committee until December, but as a recognition of his efforts his salary of \$18,000 a year was made to begin with the previous September.

Late in that same year application was made to the Stock Exchange for the listing of the entire stock and bond issue, and the statement furnished to the Exchange is what one might expect from the above recital. This statement was signed by A. C. Gary, treasurer of the company, and Mr. Nixon says it was prepared by Max Pam. It recited that the separate concerns had made nearly \$3,500,000 in the year preceding consolidation—which was untrue, and that the net earnings of the yards for the three months following combination were \$500,000, plus \$609,000 for Bethlehem—which was also untrue, the fact being that the combined concerns had been compelled to advance in cash to the constituent companies over \$400,000. It said that on July 31st the concern's working capital was \$1,892,317.57—which was a most complicated falsehood; for on that day the company owned no property whatever. The truth was that on September 5th \$1,500,000 of cash was entered on the company's books. Mr. Untermeyer says this came from the general deposits of the Trust Company of the Republic; that it was turned over by Mr. Dresser to certain banks and then borrowed temporarily by the ship-building company, Mr. Nixon signing the notes for it.

The statement was accepted and the stock listed, though a careful inquiry could hardly have failed to show that the ship-building

company was already making very heavy weather, indeed.

For instance, when the bookkeeping systems of the various companies were "unified," \$500,000 of assets disappeared from the Union Iron Works's schedule at one stroke of the pen; the American public had taken only \$400,000 worth of the bonds as a result of the prospectus; the French underwriters were still "in the air"; times were, if anything, getting worse for the industry, and there was a steady flow of money required for current expenses.

The "responsible financier," Mr. Dresser, decided he must go to Paris to help Mr. Young in cornering the elusive French underwriters. His own affairs and those of his trust company were in such a bad way, he assured Mr. Young, that his 1,450 shares in the latter were worth nothing, so the big-hearted promoter handed him over \$1,000,000—in Shipbuilding stock. This he sold for \$100,000, but his trip was otherwise successful only in convincing him that the French financial support was a myth.

Another shock awaited him upon his return to this country. He actually began to suspect, he declares, that something was wrong with "the soundness and integrity" of the ship-building scheme when he discovered that during his absence and without his knowledge there had been arranged a plan of reorganization (the "Sheldon reorganization scheme"), by which a syndicate of bankers were to supply the \$4,000,000 of cash necessary to pay the loans made by the Trust Company of the Republic and market the Shipbuilding securities, underwriting \$5,500,000 of bonds at 75, and a large quantity of stock, with the usual bonus—in this case, five shares of preferred and ten of common stock for each thousand-dollar bond.

Mr. Dresser "immediately and continually" thereafter remonstrated with his fellow officers of the trust company, but it was easier for him to protest than to answer their natural query as to how he was going to raise the \$4,000,000 otherwise.

Mr. Nixon also remonstrated. He was promptly confronted with his own endorsements for the \$4,000,000 borrowed. He urged that he didn't have the money, never had had it, and was only accommodating Mr. Dresser when he affixed his signature blindly, as he had done in so many cases.

"Pay up the notes or sign the plan" was the curt alternative of the reorganizers. Mr. Nixon signed.

Mr. Untermeyer charges that Mr. Schwab, not content even with the situation as it stood, deliberately planned to cause a default, and give his second-mortgage bonds the right of way by withholding the earnings of the Bethlehem works, and that the "reorganization" (which exchanged the first-mortgage bonds for stock, gave Mr. Schwab a prior lien on everything, and placed the trust for seven years under a committee headed by him) was the fruition of this scheme. There is a curious correspondence in evidence which seems to show that through Joseph H. Hoadley, who held a lot of Nixon's Shipbuilding bonds, Schwab offered to take \$100,000 of these at 90, though they were selling for next to nothing, and also to assume the \$40,000 already paid in by Nixon. Mr. Untermeyer says that was an attempt to bribe Nixon to give his consent.

Mr. Nixon found himself a laughable figure-head, outvoted on every important point by the Schwab directors (that gentleman's brother, his physician, his lawyer, and several of his Bethlehem employees!). He had the humiliation, despite the company's desperate straits, of having to pay the Bethlehem works distinctly higher prices for certain kinds of steel than these could be purchased for in the open market.

Finally, in the spring, "while riding downtown in an automobile" with Mr. Schwab, Mr. Nixon realized that corporate obligations, like personal ones, actually did come home to roost, and that the concern must have working capital or it could not meet the \$362,000 July interest on its bonds. He was still "optimistic of the earnings of the shipyards," and though there was another \$250,000 due on August 1st, not to speak of annual fixed charges of over \$800,000, bills and accounts payable of \$1,000,000 on April 30th—with an empty treasury in prospect—nevertheless he thought things would come out all right somehow if these immediate debts could be met. By way of helping the situation, the directors presently voted to apply \$2,800,000 to needed betterments and improvements at Bethlehem! Mr. Nixon could only protest. For a month he tried in vain even to get together a quorum of directors. He found himself absolutely

powerless, and at last clearly saw the breakers ahead.

The last straw was when Mr. Nixon prepared bids on an eight-million-dollar contract for two battle-ships (a contract which would, for the time, have saved the company), but was not allowed to present them. In place of them, bids prepared by that expert ship-builder, Max Pam, were submitted, with the result that the company proved to be the highest bidder and lost the work. Mr. Nixon at last could stand it no longer and resigned his position as president.

It is useless to prolong such a death scene as this. The company defaulted. A receiver was appointed. Some of the *bona fide* bondholders engaged Mr. Untermeyer and brought suit to make the receivership permanent, and between the testimony elicited at these investigations and the receiver's scathing report the public has had some illuminating

glimpses into modern methods of trust-building.

The receiver recommends the sale outright of the Crescent and Harlan & Hollingsworth yards; the institution of suit against Bethlehem to procure a receiver there and compel the appropriation of its earnings as stock dividends; and the bringing of actions against all persons who received any Shipbuilding stock without paying full value therefor, these individuals being liable for the concern's debts under the New Jersey law of 1896.

This last suggestion is a sort of bombshell, for nobody paid for stock except the silly public, and such a proceeding would bring into court a notable army of defendants.

So here ends the first chapter of the United States Shipbuilding Company. What the second will be will doubtless be partly indicated by the time these pages are printed.

PERFECT FEEDING OF THE HUMAN BODY

THE ART OF EATING THE RIGHT FOOD IN THE RIGHT QUANTITY, AND THE HEALTH AND STRENGTH GAINED THEREBY—THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF MR. HORACE FLETCHER

BY

ISAAC F. MARCOSSON

DO we eat too much? For years physicians have told us that we do, but most of us have kept on eating the same amount. We have not stopped to find out how much too much we eat. But one man—Mr. Horace Fletcher—has reduced the science of simple living and of perfect nutrition to a definite basis. For five years he has lived on one-third the quantity of food that a healthy workingman eats. He is sound in body; he can ride his bicycle a hundred miles a day; and he can take at any time the exercises prescribed for an athlete in training. He is now fifty-four years of age.

How does he accomplish this? Simply by eating what his appetite craves and no more, and by chewing his food thoroughly. Mr. Fletcher has been a successful importer

and manufacturer at New York, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Chicago. His business required him to travel much. He now makes his home at Venice, Italy, but he spends much time every year in New York. He began his experiments with simple food because life insurance was refused to him on account of a stomach trouble. His means permitted him to devote all his time to experiments in scientific nutrition. How he found out what kind of food to eat and how much to eat is a lesson in right living that is useful to everybody. As a result of his work twenty privates from the hospital corps of the United States Army are living on simple diet at Yale University to find out the minimum amount of food required for men under ordinary conditions of life.

The important thing that Mr. Fletcher

has discovered—or at least emphasized in his own habit and in his writings—is that the appetite can be made a trustworthy guide as to both the kind and the quantity of food. If the taste be highly cultivated by proper use of the digestive juices of the mouth, the throat soon ceases to pass to the stomach improper food or too much food.

I have seen Mr. Fletcher eat, work, and play. We went to New Haven, Connecticut, together. I met him at seven o'clock in the morning at the Grand Central Station in New York. He had been up since five o'clock and had written more than 2,000 words on his typewriter. He looked fresh and ruddy.

"Have you had breakfast?" I asked.

"I have not eaten anything," he replied.

We went into the dining-room at the station. He ordered a cup of coffee and a pitcher of hot milk. He poured out half of the coffee and then filled the cup with milk. Instead of swallowing the coffee at once, he took a sip and kept it in his mouth about half a minute. Then he took another and did the same thing. While he took two sips I took eight swallows.

"I taste what I sip," said Mr. Fletcher, "and you do not. Try my way."

I did, and I found that I got more taste of the one mouthful of coffee than of all that I had drunk before. On the train Mr. Fletcher smoked a cigar.

"Do you smoke every day?" I asked.

"No," he replied. "But I smoke whenever I feel like it."

At New Haven we walked three miles, visiting various university buildings. He ran up three flights of stairs at the art gallery; he ran up the thirty-two winding steps at the gymnasium, and down again, without losing breath. To catch a street-car we ran a block and a half. Mr. Fletcher led the way, and he was able to resume conversation as soon as he sat down in the car. At lunch he ate a leaf of lettuce with oil dressing, two wheat-cakes, and a cup of custard. He chewed everything thoroughly. We returned to New York the same afternoon, and at seven o'clock went to dinner. Mr. Fletcher lives at a fashionable hotel when he is in New York, but he eats his meals at dairy-lunch restaurants.

"Why do you eat at these restaurants?" I asked him.

"Because I get the amount of food that I want. People are likely to eat too much food because more food than they can eat is placed before them."

At the table he asked: "What kind of food comes in your mind first?"

"Raw oysters," I said. He ordered oysters. "I will eat them with you, although I don't need a relish."

"But what are you going to eat?" I asked.

"Griddle-cakes," replied Mr. Fletcher. He chewed each oyster thoroughly. It required an average of thirty movements of the jaw. At the end he took a small pulp out of his mouth. "The juice is all out of this. The stomach does not need it," he said. He used five little cups of maple syrup on his cakes. "I like sweet things," he said. Every mouthful of griddle-cake was carefully chewed by thirty movements of the jaw. He drank coffee which was four-fifths milk. When he ate the cakes he drank no coffee, and when he chewed the oysters he took no bread.

"Do you ever mix foods?" I asked.

"No. If I did I would defeat the purpose of taste, which is to get all the pleasure possible out of a single article of food," he replied. He smoked another cigar and walked back to the hotel. At midnight Mr. Fletcher was active and strong and I was tired.

The next morning I saw him at half-past nine o'clock. He had been up since five and was using his typewriter. We walked and talked during the morning. During that time Mr. Fletcher ate three pieces of candy. It was honey of wheat encased in chocolate. Candy is frequently his substitute for breakfast. He chewed it slowly. At half-past twelve o'clock he said: "I have an appetite."

"But are you hungry?" I asked.

"I never get hungry as people who eat more food get hungry. Appetite with me is a desire for some simple food."

This time we did not go to the dairy lunch. We went to one of the principal hotels. I was curious to see the effect of this environment and a tempting bill of fare. But the same thing that had happened at the dairy lunch happened here.

"What are you going to eat?" I asked. Waiters were passing with trays of steaming soups, appetizing meats, and rich pastry.

"Hashed brown potatoes," said Mr.

Fletcher. "I can't think of anything in the world that I should prefer." He put a spoonful in his mouth and chewed it carefully. His face beamed. Again he drank milk with a dash of coffee. He ate half a French roll. For dessert he poured the cream that was left over half a French roll and broke a piece of lump sugar into it.

That afternoon he walked two miles. At half-past eight o'clock at night he ate a small portion of corned-beef hash which was four-fifths potatoes, and sipped a glass of milk. He had eaten one-third the amount of food that I had eaten during the day, and at midnight he was fresh and I was tired. At half-past twelve he was sleepy, and when he went to bed he fell asleep at once. His food that day had cost sixty cents, and he had eaten one meal at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Eaten at the dairy-lunch restaurant it would all have cost only thirty cents.

Ten years ago, when Mr. Fletcher was rejected by a life insurance company for a stomach trouble, he was surprised and alarmed. "What does this mean?" he asked. He had looked forward to a serene and healthy old age. It was an uncertain prospect now. He began to read books on diet and hygiene. "If you feed an engine with too much food it gets clogged," he reasoned. "The same must be true of the body." And he set to work to find out how to reduce this amount. He had read that Mr. Gladstone had said that every morsel of food should be chewed at least thirty-two times. It gave Mr. Fletcher an idea. "I will begin to chew," he said. He started with a bite of French roll. He found that he could chew it sixty times before the impulse to swallow. The longer he chewed the sweeter and creamier it became. Bread had never before tasted as this tasted. He then tried different kinds of food. What was true of bread was true of beans, potatoes, griddle-cakes, and vegetables generally. He tried soups and coffee and milk. The longer he kept them in his mouth the better they tasted. The more he chewed the less he ate, but the enjoyment of what he ate was keener than when he was eating large dinners. He began these tests in June, 1898. By the middle of July he had no desire for breakfast. Breakfast ceased to be a habit. He began to ask himself: "What do I *want* to eat?" Then he ate that thing, no matter whether it was beans, cakes, potatoes, or cereals. He

found that as he allowed the appetite to prescribe food the demand was for simple things. And he chewed well every morsel he ate.

"Was not this careful chewing very tiresome?" I asked.

"No," he replied. "The pleasure I got out of every bite of food made me forget the mechanical work of eating it properly."

When Mr. Fletcher began to eat two meals a day and to eat only what his appetite called for he weighed 205 pounds and measured 44 inches around the waist. On October 10th, after three months of simple living, he weighed 165 pounds and measured 37 inches around the waist. He had lost nearly half a pound a day, yet the loss was not attended by any physical weakness. He felt in better condition than for many years, and his stomach trouble was disappearing. During these three months he had on some days eaten not more than one-fourth the amount of food that other people eat. He proved that his body was getting the amount of nutrition that it needed and no more.

The results of the first three months were these: Mr. Fletcher's appetite involuntarily discriminated against unpalatable foods, like meats. It was not a question of how much food, but *what* kind of food he wanted and how much he enjoyed it.

After six months of economic living the waste matter of Mr. Fletcher's digestion was reduced to one-tenth the usual amount, and it ceased to be offensive. The thoroughly chewed food relieved the stomach of the extra work that unchewed food imposes. Food not chewed and therefore indigestible reaches the stomach in lumps. Then the stomach is required to work this food to pass it into the intestines. When the quantity of food is large and not chewed the lumps pass into the intestines. Fermentation and decay set in. In the case of Mr. Fletcher the food was so thoroughly chewed, and therefore so digestible from the chemical action of the juices of the mouth, that when it reached the stomach it was ready to perform its various functions in renewing the body. The waste analyzed and compared with the original amount of food before eating showed that the carbon, the fat, and the albumen had all been used for the benefit of the body.

Another test of Mr. Fletcher's endurance and strength was made at Yale. On February 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1903, under the direction of

Dr. William G. Anderson, he took every day the same exercises that were taken at that time by the members of the university boat crew in training. Before going to Yale Mr. Fletcher had been in Europe and had taken no exercise during the winter. He had lived on two meals a day—the meals consisting chiefly of macaroni, beans, potatoes, and milk. At the end of the first day's work he showed no sign of fatigue, and the next day he was not sore. A man aged twenty years given the same exercises without training was so sore the next day that he could take no exercise. During the five days of these exercises Mr. Fletcher ate twelve ounces of food each day. It consisted of maple sugar, cereal, and hot milk. The men training for the university crew, who were taking the same exercises, were eating three large meals a day. Mr. Fletcher's waste matter analyzed at Yale showed that the body was being thoroughly nourished, and the work he accomplished showed it. He lost no bodily weight. He slept five hours every night.

In December, 1902, Mr. Fletcher climbed the 854 steps of the Washington Monument in Washington, and then ran down without resting. In Arlington, Massachusetts, last November, he skated for three hours. He had not skated for thirty-five years. He felt no soreness after it. In 1900, in France and Germany, he rode 750 miles on a bicycle in ten days. His daily diet on this ride was rolls, milk, cream, potatoes, and beans.

Mr. Fletcher's experiments with food have proved these things for him:

1. He can live on one-third the amount of food usually eaten and be healthy and vigorous.
2. Only five hours' sleep are necessary.
3. When food is thoroughly chewed the waste of digestion is reduced nine-tenths.
4. The appetite indicates the needs of the body and wants simple food.
5. Since an important part of digestion is done in the mouth, thorough chewing is necessary.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF A BOSS-RIDDEN CITY

PHILADELPHIA'S SCHOOLS IN POLITICAL THRALDOM—CONTROL IN THE HANDS OF FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE PEOPLE — BLACKMAILING TEACHERS ON MEAGRE SALARIES—JANITORS WHO CONTROL WARDS — TEACHERS OBLIGED TO PAY FOR SUPPLIES — EFFORTS AT REFORM

BY

ADELE MARIE SHAW

(The third of a series of first-hand studies of American schools)

"From the political thralldom of Philadelphia I look upon New York as pedagogical paradise."—Extract from the letter of a Philadelphia teacher.

THE letter from which this extract was taken was written to a New York teacher. I do not know the name of the writer, but she must be unusually independent; for there is a Siberia, both cold and hungry, for subordinates who criticize the management of the Philadelphia public schools.

It is a unique management; and it is incomparably bad.

The schools are as good as they are,

despite a corrupt method, because the very conservatism that makes entrenched rascality difficult to dislodge has preserved to the city standards of living above the average. The population is not so foreign, so shifting, so new as in New York City. Tenement-houses have to be hunted for; there is space for growth without falling off a waterfront. Where immigrants dwell three families to one roof, even there they realize something of that decent separateness which

is distinctly Philadelphian. The \$16 a month that often barely pays for one room and a dark closet in a New York tenement here secures to the workman an entire house. Even the "alley" and the "area gate" divide back yards by an appreciable distance between two high fences, so that the family on either side lives in nobody else's "face and eyes."

This has acted like a life-preserver to the city schools. The population is of a better class than one expects to find in a large city; consequently the teachers drawn from the population are of a higher grade. Outside the foreign quarter nearly every citizen is a house-holder, owning or renting a dwelling in the neighborhood where his grandfathers owned or rented theirs. Thus, as the teachers are usually chosen from the ward to which they are appointed, there is a certain safeguarding of the teaching force.

To the Philadelphia teachers is due practically all the credit for what the Philadelphia schools have kept and gained.

HOW THE MACHINE IS BUILT

In Philadelphia the elementary-school teacher acknowledges three distinct authorities, two of them despotic. She owes allegiance to the local board that appoints her, to the Central Board that confirms the appointment, and to the superintendent and his staff, who supervise the course of study and are supposed to regulate the standard of teaching.

There are forty-two local boards, each containing twelve members elected by popular vote. There is a Central Board with a member for each of the forty-two wards. The member of the Central Board is supposed to meet with the local board of his ward. He is appointed by the fifteen judges of the Court of Common Pleas. The superintendent, elected by the Central Board, has six assistant superintendents. Thus the control of the city schools is in the hands of 553 people.

In this multitude of counselors and dictators there is a constant quarrel between the local boards and the Central Board, an ignorant and suspicious disregard of the superintendent on the part of the local bosses. The salvation of the teacher is in choosing the most powerful master and in appearing, as far as possible, to serve all three. The "most powerful" master of the

public schools—educationally the weakest—is the local board.

THE PLAGUE-SPOT OF THE SYSTEM

The Philadelphia public-school system is a relic. The first school superintendent was appointed in 1883. Before that the wards, lineal descendants of the separate villages that made the city up to 1853, had been under no common head. The local board of a ward is the old village school board clinging to an authority whose excuse has vanished. The members ("directors") are now elected for no reason connected with education. The local board is the training-school of politicians.

The make-up of these sectional boards is as various as the wards themselves. Recently one had among its directors an alleged "speak-easy" keeper, an alleged race-track runner and gambler, a cigar dealer, a brick-layer, and three liquor sellers, while in another ward there were as managers five lawyers and two physicians, one of whom was a woman. Yet injustice to the schools might result even in the better board from political complications.

The appointing power for the elementary schools gives to the local board its best-known opportunity for injury to the schools and service to the machine.

INSTANCES OF CORRUPTION

Three former directors of the Twenty-eighth Ward board and the man who acted as their go-between are now serving a prison sentence for extorting money from teachers in exchange for appointments. In the testimony at their trial it was shown that one teacher to secure her position had for three months paid \$40 out of \$47 salary; that a school "director" had advised another teacher to pay \$160, and when she decided that she would like to be transferred to another school had told her that "\$175 would fix the appointment and transfer."

The Philadelphia *Press* of May 2, 1902, said:

"Evidences of a combination of school directors to exact tribute from teachers multiply as the investigation into the Twenty-eighth school board scandal is carried on. Director F. H. McIntire said last night that the practice of extortion had been carried on for a year past, and that in that period there had been many cases where money was exacted in payment for appointments without

regard to the applicants' qualifications for the position.

"A regular scale of prices seems to have been enforced. In addition to the sale of appointments, teachers are said to have paid for being transferred from one school to another, and teachers' ratings have been raised so that there would be no necessity for calling them before the whole board to explain why the proportion of promotions in classes under their care had not been up to requirements.

"The cost of appointments is said to have been \$100 to \$160, while transfers could be had for \$15 and ratings were raised for \$10. All the money collected in this way is alleged to have gone into the hands of five men, four of whom were members of the board.

"The practice of buying appointments is said to prevail in other wards. A member of the Board of Education declared yesterday that he had heard of a case where a supervising principal had paid \$1,300 for his place. He had investigated, but was unable to obtain proof."

The practice of paying for positions is not new. One teacher told me that twenty-five years ago it was suggested to him that \$300 paid to a certain local director would secure the place he wanted. The bearer of the message, however, went with the teacher before a magistrate and made a sworn statement of the director's proposition. Armed with this, the teacher secured his position without the payment of a cent.

One woman director was visited shortly after her election by a newly appointed teacher who offered her \$50.

"It is all I could raise," pleaded the teacher, misinterpreting the other's expression. "We've had sickness in the family. This is the very best we can do."

"Why," asked the member, "do you bring me money?"

"You worked for my appointment. I was told it was customary to pay some one," was the bewildered answer.

Even when she went away, still in possession of her fifty-dollar tribute, the teacher could hardly believe she was to retain her money.

THE WARD BOSS

There are many wards in Philadelphia where it might be impossible to find a single school director who would demand or accept money for appointments. But even the best local boards are not "out of politics."

For party purposes each ward is split into sections, each section in charge of a division boss, whose business it is to turn in votes.

In one ward, a few years ago, twenty-one Republican bosses drew among them about \$50,000 a year in salaries for city offices. The man who controls these division bosses controls the school board of the ward. *The ward boss manages the schools.* The sectional school board is the beginning of the political game. Given two candidates for appointment, one notoriously unfit, another known to be good, and the poor teacher will win if she can muster the larger number of voters, or if she can command the influence of a councilman, senator, judge, magistrate, or party leader to whom the majority of the directors are pledged.

A teacher was an applicant for a position. She was efficient—what New Englanders call "capable"—and she had complied with every requirement of preparation and examination. By advice she called on the ward boss. The boss was gracious. "So pretty a girl as you ought to have no trouble getting a job," he assured her. "You're all right, Miss Blank. I'll stand by you."

The most powerful member of the local board was a family friend. The promise of the boss delighted him. "Just as a matter of form, you'd better call on the other directors," he counseled her, "*though it's settled now.*"

But it was not settled. At the very hour of the meeting that was to give her the appointment an order was received from "higher up." The "boss" tossed his promise aside as he might have tossed a scrap into the gutter. He passed on the word to the directors, and even the family friend voted for her rival.

In one school I heard a janitor summon the principal with a peremptory "Come here!" If there had been no visitor present, I was told, it was quite likely he would have called her by her first name. If any teacher in the building had resented either his peremptoriness or his familiarity he might have announced to his henchmen on the "board" that "Mary" was unfitted for promotion, and Mary's promotion would have lingered till she had made obeisance to authority.

In another school, where the janitor was autocrat, he took occasion to inquire of a teacher serving a temporary probation as substitute what she could do for the "organization" "in the way of votes." She

answered him with an indignant "Nothing. What sort of a teacher do you suppose I am?" "You ain't the kind we want here," he replied with spirit, and within a few hours she was dismissed and a candidate more valuable to the boss was in her place.

FEAR AND SILENCE

Silence rests upon the schools of Philadelphia. "That director is long since dead" interpolates the teller of a story. Naturally under a rule like this tales about "graft" often concern some one (nameless) who "died long ago." No one knows what may be repeated, what the workman may overhear, what a friend may innocently misquote.

Even if the teacher, persuaded by personal knowledge of another's discretion, gives to the visitor a glimpse of the reality, the listener must first be pledged to an equal silence. The lot of the teller is hard enough already. To betray her confidence would be to deprive her of her position.

"It is only a question of the first opportunity when the teachers who gave evidence in the Twenty-eighth Ward will be dropped," is the testimony of men who speak with conviction. "The managers do not want teachers who act for themselves. A teacher is not an individual, but an insignificant part of a political 'organization.' It is her business not to think, but to mind."

"I do not believe the city will sit supine and see those teachers dropped," declares the outsider. "There is no question about it," answer the men who know.

POLITICS IN THE CENTRAL BOARD

High schools and special schools are governed by the Central Board. Here, too, the politician reigns. Four "special" schools for truant and for backward children, founded and at first maintained by private enterprise (now under the control of this Central Board), show clearly the political jobbery to which children are sacrificed. Teachers, sometimes good but often bad, are appointed by the same methods as in the local boards.

Several years ago, before these "special" schools had been adopted by the city, a manager of one of these schools consulted a ward leader about securing for his school a public-school teacher. The ward leader was a workman engaged all day in a grimy occupation, and he did not dignify his labor.

Roughly putting aside his visitor's request, he made haste with his ultimatum: "You take Miss A——," he ordered. "She's the one you want."

The director of the ungraded school explained patiently that she did not want Miss A—— and would not take Miss A——.

The dictator grew apoplectic with amazement. "Take her! Of course you'll take her," he blustered. "You'll take the one I say. I'll see P—— [a member of the Central Board] and Q—— and R——. I guess we'll find out then—you'll be *made* to take her."

It required repeated explanation before he could comprehend that his dictatorship did not extend to this particular private enterprise, that the director who had appealed to him had nothing to fear from his threats. He could not believe that any one had approached him on the ground of unselfish devotion to the public good.

The Central Board are better educated, more polished, in many cases more disinterested than this man, but when they put in charge of children needing particular wisdom, tact, and sympathy women whom they know to be unfitted for the task, they sin against greater lights than the swaggerer and bully from the downtown ward or the abusive Myers, who, to quote his own words, said "*damn* to her just as I would say it here or at home to anybody else."

Judging by the listed occupations of men on the Central Board, as well as on the sectional boards, city offices go as frequent rewards to faithful workers—not for the schools, but for the machine. In many cases the man who works hardest for the "organization" does most to destroy the integrity of the schools and is surest of reward. He is a bigger kind of "division boss."

Compromise seems to have dictated the demand for the resignation of Mr. Humphries, of the Girls' High School. The flimsy reason announced is this: "Mr. Humphries is a man; a girls' school must have women teachers." That a retiring principal in the same school has been succeeded by another man does not matter; that Mr. Humphries himself is not only a scholar, but an influence for good, does not matter; the protest of parents and pupils does not matter. Here is a teacher who through years of good service has strengthened the school within and increased its reputation

without, but because of some complication in no way his fault, because of "expediency," he must "go."

SCHOOL-HOUSES AND SUPPLIES

Some of the newer buildings and here and there an old one are what school buildings should be. For the rest, conditions are so poor that the work of principals and teachers is practically doubled. A mean frugality appears in every department.

It is not necessary that schoolchildren should have luxurious, nor even beautifully decorated surroundings, but air, light, cleanliness, and warmth, are essential. Air they do not have because most teachers retain ineffective ideas about ventilation. Light is more abundant. The sanitary arrangements are often bad, and in many cases dangerous and offensive. Most of the children drink the unwholesome city water that no careful citizen will touch until it is boiled.

Without repairs it is impossible to make the walls and woodwork of an old building look clean. The school-houses of Philadelphia are impressively old and out of repair. In some even the furnaces are not in working order. I saw one school where plaster had fallen from the ceiling in the principal's room; the bareness resulting was desolate. In one case, over the heads of primary children, plaster sagged, hanging apart in great cracks—the teacher constantly on the alert to warn them if it fell. When a school reaches this stage the Central Board asks for appropriations.

Every request must be itemized. Every politician on the board thinks first of his own ward. The requests do not always represent the greatest needs. Since appropriations are nearly always "shaved," each item is likely to be expanded to meet the expected reduction. Every councilman knows this and "shaves" with due allowance for the expansion.

For girls in the first and second years of the primary schools a principal has an allowance of forty cents, for the boys forty-five cents—annually, to replace all worn-out books and to buy all stationery and material. She is forbidden to ask the children to bring so much as a sheet of wrapping-paper, scraps of bakers' bags, or the cover of a dry-goods bundle on which to scribble. Yet these things would

be far better than the slates that are in almost universal use. Children do not object to slates. They love to smear their fingers over the smooth surface and restore them to their mouths for a fresh supply of saliva. They like the squeak of the slate-pencil.

Most of the principals do not sympathize with this fondness for the slate. They make constant war on the finger smears, and are not unduly pleased with the rows of grimy wash-rags and sponges needful for erasers. The individual water-bottle is tabooed. On the teacher's desk sits a big flask with a patent stopper. From this she shakes a splash upon each slate and the delighted babies "scrub it around."

That the city does not furnish its schools with pianos for the singing and marching seems a small thing compared with greater omissions. Principals and grade teachers spend from their own meagre salaries to supply their classes with necessaries. In one school every teacher contributes a stated sum each month for school material. The plan was instituted by the principal, so that in the end each might spend less and the already careful economy of supplies be made more rigid by a system of exchange. The plan seems to work like the wages of the Swede: "He pay me dollar quarter day and I eat myself."

The principal may not use the telephone in his office even on the most urgent school business without depositing his own dime.

The *Philadelphia Ledger*, in December, 1903, said:

"The city makes no provision for postage stamps . . . for nature objects, for drawing.

In recent years, rather than see pupils deprived of text-books and other school supplies, schoolteachers have furnished such supplies out of their own means where the appropriation was inadequate. Taking the last five years, the school population has expanded from about 140,000 to 162,000, while the annual appropriation for stationery, text-books, and general supplies for the schools has decreased from \$170,000 to \$140,000.

The architect of the board estimates that to put the school buildings, furniture, and heating plants in perfect repair would cost \$400,000. Taking out the sums set aside for plumbing, draining, and covering steam-pipes, there is available for this purpose \$48,000—a small sum to do the work.

It is poor municipal housekeeping that lets school buildings fall into such disrepair. If the business men on boards of education conducted their own affairs as they often conduct those of the schools their reputation for business sense would be gone.

UNDULY CROWDED CLASSES

No excuse seems sufficient to account for the number of double classes in Philadelphia in the fall of 1903. Rooms intended for fifty crowded with seventy or a hundred, in charge of two teachers, who can do little more than invent "busy work" and prevent complete idleness, are a sorry spectacle in a city of generous spaces and comfortable homes.

The class register of many lower-grade schools is indefensibly large. Fifty-seven is common; seventy-one, seventy-seven, even more, possible at crowded seasons.

"Don't wish them smaller!" exclaimed the teachers of the large classes. "If we get below forty children each, one of us has to be dropped!" So in many schools applicants are received when they should be sent elsewhere, and children, so it is said, have in certain cases been "held back" to bring the record as high as possible and so offset the cranberry season, when whole families from the immigrant quarter migrate to the Jersey marshes and the register drops dangerously near the "dead-line" of "forty each."

This overcrowding and the unattractiveness of many of the public schools have reënforced the pressure upon Roman Catholic parents, who are instructed to send their children to parochial schools. In the diocese of Philadelphia the attendance at parochial schools has nearly doubled in the past twenty years.

If it can be proved that sectarian schools—Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, or Dutch Reformed—are any more effective in establishing character than even the poorest of our public schools, then this parochial-school enrolment is not a loss to the citizenship of the country. So far this effectiveness has not been proved, and I know of many institutions that train Episcopalians and Baptists and Roman Catholics and Methodists controlled by earnest men and women, and dedicated to the service of religion, whose graduates as a whole are weaker in moral and religious fiber, feebler in reasoning power and self-control, than the graduates of our public schools.

Whether it is negligence or "economy" that has produced the present public-school conditions in Philadelphia, they are equally unfortunate. "For their learning be liberal," said William Penn, writing to his wife about his children. "Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved."

THE TEACHER AND THE CHILDREN

The majority of public-school children in Philadelphia schools, counting the chances of illness or of non-promotion, get only four full years of "schooling." (Leaflet of the Public Education Society.) The period of compulsory attendance is five years—eight to thirteen. There should be no schoolroom where the teacher must buy necessary reading books or go without, or where the teachers, men and women alike, stand in danger of an ignorant or vicious control.

In a comparative statement of the maximum salaries paid to women grade teachers in forty-three cities of the Union, Philadelphia, third in size, is forty-third on the list. Counting in the men's salaries, it is thirty-fourth. The city that had the first high-school outside New England, that established the first training-school for teachers, has been practically last in the relative adjustment of women's salaries. The kindergarten teacher gets from \$350 to \$400; the kindergarten principal, \$425 to \$475. The woman who spends hours cutting cardboard and pasting models that the board could buy for six cents is needlessly afflicted, but the hours she spends sewing to keep herself presentable or planning to maintain a standard of living that shall not look "poor" are a wilful wrong, not only to her, but to the children.

The worst harm of the Philadelphia system, however, lies in the subjection of the men and women of the teaching force—in the "object-lesson before every growing boy and girl that pull is stronger than merit."

EFFORTS AT REFORM

It is easy to say that efforts at reform have failed. There is a continued effort at reform in Philadelphia, and it has not wholly failed. The solid worth of much of the work under the direction of the Central Board shows the presence of principals and of a teaching force with other qualifications than "influence." The "fighting strength" of the city—

the lawyers, judges, scholars, financiers of many places—have come from the Boys' Central High School. Men like Frank Stockton, Henry George, William Sartain, President Drown, of Lehigh, the Bishop of Cleveland, Cramp the ship-builder, Clement Griscom, and P. Frederick Rothermel, the Philadelphia district attorney who was too honest for the machine, are its graduates. The alumni rally to support it, and they are strong, for its history dates from 1836.

The Normal College and the School of Observation, splendidly housed, with principals and a teaching force superior to any I have yet seen in similar institutions, gives to a pupil an uncommon preparation, though after she is prepared a girl may be "turned down" for the dolt of the class. The four manual-training schools have a reputation. The "Industrial Art," under the supervision of Mr. Liberty Tadd, has for a long time roused the interest of educators here and abroad. The Commercial High School for Girls is so well governed, so extraordinarily successful, that it is the object of pilgrimage from other cities. One such woman as its principal, Miss Emily Graham, at the head of a big institution is enough to put Philadelphia somewhere in the line for progress. Here, as in a great number of Philadelphia schools, the personal influence is life-giving, germinating, and beneficent.

Old-fashioned as they are, even the elementary schools have gained under supervision. The superintendent's power may be insulted and curtailed by the local boards, but its existence is a good thing. In the superintendent's office teachers may at least find the sort of atmosphere that should surround the schools.

The "school city"—the civic organization of the children—exists in thirty Philadelphia schools. The board has authorized its founder to introduce it wherever principals are willing. In the Hollingsworth school it has proved through a five-years' demonstration that "self-government" is a possible part of education. Its board of charities, organized by the principal, is one of the most sensibly helpful little bodies that ever learned the way of kindness from traveling in it.

Outside the schools there is a constant demand for better conditions, better housing, better equipment, better teaching. Bad as

the buildings are, I doubt if one can find now a Philadelphia schoolhouse where on rainy days little boys with dampened hair carry out buckets of water and, returning, set the emptied pails to catch the drippings of the ceiling. Yet such a school existed in 1898.

A growing agitation for sectional high-schools is having an effect. Though, so far, board and councils have refused medical and nurse inspection, its advocates are not discouraged. Some day Dr. Martin will take the right man to see the solitary experiment yet allowed, and will show him the vermin-eaten, diseased children I saw in downtown schools and the garbage they and their families throw into filthy streets. Then something will be done. Already the compulsory education law is supported by the action of the courts far better than in New York. On one day recently a man was sent to prison and six men were fined for disobeying this law.

The only salvation of the public schools is in the hands of Philadelphians themselves. If first of all they can put aside the old village prejudice and the tenacity of association that prefers to see in office a bad neighbor rather than a good man from a remoter street, there will be hope. But reform is slow.

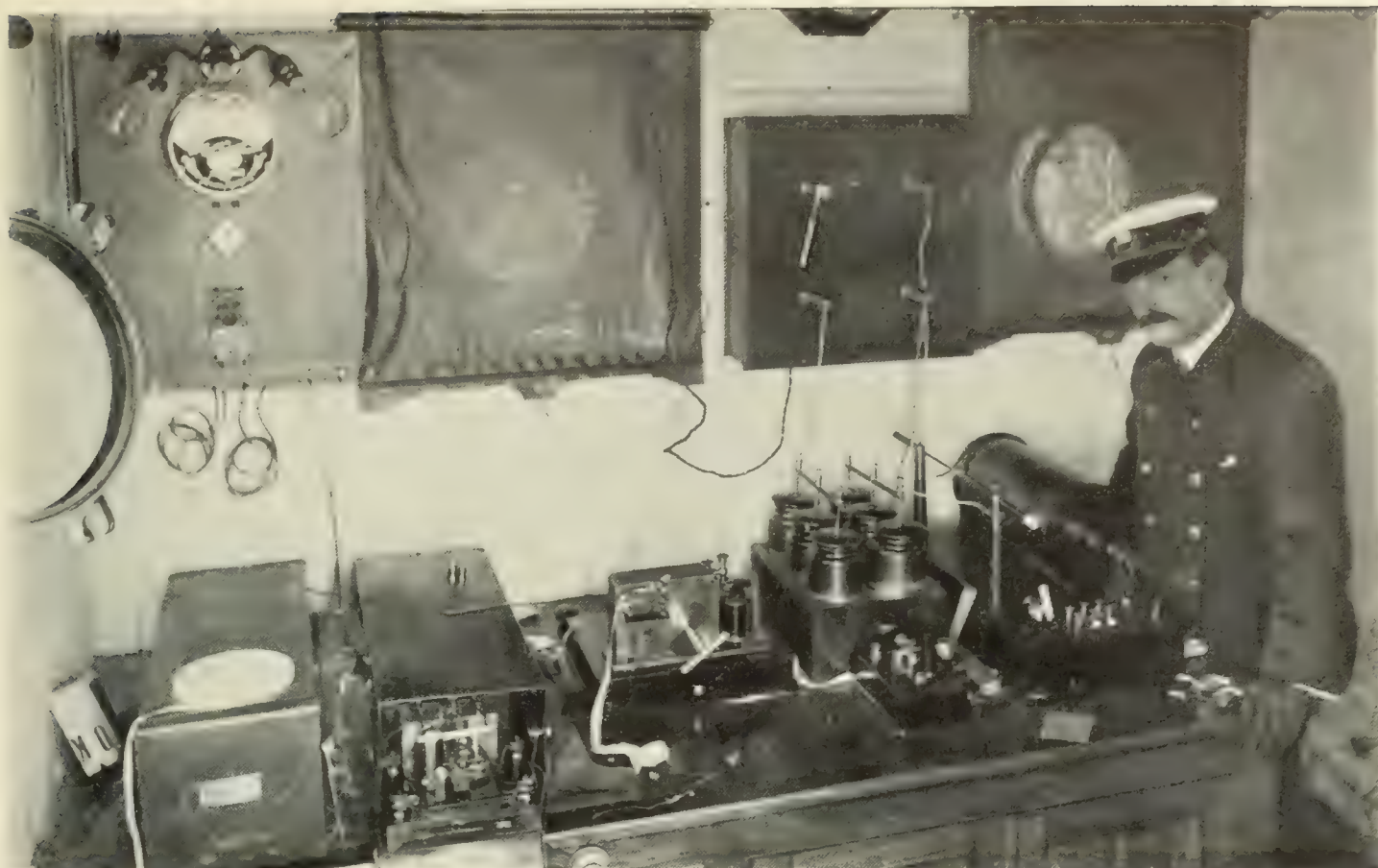
In the present state of the schools of Philadelphia four things seem most conspicuously true:

1. The Philadelphia public schools are ruled by the politician for the politician; the children are his last consideration.

2. The schools of Philadelphia are better than one would think that the system could produce, because the standard of living is better than in other large cities and the teachers reflect the life of the community.

3. No body of people in the control of their moral inferiors can permanently maintain their own dignity and honor; the enforced passivity of a subjected class has produced in the schools a moral dry rot. Children infected by the taint of an enslaved school system will not make American freemen.

4. Philadelphia teachers are beginning to see that their yoke need not be perpetual. There is a dawning hope that popular government in the United States will be vindicated where the Declaration of Independence was first read.



THE WORK OF A WIRELESS TELE- GRAPH MAN

JUST HOW MESSAGES ARE SENT AND RECEIVED AT SEA—THE
FAINT CALL OF A STEAMER ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILES
AWAY—HOW WIND AND WEATHER AFFECT TRANSMISSION

BY

WINTHROP PACKARD

A YEAR or more ago the first Marconi operator on a transatlantic liner began his work. Now hardly a week goes by that we do not learn of a new ship equipped for wireless telegraphing, and the Marconi man has become a recognized feature of ocean travel. I have traveled with these men, and I shall describe a night spent with one aboard the *St. Paul*.

A wet wind blew in from the southwest all the evening, and the ship swung along through easy seas at a twenty-knot gait, well in midocean. Below, on the promenade decks, the passengers heard now and then a sibilant crackling that seemed to come from somewhere in the air above the ship—a

peculiar sound, almost too high-pitched for some ears. Aloft, on the fiddley deck, the wooden house, ten feet square, whence the crackling noise issued glowed with electric light. Here we sat, the operator in his shirt-sleeves at the big key, now and then rapping out a call that, within the narrow confines of the little cabin, sounded like sputtering pistol-shots, showing blue-white lightning flashes as the current leaped from the "sparker" at each bend of the wrist, and causing blue flames to play about the six leyden jars.

For minutes at a time the call shot forth; then the operator would shift connections to the receiver and listen for as many minutes, carefully adjusting and readjusting the

delicate instruments meanwhile. There were two of these receivers, one to take the place of the other if a fault should show while a message was coming in. They were blocks of delicate and complicated machinery, carefully cased in wooden boxes, their supports carefully padded to steady them against the least vibration. There was a strip of paper to record messages, like the tape on the old Morse telegraph instruments; but that is not necessary to the operator who can "read by sound." This accomplishment is no mean one, however, for the sound is a very delicate ticking hardly to be noticed by the inexpert, and very different from the pistol-shots of the sender. The wires from the machines passed through the roof of the office to the top of the aftermast directly above, and were held apart by a long wooden "spreader," which made them look so much like stays that the uninitiated would hardly distinguish them from a part of the ship's rigging.

Word came down from the bridge early in the evening that we should probably pass the *Philadelphia* some time between midnight and dawn. This meant all-night work for the Marconi man, who takes care to be at his instrument an hour or two before a ship is expected to come within his reach. The amount of electric power aboard an ordinary liner is sufficient to send wireless messages 150 miles under favorable circumstances. Knowing the sailing-days and speeds of the ships that they are likely to meet or overtake, the navigating officers of a liner can calculate roughly when they are likely to come within the required radius of another floating telegraph office. Thus the operator was "feeling about" this evening in the upper air.

Toward midnight the first answer came to the receiver from the unknown deep—faint, disconnected taps. The operator called and listened, but the faint tapping, though it grew louder, did not become coherent, nor could he read it on the tape. We got the letters P. H., which surely meant the *Philadelphia*, and our own call; then everything suddenly ceased. The ship was within reach, we knew, but there was no further answer to our constant query of P. H., P. H., P. H. Connections were broken in some way and it was for us to find out how.

The hunt that ensued for the cause would have put a Scotland Yard detective to the

blush. One receiver was tried, adjusted, and readjusted, then the other was switched in and tested in the same way, but with no result. We went over every connection, breaking and remaking them all and taking especial care that the wires were bright and firmly attached, assuring ourselves that they were perfectly right. The "sparker" was examined, the leyden jars were replaced by new ones, and the great coil with its ninety miles of fine wire was critically examined. The insulation where the wires went through the roof might possibly have "short-circuited" during the rain, so this was taken out and renewed. Still there came no further answer to the raps of the sender. The trouble was surely outside the house. It might be a break in the wires aloft.

We went outside and gazed upward into the darkness, but the wires seemed to be intact. For an instant the full light of the moon flooded through the scurrying clouds and let us see where the trouble lay. From a nearby cleat the operator cast off the slender lines of the signal halyards, which had blown against the wires and thus grounded the line, and made them fast and taut some feet farther away; then he plunged into the house again.

The instrument was ticking cheerfully with a call from the *Philadelphia* and the tape was registering it accurately. We answered the call, and in another moment "talk" began to pass between the two ships—matters of interest to one ship or the other, messages between passengers, and finally the news of the day from either side. Two hours later the reading by sound became difficult, the tape began to miss, and the last faint good-bys were said.

Sometimes a vessel has been in almost daily communication with others all the way across. Such was a recent experience of the *Ivernia*. After leaving Liverpool, communication was kept up with the Marconi station at Waterloo until the Rosslare station called the ship. On the following day—Wednesday—when the liner was thirty miles off Queenstown, the Admiralty's station at Roche's Point informed her that the weather was too rough to send the tender outside, which necessitated entering the harbor. On leaving Queenstown bay, communication with an incoming steamer was established and kept up for some time. At

noon messages were exchanged with the Brow Haven station, eighty-five miles east, and rough weather and fog were reported ahead.

About ninety miles off Brow Head it was learned that a second-cabin passenger had lost her ticket. Queenstown was called, and it was learned from the office that the woman had bought a ticket, as she said. The difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted. The same day a homeward-bound steamer from New York was spoken, and many messages were

and a Hamburg boat. The Marconi man on this trip earned his salary as well as the commendation of the ship's company.

To borrow money from a ship 100 miles away would have been an impossible feat a year or so ago, but recently it was accomplished by telegraph. A young man found himself aboard ship, homeward bound, his passage paid, but without money for incidental expenses and for landing. He knew that his mother was on an east bound ship. The probable date and hour of the meeting of



PRINTING THE DAILY NEWSPAPER ON BOARD SHIP. NEWS SUPPLIED BY THE WIRELESS TELEGRAPH

exchanged between passengers. The next day another English ship sent word through the air, and on Sunday a German liner was heard from, the vessels communicating for some time over a distance of 100 miles. Immediately afterward a Frenchman was heard talking with the German. Monday was another busy day for the Marconi operator, for messages were exchanged with the *Umbria*, the *Minneapolis*, the *Kroonland*,

the two vessels were calculated. The purser of the east-bound ship was instructed to lay the unfortunate's case before his mother. It took but a few minutes for her to place money in the hands of her purser, who instructed the purser of the west-bound liner to pay it to his passenger.

The charge for transmitting messages from ship to ship at sea is sixpence a word, with the address and signature free. From ship

to shore the rate on the American side is \$2 for ten words and twelve cents for each additional word, with no charge for address and signature, the regular tolls for transmission from the office on land to the final destination also being collected on shipboard, of course. On the English side the charge for a marconigram from a liner is six shillings for twelve words and sixpence for each additional word, the signature and address being charged for in this case.

The Marconi man's status on shipboard is that of a ship's officer. His duties are confined entirely to the management and handling of his instruments in the little office on the fiddley deck. At meals he may mess with the junior officers or sit with the saloon passengers. If, therefore, his work is arduous, he has at least pleasant surroundings. There is one post, however, which is much less comfortable than the service on

a swift liner. That is the Nantucket South Shoals lightship, where two men are stationed the year round. In the ground swell of the shoals the vessel rolls and pitches unceasingly. From November until May the service is continuous, the operators not being relieved during that time; in the summer season they alternate between the ship and the shore station at Siasconset, one month ashore and two at sea. The lightship is farther from land than any in the world—fifty-two miles—and is visited only once a month by the lighthouse tender. In winter the weather is often so stormy that the tender is unable to reach the ship till weeks after the appointed time. The passing of each ship is chronicled by the Marconi men to the waiting wires ashore, messages and news pass constantly back and forth, and so excellent is the service that during a whole year there was but one interruption.



THE OPERATOR SENDING A WIRELESS MESSAGE. THE "CLICK" OF THE ORDINARY TELEGRAPH IS HERE A DEAFENING CRASH



THE EMIGRANT JEWS AT HOME

AN EXPLANATION OF THE CONDITION AND OF THE CHARACTER AND EXPERIENCE OF THE DWELLERS IN THE RUSSIAN PALE BEFORE THEY COME TO THE UNITED STATES

BY

EZRA S. BRUDNO

The first of two articles by a distinguished Jewish immigrant. The second article will describe the life of the Russian Jews during the first years after their arrival in the United States

A GREAT injustice has been done to the immigrant Russian Jews in this country—the same injustice that was done to the Irish half a century ago. I mean the injustice of judging a nation or sect by a few of its members. A group of men is seldom a fair specimen of a whole people. The group may be, like delegates, the chosen few; they may be, like the chaff blown by the first wind, an outcast crew. If you would form a correct opinion of a people you must go to that people's land. There, and there only, you may study their character, their mode of living, their manners, and all the other characteristics by which they are especially distinguished. Particularly is this

the case with the Jews coming here from the Czar's domain. For while the foreign gentiles are merely immigrants, most of the Jews are refugees, fugitives from a land of bondage.

The immigrant Russian Jews are of two classes—those in search of bread and butter and those seeking to throw off the yoke of Russian tyranny. The latter class is the smaller. It includes political exiles and those that are threatened with exile. But the primary cause of emigration is the same regarding both classes—the sin of being of the same race as the Christian Saviour.

I shall try to describe the life of the Jews in the pale.

The pale is not exactly a ghetto, which is



TWO POLISH JEWS IN THEIR PECULIAR RACIAL COSTUME ON THE STREET
IN CRACOW

only a portion of a city, but a certain territory circumscribed by the iron hand of barbarism for the habitation of the chosen people. This territory comprises fifteen of the least-productive provinces of all the Russias, and there the Jews are allowed, so to speak, only to pick the crumbs that fall from the tables of the peasants who are the owners of the land in the pale. Nor is the boundary of the Jew's residence coextensive with the pale; for he is forbidden to own land, debarred from living in villages, excluded from engaging in the trade

Most of them own the land they cultivate, but they possess no more land than is sufficient to give them black bread, made of a mixture of rye, chaff, and potatoes. Their wants are extremely simple—the bare necessities of life. In the fall the well-to-do peasant kills a pig and uses its meat sparingly till after New Year's, when he kills another pig that lasts him till spring. Spring and summer he needs no more than the green earth supplies him with. If the crop is good the peasant saves a few rubles for



RUSSIAN JEWISH WORKERS POURING OUT OF AN UNSANITARY, OVERCROWDED, AND INFLAMMABLE FACTORY AT PINSK

of timber and liquor—two of the most lucrative kinds of business in the pale—and even the practising of learned professions is practically denied him.

In order to understand the condition of the Jew in the pale we must first know his neighbor, the peasant. The peasants are exclusively tillers of the soil; they have no artisans, no tradesmen, no professional men; there is no occupation but agriculture—unless drinking *vodka* is regarded as an occupation.

vodka. A poor harvest means a "dry" winter. There are scarcely more than one or two peasants among five hundred who can write their names, and the number of people able to read their native tongue is still less.

Now, it can readily be seen that to live in the midst of a lethargic peasantry of this kind gives no chance to the Jew to engage in commerce with his neighbors. Here and there a Jewish innkeeper used to eke out a



A TYPICAL RUSSIAN RABBI

With the "peis" or side curls worn by many orthodox Jews



A CHIEF RABBI

Wearing the "talith" or praying-cloth, the sign of his office

livelihood by selling *vodka*, but since 1899 the privilege of dealing in liquors has been taken away from the Jew. The only commercial benefit he can derive from the peasant is to buy his products and to sell them to a larger market. This would perhaps be a source of profit to the astute Jew if there were moderate competition among the buyers. But there are about ten prospective purchasers for every bushel of grain. The struggle for existence among the Jews is extremely keen, and they are satisfied with a



AN IMMIGRANT RUSSIAN JEW

Who came to this country late in life, and remains a foreigner in mind and speech

small margin of profit. Ten copecks is literally enough inducement for the small merchant to strike a bargain by which he runs the risk of losing a ruble. But half a loaf is better than none at all.

The last census shows that there are 5,189,401 Jews in Russia. Of this number there are about 1,300,000 in Poland, and perhaps 10 per cent. who live outside the pale by virtue of having served under Nicholas I. and those "specially privileged." The rest, nearly 4,000,000 people, are pressed

and huddled together in the large cities and towns of the pale.

With the exception of about twenty cities, with populations ranging between 75,000 and 400,000, the Russian towns are uniformly small. A town of 1,000 population—or say 300 adults—is about the average size. I shall use one such town as a type of the rest.

Picture in your mind a succession of thatched log houses clustered together and set along unpaved, muddy streets and unclean alleys, surrounded by forests, waving wheat-fields, and blossoming orchards. To be sure, there is one street where the well-to-do people live. There is no industrial establishment of any kind—no iron-mill, no coal-mine, no factory. There are perhaps 100 of the inhabitants trading with the neighboring peasants; out of these 100 say five per cent. are making a comfortable livelihood, and the rest do well if they earn an average of five rubles (equivalent to \$2.57) a week.

Of the rest there are no less than 15 shoemakers, 25 tailors, 30 schoolteachers, 50 storekeepers, 10 timber merchants, 20 carpenters, 5 butchers, 3 blacksmiths, 5 bakers, and 15 tavern-keepers, leaving at least 15 per cent. of the population without any trade or occupation. It is true that notwithstanding this inhuman restriction about three or four per cent. succeed, and as menial help is extremely cheap they live almost in luxury. But at least ninety per cent. of the population live from hand to mouth and in the most abject misery.

The reader will undoubtedly be struck by the number of schoolteachers in a community so small. But I have not exaggerated the number, for I mean Jewish schoolteachers. Debarred from public schools—for only five per cent. of the students of the Russian schools may be Jews—they have been compelled to maintain their own schools as well as their own system of teaching. For many centuries the Christian nations have tried indefatigably to dull Jewish brains, but they have ever found it impossible. Consequently the Jewish school has undergone no changes. It is the same school that taught the ancient Tanaim; the same school that gave inspiration to the Nazarene to lay the foundation for a new creed; the same school that developed the genius of Maimonides, of Spinoza, of Moses Mendelssohn; the same school that was

only recently attended by Rubinstein, Antikolski, Frug—the same method of unmethodical learning handed down from generation to generation since the days of Babylonian erudition.

Poor and rich, the desire and ambition of every Jew in the pale is education; the older generation aspires after Talmudic lore, the younger strives after *Haskolo*—a term denoting culture, progress, liberalism. The poor hawker, plodding with his pack among the villages and farms during the six week-days, has only one hope that cheers his gloomy journey—the hope that on his arrival home on Friday night he will find his little Jacob reciting a portion of the Torah, or, if he be old enough, cudgeling his brains over a large folio of the Talmud. “Learning is the best merchandise” is a common expression among the Lithuanian Jews. The Jewish mother rocks her baby’s cradle and sings a lullaby: “Sleep, my child, sleep. When you grow older you’ll learn Torah. Torah is the best *Skhora* [merchandise].” And in order to learn Torah the boy must attend the *chaidier*—the Jewish school.

The school hours are long and lagging, from nine in the morning till ten o’clock at night. The schoolroom is not a many-windowed, airy structure, but a murky hovel, with but two little windows, the panes of which are thickly covered with ice and snow in winter and with dust in summer. There are no spacious playgrounds, for recess is hardly allowed, and when such an indulgence is granted the boys know that there is no better place than mother earth, which is as yielding to their finger-nails within the *chaidier* as without. There are plenty of holes in the floorless ground, dug during the preceding semester, and the boys have plenty of buttons to play with.

The dozen or more pupils must sit all day upon crippled benches around the cracked, worm-eaten table, their heads covered. At the head of the table is seated the schoolmaster, a greasy skull-cap on his tousled head, his beard and *peis* long and matted, a pointer in one hand and in the other pliant thongs or an inflexible cane. Turning his eyes and cane right and left, he gives the little wretches their punishment if they do not respond promptly enough. Under his eye and thongs the youngsters study assiduously from early morning till two

o'clock in the afternoon, and after an hour of play they resume their lessons till nightfall in summer and till ten at night in winter.

The schoolmaster has few pupils. The well-to-do boys would not permit their teacher to have more than four pupils of their own station, and the poorer ones cannot complain, so their teacher very often has as many as ten. But the dreams and studies and stories are the same; the same mystic thought permeates their little brains—rich and poor alike. They all use the same text-book. The Bible is their Homer and Virgil as well as their primer. Their roving, childish minds absorb eagerly the fiery tirades of Isaiah, the lamentations of Jeremiah, the cabalistic visions of Ezekiel, no less than the heroic labors performed by Samson or the wars waged by the kings of Israel. Not until the Bible is thoroughly digested is the study of the Talmud—that wonderful Babylonian compilation—taken up.

At the age of five every male child in the pale begins school. The poor father, whose earnings are \$2 a week, pays tuition as eagerly as the rich timber merchant. The poor mother never cares what sort of a meal she gets, or how often she gets a meal, so long as her boy studies assiduously; and as long as there is a cent in the house tuition will be paid. It is only a case of dire distress or when the boy is so dull and lazy that he flatly refuses to attend school that the parents put their heads together and decide to apprentice him to a shoemaker, a blacksmith, or a carpenter. No matter how humble their own station in life may be, they feel very keenly the disgrace of making an artizan of their son. The Jew is proud. If there is any possibility of forcing their son to take up the Talmud and, later in life, to devote himself to the obsolete Babylonian studies, the parents will not neglect the opportunity.

Besides, there is nothing else for the boys to do. There are already too many carpenters and blacksmiths and shoemakers and tailors; there are more storekeepers than customers and more merchants than purchasers. There are a dozen Jews trying to buy every peasant's product. The pale is very limited and very crowded. High-schools and colleges are shut against them. The Government claims that during the last ten years of the reign of Alexander II. the Jews were admitted to the

schools without restriction, and the result was that Christians did not get a single prize during those years. To become mechanics is also impossible. The scientific schools and other training-schools are outside the pale, and those within the pale limit the number to five per cent.—no more; very often the percentage is still less.

The prisoners of the pale know well what a grand world there is outside their prison walls. The names of Moscow and St. Petersburg and Kharkoff and Dorpat—the places of learning and polytechnic schools—fill their imagination. They dream of these places while shaking and swaying their bodies over the heavy folios of the Talmud; their minds roam in those places of dazzling light while their voices utter as loudly as they can the words of the holy Torah. The young Jewish students raise their eyes yearningly, imploring to be allowed to step out in the free, to learn some honest trade or profession, to become emancipated; but tyranny thunders, so far and no farther.

Many a child in the pale knows the story of Esther Tampoff. Unlike her pious, God-fearing parents, she believed in advancement and was a devout believer in woman's rights. So one day she determined to take a course in stenography. But as there was no school in her native little town nor in the pale where she could learn it, she finally persuaded her father to let her go to St. Petersburg. There the Czar of all the Russias lives; there the emancipator of the serfs had lived; there the laws for good government are supposed to be made.

Immediately upon her arrival she went to register her passport, according to Russian law. The officer examined the document, turned it this way and that, glanced from the paper to the pretty girl before him, and at length questioned: "Jewish?"

"Yes, Your Honor."

The verdict was quickly rendered. She had overstepped the boundary; holy St. Petersburg had been defiled; in twenty-four hours she must be gone.

The following twenty-four hours were spent in thinking and pondering this problem. She was ambitious and wished to learn a trade at any cost. At last an idea was suggested to her by her landlady.

She put on her smart cloak, wrapped her face in a heavy veil, with a reticule in her

hand, and again stood before the same officer. He smiled, for he had evidently recognized her. He again glanced at her passport and was about to put the same question to her, when she whispered in a scarcely audible voice: "A—a—a yellow card." The officer smiled, cast a glance at her, and made the proper registration. To her name was added a word that meant her degradation. This extended the boundaries of the pale.

Several months elapsed. Esther was progressing in stenography; she had almost finished her course, when she received notice to appear before the registration officer. The same officer faced her. There was an insolent, resentful smile in his vivacious little eyes. "I must revoke your license," he said reproachfully. "You don't ply your 'trade'; you are only studying stenography."

Thus it is that tens of thousands of Jewish young men and women in the pale are idling, without any vocation or trade. The young men, swaying their bodies backward and forward, from side to side, like so many pendulums in a clockmaker's shop, brood over the Talmud or con their lessons in loud, almost tragic voices—the echo of the children of Israel in bondage. It is a picturesque sight to see a synagogue full of Talmudic students wasting their youthful energy on ancient law. Some sing Talmudic rules in elastic barytones and modulated alto voices; some recite the intricate, never-ending, hair-splitting arguments in plaintive, imploring notes; some sing statutes in sweet soprano. Some laugh and some groan; some shout and some hum in hushed voices; some talk and some whisper; some wink and some stare idiotically—an uproar of Talmudic learning.

Sometimes a Talmudic student wakes up and by dint of his energy breaks the barrier and plunges into the world outside. But what is the result? I have never known a young man more energetic, more courageous than David Visotzki. He had swayed his body and, like a ceaseless bell, his voice had been heard in the synagogue all day and most of the night. But one day the veil was lifted. He had got hold of a book which set his mind to thinking. He was possessed of great mental ability, and in a comparatively short period he picked up modern studies. His benefactors soon discovered that he had turned his back on the Talmud. They refused to

support him. But why should he fear starvation? He had forsaken the tents of Shem and now worshiped the beauty of Japhet. How enchanting that beauty appeared to him! It almost dazzled his sight. Like all lovers, he forgot eating and drinking and sleeping, and basked in the brilliant sunshine that Nekrassoff and Pushkin and Lermontoff had shed. He tramped to Vilna, the Mecca of cultured Jews. Another year of arduous study brought him to his goal. He was permitted to take the examinations of the sixth grade, which he passed creditably, but he could not join the class—the five per cent. of Jews had already registered at the local gymnasium. He went to Kharkoff, but there, too, the five per cent. had been received. Thus David tramped from gymnasium to gymnasium, but the five per cent. had always preceded him. The world was closed to him.

Nor is it better with the poor workman. The picture of Joseph Rakoffski is vivid in my memory. He looked more like Adam Bede than a Lithuanian Jewish carpenter. His father had been well-to-do; in fact, he was the richest man in his village. The village had formerly belonged to the province of Vitebsk, but in the '80s it was annexed to the province of Smolensk—outside the pale. Rakoffski was given ten days to dispose of his large estate. The peasants knew that he must go, so they withheld their bids. The last day, when the officers came to enforce the law, Rakoffski, his wife, and children wept in chorus, but go they must; the boundary line was changed. So the estate and all Rakoffski's belongings scarcely brought enough for transportation for the family.

Then they settled in a small Lithuanian town, and as the head of the family had neither a trade nor money to start in business he became a hawker. But as he had not been accustomed to that kind of life, he soon contracted asthma, and was compelled to stay home half the time. In order to make both ends meet he apprenticed his son Joseph to a carpenter, with the hope that some day he would help the family. The four years of apprenticeship over, the family rejoiced when Joseph returned home and started a carpenter shop for himself. Everything went very well then. Although the father had become bedridden, Joseph succeeded in keeping the wolf from the door.

Then Joseph reached his twenty-first birthday. He had thought that he was exempt from military service because he was the oldest, but one gloomy day in fall the Mayor notified him that he must present himself as a recruit on October 1st. The death of Joseph's older brother, who had died in infancy, was not properly recorded, and he was therefore still alive so far as the Government was concerned. Hence Joseph was not the oldest and must serve.

The family then pawned their bedclothes—the only valuables left them—and paid a lawyer the last ten rubles for an appeal to the Minister of War. In the meantime, Joseph was advised to secrete himself. He did so, but he was caught. After serving the Czar ten months, during which time his father had died, Joseph fled to America.

Of course there are thousands of Jewish young men in Russia shirking the army. But it is the most natural thing for them to do; they would have been inferior to slaves had they entertained any desire to stay in the army. The fact of their dodging military service in Russia indicates their keen sense of self-respect. How humiliating and degrading it is for any person to devote five years of the best of his youthful life to his king, who offers no chance of promotion nor of attaining military distinction, and does not even give his subject the protection bestowed upon a harmless animal. When a Jew in the Russian Army ever achieves the heroic there is no reward for him, and the day after the term of his service expires he must return to the pale.

Now, to return to the little town of 1,000 population which I have taken as a type. It can easily be seen that the only source of making a livelihood left to the Russian Jews is either by trading with the peasant or by trading with one another. The former is not very profitable because competition is too keen, and the latter is fruitless because the Jew is prohibited from engaging in agriculture of any kind and he is also practically excluded from manufacturing. Consequently the only branch of commerce left him is dealing in commodities such as provisions—a business never sufficient to maintain 5,000,000 people.

Yet, strange as it may appear, a fair percentage of the people within the pale manage to gain a livelihood; some even get rich. There are two reasons for this. The

first is the superior intellect of the Jew as compared with the dull, demoralized peasant; the second is the blessing (for the Jew) of the corruption of the Russian Government. The last may sound paradoxical, but the fact remains that the dishonesty of Russian officials is a great advantage to the Jew.

No other nation on earth is as corrupt as Russia. There is absolutely no honest office-holder in the Czar's empire—judges and cabinet ministers not excepted. It is only a question of "how much." The bribe rises in proportion to the rank of the official. It takes 1,000 rubles to satisfy the conscience of the Governor, while half that amount will suffice the next lower in rank. I have personal knowledge of two governors of the province of Vilna who accepted bribes of 1,000 rubles and less. My personal knowledge also extends to the fact that the Governor's secretaries, assistants, and clerks accept bribes as small as twenty-five rubles for "pigeon-holing" documents or for destroying valuable papers. It is no less true that the supervisors of the different districts of the provinces extort money from all the victims they can get into their clutches. It is not at all surprising, then, that the police, whose salaries are no more than about fifteen rubles a month, are easily bribed. The amounts range from twenty-five rubles down to five copecks.

The following story is a fair illustration: One Jew met another at the break of morning entering the wicket of a judge's residence.

"Whither so early in the morning?" asked the first, somewhat surprised.

"To balance the scales," replied the second with a smile. "I am the defendant in an action which will come up before the Judge this morning. The plaintiff has already given the Judge ten rubles, so I am also going to give him ten in order to keep him straight."

This systematic bribery is very often helpful to the Jewish merchant, especially in his dealings outside the pale. The giving of bribes on the part of the Jew is perfectly natural. He is trying "to keep the officials straight." No one would blame prisoners of war for tricking their captors in order to gain freedom. The Jews in Russia are exactly in the same predicament. They apply every possible effort to relax the tyrant's iron grip—everything is fair in war.

The Russian *ukases* against the Jew are

very harsh. How does he bear it, after all? By mitigation. How does he get this mitigation? By bribing the government officials. Thus it is true the Jew is victimized by the government officials, but still in the long run the clever Jew is no loser. He leases or buys a farm, an inn, a forest, or any other "illegitimate" property in the name of a peasant—through the connivance of the government officials—and reaps the profits; that is, as much profit as can be netted after paying the officials their share and the peasant for the use of his name. So this gives the chance to a dozen Jews, in a town of the size described, to become moderately well-to-do and not infrequently even rich.

But the great majority exist and suffer. A poor little thatched cottage, a cow or a goat, coarse daily food and little of it—these the average Jew in the pale possesses. Being shut out from the European world, he necessarily retains his own—an Asiatic world. A long-bearded rabbi, a gloomy synagogue, a rigid creed—these are the essential features of a small town within the pale. The wealthier class, on the other hand, live in comparative luxury. The well-to-do boys get a good education in private schools, or, with due restrictions, in the gymnasiums. Still they live in a community that is more or less Asiatic in atmosphere.

This has practically been the state of affairs in Russian Jewries for many decades. The persecuted race had become so used to this inhuman oppression that they almost found contentment in this existence. Furthermore, their semi-Asiatic mode of living kept them from emigrating; they would rather live in slumber under the yoke of Russian tyranny than under the banner of American freedom. So until the enactment of the notorious May laws (in 1882) and their rigid enforcement only the very poorest and the humblest of Russian Jews emigrated to this country. Few of these early emigrants possessed any Talmudic or modern education, nor did they have any trade. Very often they were the outcasts of the Jewish communities. Only here and there was an intelligent emigrant who had left his native land for political or other reasons. And prior to the '80s only a handful of Russian Jews had come to this country; they were scarcely perceptible here.

But the massacres in Kieff and Yelisvet-

grad, followed by the unbearable *ukases* of Ignatieff, twenty-three years ago, stirred up the Russian Jewries. The ten or more years of mitigated persecution during the reign of the noble Czar Alexander II. had given an impetus to the awakening Jew. During this brief period he became modernized, so to speak, and began to feel more keenly the oppressor's knout. The Jew had already had ten years of gymnasium training. The pale was teeming with Russian doctors, lawyers, mathematicians, students, and literary craftsmen. The Ghettos echoed with Hebrew song; there were poets in every Goshen, scribes in every community. They had suddenly shaken off the dust of Asia and bedecked themselves with European civilization. They had dreamed dreams during the '70s, but they awoke early in 1881. Twenty years before, the Jews would perhaps have not felt the shock so crushingly, but education gives sensitiveness. The Tartar's blows began to hurt more than ever.

"To Palestine!" pessimistic dreamers cried. "To America!" said the more energetic element. "America! America!" went from mouth to mouth. Young and old, women and children, all were seized with the "American fever." Students with cockades in their caps, old Jews with long, curly *peis*, rich and poor, the learned and the ignorant—all, all flocked to this Promised Land.

During the last score of years almost a million Jews have left Russia; most of them have come to America. They are a mixed class: Talmudic students and students of modern languages and sciences, poor hawkers and merchants of the first guild, people without any trade and skilful mechanics—all eager to find refuge under the Stars and Stripes.

But twenty years in the life of a nation or sect are as a day in the life of an individual. Most of these immigrants are still half-strangers; the customs of a new country are very slowly adopted by a newcomer; it is only the very enlightened that can take advantage of the many opportunities offered in the United States. However, the day is not far off when these uncouth Russian refugees will assimilate in thought, in spirit, in patriotism with the descendants of those emigrants who came from England, Holland, France, and Germany.

SOUTH AMERICA AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY

A POLITICALLY INCOMPETENT POPULATION—AN ENORMOUS UNDEVELOPED CONTINENT—THE LACK OF COAL AND IRON AND THE CONSEQUENT ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE—THE ATTITUDE OF EUROPE—WHAT DUTIES DOES THE MONROE DOCTRINE IMPOSE ON THIS COUNTRY?

BY

W. M. IVINS, JR.

OUR interests in South America are becoming more important every day, not only because of new and complicated international relations, but also because of our commerce. Considering our geographical and political relation to these States, our real knowledge of them is inadequate and inaccurate.

We have not sooner succeeded in building up a larger trade and a larger influence in South America because we have been led astray by our *a priori* and illogically formed conceptions. We have reasoned that, since these countries are republics with constitutions modeled after ours and the physical conditions of many of them corresponding very nearly to those of our own country, therefore the national psychology and the economic wants of the people should be the same as ours. But in our hasty view we have left out of consideration the people, their inheritance, their ideals, their habits of life, and their past history. To get a proper conception of them it is necessary that these fundamental things, before anything else, should be taken into consideration.

SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIZATION

The primary fact in South American history and culture is that the continent was never colonized as were the English and French possessions of North America, but was exploited by small and isolated bodies of armed treasure-hunters. The Spanish policy was, moreover, to keep these bands of robbers as separate as possible, every effort being made to pit them one against another. Under Spanish rule all trade and commerce between the five different Spanish viceroyalties were forbidden, and no chance

for political preferment was given to the native-born. Manufactures of all kinds were forbidden by law. Everything that was used in the colonies had to be imported from Spain, with which communication was possible only once, or at best twice, a year. The Spaniards were in South America, not because they wanted new land to cultivate or a chance for the unhampered development of individual thought, but to get the precious metals as rapidly as possible; and everything was subordinated to this one idea. The land was divided up into great estates, whose titles ran for one or two lives and carried with them the absolute power over the natives as well as over the land. This system caused the most uneconomic exploitation possible, as every land-holder saw that it was to his best advantage to get all that he could out of his property, land, and people during his own lifetime. A wholesale destruction of life and economic impoverishment followed. Add to these errors the fact that the native-born was debarred from holding land except when a member of an ecclesiastical order, and we have a condition that was bound to bring about economic and social chaos.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

When, in addition to these economic hindrances, the state of morals and of general intelligence brought about by the all-powerful influence of a debased and tyrannical Church is considered, the poor foundations laid for an enlightened and modern civilization can be better imagined than described. No books were to be had except manuals of devotions approved by an inquisition in comparison to which that in Spain and Portugal was an inoffensive and harmless

institution. No intercommunication was allowed by the State, and education of any kind was ruthlessly suppressed as subversive of the governmental and State authority. To be sure, books were smuggled in and read diligently, and passed from hand to hand; but almost all these were the works of men like Voltaire and Rousseau, and the principles taught by them were of the most dangerous kind when it is considered that there was no solid foundation for their reception. Moreover, as these books wholly lacked any constructive or practical side, when the Church lost its hold on the minds of the more intelligent Latin-Americans, there was nothing tangible and affirmative to replace what little influence it had had for good in the country; and an ethical looseness and skepticism became the rule among the educated, while the ignorant remained as superstitious as in the middle ages. Such were the colonial beginnings.

THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLICS

The most general misconception about South America is of the manner in which it won its freedom from Spain. So far from being a revolt of the people, as was the case in this country when it revolted from England, it was rather the refusal of the ruling classes to return to their allegiance to Spain, in order that they might exploit the country for their own account. When Napoleon conquered Spain and the Bourbon kings fled, the people of the South American colonies remained true and never acknowledged the French usurper. This threw all the power into the hands of the viceroys and the captains-general, and relieved them for the time of responsibility to any higher authority. When the Napoleonic domination passed and the Spanish Bourbons came back to their throne, their representatives in South America had had a free hand for so long that they did not feel inclined to give up their opportunities for plunder for their personal profit. Moreover, they did not see the necessity for doing so, as they felt confident that Spain was so exhausted after her long struggle that she would be unable to enforce her wishes. The revolutionists were joined immediately by the whole body of malcontents and soldiers of fortune. When one of their armies had succeeded in asserting its own freedom it immediately marched to the next vice-

royalty and conquered it. So that from two revolutions, one in Venezuela and the other in Buenos Ayres, armies spread out over the continent and conquered the remaining vast territories in which there had been no spontaneous uprising or aspiration for liberty. The fight lasted longest in Peru, which, paradoxically, as the whole population was extremely loyal, became free of Spain by being conquered by its neighbors.

The so-called liberators talked a great deal about liberty, equality, and fraternity, and drew up countless constitutions that dripped with sentiment and that were nothing in the world but loose declarations of general principles, without any of the necessary qualifications of effective constitutional instruments. The generals of the conquering armies held the land in as strict absolutism as they could, and neglected no means of enriching their private purses. But the country had been so stirred up that they were not able to hold any permanent grip on the administration. Instead of freedom and order there were only anarchy and tyranny. Discontented soldiers who had outgrown the habit of peace were not satisfied to settle down, and the result was that South America was plagued for many years with a universal guerrilla warfare, a genuine war of political *condottieri*.

With the exception of Brazil, which has had the most stable government that South America can boast of, the history of South America has been that of a long series of bloody revolts against the dictators, with new dictators succeeding the old, but never with genuine representative government. And it is only within recent years that any semblance of political and social stability can be said to have been attained in any of the old Spanish colonies, and even now only in the Argentine and in Chile.

President Diaz, of Mexico, has been quoted as saying that revolution is the natural expression of the Latin-American feeling for the necessity for reform. "Despotism tempered by revolt" is an illuminating stock phrase. Others have said that the Latin-Americans' sole idea of getting wealth or power is through the exploitation of the political powers of the State. Whichever view be correct—and there is truth in both—these judgments show the heredity and political background of the people.

THE MONGREL POPULATION

The South American population bears no resemblance to any other in the world. In the United States we have been accustomed to congratulate ourselves on the new composite race that has been produced by the mixture of many bloods, but in Latin-America the unprecedented mixture of races has resulted in a general breeding down. In Europe there are only three distinct language stocks; in South America there are between fifty and a hundred different ones, and each belongs to a tribe ethnologically distinct from any other. As the European colonists did not to any great extent take their wives with them, they married native women. From this wholesale miscegenation there sprang up the greatest body of mixed breeds of radically distinct races in the world. Into Brazil and the northern States many Negroes were imported, and they, too, mixed with the others, so that today on the east coast there are far more mulattos and mestizos than whites, and more pure blacks than all others put together. It naturally follows that there is no race problem as we understand it in this country. The Argentine is the only country in South America where pure white blood may be said to be the rule, as the Argentine aborigines in many ways resembled the North American Indians and have shown the same inability to subsist alongside of the white man or to merge with him. In Brazil there is a general indiscriminate mixture of races and breeds. In many of the countries the uncivilized Indian is still a very large part of the population. In these the pure white is found only scattered in small numbers along the seaboard, while the inland population is almost exclusively of Indian and mixed blood. The South American population as a whole is increasing very slowly, and Brazil even refused to accept the figures of its last census report because they showed that the population had actually decreased instead of increasing during the last ten years.

UNSTABLE IMMIGRATION

Immigration of late years has brought to the south and east coast many Germans and Italians, who almost without exception have engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits. The Argentine, which had received the greater part of this immigration, in the forty-three

years before 1899 received a little over 2,550,000 immigrants. The Italians are rapidly joining the moneyed class in the Argentine, but most of them are merely unskilled laborers, who are used in the harvesting and clipping. A great number of Italians go to the Argentine only for the crop season, and then immediately return home with all their wages in their pockets to take part in the harvesting at home. So important has this shifting laboring population become that there are several lines of steamers whose main profit comes from its transportation.

There have been some settlements of Welshmen, but they have not been successful. The Hirsch foundations have started some Jewish colonies in the Argentine, but they, too, have met with failure.

ROADS AND RAILROADS

Internal means of communication are poor, as the greater part of the land is still an unbroken wilderness. There are, to be sure, many great water systems, but few of the rivers run through country that can be cultivated, the riparian country being in most cases swampy and covered with impenetrable forests. There are absolutely no good roads, most of the land lines of communication being nothing better than beaten mule trails. In all the States there are governmental highways, but their total mileage is ridiculously small and they are still in a sixteenth-century condition. The railroads are due almost entirely to foreign enterprise, and in consequence are owned abroad, the great majority being controlled by English capital. There are, according to the latest statistics, about 26,000 miles of railroad in operation, but except in the Argentine, which has 14,000 miles, they are all short lines whose service is usually intermittent and poor, and would be intolerable in this country. Brazil ranks after the Argentine, having 8,718 miles nominally open for traffic, almost all of which is in the south in the agricultural districts. She is followed at a distance by Chile, which is said to have 2,900 miles of line. At the foot of the list are Paraguay with 156 miles and Ecuador with 90 miles in operation. The telegraph lines are about three times as long as the railroads, and are owned some by the governments and some by private companies. South America is connected with Europe by

three cables and with the United States by two, all which are owned by European and American capitalists. Telephones have been introduced in a small way in a few of the more important cities only. The tram-car was welcomed everywhere, and in comparison there are many more lines of tramway than of steam railroad. In a few places trolleys have superseded horse-cars, but coal is a necessity and has to be imported at high prices. Electricity is at an economic disadvantage except where it can be produced by water-power. In a few of the more important cities municipal lighting systems have been installed, but here again the great cost of coal has prevented much development. The general system of police, of peace, highways, lighting, paving, sewerage, and sanitation is rudimentary and thoroughly inefficient.

PRODUCTS AND EXPORTS

As coal and iron are nowhere to be found in large or commercial quantities, South America has no important manufactures. All manufactured goods have to be imported. The exports are crude products, and are chiefly coffee, rubber, hides, wool, meats, sugar, nitrate of soda, cotton, cacao, fruits, tobacco, sisal, coca, cinchona, dyewoods, nuts, silver, and copper. Grazing is today the most important South American industry, and it is almost wholly confined to the Argentine, whose wool clip is now one-fourth of the world's supply, and whose trade in hides and meats, because of the introduction of cold storage, is rapidly increasing. Brazil's forests supply rubber, cacao, coca, cinchona, dyewoods, and nuts; and rubber, the most important of these, is apt to fall off in the future because of the uneconomic methods of gathering it. Brazil is also the greatest source of the world's supply of coffee. Her production of sugar is rapidly increasing, and if cotton were to continue at its present high price she would be able to become a very strong competitor in its production. Chile has for her most valuable assets the nitrate fields, and also has a large trade in copper, with some wool.

FINANCIAL CONDITION

The condition of the foreign debt of a country is usually one of the best indexes of its political stability and economic health.

In all of South America there is but one State whose funded debt can be said to be on a safe basis, and that is Peru, where a very peculiar situation exists. The reason for this is that several years ago Peru was so hopelessly in arrears on the payment of the interest on its debt that it despaired of ever being able to meet its obligations, and made what is known as the Grace-Donoughmore agreement. By this it was arranged that the Peruvian Corporation should secure the cancellation of the funded debt of the country in exchange for many valuable franchises, by which it got complete control of the mines, the drainage system, and the railroads. But both parties, the Government and the corporation, have refused to live up to their agreements, and there is now a deadlock between them. Of the remaining nine countries, exclusive, of course, of the three Guianas, over half are badly in arrears in the payment of the interest on their national debts.

As all the countries, except Uruguay, are flooded with depreciated paper currency, their internal finances are in an unstable condition. In Colombia the forced paper has fallen in value until it has reached a position between one and two per cent. of its face value. As no one can tell from day to day what exchange is going to be, business suffers everywhere.

South America today is an economic dependent of Europe. The Argentine is a great source of revenue to Italy, which supplies its unskilled labor, while the English own, with the exception of several German and Italian lines, practically all the steamships that trade there, and control the vast majority of the railroads, tramways, and large agricultural and mining companies. Chile may truthfully be said to be practically as much a British colony economically as if it were under the British flag, while the situation in Peru has already been explained.

THE FUTURE

The fact is that all of South America (except a certain part of the Argentine, and the city of Rio de Janeiro) is beyond calculation behind western and central Europe, the United States, and the principal English colonies in economic evolution, political development, and intellectual progress. When one considers its possibilities and its performance, one gets the impression of a vast

continent almost literally going to waste. Its condition suggests the following questions, pertinent in this day of aggressive foreign policies:

Can its own people ever put it and keep it abreast of the more highly civilized States, or range it on the side of the fittest in the international struggle for existence?

If they cannot do this, is the rest of the world going to permit a whole continent to lie fallow?

The South American peoples in the future will be obliged either themselves to make the most of their continent or to step aside and permit the world, with overflowing populations and affirmative foreign policies, to administer it for the world's best results. In history there can be found no warrant for the belief that the world will allow a latently rich continent simply to lie fallow, occupied and controlled by the ignorant and the weak, the unprogressive and the incompetent.

The Monroe Doctrine has remained practically unchallenged for three-quarters of a century, because we and the great European powers have been occupied with internal

problems. But today the question of South America's future place in the world is rapidly becoming one of the imminent international problems: "The partition of South America" is already occupying the thought of many European statesmen and publicists, particularly in Germany, and not a little in England. The destiny of the southern half of this hemisphere is one of the greatest problems that awaits solution by the new century. The Monroe Doctrine will not be able to condemn a whole continent to comparative sterility, and unless either the South Americans or the United States, taking charge of the continent, make it productive, European intervention or conquest will surely come.

Our statesmen have delicate work ahead of them, and there is nothing more important for the determination of our policy than an exact and precise knowledge of the national psychology of the South Americans, and the truth with regard to the actual, and not merely apparent, state of their political institutions, their economic development, the possibilities of their continent, and their own capacity and willingness to develop these possibilities.

A BRITISH VIEW OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

THE UNITED STATES SPENDS VAST SUMS ON SCHOOLS, BUT IT DOES NOT SPEND ENOUGH—THE GREAT EVIL IS THE LACK OF CORRECT SPEECH

BY

ALFRED MOSELY, C.M.G.

(HEAD OF THE MOSELY COMMISSION)

TOGETHER with a commission of thirty English educational experts, I have just completed an investigation of American schools. The most striking facts I have gathered are these:

1. That the people of the United States spend a marvelous amount of money on their public schools, endowing education more lavishly than any other people in the world.
2. They do not spend enough. The salaries to teachers are not sufficient for the service the country desires and should have.

Our tour of investigation began in New York in October of last year. The previous autumn a commission of British trade-union representatives made a tour of the industrial centres of the United States on my invitation to study industrial conditions—a trip the results of which have already been published in this magazine. The investigations by this industrial commission and the recent educational commission were part of a single plan formed a number of years ago.

While in business in South Africa I had

unusual opportunities to study the work of English and American engineers. The English engineers were much inferior. They slavishly followed conventional principles. They worked by rule of thumb. They lacked initiative. They showed inability in a sudden emergency to grasp the situation confronting them, to put the right machinery to work, to carry the task in hand in a practical way to completion. Often they attacked engineering problems with no more expert sureness and efficiency than any intelligent business man might have exhibited. The Americans, on the other hand, were alert and up to date, instantly equal to any occasion that might arise. In emergencies they knew at once what to do and what kind of machinery to use; and whenever they attacked a problem, after swiftly arguing the pros and cons they carried the matter through in the straightest way with professional certitude of method. The English engineers had been poorly trained; the American engineers well trained. American business men whom I met were quite as alert as the engineers. A visit to the United States convinced me that the secret of this national efficiency lay in the American schools.

As the British Education bill was still in the melting-pot a year ago, I postponed the inquiry I had long planned into the details of the American school system and accompanied the industrial commission on its very fruitful visit. On returning to England I placed the matter of an educational commission in the hands of a committee of which Lord Reay, president of the London school board, was chairman, and Mr. Sadler, late of the board of education, a valuable member. As Mr. Sadler is one of the leading educational experts of Great Britain, it was a pleasure to me that his point of view on the project accorded with my own. This committee drew up a list of the heads of various branches of British education, to whom invitations were sent. One or two letters appeared in the public press protesting that Great Britain could learn nothing from the United States in educational matters, but the thirty gentlemen who accepted the invitation felt that any information they might acquire in the United States would undoubtedly be useful, even though the new British Education bill had

fixed for a time the status of public education at home. The commissioners all came open-minded to inquire into the strong and weak points of American education, and to see how far the American system might apply, with modifications, to Great Britain.

We began with a ten days' investigation in New York. Thence we went to Washington, where President Roosevelt made us an interesting address, and then we visited the colored school at Hampton, the schools and colleges of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Haven, Boston, and Chicago. The party then split. Some went south, some as far west as California, some to Canada. The rest came east by Indianapolis, Dayton, and Pittsburg. The whole country was covered by at least a part of the commission. We are greatly indebted to President Butler, of Columbia University, for a vast amount of assistance. He prepared our itinerary and put at the disposal of the delegates an encyclopedic fund of information. Dr. Maxwell and members of the Board of Education courteously gave us every facility for seeing the New York schools; Mr. Munroe and members of the School Committee did us similar service in Boston; and President Harper and the Board of Education gave us excellent opportunities for visiting Chicago institutions. Everywhere we were met with the greatest hospitality. The delegates, attended and unattended, visited schools to their complete satisfaction, considering the time they had at their disposal.

My own strongest impression was of the amount of money spent on education. East and west it has become quite the fashion for millionaires to make large gifts to colleges, and in every section I visited I found the people lavishing money on their schools. And the expenditure is appreciated. If the buildings and the equipment are on a much more generous scale than in England, there is greater enthusiasm here also. The very atmosphere of American schoolrooms breathes progress. American teachers are more enthusiastic than English teachers; American pupils have a greater thirst for knowledge than English pupils; and there is a closer bond of sympathy here than in England between pupil and teacher.

In essence, the American people have realized better than Europeans the value of education. They have learned to consider

it their primary duty to train themselves for the struggle that modern development entails on the individual. They seem to realize, as the English have not begun to realize, that no boy—and no girl, for that matter—can do without such training.

One especially notable manifestation of enthusiasm I found in New York, Boston, and other large cities. On the East Side in New York and at the North End in Boston the schools in the poorer districts are kept open at night to give the children of the crowded tenements a clean and comfortable place to study their morrow's lessons, with some one to help them on difficult points. The children resort to these evening study-rooms in surprising numbers, and the teachers help them patiently and encouragingly.

Manual training is a very important feature in all the schools of the principal cities for both boys and girls. In England some few schools, laying special stress on the subject, teach manual training. Here in the United States the study is general. And my inquiries serve to show that it helps in the pupil's general development; it offers a change from the other work and it brings out individuality. Serving a need of the United States by turning boys with a mechanical turn of mind to the technical schools, it also develops a practical taste among all the children for the mechanical side of life.

As a whole, the Middle West is more intense in matters of education than the other parts of the country. The schools of the Middle West are newer than the eastern schools and more modern, because they have no traditions to get rid of. There is an even greater thirst for knowledge there than elsewhere, and money is spent to advantage. The schools of Indianapolis are among the best in the country.

I was much struck with the many colleges for the training of teachers. Both east and west are numerous normal schools and such institutions as the Teachers' College at Columbia University; and in the West especially a large proportion of the women graduates of the State universities enter the teaching profession. This training system assures an endless flow of the best class of teachers. In England the proportion of college-bred women teachers is far lower than in the United States, and, on the whole, the grade of teaching by women is lower. But England

is considerably better off in its force of men teachers. My severest criticism of the American school system would be that the teaching force lacks men. Few men in the United States go into school-teaching, and these are not the best. The profession in England attracts a distinctly more capable class.

The trouble lies in the salaries. In many cases the actual money pay of teachers is higher here than in England, but reckoning the difference in the standard of living, especially in those articles that are above necessities, both men and women are paid more there than here. Thus men are attracted to teaching in England, whereas in the United States they find better opportunities in other callings. A larger proportion of men would greatly improve the American teaching force, but there can be no such improvement until American communities match the generosity they exhibit in school equipment with generosity in allotting salaries. Nor are the salaries of the women teachers adequate. The people of the United States have an excellent school system because they spend much money on it; they could have a better system by paying more.

The school system I am referring to is, of course, the public-school system. I am not in favor of private schools conducted for individual profit, of which there are more in England than here, because such schools are likely to be conducted for profit rather than for efficiency. Here all classes go to the public schools, with no harmful results, as far as I can learn, and with many benefits. The poorer boy or girl gets some refinement from the more fortunate children; the more fortunate children are in no way harmed. With no distinctions all classes side by side seek the same advantages. And these are many.

In England the average boy of the poorer class goes to work at an early age after a merely elementary education, entering the trade of his father or a trade his father has chosen for him—often independently of the boy's fitness for it. Here the wonderful opportunities for the masses to go on into higher and higher schools and colleges, securing their education free or practically free, render a boy immeasurably better able to choose a calling for which he is fitted. The manual training, too, discovers latent aptitudes. It is safe to say that an American

boy has every opportunity to enter any vocation. In no State can any boy say that he cannot secure all the education he wishes.

The girls, too, have better opportunities here than at home. More of them advance into the higher fields of education. The result is that as a whole American girls are distinctly better educated than English girls—not merely because their parents wish it, but because they have, on their own part, a greater appreciation of education and a greater desire for it.

If American teaching fails in any respect, it is in the matter of inculcating the power of correct and accurate English speech. Again and again I heard children in the public schools give ungrammatical answers quite unchecked. The teachers seemed content to receive correct answers to questions in geography or history instead of being dissatisfied until the correct answer had been given in correct language. This was the one serious defect I found in the public schools. The buildings were better in New York and Boston and Chicago than in London; the sanitation and ventilation were better; and I found highly commendable facilities offered in the higher schools for the pupils to purchase healthful food at low prices during the school recesses. The seats and desks are better. Greater attention is devoted to providing such of these as have been scientifically found best fitted for health and comfort. But the speech of the pupil is often bad.

There is, moreover, too little attention paid, in my opinion, to athletics. In England the taste for athletics is carried to extremes. A schoolmaster is not chosen, as here, solely on his academic qualifications: he is asked what his record has been in 'varsity cricket or football, and whether he has taken his "blue." He is expected then to foster the athletic tendencies of his boys. All the boys take part in one sport or another. Here, in the high schools and colleges, small teams and crews of picked youths monopolize the athletics; the other students merely look on. A wider athletic activity would be better.

The most interesting sights we saw on our tour were in the schools of the great cities, especially New York and Chicago, in which the newly arrived immigrant children were receiving their first lessons in Americanism. It was wonderful to see the raw peasant lad from Russia or Germany in a few months

after landing sitting in an American school and singing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." We saw hundreds of these who in a marvelously short time had caught the American spirit and who were daily saluting the flag, considering themselves part and parcel of the American nation. The teachers showed immense enthusiasm in teaching these little atoms of humanity, and the musical marchings in and out of school, the flag salutes, and the songs they taught the children were decidedly effective devices to engender discipline and patriotism. The same spirit is visible everywhere. The United States is handling the immigration problem so successfully by assimilating the second generation of immigrants in the public schools that the American people may well relieve themselves of any fear on the score of excessive inpourings of untrained foreigners. It is an achievement the United States has every reason to be proud of.

Whether it is advisable or possible to adopt in Great Britain any parts of this or other features of American education, the delegates will declare with some authority in their reports next spring. As a layman with no claim to expert educational knowledge, I should say that the American excellences are well worthy of being grafted on the present English systems. After all, we must judge by results. The public education of the United States has had a large part in placing the country in the first rank in the world, industrially and commercially, at the same time maintaining a high ideal of civilization. There is some disposition on the part of English observers to attack American materialism. What materialism I have seen is largely ambition. There is no more of the "dollar-hunting" spirit in the United States than in other countries. The humanities, culture, refinement are not neglected in the schools and colleges. Research and scientific inquiry of the more advanced kinds are perhaps not so highly developed here as abroad, but there is no serious deficiency, and swift progress is being made. England might well learn lessons from the way in which the United States has worked out its problem.

In brief, I might sum up my impressions of American education by a single personal note. I have placed my two sons in the Hopkins Grammar School at New Haven to prepare for Yale.



A STORY OF COMMERCIAL ADVENTURE

BY

ULYSSES D. EDDY

JUST after the Civil War a big, bustling, breezy fellow turned up in Rio de Janeiro. He was over six feet tall, had a huge sandy beard that widened over his chest, a keen yet humorous eye, and a way with him that demanded attention. He was a ship-carpenter from Philadelphia.

Rio is on the southern tropic, about halfway between the equator and the capes, and its big, well-protected harbor is a good refuge for "lame ducks," as they call vessels that get into trouble in the South Atlantic and limp into port to repair damages.

In those days there were fine pickings for the repairers of these "lame ducks," and big bills for the underwriters, and sometimes it was a good thing to get on a "board of survey," for good ships are sometimes found unseaworthy and sold to a favored bidder. A big American clipper on its way around the Horn had run up against rough weather and put into Rio leaking and partially dismasted. She was one of the victims of a board of survey, and was sold for a song to a shrewd American, who sent to the States for skilled mechanics to put her right again. Bolger was the boss of the repair gang.

In an astonishingly short time that clipper spread her sails and put to sea as good as new. But Bolger stayed. Other craft needed repairs, and he wasn't bashful in pressing his claims to do the work. In a year he had established a business and it paid. But, after all, it was a limited business. He made up his mind to keep an eye out for something better.

Miles back of Rio is a range of mountains, conical peaks side by side like organ-pipes. The trade-winds, laden with moisture, are

squeezed dry by these high hills, and the rain clothes them in trailing draperies; the heat is a damp and sticky heat that soaks the energy out of the people. Other fantastic mountains immediately overhanging the city throw out spurs that reach nearly to the bay, and the houses are crowded in the level spaces between and along the shore.

A single avenue of good width finds its way between bay and hills and is the only artery of communication. In those days its pavement was crowded with vehicles—highly varnished French carriages occupied by highly powdered Brazilian ladies; quaint, two-wheel, bellows-top cabs of the country, pulled by nondescript animals; antique stages lumbering after bored-looking mules—all moving back and forth between the rows of houses, past the little parks, and through a perspective accented by royal palms looking like thick telegraph-posts with feather-dusters on top. Nobody walked but the slaves and the very poor.

Bolger traveled up and down this avenue many times and pondered. There would be money in a street-car line—that he knew. But how much? He set to work to study the traffic. Day after day and night after night he passed upon the street, counting, counting, at different points and different hours. Gradually he accumulated figures showing the volume of traffic. They were astounding. And he made up his mind to build a street-car line.

Men of Bolger's type soon make friends. By this time he knew the members of the foreign colony, including the small group of Americans, and his big heart and rugged sympathies made him foremost in looking out

for and helping the human waifs, strays, and derelicts that were always turning up.

Johnston, a bright young newspaper man, had been sent out to report the interminable Paraguayan war which was dragging along on the Parana, and in Montevideo he fell in love with one of the many good and beautiful women with which God blesses that country. He married her, and soon after his paper seemed to get tired of the Paraguayan war and his drafts weren't paid; so he borrowed enough money to go home, and got as far as Rio with his young wife. While waiting there for the New York steamer the fever found her, and in a few hours she died. Bolger arranged the swift funeral and tried to comfort the desolate man, but he turned for forgetfulness to a Brazilian equivalent of whisky—of seven-devil power. Johnston, dead-broke and rapidly killing himself, was taken in hand by Bolger. He put him upon his moral legs; he gave him money and a ticket home, saw him off, and straightway forgot the matter.

In order to build his street-car line he must have a concession from the municipality, so he went to work to get it. In that community initiative, energy, and enterprise are all imported. He had brought a large supply of all three. He used his friends to the limit with merciless good humor. He was to be seen bending his great bulk over small and deprecating Brazilians and shaking an earnest fist at them. No man or place was sacred from his intrusion. Directness, energy, and audacity were his weapons, and it was a contest between these qualities and the courteous inertia he was bound to overcome. It was impossible for people to say "no" to him, and he would not let them forget that they had said "yes." Finally he drove the concession through.

In a country where high-priced coffee raised by slave labor returned an extravagant income there was languid interest in his scheme as an investment. His native friends looked with admiring wonder upon his goings on, they thanked him profusely for his generous offers, and they gave him vague promises, but he raised no money.

If he couldn't get it in Rio he could get it in Philadelphia. He got on board the first steamer sailing for the States and talked street-car line at the table and in the smoking-room. He proclaimed aloud his great luck and his coming riches while the old side-wheeler splashed her leisurely way northward.

As soon as he landed he hurried to Philadelphia. His life there had begun in poverty and hardship. He had struggled to better

himself; finally he got a job in a shipyard and learned the trade. His employers used to say he was the best man in the yard. He was proud of coming back with the potentiality of untold wealth in his pockets; he would gladly share it with the wise and eager Philadelphians who would so briskly seize the opportunity. He found the city moving on its tranquil way—unhurried, unchanged. He tried to come in touch with his eager Philadelphians. Not one would even look at the map and see where Rio was. They did not like his loud voice and assertive manner. They would have no dealings with him.

He had brought some letters from Americans in Rio to people in New York. He went there and continued his weary hunt for other people's money. After many days he got in touch with people who consented to look at the map—would even wade through the sheets and sheets of statistics of travel, and would look at the concession and ask questions about it. It was heart-breaking work, and it was only after months and by his ceaseless energy that a little group was made and \$22,000 were available.

The legal side of the business was pushed along, the company was organized, and he formally transferred his concession. In a day or two the money would be paid in. He must begin to buy materials at once. He was so intent on doing the job that he had paid no attention to the reward, for there was enough for everybody, and he would soon be a rich man.

Bolger was staying at the Metropolitan Hotel, on Broadway, long since vanished. One night after dinner he strolled into the billiard-room to while away the time. A man playing billiards at a near-by table looked up and saw Bolger. "Don't you remember me? I'm Johnston." It was the man he had helped in Rio. "I knew you were here. I've been wanting to see you. You didn't know I had an interest in the street-car line? Well, I have. Never mind how I got it. But I want to tell you those fellows are not playing fair with you. They say you haven't any agreement with them, and that you're no use to 'em, anyhow. They'll just give you a little something, but you won't be in it. By God! it's rough! Say, I'll turn you over my interest, and you go to the meeting tomorrow morning. I guess you know how to fight for what you ought to have."

So the certificate of interest was endorsed over, and the next morning the uninvited Bolger turned up at the meeting with fire in his eye. He wasn't an easy man to

ignore, and he had his vigorous way. When the meeting closed he owned an important share in the enterprise and Johnston's interest had been doubled. The scared look in the faces of his associates was gradually changing to one of wheedling deference.

Then the days were crowded with work. There was but little money, and materials for only a mile of track were bought. Rails, cars, ties were all rushed to Rio, and Bolger was no laggard in getting back. The day after his return work began, and it didn't take long for him, even in that land of deliberation, to put down a mile of road. It began at the Rua do Ouvidor, the street of fine shops and of promenading men, and found its way between the bay and the hills and through the residence district.

When the first mile was done and ready to operate there was a "function." High officials attended, and there was speechifying very complimentary to Bolger. He responded in his private brand of picturesque Portuguese, and the road was declared open. All Rio seemed determined to ride. The authorized fare was ten cents gold, and from the first hour the road was overwhelmed with traffic. A continuous stream of dimes flowed into the treasury and mounted into a huge daily income. Under the powerful push of the man, building never ceased until many miles of road were finished, and each mile added to the volume of dimes. All the extensions were paid for out of these dimes. Not a dollar beyond the original twenty-two thousand had been contributed by the owners.

Now, at this time Rio was cursed with a minor coinage in the form of huge copper disks, so heavy as to make it profitable to melt them down in the times of high-priced copper, and requiring a slave to carry the money-basket on shopping expeditions. Gradually people fell into the way of using car-tickets for change. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of tickets were bought for this purpose, and the company found its profits enormously increased by the use of this money and the wearing out and loss of the frail slips. The company owned a mint, coining paper tokens and selling them for a high price in gold and redeeming such as were not destroyed in rides on the street-cars.

Wealth poured in upon the stockholders. The results of the enterprise were dazzling. Millions were offered for the stock, and hundreds of thousands were paid in dividends.

As there was only one avenue between bay and hills, it was impossible to build a competing road. Street-car lines became the rage, and they were constructed in all other directions. The very Brazilians to whom Bolger had offered interests which they had declined with thanks fought in the local exchange for stock.

Five years after Bolger, ship-carpenter, had stepped ashore in Rio with a chest of tools, Bolger, the capitalist, sat upon the broad veranda of a great house. In front Botago Bay greened in the shallows and whitened in the trade-wind. Marvelous mountains were in the field of view; an avenue of palms led to the gateway, past which tinkled street-cars laden with passengers. The house was a centre of hospitality, the owner a principal figure in the community and the close friend of an emperor.

HOME INDUSTRY VERSUS THE FACTORY

THE announcement that the famous home toy industry of Erzgebirge or Ore Mountain, Germany, is surely drifting into economic difficulties on account of the inroads of the large manufacturers, brings to mind the startling growth of the toy industry, at once the delight and the chronicle of society. The American child that carelessly handles the very cheapest toy hardly realizes that it was probably produced after infinite toil in some far-away German peasant home for a compensation that in America would appear almost absurd. Slowly the patient workers who have worked for years in the seclusion of their foreign houses making the knickknacks that have driven away childish care are being forced into new employment. The great Paris doll competition of 1901, when prizes were offered for unique novelties in toys, has resulted in an annual competition and the production by machinery of many new and startling diversions.

Doll-making is the great toy industry of France, after all, and a small army of men and women are busily engaged in making the millions of dressed dolls that form the annual output. The largest and most pretentious toy-makers are those who work in metal. In the making of a metal toy selling in our country for five cents a formidable machine is necessary. The making of india-rubber toys involves much expense and labor. They are only made in very large quantities. And this wholesale manufacture is displacing an historical home industry in Germany. Again the machine has superseded the man.



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THE LATEST PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

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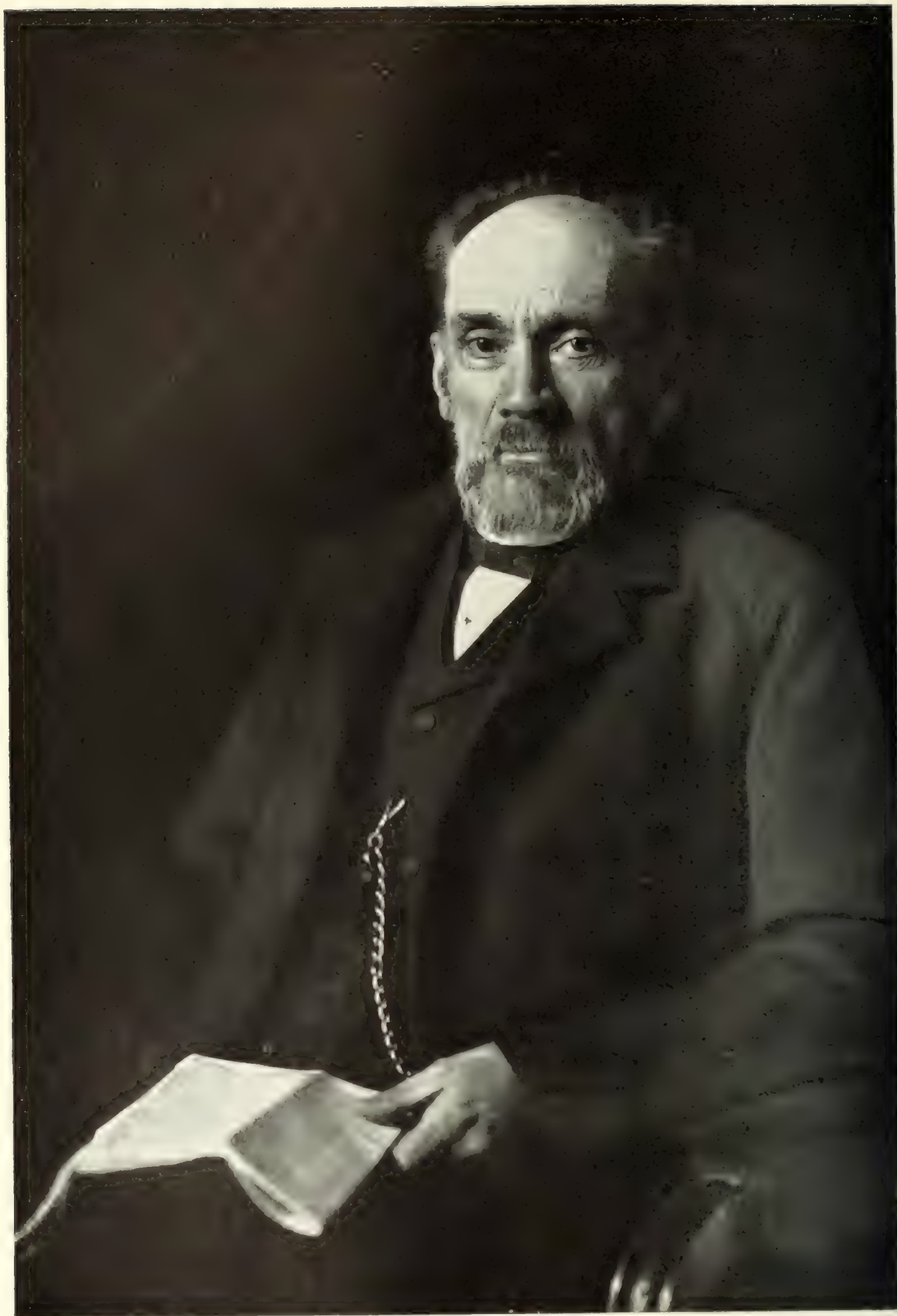
The March of Events

THE open struggle that may decide the fate of the yellow races has begun, and Heaven knows when or how it will end or what surprising turns it may take in changing the map of the world.

One course of events was that Japan should go on unhindered in her remarkable development; that she should have Korea for her overflowing population; that her trade should continue to expand in Manchuria and in other Chinese provinces; that her influence should extend at the pace that the machinery of modern civilization would enable her take; and that she should become the dominant power among the yellow peoples as England and her offspring have become the dominant powers in the other parts of the world—this is what might have happened if the European governments had held aloof, or even if Russia had not had a vast Asiatic ambition. For the races that are akin to the Japanese have looked to them with this ultimate hope—or perhaps some with fear. It seemed a sort of race destiny—a fit thing to come to pass. China has a thousand students in Tokio alone, and the Japanese are born nearer to the Chinese than any other nation can ever come. Japanese influence, if it be not repressed or deflected, might extend over Siam, Burmah, India, Persia, traveling westward over these Asiatic peoples and modernizing them, looking toward the awakening

of Asia to a new life under an Asiatic leadership. Such is the necessary direction of Japanese ambition and such the possible large opportunity. It is as splendid a prospect as any nation ever dreamed of, and it would mean the rebirth of Asia under the guidance of a progressive Asiatic people—a fit thing in human history, proving that decadent races may rise.

But this working out of a new era in Asiatic history under the industrial, and perhaps political, leadership of Japan conflicts sharply with Russian ambition, and, as the Russians regard it, with their national necessities. They have with a continuous policy, unchanging with changes of ministers and of czars, with great cost and in obedience to an expansive impulse, pushed eastward to the ocean, since they could not push westward and an ocean they must have. With patience, with force, with intrigue, by double-dealing and in defiance of all obstacles, they have established themselves in Manchuria; and they propose to stay there. They need even more than Manchuria, and they push on into Korea. They must have ice-free ports; they must have rail connections between their ports. They must have trade, too. Their influence over China must grow, not wane. This is *their* movement of national expansion. They justify it not only by their immediate necessities, but by the larger argument that



H. von Holst.
June 2nd, 1903.

THE LATE HISTORIAN, HERMANN VON HOLST



Photographed by Stein

JAMES H. STOUT

WHO BUILT UP THE MENOMONIE, WISCONSIN, SCHOOL SYSTEM

(See page 4540)

they must prevent the possible consolidation of Asia under Japanese leadership. This they profess to regard as the yellow peril that would threaten the white races of the world, and as a "heathen" peril that would threaten the Christian nations.

Far beneath all temporary aims and immediate purposes lies, too, the Russian instinctive plan at last to outstrip English influence in Asia—to meet the other great conquering race of mankind and overcome it in control of the swarming Orient. The encounter with Japan is only a step in a long journey on which Russia has set out. The first thing is to keep Japan a secondary power. The next thing will be to thwart English growth in Asia.

This is the large meaning of the struggle. The immediate provocation is Russia's refusal to agree by treaty really to restore Manchuria to China, to leave Japan trade there unhindered, and to leave her political control in Korea untouched.

Russia, therefore, is clearly the aggressor. She comes and finds a situation which she proposes to change—is changing—to Japan's detriment. She would in effect shut Japan up in her overcrowded islands and practically drive her influence and her trade from the mainland. Russia fights for the extension of power—fights really for the dismemberment of China; Japan fights for her chance to grow. Russia fights to gain ground that she has not hitherto honorably had; Japan fights to hold her own and to keep from sinking to the permanent level of a secondary or third-rate power.

REASONS FOR SYMPATHY WITH JAPAN

OUR interests in the Japanese-Russian struggle are more than the interests of a mere spectator. We have an important trade at stake and a chance for a trade very much more important than we have yet developed. We say "at stake," because if the obvious Russian policy be carried out, Manchuria and all the sphere of Russian influence in Asia are not likely to be as open to us as if the same region were left under Chinese and Japanese influence.

But trade is not all, nor the most. We have had a long diplomatic contention in Asia, and we have played an honorable and important part in all the stages of this

struggle that preceded war. When the Boxer insurrection took place, and all the principal powers sent troops to Peking, and the future of China became the foremost political topic in every capital in Europe, it was our Department of State that resolutely contended for the integrity of the empire and for the open door for trade—for the right of every nation to trade on an equal basis. From that initial contention to this day, the diplomatic power of the United States has been exerted with the utmost strength to accomplish these ends, and it has had an important influence on the diplomacy of other nations.

We forced from Russia her renewed promise to evacuate Manchuria (which she has not kept); we negotiated a treaty with China whereby the important ports of Mukden and Antung in Manchuria shall be open to American trade (for diplomatically Manchuria is yet a Chinese province, and Russia is in honor bound to regard such a treaty with China), and the President has selected consuls for these posts. Russia, therefore, could not close them without giving serious offense to the United States.

Thus we stand energetically committed to the preservation of the Chinese empire and to the widening of commerce with it. At some stage of the struggle that has begun it is likely that the interests and the contention to which we are thus committed will bring us—let us hope not into controversy, but surely they may bring us into closer range with the chief parties to the struggle.

Besides these specific aims and treaties, we have the larger and ever-widening interest in the Far East that our responsibilities in the Philippines imply; and this interest will become still greater as soon as the Panama Canal is open to traffic. For then the Mississippi Valley—the grain States and the cotton States—will be much nearer the farther Pacific; that is to say, our products can be sent there much more cheaply than they can now be sent, and under this stimulus markets will develop.

Since the Japanese trade policy is much more liberal than the Russian, it is natural that the commercial interests of the United States should give their sympathies to Japan. Our natural national feeling, too, which Russian journals have almost angrily observed, is with the liberal Japanese rather

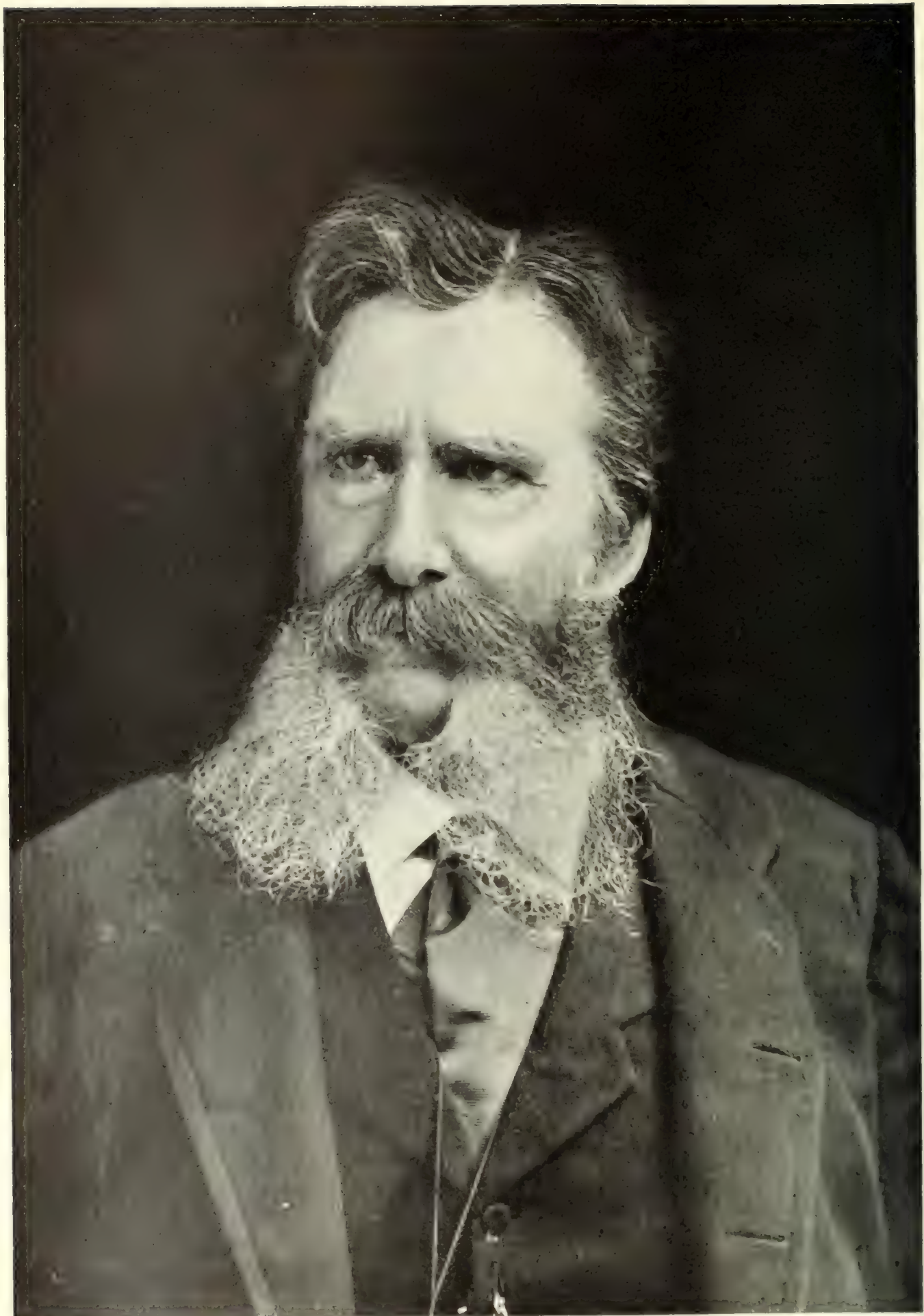


Photographie 1 by Chinedinst

REPRESENTATIVE JESSE OVERSTREET

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST-OFFICES AND POST-ROADS, ON WHOM DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE ALL POSTAL PROGRESS

(See page 4589)



ALEXANDER E. ORR

PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK RAPID TRANSIT COMMISSION, TO WHOSE PUBLIC SPIRIT AND PERSISTENCE
THE SUBWAY IN NEW YORK CITY IS DUE AND HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTED WITHOUT POLITICAL JOBBERY
(See "Milestones of Events")

than with the less liberal Russian character and Government. In spite of the incessantly repeated tradition of friendship between our Government and the Government of Russia, we have nothing in common with that almost absolute despotism; and we naturally have a strong sympathy for the Japanese. As their statesmen have pointed out, the position of their country is very similar to the position of England in the time of Napoleon. England then fought to prevent the establishment of a military despotism in Europe. Japan now fights to check a military despotism in Asia.

OUR PART IN THE ASIATIC STRUGGLE

BEFORE the daring destruction of a considerable part of the Russian navy at Port Arthur on the night of February 8th, with which the war began auspiciously for Japan, our Government addressed a note to Japan and China and to the other powers looking toward a restriction of the area of hostilities. The agreement thus invited goes further, in fact; for it goes back to our original contention—that China must be kept intact. If China should be drawn into the struggle, or if any power should, as a result of the war, have an excuse to take Chinese territory, the partition of the empire would swiftly follow. It falls to us again, then, to take a leading part in an effort to preserve it. If the powers stand together the effect may be at last to prevent Russia from retaining even Manchuria—which is the very thing that she is fighting for—to say nothing of keeping away from Peking. In these several diplomatic moves by our Government there is no hostility to Russia. Our position is strictly neutral. But in effect, if the powers thus practically forbid the partition of China, Russia's whole plan will be defeated by our diplomacy, whatever may be the result of the war. Japan also, of course, will be hindered from acquiring any Chinese territory. The only prize left to fight about will be Korea.

Thus the result of our diplomatic efforts, growing out of the agreement that followed the Boxer uprising, may be more important than the results of the war itself; and let us hope that they will prevent a general conflict. For a general war would be likely to follow the spoliation of China by any power.

As a result of the war any one of several far-reaching tendencies might, under certain

conditions, set in strong. An unrestrained Russian victory might lead to the Russian domination of China and ultimately of still more of Asia. An unrestrained Japanese victory might lead to the Japanese domination of China and the building up of Japan as the dominant power in Asia. A general war might lead to the partition of China among all the greedy governments. A firm adherence to the international agreement that was made after the Boxer insurrection will lead to the preservation of the Chinese empire intact, and no country can be used as spoil of war except Korea. In this case the relative positions of the powers will remain substantially what they are, and civilization will be spared a scramble for "spheres" of Chinese territory. In other words, our policy is the policy of preventing a general war and of saving China from division. And it is a large but proper part for us to play.

A NEW AMERICAN NATIONAL IDEAL

THESE events prove that we must now and hereafter play so important a part in the world that no government can take any serious action without indirectly consulting us. Our trade, our treaties, our great granaries, our vast supplies, our money market—every chancellery in the world consults these great facts before it dares declare war or to think seriously of changing the map even of the most remote part of the earth.

It is this fact upon which Mr. Hay has worked out the most impressive series of diplomatic triumphs that were ever won in a time of peace. Not only has he changed the attitude of other nations to us (or skilfully shaped the changes that time has brought), but he has made American public thought aware of the change. There has been worked out, though it is not yet clearly formulated, a new sort of ideal for the republic. We regard ourselves in a different way.

The ideal, as regards foreign relations, that our statesmen of one era held and infused into the public thought was an ideal of friendly relations with them all and entangling alliances with none. This was in the days of sailing-ships and before the trade of the world was organized. At a later period we showed a temper of indifference to the rest of mankind. We spent our energy and treasure in settling our part of our own continent and

in saving the Union, and it could hardly be said of us that we had a foreign policy at all. Our diplomats steered us out of several threatening difficulties, but the thought of the people hardly touched our foreign relations or anything foreign. We were still far away from the rest of mankind, and the rest of mankind regarded us with indifference, if not with contempt.

But, since the rise of our great international commerce, since our trade "invasion" of the Old World, and since we have shown by our conduct toward Cuba and the Philippines that we feel a great power's obligations, we have come into a new relation to all other powers, and a new kind of ideal has arisen as regards our foreign relations. We look upon ourselves no longer as remote or detached, and we are no longer indifferent to anything that concerns international policies. A war at the antipodes concerns us. The shifting of the relative importance of any nation concerns us. Almost every trade treaty that is made or can be made concerns us.

Thus we have come to regard ourselves not, indeed, as a country that has a right or a wish to interfere in what is not our proper sphere—not as a busybody nor as a bully—but as the one country that may at any turn hold the balance of power or of peace, the one country that must be silently or openly consulted before any international action may be taken. We have more than provisions for a campaign, more than cash for a war budget—we have a moral power that counts for fair treatment, for open doors, and for frank diplomacy; and if there should be need (though the force of this is most gracefully exerted in silence) we have an efficient navy.

There has come into the consciousness of the American people a feeling of the solemn responsibility that this relation gives. It is a new and high ideal that has risen out of our international experience as Mr. Hay has shaped it—that we are and must remain a great power which must so use our pivotal position as to make for the lifting of international dealings to a higher level than they have ever kept. It is a noble ideal, and it is shaping American character to a larger realization of itself and to a better understanding of the great destiny of our country. All this, when seen in proper perspective, will make as glorious a chapter in our history

as any series of events since the founding of our government.

HOW WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVERTED

FORTUNATELY there is no visible danger of our being drawn into hostilities in any event. But the diplomatic historian who shall have a knowledge of all the undercurrents of international negotiations will wonder why the United States and Great Britain did not prevent war.

They stand for the open door in trade. So does Japan. They stand for the integrity of the Chinese empire and the fulfilment of all treaty obligations that were made after the Boxer insurrection. So does Japan. But these general agreements of policy are not all. Great Britain has a definite alliance with Japan which had no other motive than to thwart Russia. Russia threatens British interests across the whole length of Asia. By this definite action to strengthen her Asiatic sea power and her eastern commerce Russia makes the first direct move in the great game of the future which England and Russia must play for commercial and military supremacy in the Far East.

It is impossible to believe that the united vigorous efforts of the two great English-speaking countries could have failed to deter Russia, if they had been made in time. But they would probably have involved a threat or a danger of a general war; and public opinion neither in Great Britain nor in the United States would have permitted any action by either of the two governments that carried with it the slightest danger of such a calamity.

Yet, if England were not for the moment weak in leadership (distracted by a discussion of her fiscal policy), and if the United States were not on the eve of a Presidential campaign (public opinion being exceedingly sensitive, too, about any interference in foreign affairs), it might well have happened that a way might have been found at least indefinitely to postpone, if not avert, this conflict.

So it has come to pass (and such things have happened many times before in history) that Mr. Chamberlain and his campaign in England and the anti-imperialists in the United States may be the reasons why the old barbarism of war disgraces the twentieth century.

INSUFFERABLE SANTO DOMINGO

THE three groups of poverty-stricken and destructive "revolutionists" in Santo Domingo are keeping the island in violent disorder and reducing it to want, for they all live only by plunder. In a country where little property has been accumulated, this means almost universal destruction. Such an intolerable condition tempts, if it does not demand, outside interference. If any European power interfere—say Germany, for the Germans have trading interests there—the sharp question will arise whether the United States can permit any other country to take a step that might look toward ultimate occupation or control. Anticipating such a possibility, our Government has caused it to be known that it will suffer no attack on the island by any foreign power. There is yet no open threat of such action by any country. But the question that precedes any such threat is whether we do not owe it to civilization to put an end to the perpetual suicidal strife from which the people suffer. The problem presented when General Grant wished to annex the island is not the same problem that is now presented to us; for then we had had no "colonial" experience. Annexation then meant the first step toward admission to the Union; and this kind of annexation was naturally repulsive to American opinion and is repulsive yet. But we now have the precedents of our action in Cuba and of our management of Porto Rico and of the Philippines to guide us, and "annexation," or some form of protection against anarchy and human butchery, does not imply any thought of ultimate admission into the Union. Possible problems of this kind press upon us somewhat faster than we might wish. But it requires little foresight to see the necessity of our interference in Santo Domingo for the sake of civilization. The killing of an American marine there is a mere incident. The larger question is our duty under the Monroe Doctrine to do what we cannot permit any other country to do—bring order out of this black chaos and cruelty.

THE NEXT STEP IN PANAMA—TO DIG

THE next step in the Panama matter that interests the public will be the beginning of physical work on the canal under American direction. The opposition to the

treaty has spent itself in oratory and editorials. The threat of military trouble from Colombia is no longer heard. Our Government (when this paragraph is written) is already preparing to pay \$40,000,000 to the French Panama Company for its property and rights on the isthmus. The noise is all gone, and we shall presently begin the task of finishing the canal and connecting the two oceans.

About two-fifths of it is already cut, including fourteen miles from the Atlantic coast and four miles from the Pacific coast; but these sections will need deepening. Thirty-six miles of the most difficult part remain to be cut. It is estimated that this task will require the work of 50,000 men for eight years. A great dam is to be built at Bohio, which is fourteen miles inland from the Atlantic coast, that will make a lake fifty-two feet above the Atlantic, into which vessels will be raised by locks. The new level thus reached will extend twenty-two miles. Then vessels going toward the Pacific will descend by locks about sixty-five feet; farther on they will descend again, perhaps thirty feet, to the Pacific level. The dam will supply power that will be used in excavating, and the work under American direction is expected to go on much faster than the French company conducted it. We shall presently be within sight of the realization of the most important change that has ever been made by man in the physical structure of the earth.

PARTIES WITHOUT "ISSUES"

THE programme that Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, has made for his party is no doubt the best that can be made as a body of working doctrine—a tariff for revenue only and all that this implies. It implies the denial of protection to "trusts" and the enforcement of existing laws, and perhaps the enactment of new laws which shall deny to them commercial privileges that are denied to individuals. This is the old-time, historic Democratic doctrine. It is essentially the Cleveland platform. It is the only doctrine that the party has that sharply differentiates it from the Republicans, whose chief doctrine is protection.

But Mr. Williams sees the practical difficulty in the way of carrying this programme into radical execution. Since the Supreme

Court has declared an income tax unconstitutional, the Government must raise so large a revenue from import duties that a tariff for revenue only cannot differ radically from a tariff for protection. The gross inequalities of a protective tariff (of the present one, for instance) might be removed; but protection cannot be eradicated from any schedule of duties that would yield the revenue now required. Much as they differ in purpose, the two programmes of duties for protection and of duties for revenue only can now not differ radically in their practical results. This is the reason why the old Cleveland programme cannot again make as strong an appeal as it made twelve years ago. The decision that forbade an income tax made a high tariff inevitable for an indefinite time.

We have, then, the interesting spectacle of two parties without a great practical doctrinal difference. An academic doctrinal difference they yet have. But the American people are very practical, and in all practical ways the two parties stand for substantially the same thing. Thus we have come to have parties without an "issue."

In spite of the lack of an issue, the party lines are yet drawn. A Democrat is a Democrat yet; a Republican yet a Republican. They divide in State and even in municipal elections. There is a memory and a hope of a difference in doctrine. There is, too, the constant play of personalities. But the candidates rather than the platforms now make the programmes, and our party life goes on artificially. For a time at least "issues" are not necessary for party life.

COMMERCIALISM IN POLITICS

THE absence of a clear doctrinal issue between the two parties has brought national politics—if a man wish to look beneath the surface and to see things as they are—into a new stage. What do the two parties exist for? Leaving doctrinal statements, platforms, and programmes out of sight, what is the real purpose of each party?

Each plays for industrial security; each courts the "business interests" of the country; each runs from danger of a panic; each seeks the support and the approval of the great captains of industry. True, they are afraid of an open alliance with the trusts, and they would each keep away from

Wall Street, for they wish the approval of the masses of the people who distrust the great combination-builders. But each party, nevertheless, will take good care to stand on the side of the "business interests" of the country—on the side of "prosperity."

Translated into plain language, what does this political condition mean? Whether for good or for evil, it means that the dominant force in our political life is not any sort of political ideal, but commercial success pure and simple. Industrialism is our master. To maintain the stability of industrial conditions is our ideal and is the aim of both parties. The managers of both parties will nominate candidates for the Presidency that they do not like, because they are afraid to indulge preferences that might court the displeasure of the industrial world.

For immediate and purely practical results, perhaps we have no need to regret the domination of our politics by industry and commerce. But what effect such a domination may at last have on political ideals is a grave question. Not to go further, it must be feared that such a domination will bring more and more into political life the kind of men that already occupy so many seats in the Senate—men who represent "interests" rather than commonwealths. In the White House we now have a man full of idealism; but the finer parts of Mr. Roosevelt's character have been less appreciated since he became President than they were before. The reign of industrialism brings into the public mind a lower conception of politics, a less keen appreciation of the higher type of public men and even of the higher qualities of the men we have. We have party divisions, party government, party strife, without the noble rivalry that spurs each party to put forth its highest ideal or its highest type of men. They each bid simply for the support of industrialism.

THE IDEALS OF AN INDUSTRIAL ERA

A MAN who does his thinking by historical epochs will not be greatly discouraged by the obvious influence of industrialism on our generation. It may obscure political ideals for the moment, and it may in weak natures obscure ideals of the personal life. We are familiar, in every grade of society, with the leaden quality of the mere money-getting man. He brings a sort of national

reproach to us, and he is the worst bore that was ever cast up on the shores of any civilization.

But the great industrial movement of which we are the chief promoters and beneficiaries is in other ways bringing benefits of a new kind. Ours is the first time in the history of mankind when any large mass of the people has been physically comfortable or economically efficient. The low level of comfort, of health, of convenience, and of well-being in general on which the human race has hitherto lived and the enormous waste of life and brain and muscle and time that it has suffered for lack of mechanical knowledge and organization are appalling. With the incalculable advance in economic efficiency, there is reason to believe that our ideals also will rise, not fall, and new ideals will be born.

In fact, even the political ideals of the whole people are doubtless quite as high as they ever were. It is the parties whose ideals in a dull time have fallen to the level of the somewhat commonplace minds that have the practical conduct of our political life.

He is a short-sighted man surely who gets discouragement from industrialism. He is short-sighted who does not get a high and stimulating encouragement. It brings its own class of evils—great concentration of power, enormous personal wealth, "mammon against man," as Mr. Bryan expresses it—but it is lifting the life of a large part of mankind in our country to a level that gives a wider horizon, and it is just beginning to bring the leisure and the opportunity that will permit the growth of higher ideals. There is a test of this progress that is easy to make. Any man may make it who doubts it. What reasonably successful man would give his lot in life, with his opportunities and aspirations, for the lot of his father or of his grandfather? Has the educated man of today not a wider vision in all subjects of culture than his grandfather had, and (what is still more important) a better balanced view of life and a saner philosophy?

THE CHARACTER-BUILDING POWER OF INDUSTRIALISM

ANOTHER measure of the value of industrialism as a most useful tool of a higher civilization is given by missionaries. The tendency has long been growing to substitute work for doctrine—to lay the founda-

tion of salvation first by an economic change in the people's lives. To make a people economically efficient and self-respecting is the best method—perhaps it is the only method—of leading them into a higher social or spiritual life. There is now a definite movement both here and in England—the chief apostle of it is Mr. Fry, who has been organizing industrial missions in New York—to send teachers of work to the "heathen." The "heathen"—for we have now come to see this truth—are not those who may differ with us in doctrine, but those who are economically inefficient, whether they live in other lands or in our own. Lord Cromer, in his recent report about Egypt to the British Government, has given high praise to the practical work of this sort that American missionaries are doing in the Soudan. "No parade is made of religion," Lord Cromer reports. "I found considerable numbers of Shillouks, men and women, working happily at the brick-kiln which Mr. Giffen had established in the extensive and well-cultivated gardens attached to the mission. . . . The houses in which the members of the mission live have been constructed by Shillouk labor."

It is the same plan of lifting life to a higher plane that General Armstrong worked out for the Negroes in the southern States—the same plan that is fast becoming the fundamental notion in American education in general.

Now, the point is that industrialism—the making of money, the raising of the level of comfort, the multiplication of conveniences, the development of organizations for economy of time and labor and cost—having come to be the dominant fact in American activity, instead of lowering the high ideals of the few who have always had leisure and opportunity, is giving great masses of people opportunity for higher ideals for the first time in human history.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MR. BRYAN

MR. BRYAN is an interesting spectacle. Twice defeated for the Presidency on a platform that the public sentiment even of his own party now regards as obsolete, to say the least of it, and having surely no expectation and certainly no chance of a third nomination, he is yet busily engaged in making speeches in the East and in the

West, apparently to prevent the Democrats from nominating any man who is displeasing to him. If he cannot longer be the leader, he would like, in a sense, to be dictator to his party. This is the somewhat immodest spectacle that he presents to his enemies—a man consumed by vanity.

To his friends he seems a public leader who, though he no longer hopes for office himself, is so earnest about the great principle that he stands for as to give his time to explaining it out of sheer zeal for the public welfare.

Both views of him are partly correct. The habit of leadership is hard to throw off, and harder still the habit of public speaking to audiences that applaud. Perhaps the man of sonorous sentences never lived who could take an accurate measure of his own performances, from Cicero's day to our own. When thousands applaud you, you are sure that you are right. It is easy to believe, too, that you do a public service by your oratory. Effective public speaker as Mr. Bryan is (and we have had few more effective), his vanity is inevitable, even if unpardonable.

And there is more than this to be said. For, however much Mr. Bryan may fool himself, he has a strong moral impulse and he makes a strong appeal to the moral sense of his sympathetic hearers. He protests against a great wrong. He does not make his protest effective with men who think clearly, because he presents no practical remedy. He sees that the body politic is sick, but he either has no cure or a cure that is worse than the disease. His course of reasoning is this: The plutocrats—to use his own phrase—win elections by their campaign funds. The men and the parties that they put into power are under obligations to them. They pay these obligations by granting special privileges. We are, then, ruled by the plutocrats. The old conception of a democracy—a political society in which the people really rule themselves and in which every man has an equal opportunity—has not been realized, and has, in fact, almost been forgotten. This is true. Every thoughtful man knows that it is true. Every thoughtful man feels the danger that we may be even drifting out of sight of the old ideal.

Since Mr. Bryan has no remedy for the wounds that industrialism inflicts on democracy, his emphasis on the evils that we suffer

may only make them worse; for he may make class-feeling stronger by stirring up discontent that he cannot allay. Yet there is a great moral truth behind his verbose declamation. He sees it too dimly to formulate it helpfully. He talks round about it, at a distance; and his programme to help us is muddled. But, long after he has been pronounced dead by his critics, he continues to speak to sympathetic audiences—to little purpose, no doubt; but his reception does give evidence of a deep-rooted conviction that something is wrong in the warfare between "man and mammon." Mr. Bryan is no longer a national figure, for he is a discredited prophet; but he is a voice crying in the wilderness, and many hear him with a half faith. This half faith becomes disappointment at last. But another orator of the oppressed will then take up the cry; and so we go on.

POLITICAL MALARIA AT WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON in a year of a Presidential campaign is the haunt of unbalanced judgments. Life and thought there become artificial at any time; but as soon as a general election comes within view even the sanest men catch a fantastic fever. To see the country whole and to see it straight seems impossible.

Throughout the land men are going about their business these months as usual; they think and feel as they usually think and feel; they are not aware of any great revolutions of public sentiment; they suffer no undue excitement. But in Washington you will be told that the people are all astir in the West, or that New England is slipping from its ancient moorings, or that some occult machinery is about to change the very face of political nature. A caucus is called. Its utterances sound like the voice of God. The President had a gentleman from Kansas at luncheon—there is grave danger that Kansas may be split wide open. There is a deep plot in every resolution offered in Congress. The House will pass a service-pension bill this session for campaign purposes in States where a service pension is favored. The Senate will refuse to pass it this session, so that the "raid on the Treasury" may not do harm in States where such a bill is not favored; but it will pass it at the next session. The very newspaper corre-

spondents will tell you of plots and counterplots that a sort of professional courtesy forbids them to publish. But if they did publish them they would split the country wide open! One Democratic candidate for the Presidency is now talked about "to divert public attention." When the time comes he will be dropped, and the man who will really be nominated will be taken up for discussion and "put through." There is a feeling that a telegram from Washington naming the winning man will, at a certain time, set the whole country on fire.

Or you may hear that the President has not a shadow of a chance to be nominated. Is not Senator So-and-so his enemy? And does that not settle it? Or, the President the other day offended five members of the House by a single act! Nobody gets credit for frankness. The shortest distance between two points is a curved line.

And in addition to the dwellers in this cave of superstitions, there gather at Washington at such a time the politically unbalanced from every part of the Union. A committeeman from Missouri or from Utah will call on the President and report to his Senator that Mr. Roosevelt is "rattled." The Senator repeats the story in his committee-room, and the next day it is whispered about that the President lacks courage and that he will be beaten surely.

This comedy is played seriously even in the boarding-houses of the government clerks. They hear that a member of Congress has received from the Secretary of Agriculture a can of Porto Rican coffee. That member, therefore, will support the appropriation for enlarging the experiment station on the island. A gold-laced ambassador is presented to the President before a justice of the Supreme Court, and the pillars of society are shaken.

The seriousness of these people, from Senate chamber to barber-shop, is amusing for a day, but it soon becomes impressive. In spite of yourself you begin to believe that their fears or hopes may be well founded. You suspect that the country may really be managed at Washington. You find yourself half believing that the American people are ruled by intrigue and gossip—till you go home and begin to tell the stories and the theories that you have heard, and discover that your neighbors do not even know who

the committeemen from Utah and Missouri are, or even who Senator So-and-so is, or what the caucus did, or whether a justice should precede an ambassador or an ambassador a justice. The whole rigmarole of plots and dark secrets and of impregnable organizations finally goes out of your head with a few days of fresh air, and you end by regarding Washington and the news that comes out of it as less important than they really are.

A DEGRADING CONCEPTION OF PENSIONS

THERE is little hesitancy about increasing the military pension list, and we are now sure at last to have a service pension in some form. The plan most in favor means that every man who served in the Civil War shall be paid \$12 a month or some similar sum for the rest of his life, and that many pensions that are now less than \$12 a month shall be increased. The principle of pensions so far paid is that they are paid for physical injury received in military service or for dependence because of physical injury. The service pension brings in the new principle of payment for service without regard to injury.

A service pension has followed every war preceding the Civil War—the Revolutionary War; the War of 1812, and the Mexican War; and the agitation for it to apply to the survivors of the Civil War has been persistent. For many years it was easily resisted, partly because almost any survivor could secure a pension under existing laws and practices, but partly also because a section of public opinion could still successfully oppose it.

But now the effective opposition seems to have been overcome. The President is said to favor it; the members of the pension committees favor it; the extravagant mood of the time favors it. Of course the Grand Army of the Republic favors it, and doubtless it is thought to be "good politics." Some men favor it, too, because they hope that it will simplify the whole pension-paying machinery. Not only does the Pension Office, with its system of politically appointed medical examiners, keep up its voluminous work, but the House of Representatives gives one day a week wholly to passing private pension bills, almost all of which are for the increase of pensions that cannot be secured by the regular machinery. The House gives every Friday to



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AND THE SEAT OF WAR

these pension bills. The total pension payments the last fiscal year were \$139,000,000. A service pension for the survivors of the Civil War will add an unknown sum, estimated from \$24,000,000 to \$48,000,000 a year.

The pension system has thus added a new horror to war; for, generously as it was conceived, it has been so abused as to tempt men to a loss of self-respect and of character that has brought as serious a deterioration of citizenship as the demoralization caused by the bloodshed and the waste of actual warfare. We are now nearly forty years removed from the end of the Civil War. After this final debauch of a service pension the roll of pensioners will gradually decrease; but it will be forty years more before the widows of veterans who married them for pensions will be rare enough to excite remark, and some of them will be on the roll a full century after the surrender at Appomattox. If they were reminders only of self-sacrificing patriotism which deserved the gratitude of the republic, they would be held in high esteem. But many of them will remind the great-grandchildren of veterans of the ease with which public generosity was perverted to personal degradation.

This wholesale bestowal of pensions will take away from them the distinction that they were meant to convey. They will be badges of honor even less than they are now. They will become mere bounties wrung from a rich treasury, having no significance but their pecuniary value. We have traveled a long way from the high and patriotic conception of a pension that was held forty years ago. We think of it only as an increase of income to a clamorous body, many of them mendicants, who profit by the nation's generosity and by the weakness of our political system.

THE REMOTENESS OF THE CIVIL WAR

EVERY man in the northern and western States who is old enough to remember the Civil War must often be surprised at the ignorance of the two grown-up generations younger than he about even the principal facts of the conflict. Few persons less than forty-five years old know, for instance, just what part General Longstreet or General Gordon, who are just dead, played in the war; and but for General Gordon's recently published reminiscences he would have been,

as General Longstreet long had been, a mere name to most persons outside the southern States. There is much less popular knowledge of the Civil War than of the War of the Revolution. Even in the South, where the war is very much more talked about than in the North and West, the post-bellum generations have more sentiment than accurate knowledge about it.

This fact is not an accident. It is a striking proof that the war was the end of an epoch rather than the beginning of one, that it closed a series of events and ended a long controversy, and that subsequent generations have thanked Heaven that it was past before their period of activity began. Even the great actors in it—except the few greatest—have practically been forgotten. People no longer buy books about it in great quantities. It has passed out of the minds of most men less than fifty years of age—or would pass out if the promoters of pensions would decently permit them to forget it. General Gordon—shot five times on one day and refusing to retire till the fifth wound exhausted him—seems a figure as remote as if he had lived ages ago.

A DANGER TO CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM

THE merit system of appointment to federal offices has now reached a sort of crisis. The people favor civil-service reform and the politicians would like to abolish it. In these facts there is nothing new. But the question that has become acute is, How to get rid of superannuated appointees? When the system of appointment by examination was introduced preference was given to the veterans of the Civil War. In this way the service—certain departments of it in particular—was filled with men somewhat older than would otherwise have been appointed. Many of them have now passed the age of efficiency. But there is no way to get rid of them. There are departments of the Government, therefore, wherein the service is inadequate simply because it is done by worn-out old men.

The obvious remedy of forced retirement with a pension at a certain age or after a certain period of service has never met public favor nor the favor of the politicians. We have always shrunk from civil pensions, lavish as we are with military pensions. Many plans have been proposed to solve the

difficulty, such as the appointment of employees for a definite term of service and the requirement of a new examination at the end of that period. The Civil Service Commission in its latest report recommends a kind of compulsory old-age insurance, to be paid for out of the salaries of appointees.

The sort of dead-lock that has been reached because there is no way to get old men out of the service has given the enemies of the system a new point of attack and perhaps a renewed hope of abolishing the system. When the civil-service appropriation bill came up in the House a little while ago, a majority voted against it in the committee of the whole (where the vote is taken *viva voce* and not by roll-call). Enough men changed their votes in the regular session to pass the appropriation, but the vote in the committee of the whole revealed their real wishes, which some of them did not dare to express in regular session. Congress would like to starve the commission, but it does not dare. Yet, unless an exit from the service is provided, this serious weakness in the system will be emphasized more and more now that it has been in operation for the working lifetime of a generation.

NATIONAL AID TO ROAD-BUILDING

THE agitation for aid from the federal Government to build good country roads is vigorously carried on and is likely to result in the passage, if not by this Congress, by some later one, of a large appropriation bill. The plan most under discussion is the plan of Mr. Brownlow, a member of Congress from Tennessee. It provides for a new bureau of the Agricultural Department which shall superintend the work; for \$24,000,000, to be spent at the rate of \$8,000,000 a year for three years in the States according to population, no State that complies with the requirements of the bill to receive less than \$250,000. No State, county, or town shall receive help that does not itself contribute to the same purpose as much money as it shall receive from the federal Government. The aim of the bill is to stimulate the people to build better roads—not wholly to build them for them. A pamphlet widely distributed by Mr. Brownlow is a strong appeal to the farmers. It sets forth the whole subject with the directness of the following question and answer:

Q. How many miles will \$1.25 haul a ton on a road, a trolley road, on a railway, and on water?

A. A dollar and a quarter will haul a ton 5 miles on a common road, 12½ to 15 miles on a well-made stone road, 25 miles on a trolley road, 250 miles on a steam-railway, and 1,000 miles on a steamship.

The question of the constitutionality of such a measure is not very seriously discussed. Apart from the authority of the "general-welfare" clause of the Constitution, there is a provision which enables the Government to build post-roads, and the rural postmen will soon travel most of the roads in every State. The decisive influence will be the response that Congress receives from the farmers. If they make themselves active for the bill it will be passed. For Mr. Brownlow's pamphlet explains that the Government spent last year "for commerce and the cities" more than \$32,000,000; that the river and harbor appropriations have brought slight benefit to the inland States; that the old soldiers receive \$140,000,000 a year in pensions; in a word, that the Government has given more direct aid to almost every class than to the farmers—a statement that is both obvious and effective. Nor is there any doubt that such a stimulus to good road-building would bring lasting benefits to the country. Whether it be an expedient use of public funds, the farmers themselves will probably decide.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC MEN

DOES the public ever get quite an accurate conception of any strong public man? Take Senator Hanna as an example. The great emphasis that has been laid on his extraordinary qualities as an organizer and a successful man of affairs—as a money-making man—will perhaps forever prevent a large part of the public from believing him sincere in his work for the building up of the condition of wage-earners. He will always be thought of by many well-meaning persons as "playing politics" in all his unselfish labor in connection with the Civic Federation. Yet, long before he became a politician, he was a singularly successful manager of labor; and, if he had never become a politician, he would probably today be thought of throughout the world as the chief reconciler of labor and capital that we have produced. To be sure, his efforts would probably have been more successful in this field if he had had no other field.

So, too, with the late Mr. Wm. C. Whitney. More men thought of him during his last years as a patron of the turf than as the ablest Secretary of the Navy perhaps that we have ever had. The pastime of his period of retirement dimmed in the public mind both his executive and his political careers. Yet here was a man who, but for the rise of Bryanism, might have become President of the United States.

So, too, in an even greater degree is a part of the public likely to hold a wrong conception of President Roosevelt in respect of one quality of his character. His energetic manner has been accepted by his political enemies as an indication of reckless action, and the emphasis of cartoon and of endless repetition has been put on his "rashness" till many persons no doubt believe that he is "unsafe." Now, Mr. Roosevelt no doubt has qualities that provoke in many minds strong objections to him as President, but it is a total misconception of his character that any man has who regards him as "reckless" or "unsafe" in the conduct of the public business. When Mr. Root, who surely knows him, took occasion on his retirement from the Cabinet emphatically to explain to the members of the Union League Club in New York that the President was not unsafe as regards property or equal rights or our foreign relations, he told a truth that is obvious to men who really know Mr. Roosevelt. From the day he entered public life in his youth till now, emphatic as he has always been in speech and energetic in manner, he has not done a reckless deed. The quality of his actions is essentially conservative. He has more than once provoked deserved criticism for too much conservatism in action. If he were a quiet man—if he walked slowly to church and rode slow horses and listened stolidly to long, dull speeches, if he spoke hesitantly in conversation and practised a subdued sort of oratory, and kept an indoor quiet a certain number of hours a day, and had lived all his life on the Atlantic seaboard, and preferred slippers and tea to guns and saddles—then the public would regard him as a man most conservative in action. Probably he would be praised for his self-restraint in withholding governmental action in Panama till our treaty was rejected at Bogota. It is a very illogical and amusing world. Fierce as the light of

publicity is on public men, it is doubtful whether the press reports the true characters of the living with any greater accuracy than the historians reveal the characters of those long dead. Emphasis so easily falls on the wrong place.

WHEREIN WE FAIL AS MERCHANTS ABROAD

WHEN there is just a hint of uncertainty in the business situation—while the gamblers in cotton and wheat are raising false hopes and dashing them and disturbing legitimate industry—it is cheering to recall the substantial evidences of good trade. Our internal commerce is so great that there are no convenient measurements of it. A hint of its ever-widening area and better organization is given by the report of new railroads that were built last year.

In spite of the timidity of capital to go into new enterprises during a large part of 1903, about 6,000 miles of new road (not second tracks on old roads) were laid, which is a larger total than was laid the year before. Much the largest part of this new road-building was done in the South and the Southwest—about 3,000 miles in Oklahoma, in Louisiana and in Texas, in Indian Territory and in Missouri. These roads bring new areas into organized trade. There are now 210,000 miles of railroad in the United States.

As for our foreign trade, we went in 1903 beyond our best previous record, and the United States is the foremost exporting nation in the world—our exports being worth about \$1,500,000,000, which is nearly \$50,000,000 more than those of Great Britain.

But most of this is food-stuffs and cotton—the products of our farms and not the products of our factories. There are many facts to show that we are not yet become skilful seekers of trade in many foreign lands. In the Old World the products of our ingenuity are sold in large quantities, and we have learned to sell things to people whose wants and tastes and habits are similar to our own. But when we go to people of different wants and tastes we have shown far less ability as salesmen. In fact, we have, in most such lands, hardly yet gone about the building up of trade in an organized and intelligent way. To all the 40,000,000 South Americans, for instance, we sell only \$40,000,000 a year—one dollar apiece. We sold to Canada \$24 worth of goods per capita and to the Cubans

\$75 worth. Although we make most of the things that South America buys from other countries, we supply only about 10 per cent. of these wants; and we buy from South America three times as much as we sell there. And the increase of our trade there has been far less rapid than with any other continent or important country.

We have not yet become good foreign merchants. The English and the Germans are better than we at seeking new markets. Our great prosperity has come—in great measure—in spite of our lack of good salesmanship.

A SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR THE WHOLE PUBLIC

MISS SHAW'S article in this magazine on the public schools of Menomonie, Wisconsin, in which she has written with restrained enthusiasm, shows the important fact that a public-school system can be so developed as to offer to every child in a community the best sort of training for his particular aptitude. The public school can open the way to scholarship, to the professions, to commercial life, to the arts, or to the trades—not by teaching any of these things directly, but by so training the mind or the hands as to enable the child to discover his particular bent and then by directing him into the easiest channel.

This great fact was not discovered in Menomonie, but it seems to have been worked out there in so effective a way as to give it almost the force of a discovery.

Most communities have yet—if they are willing to face the truth frankly—done little more than play with public education. There are youth in most towns and in most neighborhoods whom the schools do not seriously touch, because they offer instruction of such a sort or conduct it in such a way as to make it attractive and helpful to only a part of the community. We come back from every study of the public schools to President Eliot's reminder that they must be equipped for many kinds of service at a cost that, as a whole people, we have not yet dreamed of. Where we have spent thousands we must spend tens of thousands; where we have spent tens of thousands we must spend hundreds of thousands; and from hundreds of thousands we must go to millions. The story of Mr. Stout's activity in his Wisconsin town is an example of perhaps the

best-directed public spirit of our generation. Beside this work, how most "philanthropies" dwindle when we measure things by their real value!

It is significant and interesting, by the way, that boys prepared in the public schools take a better stand in Harvard College, according to President Eliot's latest report, than those prepared at private schools.

THE INCREASE OF UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN GERMANY

THE increase in the number of men of university training in Germany and in the United States during the last thirty years is one of the most remarkable facts of our epoch. It is impossible to make an accurate comparison of the growth of the higher education in the two countries, because university training has a more definite meaning in Germany than it has here, and because there are few women there who are university students and with us there are a great many—especially in our institutions of collegiate grade. But counting American universities and colleges and professional schools of college grade, and counting universities, schools of technology, and the like in Germany, Dr. Tombo, registrar of Columbia University, in New York, reports that in Germany there are eight and one-half students to every 10,000 inhabitants, and in the United States a little more than eight and four-fifths. When it is recalled that our population includes nearly 10,000,000 Negroes and a large body of raw immigrants, the representation of the American people in their highest institutions of learning is appreciably larger in proportion to population than the representation of the Germans, but the standard of German "higher education" is higher than the American. In both countries the student attendance has doubled during the last thirty years. In both countries, too, the most rapid growth has been in the attendance of the technical schools.

There was a time, not so long ago, before the recent development of German technical schools, when there was frequent complaint of too large a body of German scholars—more, at any rate, than the scholastic necessities of the country called for. Among them were many impractical men who could not earn a livelihood, and Germany seemed likely to

become a land rich in poverty-stricken scholarship. In the United States we have suffered little from such a cause. We, too, have our mistrained men, but not in alarming numbers. The only alarming thing is the number of the untrained.

This large and continually increasing proportion of persons of university training in these two countries, which are the most energetic in educational work, means that higher education is at last adjusting itself to the needs of modern life. It was slow in throwing off its mediæval habits—amazingly slow. Nor does this modernization of it imply a loss of high ideals. The intellectual life makes its appeal yet and makes it to an ever-increasing class. Scholarship need not—and doubtless does not—fall because industry and science rise.

The continual raising of the standard of admission to our best schools does not cause a loss of numbers. Students who have not received a collegiate degree are not now admitted, for examples, to the professional schools of Harvard, nor to the Law School of Columbia, nor to the Medical School of the Johns Hopkins University. Yet the Harvard Law School has an enrolment of more than 700 men. The demand for education is still as earnest as it ever was, and it has become far more general.

SAVING CIVILIZATION IN NEW YORK BY THE SUBWAY

IN a time of complaint that few public conveniences of our municipalities are managed without scandal—there never was a time, by the way, when there was not such complaint, nor perhaps ever a time when it was not justly made since civilization began—it is a cheerful fact that the costliest municipal convenience ever constructed has been free from corruption and free from political management. The subway in New York City, which brings in a new epoch in urban travel, has been built—in New York, too—without scandal; and very much of the credit for this historic achievement belongs to Mr. Alexander E. Orr, the president of the Rapid Transit Commission. He will long be held in honor for this incalculable contribution to democratic civilization. The main subway, which is now ready for traffic, is twenty-one miles long; it has cost \$35,000,000; work was begun on it in 1900; and its equip-

ment for speed, safety, and sanitation is the best yet made on any great route of urban travel. And it is but the forerunner of others.

The subway comes just in time, too, to save such poor remnants of civilization as the New York public have retained. To go across the Brooklyn bridge at the "rush" hours is to lose faith in mankind. Men have their clothes torn from them; women are bruised; children are crushed. Good manners? Every human creature becomes a pushing brute. Men on their way home to greet their wives of gentle rearing and their innocent children bruise their fellow-men and do violence to women with their fists and knees and elbows.

On the elevated trains and platforms they crowd with such density as was never permitted in a prisonship, and such inhuman conduct in any other city would provoke a general fight. When a woman is killed trying to get on such a platform, the incident is regarded much as a casualty in battle is regarded. If the subway had not been built, New York would have become an impossible place to live and work in.

DINING BY CABLE

IN a time less full of wonders (for it is a "green" man, as Marcus Aurelius long ago observed, who is surprised at anything) we should take a day from our rushing routine to marvel at the significance of a company of men in New York and another company in London dining together; for it was a New York-London dinner that the Pilgrim societies on the two sides of the Atlantic ate together, thanks to a leased cable. For an hour they exchanged greetings and messages and sentiments almost as quickly as if one group had been seated on one side of the room and the other on the other side. There is nothing novel about quickly transmitted cable despatches. But such a social use of a cable as this does quicken the imagination and cause us to feel—if we think a moment—not only how near we are commercially to every cable-linked country, but how the ever-improving means of communication are bringing us nearer together in a social sense. If men may dine in the company of other men 3,000 miles away as easily as a man in Chicago may speak to his wife in Boston by telephone, we have a vast machinery for making the

world pleasanter as well as richer and our actions of wider range as well as swifter. An English journal remarked that if we had had cables for social uses in colonial times the American colonies would never have rebelled. Possibly. But this remark is farther from the point than an American observation that it will require a versatile cable to transmit both the American jocular after-dinner talk and the English, which is usually much more solemn.

ALIEN AND NATIVE WORK IN MASSACHUSETTS

IN Massachusetts about half the total population is native—that is, born of American parents—and about half is alien—that is, either born abroad or born of foreign fathers. Now the State Bureau of Labor Statistics has found out that the aliens do two-thirds of the work in the productive occupations.

Of every 100 persons engaged in manufactures, 69 are of foreign origin, against 16 of Massachusetts birth, and 15 were born elsewhere in the United States. Of these aliens engaged in manufactures, 29 per cent. are Irish; 12 per cent. are French Canadians; 8 per cent. are English; 4 per cent. are German. Three-fourths of the unskilled labor is done by the foreign-born; but two foreigners' boys are learning trades to every American boy.

In the professions more than half the religious teachers today of the State of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards are foreigners. Secular education is still in the hands of natives, only 30 per cent. of Massachusetts teachers being of foreign birth or descent. In the law the native predominance is largest, only 20 per cent. of the lawyers being of alien origin. In literature, in medicine, in the arts, and in music the proportion of foreign skill rises through the series as named to a percentage of 36.

As might be expected, the Irish have a strong hold on the public offices. Of every 100 such positions, 32 are held by Irishmen and 26 by natives of Massachusetts. The Irish furnish, of course, a large proportion of domestic and personal servants and laborers, but they supply 13 per cent. of the professional talent of the State also, and 29 per cent. of the manufacturing skill, against 16 per cent. supplied by Massachusetts natives; and 32 per cent. of

the apprentices are Irish, while only 18 per cent. are of Massachusetts birth.

The compilers of the report from which the facts are taken confess that "the strong industrial condition of Massachusetts has been secured and is held not by the labor of what is called the 'native stock,' but by that of the immigrants."

There are two interpretations of these facts and tendencies. The first is that the natives really control the industry of the State and that the aliens do the subordinate work. This is true to a degree. The other interpretation is that the aliens are also fast gaining control. This also in a measure is true. But whoever does the work or whoever holds control, this also is true of Massachusetts—that no other commonwealth has held more rigidly to its old-time characteristics. If the aliens are taking the State they keep alive the same qualities that the natives had—thrift, honesty, cleanliness, intellectual curiosity, self-satisfaction, and a laudable desire to teach these qualities to the perverse of all other States or nations. It is still the most remarkable community in the most remarkable country in the world. Irishman, Englishman, Frenchman, Jew—every one encounters a force stronger than his inheritance, and he suffers a wholesome regeneration as he slides into his new self and becomes a thrifty, cleanly, conscientious, and precise citizen of Massachusetts.

AN INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL SCHOLAR

THE recent death at Freiburg, Germany, of Professor Hermann Eduard von Holst recalls a notable international career. He was born in 1841, of poor German parents, at Fellin, Livonia, Russia. In 1860 he entered the University of Dorpat, and three years later proceeded to Heidelberg, where in 1865 he won his doctor's degree. He went to St. Petersburg, where he published a pamphlet attacking the Russian Government, which forbade his return to that country, and he sailed for America.

He landed at New York friendless, and for several months he suffered from extreme poverty. But he became an assistant editor of a German-American dictionary and correspondent of the *Cologne Zeitung*. He now began the study of the government and history of the Union, which led to his master-work, "The Constitutional and Political

History of the United States." In New York he became a well-known Republican leader, and among other things played a part in the overturning of the Tweed ring.

After five years in America Dr. von Holst was called to the University of Strassburg as professor of American history and constitutional law, and in 1872 to Freiburg. There he gathered about him eager students—several of whom are today distinguished in American universities—and continued his historical labors, filling also with zeal several political

offices in Baden. He returned to the United States for further study of our institutions and history. This time he visited the southern and western States.

In 1892 he became a professor in Chicago University. By 1899 his health was so undermined that he ceased teaching. He went abroad the next year in the hope of prolonging his life. As a teacher of history in both hemispheres he illustrated the dominance during his generation of German scholarship in a remarkable way.

KOREA, JAPAN, AND RUSSIA

THE LIFE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE—THE RELATIONS OF KOREA WITH CHINA AND JAPAN—THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN—REASONS FOR THE WAR

BY

ROBERT E. SPEER

LATELY A RESIDENT OF SEOUL

Illustrated from stereographs, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York

IT may have seemed strange to some people that Korea herself has been ignored in the Russo-Japanese quarrel as though entitled to no voice. But history tells that Korea has for centuries known nothing but tutelage. And she is fit for nothing else. Since the collapse of Japanese authority, in 1895, the Korean Government has had repeated opportunity to develop its independence, and as the best-informed man in Korea has said: "It has long since forfeited any possible claim to sympathy. It is opera-bouffe government." Corruption and incompetency can go no further. The King eats up the country for the sake of the capital, and spends on palaces in one city what is sucked from the prosperity of the whole land. As one comes past the old Chinese buildings in which the embassies from Peking to Seoul used to lodge, and looks down upon the city, he sees royal palaces almost as extensive as the rest of the city, and the timid King has now built himself another near the foreign ministers. Scarcely anything could be more artistic than the great piled buildings of his old palaces amid groves and lotus-ponds, colored with oriental brilliancy and set off by the red-and-yellow mountains which surround

the city and the soft brown tints of the rice-thatch roofs, cleft by the broad yellow lines of the city streets.

As for the people, their characteristics, on the whole, are good. They have been oppressed by officials who had bought the privilege of taxation and who knew that they soon would be superseded by some new purchaser. They are an easy-going people and they have their faults. We were discussing once the predominant traits of Korean character. My traveling companion at once said: "Stockings, trousers, and hats." These are conspicuous in the eyes of a stranger. But the doctor said, seriously: "First, indirectness, procrastination in coming at things; second, the desire for sons to perform the duties of filial worship; third, taking things easy, troubles and all; fourth, sense of humor; fifth, cheerfulness." They are not a dull, stupid people, as the Japanese think. Indeed, their own history should teach the Japanese better. Much of their early civilization, the culture of silk-worms, architecture, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and much else beside the priceless secrets of ceramics, the Japanese borrowed from Korea. As a leading Korean said to me: "Our people are a good people. They are capable, and are more reliable and



BUILDING HOUSES IN KOREA

The houses are made by putting up clay and stones against a network of wattles

intellectually honest than the Japanese. The Japanese are bright, but they are not honest. If they don't want to see a fact they will go around and cover it over and persuade themselves that it is not a fact. Yes, our people are strong. Look at the thousands

of Catholic martyrs, with whose blood the Tai Wan Kun reddened the Han River, who said as the bystanders cried to them just to say they did not believe: 'No; we believe; we cannot say otherwise.'

With a fair government, a sense of security

among the people, and the slightest encouragement given them from without, one might expect not what would be expected from the adaptive Japanese or of the irresistible Chinaman, but a quiet, orderly people, child-like and simple, and pressing steadily forward toward far better times than those old Ming days of which they have so long dreamed.

This, indeed, is what Korea is today—a fragment saved from Chinese life in the time of the Ming dynasty seven centuries ago. A wall of forbidding hills girds the country round, but back of these are green valleys, with whispering rivers running in them, fed by clear brooks leaping down from woodlands; quaint old villages filled with their white-



A JUNK IN THE KOREAN STRAITS WHICH JAPAN IS TRYING TO TURN INTO AN ASIATIC DARDANELLES

clad citizens; picturesque farmhouses on the hillsides looking down on fertile fields; fair roads winding by tablet and shrine, past crumbling fortress and through the ruined gateways of marvelous stone walls of defense running over mountain and valley; roads traveled by a friendly and industrious people, good-natured, with a true sense of humor, but calm, slow-moving, at once impassive and marveling. Cho-sen, "The Land of the Morning Calm," they call their country. From the noise and tumult and conflict, the black woolen clothes and mechanical artificialities of our western life, one's heart often turns to Korea with its still, quiet life and the quaint white-robed figures

moving to and fro in it like the shades of the ancients.

In 1900 the imports of Korea were a little more than \$5,000,000. The exports of merchandise were about \$4,500,000, and there were exports of gold of about \$1,800,000. The chief article of import is cotton goods, mainly from Japan, and the chief articles of export are rice, beans, and ginseng. Ginseng was the first commodity of trade between the United States and Korea, the Dutch traders in the eighteenth century carrying it from Albany to Canton, whence it was shipped via Peking to Korea. Americans have an electric street-railway in Seoul, and a gold-mine in the north which employs fifty or sixty for-



TWO OLD KOREAN VILLAGERS AT HOME

Showing the horsehair hats that are worn everywhere and all the time to protect the sacred topknots

eigners and 1,200 Koreans and pays into the imperial treasury an annual royalty of \$12,500. Americans should have a special interest in Korea, as one of our four small Asiatic wars was with Korea a generation ago. For years an American was foreign adviser to the Emperor, and I once heard an earnest Korean arguing in favor of America's assuming a protectorate over his land. But our chief contribution to Korea is neither commercial nor political, but moral and religious. There are about 130 American missionaries in the land, with 30,000 adherents. And the influence which Christianity has already exerted has been as an

awakening of the dead. The possible triumph of Russia hangs as a pall over all the American interests in the land. The triumph of Japan would be the guarantee of progress and civilization. It is a strange irony of the history which is now making in eastern Asia that there one Asiatic nation and the only European power in which the Christian Church and the State are one should confront each other on the threshold of war, and that in the interest of both civilization and Christianity the prayers of the world should be with Japan.

THE ISSUE OVER KOREA

In contending against Russia for what she

Chinese civilization—Chinese philosophy, Confucian morals, and Chinese literature.

In the middle of the fourteenth century Korea came under Chinese vassalage, and the present dynasty was established on the throne. This ended the old relations between southern Korea and Japan, and thenceforth Korea became the middle ground between Japan and China, their common place of meeting and conflict.

In the six centuries which have elapsed since China became the suzerain of Korea there have been repeated attempts by Japan to subjugate the peninsula, and she has probably never in all these years abandoned the design of detaching the kingdom from



THE INDEPENDENCE ARCH IN SEOUL

Erected at the end of the Chino-Japanese war to commemorate the establishment of Korea's independence

regards as her just interests in Korea, Japan is opening no new issue and advancing no fresh claim. Centuries before the Russian nation came into existence Japan and Korea were in intimate relationship, and the Island Empire regarded the neighboring peninsula as her proper field of influence. Early in the third century the Queen of Japan invaded the southern kingdoms of Korea, subdued them, and wrote on the King's gate: "The King of Shinra is the dog of Japan." Until the tenth century southern Korea paid tribute to Japan, and not only paid tribute, but also poured into Japan the tide of



TYPICAL STREET SCENE IN A KOREAN VILLAGE

China and attaching it to herself. The war with China was no accident or avoidable struggle, but a step prepared for and contemplated for centuries, and never lost sight of in all the changes through which Japan has passed toward a continental enlargement of her empire.

When Japan had passed through her political transformation the Korean Government was summoned to resume ancient friendship and vassalage. An insolent reply was sent to Japan. The nation was not yet ready for action, and the insult was pocketed, though the restoration of superior relations to Korea was thenceforth more distinctly than ever the goal of Japanese foreign policy.



A BRIDEGROOM GOING TO HIS WEDDING IN SEOUL

In 1876 an unwarranted attack on some Japanese soldiers led to the invasion of the peninsula. There was no war, however. China advised the King to accept the first of the alternatives Japan offered—a treaty of commerce or war. Korea chose as China advised. Three ports were opened, and both

by China and by Japan Korea was declared free and independent.

In 1884 there came another clash between the liberal and conservative factions, which ended in the triumph of stagnancy, but a recognition on the part of both China and Japan of equal interests and right to intervene.



KOREAN MAN AND WIFE IN STREET ATTIRE.

Showing the outer hat of the man and the peculiar head-dress of the woman

When the Tong Hak insurrection threw Korea into disorder, in 1894, both countries sent troops—China notifying Japan as she did so that Korea was her tributary State, and Japan in her reply challenging China's claim. This was the real issue at stake in

the Chino-Japanese war which ensued. Japan had never abandoned the idea of controlling Korea, either as a vassal State or as a State independent of China and under the tutelage of Japan. The war issued in the final demolition of all China's claim to the penin-

sula, and Korea slipped out forever from her old moorings in the wake and undertow of Japan.

Japan kept Korea for just one year, and it cannot be denied that she set a pace of progress and reform that took the breath out of her ward. All that Japan had learned from civilization she was eager to teach Korea; but the temptations of the situation were too great, and the impatience of the teacher could not be restrained. She forgot that great changes need time, and that



KOREANS GRINDING TURNIP-SEED FOR MEAL

civilization is a growth from within and not a garment thrown on from without; and forgetting this and intoxicated with the joy of reform, she began to vaccinate the people and to cut their hair, to prescribe the width of their sleeves and the cut of their trousers, and yet while pleased as a child with the chance of teaching the mint and anise and cummin of progress, she by no means lost sight of the weightier matters of the law. Naturally a people schooled for centuries in Confucian notions, comatose with Chinese conservatism, even though startled



AN UP-TO-DATE KOREAN SAWMILL

by the overthrow of their old patron and the meteoric demonstration of the superiority of western ways, did not like to be hustled along in this fashion. The Japanese, on the other hand, became convinced that they could get Korea civilized yet more rapidly if the Queen, who was not a reactionary woman, but only a careful, shrewd, patriotic stateswoman, could be disposed of. The idea was monstrous, but the Japanese Minister deliberately arranged for the murder of the Queen. The deed was done early in

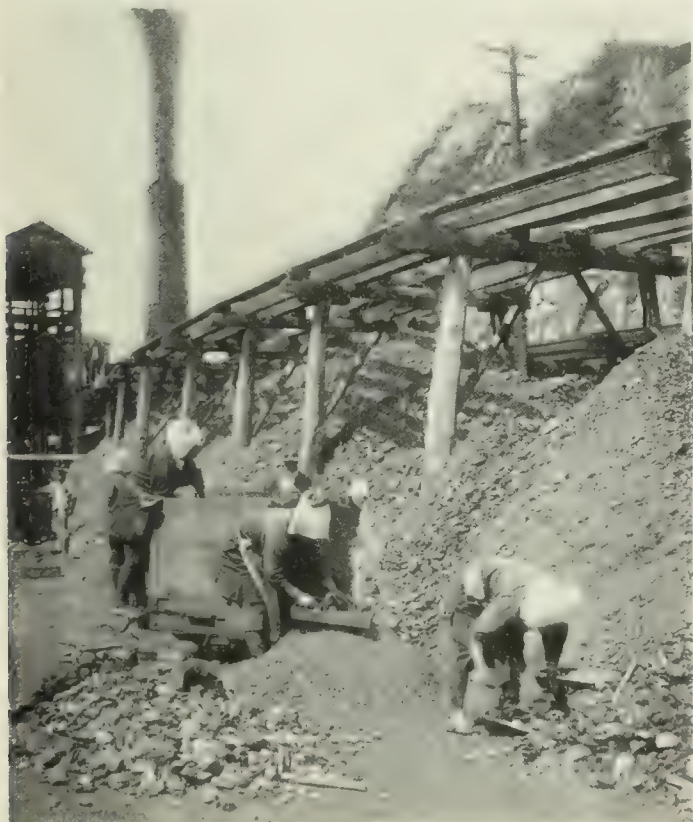


ALONG THE MOLE IN CHEMULPO HARBOR
The port of Seoul and most important trading-town in Korea



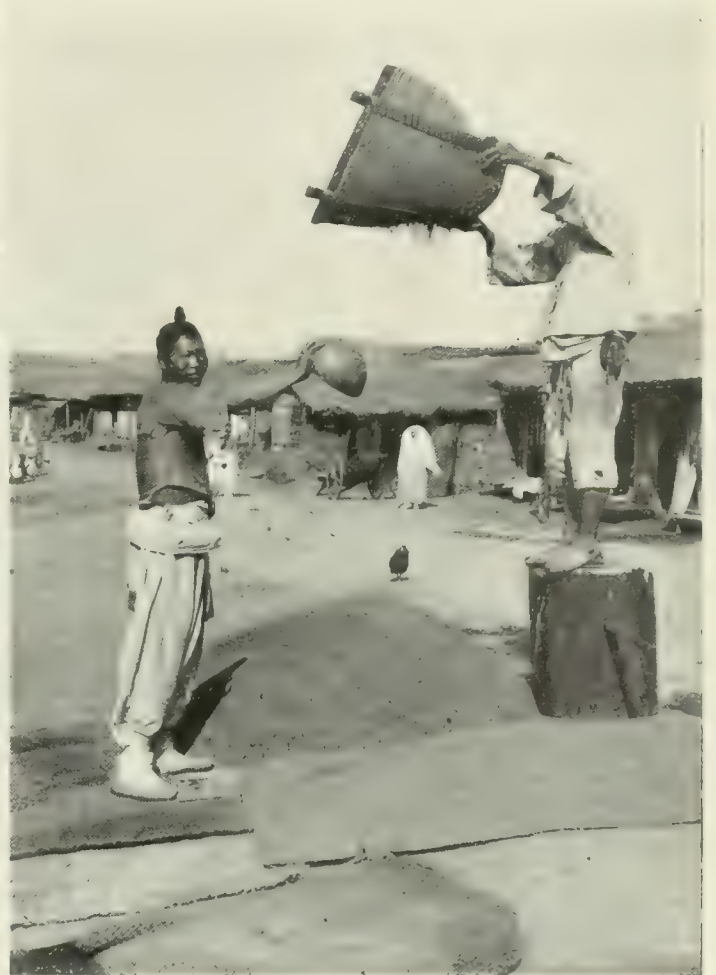
FLAILING BARLEY AT FUSAN

the morning of October 8, 1895. On the preceding evening Japanese influence was absolutely supreme in Korea—but no one loved it. The reforms had provoked even the people most benefited by them. Japan had executed them in the most obtuse and unconciliatory way. No party had been built up favorable to Japanese influence. The dismissed officials loathed their rulers, and the common people were incensed at their dictatorialness. The murder of the Queen was the match. The explosion followed.

COOLIES SORTING COAL AT THE HASHIMA COLLIERY
IN KOREA

One wonders at the stupidity of the Japanese in committing such a blunder. Any one could see the temper of the people. Every one knew that the Queen, even though she might be slow and cautious, was the most reliable and intelligent element in the State and the best guarantee of such progress as was made.

But the blunder was committed, and in twenty-four hours Japan's influence in Korea was dead. The King fled to the Russian legation, and the country passed, without an effort on his part or the expenditure of one

WINNOWING CORN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE
STREET AT CHEMULPO

dollar or one life, into the hands of the Czar. And so the Eastern Question, the most disturbing and harassing question of the century, rose up grimly in the Land of Morning Calm. For a time the wise and tolerant and honest course of the Russian Minister in Seoul gave good promise that the question would not be freighted there with jealousies and conflicts and threats of strife. He gave the King a temporary home, aided him in his course, discouraged him from injustice, advised the employment of an Englishman as financial adviser of the

treasury, with more power than he possessed for himself, dealt with firmness, moderation, and self-restraint toward all. Mr. Weber was soon transferred to Mexico, however, and the policy of Russia in Korea underwent a change.

Japan had fought China to deliver Korea and recover her control of Korea's future. The issue of it all had been simply the substitution of Russia for China. On June 9, 1896, a convention was signed in Moscow which formally recognized this.

Two years later, on April 25, 1898, Russia

1900. A whale-fishing arrangement which allows the Russians to try out the whales on the Korean coast at stations where a force of men and some buildings may be maintained, and which might be construed to cover actual settlements. April 3, 1901, a renewed and enlarged timber concession, covering the watershed of the Yalu and Tumen rivers, and practically giving to Russia the control of the northern frontier of Korea. A non-alienation clause covering the island of Ko Chei Do, near Masampo.



GUARD OF KOREAN SOLDIERS MARCHING PAST THE PALACE GATE AT SEOUL

having other business on hand and wishing to tie up Japan, the two governments made a further agreement, by which they agreed not to interfere with Korea's independence, and in case Korea asked one of them for advice it was to call in the other. Japan also was given the right to proceed with its commercial enterprises.

It may be well to add a brief summary of the agreements between each power and Korea which have since entered into the situation. (1) Between Russia and Korea: A special settlement at Masampo, April 20,

A promise that no more mines will be granted to foreigners, and that if any one is intrusted with the operation of the Korean Household Mines (which include all the good mines of the country) such operator shall be a Russian. An agreement that if capital is to be secured for the completion of the Northwestern Railway, from Seoul to Weichu, such capital shall be secured from Russia and the work be intrusted to Russian engineers. (2) Between Japan and Korea: It may be noted that on September 8, 1898, a concession was granted to a Japanese syndicate for a railway

to connect Seoul and Fusan. Work was formally begun on this road August 4, 1901. On August 23, 1900, the Chicksan mining concession was granted to a Japanese firm. On October 3, 1900, an additional fisheries convention was agreed to between Korea and Japan. On December 8, 1900, permission was granted to a Japanese company to reclaim a portion of the foreshore at Fusan. On

road was opened for traffic to the river near Seoul on September 8, 1899, and to Seoul on the completion of the bridge, July 8, 1900.

The Japanese have seen that the situation is impossible, and the mass of the people have chafed continually at the conditions which eliminated China from their Korean problem only to replace her by a vastly more terrible competitor. It has been the Man-



THE KOREAN MINISTER OF WAR, YUN-WOONG-NIEL, AT HOME

He is smoking the characteristic long pipe, whose tiny bowl necessitates constant filling with tobacco

May 20, 1901, a special Japanese settlement at Masampo was announced. With reference to the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway, it might be added that this line was begun by Americans in 1897, was, on December 1, 1897, mortgaged to the Japan Specie Bank, and on December 31, 1898, formally taken over by a Japanese syndicate headed by Baron Shibusawa. The

churian question which has brought matters to a head. And it is to the credit of the Japanese that they have been able to view that question with soberness and self-restraint. The treaty of Shimonoseki, which terminated the Chino-Japanese war, not only settled the destiny of Korea, but also transferred to Japan the Liao Tung peninsula, embracing a

great portion of Manchuria and including the ports of Port Arthur and Talién-wan. It also opened four Manchurian ports to all foreign trade, and assigned to the Japanese exclusive commercial advantages in the interior. These fruits of the war were all torn from Japan by Russia, Germany, and France, by a treaty which they coerced Japan into signing and in which she relinquished the rights she had acquired in Manchuria. The confederates who had intervened to save China from Japan at once rewarded themselves by an immensely greater raid upon the helpless empire. Germany got a foothold at Tientsin and Hankow, and a little later took Shantung. France obtained additional territory and privileges in the south, and Russia, by several moves, slipped into Manchuria and absorbed the very rights of which she had induced Germany and France to aid her in depriving Japan. Meanwhile she has pushed steadily forward

in an aggressive policy in Korea. The wonderful thing has been not that Japan has looked upon all this with amazement and anger, but that she has dealt with it with patience and self-control.

She has proposed to Russia that they agree in recognizing the integrity of both China and Korea, each power to be acknowledged to have peculiar interests, Russia in Manchuria and Japan in Korea. From the point of view of Japan and in the light of history this is a fair and honorable proposition. It is a proposition on which Japan is entitled to the moral sympathy and support of the world. Russia, indeed, cannot take Korean territory without a breach of faith. In 1887, to secure the evacuation of Port Hamilton, on the Korean coast, by Great Britain, the Tsung li Yamen gave England assurance that the Russian Government had given a "most explicit guarantee, distinctly declaring that in the future Russia would not take



A VIEW OF FUSAN HARBOR

The key to the peninsula and one of the strategical points in the Russo-Japanese misunderstanding



GENERAL PRINCE MUN-YUN-HUAN, THE GENERALISSIMO OF THE KOREAN ARMY

Korean territory." But Korea now separates the Russian holdings on the Liao Tung peninsula and at Vladivostock. Between these ports the Korea Strait is the channel of intercourse. Korea, accordingly, commands both the land and the water connections, and its inland boundary on the Yalu and Tumen rivers backs upon Manchuria and the Siberian railway interests. Korea has become a necessity to Russia.

But Japan cannot afford to surrender Korea. It is historically and of necessity the main artery of her vital connection with Asia. It is only 125 miles across the Korean Strait. And Fusan is but ten hours away

from Shimonoseki, the gate of the Inland Sea. To yield Korea to a hostile power is to expose herself to peril along the whole western side of her territory. She needs Korea as a commercial outlet. She had both Korea and Manchuria as a result of the war with China, and has now surrendered one, and by far the larger and more profitable of these. She has struggled to lead China and Korea out into civilization. She now sees the Russian glacier slowly moving across both of them, walling her out from her natural destiny and barring before her any entrance to the continent of which she has dreamed that she was to be the savior.



TEN YEARS' ADVANCE IN RAILROADING

MODERN LOCOMOTIVES NEARLY TWICE AS HEAVY AS THOSE OF A DECADE AGO—FREIGHT-TRAINS QUADRUPLED IN CAPACITY—NEW BRIDGES, NEW STATIONS, NEW EQUIPMENT STILL NO GREAT INCREASE OF SPEED

BY

HERBERT LAWRENCE STONE

AMERICAN railroads, from road-beds and bridges to engines and cars, have been completely rebuilt or remodeled in the last ten years. Most of the equipment of a decade ago is now in the scrap-heap. The trains of today are heavy, long, and swift, and on many of the greatest railroads new bridges have been required for them over every river, creek, and culvert, and often new and heavier rails.

The American railroad problem has been to increase the tonnage of a train to be handled by a single locomotive and crew. A locomotive with a single crew does as much work as three locomotives and three crews formerly did. A passenger-train of sixteen cars, most of them heavy sleepers whose weight has greatly increased of late, is not now an uncommon train. Formerly such a

train would have been run in two or more sections. And eighty to ninety and in some cases even 100 or 110 cars to a freight-train are not unusual. Indeed, on many main lines where the grades are not bad the "through freights" will average eighty cars to the train, and the superintendent or yard-master who starts one with fewer risks a reprimand.

It has, first, been necessary to build heavier locomotives. Each new lot has eclipsed the previous lot in size until men begin to wonder when the limit will be reached. In 1892 the average weight of a passenger-locomotive, with tender, was about seventy-five tons. The latest type of locomotive, with tender, designed for the same service, weighs more than 142 tons. Only ten years ago the famous No. 999 of the



IN THE GRAVITY-YARD

A switch-engine and staking-car cutting out freight-cars



THE PASSENGER-LOCOMOTIVE OF TODAY

The most modern type of locomotive

New York Central, exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair, was looked upon as a marvel in size and speed; yet it weighed only 102 tons, as against the 150 tons of the present passenger-engine.

In the same year the average weight of a freight-locomotive was eighty-five tons. The latest type of compound freight-engine weighs 181½ tons and will haul more than 4,000 tons of freight. Its tender will hold twelve tons of coal, as against the five or six of the old type. Indeed, it is still a problem of the railroads to get suitable firemen for such monsters, for it is man-killing work to go from fourteen to eighteen or twenty hours at a stretch, keeping a full head of steam, and shoveling into the fire-box at least one and more often two tankfuls of coal. These larger engines are often made with two doors to the fire-box, and some roads have placed two firemen on each locomotive.

In these latest engines, too, the steam is used over and over again. The tandem four-cylinder compound locomotive has followed the compound.

When large-sized freight-engines were first put out a few years ago the railroadmen called them "hogs," and a man who could "fire a hog and keep her hot" was fit for almost any trying work. Then came a still larger class, soon styled "whales." Then the new compounds appeared, towering high above the "whales." They were at once dubbed "battle-ships."

The weight and the capacity of freight-cars have also been increasing. The cars have gradually crept from thirty-three feet to thirty-eight or forty feet in length, the capacity from twenty-five or thirty tons to forty or fifty tons, and the weight of the car has increased in proportion.

A modern train of eighty cars will move



THE ORDINARY TYPE OF THE NEW SECTION-HOUSE

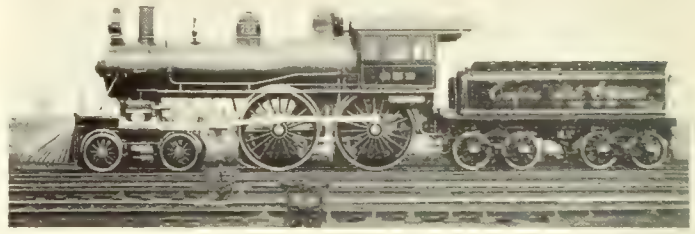


A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE OLD SECTION-HOUSE



THE ATLANTIC TYPE

Showing the small wheels in front and rear of the drivers; weight, 150 tons



NO. 999

The prototype of a class that came into use subsequent to the World's Fair of 1893

3,600 tons of freight, as against the 945 tons of a thirty-five-car train of a decade ago. And as of old one conductor, two brakemen, an engineer, and a fireman make up a crew. So with the exception of the extra coal consumed and the increase in wages the cost of moving



A PASSENGER-LOCOMOTIVE OF THE EARLY EIGHTIES

the larger load is but little more than the cost of moving the smaller. The life of the freight conductor and the brakeman, moreover, is no harder than before, if indeed it is as hard. Air-brakes on nearly every freight-car (an innovation of the last ten years) have

done away with the old hand-braking. And a hundred-car train needs air-brakes; it is more than four-fifths of a mile long. Hand-brakes could hardly control it. So nowadays a brakeman is rarely seen "on deck" except when passing through a town, and he is not exposed on wild, stormy nights to danger from slippery running-boards and heavy grades. The engineer in the cab controls the entire train. Patent couplers, too, have done away with the old "pin and link" which formerly made coupling so dangerous.

Steel is taking the place of wood in construction. Many freight-cars are now built entirely of steel. Steel hopper coal-cars are in use on most of the coal roads—huge things larger than the old box-cars, holding fifty tons of coal and capable of being rapidly unloaded by means of the hoppers in the bottoms.

In the passenger service Pullman cars are heavier and are furnished more luxuriously, and coaches are growing larger every year.



AN OLD CREEK-CROSSING BRIDGE

Showing wooden uprights for support and crack in masonry abutment



"DECAPOD" FREIGHT-ENGINE

The heaviest locomotive in the world. Total weight more than 200 tons

A TANDEM COMPOUND FREIGHT-LOCOMOTIVE
OF TODAY

These coaches seat eighty-six people in place of the forty-eight or fifty of the older coaches, have full-width vestibules, as do all Pullmans, and six-wheel trucks, and are in most respects as comfortable as the old drawing-room car.

To meet these great changes the engineering departments have had to keep pace with the operating, for old roads and rails could not carry the heavier loads. Up to a few years ago there were many bridges over which it was deemed unsafe to run a "double-header"—a train drawn by two locomotives. Of what use would such a structure be now that a single locomotive has come to weigh more than the two formerly employed?

New bridges had to come; and in building them it was necessary to make them of a size to meet any growth that twenty years might bring. Old bridges were often replaced by structures three times as heavy as the former ones. For instance, an old bridge weighing 335 tons would give place to one weighing 910 tons. Such bridges, as a rule, required new abutments. By the time every bridge and its abutment had been replaced

on a road, say, from New York to Buffalo or from Chicago to Pittsburg, the expense had become enormous. In 1902, out of a total of \$13,000,000 spent by one great system for renewals and improvements, \$3,000,000 was used simply in replacing bridges. The rapid abolition of grade-



THE FREIGHT-LOCOMOTIVE OF TEN YEARS AGO

crossings, especially in large cities, has also required a large outlay for bridges.

After the bridges came the reduction of grades. Then followed, in many cases, the building of additional tracks to handle the increased volume of business, until railroads



A MODERN CREEK-CROSSING BRIDGE OF THE SAME CLASS AS THE FOREGOING

Showing the dressed-stone abutments

with three or four tracks abreast are no longer uncommon, as they were a decade ago.

Notable changes have been made in replacing small stations with better ones. Most of these old stations dated from the birth of the roads they served, and were cheap and merely utilitarian. If in those days one were destroyed, it was replaced by one of the same general style and size designed by an architect in the employ of the road or from a standard blue-print in the hands of the boss carpenter. Who is not acquainted

In terminal stations the change is even greater. Vast sums are being spent for New York terminals, one plan requiring a tunnel under the Hudson River, the purchase of many blocks of real estate in New York, and the closing of several streets. In Boston, St. Louis, Omaha, and many other cities radical changes have taken place in terminal facilities. Washington is shortly to have a remarkable new union station.

The block system now in general use has been a costly innovation of the decade.



THE FREIGHT-TRAIN OF TODAY

A locomotive and ninety loaded cars stopped at a block-signal bridge

with the typical station-building of a small town or city—dark, dingy, close, and badly ventilated, with a room on one side for men and one on the other for women, with uncomfortable seats, and with a stove set in a tray of sand in the middle of the floor? But now when a station is replaced in a town of any size—and many are being replaced—the building is designed by a man of some reputation—with a view to beauty and comfort. Open fireplaces, easy-chairs, broad, high-backed settees, and comfortable lounging-rooms make the wait for trains no longer dreary and uncomfortable.

Only within the last few years has the system reached such a high state of perfection.

Another radical departure is the new gravity-yard for switching and making up freight-trains. Heretofore all freight-yards have been built on the level and the switching has been done by many engines, each with its own crew, shunting the cars back and forth, in and out of different tracks, cutting out one here and picking up another there until a train was distributed or made up. It was slow work. Often a single string of freight-cars would block many tracks and spurs.

The gravity-yards are built on an incline, so that a car with but a slight start from an engine will run the length of the yard (often two miles and a half or more) by its own momentum, being switched in transit upon any desired track. These yards are built with one track, called the "diamond," running diagonally across the yard and cutting every track in it. A freight-train on pulling into the yard stops before it reaches this diagonal track, and as soon as the engine is cut off a switch-engine, with a small flat-car attached to its front end, runs up on the adjoining track ready to do the switching. When it is found where the different cars are to go, the first half-dozen, let us say, are uncoupled, and a heavy stake or bar is swung out by a derrick-like arrangement from this flat-car to the corner of the rear car of these six. Then the switch-engine, without any coupling (being all the while on the adjoining track), starts this batch of six, pushing them down until they strike the "diamond" track.

By this time they are going ten or twelve miles an hour. On reaching this track the engine stops, while the cars proceed by their momentum, the man on top of each

twisting his brake a little so that the cars will separate somewhat. As each car comes to the track on which it belongs it is switched down it and runs on to the end of the yard or is stopped where it is desired to place it. Then the switch-engine and staking-car go back, cut out the next lot of cars, and repeat the operation until the whole train is disposed of in a remarkably short time. In this way one engine does the work that required from four to six by the old method.

And yet, with all these improvements, the running-time of trains, especially on the eastern roads, has not been materially shortened. During the Chicago World's Fair there were two railroads that ran twenty-hour trains from New York to Chicago, and this speed has not been exceeded since. As a rule, the new engines have been built with a view to increased power and ability to haul the modern train and make the scheduled time, though this schedule time could be reduced if desired. In the West, however, has come a substantial increase in speed.

Taken all in all, the improvement in transportation facilities since the Chicago World's Fair has been marvelous.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL MANAGER

THE SKILLED SPECIALIST WHO ORGANIZES AND MANAGES
 FACTORIES—LAYING OUT IDEAL FACTORIES—ACCOUNTING
 SYSTEMS THAT SHOW AT A GLANCE THE RESULTS OF
 A DAY'S OPERATION—MODERN WAYS OF HANDLING MEN

BY

HROLF WISBY

EDITOR OF "MILL OWNERS"

INDUSTRIAL management has become a science. Its keynote is system. And of all the marvelous developments of recent years, the application of system to industry by a new product of our civilization is by no means the least striking. The new product is the modern industrial manager.

He adjusts machines. He marshals men. He adjusts the men to the machines and system to both. The old-time "shop boss" would be embarrassed in trying to choose any effective system. The modern manager knows a variety of systems, and finds them

all helpful in suggesting a complete plan of management of his own. Invariably he chooses one that will be a means toward maximum efficiency in the men and in the machines. And he has found that the most desirable system is that which occupies the mind of the men rather than the eye.

A man of less wisdom than the typical industrial manager was the president of a Hartford machine plant who posted notices in his factory recently forbidding any one to "move any part of the product by manual labor."

This man believed in system merely for system's sake. He ordered a machine fitted with an automatic conveyer to take away the forgings as fast as the machine could hammer them out. But while this arrangement worked very prettily, all that was really necessary, as the superintendent remarked, was a "man with a wheelbarrow working for five minutes twice a day." The typical industrial manager has more common sense.

Employers expect to make a profit of about 20 per cent. on their capital, says the United States Census of Manufactures. Stock-watering is rendering it more and more difficult to earn such profits. Employers, therefore, are beginning to rely on industrial managers to *save in production what cannot be earned as profit in selling.* This is done by system.

Most of the improvements in industrial management depend largely for their effi-

ciency upon the construction plan of the factory. One invented by F. A. Scheffler, which has been adopted by a large Pennsylvania factory, applies to any industrial establishment. The centre is occupied by the administration building, containing the commercial, accounting, and sales departments. Radiating from this building are seven shops, each with its own office for the foremen and shop clerks, placing them in close touch with the central offices. An "industrial" track for hauling material on cars and trucks encircles the administration building. A turn-table in front of each shop connects this track with straight tracks running through the shops, and an outside circular track connects the rear end of the shops. Material unloaded at the centre travels through the various shops during the process of manufacture, and is finally shipped

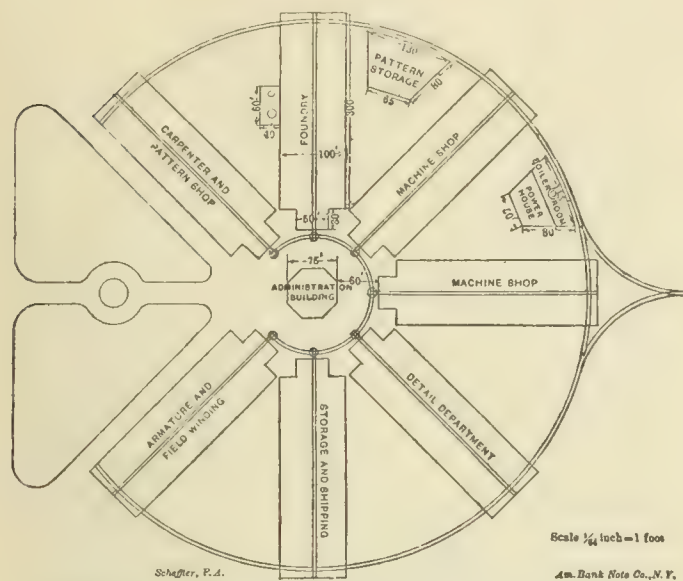
FOUNDRY PRODUCTION SHEET

ORDER FOR 5 ENGINES

PART	BELL-STAND		EXHAUST PIPE		TENDER-FRAME CENTRE-PIN		ENGINE-TRUCK SWING-BOLSTER		GRATE-BAR		GRATE-SIDE		GRATE-SIDE		ASH-PAN END		ASH-PAN SIDE		GRATE-FRAME SUPPORT		GRATE-BAR			
	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total	Daily	Total		
PATTERN REC'D	Jan. 22	Jan. 22	Feb. 6	Feb. 4	Feb. 9	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	Feb. 14	Feb. 14	Feb. 14	Feb. 14	
NO. WANTED PER DAY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
TOTAL NO. WANTED	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	
SUMMER MOLDED	1913	2																						
	FEB.																							
Begin molding at the date	1																							
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THIS IS A PORTION OF AN ORDER SHOWING HOW THE RECORDS WERE KEPT. THE FIGURES IN ITALICS REPRESENT CONDEMNATIONS; THEY ARE USUALLY ENTERED IN RED INK. THE THICK HEAVY LINES SHOW WHEN EACH JOB WAS COMPLETED.

on the outside circular track along a spur track connecting with a railroad.



A MODEL PLAN FOR A MANUFACTURING PLANT

There is more yard-room than usual, and the buildings may be extended economically. The establishment has an adequate heating and ventilating system; a fire-protection system with automatic sprinklers; a system of power traveling cranes, hoists, cars, and conveyers to obviate manual labor; a modern steam-plant for the transmission of electric power for all shop purposes, doing away with the belt-and-shafting nuisance; the finest machines, tools, and implements of the most advanced practice.

Working with such a factory as this, or even one not so well arranged, the modern manager sets about to procure an accurate daily record of the work done by each man.

At a locomotive-works at Schenectady, for example, each foreman is provided daily with a card so marked and filled out as to show at a glance a complete record of all work done by all the men under him on that day. This schedule also points out how the work was done and whether it was done in the time specified. If there is any delay on any particular job or any lack of efficiency in any department, the blame is brought home where it belongs. The schedule assists each foreman in gaging the capacity of his department and the usefulness of his men. The foreman is stimulated with a bonus for each day his department does a fair day's work, and the workmen also receive premiums for efficiency. The chart on the opposite page is a copy of the schedule used.

Eleven locomotive parts are here followed through one day's manufacture. The card shows the number of the foundry pattern of each part, when due, when received, the number wanted daily, and the total number wanted of each part. Work was begun on the job here pictured on February 3d and finished on February 26th.

The amount done each day is stated, and the figures in italics point out the parts condemned. Running horizontal lines for each date, one may see offhand not only how many given parts were done on a certain day, but the total number made up to that date. On February 5th, for example, two exhaust-pipes were made. On February 7th one was made and condemned. On February 12th the eight ordered were completed.

Across the table run two black horizontal lines—the "danger-lines." Each job should begin above the upper line and end above the lower line. The first four items were finished well within the time set. But in tracing the grate-bar pattern one notes that this pattern, due February 2d, was not in hand before February 9th. Work could not begin on this job until then, and accordingly the grate-bars were six days late. The italic *P* in the column for February 9th shows that the delay was caused by waiting for the pattern.

Each foreman keeps such a schedule. A glance tells which, if any, operation is holding back the work. The schedules of each department are collected every afternoon for the superintendent, so that he may survey all work done that day, lay out the work for the following day, and give special attention to rush orders. This plan also enables the president of the company to compare the efficiency of his plant with any superior degree of efficiency possible by more perfect organization. It has brought him and all his officers into a live appreciation of the very details of daily manufacturing, for now this most invaluable data is available for inspection in a form that can be grasped in the twinkling of an eye. This system is the achievement of an industrial manager.

The graphic daily balance has likewise revolutionized methods of accounting. The bookkeeper is made dependent upon the factory foremen for his data. There is no more old-fashioned bungling with greasy, torn, and illegible "job-books" and the thou-

sand-page ledger, whose author did little more than bury in a bewildering maze of items the real history of the factory. The actual "bookkeeping" today is done by the workman and the foreman. The bookkeeper simply records their data.

A record is kept also of the time each man works and of what he does. Before each man working in a factory that uses this system goes home he is furnished with a card bearing his number, a stamped notice of the hour to begin work next day, and the date. Each man places his card in a rack with his number and leaves it there overnight. Those who come later than six o'clock the following morning must go to the office to get their day-cards stamped with the correct time of their arrival. During the day's work each man fills out his card with a statement of each task he completes, which is checked by the foreman. At the close of a day's work a man's card is stamped with the hour of his leaving. To compute his "time" and his work the total of all his cards is added in the office, making a pay record.

To find the cost of a single order, the clerk collects all cards representing work on that order and charges up each man's pay against the order. Thus the bookkeeper has easy access to all details of the cost of production.

The hand of the industrial manager appears also in the purchasing department. A good example of his work here is shown in a Duluth hardware factory. Vertical index-cards are used. Whenever a department wishes material, order-cards are made out and signed by the superintendent, approved by the purchase agent, and either checked or received by the storeroom keeper. A method of checking each operation of these cards was introduced, so that a number of persons at the factory are constantly informed about each purchase or requisition. This makes defalcation by fictitious accounting impossible, guards against the loss of goods from the storeroom, and effects greater despatch in issuing and filling orders, all with a minimum of clerical labor.

"I am sick and tired of all this hunting around and fussing about every time we want to look up our correspondence," exclaimed a Chicago office manager. "It would cost less to install a modern filing system than it does now to bother about our

letters, and there would be a gain in the efficiency of the office." He was authorized to make improvements. The firm has now more than 1,250,000 letters in vertical files and there is now no "fussing." The files keep together the letters that belong together and keep separate those that belong apart. And so with other papers. By following a system of filing invoices, orders, and similar documents the bookkeepers are saved half their former trouble.

The keynote of the whole matter of industrial organization in both factory and office is harmony. The industrial manager brings each detail of a business into close-fitting relation with every other, and each detail is made efficient of itself.

Pointing to a piano that was standing in the locomotive roundhouse of the Missouri Pacific Railroad near Kansas City, an English visitor remarked: "Ah, I see your road supplies you with musical entertainment."

"Guess not," replied the foreman. "That piano is for testing the engines."

The Englishman thought it a joke, but when a uniformed pianist struck a note which harmonized with the noise of vibration in each part of the locomotive as it was tested he understood that there could be no flaws or cracks in the engine. He was informed that if the noise of the locomotive made a discord with the musical note the locomotive would be thus proved defective. The method has been discovered to be more accurate than the old way of hammering each part. On a larger scale the industrial manager similarly attunes a whole factory to an ideal of efficiency.

After all, however, it is in handling men that the industrial manager shows his mettle. The best system in the world would not make a factory efficient if the workmen were not efficient.

Just to learn what the interested attention of the men is worth in dollars and cents, the engineers of a large Connecticut machine-tool factory were "laid off" for a week and experts were hired to take their places. That week the factory was operated with a high degree of efficiency. The week following the factory was run by the company's regular force. The operating expense was the same, but there was a loss of about 30 per cent. in efficiency, due directly to lack of interest on the part of the regular

force. One of the directors of the factory said to me: "The problem before us now is how to get our men so interested that both we and they shall have the benefit of that extra 30 per cent. of efficiency."

"I know one manager, one of the most genial and good-natured men in the manufacturing business," remarked a manufacturer, "who has been brought up with his concern and who is loved by every person connected with it. At noon you will find him, after lunch, in shirt-sleeves, playing a game of pool with a blacksmith or molder, though as soon as the whistle blows business begins. Do you suppose a walking delegate could call a strike against this man? He knows the men and the men know him. If we had more factories conducted like this, employers could afford to pay the workmen 10 per cent. more and each year make 15 per cent. extra profit, or possibly even as much as 25 per cent. more."

Though this is an age of machines, the industrial manager is concerned not so much with the machines themselves as with the man behind the machine.

A locomotive engineer on an eastern railroad said one day to his two firemen: "Suppose you fellows work as if you, and not the company, pay the coal bills." During six months, merely by careful firing, the men caused a saving in coal, over the average consumption of the engine, equal to almost four times the amount of wages paid the men for that period. The engine was the same; the men worked differently.

A generation ago consideration was shown to workmen—the employer was in close touch with the employe. Ten years ago attention was given to machines rather than to the workmen. Today the industrial manager finds that vastly better results can be had by placing the machines in the hands of skilled and ambitious operatives than by the employment of inferior help. And though the employer is now farther removed from the employee than ever, the industrial organizer, walking in the steps of the employer of a generation ago, is likely to handle the men more effectively than the old-time employer. He even brings about better working conditions. Shops are being better ventilated and heated than ever before; windows, floors, ceilings, and walls are kept clean; tools and machines are always

in order and ready for use; sanitary and hygienic surroundings are taking the place of slovenly and filthy interiors.

The fundamental principle in operating a modern industrial establishment is to get the men in love with their work, their surroundings, and their "boss." Merely "contented" workers seldom show any ambition or enthusiasm, which now, at last, is being considered a valuable economic asset. A "discontented" worker—that is, the ambitious one—is ever scheming and planning how to do his job in a new way, how to improve the tools he uses, or how to introduce a new method.

"I keep my men discontented right along," said a Providence, Rhode Island, rolling-mill manager to me, "and it pays."

"How do you account for that?"

"I keep the men discontented with themselves. No man is satisfied with himself in this shop, and I suppose that's why we are satisfied with all our men."

"It must have required much patience and diplomacy to bring the men around?"

"Not at all. It is far less trouble to do it than to leave it undone. Besides, we can't do much more than to suggest; the men do the rest themselves."

"And you don't spur them on?"

"No. The men spur themselves. We have the bonus or premium system. We pay premiums not only for the quantity of piece-work above a certain average, but also for the quality of the work done. This enables the slow worker, who takes great pains, to earn a bonus as well as the very swift worker."

"How do you take care of the man with a new idea?"

"Anybody in this shop who conceives a new idea in tool design, a new departure in operation, or an improvement of a machine is sure of having it placed before the president. We have regular printed forms for the men to fill out, and rules notifying the men on what date of the month their prospectus must be handed in, and to what extent they are permitted to solicit aid from our drawing-room department to get their suggestions properly illustrated. We also have a scale of prizes for those who invent successful improvements."

"And it works well?"

"Yes. I know of cases where employees

were discharged for suggesting improvements to a jealous foreman. Suggestions here are made by the men in writing and mailed to the president personally."

"Have you any labor troubles?"

"None that we have not been able to settle ourselves. We have a referendum—a peace-maker. Whatever troubles arise among the men themselves they settle by voting in the referendum, which convenes on Saturday half-holidays whenever necessary. We refer as many questions and issues to the men's referendum as is consistent with judicious management."

This is one of the modern methods. It even clears away troubles that apparently have no connection with it, such as "employer's liability" for accidents to the men. Where there is friction between foremen and workmen and jealousies between superintendents and office officials, the employer's liability risk is often all out of proportion. A Dayton, Ohio, machine-tool manufacturer found that his laborers were injured by sparks flying into their eyes from the rapid blows of the power-hammers. He had fire-spectacles made for the men, but they refused to wear them, preferring to take the risk rather than to be indebted for any favor to their employer, who had made himself disliked. In this case the men were, practically speaking, to blame, of course; but what about a manager who makes himself so unpopular that the men prefer to take the blame and the risk of personal injury rather than accept his remedy for it?

Another curious thing often occurs in the improperly managed shop. A skilled operative who has run a dangerous machine for years without accident suddenly loses a limb or is killed. No man can so fix his attention on his work and so organize his movements in a dangerous machine-duty but that one day, perhaps only for a second or two, he will fail to do a certain movement or operation correctly. This error springs from the sense of monotony which curses the operative of an automatic machine. But in the modern shop the monotony of automatic work is reduced by measures taken to interest the men in their work. And the cheerful relations between the men and their superiors banish the depressing mood that breeds monotony fully as much as the repetition of automatic movements.

A premium plan, however, has not always proved a sound method of interesting workmen. It is good only where its basis is fair; it is often employed as a means of exploitation. A wise industrial manager is wary about such plans.

It has remained for American ingenuity to make the old-time watchman of little consequence. What is now understood by a watchman around a factory is simply a man who goes about inspecting automatic apparatus that do the watching for him. The watchman's clock and automatic fire-alarm, now introduced all over the country, is a device which is placed in the main office, connected by wires with various stations about the premises.

In one factory the watchman records his call at each station by pressing a button; a clock records on a paper dial the time and station registered. If the watchman through neglect should fail to register within ten minutes of the time for starting his round, a gong rings in the building to be watched, and at the same time an alarm is sounded in the house of an official, who is expected to investigate. Thermostats also are placed about the buildings. If a fire starts, the thermostat causes the vibrator on the clock to sound an alarm.

Modern managers have also introduced a device to start and stop engines in emergencies.

Asked how this system worked in practice, the manager of a large Massachusetts factory said: "One day, when the cylinder-head blew out, there was a great rush of steam from a twelve-inch pipe under pressure, so that the engineer couldn't reach the throttle. But he pushed the emergency button and shut down the engine at once.

A "runaway" engine is likewise impossible today. A speed-limit device automatically shuts down the engine when it begins to "race"—that is, to exceed a stated number of revolutions a minute representing the margin of safety. As this frequently happens in the best of factories through the breaking of a flywheel, a failing governor, broken belts and piston-rods, etc., scores of leading American factories have been quick to adopt the stop.

Modern industry has become a new activity through the genius of the modern industrial manager.

AMERICA COMPETING AGAINST ITSELF

FACTORIES ESTABLISHED BY AMERICAN BUSINESS HOUSES IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA—TARIFFS AGAINST AMERICAN PRODUCTS THUS SET AT NAUGHT—AMERICAN METHODS MAKE THESE EUROPEAN FACTORIES PAY—BUT THEY COMPETE WITH AMERICAN FACTORIES TO OUR DISADVANTAGE

BY

JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORLD'S WORK

SCATTERED throughout Europe are many American industrial enterprises—American in creation, equipment, methods, and management, though they are supported, in part at least, by local European capital, and insist upon being regarded as local concerns. These establishments are surely cutting into American commerce, and the wound will deepen as they increase. They turn out material which has the stamp of American invention and American method, but which is cleverly adapted to local consumption. They stand in the market upon exactly the same footing as the European companies engaged in similar work, and therefore have a marked advantage over American exporting firms. Thus, for us, a new struggle is beginning in the Old World—American methods against America.

I have talked with agents of American houses and with managers of enterprises in England, Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries, and they agree that their business already feels the effect of the European "American" concerns; and the managers of the latter admit that they are getting orders at the expense of both the local producer and the foreign exporter. Nor do such "American" houses disburse a large percentage of the profits in the United States; the profits stay in Europe and strengthen Europe to resist the dreaded "American invasion."

Commercial Europe is keenly alive to the superiority of American industrial methods. The English recognize their own inferiority when it is brought home to them, and make dogged efforts to catch up when they see

that the advance of trade has passed them. For years they led the world in manufactures. English capital, English invention, and English enterprise organized works in all parts of the world, including the United States. But when England began to import large quantities of finished material from the United States, English producers saw that in some branches of manufacture they were dropping behind. Immediately factories were built in England upon American plans, equipped with American machinery, and managed by American brains. These have greatly benefited English industry. France, too, was quick to adopt American enterprises. "Any American who chooses," said the chief of the French Bureau of Manufactures, "can establish and operate a plant within the borders of the republic. He is hampered by no other restrictions than those imposed by law upon Frenchmen engaged in the same kind of manufacturing enterprise." This was confirmed by Americans who had started works in France.

Said an American producer in Berlin: "In Germany the requirements are not different in any important degree from those with which native firms have to comply, though legal and other restrictions make factory management more difficult than in the United States." Germany, accordingly, by its friendly policy has attracted a number of foreign enterprises. Passing through Alsace, I saw, for example, a number of Swiss silk, ribbon, and watch factories operating with every appearance of prosperity.

Russia, probably, has done more than any other nation—in recent times, at least—to

attract foreign capital and foreign enterprises. Russia has offered contracts and facilitated the entry of foreign firms, stipulating only that the companies shall be sound and that they shall operate under conditions similar to those of native concerns, which will protect the interests of the laboring class and of the country as a whole. Therefore, except with respect to labor, the conditions are not onerous. A list of the enterprises doing business in Russia bears the names of numerous Belgian, French, German, and English, as well as American houses.

Few American enterprises have been established in the remaining countries of Europe.

The American industries in England, France, Germany, and Russia are of many kinds. An American factory making electrical machinery at Manchester is the largest of the kind in England. There are works of the same company in France, Germany, and Russia. Another great American electrical company has works in Germany and France which produce not only for the local markets, but for neighboring States. American sewing-machine factories are located in Scotland and Russia. American flour-mills operate in Ireland. American machinery, automobiles, stoves, and phonograph cylinders are made in France. There are American breweries, match-factories, shoe-factories, air-brake factories, and machine and radiator works in Germany, and similar establishments in Russia. Some of these establishments receive raw material from the United States; others receive half-finished material. The majority take the raw material of places within easy reach.

While in England investigating industrial conditions for *THE WORLD'S WORK* I was told that Americans had established factories abroad mainly because they had come to appreciate that the competition with Europe upon existing advantageous terms could not continue so long as they did their work in the United States. I doubt if this entered the minds of our people who have started foreign ventures, or in any event it was pushed aside for more apparent advantages. As far as I have been able to discover, the enterprises were founded originally by the Americans, first, in order to be able to operate in foreign countries under the same conditions as local firms; secondly, to get behind the high-tariff wall which the protectionist

countries of the Old World had erected and were strengthening; thirdly, to save freight charges; and, fourthly, to obtain the advantage of cheap labor.

By acquiring the status of a local company the American firm could compete for government and municipal contracts. The second advantage is evident. Through the absence of commercial treaties United States importers are compelled to pay two and three times the duties levied upon the similar goods imported from a more favored nation. In Germany, moreover, the German syndicates have adopted a further system of excluding foreign competition. The members of a syndicate agreed to strike from their lists of customers all firms which purchased from foreigners goods which members of the syndicate manufacture. The effect of this was to boycott firms which did not draw all their supplies from members of the syndicate. The system has been extended by agreement to many of the syndicates. As a result, a manufacturer belonging, for instance, to the wire-rod syndicate will not supply material to a firm which is not a member of the wire-tacks syndicate or which buys even a small quantity of wire-rod from abroad. An American business man cannot fight such combinations from the other side of the ocean.

Not much, however, is saved in freight charges. As freight must be paid upon raw material, the gain has been of little consequence. Nor have American manufacturers in Europe found cheap labor especially remunerative. The European workman is slower than the American. The time lost is usually more valuable than the additional wages which would have to be paid to more expensive and faster workmen. I quote an American who is manufacturing matches in Germany. "The wages," he said, "are much lower than those paid for the same class of work in America. But the difference is offset to a large extent by losses of time due to the shutting down of the plant in the forenoon and afternoon for meals, by the frequent holidays in Germany, and by the smaller amount of work turned out by the men in a day. We have found girls comparatively unskilful because they are not accustomed to factory work or factory life."

To show how American methods have succeeded in Europe, I shall describe briefly

the operations of one of the great companies manufacturing electrical supplies. Attracted by the needs of Russia, then busily engaged in the construction of the Transsiberian Railroad, a Pittsburg manufacturer organized a company at St. Petersburg in 1898. The works established employed at first 800 men, but improved machinery has permitted a reduction of the force to 500. The company was capitalized at 2,000,000 rubles; later the capitalization was increased to 3,000,000 rubles. At an iron industries exhibition hastily got up at St. Petersburg the company made an exhibit. General Petroff, the director, wrote to the company expressing satisfaction at its development of a staple industry in Russia.

In July, 1899, the British company was incorporated with a capital of £2,750,000. The works were erected at Trafford Park, Manchester. The rapidity of its construction is even today the subject of admiring comment in Great Britain. The plant employs 6,500 hands. The French company was organized in 1901, with a capitalization of 20,000,000 francs. The works are at Gravelle Sainte Honorine and Freinville and employ 1,100 men. There is an air-brake factory established by the same company at Hanover, Germany. All these works are equipped with the latest appliances. Their output is enormous. The English works, for instance, turn out all kinds of electrical material—gas-engines, reciprocating steam-engines, steam-turbines, generators of all sizes and types, arc-lamps, transformers, rotary converters, switchboards, meters, motors, tramway and railway equipment, magnetic brakes, electric-pneumatic signals, as well as the celebrated air-brake. The English factory alone received orders amounting to £3,327,114 during three years ending July 31, 1903. The companies maintain a friendly alliance with the original establishment in America. There is no encroachment of one upon the field of the other. Indeed, all the various houses are separate and distinct. "We object," said one manager, "to the European companies being referred to as American companies. For example, the British company's capital has been subscribed, for the most part, in Great Britain; the works employ British workmen, and we particularly wish the company referred to as a British company. This also applies to the French

company and the Russian company." Another set of companies manufacturing electrical supplies in France and Germany regard themselves as local companies because, in the case of the French company, for instance, more than 90 per cent. of its stock is in French hands.

The American-managed firms have preserved far more satisfactory relations with their men than native establishments. In France, where strikes occur daily, I have yet to hear of a factory operated upon an American system which has been closed by a strike. The American managers do not pay the men better than other companies, but they pay them as much, and they recognize good work. American workmen are not employed in large numbers. But Americans are placed in executive positions, and are found to give better results than natives in England as well as in the other countries.

The establishment of factories abroad which maintain relations with the parent American houses is of international importance. There is, first, a tendency to reduce American exportation to countries where branches of the home enterprises are established. This international coöperation also affects customs tariffs. The policy followed by the syndicates of Germany shows that the commercial policy of a nation no longer decides whether a form of trade shall prosper; it is the policy of syndicates which affects commercial development. Mr. Francis Oppenheimer, the British Consul-General at Frankfort, Germany, believes that international agreements exist among syndicates and that if these agreements be carried to their full length they may render superfluous any national commercial policy. My own observations indicate that for the United States, at least, this stage will not be reached for many years. At the same time, the system of "farming out" Europe by American-managed factories in Europe which enjoy customs advantages not accorded to similar American houses will be harmful eventually, not only to our exports but to our imports as well. It is also not comforting to know that from the establishments operated abroad Europeans gain at first hand information of our machines and methods, and these they adopt as soon as they learn that the machine and methods are good.

THE IDEAL SCHOOLS OF MENOMONIE

A LITTLE CITY OF 5,600 PEOPLE IN WISCONSIN WITH THE BEST PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE WORLD—WHAT SENATOR STOUT HAS DONE FOR CITY AND COUNTRY EDUCATION—HOW THE PUBLIC SCHOOL REACHES THE WHOLE COMMUNITY

BY

ADELE MARIE SHAW

(The fourth of a series of first-hand investigations of American public schools)

MENOMONIE, Wisconsin, is a little city of but 5,600 people, and yet it is the best living proof of what the public-school system of the United States can be made to do under proper conditions. It contains within a few hundred acres the most varied, the most complete object-lesson in public education that exists anywhere today.

Its distinction it owes to one man, Mr. James H. Stout, who has since 1895 been a State Senator. Without him Menomonie would be like thousands of other little cities.

Some years ago, when Mr. Stout was a resident of St. Louis, he learned that poverty had broken off the course of a certain student of a manual-training school. In the name of the school he provided for the boy. Interest in the graduate work of this one young man woke an interest in the effect of manual training generally, and the Menomonie manual-training schools and the other Menomonie schools are the outgrowth of thirteen years of resulting experiment.

The original proposition made (in 1890) by Mr. Stout at a meeting of the Menomonie Board of Education was this:

"I will place upon the school-grounds, in a place to be designated by the Board of Education, a building of proper kind and size, furnished with all equipments necessary for the instruction of classes of boys and girls in the subjects included in the first year of a course in manual training. I will also pay the salaries of the necessary teachers, the cost of all necessary materials and supplies, and all the contingent expenses for three terms, or for a time equivalent to three school terms, except such a part thereof as shall be paid by five hundred dollars, which is to be provided by the Board of Education."

It was accepted, and at the end of the probationary time the city adopted the school.

Two buildings that dominate an open space of several blocks are now the centre of the public-school life of the town. At this season they stand out bare and strong in the snow, and the covered bridge that spans the distance between them is more a necessity than a convenience. In summer their dark-red brick will show still better, set off by the beautifully arranged plantation of flowers and shrubs that forms the school grounds.

The work carried on in the two buildings is not separate, but thoroughly interwoven. One building houses the Central common school, from the kindergarten through the high school, and is the headquarters of the Teachers' Training School for Kindergarten and Primary Teachers. The other, the manual-training building, is used by every Menomonie child—those from the outlying schools as well as those from the Central. A school is held in the building for the training of manual-training teachers, who have always at hand a "school of observation and practice."

A GLIMPSE OF THE WORK

Manual training from kindergarten to college, coördinated and controlled under one roof, I examined first. At one point Mr. Bauersfeld, one of the instructors, was sketching for me the plan of the carpentry course to prove that it dealt with problems increasingly complex for the mind as well as for the body, when he stopped as if in physical pain.

"Oh, that hurts me," he protested to a

blond grammar-school lad. "Normann, come over here and show Muller how to use a chisel." The teacher's wrinkle of distress and the smile that followed set Muller into a good-natured grin, and I glanced at him a few minutes later as he watched, with a new compression about his lips, the clean strokes of the boy who was serving as instructor.

These grammar-school lads that I saw were at work in a self-reliant, businesslike fashion upon a hickory step-ladder, a whitewood medicine-cabinet, a birch towel-roller, an oak piano-stool, red-birch inkstands, footstools, salt-boxes, collar and cuff boxes, plate-racks, picture-frames, and waste-baskets.

Care is taken to suit the instruction to the environment. I was attracted by a particularly smooth, strong sled. "We make sleds usually in the late fall," Mr. Bauersfeld explained. "Sleds and snow-shovels—and skees. When the band-saws break in a mill near by Mr. Stout gets them for us, and the sleds are shod with the best of steel." Everywhere I saw this inventive economy using old material in new ways. Some of the boxes were constructed from worn-out desk-tops.

"We make kites in the spring," Mr. Bauersfeld went on, "sometimes seventeen different kinds; and then we have a kite day and race airships on the kite-strings. They get a good deal of practice in mechanics out of the rigging of their airships," he twinkled.

Beyond the carpentry-room there was a little recitation-hall. A long work-counter allowed space for any practical demonstration the conductor of the classes wanted to use. From that and from a tool-room as complete and systematic as any library, with classified nails and classified saws, and from a fireproof vault where varnishes are stored which the pupils use in learning the arts of stains, fillers, shellac, and French polishing I emerged to see more *results*.

In this school Mr. Stout works out an occasional problem outside the curriculum. Once he asked a class of boys at the beginning of a year to "make something" quite independently. "Make anything you want to," he said. They wrestled faithfully, and the results were atrocious but interesting. Mr. Stout had found out what was in their minds. The objects were locked up and forgotten till the end of the year. Then they were produced, and great was the mirth of the class over their own work. They had learned

since making these articles how to appreciate grace of outline as well as mechanical perfection. They could no longer conceive such crudities.

The material for this woodwork is bought in the rough, green lumber, and the instructors reduce it to any shape they wish. I looked at a mass of oak and birch and some slabs of red cherry that will some day be the superintendent's desk. It was carefully set up in the dry-kiln, the hot air circulating between the planks. Close at hand was the planing-mill, where blocks and boards are cut by the instructors into any shape desired. The economy and utility of this way of purchasing is evident even to a novice.

From the wood-working department I went into the iron-working rooms. I had spent much time in the immense forge-shop, where twenty-two "down-draft forges" were busy, and I had wandered in the din of anvils, and peered into hooded fires, and been startled by a trip-hammer controlled by a high-school boy of fifteen. I had gone somewhat breathless through a kind of royal machine-shop, where striplings were handling gigantic forces with a steady concentration that made the air alive. I had given to the extraordinary equipment of the mechanical drawing-room a more intelligent and less thrilled attention. I was ready for more lathes and draughting-boards. But I was not prepared for the foundry.

The pit and the crane, the bucket-ladle capable of producing a two-ton casting, the melting-room with its brass furnace, its "cupola" for iron, its floor of removable iron plates, its iron loading-stage beneath the floor, were vital with the sense of human mastery over material. In the faces of the boys bent over the machines this mastery had been plain—the tension of their work blended with the fine contentment of power rightly applied.

This was the work of the boys. The girls study "domestic science" in a department of six large sunny and well-arranged rooms.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE

The real interest in this work to a quick-witted girl is furnished in the pleasure of acquiring knowledge in the study of fabrics and textiles, manufactures and materials, in the working out of an original problem. A girl is given a group of foods to be reduced

to their food elements by the study of scientific tables. If in the group (designed perhaps for a breakfast) the girl finds a food whose nourishing elements exist in an equal amount in a cheaper material, then the substitution is made and the cost reduced. To a group of girls is frequently given the preparation of one or two or three meals the cost of whose raw materials shall not exceed a definite amount. These meals are served to invited guests, chiefly fathers and mothers, and the entertainers take turns in acting as hosts and waiters.

One of these meals I saw in the process of serving. A high-school girl had been given a dollar, out of which she was to provide for twenty-five people. Here is the record:

Cream Tomato Soup	
Croûtons	
Veal Loaf	Potatoes
Bread and Butter	
Milk	

Tomatoes, 12 cents; veal, 40; potatoes, 14; bread, 15; milk, 15; butter, 10. Total, \$1.06. Twenty-seven people served.

Deftness and a trim and accurate handling of materials, with the brain planning behind the work, are the objects for which the department labors under Miss Laura G. Day. Home experiments are recorded methodically, so that at the end of the year every child has card-catalogued her independent struggles. The children are known and their homes are known. Deception is practically impossible.

THE ART DEPARTMENT

The art department is another of Mr. Stout's experiments. The beauty of the collection it contains can best be suggested by the effect it produces. "I'd dragged through a sick day, flogging myself on from minute to minute till late in the afternoon," one woman said to me, "and at the very end of my labors I had to climb up to the art-rooms on an errand. In five minutes I was well. There is something about beauty that comforts you all over."

One holiday-time Mr. Stout sent Miss Kate Murphy, the director of this department, to Japan, and her Japanese treasures came back with her to find a place with Greek and Moorish spoils. The pupils naturally resort to the art department to examine such acquisitions.

The whole system of manual training is so

planned that it occupies in time little more than two hours a week. Nor do the school-children spend all their other school-hours in the ordinary studies. They are given the finest possible facilities for exercise.

THE GYMNASIUM AND THE SWIMMING-POOL

Mr. Stout gave the schools a \$75,000 gymnasium which he maintains.

Menomonie is the only place where you can go indoors from a temperature 38° below zero and find a class of public-school boys swimming in the waters of a warm indoor lake, or a class of public-school girls splashing in the lively competition of a first swimming-lesson.

Mr. Stout's belief in educated bodies is put into stalwart practice. This plunge has none of the effect of goldfishes in a bowl. It is eighty feet by thirty—the largest swimming-tank in the world open to school-children—and at one end it drops to a good depth for diving. The effect of the high wainscoting and the lining (both of opalite), of the smooth whiteness of the marble margin, of the flash of nickel in the showers beyond, and of the motion of clean bodies through clear water, has a beauty that is not marred by the plash of agitated waves and the shouts of truly happy children.

No child can get into the plunge save by the way and use of the shower-baths. A turnstile lets him out when he is ready to dress. Running water provides constant change, and once a week, at this season, the place is emptied and thoroughly cleaned.

In the gymnasium are all the modern developing appliances, a wilderness of lockers, and a suite of wonderful dressing-rooms. It is in use day and evening.

Mr. MacArthur, the director, works according to a very sound theory. He says:

"The characteristic features of the instruction given in this school are that the girls receive the same attention as the boys, and that the training of both begins while they are young. . . . It is previous to her fourteenth year that a girl can best be developed and strengthened for the duties of life. Up to that time she is the boy's equal or superior in physical prowess if given an equal chance, but the conventionalities of modern society rob her of freedom during her years of growth and cause her to become delicate and unhealthy. No amount of subsequent physical training will compensate for the loss of freedom during the years from nine to fourteen. Every pupil (beginning with the second

grammar year) is permitted to come to the gymnasium three times a week to engage in the more vigorous work of climbing the ropes or ladders, jumping the horse, making "nests" on the parallel bars, and to indulge in the luxury of a shower-bath. If children are given the opportunity to experience the delightful effects of a good bath it is safe to say that they will find some way of keeping clean when they are men and women."

From the second year of the grammar school, before which they have two classroom lessons daily, pupils begin the twice-a-week systematic gymnasium instruction during school-hours that lasts through the high school, and each of these classes has a weekly swimming-lesson.

One of Mr. MacArthur's beliefs is the giving of equal care and attention to all pupils, not selecting a group of those already well developed for special training, while the rest shift for themselves, the common way. The clumsier the boy the more determinedly does Mr. MacArthur keep him to his task.

The result so far has been a surprising all-around excellence and a remarkable athletic record for the school teams. Menomonie boys won the relay race and banner at the Wisconsin meet, and one of them, Waller, holds the United States championship for the 440-yard dash at the Amateur American Athletic Union games in Chicago. The school record shows the names of Arthur Olson, who threw the 12-pound hammer 144 feet 10 inches; Edwin Grobe, whose broad jump was 19 feet 7 inches; Frank Van Hoesen, who vaulted 9 feet 6 inches; and a Louis Seely, who hurled the discus about 100 feet. The development attained is not a bunched, prize-fighting muscularity, but a balanced strength and suppleness that comes very near perfection.

Miss Bornheim, the assistant, is herself an embodiment of the health and glow of the wholesome word she preaches. Nothing that I saw in this department impressed me so much as the very small girls hanging by their toes, their knees, one hand, anywhere on anything, and always sure, always happy to the bubbling-point, and already with something of the good-tempered self-control taught by all true sports. The mastery of the body the pupils are learning now will be mastery of the future. They won't grow up to cry when they want to smile!

The free-exercise hours, no less than the

gymnasium class, are under trained direction. The general public, too, admitted for a trifling amount to a shower-bath, a tub-bath, a Turkish bath, or a plunge, make constant use of their privileges. Bowling-clubs of "grown-ups" go to try the perfect alley, wear gymnasium costumes, and stay for a bath when exercise is over. Men's classes and women's fill the evenings. Many an invalid mother regains her health here, forgetting her headaches under the systematic drill and the stimulating shower.

Here parents and schools come into closer touch, the city grows year by year cleaner and better, the bodies of its dwellers are freshened for work, and their minds are occupied with healthful action.

THE TEACHERS' TRAINING-SCHOOLS

The Stout Training-School for Manual-Training Teachers, now in its first year, is under the direction of Mr. John H. Mason, a Worcester Polytechnic man who has been for two years on the faculty of the New York Teachers' College at Columbia University.

Efficiency is the most obvious product of the instruction. Neither Mr. Stout nor the director, Mr. Mason, believes that because a man can manipulate wood and iron he is therefore able to make wood and iron work a means of education to a grammar-school boy. Against the protest of the authorities, five Menomonie high-school graduates have been employed as manual-training teachers on the strength of their common-school work. One young graduate of the school is receiving \$1,200 at the Throop Polytechnic Institute, Pasadena, California. Another is director of the manual-training work at Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, and one of the girls fills the same position in Manitowoc. The girl was recently confronted by a request for woodwork in addition to domestic science. She had never received any instruction in the management of wood and metal, but she did not sit down supinely and say, "I can't." She showed the resourcefulness of her training, appealed to her home school, and with written instruction, plans, and advice from headquarters, opened her new department. Next year she will take the regular teachers' course.

I saw another high-school graduate perched at a huge drafting-table in the mechanical-drawing room at Menomonie preparing plans

of the buildings for the St. Louis fair. These are some of the results of the training.

Mr. Mason and his colleagues, Miss Day and Miss Murphy, stand ready to cooperate in every special case needing elastic treatment, so that into the work in domestic science, in form and color, in mechanical drawing, and in wood-working, pupils are slipping regardless of sex. The directors of the schools, from Mr. Stout to the youngest professor, would be glad to see any boy or girl given the best the school offers. The conditions that curtailed the girls' opportunities are fast changing. Menomonie people in educational insight have advanced beyond the world outside.

The most attractive features of the kindergarten and primary training-school, under Mrs. Logsdon-Coull, are the blending of the kindergarten with the primary school.

The director endeavors to eliminate the type of teacher who says to a mother, "Your Johnnie is the *dearest* child! I just love him!" and to a fellow-teacher, "Johnnie is the worst child I ever knew." The work is done seriously and sincerely, and it counts. In Menomonie the first-grade teacher does not receive the kindergarten child with a shrug.

THE COUNTY SCHOOLS

Dunn County, Wisconsin, in which Menomonie is, established one of the first two county agricultural schools in the world, and with it the county school for training rural teachers. The building that serves as headquarters for both stands in the Menomonie group, where its students have the use of the Stout Gymnasium and are part of the student life of the town. These schools, which were favored by Mr. Harvey, then State superintendent, were secured by Mr. Stout's efforts in the Wisconsin Senate. Dean Henry, the remarkable director of the State University College of Agriculture, has a grip on the rural life of the State that is lifting it year by year. Mr. Stout believed district agricultural schools could reach remoter and less-traveled people, wake up communities whose boys would not attend State institutes, and so reinforce the work of the university.

The County Training-School for Rural Teachers at Menomonie accordingly takes girls straight from the village school and gives them a year or more of normal and upper-

grade work. They learn how to study and they find out how to teach. Association broadens them, ambition grows, and when they have earned their first salaries many go on to one of the seven State normal schools. The effect of the training is visible even to a stranger. Fifty-four per cent. of the teachers of Dunn County are the graduates of this school, that is only beginning its second year.

Mr. Morrison, the principal, and his associates personally supervise the work of the graduates. Miss Allen, one of these associates, took me with her on one of her expeditions. Covered with furs that met our ear-lapped caps, we drove twenty-seven miles to see two schools. In the Red Cedar District, No. 4, we found a slender girl, Miss Della Bonell, with forty-one children present out of forty-six. They ranged in age from babyhood to teens, forming almost as many classes as there were children. An array of tin dinner-pails stood on the floor beside the big stove.

The wall had the framed picture of Lincoln given by Mr. Stout to all the schools, and some pictures of one of his "traveling picture groups" which he sends about the State. On a stand was a tool-chest, furnished with a complete set of tools. This is Mr. Stout's gift to each country school in the county, and Miss Bonell showed me her blue-print plan of work furnished by Mr. Mason at Menomonie, and the woodwork already produced by the children.

In the short time that we stopped, Miss Allen found out what difficulties were blocking the school path, heard a reading-class, and took in hand a grammar-class of one big girl, who was in floundering depths over the poetry she was trying to untangle.

"It's too hard for her," announced the supervisor. "Let her find subjects in *your* sentences: *The sun is shining brightly, and the visitor who came today looked as if she had enjoyed her ride.* That's quite as complicated, and the child knows what it means."

The teacher brightened. She had feared that she might be held responsible for the examples "in the book."

The connection between the rural schools and the parent school through such inspections as this, new as it is, is vital. Need and help, question and answer, letter and interview, keep the work alive. A beautiful desk chair, the gift of the parents, and new

window-shades, put in for this particular teacher, were some of the signs of this life.

All through the county, thanks to Mr. Stout, pictures, tinted walls, and books are changing the face of rural education. The State requires every township to set aside ten cents for every school-child for the purchase of books. These are soon worn out, and in old days the taste for reading once acquired, having nothing to feed on, died. Now every village or neighborhood that desires it is supplied with a Stout Traveling Library. Thirty books (in a case with doors) are lent and exchanged on application.

Mr. Frank Avery Hutchins, the secretary of the State Commission, was among the first to insist on the traveling libraries, and Mr. Stout's testimony is that Wisconsin owes more to the self-sacrifice and strength of Mr. Hutchins's work than Mr. Hutchins's self-forgetfulness has ever allowed to be said. About the labors of other people Mr. Stout speaks with enthusiasm. The temerity of the questioner who hopes to hear him talk about himself brings a smile to the faces of Wisconsin people. From Governor La Follette to the bell-boy of the Menomonie Hotel, they realize the futility of the attempt. What I know of the Menomonie schools, of the county, and of Mr. Stout himself I have had to find out little by little from living in the schools themselves, where every corner is wide open to the self-conducted stranger, from living with Menomonie people, and from careful gleanings outside. I never had so open a chance to find out for myself, and was never left so entirely free from advice in doing it.

Part of the country drive that took me to the rural school showed a Stout library in the farmhouse kitchen where it is kept. Here or in a country store, with an advertisement of chewing-tobacco or of a patent medicine as its nearest neighbor, it is a nucleus of good things. One of the visitors from the central library found a station in an old section-house, in charge of "Uncle Dick," a cripple who was section-boss, justice of the peace, and postmaster.

"That's a poor place for the library," the visitor suggested. "We might move it."

"Oh, don't," begged the boy who was her guide. "You don't know Uncle Dick; he lets us have a book whenever we want it."

A refined and thoughtful man, whose dis-

trict training had been of the old type, wrote in answer to questions sent out by Miss Lucas, the Menomonie librarian:

"It helps to occupy our spare time in a useful manner give us Purer thought less time to think ill of our neighbours make us better citizen I would mis it badly."

A man who can think so far beyond his opportunities is blessed in the traveling library. The Memorial Library at Menomonie is open to all the county, and with the book-cases often go special books for special readers. The teachers who learn to know the library in Menomonie carry it with them where they go; many a girl takes twenty books at a time for use in her school-room and establishes besides a Stout library station close at hand.

The County Agricultural School also does important work. It takes girls and boys straight from the farms for a year's course in domestic and agricultural training and gives them double value for every moment spent. The school, opened in the face of protest against "book-learning for farmers' boys," is already crowded.

The work is planned with a direct eye to external utility, but general cultivation is a certain result. In the machine-shop portable forges, worth eight or ten dollars each, are used in ways that every farmer needs to understand. Carpentry work is of the heavier kind, essential to proper care of buildings and fences. The boys made their own solid benches and can fit up a poultry-house or a farm-shop without sending five miles for the nearest carpenter. The care of poultry they learn by experiment. Mr. Davis, the head of the school, puts his whole heart into all his work, and his hands follow. If hens are bought troubled with parasites, he himself sprays the crude oil through their feathers. His Buff Plymouth Rocks are laying well in the dead of winter, because their quarters are sunny and clean and their wants are never forgotten. To the boy of the average farm household their very tameness is new, but the connection between kindness and an increased revenue is brought home to him. The study of soils, grain-judging, stock-judging, the feeding and housing of stock, Massachusetts methods of planting strawberries, and Wisconsin ways of sowing clover are all bits of a coherent year's course.

In Dunn County, with its 30,000 scattered population, Mr. Davis conducted last year thirty-two farmers' institutes. Every man had a chance to attend one institute, and many farmers were present at several. Just as work begun in the Menomonie schools ends often in the beautiful environment of the University of Wisconsin, so the county institutes lead many of the farmers to the State institutes.

One interesting story told me had to do with a recent county meeting. A man who lives not far from Menomonie owns a magnificent herd of "Galloway fats." These fat cattle are raised for the Chicago market and have taken some prizes in the latest international exhibit of beef creatures. This man, who is very rich and successful, had never before been willing to talk in a meeting, and was with difficulty persuaded to come and to speak. It was Mr. Davis's idea that, naturally praising his own particular form of industry, the speaker would advise the farmers to go in for raising fat cattle, and in that case Mr. Davis was prepared with a lively answer in favor of more dairy cattle. But to his surprise this stock-owner made a very eloquent and wonderfully interesting plea for a greater number of dairy-cattle raisers, saying that as an industry the business should not be allowed to languish, that its permanent value in any community was very great, and that he was sorry, for his own part, that so many farmers were crossing their herds with his Galloway breed. Coming from him, the advice had a marked effect and delighted the institute managers. The man who gets outside his own affairs long enough to give disinterested advice to his neighbors gains more than their gratitude and interest; he gains in civic or county pride and puts himself among those whose labor is not for themselves alone, but interwoven with the progress and development of that sectional or national life of which they are a part.

Here are a few of the other activities already in motion: The free distribution of seed; the giving of technical information to farmers regarding stock, new crops, and soils; the distribution of farmers' bulletins and agricultural books (sent out often with the traveling library); the helping of rural teachers to handle elementary agriculture and manual work in their schools; the free

testing of milk from each cow in any dairy herd; the furnishing of tuition to students from other counties for an annual fee of \$10.

Any study of the Menomonie city schools or the Dunn County schools shows a substantial interweaving of all departments in the interest of a common helpfulness. It is that spirit above every other that makes the Menomonie system strong.

METHODS OF WORK

When the superficial or the discouraged visitor says, "We could never do this; we haven't the money," Menomonie is impatient. The success of Mr. Stout's work every citizen of Menomonie knows has depended a thousand times more on the thought and care he has given to it than on the money he has spent. What if these buildings and machines could not be duplicated elsewhere for anything like their cost? They do not need to be duplicated. Mr. Stout had a fancy to see what the most splendid equipment would accomplish, but the essential features were in the first building he erected. It cost \$2,400. Down-stairs the boys swept their benches free from shavings and worked at their mechanical drawing under the shadow of the machines; up-stairs the girls set in order their cooking-tables and laid out their sewing in the place where the cooking had been. Let pupils learn to help themselves, make their own appliances, and gain in resourcefulness what they lack in machines. A good beginning grows. Mr. Stout has never taken any step in advance without first educating the community to give him some measure of coöperation and backing; his superstructures rest on foundations. Nothing has been attempted in a hurry nor without expert advice. The man in charge of Menomonie's school grounds is Mr. Warren Manning, the famous Boston landscape gardener who laid out the grounds of the Chicago World's Fair. Under him and his assistant plants and shrubs (plainly marked as in a horticultural garden) have been gathered from many quarters and set in place. Here again the county gains. Mr. Stout has offered prizes to farmers and to schools for original plans and their execution. Naked school-house and barren farm dooryards are accordingly being adorned. At the head of the Menomonie school system, Mr. L. D. Harvey, former president of the Milwaukee Normal School and lately State



THE PUPILS OF ONE OF THE COUNTY TRAINING-SCHOOLS NEAR MENOMONIE

Superintendent, is making a remarkable power of organization felt in the life of the whole system.

All this work is a beginning. To the creative mind that conceived it it is the merest prophecy of what is to come. A single set of tools for each country school and little children making rulers and fire-handles; by and by the village fathers (who are also the children's fathers) demanding more manual training; then a few seeds and a visit

I am certain that I know more today of his gifts to Menomonie, through the words of these men who like to have him appreciated, than many a citizen who has lived there all his life. This reserve is, first of all, due to the desire to fix attention upon the work, not upon himself. An artist who wanted to show people the beauty of a land he loved could not be glad when people turned from his picture of the land to look at him. "Is the work worthy of imitation?" is what



A COLLECTION OF CARPENTER'S TOOLS

And photographs of finished houses in Menomonie, and a drawing of a carpenter at work, framed and hung where the children can see it

from the landscape gardener, a call from Mr. Stout, a long waiting, and by and by a school with a lawn and beautiful trees!

This is the way Mr. Stout works, hiding his benefactions where the majority of the citizens never hear of them. Members of the City Council have told me of his marvelous ability in dodging announcements of his deeds. Every year his checks go into the school fund, into this city enterprise and that.

Mr. Stout's silence asks the man who would call him benefactor. "Is it good work?" There is the frankest democracy in his attitude. His own children are in the public schools.

His plan of work is founded on a recognition of social values. Every year, or oftener, there is a "round-up" of all the forces. The rural teachers that have met in township groups come together in a body and the

Agricultural School girls serve a supper. The people in charge of the traveling libraries drive thirty miles through frightful roads to exchange experiences, talk over plans, and the high-school girls prepare a dinner. Groups of graduates, groups of parents, all the school-children in the city, with the parochial school not forgotten, are entertained in the Memorial rooms, in the schools, in the park, and Mr. Stout quietly pays the

all night to secure tickets. Every one is interested in something; every one is busy. There are no loafing boys on the streets. They vanished when the gymnasium was opened. Men who want to use the manual-training plant find it accessible in the evening. The school buildings are always warmed, electric light to be had for a gesture. A carpenter who wanted to build a house came into the school, received instruction, constructed a



A COLLECTION OF COTTON PRODUCTS

From the boll to the finished product, with pictures illustrating the various processes, hung in the kindergarten

bills. Miss Allen sends out material to country study clubs. The clubs have a year of work and then take a holiday and visit Menomonie. Farmers who want the work at the Agricultural School are welcome, and many come. Visitors drop in from St. Louis, delegations from the East, a superintendent from Oregon, and if the visitor is distinguished and has anything to say he lectures in the Memorial auditorium, and boys stand in line

model (that I saw), and with this architectural assistance built his house from his own plans.

FOR THE FUTURE

More of this is what Mr. Stout wants. He dreams of a time when there shall be an auditorium to seat 2,500 people. He has bought the land; the city is paying the taxes. Some day the auditorium will be built. "We need music," Mr. Stout has said. He



THE OUTDOOR GAMES OF THE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

Certain games are a part of the school work

will never be satisfied till a ten-thousand-dollar organ is installed in the auditorium, and musicians, *all* the best things from outside that offer entertainment, shall be tempted to Menomonie. Some day, if his plans hold good, a trade-school will be added to the group already here. Then each child, his

whole school life having been carefully recorded, will be talked over by parents and teachers, his aptitudes will be considered, and in all his later work he will be given the right opportunity. Some day, if pupils wish to organize a business under the leadership of a competent instructor, they will be allowed



CHILDREN OF THE "CONNECTING" CLASS, BETWEEN KINDERGARTEN AND PRIMARY, AT WORK IN THEIR OWN GARDENS



KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN PLAYING RINGTOSS TO MUSIC IN THE SCHOOL-ROOM

the use of the manual-training apparatus for the summer months, pay for their raw material, and keep their own books. Some day a dormitory will house the inflooding students, and the practical application of domestic science will save expense for the student who must economize and will incidentally give good food to all. These are some of the many plans that are working themselves out in a mind never idle in service.

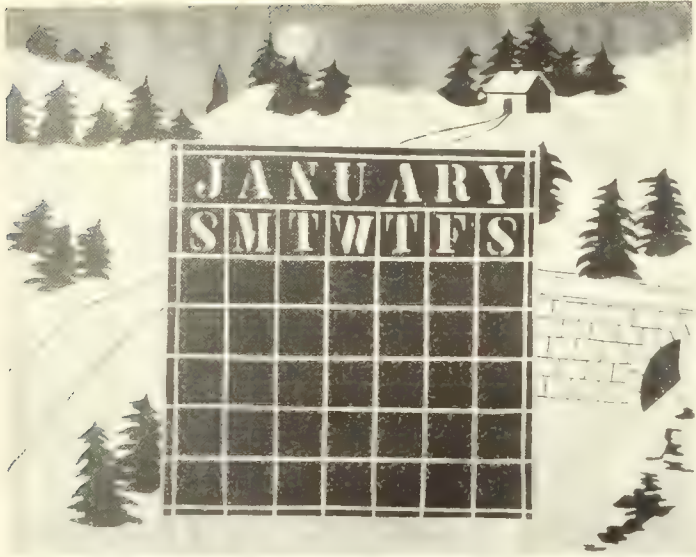
They do not concern Menomonie alone.

The recent history of Wisconsin shows no good movement which he has not advocated. But it is Menomonie that sees the concrete results of his work. The people there know what has been accomplished in a city where even yet the outskirts show women in wooden shoes, and the poorest homes reveal a diet of fried meat and lard-spread bread.

While a man is living it is impossible to write what the next generation will say, without offense. But it should be set forth



KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN AT THE LUNCHEON PERIOD IN THE CENTRAL SCHOOL GROUNDS



A BLACKBOARD CALENDAR MADE IN THE KINDERGARTEN



A GIRL SERVING TWO OF THE TWENTY GUESTS FOR WHOM SHE PROVIDED AN EXQUISITE LUNCHEON AT FIVE CENTS A COVER

plainly that there is no disparagement of the citizens of Menomonie in the emphasis laid upon the work of Mr. Stout. He is one of the few born in any generation. With a mind to conceive the things that should be, he has the knowledge of affairs and the patience to make his conceptions possible. It is a great thing to say of any city that it has listened to the plans of such a man, and, cooperating in their fulfilment, has come by effort and self-denial to the place Menomonie occupies today.

From the visit to Menomonie I have learned three things:

1. Measured by this actual demonstration

of what the public schools can do, most other public-school work is dead and ineffectual.

2. The value of the Menomonie schools as an object-lesson is due more to the thought than to the money expended on them.

3. If communities were willing to spend both thought and money they would receive in hard cash a hundredfold for their expenditure. Menomonie workmen built the fittings of the schools; they are building the houses of many families attracted to the place by the schools alone. Students from outside leave in this little city every year at least \$80,000.



OVERSEERS ON A VISIT TO A TRAVELING-LIBRARY STATION



GIRL TEACHER, GRADUATE OF MENOMONIE SCHOOLS, IN A DISTRICT SCHOOL



THE SCHOOL SWIMMING-TANK AT MENOMONIE
The children all learn to swim and dive as a part of the school work



KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN GATHERING SEEDS IN THE GARDEN OF ONE OF THE MENOMONIE SCHOOLS



THE RUSSIAN JEW AS MOST PEOPLE SEE HIM

A PARTY OF RUSSIAN JEWS LANDING IN NEW YORK
Leaving the little steamer that takes them from the Immigration Office to the city



THE RUSSIAN JEW AMERICANIZED

HIS PROGRESS THROUGH THE GHETTO TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP—
WHAT MAKES THE GHETTO—THE COMMON JEWS WHO PEDDLE AND
THE LEARNED CLASS WHO THROUGH SWEAT-SHOPS REACH DIS-
TINCTION IN THE ARTS AND IN SCHOLARSHIP—AN INTIMATE STUDY

BY

EZRA S. BRUDNO

Illustrated with photographs by A. W. Scott

CONSPICUOUSNESS has ever been the great misfortune of Israel. The tiniest speck on the Jew shows as distinctly as a large blotch on other people. Everything the Jew does or abstains from doing is carefully noted by his gentile neighbor. Perhaps this showiness is due to a characteristic trait of the Jew, or perhaps it is the fault of the insidious look of his neighbor. The fact remains that the Jew is always in sight.

During the last score of years emigration to America has been abundant from all European countries—from Germany, from Italy, from Hungary, from Ireland, from

Bohemia, from Russia. Yet, comparatively small as is the number of Russian emigrants, the Russian Jew has become conspicuous. The flood of Germans, Poles, and Italians is mentioned only as a matter of record, but the Russian Jew is pointed out apprehensively, almost alarmingly—"let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply."

Is there any cause for such grave apprehensions? Are these refugees really a menace to this republic? Are they in any way inferior to the other batches of immigrants that arrive daily? An unbiased study of the Russian Jews in the United States will answer these questions, not argumentatively, but

illustratively, truthfully. But in order to present a full view of the Russian-American Jews, the Jews from other countries must be considered. I refer particularly to the German-American Jews, who were the fore-runners of their Russian coreligionists.

The emigration of German Jews dates back more than half a century. They, like the present refugees, fled from their native land not so much because of their inability to gain a livelihood as from inhuman persecution. Massacres were no more rare in Germany then than at present in the Czar's domain.



THE FIRST STEP ASHORE

Stepping off the gang-plank from the government steamer



IN THE HANDS OF THE CARMEN

The land-sharks who manage to fleece most disgracefully the greater part of the immigrants

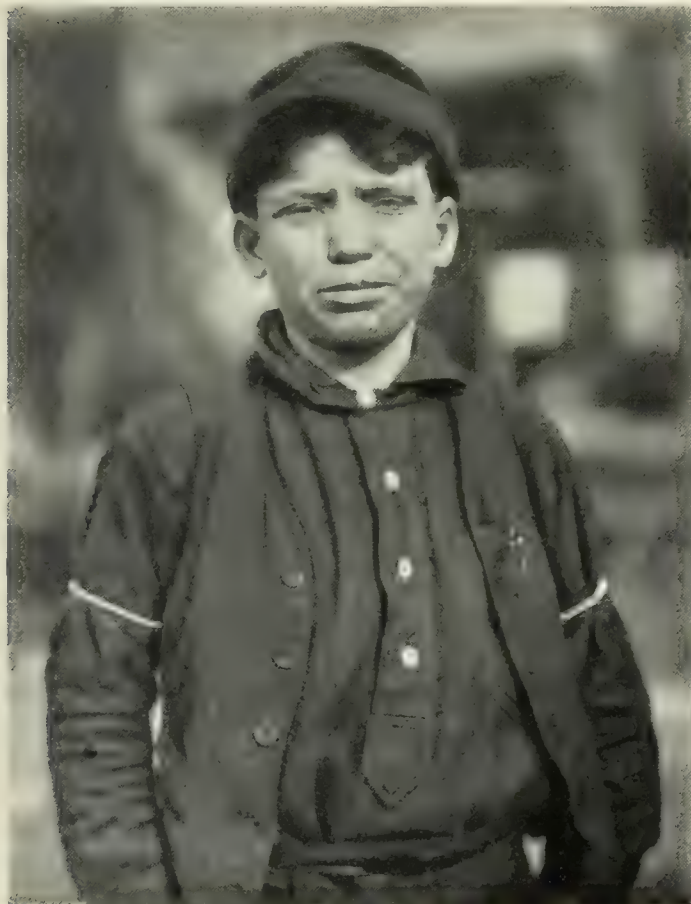
And on their arrival here they took up peddling and engaged in business similar to that of the Russian immigrant. History repeats itself. Portuguese Jews who had settled here long before the German and had succeeded in more than one way looked down upon those uncouth immigrants. With the blood of Spanish martyrs in their veins, they considered themselves the superiors of their German coreligionists. In fact, they were far superior, not only materially, but also intellectually. They possessed culture, while the German Jews had only the superficial polish that money lends.

But gradually and slowly these German immigrants, with their somewhat offensive manners, have gained a firmer hold in this country. They outnumbered the Portuguese Jews and forced them back, so to speak. Furthermore, the Germans prospered. If nothing else, the German Jews know how to make money; and they have made money in great abundance. With the achievement of financial success came influence, and influence bought arrogance—also in great abundance. They copied American manners and adopted American materialism. And although their refinement was not of the kind that culture or heritage brings, it was not inferior to that of the average American. But their incessant pursuit of wealth has stunted the growth of their intellect. With very few exceptions, unlike the Jews in Germany, they have made slow progress here in art or letters. It is almost a reflection upon the German Jews in the United States that during a century they have not produced a single man of letters or an artist of note. Even their rabbis are mostly Austrian, Bohemian, Polish, or Russian.

With the advent of Russians the German Jews put on airs and, following in the footsteps of the Portuguese Jews, formed a seclusive colony for the sole purpose of excluding the newcomers. "*Ich bin ein Deutsche*," one of them would say superciliously to the Russian or Pole, as if his nationality alone entitled him to special recognition.

Moreover, this silly, vain pride, harmless as it may appear to the gentile reader, has been the cause of an almost irreparable injury to the Russian-American Jews. In

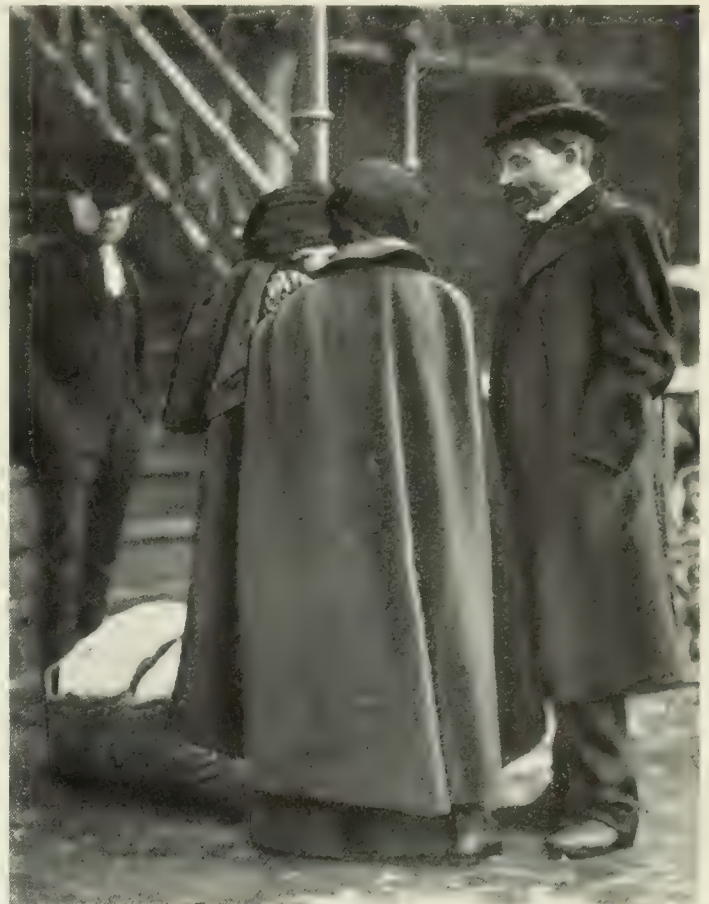
ists offered them material help, but they raised the Russian Jew with the left hand only to knock him down with the right. They humiliated him on every occasion and made him feel inferior. For fear that immigration might hurt their social standing, the German Jews tried to impress upon the uninformed American that the Russian Jew is of a lower caste. This wrong against their own flesh and blood was not so much the result of hatred as of unpardonable egotism. It was the rebuke that the rich give to their poor relatives.



A TYPE OF THE BOY WHO WAITS FOR HIS MOTHER AND SISTERS AT THE BARGE OFFICE

fact, this was the primary cause of the apprehension that the American people felt at the increased emigration from Russia. It was no other than the German-American Jew who has poisoned the American press with the venom of distrust against the Russian refugees.

It was in 1882 that the Jews in Russia found emigration to America inevitable. The notorious May Laws made it almost impossible for them to stay in their native land. Since then thousands have arrived here—tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands. Their German-American coreligion-



FOUND

Two immigrants with a relative who has preceded them to this country

Being a foreigner, the Russian Jew has had none of his own kin to defend him, and being a Jew no one else would take up his cause. And the German Jew—always busy in making money—nodded his head and smiled. These very Jews in whose ears still rang the echo of persecution jeered and sneered and snubbed their haunted kindred.

As is the case with all emigrating peoples, the majority of the Russian-Jewish immigrants belong to the masses, or the common people, in contradistinction to the so-called better classes. Their common people com-



SELLING CHESTNUTS IN THE CURB MARKET



SUSPENDERS AND COLLAR BUTTONS

prise artisans, peddlers, and small tradesmen. They are not criminals seeking refuge in a foreign land; they are the product of brutal persecution in search of a permanent home—the ancient wanderer looking for shelter to rest his weary bones.

First comes the head of the family. He brings with him a *talith* (a zebra-like shawl worn at morning prayers), a pair of *tephilin* (phylacteries), a strong body, and a sober mind. If he is an artisan the problem is simple. He resumes his occupation and becomes one of the working classes. But owing to Russian barbarism there is a great number of Jews who have no trades. Having been kept from agriculture, farming in the new land is at first out of the question, and owing to other restrictions the variety of trades among them is not great. If he has

no ready trade he must necessarily engage in some branch of commerce. But he is a foreigner and—what is still worse—without money. But live he must. He has no time to think; he has left behind him a wife and half a dozen children. Their cry for bread echoes in his ears even with the vast ocean between them. The very next morning he rises to work—work at almost anything. There is always on hand a coreligionist to advance or to lend for the first basket of merchandise; a week later he gets credit on his own account. Thus he takes up the pack and plods day after day, a target for snowballs and stones and bricks, with one gleam of hope to cheer his adventurous trips—the hope of a steerage-ticket for his family. What does he now care for tidy clothes or neat appearance? He never thinks of him-



TWO OF THE MORE PROSPEROUS FISH-DEALERS



IN THE FISH-MARKET

self; his thoughts are centred upon his family in his old home. Every day brings him nearer his goal. He laughs at the loafers' missiles, he defies their derision, he shrugs his shoulders at their vituperations. He neither hears them nor sees them nor feels their frequent blows; his wife and children across the ocean constantly beckon to him and console him.

Before long he pays the first instalment for a steerage-passage; a few months later

so unreliable; many of his letters have never reached his wife. He carries his pack and sighs; he is not as good-natured with the loafers as usual; they irritate him and he curses them blasphemously. He returns home early—a letter awaits him. His wife informs him that she will start on the long journey the following day, and that she already had all her baggage packed when the ticket came. His joy is now unbounded; he reads the letter again and again and



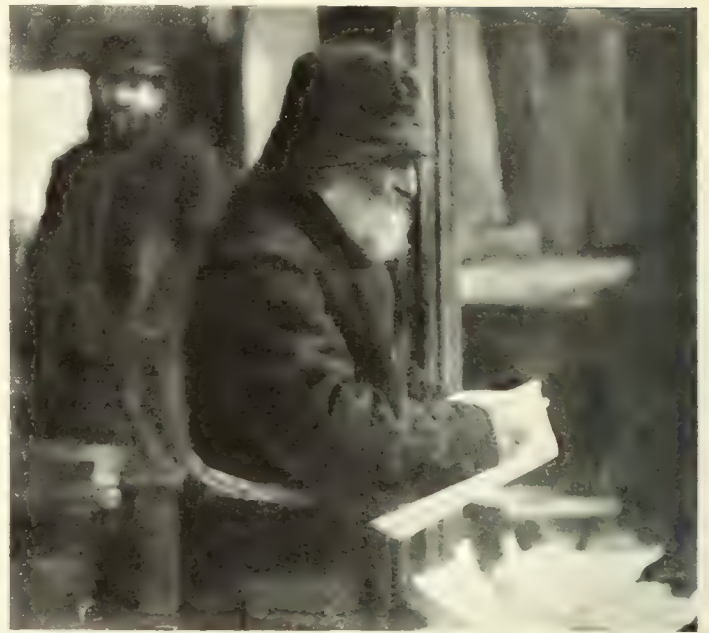
THE INTERIOR OF ONE OF THE MORE POPULAR RUSSIAN JEWISH SYNAGOGUES IN NEW YORK CITY

he carries the ticket in his hand. He folds it so carefully, almost reverentially, with a thrill of sensuous joy, and from the moment he mails it he begins to count the days. First he counts eleven—the period of travel to Russia—and is happy on the day he calculates that the ticket reached its destination. Then he counts eleven more—he waits impatiently for a receipt of the precious ticket. Then a few restless days. Who can tell? The ticket might have been lost on the way. The Russian postal system is

counts the days of its travel. It traveled fifteen days. His family is almost due. He now begins to count the hours. The following morning he stops and hesitates whether or not to go out on his route—she might come during his absence. Finally, however, he decides that the loss of a day's profit on a contingency of this kind is too speculative, and he reluctantly swings the bundle of dry-goods on his back. He returns home disappointed; no word of his family's arrival. He then meets with a week of seven disap-



PREPARING HORSERADISH AT THE CURB



A VENDOR OF COLLARS AND CUFFS

pointments. He now begins to worry; he has apprehensions; he knows the hardships of crossing the Russian frontier. And at length the expected happens. He gets word from his wife that she was returned from the frontier, but luckily the ticket was sewed in her petticoat. "Thank God for that!" He emits a sigh of relief and shrugs his shoulders hopefully.

At last a messenger-boy rushes into his boarding-house with a yellow paper in his hand. "Yes, dat's me," the anxious husband

answers before he is questioned. Now new struggles begin. The "green" family is hungry, naked, neglected. He must first look for "rooms." Outlandish though his appearance may be, he knows only too well that an airy, ventilated flat is far more comfortable and more sanitary than a dingy two-room dwelling on Hester Street in some murky tenement-house, with bedclothes on the fire-escape. But he is poor and a stranger in the land. He must stick to his people, among whom he is best understood; his Jewish neighbors, if they do not help him, at least do not ridicule him. In a moment of



"AT THE SIGN OF THE HADDOCK"

In the fish-market



A BUYER OF OLD RAGS

In the lower East Side of New York

leisure he has but to go down one flight of stairs or across the narrow hallway and have a friendly chat, and if the day is especially profitable his Jakie runs down and brings up a bucket of foaming beer for a nickel. All these things allure him. Besides, the Ghetto is a handy place for a "green" family; the *kosher* butcher-shop is at a stone's-throw; the synagogue is but a few minutes' walk

is not quite American. But he still owes some duty to his family—his family always comes first. He still neglects to trim his beard, is a little slovenly in dress, a trifle crude in manners, but he is an affectionate father and a devoted husband; he cares little for conventionalities before his family is well provided with ordinary comforts. His heart almost breaks at the sight of his spouse in



BUYING APPLES FROM A PUSHCART AT THE CURB

The greater part of the marketing in New York's Jewish quarter is done in the street

away. What other pleasures can the immigrant Jew get? He never tries to forget his sorrows in a bar-room. The synagogue is his club. There he meets friends; there he listens to a discussion about the war of Japan with Russia; there he gets the latest news from Kishineff; there he overhears a few opinions regarding the coming election.

It is true that even after his family has safely arrived the immigrant's appearance

that odd skirt she has brought over from the old country. Now a secret delight swells his breast. He goes about his work more cheerfully than ever. Every night he drops a white little "dime" in a tin box which he keeps hidden. And at the coming holidays there is a surprise—a fancy "American dress" with frills and ruffles. Then comes Jakie for his surprise and Rachel for hers—they must go to school.



BUYING CLOTHING FROM A STREET VENDOR



A TYPICAL OLD PEDDLER

A few years later the immigrant is semi-Americanized and has already saved up a few hundred dollars. In fact, he has a little dry-goods store on Canal Street or East Broadway and sells "wholesale" to "outsiders." But the Russian-American looks for *tachlis* (an aim in life), as he expresses it.

His wife has just told him of a neighbor who had moved "up-town." He perceived a little jealousy in his helpmeet's eye, and immediately his own unconsciously turned to his black-eyed daughter, who has reached her sixteenth year. Instantly the mother also cast a glance in the same direction;



INTERIOR OF A SWEAT-SHOP

The place which exhausts the energy of many Jewish immigrants who are really fitted for better things

a common thought flashed through their minds.

Later in the evening, when the children have gone to bed, husband and wife talk again of their prosperity. "We must not squander our money, my dear," whispers the mother, as if regretting the jealous look in the morning. "Put \$300 in the bank for Rachel's marriage-portion." "And \$200 for Jackie when he gets old enough to attend college," adds the father. And the family does not move "up-town."

The smooth-shaven American may regard contemptuously this foreign-looking individual with his untrimmed beard and Semitic visage. He may even haughtily sneer at this humble competitor and loftily discuss the advisability of barring him from this country as an undesirable citizen. And if this young American—the son of an immigrant himself—is philosophically inclined, he may advance apparently good reasons for excluding the Russian refugee: he is too shrewd and cunning; sometimes he resorts to trickery, and does not assimilate with the gentiles.

In considering good citizenship, one's usefulness or harmfulness to the community in which he lives must be chiefly regarded. There is no person absolutely good; this is still more true of a nationality or class of people. "I" am the only one faultless; "you" and "he" or "she" always have faults.

Let us first analyze the charge of shrewdness. No person familiar with the ways of commerce will dispute the fact that commercial success lies in buying and selling—that is, in buying cheaper than the next merchant and in selling lower than a competitor. How is that accomplished? By a competent knowledge of one's wares plus skill—or shrewdness, if you please. But will any sane person concede that the American people—a developed product, the elements of which are thrifty Dutchmen, instinctively commercial Englishmen, canny Scotchmen, ingenious Irishmen, skilful Germans—lacks shrewdness? Will any one argue that O'Brien is less shrewd than Cohen, or Dinkelspiel than Levy?

"Ah, but the Jew is cunning, sometimes tricky." For argument's sake, grant that some of these immigrants are cunning; grant that thousands of small Jewish tradesmen

sometimes make sharp "deals." Will a million of such "sharppers" trick the people of the United States in half a century as much as the one embodiment of greed and trickery at the head of a great trust? Has it ever occurred to the self-protecting American that the greatest flood of Russian-Jewish immigrants, possessed of the most insidious sharpness, cannot and will not outwit the common people in a hundred years half as much as did the notorious Tweed gang—none of whom were Jewish refugees? And what about Wall Street and La Salle Street and the tens of thousands of bucket-shops all over the country?—and the manipulators of these thievish tricks are not Jewish immigrants. For in order to estimate a people's honesty we must compare it with that of the rest of the community—good qualities versus good qualities, faults versus faults.

In following up this analysis criminality comes next. The dockets of our criminal courts are open to the public; they speak for themselves. Among the long lines of "drunks" in police-courts no Russian immigrant is to be found; the ratio of Jew to gentile in this vice—a vice that is the ruination of many nations—is 1 to 10,000, or perhaps to 100,000. A Jewish murderer is a surprise to non-Jews. No Jew has ever been tried for rape in the State of Ohio, which has a Jewish population of 150,000. I doubt whether a Jew was ever convicted of this crime even in the State of New York. A Jewish burglar is a rarity. Granting, then, that there is a larger percentage of Jews practising trickery in their small ways—I say small ways because trickery in big ways is universal—than gentiles, the next question would follow, Who is more dangerous to the community—brutal murderers, burglars, drunkards, and tramps, or energetic, sober, hard-working people whose crimes are limited to shrewdness—or cunning, if you will?

Another danger that immigrants bring is their helplessness—the danger of becoming public charges. The Jewish charitable societies are so well organized, so carefully looked after that even the most scrupulous philanthropist could find no fault with them. No Jew is to be met begging on the streets—a nuisance that is sometimes appalling in cities like Chicago or New York.

"But the immigrant Jew is indefatigable—works twelve and fourteen hours a day and thus cheapens labor," complains the over-anxious labor-organizer. It is the boast of this nation that it is energetic, indefatigable; it is the pride of the sturdy American stock that their forefathers never feared hard work; and what honest man is not working overtime in order to provide for his family as best he can? Does not the financier speculate even in his dreams? Does not the busy lawyer pore over his law-books late at night, to the detriment of others in the same profession? The strength of this country lies in its industry, in its working "overtime."

Nor is the Russian immigrant less informed on general topics than his brother American—politics not excepted. True, he cannot impart his knowledge in "United States," but he knows it in his own way. For every immigrant, without exception, can read Yiddish at least; many of them read Yiddish, Russian, and German. And the Yiddish newspapers published in New York, on the East Side, are not a whit poorer in quality than the English dailies. I have before me issues of the *Daily Jewish News*, published by Sarason, on East Broadway, and of the *Daily Herald*, published by Mintz, on Canal Street. The news in them is not quite as sensational as that in the "yellow journals," but it is no less timely, and embraces a large sphere. On the other hand, the Yiddish papers are more instructive than the ordinary English dailies. In their columns there are always to be found bits of good poetry, articles on astronomy, philosophy, religion, and a liberal spirit permeates every item.

But how long does the immigrant I have just described remain "raw"? True, he cannot change his Semitic physiognomy; true, he cannot always acquire the native pronunciation or idiom; true, he cannot easily remove the stamp of abjectness impressed upon him by the incessant persecution of Christian nations. But is his loyalty to this country less than that of the American of the fourth or fifth generation? You will find in his humble home a picture of Washington, of Lincoln, and very likely of President Roosevelt. The Russian-American does not adorn his walls with these pictures as a matter of embellishment; he keeps them in his house because he loves his adopted fatherland and because he loves its noble sons.

In determining whether or not an immigrant is good enough for American citizenship it must be asked: Does he totally expatriate himself from his native land? No man can become a loyal naturalized citizen who still cherishes some love for his old home. If this is a test, the Russian Jew is the most patriotic. For of all immigrants who swear faithful allegiance to this country, none can compare with the Russian-American. Every other class of immigrants look back to their native land with longing glances of concealed yearning, no matter how fond they may be of this Government; but the Russian Jew remembers Russia with a curse on his lips while he offers silent prayers for the great land of freedom that gives him refuge and counts him among its children.

Our late war with Spain has clearly shown the willingness of the Russian Jew to serve his new fatherland. There were Russian-Jewish recruits who had not yet become naturalized. During the war with Spain the Jews in Russia offered prayers for our victory on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. They love this country with that passionate love which only the early settlers were capable of.

Now as to assimilation. Assimilation consists of two things—one's aptness to become united with the community in which he lives in promoting the common welfare, and one's affiliation socially or by intermarriage. The Russian immigrant possesses the first quality to a large degree. The younger generation mixes socially with gentiles except where they encounter prejudice on the part of the latter. Furthermore, the offspring of the Russian-American is not Semitic in appearance. A few months ago, while visiting a kindergarten on the East Side, New York, I was struck by the great number of gentile children—in a neighborhood known as exclusively Jewish. As the children were marching out at the noon hour I scrutinized them more closely and asked the teacher how many of them were Jewish. The teacher smiled and asked me to guess. I gave it up. To my surprise she informed me that there were only two gentile children in the class of sixty. Then the teacher added: "I can tell my pupils' race only by their names." As to the second, it takes two parties to make a contract. In order to pass upon the Jew's inclination toward assimilation by marriage

with another race, the feelings of the other party also must be taken into account. For the so-called Jewish clannishness and seclusiveness is not the result of an inherent characteristic of the Jew—as the gentile world is inclined to believe—but rather of the deep-rooted prejudice of the Christian. The barbarity of past generations has forced the Jew into seclusiveness. What the Jew's attitude will be under favorable circumstances must, therefore, be purely a matter of speculation. But this is another story.

Moreover, there is still another class of people emigrating from the Czar's realm to the United States—merchants of a higher grade and scholarly people. In most cases the experience of the masses of Russian immigrants is the experience also of those of a higher station. Owing to their ignorance of English they first become peddlers. The merchant class achieve success very rapidly and soon become a noticeable factor in the world of commerce. But those of the scholarly class very often lose courage, and are irretrievably doomed to the "pack" or to some sordid work in a sweat-shop. Occasionally, however, they serve in clerical functions, which are in a very deplorable state in this country.

But there is still another class of Russian-American Jews—the ultra-modern. I term them thus because of their culture and attitude toward Judaism, racial as well as religious. This class consists chiefly of young men who, in spite of Russian persecution, succeeded in their effort to gain a modern education, as distinguished from the Talmudic and theological training. Their number in this country is by no means small, but because of their hypersensitiveness and seclusiveness they are not known as Russians. They do not find the term Russian Jew offensive—quite the contrary; but because of their strong American feeling they prefer not to be known as Russians. As a rule, this class comes from Lithuania, where learning is the universal pursuit and where the early training of the Jewish child is rigidly orthodox and extremely intellectual, though mystic. Naturally, when a youth suddenly wakes to the voice of modern culture he finds himself in the predicament of Adam and Eve on discovering their nakedness. The reaction is tremendous. He turns his back on the creed of his fathers and makes for liberalism—

liberalism in religion, liberalism in government, liberalism toward his fellow-men. At first the new light dazzles him. His ambition in life becomes Russia. For a while he fosters the belief that he is a true cultured Russian—a Russian, not a Russian Jew. Why should he not feel himself a true son of Russia? He loves its people, loves its language, loves its beautiful fields and deep forests, loves its literature, and his pulse and heart beat in unison with young civilized Russia. He then forgets the ancient faith, forgets the ancient race, forgets the old hopes—he becomes a Russian. In fact, had Russia, instead of applying drastic measures to convert its Jews, given them full rights of citizenship, in the course of a few decades half the Jews would have undoubtedly become assimilated with its gentile population. Israel is capricious and does many things for spite. Force the Jew to give up an iota of his creed and he is invincible; treat him kindly, humanely, and he will do more than you ask of him. It can almost be said that the Jew has survived through the barbarity of Christendom.

Suddenly the young idealist wakes up a second time—a sweet dream in his memory. He is suddenly reminded that he is a Jew, that mother Russia refuses to recognize him as her son, that he is only a stepchild. Russia, like other stepmothers, demands duty for filial recognition—the duty of baptism. Then the young dreamer's self-respect as an independent being stirs within him; his feelings for his downtrodden people arouse him. Like another Moses he breaks the tablets—the tablets on which is engraved love for Russia, for her people, for her literature—and he says to his fatherland: "Blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written."

He flees to the United States, the embodiment of his ideal. At first he again meets with bitter disappointment. He comes from a land where education is respected, esteemed; where he belonged to the rising leaders of the young generation. Here he becomes an immigrant; here his culture and ideas are unavailable; here he finds himself in a squalid Ghetto; here he must work in a dingy sweat-shop; and, adding insult to injury, here the German-American Jew points his finger at him and calls him an ignorant Russian Jew. He

bears all hardships patiently, but at the very last he revolts with indignation. His heart becomes so embittered with inexpressible hatred against the so-called German Jew that his pride, his self-respect forbids him to seek his friendship. Among the masses of Russian immigrants he is naturally out of his sphere. Thus he remains seclusive—silently smarting in some sweat-shop. He may be a graduate from gymnasium or university; he may be the son of wealthy parents; yet, like a true American, he tucks up his sleeves and learns a trade. Nor does he mind the squalor of the Ghetto. He knows this is the purgatory whence he may emerge and enter the kingdom. Furthermore, he loves the poor cobbler who welcomes him into his poor tenement quarters more than the Jew in a sumptuous flat up-town. His heart bleeds and at the same time is healed by the generosity of his humbler countryman. He finds a warm heart beating under the shabby clothes. He therefore finds lodgings with his poor *landsmann* at a very moderate price—"actual cost, so help me God."

Then a new struggle begins. He becomes a tailor, a cigar-maker, or a type-setter. But only his physical being—his hands and feet—work; his mind and soul roam in different regions. He dreams of bygone days; he compares the past and the present and slumbering sentiments begin to stir, to awaken, to arouse him. At first he hates his adopted fatherland. He hates its dire materialism, its hustle, its immensity. Infrequently the less energetic grasps, as one drowning grasps at a straw, at one of the delusive "isms." For what are these "isms" but ambitions falling short? However, the ultra-modern youth soon begins to appreciate the glory, the freedom of this country; he begins to understand and to love the spirit of this Government. After his day's work he comes home and pores over an English dictionary till a late hour—and a late hour with a Russian is late indeed. He finds this is a country of cheap books, and for \$2 he furnishes himself with a large library—a second-hand Shakespeare, a moth-eaten Milton, and a musty Addison. The rest is easy. He soon picks up enough vocabulary to read books, and he literally devours his own and those he gets at public libraries. A new world now opens before him. His

patriotism grows daily. His old self becomes resuscitated. He begins to feel more keenly the abject misery of the wretched Ghetto; it cuts him more deeply than the rich who come "slumming" on the lower East Side realize; but he now works with renewed energy, renewed ambition—he has a purpose in view. He strives to become an American more ardently than he strove to become a Russian in his native land. But he must still stay in the Ghetto, where board and lodging are cheap. He toils by day in a sweat-shop and at night over his books in his miserable attic. And after a time he saves a little money—at the precious cost of his daily comforts—and enters school again with renewed vigor and freshness. He becomes a boy again with the enthusiasm of hopeful youth.

Besides the thrill that study gives him, his ideas reawaken. His head, stuffed with poetry and philosophy, begins to fill with new thoughts. He begins to feel that he is a free man. And yet he is not altogether free. He is poor, friendless, ignored. He cares not for the friendship of those of his race who come here from Berlin and Breslau and Frankfort—haughty people they are—but he languishes for recognition as a true American and seeks the brotherhood of the cultivated Americans. Four years later the Russian dreamer becomes a teacher, a physician, a "reform" rabbi, a civil engineer, a lawyer, a musician, an artist, a journalist, and even a man of letters, and above all a loyal American citizen. His love for the United States, his respect—nay, his veneration—for this Government surpass all native patriotism.

Socially, men of this class keep aloof from their race except in business. They remain seclusive, but not clannish—seclusive in the sense that artists and literary men of all countries are seclusive. Furthermore, their religion is not the religion of their race; they are neither "reformers" nor orthodox. However, their religion is not sectarian; it is universal, catholic. They believe in none of the great religious teachers, because they have faith in all of them. Theirs is a religion of philosophy tinged with romanticism.

But their progress is assured. The immigration of this class dates back hardly more than a score of years. During this brief period they have made themselves felt in

this country. Many of them are physicians of note, musicians of distinction, talented artists, aspiring literary craftsmen, good scholars and linguists, and above all good Americans. They possess a peculiar trait, however, which is neither American nor Jewish; perhaps it is a trait of the cultivated Russian. I refer to their lack of greed for money. They prefer a comfortable livelihood in an intellectual or artistic way to a life of luxury gained by commercial pursuit.

It is nevertheless true that a colony of immigrants, though it contain men like these, presents no delightful spectacle. But these Ghettos will eventually disorganize. The second generation never remains in the Ghetto; even the first stays there only long enough to feel the ground safe. The immigrant of today is the American of

tomorrow. The Russian-American Jew is making many promises, but he will redeem them all. He belongs to a people that in spite of merciless persecution has coped in the fields of art and literature with nations whose cultivation has gone on for centuries; a people that, notwithstanding vigorous restrictions, has produced skilful mechanics and financiers, diplomats, artists, journalists, literary men, scholars, and linguists. A people of such invincible energy will never disappoint a country that gives them life and liberty. Again, it was a Christian country—one that contains one-fourth of Christendom—that implanted certain faults within this people. Let another country, 98 per cent. of whose population profess Christianity, eradicate these faults by sympathy, kindness, love.

WHY PEOPLE DISBELIEVE THE NEWSPAPERS

AN EXPLANATION OF THE SYSTEM THAT MAKES ACCURACY AND TRUTHFULNESS DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN

BY

EDWARD BOK

TIME was, and it is not so long ago, when folks believed what they read in the newspapers. But now, if people do not absolutely disbelieve all that is published in all the papers, surely much of the modern newspaper writing is regarded with incredulity. "Wait until tomorrow and it will be denied" is a frequent comment; and one need not always wait until the following day; it is too often the case that the evening papers deny what the morning papers print.

One reads in his morning paper a startling report of the shooting of a United States consul: when the evening paper comes out it says that the consul happened to be a hundred miles away from the spot where he was supposed to have been shot. Ten millions of dollars of Pope Leo XIII.'s savings are found and brought to Pope Pius X., and the weight of the bags of money and the watchful care with which the Pope's ministers bear it to

the Pontiff's chamber are minutely described. That same day, when congratulations pour in upon the Pope, he smiles and sadly says that he wishes the report were true. A man is killed by a fellow-player on the golf-links in the heat of an exciting game; the next day it is proved that the "murderer" had not played golf for a month and did not even know the man whom he was supposed to have killed. A Boston man is nearly killed riding to hounds, and the story is "worked up" with all the details of the accident. His family is alarmed. The anxious wife causes telegraph and telephone messages to be sent to the different hospitals to find where her husband was taken, only to have him walk into her room an hour later perfectly well. He had not even thought of a cross-country ride. And so the stories go on, day after day. After a while people naturally ask: "What may be believed?"

The newspaper editor, when asked about these fictitious tales, answers: "We exercise all the care we can, but, of course, we have to believe what our correspondents send and what our young men bring in. We are not responsible." This would place blame on the correspondents and the reporters. But are they really the culprits?

Several years ago it was reported that the Queen of the Netherlands and her consort had quarreled. Domestic unhappiness was rife at The Hague: the Prince had even beaten his young Queen. It so happened that I had access to special facilities to learn the truth, which was, as is now well known, exactly the opposite of the report. I was careful that my information should have unquestionable authority, and with it I sought the editor of one of the largest newspapers, who was making the most of the story in his paper. I proved to him that there was not the first semblance of truth in the report. He acknowledged this. "But, you know," he said, "'first-page stuff' is pretty scarce just now, and I'll have to keep this thing up a bit. It doesn't hurt Wilhelmina and makes good reading." And he cabled his "London man" to send "more 'special' about the Wilhelmina matter."

"No more. All false," came back the response the next day.

"Keep Wilhelmina matter alive. Send daily special for first page," was the message that went back.

"What was I to do?" this correspondent asked me some time afterward. "Of course I 'faked,' or it would have cost me my job."

Here is a similar instance that occurred, not in the office of a "yellow" paper, but in the editorial room of what is generally accepted as a reputable newspaper.

A report came over the cable that an English manufacturing concern had placed an order for 5,000 tons of steel with the English representative of the United States Steel Corporation. The message went to the managing editor. Steel stock was low that day. The paper had "interests."

"Work this up, Miller," said the editor, and with the order went a look.

"The 'old man' tells me to work this up," said the man to the financial editor of the paper. "How far would you go?"

"As far as your imagination will carry you, I should say," was the reply.

When the story appeared the tonnage of the order had surprisingly changed, and when the correspondent in London read his despatch in the paper a week later he could scarcely believe his eyes.

And "our young men who bring in the news"—are they to blame? Let us see.

A reporter on a New York newspaper of standing was sent out by his editor to "cover" a Bryan meeting during the campaign of 1900. He brought back a report that after Mr. Bryan had been speaking five minutes a number of people walked out.

"I would change that," said the editor as he looked over the report, and taking his pencil he scratched out "a number of people" and substituted for it "nearly half the audience."

"But there wasn't a hundred," said the reporter.

"Send this up," said the editor to the "copy" boy, and the report went to the composing-room.

"What did you do?" I asked the reporter.

"Do? I'd be hanged if I would stand for that sort of thing, and I gave up my job then and there."

"Did you 'cover' the new play at the Blank Theatre this evening?" asked an editor of his dramatic critic not long ago.

"I did, and it was pretty bad," was the reply.

"Forget that it was bad," said the editor, "and let me see your story before you send it up."

The dramatic man wrote the truth, but chose the softest terms possible. When he handed it in the story was "fixed."

A young man was sent by his paper to report a certain meeting "for a column." He brought back an account that required only about a quarter of the space. "It wasn't really worth more, Mr. —," explained the reporter to the city editor. He had given the meeting its exact relative worth.

"Work this up for a column," said the city editor, calling another writer. Then, to the reporter: "See how he does it, and learn."

But these are the sub-editors. Surely the heads of the papers do not sanction that sort of thing. Let us see.

I attended in 1900 the Philadelphia Republican Convention that renominated

McKinley for President and named Roosevelt for Vice-President. I was surprised at the lack of enthusiasm. I asked the "head-writer" on a leading newspaper how it compared with other conventions.

"Stupidest convention I ever attended. You see, the nominations were cut-and-dried. The expected happened. That accounts for the lack of 'go.'" This was the principal editor of one of the best-known newspapers in the country, and he was to "do" the story himself.

The next day I could scarcely believe my eyes when I read of the "unprecedented enthusiasm" which made this convention "eclipse all previous conventions in spontaneity of outbursts of applause." The writer had seen many conventions, but this "far overshadowed all in the tumult of enthusiasm, which lasted fifteen minutes." But as I had been there I knew that it had lasted just three minutes.

I saw the editor the next day. "Did you write that?" I asked.

"Yes. Why?"

"But I thought you told me——"

"Oh, well," he answered, smiling, "it would never do to say that. Of course the account was somewhat embellished. But we have to 'whoop it up' for the party, you know."

Take what is called the "office work" of the average newspaper—the work, in other words, done by the editors, whether with shears or with pen. If one happens to read the *New York Sun*, for example, in the morning, and chances to live in a neighboring city and to take a local paper in the afternoon, it is amazing how startlingly similar he will find some articles. These articles in the out-of-town paper will each bear the date-line "New York," as if they had been telegraphed to the paper from that city.

During the Boer war the *Sun* used to publish on its editorial page a very intelligent summary of the previous day's events in the Transvaal. Again and again, in out-of-town afternoon papers, have I seen this same summary, without a change of a line, printed as original editorial matter, even where a later despatch on the opposite page denied the most important statement in the summary.

I will not say that these practices are typical of every newspaper throughout the land. It would be a lamentable condition if

they were. But of how many newspapers can it be said, even by its own editors and reporters, that a policy of the strictest honesty and conscientious regard for the truthfulness of its news prevails in their offices? There are such papers. If they are not very many they are correspondingly influential.

The difficulty lies chiefly in the organization of the modern newspaper itself. It would not be right to say that the proprietors or the publishers are dishonest. But conditions have been allowed to enter into newspaper work that make it impossible to be as careful as men used to be in making sure of the accuracy of news. First, it is the ambition of every newspaper editor to see how "good" a paper he can make. But the term has been changed to mean how "big" a paper can be made. In spite of the increased bulk, newspapers are sold cheaper than they were ten years ago. At that time two cents was the prevailing price; now it is one cent. In other words, twice as large a paper must be made today for one-half the old price. The newspaper requires a larger staff to make the larger paper; true, also, that the advertiser pays for space on a more generous basis, offsetting the lower selling price of the paper.

The country has grown larger: telegraphic facilities are cheaper and more generously used, and the influx of news is larger. But the newspapers have not been content to keep pace with these changed conditions. In their craze to be bigger than their rivals, when the real news is all used they print what are called "specials." News items are embellished or "worked up," so that, except in a very few newspapers, a piece of news rarely receives its relative value. A piece of news into which a sensational element can be introduced is at once "worked up" into an article and occupies space that is disproportionate to either its value or the truth. Careless writing is the result, and, worse than that, an untruthful presentation. The sense of proportion and the moral value are lost: everything is forgotten except the craze for "a spread that will sell the paper."

The use of abnormally large head-lines seems to attract a certain part of our public which likes to have its news dished up in a sensational manner. The paper sells better;

the proprietor orders his editor to "keep it up." Naturally the head-lines grow larger and larger, and more and more out of proportion to the value of the news under them. The editor, in turn, instructs his sub-editors and reporters to look out for "head-line stuff," for news that will "work up well," for "first-page stories" which will bear a "scare heading," and all through the office, from proprietor to reporter, the sense of relative values is lost. The reporter has his preconceived ideas of news changed; his scent becomes sharp for news that will get his reports on the first page—which to a reporter paid for the space that he fills means extra pay, and to a reporter on a salary means recognition; and if he becomes less careful of his facts and more intent upon the possibilities of his "stuff" to carry a glaring head-line, is he altogether to blame? The whole staff of the office is keenly alive to what can be done with the news that is brought in to produce the "scare-lines," and too little thought is given to the trustworthiness of the news itself.

Even a newspaper that refuses to lend itself to this sensational presentation of the news feels these influences more or less. It sees its sensational neighbor gaining in circulation, sometimes at the expense of its own circulation, and the thought naturally comes to its owner: "How can we meet this competition without seeming to do so?" He usually increases the size of the paper. His old policy is, in general, adhered to, but more news must be had to fill the extra space. There is an increase in the number of pages for local news. "And," as one city editor said to me not long ago, "I have four pages to fill with local matter instead of two, and yet we can sell the paper for no higher price and we can't pay as much to our reporters." The reporters were asked to fill the extra space at the rate of \$3 per column of 2,000 words each.

"The result is," said one of the reporters on this particular paper to me, "we get a worse class of news, and what we get we 'stretch' out into as many words as we can to help fill the space. It takes a good story to fill a column, and then to get \$3 for it, after a whole morning's work and writing—well, it doesn't pay."

"But a reporter's honesty isn't based on his pay?" I asked.

"No; of course not," he replied. "But human nature is human nature. A man is more careful in work for which he is well paid. There isn't inducement enough for a man's best or most careful work at such prices—that is all. Try as he may, let him be as honest as he means to be, he unconsciously becomes careless in his work."

In other words, all along the line the moral responsibility of print is either lost or it becomes dulled. And the fault is directly traceable to the head. A newspaper rises no higher than its source. If the order of the establishment is to "sell the paper," that is the one aim kept in view by everybody employed on it, often to the forgetfulness of all else. If the policy of the organization is to "make as big a paper as possible," that fact will take precedence in the minds of all employed on it. In the one case the abuse of the highest office of a newspaper may be more barefaced and deplorable than in the other, but in the long run the result is practically the same—the moral standard is lost.

That is the crime of the modern newspaper—the forgetfulness of the moral responsibility that should be felt for whatever it publishes. It is not possible for a newspaper always to be accurate. The best of correspondents and reporters may be misled. The paper must handle news quickly. Sometimes the most important items come in at the twelfth hour, and the public demands that it shall all be promptly published. The time available to verify statements is often very scanty.

In many offices there is no effort to be honest or careful. Dishonesty in news is either quietly winked at or unblushingly countenanced. Everything is sacrificed so long as a piece of news that will make a "good story" is worked up into a "scare head-line" so as to "sell the paper."

It should not be a matter for surprise—certainly not to newspaper men themselves—that the public either positively disbelieves or accepts with mental reservation much of what is printed, for the public has learned by experience after experience that accuracy and truthfulness are not common.

WHAT HAS FOLLOWED THE COAL STRIKE

HOW THE SETTLEMENT HAS WORKED—THE OPERATORS ENRICHED, THE PUBLIC POORER BY \$75,000,000, THE MINERS DISSATISFIED AND RESTIVE—THE NINE-HOUR DAY LONGER THAN THE TEN-HOUR DAY—THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

BY

GUY WARFIELD

[The author made this first-hand study especially for *The World's Work* by living with the miners and working in the mines as a non-union man.]

I WAS standing near John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, when he delivered an address in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on Mitchell Day—October 29th last—a year from the day the anthracite coal-miners of Pennsylvania resumed work after the great strike of 1902.

"The three-year agreement will soon run out," said Mr. Mitchell. "In 1906 will come a time for further adjustments."

Three-quarters of an hour previous Mr. Mitchell had led a procession of 40,000 union coal-miners. One banner they bore received hearty indorsement from sympathizers on the curb. It read:

"NO ARBITRATION IN 1906"

This on the very day celebrated for a union victory through arbitration!

The awards of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission appointed last year by President Roosevelt granted the miner 10 per cent. increase in pay, an additional increase based upon a sliding scale of wages according to the price of coal, and a nine-hour day when stipulated wages were drawn. They also made rules to eradicate injustices formerly practised at the mines. These awards were made binding for three years. To interpret and enforce them a subsidiary commission, known as a Board of Conciliation, was appointed, composed of three operators and three miners, to whom all disputes are referred for settlement. All questions unsettled by this board are referred to an umpire, who is appointed by a judge of the Third Judiciary Circuit of the United States.

This settlement, the most momentous labor

dispute of recent years, has been widely exploited as marking a new era in industrial history. After about fifteen months' trial can it be said that industrial peace prevails in the coal country? Did a new era open?

HOW THE STRIKE HAS ENRICHED THE OPERATORS

To answer this question I went into the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania last December and practically lived the life of a miner. I visited every mining section from Carbondale to Shamokin, and I worked in the mines as a non-union man or "scab" as driver's assistant. Usually I borrowed the names of two friends—Irish "Mike Flinn," of the Hazleton Mine Colliery No. 1, and Polish "Sam Seminisin," of Gowen Slope No. 4 of Coxe Brothers & Company. Thus I mingled the more freely with the men in the saloons, at the "speak-easies," in their homes, and at their lodge "smokers." Under still another name I met the mine bosses, superintendents, and operators on a social footing.

I asked President J. L. Crawford, of the People's Coal Company of Scranton, famous for selling coal at \$20 a ton during the strike:

"Are you sorry the strike occurred? Are you satisfied with the awards of the commission?"

"I'm not kicking," he replied to both questions.

I asked other individual operators the same question. I found them more wary. They would talk little.

But here are the financial results of the strike a year after its close: The coal that would have been mined if no strike had occurred was, according to the Anthracite Coal

Strike Commission, about 25,000,000 tons. Thus the miners forfeited about \$25,000,000 in wages. This same commission awarded the miners, when they settled the strike, a wage increase which, including the sliding scale, is estimated at its highest to be 18 per cent. This increases the present wage cost of mining to \$1.18 and the total cost of mining to \$2.18 per ton, the costs other than wages amounting to about \$1.

Before the strike the average selling price of coal at tidewater was about \$3.60 per ton. A year later this price averaged \$4.90 per ton.

At \$4.90 per ton, with the cost of production \$2.18, the operators' profits today may be estimated at \$2.72. At \$3.60 per ton, with the cost of production at \$2, their profits before the strike were about \$1.60 per ton, or about \$1.12 less than now. Since the settlement of the strike the coal companies have produced more than 70,000,000 tons of coal, which have been distributed in the market for something in excess of \$75,000,000 more than would have been received by the operators at the prices prevailing before the strike.

About \$75,000,000 additional for their coal as a direct result from the strike—this is the financial prize of the operators.

Arbitration or no arbitration, the operator has realized that a strike enriches him. The public pays the cost of the strike in the increased price of coal. The operators win; the public lose.

And now what of the miners? How have they fared?

THE MINERS DISSATISFIED

Has the Conciliation Board helped the men? No. It has helped the operators.

The board now shoulders the burden of all complaints. The operators were formerly obliged to deal directly with the union. Every coal company was forced instantly to settle all disputes arising at the mines between men and bosses or to face the strike problem. Now every disputant must await the will and pleasure of the board, which, in existence about eight months, has discussed but 125 cases, with more than 300 in the basket untouched. The number is steadily increasing.

Not one case has been presented by the operators. When they wish a decision they

force some miner, by an act of aggression, to petition the board for redress. In other words, they furnish the cause for test-cases.

Though every decision of the Conciliation Board is effective from the date of the appeal, the complaining miners, most of them ignorant of the red-tape of business, have become restless under the length of the delays in settlement of such cases as this, and accordingly suspect and blame their representatives on the board. Taking alarm, these representatives have proposed to the representatives of the operators that three days be given every week to the untouched basket until the bottom is reached. Here, again, the operators have the upper hand. To this proposition they plead "business." The board accordingly assembles whenever the operators will.

One case of unusual delay, out of a hundred or more, is that of a petition early in July last from the coal-loaders employed as "company" men at one of the collieries of George B. Markle & Company for the full allowances for overtime work. "Company men," as distinct from "contract men," are miners drawing stipulated wages directly from the company, working a stipulated time, either eight or nine hours a day, according to their occupation. Such men, according to the award of the commission, were to be paid proportionately for extra hours employed. Late in December the case had not been adjusted.

The miners, then, are in a position of defense. They have grievances forced on them as before the strike, and the Conciliation Board, established as a refuge, gives them no comfort.

"It's that d——d Wright," said a union man.

UNION DISAFFECTION WITH MR. WRIGHT

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, who in every case which the board has not been able to decide has been appointed umpire, has, indeed, heaped fire on the burning, however justifiable his actions may have been. For the union men are less disgruntled with their position of defense and with the delays of the board than with the serious matter that the decisions have been against them. On September 3d and 4th, when, acting as umpire, Mr. Wright rendered two final decisions sustaining stands taken by Coxe Brothers & Company and the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron

Company, the largest independent company and the largest so-called "trust" company in the field—and applicable to all parties to the awards—in cases of what the United Mine Workers maintain to be outright black-listing, or in other words discrimination against union workmen.

On August 6th the Board of Conciliation could not agree on a case submitted by a committee of ten union miners, formerly workmen of Coxe Brothers & Company. These men declared that Coxe Brothers & Company had refused to reemploy them since the strike. Coxe Brothers & Company had demanded after the strike that every applicant for work should come as a stranger and sign an agreement not to interfere in any way with the employers' management. The union men would not accept work on these conditions. Therefore Coxe Brothers & Company refused to take back their former employees, but hired whom they pleased. The union men forthwith begged the board to compel Coxe Brothers & Company to hire the men whom they had employed before the strike. Mr. Wright's decision was:

"All the men employed by Coxe Brothers & Company, Incorporated, at the time of the strike of 1902, except those who have been convicted for crime committed during that strike, or who are still under arrest, or to whom employment cannot be given on account of new machinery, or who are incompetent, ought to be preferred to new men in giving out work when they apply therefor."

"What Coxe Brothers *ought to do* and what they do do are two different matters," said President W. A. Dettrey, United Mine Workers, District No. 7. "As a matter of fact, the companies prefer a scab every time. If this isn't black-listing, what is?"

"Didn't the strikers from Coxe Brothers get their jobs back at all?"

"Back? No! They'll never get them back."

"Are they not employed anywhere?"

"No," said Dettrey. "Out of more than 3,000 union miners in this district, fully 500 have been refused reemployment. Some are former workmen of Coxe Brothers. Two hundred are from the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. They must either get out of the country or starve."

Under such decisions the coal companies are now free to hire and to discharge at will. Clearly they hold the real reins of power

until 1906. The Conciliation Board has not proved the expected boon to the miners. With the power this fact gives the operators are they trying to conciliate the grumbling miners?

"Are they operating Sunday-schools?" sneered President Dettrey, one of the union leaders. "Ask Kudlich."

"Who is Kudlich?" I asked.

"Superintendent of Coxe Brothers & Company," said he.

"I'd like to know it if I am," snapped Kudlich, of Coxe Brothers & Company, whom I found to be a typical superintendent of the district, when I asked him. "Our attitude's not a matter of sentiment; it's policy."

This policy is in direct defiance of the spirit and even the letter of the commission's awards. Kudlich is certainly aggravating the dangerous spirit of unrest in and about the mines of Coxe Brothers & Company.

A single case illustrates his arbitrary use of power. A number of miners who had been in his employ accepted employment at higher wages from a certain Crawford, a contractor for construction work about the mines, whom they later left for still higher inducements from the contracting firm of T. A. Gillespie & Company. After they had worked a short time for Gillespie he discharged them without explanation. On reapplication to Coxe Brothers for employment Kudlich turned them away. Their case went before the local union and reached Union President Dettrey, who demanded a statement from Gillespie. This statement I have read. It reads:

"On account of objections made by Mr. Crawford and sustained by Mr. Kudlich, it was necessary for us to discharge these men.

"This was under a clause in our contract which says substantially that unless the men have the written permission of the contractors to work for another contractor on the same or other strippings being done by Coxe Brothers & Company, they shall not be employed unless six months elapse between the discharge by one contractor and the application to another for work."

Mr. Wright maintains that the right to discharge must be maintained. Opposed to this is the view of 140,000 organized miners, who, in beholding such incidents as this, declare: "The right to discharge means the right to black-list. And Mr. Wright," they add, "is favoring the operators." Kudlich

is blamed for aggression; Mr. Wright is blamed for allowing the aggression to succeed in its purpose.

And they are not the only ones complained of by the miners.

OLD DIFFICULTIES PERSIST

But there are other complaints. A constant source of difficulty before the strike was "check-docking." This means simply that every car of coal sent up the shaft is examined by a boss, and if the car is found to contain quantities of slate and other worthless matter the miner is "docked" a certain percentage of the pay due for a carful of clean coal. The miners complained that the companies docked exorbitantly. The companies maintained that dockage was quite necessary to provide against miners cheating by partly filling cars with slate and other rubbish. The arbitration board provided for a miners' inspector on demand of two-thirds of the men at any mine, to be paid by them out of their wages and to check the loads of coal simultaneously with the company's inspector.

"How is this new check-docking system working?" I asked General Manager Richards, of the Reading, at Pottsville. He referred me to his foremen, who showed me their docking-slips. The average dockage did not run over five per cent. In Wilkesbarre and Scranton I found it as low as two per cent.

"How is the new system working here?" I asked the general mine foreman at Oneida Colliery of Coxe Brothers & Company. He wanted to know what business it was of mine. The next morning I donned my mining-clothes, blackened my face, and thus disguised applied for a job on the tippie. Such a position was given me. The work was purely mechanical. I helped to take the cars from the shaft-elevator and run them to the sieve. Cars were coming and going constantly, and I proved too light for the work. Before the morning was half gone they discharged me for incompetency. Nevertheless, my eyes had found what they sought on the check-docking board as the cars passed to and fro. On this board every man's car-checks are hung, and against every number is marked the docking on every car. I averaged the figures for that morning and found the percentage to be as high as ten per cent.

Early last August the miners here reported at their local unions that docking was as high as thirty per cent. of the wages. A majority of the contract miners, therefore, petitioned Superintendent Kudlich for a check-docking inspector, naming an ex-miner and "local" organizer who bore credentials for honesty and integrity from the president of the Lehigh Company. This choice was offensive to Superintendent Kudlich, who demanded another meeting and a new vote on the matter. This was agreeable.

It appeared, however, that a number of cars had actually not been credited to certain of the complaining miners. These cars had come up the shaft, the loads had been dumped into the sieve and crusher, and no record had been taken. The tippie-bosses maintained at the time that no check had accompanied them from the miner. Nevertheless, the company now offered to pay for these "lost" cars, and they did pay for as many as six or eight cars to each person on the condition that the miners should drop their check-docking complaint.

"But why did you not bring your check-docking troubles before the Conciliation Board?" I asked one of the miners.

"Why should we?" he replied sourly. "It takes two—three—four months to get anything through the Conciliation Board. No, indeed. We are willing to accept the coin and let it go at that."

This is not the spirit of submission. It is that of endurance full of bitterness.

Another difficulty has been the quarrel over the distribution of the mine-cars. The award of the commission declares positively that mine-cars shall be distributed equally among the miners, without discrimination between union and non-union men.

Mine-car distribution, however, is still a bugaboo. Superintendent Hays, before mentioned, told me an incident in point. A union miner at the Oxford Colliery protested with bitterness that a fellow-miner was working no less than nine chambers and practically monopolizing the mine-cars.

"Do you want to know why?" retorted Hays.

"The other feller's a scab," the complainer dared to charge.

"Exactly," said Hays, "and if Scabby can mine eighty chambers he can corner the mine-cars all he pleases."

The employers have also made the nine-hour day far less of an advantage to the miners than the union men expected.

Theoretically, the men like it. Nine hours are one hour shorter than ten hours, and "shorter hours" is a watchword of trade-unionism. Practically, however, the nine-hour day is "a d——d sight longer than was bargained for," as one miner remarked. Union miners, of course, will not acknowledge this. But the "scab" does. In what the latter actually calls the "good old times" few miners worked ten hours in a day—indeed, few really worked nine, for then bosses were better-humored than now. If a driver came to work late in the morning he was merely rebuked. If a fire-boss wanted, on an afternoon, to go shopping with his wife, the foreman generally said: "Oh, very well, Bill. Hang about till one o'clock, then dig out." If a pumpman or any other "company" man meant to make a night of it at "Casey's Corner," and the foreman knew of it, he would usually shut his eyes when the man went up the shaft at four o'clock, although 5:30 was the law, while one and all were seldom in the mine after five o'clock. And no one was "docked."

If a man or his wife was sick, a "company" man might lie idle a week or longer and draw a full check always on pay-day.

Not so now! Tom, Dick, and Harry come down and go up the shaft under the new ruling according to clock, with sure dockage if time is lost.

The case of my friend Seminisin illustrates the disposition of the miner of his type toward this new ruling. Seminisin is a Polish driver at the No. 4 Gowen Slope of Coxe Brothers & Company. He is not particularly gifted with intelligence and cannot speak good English.

When the new ruling went into effect Seminisin, like thousands of the other miners, interpreted the award as granting him extra pay for every minute of overtime work, and accordingly for days he purposely spent ten, fifteen, and twenty-five minutes extra in stabling his mule, or even in dragging out his last cars. On receiving his due-bills he was dismayed to find that no account had been kept by the foreman of this extra time. He went to the foreman and addressed him thus:

"Me want extra tam. Drive jackass ten min, twenty min. No mun!"

The mine-boss, Houser, tried to explain that the company did not pay for less than an hour overtime, but Seminisin could not understand a word he said; and, firmly believing himself to be outrageously wronged, he behaved with such impertinence that he was discharged. And to this day, although reemployed through the good graces of District President Dettrey, Seminisin and all his kind continue to take every advantage of the nine-hour award granting a nine-hour day with extra pay for overtime, and are too stupid to understand why they should not be humored by the companies.

The striking "company" man got his precious hour, but he has lost more than an hour in losing the indulgence of the boss and more money in dockage than is gained from working overtime.

Because of all these matters the miners are dissatisfied. And they are retaliating.

UNION RETALIATION

With Foreman Smith I went into the Delaware & Hudson mines at Marvin. I stopped where a contract miner was working, addressed him, and found him to be a non-union man. I asked him how many cars he had sent out that day. His reply was "Two." His neighbor, a union miner, had five to his credit. In a short time his day's work would be finished. The "scab," however, had four more cars to fill before release, for it took six to complete a day's stint. Just then the scab finished his third car. The driver, a union man, attached his mule and started off. He had not proceeded ten paces when he purposely derailed the car, unhooked his mule, winked at a comrade, and coolly disappeared down the gangway.

"Come back after that car, you!" yelled the scab.

"Don't y' see it's off track?" retorted the vicious driver.

There the car stood, and Scabby had to wait. With such delays he could hardly get out four carloads a day. Several days of this sort of thing and "Scabby" must go.

"Y' can't get the work out" is what the foreman will say, which will be true. But I did not tell the foreman why; it was none of my business.

At times, too, drivers will be caught killing mules—a most malicious boycott—and here

is a case of even a more serious kind, clipped from a Scranton paper of December 9th:

"Subjected for months to the insults and taunts of fellow-workmen and the boys on the streets, seventeen-year-old Charles Curran, of Broadway and Railroad Avenue, became despondent last night and drank carbolic acid. Curran dared to work in the Oxford Mine while the strike was on, and as a consequence has since been shamefully persecuted.

"Although more than a year has elapsed since the anthracite miners' strike, it is far from being a closed incident."

A NEW SPIRIT—SELF-IMPORTANCE

Retaliation is no new thing. There is something new—self-importance. Mine-bosses call it "lip." This spirit naturally predominates among the foreigners—the Huns, the Italians, the Slavs. They are arbitrary in reporting for duty; they stop work without apparent reason. They are insubordinate. Even to the union officials they prove annoying, for the union realizes that they cause much of the friction with the mine-bosses. The foreigner now no longer merely celebrates the saints'-days of his own country, but also the various national, State, and local holidays of our own, and is strongly inclined to celebrate the various changes of the moon.

I recently witnessed a case in point while at work in one of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western mines in Scranton. It was a week after Saint Barbara's Day. I was very anxious to spend the entire day underground, and I learned the following Sunday from General Manager Phillips that the company, too, was particularly desirous of making a good tonnage showing. But the fates ruled otherwise. About nine o'clock in the morning, while hitching my mule to a car of freshly mined coal, I was suddenly accosted by one of a gang of Sicilians who were passing up the passageway chattering excitedly:

"No worka today, Sam."

"Why?" I asked, commanding my mule to stand.

"Santa Barbara," he replied, devoutly crossing himself.

I scratched my head. Saint Barbara's Day was the week before. I told him so.

"Yesa, but no celebrate," he explained. "Forgeta celebrate. Musta celebratea now," and off he went.

He meant what he said. In an hour

nearly all the laborers in the mine had disappeared. The mine stood idle the rest of the day and part of the following.

The miners, then, have not gained what they expected from the awards of the commission, and, displeased by the policy of the companies, they are retaliating by overt acts and by exhibitions of self-importance. But the main question is whether the miners are really better off than before the strike.

ARE THE MINERS BETTER OFF?

Those six idle months of the strike had their effect; \$25,000,000 was lost in wages, offset only by union relief amounting only to about \$1,800,000. The conservatives were prepared, with their rainy-day bank-accounts, and for that matter, according to Director Williams, of the Scranton West Side Bank, are preparing again. Their deposits have increased about twenty-five per cent. But the great, seething mass of ordinary miners, living most improvidently from hand to mouth, depending entirely upon the union to work out the future—these were taken unawares. More than 100,000 union miners with families were practically made destitute. These people daily required food, fuel, clothing, and shelter. But when higher wages came, the necessaries of life were found to be dearer. The retailers were driven to higher prices by the wholesalers, who charged high interest on their money, and also by the farmers of the country roundabout, who furnished the potatoes, cabbage, onions, eggs, and poultry. Why the farmers raised prices I learned from Peter Finkler, a truck-farmer in Newton Township, Lackawanna County.

"The strike forced us," he explained one morning as I rode with him into Pittston. "Ye see, all our farm-hands went down in the mines and scabbed. Why, farm-labor went up as high as \$25 a month and board. And there she sticks. We have the devil's own time getting men. If we hadn't put prices up where'd our profits be?"

Thus when the strike ended the miners were in debt facing high prices. The coal companies had even raised the rent on company houses and the price of pea-coal to employees from \$1.50 to \$3.25 per ton.

But the miner was not then disheartened. Why should he be—then? Had he not just won a dazzling victory over the operator?

"This is all very poetic," said a prominent anthracite grocer to whom I went for information. "But it does not make me wealthy."

"Aren't they paying up?" I asked.

"The old bills, to an extent, now and then. They don't seem to have as much cash as before."

"They're more extravagant," said a haberdasher. "They're somebody, these days, you know. They pay \$1.50 for a shirt now instead of 75 cents."

"They buy four-dollar shoes where they used to buy three-dollar," said a shoeman.

"The miner is certainly dressing better and attending church less," say ministers all over the region.

"He isn't paying his rent every month," observed a landlord.

"He's buying pianos," said a dealer.

"He gits a shine on," they say about the shoe-shining parlors.

"He's more or less dead-broke all the time," said a prominent physician practising almost exclusively among them, "and consequently restive."

Here is the rub. The miners do not change these habits. They do not know how. In fact, certain conditions under which they live do not permit them to change. These conditions are in the main the product of unionism.

THE SPEAK-EASIES AND THE TWO-WEEKS'-PAY SYSTEM

The main hindrance to frugality is the payment of wages once in two weeks instead of once a month as formerly. Almost anywhere in the mining district you will find six or seven times as many "speak-easies" as saloons. To the "speak-easy" the miner goes on his way to work in the morning. At night he stops on his way home. Both times he is dressed in his working-clothes. Shame of these clothes keeps him away from the licensed saloon. Besides, the "speak-easy" is generally found near the mines—is handy. All "speak-easies" give credit. It is a strange fact that every miner pays his drink-bill regularly—every two weeks. This bill amounts to from \$8 to \$25 every month. The half of this amount must come out of every semimonthly pay, which runs from \$30 to \$50.

"Strikes don't make no difference on the

drink question," said one of the most amusing characters I met—a councilman in the Twenty-first Ward of Scranton, who keeps a "speak-easy." This gentleman was most frank in his confidences. "A miner's got his capacity and nothin's goin' to reduce it. I tell you one thing, though, Seminisin, ye know yourself the two-weeks' pay is ruinin' him. Ye know that. Under the old monthly pay system," he continued, "the miner got but one drunk a month—ye know that. Now he gets paid twice a month and he gets drunk twice, too."

"You shouldn't kick about that," said I.

"I certainly ain't kickin', but the miner ought to. His woman does."

And he is right; the women, the intelligent women, do.

"The old way was the best," say German, Irish, and Welsh housewives everywhere I have stopped for a night or visited the family doctor. "You see, mister, when my Bill got his pay by the month I planned everything by the month and had a regular settling-up time with the landlord and the store people. Now he gets it every two weeks, and" (she will add inconsequentially) "he gets a load on every time. Well, say he's got \$30 this pay after deducting his drink-bill. Well, there's Nell, she wants an automobile bag, because store-keeper Wilson's daughter Ann has one, and here's this big boy, John, wanting a new school suit. The law won't let him work on the breakers any more, and he won't go to school in rags. So I figure I'll just let the grocer and landlord wait till next pay and fix the children up. Next pay's only two weeks off. But it do seem, mister, when next pay do come there are other things to buy, and the landlord and the grocer must wait another two weeks, and Heaven knows how many more. The money simply flies. I wish we got it by the month again. Times ain't any better as I can see."

ARBITRATION BLAMED

If the miner were half the philosopher that his wife unconsciously is he might dimly understand. If he were even a mathematician! But taking him for what he is, is it not natural that he is grumbling just as he was before under conditions really worse?

This grumbling is now sometimes against the union itself. It was the union that advocated the two-weeks' pay, and many

brooding German and Hungarian miners in the Shamokin district have mysteriously confided to me:

"Da u-nee-on, she go bus' up. Too much high price! No mun. Nobody got any mun. Bah!"

But the semi-intelligent miners blame the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.

"What do a bunch of arbitrating dudes know about us?" the radicals will demand as I go among them in the saloons and meet them at their "local" union smokers.

"Arbitration gives us a pain."

"NO ARBITRATION IN 1906
HAVE A BUTTON TO SHOW
OR HOME YOU GO"

This is the legend on a union banner.

We have had our coal famine, our high

prices. We, the unorganized public, both faced the music and paid for it. Arbitration has been welcomed as the industrial panacea. About a year and a half have passed. The experiment is about half run. Here is the result:

1. The Board of Conciliation has proved a greater advantage to the coal companies than to the miners.

2. The nine-hour day is no shorter or more profitable than the ten-hour day.

3. The old difficulties which the arbitration board was supposed to have removed still exist.

4. Even with the ten per-cent. wage advance and the sliding scale, the average miner complains that he is no better off financially.

5. Arbitration has not proved as successful as it was expected to be.

BALLOONING OVER THE ALPS

HOW CAPTAIN SPELTERINI VOYAGED FROM SWITZERLAND
ACROSS THE ALPS TO ITALY—A NEW VIEW OF THE ALPS—BAL-
LOONING A BETTER SPORT THAN RIDING IN AN AUTOMOBILE

BY

JAMES IVOR McCALLUM

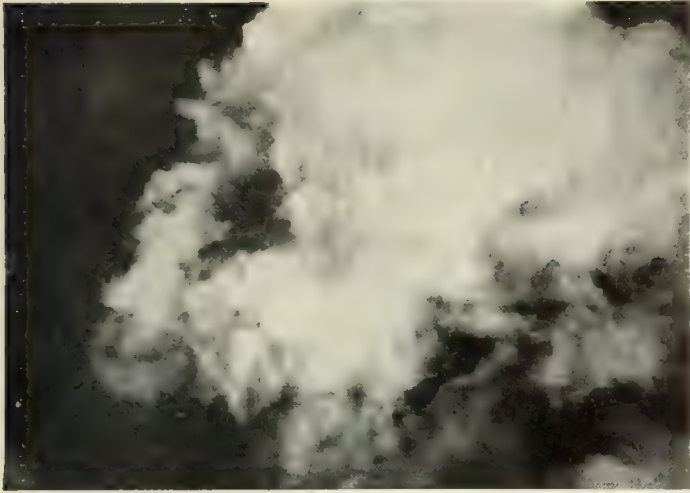
BALLOON trips from Switzerland over the Alps to Italy have been shown to be possible. Captain Spelterini, chief of the balloon corps of the Swiss army, rose 15,000 feet from Zermatt one Saturday last September, and sailed off above the peaks to the south. Monday afternoon he landed at Bignasco, on the Italian side of the mountains.

The balloon "Stella" was filled with hydrogen gas at Zermatt, and Spelterini, with two companions, ascended, carrying 1,342 pounds of ballast. Only "a spoonful at a time" was thrown out, for Spelterini had resolved to ascend slowly in order to save the precious gas by giving the balloon sufficient time to expand, relying upon his quick eye and sure hand in throwing out ballast to avoid collision with the mountains. Fortunately the balloon as it rose was driven down the valley. Then, having gradually reached the altitude of the neighboring peaks, it drifted over the Dom (14,941 feet), across the valley toward the Fletschorn

(12,853 feet) and the Weissmies (13,325 feet), beyond to Laquinhorn (12,407 feet), and thence toward Lake Maggiore.

The newly fallen snow accentuated every detail of the mountain profile. The Matterhorn and Monta Rosa were majestic from this new point of view, and the railroad up the Gorner Grat looked like a tiny footpath. Photographs taken show the Alps as no man had ever seen them before. At times the balloon was only thirty yards from the mountain's side, and it seemed almost impossible to avoid disaster, but the liberation of a handful of ballast at once sent the balloon up out of danger. The clouds, however, increased, and at last the balloon came into one. When it had risen above the cloud there was nothing to be seen but the blue sky above and the sea of fog below.

Toward evening Lake Maggiore was reached and the balloon then drifted northward. As landing was difficult, Spelterini determined to remain in the balloon all night. Ballast was thrown overboard, and the balloon as-



CLOUDS, TAKEN AT THE HIGHEST POINT OF THE ASCENT, BY CAPTAIN SPELTERINI



CLOUDS, TAKEN FROM THE BALLOON AT AN ALTITUDE OF MORE THAN TWO MILES, BY CAPTAIN SPELTERINI

cended and drifted into the Maggia Valley, then over the ridge separating this from the Vereasca Valley, and up this as far as Brione. From here it turned to a side valley and drove into a heavy fog. But at three o'clock in the morning it stood still over a snow-field at an altitude of 9,000 feet. At the first gray of dawn Peccia was made out over the Maggia Valley. When the sun rose at ten o'clock the balloon expanded again in its warm rays and rose to an altitude of 16,000 feet.

The Alpine world spread out before the tourists was beautiful beyond description. The wind was pushing the balloon gently northward toward the Alps, and the thought of recrossing was very attractive. But as only three sacks of ballast remained it was necessary to land. With quick, sure judgment the aeronaut selected a spot near Bignasco, and here the balloon was landed at nine o'clock in the morning, 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. To land so far up in the wild mountains of Ticino, in the midst of

rocks and trees, demanded great skill, but the feat was accomplished without accident. Spelterini remained in the balloon three hours after it was fastened, although the wind was strong and the danger of his being carried off alone into the Alps was imminent. Late in the afternoon the balloon was emptied, but it was not until half-past eleven in the evening that the expedition reached the valley.

The "Stella" had risen 17,600 feet and had traveled at a rate of from five and a half to nine miles an hour. The party had encountered a temperature as low as seven degrees below freezing.

Spelterini, who made the trip, is the hero of many other adventures. Once while hovering over Vesuvius, while the volcano was active, and endeavoring to photograph the crater, he was blown far out on the Bay of Naples. As the basket struck the water he at once threw overboard a rubber bag, which, opening, acted as a drag and kept the



THE RHINE AND THE GAS-WORKS AT BASLE, TAKEN FROM THE BALLOON



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ZURICH AND THE LIMMAT, FROM A HEIGHT OF MORE THAN 2,000 FEET

basket from being submerged as the balloon blew down the wind. Spelterini thus remained afloat until help arrived. Twice he has fallen into Lake Constance, as well as into other Swiss lakes, and once found himself in the centre of three conflicting storms with almost continuous lightning.

My own first ascent with Spelterini was made from Zurich in a heavy rain-storm. There was no wind, but an occasional flash of lightning suggested to the novice that the balloon might explode, for the odor of the

the balloon to the depths below, and the stability of these cords was often a matter of anxious doubt. Soon, however, the absorbing beauty of the panorama below precluded every other thought; the magnificent clouds sometimes forming a floor on which it seemed we might safely step, the lakes and snow-capped mountains, valleys, and rivers beneath.

The pictures presented herewith convey the impression of greater proximity to the earth than was really true, for the camera



PHOTOGRAPH OF ZURICH TAKEN BY CAPTAIN SPELTERINI FROM THE BALLOON WHEN HOLDING HIS CAMERA IN A VERTICAL POSITION

illuminating gas with which the balloon was inflated, as it escaped from the vent-hole in the neck of the balloon, was most apparent. I was glad to get out of the storm area and into the sunshine that awaited us on the other side of the clouds. In the first rapid flight from earth the basket in which we were seated developed a most disquieting squeak. The noise was due to dampness, but insensibly my eye traveled from the seemingly frail cords that attached the basket to the spherical part of

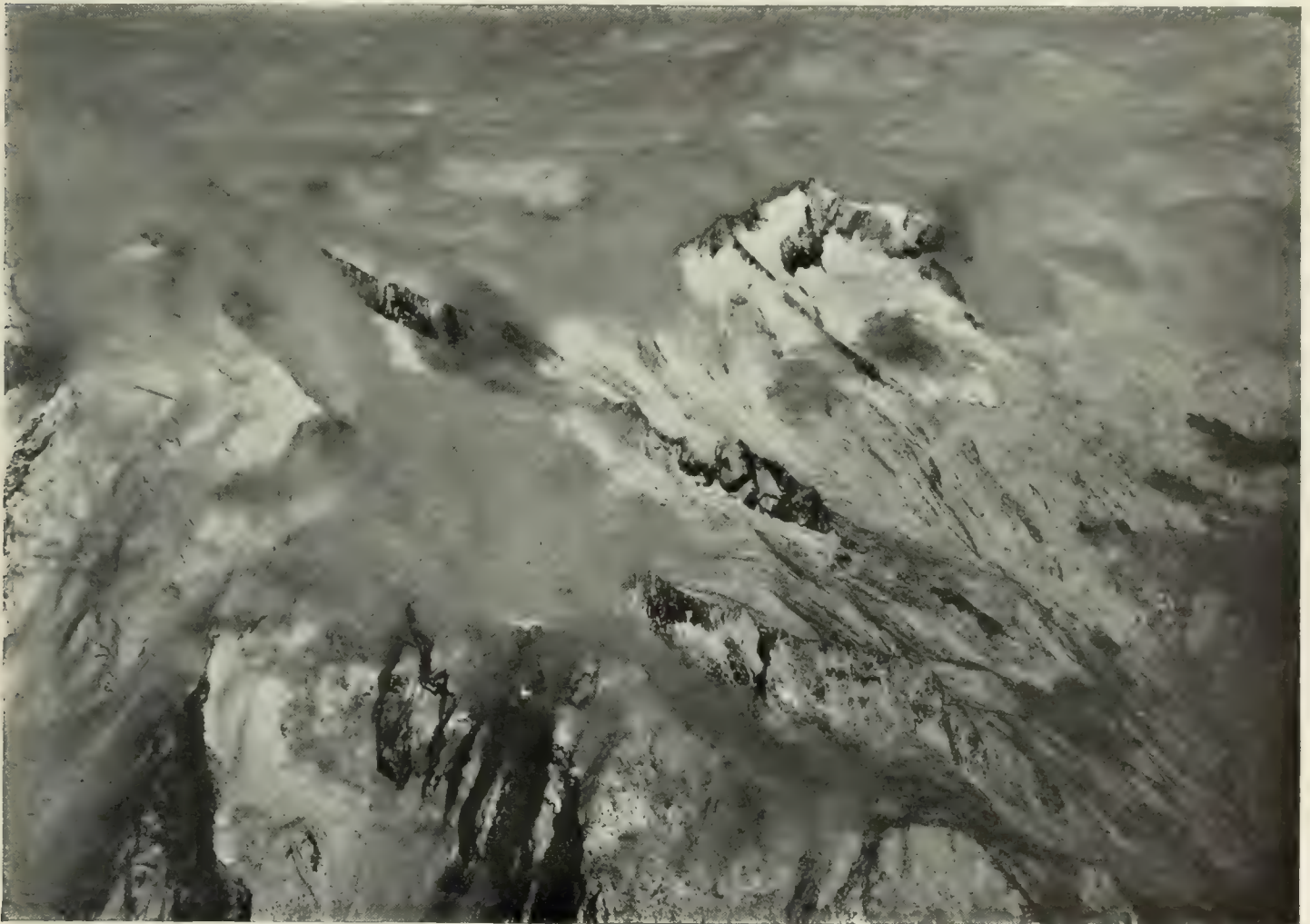
was held on the side of the basket and pointed at an angle of forty-five degrees. The first pictures—those of Zurich—were taken at an altitude of about 2,000 feet. Those of the clouds were taken at about 15,000 feet.

At this latter height something went wrong with the valve-rope. Spelterini climbed at once to the ring beneath the neck of the balloon to make the necessary adjustment. I thought the time and place inopportune, and watched his movements with considerable emotion. When it is known that the libera-

tion of a handful of sand will cause a considerable rise in a balloon, one may realize to what glacial heights I should have arisen had he fallen. Tissandier relates that at a high altitude he dined on a chicken and a bottle of wine. He threw out a bone of the former and the balloon at once rose thirty yards. He was reproached by his companion for wasting ballast. But Spelterini climbed down into the basket nonchalantly.

The view of the Alpine world as we passed over the Netliberg back of Zurich was of

idly to meet us, and in a few moments we were hovering over a forest. Here a landing was impossible. A handful of sand was liberated. The balloon rose gracefully over the trees, and a final pull at the valve-rope brought us to earth with a thud in a clearing just beyond, only to rise once more, this time, however, to sink gently to rest. Our landing-place was a lonely spot in the Swiss mountains, but in an incredibly short time 500 vociferating Swiss peasants mysteriously appeared, and forgetting the awe with which



THE PORTIEN GRAT AND WEISSMIES AS THEY LOOKED FROM THE BALLOON ON THE TRIP OVER THE ALPS

surpassing beauty. One sees in a glance beautiful Zurich Lake and the valley of the Limmat; the Alps from the Sentis near Lake Constant to the Jungfrau; the Rigi (73), Pilatus, and the Bernese Alps toward which we were rapidly drifting. To the north Belchen in the Black Forest and the volcanic peaks of Högän. It is a land of fairy enchantment, and at the end of five hours in the air we were loath to descend. At last, as we cleared a lofty mountain, Spelterini pulled the valve-rope. The earth rose rap-

the balloon at first inspired them, set to work to aid us in packing the balloon for transport to the nearest railroad station.

At no time had we been in danger to be compared, for instance, to that of an average ride in an automobile. Switzerland had been viewed as only a few have seen it. We had looked down upon the Alps. I confess I was not able at once to look at them, being quite content to sit quietly in the bottom of our basket, looking carefully at nothing in particular. The sight of the rapidly receding



VIEW OF THE RIGI TAKEN FROM THE BALLOON ON THE WAY TO ITALY

earth, when I did look over the side, inspired me with a lively regret that I had ever left Switzerland. It required also some time to accustom myself to the sensation among those lofty mountains of being carried by the wind into dense banks of clouds in which we were completely swallowed up. To avoid the danger of being dashed by the wind against the side of some unexpected mountain, we were generally able, by liberating ballast, to rise above the cloud area, and thus to get our bearings. A variety of sensations, to which one never quite accustoms himself,

makes of ballooning the very king of sports. There is an exhilaration in automobiling over the smooth picturesque roads of the continent at sixty or seventy miles an hour. One looks at the trees that line the roadway, and, facing almost a cyclone, notices that every leaf on a quiet day is motionless. The speed, which is maintained hour after hour and not released in descending hills is magnificent, and the sensation inspiring. But to those who think that this is the limit of human sensation I can recommend as better and safer a voyage in a balloon over the Alps.



LOOKING OVER THE ALPS, FROM THE BALLOON, WITH A SMALL LAKE IN THE FOREGROUND

GATHERING ROSES FOR THE CHRISTMAS TRADE
Every year more than \$5,000,000 worth of roses are sold



FARMING UNDER GLASS

AN ACRE OF SOIL UNDER GLASS PAYS FIFTY TIMES AS MUCH AS AN ACRE OUTDOORS — HOW FLOWERS ARE GROWN — THE POSSIBILITY OF STARTING A PROFITABLE BUSINESS ON LITTLE CAPITAL

BY

PROFESSOR B. T. GALLOWAY

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

SOME time ago I went from house to house of a large establishment devoted to the winter growing of lettuce. The superintendent, upon whose shoulders depended the entire responsibility for the success of the work, was emphasizing the necessity of

a careful attention to details at all times. Stepping into a house containing 25,000 lettuce plants, all about ready to cut and worth probably \$2,000, the superintendent hesitated a moment, and then said that the air in the house was not right and that he believed the plants were being burned. This burning of lettuce is one of the most serious troubles the grower has to meet. Frequently the injury is done in a very few minutes. Going carefully from plant to plant, the superintendent pointed out injuries which had taken place within the past half-hour. So fine were his sensibilities and so thorough his knowledge that he was aware the moment he breathed the atmosphere of the greenhouse that something was wrong. The incident indicates how far the art of growing plants under glass has been developed.

In the growing of cut flowers the greatest advances have been made with roses, car-



ONE SIDE OF A TYPICAL MODERN FLOWER-STORE



TWENTY THOUSAND HEADS OF LETTUCE UNDER ONE ROOF



GROWING CARNATIONS UNDER ACRES OF GLASS FOR THE CITY TRADE.
The yearly trade in carnations amounts to more than \$1,000,000.



A HOTHOUSE FULL OF CARNATIONS
About 125,000,000 carnations are sold in the United States every year



THOUSANDS OF TOMATOES GROWING IN POTS



GROWING CARNATIONS IN WIRE SUPPORTS

nations, and violets. There are now annually sold in this country \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000 worth of cut roses. This represents something like 100,000,000 or 125,000,000 flowers. The growing of roses as an industry has developed especially in the vicinity of our largest cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. To meet the demands of

the markets every attention must be given to details in securing proper stock and proper soil. Special methods of marketing and special methods of handling the crops have been devised.

The rose-grower, as a rule, handles his plants for one year only. In other words, having his specially constructed houses,



A GLIMPSE OF THE INTERIOR OF A MODERN TOMATO ESTABLISHMENT
In the United States today there are more than 5,000,000 square feet of glass in vegetable hothouses



FORCING CUCUMBERS AND CANTALOUPS FOR THE CITY MARKETS

The hothouse vegetable crop is worth about \$2,500,000 a year

heated by modern methods, either with steam or hot water, his first important work is to secure proper stock or proper young plants. This he does by purchasing stock from some other good grower or by propagating it himself, preferably the latter. He devotes his best knowledge and the best knowledge that science is able to give him to the selection of his stock. The young plants are rooted, potted, and later planted in three or four inches of soil. In the preparation of the soil extreme care is observed. Certain soils are known to be best for certain types of roses—that is, the American Beauty rose will reach its highest perfection in a certain type of soil. These various types of soil have been determined partly by experience and partly by such studies as science has been able to make of them. The physical properties of the soil—that is, the size of the soil grains, the relation of the grains to each other, involving aëration, water-holding capacity, and so on—are all important matters which must be observed. The soil must be brought to the establishment and the necessary foods added until the grower is satisfied he has what he needs to produce a successful crop.

After planting the crops must be artificially fed. Here the grower brings to his aid many valuable data that have been accumulated from time to time through the work of the chemist, the work of the plant physiologist, and the work of the soil physicist. Frequently he must so manage his conditions—that is, his soil, his light, his heat, and the plants themselves—as to bring a crop in at a certain specified time. To accomplish this he must begin his preparations sometimes a year in advance. It means much to the grower to be able to place on the market a fine crop of roses the day before Christmas, the day before New Year's, or the day before Easter. The best growers are oftentimes able to do this.

In the vicinity of New York and Chicago are some of the most successful establishments which are devoting their energies to the growing of the carnation, the flower which, next to the rose, is the most important grown under glass. There are annually produced and sold in this country from \$4,000,000 to \$4,500,000 worth of carnation flowers, which means from 100,000,000 to 125,000,000 blooms.

Several years ago there was started in

a small way on Long Island an establishment of this kind under the direction of Mr. C. W. Ward. Mr. Ward has made a special study of the carnation. In the course of his work he has found it necessary to develop many new forms, for after the old ones are grown for a while they must be abandoned and better ones secured to take their place. This is accomplished by careful methods of breeding and selection. The soil is manipulated, the plants carefully fed, diseases receive attention, and propagation is scientifically governed. Mr. Ward now has 75,000 square feet of glass. He is breeding and developing many new forms and is working out many principles. There are numerous other equally successful growers. There are no less than 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 square feet of glass in the United States devoted to the cultivation of this flower alone. To maintain one of these modern establishments, including the cost of labor, of fuel, and of the handling of the crops, requires as much capital as is used in a thousand-acre farm. Most of the establishments, however, are small, but near one of our eastern cities is an establishment now covering about 50,000 square feet of glass which was started ten years ago practically without capital, and which today is turning out an annual product valued at \$20,000 to \$25,000.

Twenty-five years ago the violet, which is the third most important flower grown in this country, was produced almost exclusively in outdoor frames of very cheap construction. As the demands increased the impracticability of producing them thus was shown, and gradually the frames were made into small cheap greenhouses. In a small way this work was established in the vicinity of Poughkeepsie and Rhinebeck, New York, and within the last ten years so greatly has the production of the crop increased that there are now probably 500,000 square feet of glass devoted to this flower alone in those two places. The best success in growing this crop has sometimes been attained by men who have had little previous experience. About five years ago a grower near Poughkeepsie, who had previously been engaged in other work, began the study of violets and started in a small way to grow them. He now grows more than 25,000 plants and ships about 1,250,000 flowers each year.

Probably in no other field are the opportunities greater for starting in a small way and developing a paying and profitable industry than in growing plants under glass, provided careful attention is given to details. About 100 miles south of Washington, District of Columbia, in Virginia, are a number of worn-out farms. Several years ago the owner of one of these farms, a woman of good administrative ability, determined to grow violets. Labor was cheap and soil and manure were plentiful. The plants were first cultivated in the open ground and then covered with cheap sash at the approach of winter. Starting with a few thousand plants, the work was developed from year to year, until this woman now grows from 15,000 to 20,000. In the vicinity from 100,000 to 125,000 plants are grown. The flowers are all gathered and shipped to northern markets—Washington, Philadelphia, and other cities. Detailed attention has been given to methods of producing flowers of good color and delicate odor. Much careful attention must be given in the harvesting, shipping, and packing of the flowers; if not, the flowers are liable to reach their destination in poor condition, lacking the characteristic delicate perfume.

The growing of vegetables under glass has kept pace with the growing of other crops. The opening of truck-fields in the South, however, has to some extent interfered with this industry, although there are still many localities where the work would be profitable, for fine vegetables cannot be shipped any great distance and maintain their qualities. This is true of high-grade lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, etc., which are "forced" for special markets in the cities.

Within fifteen miles of Boston there are 2,000,000 square feet of glass devoted to winter vegetables alone. The chief crop grown is lettuce, which is produced in enormous quantities and sold mainly in Boston and New York. At one large establishment near Boston where the chief crops grown are lettuce and cucumbers, three crops of lettuce are produced during the season from September to March. After this cucumbers are brought in and are sold until those produced in the field become so cheap as to make the inside work unprofitable. Ord-

inarily, in this sort of work the cucumbers pay all the expenses, so that the returns from the lettuce are mainly profit.

There are no less than 5,000,000 square feet of glass devoted to the growing of vegetables in the United States today. Ordinarily, under favorable conditions, glass devoted to this work will bring the grower an average of 50 cents per square foot, making the total value of the crop from this work about \$2,500,000.

In the handling of these special crops particular attention has been given to the best methods of marketing. The crops—or many of them—pass through several hands before reaching the consumer. In the growing of large crops of vegetables specially paid agents are often employed, who visit the cities, keep informed as to market conditions, and lose no opportunity for securing the highest price for their products. In the matter of handling flowers there are wholesalers, commission men, and large retailers in the cities. Many of the largest establishments in the cities never grow a flower themselves, but depend entirely for their supply on the grower.

As the population increases, the demand for plants, flowers, vegetables, and all such crops will rapidly increase. The supply so far has just about kept pace with the demand; but, no matter what the supply, there is always a good market for high-class products. There are many acres of idle land in the vicinity of cities which might profitably be devoted to this work. As a field for young men, and to some extent as a field for young women, it offers excellent opportunities. Some of the industries, such as violet-culture, the growing of the carnation, and to some extent the growing of vegetables, may be entered upon without any great amount of capital. Many instances could be given where a fair competence has been made on an average-sized village lot. We do not mean by this that any one can undertake this work and hope to succeed without careful attention to details. The writer himself, on a quarter-acre lot, started in with one crop without capital, and in five years built up a business that was worth from \$2,500 to \$3,000 annually. This was in the growing of violets. Others could do the same, but hard work, patience, and persistence are necessary.

THE POST-OFFICE AND THE PEOPLE

THE UNITED STATES PAYS MORE FOR MAIL TRANSPORTATION THAN ALL THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD COMBINED—THE SCHEDULE OF RAILROAD RATES NOT CHANGED FOR THIRTY YEARS—THE EXPRESS COMPANIES PAY THE RAILROADS ONLY HALF WHAT THE POST-OFFICE PAYS—THE REAL POSTAL SCANDAL

BY

M. G. CUNNIFF

THE THIRD OF A SERIES OF INVESTIGATIONS OF THE POST-OFFICE

THE United States pays more money every year for the transportation of mail than all the other countries of the world combined. The bulk of this transportation is by railroad, for, according to a special weighing of mail by the Post-Office Department in 1898, 85 per cent. of all the matter mailed in the country requires railroad carriage, and the proportion is not less abroad. Yet freight and passenger rates are cheaper to private individuals in the United States than in any other country. Why is it, then, that the cost of mail transportation is so high to the United States?

Do the American railroads carry more mail than foreign railroads? In 1901, according to the latest statistics of the International Postal Union, Great Britain, France, and Germany alone—not to speak of the other countries—mailed more than 9,000,000,000 pieces of matter, as compared with more than 7,000,000,000 pieces mailed in the United States.

Do our railroads cover greater distances? The other countries of the world, omitting Great Britain, had 48,000 miles of post-routes more than we. Great Britain's post-routes added to this total would make the difference even greater.

Lastly, do the American mails make a greater mileage—are they carried a greater total distance? The mails of Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, and Russia, but a part of the world's moving mail, in 1901 did 43,400,000 miles more traveling.

Thus, notwithstanding the cheapness of American railroad rates on other traffic than mail, foreign post-offices, taken all together, handle vastly more mail than ours, send it farther over a greater number of post-routes,

and pay less for the service. It cost our Government in 1901, in round numbers, \$38,500,000 for railroad transportation alone; the rest of the world for all their domestic transportation, by railroad, by wagon, and by messengers, paid but \$37,000,000—\$1,500,000 less.

Some of the foreign railroads—the German, for example—it is true, are owned by the government. But since Congress regulates the rate that the United States shall pay, and since Congress and the Post-Office Department dictate the service that shall be given, the United States is no more at the mercy of railroad companies than the countries in which the railroads are controlled by the government. Moreover, as Professor Henry C. Adams, who investigated the subject of railroad mail pay for a joint Congressional commission from 1898 to 1901, reports, the mail pay in England is less than 1 per cent. of the total earnings of the railroads, whereas in the United States it is nearly 3 per cent. The true explanation of our inordinate expense for mail transportation lies in the inadequacy and the backwardness of our postal system.

Our rate was established by Congress as far back as 1873. That rate superseded the rate of 1845, which in turn superseded the rate which awarded railroads the same compensation as stage-coaches. The present schedule is thus but two removes from the days when stage-coaches were as swift as trains, though other transportation schedules have been reduced almost yearly.

Theoretically, the rate of 1873 has been lowered twice—in 1876 5 per cent. and in 1878 10 per cent.; but practically it has never been lowered at all, except for a

20-per-cent. reduction in 1876 in the pay of roads aided by government land-grants. The rate made in 1873 was in inflated paper dollars. The 15-per-cent. scaling down in 1876 and in 1878 was a mere adjustment to the new scale of prices in vogue as the date approached for the resumption of specie payments. The dollar of 1879 approximated \$1.15 of 1873. To all intents and purposes the railroads are carrying mail today under a schedule in force January 1, 1874—just thirty years ago. And that schedule, according to the secret history of the time, was drawn up with the assistance of Thomas Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

The United States Post-Office Department reports a deficit for last year of \$4,000,000. The real deficit is about \$1,000,000 greater, for in the peculiar bookkeeping used in recording postal accounts, the salaries of the Post-Office Department, the rent of large city post-offices, and other postal items are not charged as postal expenses. But even at \$4,000,000 the postal deficit is a national disgrace when we consider the inadequacies of the postal service. The postal department of every other country in the world, except ten small nations and colonies of the rank of Chile, Korea, and the Dutch East Indies, pays a profit. The statistics of the International Postal Union on this point betray startling comparisons. Even Russia, with its vast stretch of country to serve, makes its postal service pay. Many small extravagances swell our deficit, but the real reason why we have a deficit is that the Department, under an antiquated law of a dead epoch, pays an exorbitant price for the transportation of mail by railroads.

What is the service rendered? The railroads carry mail in three ways—pouched in baggage-cars, under the care of postal clerks in compartment-cars (part baggage-car and part railway post-office), and in full railway post-office cars forty to sixty feet long. The clerks at work are naturally hauled free of charge, as express messengers are hauled. The railroads also keep the cars heated, lighted, and repaired, much as they maintain passenger-cars. Moreover, by an antiquated provision of law—a relic of stage-coach days when such service was a matter of course—they transfer the mail from stations to any post-office within a quarter of a mile, except in the important cities. The mail goes on

passenger-trains, or in some cases on fast-mail trains made up in whole or in part of postal cars. The service, like the handling of express matter, is practically a passenger service.

For this work, by the antiquated law of 1873 the railroads—whether they operate at great expense over mountain grades or cheaply over prairie country, whether their other traffic is great or small, whether their other rates are low or high—receive a uniform graduated scale of rates according to the average daily weight carried and according to distance. The mail is weighed every four years, and the average for thirty days over each route establishes the rate to prevail for the next four years. The rate runs from \$42.75 a year on 200 pounds for each mile carried daily down to \$21.37 a ton for weights in excess of 5,000 pounds carried one mile daily. In addition, the Government pays for the use of the postal cars from \$25 to \$50 a year for each mile traveled every day, according to the size of the car.

Under this arrangement the volume of mail carried grew so great and the transportation item grew so large—from \$6,500,000 in 1873 to \$15,500,000 in 1886—that Postmaster-General Vilas declared in his report for 1886 that the rates should be lowered. Postmaster-General Wanamaker followed with a proposal to cut them down 20 per cent. Both declared that the post-office, the business of the whole people, should share in the advantages gained by private individuals through the improvements in railroad practice. Congress did nothing. Railroad methods have been further revolutionized since Mr. Wanamaker made his last effort. An article in another part of this magazine shows the advances that have been made in cheapening railroad operation. If the rates were too high in 1890, they are still more inordinate today; for, as the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission shows, railroad operation is still cheapening and receipts are increasing. Yet nothing has been done to lower the rates that the Government pays, and the present post-office administration is making no effort to lower them. A joint commission of the Senate and the House investigated railroad mail pay from 1898 to 1901 and—recommended nothing. The fruit of their labors consists of volumes containing a welter of the most disorganized, contra-

dictory, and inconclusive statistics ever published. Railroad officials and railroad attorneys presented arguments that sounded as conclusive as the rule of three until the committee began to analyze them. Then ignorance cropped out, in the oral testimony, of just the salient points. Nobody knew just what it cost to carry the mails. Nobody knows now. Professor Henry C. Adams, however, reported to the commission the results of an investigation that he had been commissioned to make. At an expense of \$40,000, with the aid of a clerical force, he prepared a statement which closed with recommendations for reducing the rate. He declared to the commission on examination that statistics could not prove what railway-mail pay should be—that it is a matter of business judgment. The representatives of the railroad showed good business judgment in making efforts to keep the rate where it is. The Post-Office Department and Congress have thus far not shown equally good business judgment in trying to lower the rate. That it should be lowered, with a consequent wiping out of the postal deficit, the following facts will show:

First, the statistics gathered by Professor Adams. Through the enormous increase in the volume of mail since 1873, the sliding scale of compensation has brought the average pay for each ton carried one mile, including postal-car pay, down from twenty-six cents in 1873 to eleven cents in 1898. At the same time the increase in volume has brought the average sum paid the railroads for each mile of line up from \$130 a year to \$200 a year, and the earnings from the mail-carrying have increased from 1½ per cent. to 27-10 per cent. of the gross earnings of the railroads. This makes it clear that mail transportation is becoming a greater and greater part of railroad business—growing faster than freight and passenger traffic. The question now is whether the automatic lowering of rates by the law of 1873 brings down mail rates as fast as business conditions and railroad economies bring down freight and passenger rates. Let us see.

The operating expenses of American railroads from 1881 to 1898 increased 222 per cent. The number of passengers carried one mile increased 225 per cent. If the passenger business bore its due proportion of the operating expenses, it is difficult to see how

the average passenger rate could be lowered much. Yet the rate was lowered 21 per cent. Competition and the increase of business, with resulting economy of operation, brought it down.

Next, as compared with the 225 per cent. increase in operating expenses, the number of tons of freight carried one mile increased 313 per cent. If the freight bore only its own proportion of the operating expenses, it is clear that rates might well be reduced. At all events, freight rates fell 44 per cent. Competition forced them down and economies permitted them to be forced down and still stand at a profitable figure.

Mail, on the other hand, increased in the number of tons carried one mile 555 per cent. Granting that the mail bore its due share of operating expenses, it is clear that the reduction in rate might properly be greater than the reduction in either freight or passenger rates. For whereas the operating expenses were more than double, the volume of mail carried increased more than fivefold. As a matter of fact, by the law of 1873 the average compensation per ton per mile decreased automatically only 39 per cent. There was no competition here. No post-master-general has ever awarded a mail contract for less than the maximum rate prescribed by law. Yet all the economy of operation that comes from an added volume of traffic, insuring cars loaded to the maximum on many trains, appeared here as well as in passenger traffic, and the mail involved no such expense of ticket agents, comfortable and expensive stations, advertising costs, and such other items as have been chargeable to the passenger business.

This showing implies that the mail rate is held so stiffly by the law of three decades ago that it has not shared, as it should have shared, in the general decline in railroad rates. It is by no means conclusive, however. No investigator has yet discovered what proportion of the operating expenses of a railroad is chargeable to each branch of business. Certain railroad officials who testified before the Congressional commission thought it right to charge to the mail the expense of a mail-train containing some express and some passenger cars, the estimated cost of hauling a mail-car picked up from the track and loaded on another car, a proportion of a 6-per-cent. dividend to stockholders,

and similar "operating expenses," but in the main the officials testified that they did not know what the proportion should be. It cannot be mathematically decided. One railroad official—of the Flint & Pèrè Marquette Railroad—testified that carrying the mail resulted in a deficit to the railroad of \$28,000 a year looked at one way, \$46,000 looked at another way, or \$90,000 looked at another way. He was asked if he would like to have his road relieved of this triply unprofitable business. His reply was that the road would rather keep it. This is a type of the testimony of railroad officials before the commission. They guessed that the mail did not pay, but they wanted to keep it. Their estimates were of trifling value as evidence.

The heavier rails, locomotives, and bridges gradually introduced in the last decade, however, were introduced for the freight service—for no other reason than to draw heavy loads by one locomotive. Fast trains are put on mainly for the passenger service. An important official in the Second Assistant Postmaster-General's office declared to me that the railroads run their trains to suit their business needs, and the Department necessarily conforms to their schedule. A special train, for example, was put on the Pennsylvania Railroad out of New York in the early morning some years ago to carry newspapers—an express service. It was not until the train had been running some time that the Post-Office Department demanded that it be made a mail-train. Similarly, a twenty-hour train from New York to Chicago was recently put on the New York Central Railroad. It carries little mail. It was put on for the passenger service. Except in the case of a few fast mail-trains, the mail traffic has been merely incidental to other business. Competition compels progress in handling freight and passenger business. Better rates must be offered. Improvements must be introduced to make those rates profitable. Not so with mail.

After all, however, the real test of the fairness or unfairness of mail-transportation rates lies in a comparison between those rates and the rates that the railroads grant to the express companies for similar service.

Here are some figures secured by Professor Adams in his investigation on different routes:

TABLE OF EXPRESS AND MAIL RATES

	Mail per ton	Express per ton	Mail per 100 lbs.	Express per 100 lbs.
New York to San Francisco	\$254.75	\$135.00	\$12.79	\$6.75
New York to San Francisco	265.63	135.00	13.28	6.75
New York to Chicago . . .	71.39	25.00	3.57	1.25
New York to Boston . . .	17.89	10.00	.89	.50
New York to New Orleans	117.18	50.00	5.86	2.50
New York to Philadelphia .	6.57	7.50	.33	.38

The express pay is calculated at 50 per cent. of the freight charges to the public. The usual arrangement is 40 per cent., but Professor Adams adds 10 per cent. to cover payment to railroad employees by the express companies for incidental services.

According to these figures, on but one route in the United States does the law of 1873 establish a lower mail rate than the railroads make to the express companies—the Pennsylvania Railroad line from New York to Philadelphia, on which 150 tons of mail are carried every day. If the express companies are able to send an equal volume of traffic over this road they should be able to secure a rate as favorable, comparatively, as elsewhere. What their traffic is it is impossible to say. One of the blind mysteries in the evidence before the commission was the amount of express matter on the various railroads. Nobody knew. On other lines the express companies pay the railroads from one-third to one-half as much as the Government so generously pays. These routes, moreover, are those on which the density or volume of mail is greatest and the rate, therefore, lowest. On the smaller routes the discrepancy between the mail pay and the express pay would be even greater, for on the routes of small volume the mail pay is higher.

But certain defenders of the present rate of payment maintain that the whole method of comparing by weights is erroneous—that since the average load of a postal car is only two tons (though it may run up to five), payment should be made by space rather than by weight. This would put the compensation on a passenger basis rather than on a freight basis. Supposing that payment were made thus. By the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1902, the passenger receipts of all the railroads for that year were \$393,000,000. The receipts for carrying the mails were \$39,000,000. If the mails received their proportionate amount of space and are part of the passenger business, there would be one mail-car for every tenth passenger-car throughout the

country, or one-half of a car loaded with mail on every five-car train. That such is not the fact is plain to any one using the railroads. By the last annual report of the New York Central Railroad the total earnings on express matter was about \$1,870,000; on mail, \$2,380,000. The railroad takes out of New York every day an average of twenty-four and a half mail-cars. There are more than twice as many express cars. The mail pays better than either express or passengers on a space basis as well as on a weight basis.

Quoting this single example brings us to an important phase of the subject. The whole matter of railroad rates is a matter of single examples. As Professor Adams has said, the entire question of railroad-mail pay is one of business judgment, not of statistical averages. The chief difficulty with the law of 1873 is that it is an arbitrary adjustment, with no reference to modern conditions. Average the mail carried on railroads as you will, where, after all, is the mass of mail, and where does it travel? According to Professor Adams's tables, more than half the mail carried on the railroads goes over but thirty-two comparatively short routes between great cities—Boston, New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and places of such magnitude. The reason is obvious—the business is in the cities and the bulk of the mail is business mail. Lunching one day with six friends, I asked them to tell me the proportions of personal and business mail they received. The average was about one personal letter to twenty-five business letters. Some such proportion will hold universally. Moreover, the publishing houses, with their masses of second-class mail, are in the cities. The mail-order houses are in the cities. Subscribers and customers are in the cities. The result of the converging business is that all railroads make very low commutation rates to passengers going daily into the city and out again; the express companies make low rates from city to city—one express company now as low as twenty-five cents for 100 pounds between New York and Boston—50 per cent. of which allotted to the railroad would make a rate of but twelve and one-half cents as against eighty-nine cents which the Post-Office Department pays; and even the freight rates are lower than between small towns, because full carloads can more easily be made up. This is a modern condition that

the framers of the law of 1873 could not well foresee. The query, then, is, Why should not the Post-Office Department do what any business house would do—make an advantageous bargain where its business warrants? As the law stands now a postmaster-general might ask for bids on carrying full cars of mail from New York to Chicago or from New York to Philadelphia—the densest routes—from several competing companies. No postmaster-general dare do this; yet that is how express companies secure their rates. Since no postmaster-general will do this without legal compulsion, Congress has the example of private business arrangements to show what might be done in adjusting mail-transportation rates if the dense routes were fitted with a more modern scale of payment. On these dense routes, moreover, much of the railway-mail distribution is done, and here are the greatest number of postal cars with their accompanying cost. All the routes in Professor Adams's table given above are "dense routes." Payment could be better adjusted on all of them and on at least twenty-six others.

Then there is the question of postal-car pay. When a passenger travels he is not charged with the car and the seat he rides in, nor does a shipper of freight pay extra for the freight-car in which his goods travel. But the post-office must pay for postal cars an annual sum that would be more than enough to buy every postal car in the country. According to the superintendent of the railway mail service, the sum paid in 1897 was \$6,250 a car. The cars cost, according to the comparatively high estimate of the superintendent of the Pullman Company, \$5,500. The total sum paid in 1902 for the use of postal cars was about \$4,660,000. Elimination of this item would do more than wipe out the post-office deficit.

These facts—and many more could be adduced—give some indication of the absurdly unbusinesslike system that the Post-Office Department, governed by an antiquated law, employs in buying its transportation.

The general policy of the Post-Office Department itself has been to preserve that system. Before the present Second Assistant Postmaster-General took office, railroad men were not uncommon in the Second Assistant's position. This is the bureau in charge of railroad transportation. Second Assistant

Postmaster-General Neilson came into office from a railroad position, and after retiring was at once employed as agent for a company with services to sell to the Second Assistant's office. His predecessor, J. Lowrie Bell, was a railroad official when he entered the office, and resumed a railroad position when he left.

The attitude of such men is summed up in a remark which I quote from a railway-mail official. He recommended to a Second Assistant, his chief, that effort be made to reduce the railway-mail pay. The chief replied:

"Why, we *want* to pay the railroads this money."

This series of articles promised to show the inadequacies of the United States post-office. They have shown thus far—

(1) That the post-office is a badly organ-

ized institution, with political heads who are not expected to manage it in a business-like fashion, and who, as a matter of fact, do not.

(2) That the service is inadequate as compared with foreign service.

(3) That the only material advance it has made in a decade is in the mail free-delivery service.

(4) That the payment for the transportation of mails is based on a schedule made thirty years ago, and that the decline in rates actually paid has not kept pace with the decline in rates to private individuals.

(5) That the wastefulness in paying the railroads is a greater loss to the Government than any petty "graft" that a few dishonest officials may secure.

THE CONTROL OF THE APPROACH TO THE PANAMA CANAL

A COMPARISON OF THE STRATEGIC POSITIONS OF THE NAVAL POWERS IN THE CARIBBEAN—AMERICA'S POINTS OF STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS—ENGLAND HOLDS THE KEY OF THE CANAL AT PORT ROYAL—A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN FORTRESSES IN THE WEST INDIES, GIVEN BY A TRAVELER WHO HAS INSPECTED THEM—GERMANY'S CARIBBEAN AMBITIONS—THE HAITIAN SITUATION

BY

WILLIAM THORP

THE cutting of the Panama Canal must inevitably restore the West Indies to their old strategic importance. They will be the sentinels on the world's greatest ocean highway, and the nation which controls the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea must necessarily control the canal. England and other European powers owning colonies in the West Indies are not blind to these facts. Yet in all the controversy over the isthmian-canal question one point seems to have escaped the attention of Americans, and that is the extraordinary energy developed within recent years by those powers in fortifying their West Indian possessions in anticipation of the opening of the canal. The general failure to notice this important phase of the question is not surprising. Having secured Porto Rico and coaling-stations in Cuba and the Isle of Pines, Americans have not worried about

what other people are doing in the West Indies.

The Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico together form what is practically a vast inland sea comprising 1,365,000 square miles of water. Vessels going through the Panama Canal to or from Europe or the Atlantic seaboard of the United States will pass one of the four principal gateways of this sea—namely, the Yucatan Channel, the Windward Passage, the Mona Passage, and the Anegada Passage. The Mona Passage, between Porto Rico and Santo Domingo, is little used, being out of the direct line to any important point. The Yucatan Channel will increase immensely in importance, as it will be the highway of the vast traffic which will flow toward the canal from New Orleans, Galveston, and Mobile. The Windward Passage will be the only route for ships sailing to and from the Atlantic seaboard through the

canal, and the Anegada Passage, between St. Thomas and Culebra, the chief road for European vessels.

The naval stations of the United States in the West Indies are well distributed to command these ocean highways. Bahia Honda, on the northwest coast of Cuba, and the Isle of Pines command the Yucatan Channel, as Key West commands the Straits of Florida. Culebra commands the Anegada Passage more effectually than Gibraltar does the entrance to the Mediterranean. It has already been strongly fortified, and is expected by foreign experts to become one of the greatest fortresses in the West Indies within a few years. "I do not see why the Americans need St. Thomas now that they have Culebra," said a Danish naval officer to me. "The impression in my country is that they do not really want it for its own sake, but wish to get it lest Germany should make a bid for it later on and cause complications over the Monroe Doctrine." As long as Denmark holds St. Thomas it is hardly likely to become a rival fortress to Culebra. Finally, at Guantanamo the United States holds an excellent strategic position in relation to the Windward Passage.

Superficially viewed, the American position in the West Indies appears satisfactory. "If she had not wrested these strategic points from Spain when she did," I heard an English admiral remark, "she would have been compelled to get them by hook or by crook on some other pretext, or give up all hope of dominating the canal." A weak point about Guantanamo, Bahia Honda, and the Isle of Pines is that none of them is connected by cable with the United States. There are land lines, of course, but they would be useless in the possible, though improbable, event of Cuba being hostile during a war. The stations might thus be isolated. Foreign naval officers with whom I have spoken regard this as a serious drawback to their usefulness.

Key West is unquestionably one of the most important naval stations of the United States. The keys which mask the entrance to the gulf, forming an almost continuous chain of reefs extending from Cape Florida toward the southeast for a distance of 220 miles, are of extraordinary strategic importance, and Key West is the chief of them. As a Spanish naval officer wrote before the

war of 1898: "The foreign power which seizes them, aside from other advantages, will be able to close all communication with the gulf, of which it will make itself master by that one act." Key West has been strengthened since the war, but Fort Taylor and its other batteries are still far inferior to the British strongholds at Port Royal, Jamaica, and Castries, St. Lucia, and to the French position at Fort de France, Martinique. The batteries of Fort Jefferson (Dry Tortugas) are the joke of foreign experts, and Pensacola Bay is inadequately defended by Forts Pickens, Mackae, and Barrancas. St. Joseph's Bay, a beautiful deep bay on the north coast of Cape San Blas, ought to be well defended, and is not. Its acquisition would mean a great prize to a hostile fleet, for besides serving as an excellent base for naval operations, it might be utilized as a base of supplies for offensive movements against the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

The important gulf ports are very badly protected from a military point of view. In the February number of this magazine Mr. Charles M. Harvey pointed out how they must necessarily become the principal channels of American commerce after the construction of the Panama Canal. Nevertheless, Mobile, the outlet for a great part of the cotton product of the South, is absolutely undefended. Its possession by an enemy would cause a disastrous disturbance of commerce, and would, furthermore, be a serious military loss, as it is an important railroad terminal to which many lines converge. New Orleans has Forts Jackson and St. Philip, but they can hardly be called up to date, even after recent improvements. Galveston is inadequately defended by Forts Bolivar and Point, with their smooth-bore guns. It is evident, from this brief survey, that America has much to do before she can regard her position in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean as being satisfactory, taking into account the overwhelming preponderance of her national interest in the Panama Canal, as compared with that of other nations.

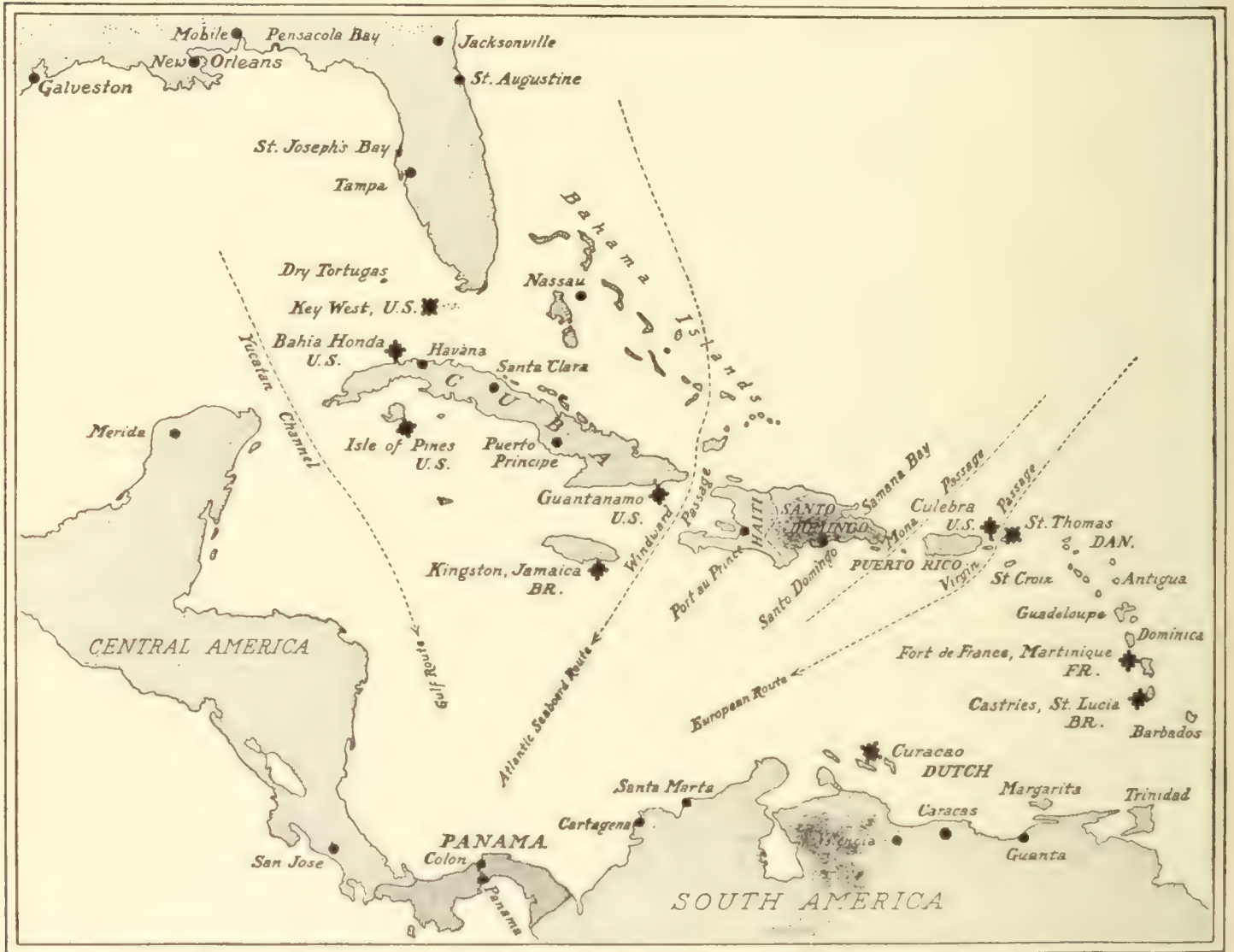
It must, of course, be borne in mind that the naval stations in Cuba and the Isle of Pines are at present merely projects. They have not yet been established and fortified, and the work will probably take several years. Secretary Moody told the Naval Committee

of the House of Representatives the other day that the station at Guantanamo would, when completed, cost \$12,000,000. He proposes to appropriate only \$1,000,000 of that sum in the present year to begin the work.

Having thus briefly considered America's points of strength and weakness, let us glance at those of England and other West Indian powers, so that we may get a comprehensive idea of the strategic considerations governing the future control of the canal.

The importance of Bermuda as a naval station began to be appreciated at the end of the eighteenth century, and ever since then the place has been gradually strengthened. During the last three or four years several millions sterling have been spent upon the fortifications and in providing a new floating-dock capable of lifting the largest battle-ship in the British navy.

The British Government has told the world, in the *Colonial Office List*, exactly



A MAP OF THE WEST INDIES AND THE GULF OF MEXICO SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL PORTS AND THE FORTIFIED PLACES

The fortified places are marked with little forts, and their ownership is indicated

England is by far the strongest European power in the West Indies, alike as regards the number and importance of her colonies, the strategic value of her fortified possessions, and the actual and potential fighting force of her local fleet—the British North American and West Indian squadron. She owns three main strongholds which are admirably placed to command these seas—Bermuda, Jamaica, and St. Lucia.

how important it deems Bermuda to be. "The position of the islands," it says, "situated in mid-ocean at almost equal distances from the West Indies, the eastern seaboard of the United States, and Canada (including the great naval station of Halifax), and the peculiar conformation of the group afford special facilities for the creation of a naval depot and fortress of the first class."

The tortuous channel giving access to

Ireland Island, which contains His Majesty's dockyard and the other naval establishments, "is commanded throughout its whole length, as are also the approaches to it from either side, by numerous batteries mounting very heavy guns behind casemated iron shields. There is a permanent garrison of imperial troops numbering 1,400 men, and the mean number of the Admiralty establishment is 1,200."

Bermuda is considered by naval experts to be quite as strong as Gibraltar or Kronstadt. Though not in the West Indies, it is the key of the West Indies, as Jamaica is the key of the Panama Canal. The power which holds Bermuda has an excellent base for the waging of a naval war which contemplates assaults on the Greater Antilles and the destruction of commerce bound to and from the Panama Canal.

As far back as 1887 the British War Office and Admiralty jointly undertook schemes of fortification at Jamaica and St. Lucia which were based upon the expected opening of a Panama canal.

The strategic position of Jamaica is probably the best in the West Indies. Recent maneuvers conducted by the British North American and West Indian squadron have shown conclusively that a naval force resting upon Jamaica as a base exercises absolute control over those three main entrances to the Caribbean Sea—the Windward Passage, the Mona Passage, and the Yucatan Channel.

A glance at the map will show that a fleet of battle-ships and cruisers, freshly coaled at Kingston, Jamaica, could easily steam to points in the Yucatan and Mona Passages within twenty-four or thirty hours, or could steam southward to a point at which they could intercept a fleet approaching the isthmus. In a word, Kingston dominates the vital points of the Caribbean more effectually than Gibraltar does those of the Mediterranean. Such was the judgment expressed to me, in conversation on the subject, by naval officers of no less than five countries—namely, Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, and Denmark. Their views were summed up by a remark made to me by the commander of the Danish war-ship *Valkyrien*:

"England's great advantage of position, if properly held and backed by adequate naval force, must necessarily insure for her an ascendancy in the control of the Panama

Canal whenever that control becomes a military question."

The British naval and military authorities are straining every nerve to insure the proper holding of this valuable strategic position. The harbor of Kingston, the capital of Jamaica, is one of the best in the world, and is capable of sheltering ten times as large a fleet as England could ever send there. All ships coming and going through the isthmian canal must pass within a comparatively short distance of Port Royal, the naval station. The fortifications of Port Royal have been strengthened at a cost of millions of dollars. Old forts have been remodeled, and rearmed with the most powerful guns in the world, and new forts are constantly being built.

The closest secrecy is maintained in regard to the great fortifications at Port Royal. The military authorities guard them most rigidly and garrison them with picked men. No civilians are allowed to visit them, or even military officers except in the way of duty.

Thus it is that England holds the key of the Panama Canal, and she proposes to follow up the strengthening of her fortifications by a progressive increase of her naval force in the Caribbean. The British Admiralty has decided to add two or three battle-ships of the latest type to the North American and West Indian squadron, and possibly to increase the cruiser force.

The defenses of Halifax have been so greatly strengthened of late that the place is now a second Gibraltar. Working down from Halifax to Bermuda and Jamaica, the British fleet is splendidly served by a string of practically impregnable coaling-stations. Expense has been absolutely disregarded in the perfecting of this remarkable scheme of fortification. The three naval stations are directly connected with each other by an all-British cable.

But the West Indies are of enormous extent—very much larger than they appear on the map!—and England cannot rely upon Jamaica alone as a naval base within the Caribbean and directly commanding the Panama Canal. The British authorities are therefore pouring out money to strengthen the defenses of Castries, the chief port of St. Lucia, which was selected as a new coaling-station by the Royal Commission on Coaling Stations in 1891. Field-Marshal Sir

Lintorn Simmons, who was then inspector-general of fortifications in the British service and a member of the commission, explained the reasons for the choice to me some years afterward.

"War-ships coaling at Port Royal would have to work their way 950 miles to windward before they could reach a point near the Windward and Leeward Islands at which a naval battle would be likely to take place, or before they could reach Martinique or Guadeloupe, supposing they had to blockade those islands in the event of a war with France. By the time they got there a large portion of their coal would be expended, and their efficiency thereby much impaired.

"It therefore became necessary to find a position among the islands well adapted for a fortified coaling-station, and the commission chose Castries after carefully examining every port in each one of the islands."

Castries is excellently adapted for the purposes of a coaling-station. Castries Bay runs for several thousand yards inland. There is a good depth of water—enough for any battle-ship—and the entrance is narrow and easily defended, so that only a mere handful of troops is kept there for its defense. Batteries have been constructed in strong positions on the heights overlooking the harbor, and they are very strongly armed. For all practical purposes, this coaling-station is impregnable.

But there is one very weak point in both Port Royal and Castries. They are not equipped to repair even a torpedo-boat, let alone a cruiser or a battle-ship. A war-ship coming to either port crippled after a naval battle could get coal, but would have to go to Bermuda to be docked and patched up. But this defect is to be made good in the case of Port Royal.

Fortifications on a much smaller scale are being undertaken at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and Carlisle Bay, Barbados. The garrison at the latter place is being steadily strengthened, and the former colony is soon to be garrisoned by a contingent of British regulars in addition to the present native levies.

I have dwelt at some length on the operations of Great Britain because she owns most of the West Indian islands and has taken the lead in fortification in recent years. But other nations have followed in proportion to the stake they hold in the West Indies.

France has built a magnificent graving-dock at Fort-de-France, Martinique.

The strategic value of Martinique is much inferior to that of Port Royal, Culebra, and Guantanamo. It does not command any of the important trade routes, and a French fleet which sought to attack the isthmus from that base would find its coal supply seriously diminished before it reached the scene of operations, more than 1,000 miles distant. Martinique might, however, be a dangerous neighbor to Porto Rico in time of war. Few Americans realize the extreme weakness of Porto Rico from a military standpoint. The strategic importance of the island is much less than that of Cuba, but it is considerable. As a military post it is not easily defensible. It would need a good navy and an army of considerable size. There are a few points along the coast which could be defended by small forces, but owing to the character of the coast they are the very points at which an enemy would not land. The places likely to be selected could only be defended by large naval and military forces.

The principal value of Martinique in French eyes is that it affords a splendid base for offensive operations against the British Leeward and Windward Islands, from the Virgins down to Trinidad.

The Dutch authorities are spending a good deal of money in strengthening the defenses of their colonies of Surinam and Curaçao. The "Schutterij," or militia, of those colonies has been increased considerably, and the total garrison now numbers about 3,000 men. New forts have been built in both colonies. Surinam has a navy of its own, consisting of a few guard-ships and some vessels of the royal navy of the Netherlands. A Dutch war-ship has lately been assigned to constant duty among the six islands forming the colony of Curaçao.

Since the failure of the negotiations for the purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States, the Danish Government has worked energetically to make the best of its possessions. St. Thomas, which shares with Culebra the command of the Anegada Passage and disputes with Jamaica the claim to be the best strategic position in the Caribbean, has been put into a somewhat better posture for defense; but it cannot be considered a stronghold in the modern sense of the term.

These Dutch and Danish expenditures have puzzled people in the West Indies a good deal. Surely, they have argued, those small powers do not hope to compete for the strategic control of the Panama Canal. That would be too absurd. A possible solution of the riddle was suggested to me by a Danish naval officer.

"I believe," he said, "that Holland and Denmark are taking these steps as the result of secret pressure by Germany. For Germany has no colonies in the West Indies, and could not wage a naval war without a base on this side of the Atlantic. She would, therefore, force Holland or Denmark, or both, to sell their West Indian possessions, with their fortified coaling-stations, to her. Of course there would be protests; but if Germany had determined to fight the United States she certainly would not hesitate at this further step.

Whatever may be thought of this startling theory, it is certainly a fact that practically everybody in the West Indies who thinks about the question at all is convinced that Germany is seeking to acquire a coaling-station of her own there. The colonial governments, the newspapers, and the naval and military experts are unanimously of that opinion. The officers of the German war-ships in the West Indies freely say that they are on the lookout for the best site. I have heard them proclaim it a hundred times. Some of them favor various ports in Haiti and Santo Domingo, but the majority declare that Guanta, in Venezuela, is the ideal place. Of course the views of naval officers do not necessarily sway the policies of governments, but the fact is worth stating.

At present Germany's hands are absolutely tied. She has no part or lot in the control of the isthmus, and could not possibly wage a naval war in the Caribbean with any hope of success. Recent experiments with steam-colliers and oil fuel have not been very successful; certainly they do not suggest that the fortified coaling-station will become a negligible factor in future naval warfare. But if Germany possessed St. Thomas and Curaçao, or even Guanta, she would have an excellent strategic position for any operations she might choose to conduct, whether against Porto Rico, America's Cuban stations, or the isthmus.

The island of Haiti at present possesses

little strategical importance, because it has no fortified coaling-stations, and the Haitian and Dominican "navies" simply contribute to the gaiety of nations. But its position on the map is an excellent one, commanding, as it does, the Windward and Mona Passages and occupying a fine central station, from which a strong naval power might dominate the whole of the Caribbean. There are several harbors round the coast which would serve admirably as naval depots and coaling-stations. The best of them is undoubtedly Samana Bay, in Santo Domingo; the second best, probably, Port-au-Prince.

The matter of revolutions in both republics, with the consequent spoliation of foreigners and demands for indemnities, produces a serious situation in view of Germany's scarcely concealed desire to obtain a West Indian foothold. The Kaiser's ships have carefully surveyed all the Haitian and Dominican ports during the past three years. The cruiser *Vineta*, in particular, worked along the coast for months on that job, and made an especially careful survey of Samana Bay.

Statements were made recently, with an appearance of authority, to the effect that one of the rival political parties in Santo Domingo is endeavoring to buy the patronage and support of the United States by the proffered cession of Samana Bay for a coaling-station. It would be well worth acquiring, even at considerable expense, if it could be acquired peaceably. But that is doubtful. The power that seeks a foothold in the Caribbean "isle of unrest" will go fishing in troubled waters. In all probability the Haitians and Dominicans would band together against any foreign power which took even an inch of their land, although that power might have been invited to do so.

America will be in an inferior position until the fortifications of Culebra, Guantamo, and other newly acquired stations are completed, but probably they will be finished as soon as the canal. Then her complete control over the Caribbean, assuming that her naval power is adequate, will be limited only by one important present factor—the British possession of Jamaica—and one possible future factor—German acquisition of St. Thomas, Curaçao, or other coaling-stations. France is not likely to be a source of danger from Martinique.



THE JOURNALS OF UNION WORKMEN

THE American iron-worker, whose strong arm drives rivets into the iron skeletons of skyscrapers, has proved that he can drop his hammer and edit a labor paper. And what is true of the iron-worker is true of the metal-worker, the carpenter, the engineer, and other workmen in organized trades. Today there are 200 labor publications in the United States. These include journals like the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, the *Typographical Journal*, the *Garment Workers' Journal*, the *Metal Worker*, the *Carpenter*, and others. Practically every one of the 2,000,000 members of union bodies receives at least one in his home. Therefore these publications reach approximately 5,000,000 people, or nearly one-twelfth of the entire population of the country.

Ten years ago the labor paper was merely the organ of a certain trade-union, presenting its grievances and its by-laws and limited to the news of a particular craft. Today the official journals of workmen in many amalgamated trades like the carpenters, the railway engineers, the switchmen, the boiler-makers, are well-printed magazines, printed on coated paper and containing useful and instructive information. Take the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*. It is printed at Indianapolis under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. It not only prints the news of the locomotive firemen, but it publishes technical departments which keep pace with mechanical inventions affecting all railroad employees. A recent number contained explanations of new block signals, with diagrams showing the operations of the apparatus; pictures of bridges, with estimates of their strength; articles on safety-valves for turning off steam in case of accident, and many other matters of timely value to railroad employees. In this way the employee is not only educated, but is enabled to keep informed of all improvements affecting his work. In this magazine there are "Talks with Air-Brake Instructors," interesting articles clipped from the leading scientific journals, articles bearing

on railroading from the newspapers, as well as a brief *résumé* of the news of the day. The social side of the locomotive engineer is not neglected, and the fireman in Kansas can read in his brotherhood journal of the doings of his friends in New Jersey. The railway journals are among the largest and best of the union publications. All have scientific departments, in which mechanical inventions bearing on railroading are explained, with many diagrams and pictures. In nearly all cases these journals are edited by the grand secretaries of the brotherhoods, whose editorial work is part of their official duty.

Do these journals pay? Few are published without profit. They have a large and loyal membership to draw on for subscribers, they prove profitable advertising mediums for manufacturers, and they are more carefully read than ordinary publications.

There are two kinds of labor publications—the craft journals, which are the organs of the various kinds of trades, and the general labor papers, published in various cities and printing all sorts of labor news. There are 108 of the latter in the United States. In many cases they are the organs of city federations of labor. They do not depend on any particular trade for support, but include members of many unions in their subscription lists. For advertisements they depend on the business houses of the cities in which they are printed. These labor papers are weekly. The journals of the allied trades are all monthly.

Some of the journals lapse into poetry in their plea for unionism. One of them recently printed this poem:

"When out of a job and the gray wolf howls
Thro' the winter so cruel and hard,
It helps a man to weather the storm
If he carries a Union card."

The official organ of the American Federation of Labor is the *American Federationist*, published at Washington under the editorship of Samuel Gompers, president of the federation. This affords an open court,

not only for the discussion of labor topics by well-known leaders, but for the discussion of economics as well. The *Federationist* prints each month an "unfair list"—the list of firms boycotted by unions all over the country. All kinds of labor papers unite in making boycotts effective by publishing the names of the individuals and firms boycotted.

Half the journals of the amalgamated unions print departments of news in German. In this way a direct appeal to a wide membership is made. One journal of a trade that includes many Italians has a department printed in Italian.

In times of strikes the journals of the trades present the side of the strikers and plead for contributions for strike funds. During the great anthracite strike of 1902 the miners' papers, backed by all the labor papers, raised a large sum of money.

Candidates for political office on labor platforms find these labor journals fruitful advertising fields. And in political campaigns the stump-speaker gathers nearly all his union-labor facts with which he pleads for the labor vote from these papers.

PROTECTING WORKMEN'S LIVES

A NEW YORK life-insurance man has prepared a chart which shows the relative percentage of deaths from consumption in a number of trades and occupations.



Study of facts like these and of the appalling list of accidents occurring annually in American industries has led employers to employ many modern devices for making factory work safer and more healthful. The policy of doing this is profitable as well as humane, for it makes workmen brisker and contented. The increased efficiency of workmen re-

sulting from the installation of proper heating and ventilating facilities generally pays dividends on the cost of procuring them. One method in favor is the vertical-duct system, by which the air is admitted through vertical ducts in flues built in the walls at a point about eight feet above the floor. The air is continually forced downward as it cools, and the cold air is uniformly removed at the floor-line. The system heats an establishment in winter and cools it automatically in summer. The open window and the grimy, old-fashioned factory stove are disappearing. Further, factory rooms will sometimes fill with foul air. The percentage of vitalizing oxygen is decreased by it and the worker breathes "thinned" air. The lungs of the workman begin to degenerate, and he declines in health. Modern ventilating and heating methods obviate this waste of life.

Devices have been put into use, moreover, to prevent accidents, and provision has been made to attend to the men injured when accidents occur. Ten years ago an accident would drive a factory engineer away from his throttle at the critical moment. Nowadays a shop-girl may shut down the most ponderous engine by pressing a button. Accidents do happen, however—many of them. In the best-regulated factories the victim goes to the factory hospital.

An iron company in Pennsylvania has maintained one since 1887. A superintendent, a surgeon, an assistant surgeon, six nurses, and two orderlies attend to the functions of this first industrial hospital, which has reduced the average cost per patient per day to 85 cents. The first fiscal year there were 395 cases admitted for treatment, and for the last fiscal year there was a total of 3,708 patients. The number of dressings applied during the same year was 28,003. One might conclude from this that the establishment must be a death-trap, but surgeons employed in similar work attest that the percentage of injuries here is comparatively small. During the sixteen years the hospital has been in operation a total of 24,708 cases have been treated: wounds, 9,636; contusions and bruises, 5,636; eye injuries, 2,596; burns, 2,280; sprains, 1,951. In the opinion of the superintendent in charge, "the good-will of the help is secured in this way and much suffering is alleviated."

AN AMERICAN PROMOTER IN ABYSSINIA

AND now may God bless you and bring you and yours safe in health and peace to your home, and also soon return you to me and my court."

Thus ended the farewell letter of Menelik II., King of Abyssinia, to William H. Ellis, a promoter of Wall Street, New York, who visited Abyssinia three months ago.

Mr. Ellis went to see Menelik as he would dash away to look at plantations in Mexico or mines in Arizona, because there seemed to be a field there for profit. Abyssinia looked promising. The country needed a bank, a mint, more railroads, and many other things. So Mr. Ellis packed up plans for the First National Bank of Abyssinia, had specimen coins struck off for a circulating medium, filled note-books with commercial statistics, ordered a thirty-five-hundred-dollar Mexican saddle made of elaborate workmanship, and had jewel-studded revolvers and cunning mechanical devices built to order as presents for the African King. Thus equipped he marched on the stronghold of Menelik with a caravan 200 strong. He returned, announcing that the expedition had in many ways been well worth while.

This American promoter has been known for several years as the only Negro who ever invaded Wall Street. His elaborate suite of offices are in the Drexel Building, just above the offices of J. P. Morgan & Company. He was born in a cabin on a little Texas farm, and as a boy worked on the ranges of the O'Conner Brothers, the foremost "cattle kings" of the Southwest. Later, employment with a leather and hide merchant of San Antonio took him on business trips into Mexico. At that time cotton-growers of Texas were selling almost no product in Mexico, because they were timid about payments and credit across the border. Yet the price of cotton in Mexico was almost double that of the home market. Ellis was able to sell cotton in Mexico and to secure pay for it, and in that way laid aside a tidy little sum of several thousand dollars.

After several ventures of varying fortune, this indomitable Negro became a real-estate operator in Chicago. Eight years ago he came to New York as a broker. As business agent of the estate of Hotchkiss, who invented the Hotchkiss gun, and as president of the New York and Westchester Water Company, which the Ramapo Company of past notoriety once attempted to acquire, he has been involved since then in important business enterprises.

The Abyssinian project is not a fanciful one. Another will be sent out this year. The first began with a meeting between Ellis and Prince Ras Makonnen in London at the time of the coronation of King Edward. The Abyssinian became interested in the

intelligent and aggressive promoter, a man of his own color who talked big things in a big way. The American was invited to visit the kingdom and meet Menelik. He began to investigate the commercial possibilities of such a visit. He found that the United States manufactures 120 articles for which a demand existed or might be created in the most enlightened and progressive territory of Africa. He went to Abyssinia accordingly to study details.

He invaded the country like one great man come to confer with a brother. The news of the intended journey of Consul-General Skinner, who followed Mr. Ellis into Abyssinia, caused him to hasten his expedition, in order that he might gain prestige by arriving first rather than to suffer an anticlimax by arriving after the official visitor. King Menelik received the promoter with unusual cordiality as the first dark-skinned pilgrim who, coming to him from white civilization, could talk learnedly of their common descent from the glorious line of the monarchs of Ethiopia. The two men became friends, and the promoter unfolded his plans for advancing civilization among the Abyssinians. He found two towns, together exporting nearly \$6,000,000 worth of goods a year and importing \$7,000,000 worth. The meagre currency in use was the minted dollar of Maria Theresa, a relic of the eighteenth century. Commonly bales of cloth and bags of salt are used for currency.

Mr. Ellis found the telephone in use extensively in Abyssinia. The invitation for his first audience with the King reached him in the form of the following note from a court official:

"DEAR SIR: I am advised by telephone from the palace that His Majesty will receive you today at four o'clock if your health will permit you to go."

The letter of farewell contained also the following passages, which express the friendship and esteem inspired of this dramatic meeting:

"Peace be with you. As in love and friendship you have come from America to visit me and my kingdom, and how earnestly you have told me how all nations already live in love and peace and independence, with which spirit I heartily agree. And you have told me of the greatness and grandness of your kingdom, and how it loves Christianity and independence. . . . For all this truth I and my chiefs and subjects thank you. . . . So that when you and all Americans visit my country and me we will accept you in love. Our aims are one—Christianity and independence."



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THE LATEST PORTRAIT OF SECRETARY HAY

THE WORLD'S WORK

APRIL, 1904

VOLUME VII



NUMBER 6

The March of Events

THE war in the East is the largest event of the month, and is likely to be the largest event of many years—to us as to the rest of the world. This number of *THE WORLD'S WORK*, therefore, is given almost wholly to the subject and to what it suggests. There are presented in it not only a review of the war, so far as it has gone, and an explanation of events that led to it, but also such information of many kinds as will serve to give an accurate and interesting world-wide view of it. The aim is to enable the reader thoroughly to understand this great historical event.

This is not an accidental war which takes the world by surprise. It is an inevitable clash of great interests and race tendencies; and it brings to a focus a conflict of purposes that has been slowly becoming more intense since the West began closely to touch the East. Out of it will come at last, let us hope, something like a final solution of the grave problems of trade and foreign policy which have kept the great powers busy for so many years building battle-ships. The clashing Asiatic ambitions, interests, and tendencies of the nations will now come up for adjustment; and that grave problem of civilization—the future of the Orient—will be taken seriously in hand.

It has, therefore, seemed that nothing is either more interesting or important to the

mass of intelligent American magazine-readers than such an authoritative explanation as His Excellency, the Japanese Minister, has written for *THE WORLD'S WORK*, or than the accurate statement of Secretary Hay's extraordinary diplomatic triumphs, the very full explanation of the Russian side of the controversy, the studies of the Russian and Japanese armies and navies—notably in Gen. Greene's article on Russian aims—the financial strength and condition of the two countries as explained by Mr. Vanderlip, Mr. Henry Norman's "The War—and After," and much more information, personal, military, economic, and geographical, that is here set down by men who know. When a great subject presents itself which arouses the curiosity and the interest of all men, a popular magazine, it is hoped, may do a useful service by making it intelligible in all its larger aspects. Especially is this true when the great subject, as in this case, touches every part of the world with an almost uniform interest, and when it presents not only large problems in statesmanship and in war, but the study of so interesting a people as the Japanese and of so inscrutable a colossus as Russia, and so much adventure and so large a group of interesting men of whom the American public has hitherto known little.

It lifts the horizon to study this significant



ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF
THE RUSSIAN VICEROY OF THE FAR EAST



MR. KOGORO TAKAHIRA
THE JAPANESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

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latest chapter in the world's long struggle through war to reduce itself to orderly progress in a vast area most of which is yet in economic chaos.

THE WONDERFUL JAPANESE

THERE is no more exciting chapter in all modern history than this spirited activity of Japan. That she was building a great navy everybody knew; and everybody knew that she was preparing for what she regarded as the inevitable fight with Russia. Since she was cheated out of the fruits of her victory over China, she has not for a moment forgotten her purpose. And, horrible as war is, there was no way in the present stage of civilization for Japan to win the place which she feels that she deserves except by fighting. The so-called civilized nations of Europe humiliated her nine years ago, saying in effect that she must be content to keep her rank as a minor power and as a secondary influence in Asia. She had either to accept this humiliation or sooner or later fight. There is yet, it must be said to the shame of civilization, no way for a smaller power to win the recognition of the great powers and a fair chance for legitimate development, except by military strength.

But how effective the preparation of the Japanese was came as a surprise. They demonstrated instantly mastery not only of intricate great engines of war, but of new weapons, such as torpedoes, that had never before been used with success. They are engineers, they are marksmen, they are mechanics. They have organization. They have leadership. They are brave—of course, but they are practical also. As for patriotism, a willingness to sacrifice themselves for their country—there is no more devoted example of this virtue in all history.

The quick mastery by these people of what has been considered the very difficult and slowly learned science of modern warfare, including a perfect working knowledge of practical tasks, from mechanics to the organization of fleets and armies, suggests this inquiry: Are these things as difficult to learn as we had supposed, or are the Japanese more intelligent* and capable than western peoples? Or are these great achievements of modern civilization easy to any intelligent people after they have once been wrought out? Or, to go still further, does modern

practical achievement, in war or in peace, imply the degree of intelligence and training and experience and general superiority to men of preceding times that we have thought? Perhaps we have developed no new ability nor skill nor courage nor anything in modern times but new tools. It may be that our advance has been wholly mechanical. The rise of Japan is thus the most interesting historical fact of our time, because of its wide range of suggestion.

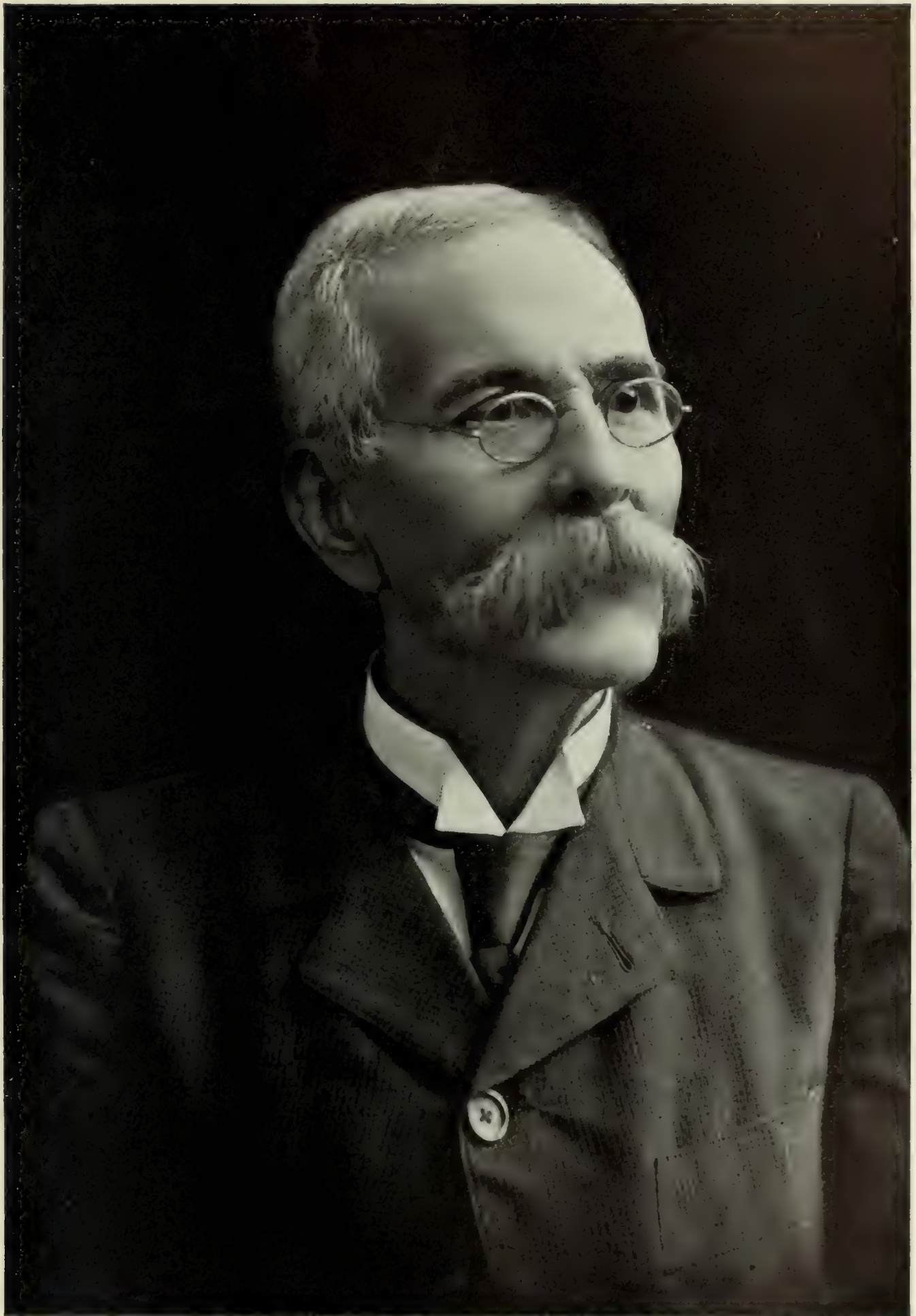
A "CHRISTIAN" NATION AGAINST A "HEATHEN"

IT is not strange that the Russians, following the example of all Christian nations, should resort to prayer, that the Emperor should hold many special services, and that sacred relics and emblems should be sent to the army. Nor is it strange that they should make an appeal to foreign sympathy as a Christian people fighting against a heathen one. But it is noteworthy that this appeal has had no response outside of France, and the response there has been too obviously mechanical to produce any effect.

The civilized world has refused to accept a religious formulation of the conflict; and in all English-speaking countries, in particular, men have hardly remembered that the Japanese are "heathen." Any one who will recall the important part that religion has played in international conflicts in the past will see in this state of mind a startling evidence of the shifting of modern thought from religion to economics. Christianity pitted against Buddhism counts for less in our era than an open door against commercial restriction. Real character and liberal tendencies in government take precedence in modern thought over the forms of religious faith.

WHAT THIS WAR WILL TEACH

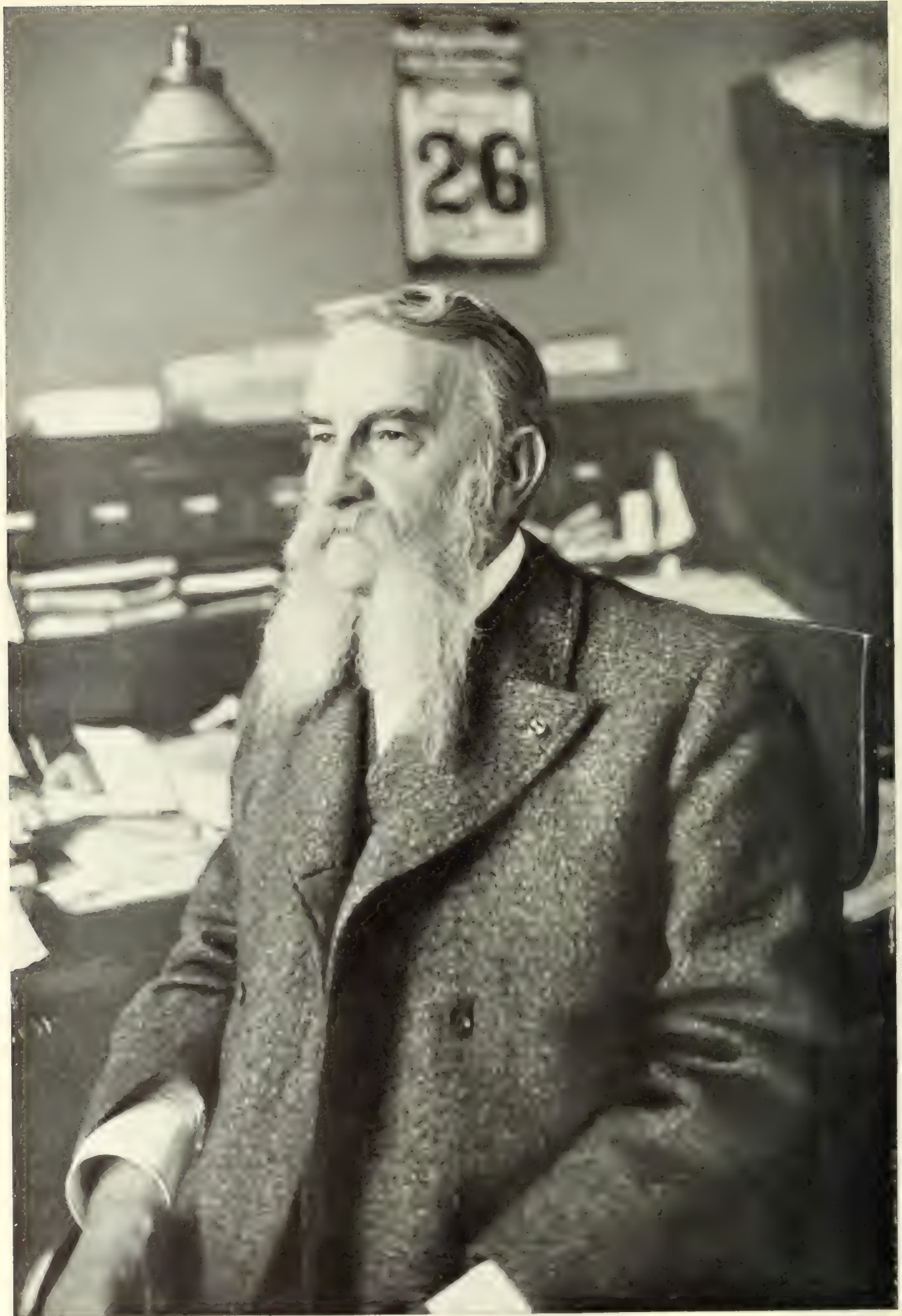
ECONOMICS binds the nations more closely than creeds, and more humanely. It is trade chiefly that has given the keynote to the profitable and humane policy of limiting the area of war; and it is for trade reasons that the powers have pledged themselves to preserve China as far as may be. It is commerce that we must thank not only for the noteworthy additions to our geographical knowledge—Port Arthur and Vladivostok being as well known to us as Manila or Santiago de Cuba, and the Yalu River better



Photographed by S. Her...

DR. MANUEL AMADOR

INAUGURATED FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA ON FEBRUARY 20TH



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REAR ADMIRAL JOHN G. WALKER
THE PRESIDENT OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSION

known than the Colorado was not very long ago—but likewise for that unity of sympathy which sends American women as nurses to hospitals in Manchuria and Korea. "The antipodes" no longer suggest distance, for they are now just around the turn of the world—within quick reach of our own Philippine station; and we are learning even the features of Japanese generals and admirals.

An even more significant fact is the ease with which we accept and assimilate this new information of many kinds and this new experience. No country is remote. No achievement, however extraordinary, is startling. We have accepted the whole earth as within our range of vision. We expect photographs of battles and the confidential talk of rulers in our morning papers. These things do not make our senses jaded, but they quicken our curiosity and broaden our horizon.

Here, then, is the most striking proof ever yet given of the unifying effects of commerce and of the broadening of our range of vision and of the area of our interests by it. The very task of our missionaries will be done the better and more swiftly by the new knowledge of Asiatic life that will follow the war. For a completely new knowledge of this part of the world will date from this conflict. Hitherto, travelers and diplomatists and a few merchants have known it, but the mass of even the most intelligent people in every western country has been really ignorant of it. It comes now for the first time clearly within the range of common knowledge.

War is a horrible thing. It seems more horrible as we become more humane. It brings great waste, too—a waste of men and of money for which there is no economic compensation in this generation at least; and it puts a burden on generations to come. It is economic folly. But out of wars do come some benefits. One of the benefits of this one—in whatever plight it leave the combatants—will be such a knowledge of the Far East by the people of all western nations that the economic conquest of Asia will be greatly hastened.

THE LARGEST PROBLEM OF OUR ERA

THIS struggle for mastery on the western shore of the Pacific and, in a sense, for the leadership of Asia, makes an appeal to the imagination that no other un-

solved international problem can make. It is here that the greatest changes in government and in trade and in social conditions, now imminent or possible, will take place. As far into the future as we may see, mastery in Europe will be divided between the peoples and the governments that now hold it; and conditions will remain fundamentally as they are. There will be changes in the relative importance of European countries—as Spain has lost and Germany has gained in our own time. But no revolutionary change is likely to come in European civilization within any period that we can foresee. At the end of this century Europe will probably be the same Europe, in its larger aspects, that it is now.

So, too, with North America. We can think of no change that could affect our command of our own territory or of the two long seacoasts and the gulf. If Canada should, as some foretell, become a part of our Union, no radical change of character or even of government would take place. What cause for thanks we have, by the way, that we control beyond dispute the long line of coast from Maine to Mexico and the still longer line from Mexico on the Pacific to Bering Strait except the British-American coast! No other people has such a stretch of sea-line, and none can ever have.

In a sense, therefore, the great political conditions of the world seem fixed for a long time—except in Asia. But there this conflict opens a vista of possible changes such as the western world has not had to contemplate perhaps since the English won North America from the French—certainly not since the Napoleonic shaking-up of Europe. The question comes at last to this—whether China shall be divided and become a group of European dependencies—and, if China, all Asia—or shall be kept intact to work out its destiny with the modern machinery of civilization. So large and interesting a subject has not before been presented in the lifetime of any man now living. It is for this reason that we watch the war with a consciousness of seeing history in the making.

THE PROBABLE DURATION OF THE WAR

THE drift of opinion among soldiers, diplomatists, and economists is that the war will not end quickly nor easily. Even if Japan be as successful on land as she

has been on the sea, Russia can keep up a defensive war indefinitely. She has enormous treasure, almost unnumbered men, and great persistence; and Japan cannot invade Russia proper. If, on the other hand, Russia should be successful on land, she cannot invade Japan; and the Japanese can continue hostilities for a very long time. There was never a nation that went to war in more desperate earnestness; and the Japanese will exhaust themselves before they will surrender. This is, then, what the French economist, Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu, calls "a war of the first-class."

The danger is for this reason the greater that other nations may become involved in it. If Russia should fare ill in her land-campaigns, she may permit or provoke war in the Balkans. War in the Balkans would make the danger much greater in that other nations would find necessity or pretext for fighting. Then, of course, England would be in danger of becoming a participant. In that event Russia could agree to a settlement and "save her face"; for it would not be so humiliating to yield if there were a war at each end of the empire.

Take whatever view of it you will, the only chance of early peace lies in the interference of other powers; and no other power will interfere if it can help it.

A POLITICAL PRODUCT OF MILITANT INDUSTRIALISM

THERE was a time when the management of a presidential campaign was simple. Politicians, big and little, made speeches; the party newspapers published party arguments; local committees distributed "literature" and drummed up lukewarm voters on election-day. There were campaign funds which were used for proper expenses and for bribery, too, no doubt; but, as a rule, every neighborhood, or Congressional district, or State, was "managed" by local committees; and there was no other management. By degrees money came to be "poured into" Indiana and other doubtful States from a general fund that was collected elsewhere.

But the compact, unified organization of the whole country in a campaign—as an army or as a great industry is organized—was first accomplished as a vast business undertaking when Mr. Hanna conducted the first campaign

for Mr. McKinley. No general ever had a more thorough knowledge of his army and of the country in which it must move—neither Napoleon nor von Moltke—than Mr. Hanna had of the political strength of his party in every Congressional district. He sent reinforcements where they were needed, when they were needed. Honest men served him, and tricksters, too. A vast sum of money was spent, legitimately and no doubt also corruptly. The country was saved from Mr. Bryan's wild programme—perhaps it would have been saved without this expensive and elaborate organization; perhaps not. Nobody can ever know. But so skilfully was the campaign conducted that, although the popular vote for Mr. Bryan fell only a little way behind Mr. McKinley's, Mr. McKinley's majority in the electoral college was an overwhelming one. The victory was won by generalship and by money.

But the point is—this campaign brought a new era in political management. The office of chairman of a national committee became far more powerful and important than it had ever been before. The great industrial manager had come into politics. Business ability of the highest quality had been used in the work of vote-getting. And we have conducted campaigns on that basis ever since; and we shall continue so to conduct them.

But this method makes the campaign-manager dependent on rich men, great corporations, and strong "interests." From no other sources can millions of dollars be got, and millions of dollars must now be put into one great campaign fund, and no responsible report is made of its spending. Money is paid out of it to honest men for honorable methods of work; but money is paid out of it also to unscrupulous men whose methods are not inquired into.

It was as a great manager of such a campaign that Mr. Hanna first came into political life. He had already achieved business success. He had been a fair and far-sighted manager of men. He had built a handsome fortune; and now, at a time of life when most men retire, he began a new career. The unusually attractive qualities of his strong character asserted themselves more and more every year. He won the personal affection of men with whom he worked. He gave himself with an unselfish devotion to the Civic Federation, a useful piece of machinery,

almost of his creation, for the allaying of friction between workmen and employers. If he had lived ten years more he would have received universal credit—which was denied to him till his death—for his unselfish work in this beneficent and patriotic endeavor.

He was a typical strong product of this era of organization—a man whose sturdiness came near to being greatness, whose capacity for loyalty won men, and whose code and conduct were the code and conduct of the best form of militant industrialism.

A NAVY SECOND TO ENGLAND'S

MEN and nations alike are taught chiefly by events. It was the Spanish war that brought us definitely to commit ourselves to a strong navy. If any other event were needed to strengthen our resolution, the Japanese-Russian War would serve. But we are not only committed to a strong navy—we already have one, and we are making it stronger.

It is difficult to compare the efficiency of two navies. Tonnage is not a fair measure, for some ships are less effective than others of the same tonnage. But, measured by fighting strength, our navy is now probably stronger than any other except England's. It is already more formidable than Germany's, and probably than France's. When the ships that are in construction are finished and manned our naval advantage over these countries will be still greater.

The noteworthy fact made plain by the recent debate on the naval appropriation bill in the House of Representatives was that the country is willing to accept an annual naval budget of nearly \$100,000,000 without sharp party division. Although a protest was made by a Republican (Mr. Burton, of Ohio), the Democrats did not solidly oppose the bill. Public opinion, if not unanimous, seems at least to be in favor of a navy of more effective fighting strength than any other government than England has. We shall soon have forty-eight battle-ships and twenty-four armored cruisers and a naval pay-roll of \$20,000,000 a year (34,000 petty officers and men). And this policy, once adopted, is not likely to suffer a change for an indefinite time. Any party out of power criticises such a huge expenditure, but the same party in power would be likely to continue it.

FORWARD IN PANAMA

THE appointment of the Panama Canal Commission of engineers, of which Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, retired, is again chairman, marks the real beginning of work on the Isthmus by the United States Government. The plan announced is that the Commission will now spend a month on the Isthmus to make a programme. Since the former commission visited Panama, American engineers have lived there, studying local problems, especially the problem of sanitation.

For the first work must be sanitary. The towns of Panama and Colon must be drained and supplied with water; the harbor at Colon must be dredged; and sanitary and medical preparations must be made for doing the work with the least possible loss of life. Healthful quarters must be built, cold-storage plants put up, the problem of proper food must be solved; and these preparations will require time—more than a year, perhaps. Our experience in cleansing Cuba and changing it from a breeding place of fevers to a health resort will now be useful. And more time may possibly be consumed by negotiations in transferring the title and like procedures.

Meantime, the constitutional government of the Republic of Panama has succeeded the Junta and Dr. Amador has been inaugurated as president. These events occurred almost simultaneously with the ratification of the canal treaty by our Senate, which took place on February 23d. February 20th is the birthday of constitutional government in Panama. The constitution stops short of making the Roman Church the established church, as it is in Colombia. The importance of this action it would be hard to overestimate.

The swiftly moving events of these months have thus brought us to a more satisfactory solution of the canal problem than anybody dared hope for during the years when the Clay-Bulwer treaty befogged all debates on the subject, or even when the foolish adventurers at Bogota were delaying action on the treaty that we offered to make with Colombia. And the people of Panama are released from an intolerable burden. These events, if no others, will give this administration eternal mention in school histories of the United States; and a surer guarantee of

lasting fame could not be given. It may be said without rhetorical exaggeration that the beginning of definite work on the canal under our government is an event for which the ages have waited. In eight or ten years the two oceans will be united.

END OF THE PHILIPPINE CONTROVERSY

IT is needless to say that Secretary Taft knows the problems of the Philippine Archipelago better than any other man; and no one knows better the whole history of our acquisition of the islands. He did a public service in taking advantage of the dinner of the Ohio Society in New York to review the whole course of events touching our control of them, and he spoke truly when he said that no political party would now probably favor a modification of our policy. If the subject could ever have been a party issue, it cannot be now.

Secretary Taft's review of the dilemma presented to President McKinley when the war ended shows conclusively that we should have done a wicked act to leave the Philippines. We might have left the islands to Spain. Then there would have been repeated there the very cruelties that aroused our indignation in Cuba. We could have given the islands to the insurgents—in other words, to civil war and ultimately to some other power; for some other power would have gone there to protect the property of its citizens and have stayed there as a conqueror. We could have established a joint protectorate, whereunder we should have had all the responsibilities that we have had, without having a free hand. The only practical course was the course that we pursued; and events have justified us.

So well is the difficult task going forward toward solution that even academic opposition has practically ceased in the United States. As a campaign issue—it is unthinkable. Secretary Taft's admirable address may be accepted as the end of the controversy. Whenever the people are capable of self-government, they will have it.

THE SOUTH AND THE PASSING OF THE MISSIONARIES AND ORATORS

THE South has for this season's cotton crop received about \$650,000,000; it has made at the same time an increase in its corn crop valued at

\$74,000,000; it has \$25,000,000 worth of coal, and made 2,500,000 tons of pig iron. The southern cotton mills, though they have lately suffered because of the high price of their raw material, have had years of very great profits. A statistician could fill pages with facts like these, as true as dull.

But the sum and substance of it all is that the people are better off than they ever were before. They have more money. Better yet, more of them have money. They are investing it in making their towns better, in better houses, in good roads, in schools—in all the ways in which sensible people spend their savings to lift up their life.

Now the South has for many years and for many reasons been on the conscience of them that reform the world. It has been self-conscious, too. It has been overmuch exhorted, prayed with, anathematized. Missionaries and oppressive laws have at times been its portion. And it has turned orators and editors on its friends, the enemy; and the land has been deluged with declamation. The processes of teaching and of being taught, of exhorting and of being exhorted, have vociferously gone on; and social theories have been exchanged with explosive force. Serious as all this is, it is possible to observe its ludicrous aspects. Through it all, the Negro has in fact done much to save himself and to save the nation by apprehending and supplying the humor in the tragedy.

And the best of all good results of prosperity is visible—not only the improved towns and better houses, and better roads and more factories—but the state of mind that these things bring. If a man is successful, he is likely to be cheerful; if he is cheerful, he is likely to be open-minded; if he is open-minded, he will learn many things that he once swore that he would never listen to. A prosperous and cheerful and open-minded man will talk with you—he will not orate at you.

In a word, the long-coming but swiftly spreading prosperity of the southern people is Time's own happy means of ending the warfare of sectionalism. Industrialism brings evils of its own, everywhere. But these are small alongside of the vast benefit of a growing spirit of nationality. After a long enough era of diffused southern prosperity the zeal of reformers may have to spend itself on—say, Santo Domingo; and superfluous southern oratory may find vent in making

Fourth-of-July speeches at Bunker Hill Monument.

But with the coming of prosperity in the South comes the serious work, not emotional, but constructive and statesmanlike, of building up its forgotten masses. It is work that some southern men and communities are themselves doing nobly and that constructive and statesmenlike men elsewhere are nobly aiding.

CHEERFUL FACTS ABOUT WHITE MEN AND BLACK

UNDER political excitement or some other form of mental aberration some one now and then declares that the relation between the races in the South is becoming much worse and that the Negro makes no progress in spite of education. Any calm man who remembers that there are about 10,000,000 of colored people will wonder that race-friction is not more serious; for the rule, of course, is—when the large area of the South is remembered—that they live and work in great harmony. And it is the height of absurdity to say that training makes a man worse, be he Fijian, Japanese, Englishman, German, or whatever he be.

Mr. Booker T. Washington has set both these questions at rest—let us hope once and for all—by sending very definite questions to representative white men in the South. These questions and the answers that he received are worth printing many times, and worth preserving.

Here they are:

(1) Has education made the Negro a more useful citizen?—Yes, 121; no, 4; unanswered, 11.

(2) Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire wealth?—Yes, 98; no, 14; unanswered, 24.

(3) Does it make him a more valuable workman, especially where skill and thought are required?—Yes, 132; no, 2; unanswered, 2.

(4) Do well-trained, skilled Negro workmen find any difficulty in securing work in your community?—No, 117; yes, 4; unanswered, 15.

(5) Are colored men in business patronized by the whites in your community?—Yes, 92; no, 9; unanswered, 35. (The large number of cases in which this question was not answered is due to scarcity of business men.)

(6) Is there any opposition to the colored people's buying land in your community?—No, 128; yes, 3; unanswered, 5.

(7) Has education improved the morals of the black race?—Yes, 97; no, 20; unanswered, 19.

(8) Has it made his religion less emotional and more practical?—Yes, 101; no, 16; unanswered, 19.

(9) Is it, as a rule, the ignorant or the educated who commit crime?—Ignorant, 115; educated, 3; unanswered, 17.

(10) Does crime grow less as education increases among the colored people?—Yes, 102; no, 19; unanswered, 15.

(11) Is the moral growth of the Negro equal to his mental growth?—Yes, 55; no, 46; unanswered 35.

The same sort of testimony is given by the Negroes themselves, who come every year to the Negro Conference that is held at Tuskegee, Alabama. This "testimony" by a colored man named Herbert, of Conecuh County, Alabama, is representative of scores of similar reports. Mr. Herbert said:

"The people in my community have built a schoolhouse known as the Union Educational Industrial School. We first began under a tree, but the rain drove us into a church, and finally we had to build a schoolhouse. We have a very good schoolhouse, made of dressed lumber inside and out. The school is in session seven months. The public money given us is about \$29 for the year, at the rate of \$7 per month for four months; and we have to put up the rest. We pay our teacher \$38 per month, of which about \$31 is raised by voluntary subscriptions among the colored people of the community. The school is on seven acres of land. This land is worked by students at odd times; but last year we raised \$120 worth of cotton, which we applied to the extension of the school term and improvement of the school property. We have sixty-one children enrolled."

Another colored man, a Mr. Sneed, of Uniontown, Perry County, Alabama, testified:

"I do not hesitate to say that we have the best schoolhouse in West Alabama. It is a two-story frame building. Our school term is eight months. The expense is paid partly by the State and partly by the community. Our schoolhouse cost \$2,300, which was entirely raised among ourselves. The colored people raised \$1,500, and were assisted by the white people to the amount of \$700. We started with three teachers, but have five now. The morals of our people are getting better every day. The general trend is upward."

This conference (the thirteenth that has been held) made a declaration, in substance, as follows:

(1) In this, the thirteenth annual session of the Tuskegee Negro Conference, composed of representatives of the masses of our people in nearly all walks of life, from practically all the southern States, we would again declare

our faith in the wisdom of unceasing efforts—

- (1) To secure homes and land.
- (2) The exercise of thrift and keeping out of debt.
- (3) Getting rid of the one-room cabin.
- (4) The building of good schoolhouses and better churches and the extension of the school term.
- (5) The building of good public roads.
- (6) The prompt and regular payment of all taxes, especially the poll tax.
- (7) And because 85 per cent. of our people live by agriculture, we urge that everything be done to make agricultural life attractive.
- (8) We urge a high standard of morality, and a strict line between the good and bad, and that our teachers and ministers be required to maintain at all times the highest standard of life. There is abundant evidence that the moral condition of our people improves as education increases, and there is no evidence that education increases crime.
- (9) Since the two races are to reside in the South, we urge that everything be done on both sides to promote harmony and mutual confidence, and we urge our white fellow-citizens to do everything in their power to place a premium upon right conduct and high character among our people; and
- (10) We urge that our people be careful to refrain from the committing of crime; and further, when crime is committed, or charged, that every individual shall be given a legal trial so that the curse of lynch law, which lowers and blunts the moral sense and disturbs the material prosperity of both races, may forever cease to be practised anywhere in our land.

When southern white men thus bear testimony to the improvement of the Negro by right training; when a body of representative Negroes puts forth straightforward declarations like these; and when, at about the same time, the Governor of Mississippi—who surely has no “sentimental” attitude toward the blacks—himself heroically saves a Negro from a mob, it must be a man of somber temperament who becomes discouraged about the future of the South.

THE LIFE AND THE PAY OF A CONGRESSMAN

A BILL has been introduced in the Senate to increase the salary of senators and representatives from \$5,000 a year to \$8,000. They each now receive, in

addition to his salary, an allowance of \$1,200 for a secretary and twenty cents a mile as traveling expenses to and from Washington. Since many of them travel on railroad passes and either do not employ secretaries or employ their sons, their average income from the government is perhaps now \$7,000. Another bill proposes to fix the salary at \$7,500 and to abolish mileage and clerk hire.

However it may seem to men who know nothing of the cost of living in Washington, nor of the necessity of a private secretary, a member of Congress ought to receive at least \$8,000 a year, a salary for a secretary, and perhaps the cost of a railway ticket to and from Washington; and he should not be permitted to accept a railway pass. It is impossible for a man with a family to live at the capital with dignity and ease on less. The way in which half the members live is unfortunate if not disgraceful. Sometimes it is tragic. In bad hotels, in cramped apartments, even at boarding-houses—this kind of life is mere camping indoors. It is true that there are members who live magnificently in great houses—making the tragedy worse. The truth is—speaking broadly—the members of Congress in Washington do not know how to live. They have not the courage nor the knowledge to make living there simple and dignified. They might give character to Washington life—if they had that kind of character themselves. You can picture an almost ideal community of 500 or more representative families, from every part of the Union, living in dignified simplicity, somewhat as professors' families live in many college communities. But the rich man, in and out of official life, has been permitted to set the fashion; and, in Washington perhaps more than in any other American city, a man who cannot live expensively generally lives meanly—a state of things that proves a lack of individuality in these men and in their wives.

Since sane and inexpensive living seems impossible, then, members of Congress ought frankly to have at least enough money to pay their bills easily; and they ought not to resort to such tricks to increase their incomes as allowances for stationery and mileage and for secretaries, whether they employ them or not.

A deal of cheap protest is heard against the incidental proposition to increase the Presi-

dent's salary from \$50,000 to \$75,000. There is no great principle involved in this. If the President's salary were made \$100,000 no harm would be done. No man who should seek the office for the sake of the salary could ever get it; and, since no man ought to be forced to earn money after he retires from the Presidency, it becomes a great nation to deal with such a subject with frankness and even with liberality. Pay the President \$100,000; pay congressmen \$8,000; increase the salary of the members of the Cabinet (almost every one of whom loses money by accepting the appointment), and of the Justices of the Supreme Court—we should do a dignified act and make it possible for more poor men of ability to enter official life. When salaries are too low many a rich man wins an office because a poorer man can not afford to take it. But this is one of the subjects on which the demagogue, by pen and speech, generally has the last and the loudest word.

THE AGE AND THE PAY OF SENATORS

AN increase in the pay of senators would not check the strong tendency of rich men to seek the senatorship, but it would make easier the life of a number of most useful senators who are not men of fortune. Especially is this true since many of them are old men and must end their active careers in the Senate. Mr. Allison, for example, who will within a little while have had the longest period of Senatorial service in our history, is seventy-five years of age. Hitherto the longest service had been Mr. Morrill's, of Vermont, which was very nearly thirty-two years. Senator Sherman's was almost as long; and there have been thirty senators who served twenty years or more. Mr. Pettus, of Alabama, is eighty-three years of age; Mr. Morgan, of the same State, is almost eighty; Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Bate, of Tennessee, and General Hawley, of Connecticut, are seventy-eight; Mr. Platt, of Connecticut, and Mr. Stewart, of Nevada, are seventy-seven; Mr. Cullum, of Iowa, is seventy-five; Mr. Teller, of Colorado, and Mr. Gibson, of Montana, are seventy-four; Mr. Proctor, of Vermont, and Mr. Frye, of Maine, are seventy-three. There are twenty-five senators the average of whose ages is more than seventy-three, and among them are some of the most useful

members of the body. They are not all rich men, and some have practically no income but their salaries.

The members of the House are, as a rule, much younger men; but even among these a considerable proportion of the most useful are past sixty. The speaker himself is sixty-eight. If the ripened experience of veteran statesmen is given to the public service, their salary ought to be large enough to enable an old man who does not happen to be a man of fortune to live and work without thought of money-making and without temptation to give his attention to outside work.

MORMONISM AGAIN

THE country has been receiving much instruction in Mormon faith and practice from the hearings before the Senate committee that is investigating Senator Smoot's eligibility to his seat. Facts that have been well known by residents of Utah and of Wyoming and of other States where Mormonism has strength present themselves in a somewhat new way when they are frankly told by the president of the church and emphasized by discussion in hundreds of women's clubs.

Polygamy was made unlawful in Utah while it was still a Territory, but this law could not be made retroactive. Polygamous marriages, therefore, that had already been contracted were allowed to stand. But when Utah became a State it forbade a man from living with more wives than one. The president of the church, having received a "revelation," promulgated a "rule" of the church that no more plural marriages should be contracted, although as a doctrine the church still "believes in" polygamy. A man may, without offense to the law, "believe" anything—that the moon is made of molten pewter, or that he ought to have forty wives—yet so long as his conduct is lawful the absurdest contradiction between creed and law is permissible. The church authorities, most of whom were polygamists, were obliged "to save their face" by holding to this "belief" in polygamy.

Nor was it to be expected that those who were already polygamists would abandon their "plural" wives in obedience to a State law. If the law prevents new "plural" marriages, polygamy will in time cease. Nobody knows—certainly the public does

not know—whether new polygamous marriages are contracted, but the weight of testimony seems to be that they have been few at most. But whether polygamy has yet received its death-blow is not certain.

And an even wider question has been raised—whether the Mormon hierarchy be not in effect an established church, or even something more than an established church—an oligarchy that defeats the whole theory of democratic government. It is a dominant and ruthless power in Utah, and it is becoming strong in Wyoming and Colorado and other States. But how its power can be lessened, except by time and civilization, is not yet clear. It is clear, however, that the indignation of the country is likely to be aroused afresh—to what practical purpose, after the shock passes, it is hard to predict.

SIR LESLIE STEPHEN

THE death of Sir Leslie Stephen has removed the first of English professional men of letters and called to mind a type of man that England has but that we have yet hardly produced. He was educated at Eton, at King's College, London, and at Cambridge. Upon his graduation he took orders and was for nine years a Fellow of Trinity College. He then abandoned his creed and his Fellowship and became a convinced agnostic. Two years were given to travel and political service, but by 1865 he had definitely joined the profession of letters, contributing regularly to the *Saturday Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to *Fraser's* and *The Fortnightly*. In 1867 he married Thackeray's youngest daughter, who died in 1875. In 1871 he accepted the editorship of the *Cornhill Magazine*, a post which he held for eleven years. A period of great literary activity then began. There appeared in succession "Essays of Free Thinking and Plain Speaking," "Hours in a Library," and "The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century." In 1878 he married Mrs. Duckworth. In the same year he wrote a short biography of Dr. Johnson which was quickly followed by those of Pope and Swift. His other books include "The Science of Ethics," "The English Utilitarians," "Social Rights and Duties," "English Society and Literature in the Eighteenth Century," "Studies of a Biographer," and "Short Lives of George

Eliot and Hobbes." But important as many of these works are, none of them will have the lasting value of the great "Dictionary of National Biography," which he planned, edited for nine years, and assisted to its completion. He edited many books, and wrote lives of Sir Henry Fawcett and of his brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen. He made a number of visits to this country, and was an intimate friend of Lowell. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Harvard, and in 1902 was knighted on the occasion of the King's coronation.

The range of his mind was exceedingly wide. He seemed to take all science, religion, and literature for his province. He thought clearly and calmly and with marked impartiality. He was learned and thorough, but he was no pedant, and cared little for the technical phrases of science. Anything that stirred others deeply excited his interests, and he understood men not through a process of analysis, but by a wonderful quality of sympathy; and it was by his sympathy that he became, as he has been called, the "Biographer Paramount of English Letters." His style was at times eloquent and grave; it was more often suggestive, intimate, and instinct with humor.

DO WE NEGLECT THE POETS OR ONLY THE VERSE-MAKERS?

MR. WILLIAM WATSON, the English poet, recently made complaint in the *Fortnightly Review* that the English were lacking in the appreciation of literature, especially of poetry. "The average Scotsman," he wrote, "is capable of being interested about a poet, and the average Englishman is not. You can discuss Burns with an Ayreshire peasant. You cannot discuss Shakespeare with a Warwickshire peasant."

A similar plaint is heard all over the world, especially in the United States, that the poets are neglected by this generation. It is true, in a sense; but the dismal inference that is usually drawn—of the utter decay of appreciation of literature—is hardly true. It would, in fact, be hard to prove that the poets are less read in the United States than they were a generation ago. Certainly more volumes of poetry are sold; but perhaps some of them are bought as furniture.

It must be remembered that men do not parade a knowledge of poetry as they did

fifty years ago: it is, in a sense, now taken for granted in cultivated society. And the demands of cultivated society are surely more exacting than they used to be. It is inconceivable that an N. P. Willis could now become a fashion. The most popular living poet in the United States is perhaps Mr. James Whitcomb Riley. To what extent his popularity is due to the sheer homely quality of many of his subjects, and to what extent to his poetic gift, it would be hard to say; but whatever the reason, vast multitudes of persons read his writings with much pleasure. Mr. Watson himself, pole-wide from Mr. Riley, has a very considerable audience among us, in spite of the melancholy tone of most of his poems.

But the poets themselves must know, since a real poet is likely to be also a philosopher, that there is a reason for a temporary eclipse of new poetry—to wit, the lack of poets. Lack of clever verse-makers there is not. There were never so many.

But the larger matter is whether the great poets are neglected. By the mass of people, yes; for the readers of poetry have always been comparatively few. Yet it would be hard to prove that fewer men and women read the great poets than read them a generation ago. It has become the fashion to assume that we neglect poetry, but nobody has proved that it is true.

THE NEGLECT OF CULTURE IN GENERAL

IT has become a fashion to say not only that the appreciation of poetry has declined in the United States, but that industrialism has left no time from money-making for culture of any sort. A direct assertion of such an opinion or an inference to the same effect is made in many recent books that have been written about us by foreigners. For examples: M. Ostrogorki, in his "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties," says:

"They [the prosperous and wealthy classes in the United States] measure all things by the sole criterion 'does it pay'? The race for wealth which absorbs the Americans takes up all their time. The rich allow themselves as little leisure as those who have to earn their livings."

Again:

"He [the American] does not remember, he does not feel, he lives in a materialistic dream."

So also M. Hugues Le Roux, in his book called "Business and Love":

"Every day the men [in the United States] are growing more indifferent to all that is not their office or their business."

Professor Münsterberg assures us in his "American Traits" that "the German thinks the American greedy and vulgar, brutal and corrupt."

A friendly English critic, Mr. John Foster Fraser, in a book about American industry ("America at Work," 1902), says:

"Personally, I would not care to live in America because there is such a lack of repose, because—and I am not forgetting charming exceptions—the general conversation among men is always on one subject—money-making, and because there is a rush and a scurry, living merely to work, instead of working to get some of the beauty out of life, that often suggested the hard race was not really worth the prize."

Well, he would be a bold patriot who should undertake to defend a great mass of our industrial population even against these sweeping indictments. Yet these writers are not wholly convincing, any more than certain complaining literary writers in our own country are.

One omission, and a large one, is this: We have a wider range of culture than our fathers had. They had literature. We have literature, music, painting, sculpture. We travel more than they did. A wider range does not prove a keener appreciation, but it at least implies it.

Greatest difference of all, a cultivated man of our time is not as self-conscious as most cultivated men were half a century ago. He is not detached from life. He has been tossed by the activities of a stirring time; and he has got something from this busier life. He has, perhaps, got a better balance, perhaps a sounder judgment, perhaps a better adjustment to life, certainly a better economic basis for his culture. A man in our time who deserves to be called a highly cultivated man is a man of wider cultivation and of better balance than was his counterpart of a generation ago. At any rate, let us think twice before we despair. We may even remark that industry itself, grievous as its sins are, affords to men of large capacity somewhat the same kind of culture that statecraft has always afforded.

GOOD RESULTS FROM THE POSTAL SCANDALS

DESPITE the difficulty of bringing home to the offender crimes against the government, August W. Machen, former Superintendent of Free Delivery, the first of the indicted postal officials to be tried, was convicted with his fellow-conspirators on several counts. Already, as a result of Machen's conviction there has been a clearing of the moral atmosphere in the sophisticated circles, where it has been firmly believed since the investigations began that no convictions would be secured. Washington believed last fall that the indicted men would be but half-heartedly followed down. It can believe so no longer.

Developments since Machen's conviction have indicated clearly, however—as the series of articles that have appeared in this magazine have shown—that the elimination of alleged rascals from the First Assistant's office and the Assistant Attorney-General's office does not amount to a house-cleaning of the Post-Office. Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow's special report, made public March 6th, carries the fraud investi-

gation one step beyond the disclosures in his first report. Scrutinizing the transactions of George W. Beavers, Mr. Bristow and his inspectors list a large number of cases—sixty-one of them declared questionable—in which salaries have been increased beyond warrant at the request of Congressmen, and leases entered into with Congressmen in defiance of the law. In brief, the Post-Office Department has replied to a threat from Congress of a sweeping investigation of the whole Post-Office, "Your own skirts are not clean." Congressmen in rejoinder point out that Mr. Bristow himself has taken advantage of his office to give his father and his son lucrative post-office positions.

In the interest of the people, Mr. Bristow's latest report is likely to prove of the greatest value. It stirred up a hornet's nest in Congress, and Congress in its indignation can hardly fail to order a complete investigation of all the Post-Office divisions. Only in this way can the facts be brought home to the American people that will arouse them to reform an institution that is nothing short of a national disgrace.

WHAT JAPAN IS FIGHTING FOR

BY

KOGORO TAKAHIRA

JAPANESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

IHAVE already taken public occasion to explain the motives which have actuated my government in the course it adopted with reference to the events leading up to the present crisis in the Far East. In doing so I have had no thought of violating the proprieties of diplomatic usage by appearing as an advocate of Japan's cause. My only purpose has been to give wider publicity to the salient features of the exposition of its motives which my government has already made public; and to do this not in my official capacity, but as a private subject of the Empire of Japan desirous of having the true motives of his country's policy thoroughly well understood by the people who have shown it so many evidences of disinterested kindness in the past.

One fact should be strongly emphasized at the outset. The Government of Japan has disavowed in the most formal and solemn manner, in the reply to China's declaration of neutrality, the purpose of acquiring any part of China's territory or of occupying it to the detriment of Chinese sovereignty. In an equally binding manner it has declared its willingness to respect the lawful exercise of the rights which Russia had acquired in Manchuria.

But it could not close its eyes to the fact plainly demonstrated by events in the immediate past that Russia seemed to have another object in view than the legitimate development of the interests acquired under those rights. The course of those events plainly pointed to designs on Russia's part

threatening the principle of equal opportunity for the development of the interests of all the powers in Manchuria, and tending even to endanger the territorial integrity of China. As the Japanese Government has pointed out, this could not but have been a serious disappointment to all who had been led to entertain more or less hopeful views regarding the future of Manchuria by the repeated and unequivocal declarations of the Russian Government itself.

But what was a matter of far more serious concern to Japan, the indefinite occupation of Manchuria by Russia would be a continual menace to the Korean Empire, whose independence Japan regards as absolutely essential to her own repose and security. As was further stated on behalf of Japan, it was with the object of removing just and natural anxiety resulting from unsettled conditions in Manchuria as well as in Korea, and of arriving at an amicable adjustment of the mutual interests of Japan and Russia in the region in the Far East where those interests meet, that the Japanese Government approached the Government of Russia in August last. The propositions which Japan then put forward as the basis for an agreement were simple and direct. They comprised the recognition by both powers of the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea; the acknowledgment of special interests possessed by each power, respectively, in those countries, and the maintenance of the principle of equal opportunity in matters of commerce and industry of all foreign powers in both China and Korea. The Russian counter-proposal, which was not received until October, asked Japan to declare Manchuria and its littoral as entirely without the sphere of her interests. As for the rest, the agreement was made to apply exclusively to Korea, leaving China entirely without its operation. It was further proposed that the whole of Korea north of the 39th parallel should be made a neutral zone into which neither power could introduce troops. Russia was not willing to bind herself in any manner regarding the independence and territorial integrity of China. That, it was stated, was a question exclusively for the consideration of China and herself.

To this the Japanese Government replied that Japan had no intention of interfering in matters which concerned Russia and China

only, and had asked no concession from Russia with reference to Manchuria. Japan possessed in those provinces important treaty rights and commercial interests, and the sole object of her government was to secure from the Russian Government guarantees for the security of those rights and interests. After the receipt of the Russian counter-proposal the discussion proceeded for a time at Tokio between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Russian Minister. A partial agreement was reached, the Russian Minister making several important concessions *ad referendum*. This was communicated to the Russian Government at the end of October. No reply was received until December, and the reply then made conceded nothing more than had been offered in the first counter-proposal, even the agreements made *ad referendum* by the Russian Minister at Tokio being rejected.

Notwithstanding this failure to elicit anything like a conciliatory reply to its representations, the Japanese Government determined to make one more effort to secure something in the nature of an equitable agreement. Accordingly a proposal was forwarded to St. Petersburg wherein the Japanese Government yielded still further to Russia's insistence upon her predominant position in Manchuria, only stipulating that the independence and territorial integrity of China should be formally recognized, and that no neutral zone exclusively in Korean territory, as proposed by Russia, should be established. To this latter proposition the Japanese Government was unalterably opposed, because Russia, being in complete control of the territory north of the Yalu, would in all probability obtain control in time of this wide stretch of Korean territory nominally neutral, thus rendering it, instead of a protection, a means of facilitating the final absorption of Korea. This communication, it was officially explained at the time, was not in the form of an ultimatum, but was intended to be an invitation to the Russian Government to reconsider its former decision, in the hope that Japan would be met in a spirit of reciprocal conciliation. At the same time it was also officially stated by the Japanese Government that, if Russia's reply should prove unsatisfactory or should be unduly delayed, the Japanese Government would be compelled to consider what measures

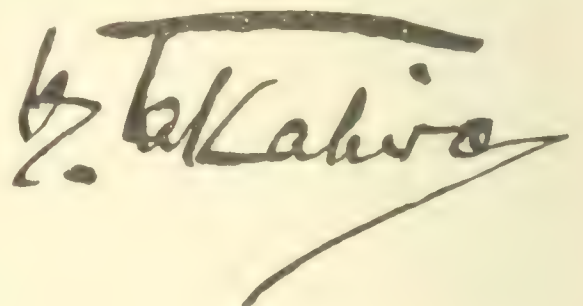
it would deem it necessary to take in order to protect its rights and interests. At the same time the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg was instructed to urge the desirability of an early reply. This he did not once, but on no less than five occasions, but without any satisfactory result. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, under instructions, he presented the note severing diplomatic relations and ordering his withdrawal. That note, after reciting the various efforts which Japan had made to secure an agreement on matters vitally touching her well-being, stated that the refusal of Russia had made it necessary for the Japanese Government "seriously to consider what measures of self-defense they are called upon to take." The communication concluded with the following significant words:

"In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained and of naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial Government have exercised in the pending negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe to be abundant proof of their loyal desire to remove from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding; but finding in their efforts no prospect of securing from the Imperial Russian Government an adhesion either to Japan's moderate and unselfish proposals, or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the Extreme East, the Imperial Government have no other alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations. In adopting that course the Imperial Government reserve to themselves the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position as well as to protect their established rights and interests."

In view of the fact that it has been gravely contended that the Japanese attack upon the Russian squadron at Port Arthur at midnight on February 8th was in violation of international law, the language of the foregoing communication assumes special importance. If it were the fact that the attack was an offense against the law of nations, which most certainly it was not; and even if it were not the fact, as it was, that the first shot of the war was fired by a Russian vessel at a Japanese vessel off the harbor of Che-

mulpo on the afternoon of February 8th, the above communication and the consequent severance of diplomatic relations were ample notice to Russia that Japan intended to have recourse to other than a peaceful mode of settling the questions in dispute between them.

I trust that this statement, brief as it necessarily must be, explains with sufficient clearness the reasons which have governed Japan's action. Our one desire has been to secure an agreement furnishing reasonable guarantees against eventualities clearly threatened by Russia's recent course in the Far East. As has been pointed out, other Powers, not least of all the United States, are equally interested with ourselves in preserving those opportunities for commercial and industrial development to which they are entitled by their treaties with China in the region affected by Russia's action. But our situation gave rise to other and more serious considerations. The independence of Korea, not alone from a commercial and industrial standpoint, but also for strategical reasons, is of the gravest importance to the well-being of our people and the safety of our country. The power that controls Korea can not only restrict our progress along the lines of peaceful enterprise upon which much of the future prosperity of the nation depends, but can also keep us upon the defensive and thereby impose the heavy burden of incessant watchfulness and constant preparation. We have no desire to interfere with the independence or the territorial integrity of our neighbors, and no purpose, as we have shown conclusively, to obstruct the development of the commercial and industrial interests of other nations within their territories. But the preservation of their political existence, especially the maintenance of the independence of Korea, is another matter, and when that is threatened motives of an imperative nature demand that our nation shall intervene or else run the certain risk of jeopardizing its most vital interests.



G. Takahira

A VISIT TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER

BY

ISAAC F. MARCOSSON

I FIRST met Mr. Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Minister to the United States, at the Legation in Washington three weeks after the outbreak of war between Japan and Russia. I saw him in the large reception-room, which is hung with silk tapestries and contains rich bronzes and lamps. He is a keen-eyed man, five feet seven inches high, with broad and slightly stooped shoulders. His hair is black, and his mustache is streaked with gray. He entered the room quickly, almost nervously. He was the diplomat receiving a caller. On the day of the combined attack on Port Arthur, a week later, I again met Mr. Takahira in Washington, but this time it was in his office up-stairs at the Legation. He was still the polished diplomat, but he was also the alert man of affairs. He sat in a revolving chair before a long desk littered with papers. Before him were copies of translated cipher cable messages from Japan, stacks of letters from Japanese all over the United States, requests for autographs, newspaper clippings, and books. On the walls of the room were many maps. A small Japanese flag hung over the desk.

This, then, is the office of the Minister in war time. By cipher cable message he keeps in touch with his home government, and by telegraph he is informed of the work of every Japanese consul in the United States. Every day, with tongue or pen, he does some service to his country. If the news despatches from Russia say that the Japanese treacherously attacked their enemy at Port Arthur before a formal declaration of war, he makes a statement of the facts through the Associated Press; if the newspapers want information about some Japanese city or individual mentioned in the news from the Far East, he gives it. He attends social entertainments in Washington; he is a guest at banquets in New York; he is interviewed when he thinks that he has something to say that may intelligently define his country's position; he visits the various

departments at Washington; he keeps in constant touch with the officials; he is accessible to visitors, and he answers every letter he gets. Three secretaries work in a room adjoining Mr. Takahira's, but he works as hard as any member of his staff.

He reads English, French, German, and Chinese. He seldom reads fiction, but he is fond of science and history and economics. He reads the American newspapers and magazines, and keeps abreast with the news of the world.

"What was the greatest service rendered Japan by the United States?" I asked Mr. Takahira.

The Minister leaned forward in his chair, and his fingers nervously tapped the top of his desk. Then he said: "It was the United States, represented by Commodore Perry, that opened the Empire of Japan. No other nation but an Anglo-Saxon nation could have done it so well—so auspiciously—for there is no civilization like the Anglo-Saxon civilization."

Mr. Takahira took a pen from his desk and, pointing to it, said: "The Japanese believe that the civilization represented by the pen is greater than all the civilization represented by the sword. Education and literature were the keynotes in the awakening of Japan."

Mr. Takahira is a descendant of the Samurai, the feudal lords of Japan, who carried two swords as signs of their aristocracy. When he was twenty-six years old he was a student attaché in the Foreign Office at Tokio. Today, at the age of about fifty, he is one of the most distinguished diplomats in the Emperor's service. He has been successively charge d'affairs of the Legation at Washington, chief of the Political Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office, Consul General at New York, resident Minister to Denmark and Holland, Minister to Italy, Austria, and Switzerland, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, since 1900, Minister to the United States.

WILL JAPAN OR RUSSIA WIN?

By GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES

IT must be very humiliating to a powerful and proud nation like Russia to see her Eastern fleet obliged to find refuge under the guns of Port Arthur, leaving the neighboring seas under the control of Japan. This misfortune confines Russia in her land operations to a single railroad track, thousands of miles in length, for her communications with Korea and Manchuria. Much of the territory through which this runs, in Siberia and northern Manchuria, is in the frigid zone, covered in the long winter months with deep snow and ice.

The enterprise of the Japanese, assisted by the sympathetic native population in Manchuria and Korea, will enable Japan to interrupt Russian communications almost as effectively on land as on the ocean. If the Japanese had a strong force of cavalry worthy of the name, Russia could not depend at all on her land communications, and her line of operations would be limited to positions beyond the reach of the Japanese forces. The mounted Cossacks would be a formidable arm for Russia. If it should turn out that Russia should find herself unable to supply and reënforce adequately her eastern army, she would be obliged to make peace with Japan before the year is out. In any event, the war must prove to be a ruinous drain on the Russian treasury, besides straining her military resources to the utmost limit.

Although the governments of China and Korea are nominally, and perhaps sincerely, neutral, they exercise but little control over their population. China, for example, teems with organizations like the Boxers and brigands, which are, for all practical purposes, beyond her control, and unless Russia is able to conciliate these freebooters she must count upon their active hostility.

There are reasons for the belief that Japan has been preparing herself for this struggle ever since her war with China. When Japan rightfully demanded from China territorial compensation for her sacrifices, Russia interposed a veto, thus depriving Japan of Port Arthur and Manchuria, which she considered the lawful prize of her victory. Russia posed as the friend of China in this transaction, but, unfortunately, Russia seized Port Arthur and Manchuria for herself, which was neither chivalrous nor disinterested. The Japanese naturally became furious and determined to have revenge, which they are now seeking.

A good many people are disturbed by what they call the "Yellow Peril," meaning that if Japan comes out victorious in this fight she and China will make an alliance and overrun Russia and Europe, like the Goths and the Vandals. This yellow peril might not be so remote, perhaps, if China had not been the most populous of kingdoms for five or six thousand years without showing the least thirst for conquest or any sign of an aggressive policy. If China be let alone she will not harm anybody, and the same may be said of Japan.

Japan has shown no desire for expansion that is not entirely legitimate. If she succeeds in driving the Russians out of Manchuria and Korea, it is not likely that she will invade Siberia. She might, perhaps, take a fancy to Vladivostock and force Russia to seek another ocean outlet for her Siberian Railway.

The probability is that the war will not be a long one. The difficulties Russia is obliged to encounter are likely to prove insurmountable, while Japan would be glad to make peace if she can drive Russia out of Manchuria and Korea.

By GENERAL NELSON A. MILES

This will be the first war to occur in which two nations are supplied with, and are able to control, the latest modern appliances of war,

the latest inventions, destructive engines, rifles, machine-guns, rapid-fire field artillery, high-power guns, battle-ships, swift cruisers,

torpedoes, torpedo-boats, torpedo-boat destroyers, submarine vessels, submarine mines, and submerged torpedoes.

The strength of Russia's navy is nearly double that of Japan; but her navy, unlike Japan's, is scattered in various parts of the world, while Japan's is concentrated. When the Russian warships now under construction are completed her naval strength will be more than double that of Japan, ton for ton; so that if Japan should destroy the present naval power of Russia in the Far East, Russia would still possess a formidable navy that would have to be reckoned with before the final result.

The strength of the Japanese army is practically 600,000 men, while that of the Russian army is 1,700,000. With the reserves, Japan could probably mobilize 1,000,000 men and Russia 4,000,000. The Japanese army is composed of active, enterprising, well-trained, and well-disciplined

men, and the Russian army of strong men, of great endurance, and sterling fortitude. Both have demonstrated their prowess on many well-fought fields. As to what the result will be no mortal can safely predict. No two campaigns are alike, nor are battles fought twice on the same ground, under the same circumstances; and how, when, and where the war will end is as impossible to determine as it would be to prophesy the result of a game of chess.

I think it is reasonable to presume that the war will be of long duration, and that a much larger number of men will be brought into the field of operation than are now engaged. It is likely to be a very expensive war before it ends—and a war that is quite likely to involve other European powers. I see no occasion for our own country's being concerned in an entangling alliance, and should regard it as a great misfortune if it should become involved.

By GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER

It is very risky to predict so far ahead—for I am writing at the end of February an opinion to be published in April—upon questions of such magnitude as those concerning the outcome of the war.

But I believe today, that had the Japanese army moved with the celerity displayed by the navy it would have been within the power of the Mikado to have won very important if not decisive results. Japan's merchant marine could have placed an army of more than a hundred thousand men on the peninsula just northeast of Port Arthur, separated the Russian army and people at that place from communication with the rest of the world, prevented the exodus of the citizens and Russian soldiers not necessary for the defense of the fortresses, and compelled the Russians to exert all their efforts to raise the siege. The probability is that the food necessary to the citizens and Russian forces thus confined at the extreme southern end of the promontory would have soon been exhausted, in which event the Japanese would have had it in their power to compel its capitulation. Of course, this would not have been done without a great struggle. Russia would have concentrated all the force possible against the Japanese army, but it

could not have prevented reënforcements flowing in from Japan, nor could it in any way stop the transportation of provisions and munitions of war to the Mikado's army. It may be said that great risks would have been involved in such a campaign. But if Japan could not win by strategy and tactics of that character, that nation could not entertain much hope of a final triumph over the almost unlimited resources of Russia. As matters stand now, Russia, not Japan, has selected the theatre of war. Of course, no one can tell what complications may now arise, but my opinion is, that the war will not last longer than the middle of autumn.

The chances of the final victory are certainly with Russia. Russia's resources and army preponderate so greatly that it would seem that the Czar's troops would be able to overcome the forces which will finally be inferior in numbers. As it appears now, Russia will build a strong fortified base on the Yalu River, and the theatre of land-battles will probably be between that line and the Korean capital. The Japanese will endeavor to break the Siberian and Manchurian railroads, but the immense resources of Russia are such that repairs will be promptly effected.

THE RISE OF MODERN JAPAN

HOW THE JAPANESE HAVE MADE THEIR COUNTRY A MODERN NATION SINCE 1858 — ESTABLISHING RAILROADS, STREET-RAILWAYS, AND MANUFACTORIES, AND BUILDING UP COMMERCE—JAPANESE EDUCATION AND RELIGION—WHAT JAPAN OWES TO THE UNITED STATES

BY

JIHEI HASHIGUCHI

MODERN Japan may be divided into four periods of development. The first begins with the opening of the door of the long-secluded nation for the intercourse of the people with foreigners, coincident with the revolution of 1868, and ends with the civil war of 1877. During this period Japan was quietly observing the civilized conditions of the western nations, and preparing the field for the seeds of civilization. Still there were some belated elements left that were opposed to the power of western civilization. These finally disappeared with the end of the civil war.

The second period begins in 1877 and ends in 1888, when the constitutional government was formally adopted. During this period the innumerable seeds of civilization were sown one after another in a fertile field. Because of this, Japan had no occasion yet to show her absolute originality. The first fruits were gathered after the adoption of the constitutional government.

The third period begins in 1888 and ends with the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894. During this period Japan was busy gathering the fruits of civilization—acquiring all the essential things that a civilized nation must have in order to be ranked as a world power. But Japan was as yet considered by the world as a child nation. It was therefore necessary for her to show that she had already grown sufficiently to be able to defy any nation that should attempt to insult her. The nation that received the first blow was China.

The fourth period begins in 1895, and possibly will end with the Russo-Japanese war that is now in progress. During this period

Japan was conscious of her power as a first-class nation of the world, but was grudgingly recognized as such; for the defeat of China was not considered as proof of Japan's capacity to defy one of the European powers. She has therefore doubled her military strength, and rapidly advanced her industrial enterprises and her commercial expansion. While the present war with Russia is waged, on the one hand, for the sake of the preservation of Japan's life and integrity, on the other hand it is a test of Japan's power. Whether or not she is a first-class power will be shown by the results of the war.

It will be seen that it is war that has stimulated Japan to strive for a high place among the powers. Especially after the Chinese-Japanese War, her strength was doubled or even trebled. We shall consider in what way this wonderful general expansion was effected.

COMMERCE

One of the greatest ambitions that Japan has conceived since the beginning of her modern era is to become a first-class commercial power in the Pacific. Her prominent statesmen as well as her business men have been advocating the enlargement of commerce. But, since commerce was despised by the feudal Samurais, or warrior class, and the Samurais retained yet some of their former prestige as the ruling class, it was hard for commerce to be made one of the paramount issues of national policy. But the erroneous views of commerce have gradually died away, until today Japan is earnestly endeavoring to gain commercial supremacy in the Pacific. For this purpose,



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS IN THE HARBOR AT PORT ARTHUR

Pallada (beached)

Variag (sunk)

Perseviet (disabled)

it was necessary for the government to grant to responsible men of enterprise substantial encouragement. As a first step, the government gave a subsidy to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, a Japanese company, at the beginning of the latter's establishment thirty years ago. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha is the greatest steamship company in Japan for ocean traffic. It has today regular lines of traffic between the ports of Japan and the principal ports of America, Australia, and

the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in ocean traffic. Japan has trebled her international commerce in ten years:

YEAR	IMPORTS AND EXPORTS
1891 (ante-bellum)	\$ 89,500,000
1903 (post-bellum)	298,000,000

SHIP-BUILDING

There are four shipyards in Japan where steel-constructed steamers can be built. They are in Nagasaki, Yokosuka, Kobe, and



By courtesy of the New York Herald

THE CREW OF THE RUSSIAN WARSHIP *TARKAG*, WHICH WAS BUILT IN PHILADELPHIA AND SUNK BY THE JAPANESE AT CHEMULPO

Europe, as well as to Asiatic countries. The Nippon Shosen Kaisha also receives a subsidy from the government. It devotes its energy to conducting the domestic traffic and traffic with China, Korea, and other Asiatic countries. After the Chinese-Japanese War, the government decided to grant a subsidy also to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, which is strenuously striving not to be left behind by

Uruga. Of 9,600,000 tonnage of steam-vessels that have passed the Japanese ports during 1900, 3,000,000 tons were of Japan-made steamers. Of the steamships built in Japan, the most noteworthy one is *Aki Maru*, 6,000 tons, of the Japan-Seattle line of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. She was built in the Mitsubishi shipyard in Nagasaki. The shipyard is now building a steamship of 7,500



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

THE LOOKOUT ON THE DECK OF A RUSSIAN WAR VESSEL



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

SERVING OUT GROG TO THE TARS IN THE RUSSIAN NAVY

tons for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Of the battle-ships, *Akashi* and *Suma*, sister ships, which took part in the battle of Chemulpo, were built in the Yokosuka shipyard. In addition to the already existing dry-docks, there is in process of construction in Nagasaki another for vessels of 16,000 tons.

Besides the four shipyards for the construction of steam vessels, there are fifty shipyards for the construction of sailing junks. During 1900, sailing junks of 220,000 tonnage, all made in Japan, have passed the Japanese ports.

Pacific coast, and within a limited area along the Japan seacoast which is full of steep cliffs projecting from the central mountain ranges. The principal shore railroads are the Nihon, which runs from Tokio to Aomori in the strait of Tsugaru; the Tokaido, which runs from Tokio to Kioto; the Sanyo, which runs from Kobe to Shimonoseki; and the Kiushiu, which runs from Moji in the strait of Shimonoseki to Kagoshima in Satsuma.

Recently, however, several cross-country lines have been built and others are under construction. The most noteworthy among



THE RUSSIAN WARSHIP *VARIAG*

Which was built in Philadelphia and sunk by the Japanese in Port Arthur Bay

RAILROADS AND BRIDGES

The first railroad built in Japan is the Tokio-Yokohama line, twenty miles long, which was built in 1870. Thus, Japan was not very much behind any other country in adopting this means of transportation. Among many reasons why Japan was slow in extending railroad construction after the first road, while the United States was making rapid progress, is this: whereas the United States is mostly prairie, Japan is mountainous. Until recently, railway construction was confined to the plains along the

them are the Shinano line and the Hankei line, both of which have already been opened for traffic. The former runs from Tokio across the mountainous regions of Shinano to Niigata on the Japan Sea coast. The latter runs from Osaka to Tsuruga on the Japan Sea coast. Thus, today a person can travel from the southern end of Kiushiu to the northern end of Hondo on trains, with only an hour's break at the Shimonoseki strait crossing; not to mention the travel on trains in Hokkaido and Formosa, where the traveler may enjoy the beautiful scenery of moun-

tains and lakes, rivers and the sea. The Shinano line especially, which traverses the province of Shinano over the high mountains and across the deep valleys, affords the passengers the enjoyment of magnificent scenery. No railroad line in this country affords such views. What progress has been made in railroad construction recently the following statistics will show:

YEAR	MILEAGE
1891	2,039
1903	5,015

Owing to the fact that Japan is mountainous, the Japanese locomotives as well as

products of rails for export, so Japan is now buying rails from Europe.

Side by side with railroad building, bridge building came to be of great importance, because in such an uneven country many iron bridges had to be built over the rivers and valleys. Besides the railroad bridges, there are today large iron bridges in the cities for horses and wagons, as well as for pedestrians. The most noteworthy are the Azuma bridge and the Ochanomizu bridge in Tokio, and the Tenjin bridge and the Temma bridge in Osaka. The bridges in the country towns are mostly built of wood, because wood is



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THE JAPANESE WARSHIP *TAKASAGA*

railroads were modeled on those of England, and therefore the supply has hitherto been made by England and Germany. However, the American Locomotive Company sold to Japan 300 locomotives up to 1903. This is because Japan began to adopt the American wide-track railway wherever possible. Today Japan buys locomotives, now from America, now from Europe, according to the fluctuation of the prices of steel in both places.

The rails were, up to 1902, mostly bought from the United States, but the wonderful development of railroad construction in this country recently does not leave surplus

cheap. The most picturesque wooden bridge is the Kintai Bashi, in Iwakuni, which is in the shape of an eyeglass.

STREET-CARS

Most of the Japanese cities are very old and their streets are too narrow for street-railroads. To rebuild the streets for the sake of the street-railroads is not an easy matter. In spite of this difficulty, however, Tokio, Kyoto, Osaka, and Nagoya have already managed to have their trolley-car lines. In the other cities the street-cars were run by electricity at the start; in Tokio they



Photographed by Taylor

BARON KOMURA

THE JAPANESE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHO HAD CHARGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA

were run by horses until 1903, because, unlike the other cities where there are high hills from whose elevated position great water-power can be utilized in generating electricity, Tokio is level. But today there is not a horse-car in all Japan. There are now two interurban railway companies in Tokio. One of them is newly established. In this some English capital is invested. This company is supposed to be the greatest one of the kind in Japan. Still, it is as yet in its infancy, inasmuch as it has not introduced the cable system.

ELECTRICITY

Japan is everywhere rich in water-power. Consequently, even in small country towns there are electric lights. Telegraph and local telephone lines are operated throughout Japan; while between Tokio and Osaka the long-distance telephone was lately instituted. The telegraph and telephone facilities are wholly government enterprises. Since the war, the government has made great strides in developing this means of communication both for military and for commercial purposes. In 1891 there were 26,250 miles of wire; in 1900, 60,000 miles.

A system of wireless telegraphy differing from Marconi's was invented by a Japanese official in the Department of the Navy. The invention was utilized in the recent battle at Chemulpo.

MANUFACTURING

Of the manufacturing of modern products not much can be said. As yet the Japanese manufacturers are busy improving the old kinds of products rather than entering the manufacture of new kinds. Silk, tea, and porcelain are the principal Japanese export goods to Europe and America, while cotton goods began to be exported to China after the war. As for finished silk goods, different parts of the country produce different kinds of goods. The most noted kinds of silk are Nishijin, Habutai (for handkerchiefs), Nankako, Hachijo, Kaiki, Chirimen, and Chichibu. Nishijin is a very high-priced goods.

All these goods are manufactured on a small scale. Except in case of cotton goods, no steam-power is used as it is used in this country. In the manufacture of finished silk goods hand-machines are used. The machines are different in different parts of

the country, but all are of the handicraft stage. Thus, whereas in the United States fifty yards of silk goods can be produced in four days, in Japan it will take a week to produce the same quantity. The government tried to introduce steam-power machinery from Europe and America. For that purpose German and American machines were exhibited in the late Osaka Exposition, but these are not yet in practical use. There is no one as yet in Japan who can capably handle the machinery to advantage as compared with hand machinery. There are a few Japanese young men who are now studying in Europe the art of handling steam machinery. Besides, there is a Japanese, Mitsugi Arimura, in a Brooklyn silk manufacturing company also studying the same art.

Thus, in the near future Japan will be able to compete with the United States and the European countries in using steam-power machinery. Moreover, there is an attempt being made in Nagano, in Shinano, to organize an association for exporting silk products. But at present, as the circumstances do not permit improvements, the Japanese would rather export raw silk than finished goods.

Recently, numerous cotton mills have sprung up in many places in Japan. The most noted place is Osaka. Osaka is called Japan's Manchester. As Japan has China for her customer, cotton manufacture is a very promising industry. There is a manufactory of albatross, a kind of woolen cloth, in Tokio, and a hemp manufactory is established in Hokkaido.

A GOVERNMENT IRON FOUNDRY

Up to the time of the Chinese-Japanese War, Japan produced very little iron, so that only the small objects required in the war could be manufactured with the home material. But after the war the government realized the need of an iron foundry; so it appropriated \$5,000,000 in 1899 to establish the Wakamatsu Iron Foundry, in Wakamatsu, in the province of Chikuzen in Kiushiu. Wakamatsu is a port where coal can be secured abundantly from the nearby mines, while the ores can be brought there from China with relatively small expense. The foundry is expected to compete with foreign foundries in making such products as



THE RUSSIAN BATTLE-SHIP *RETVIZAN*

Built in Philadelphia and sunk in the harbor of Port Arthur by the Japanese fleet

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railroad materials, bridge materials, and ship-building materials, all of which are at present imported.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The relations of capital and labor are very

cordial. They are like the relations of fathers and sons. The wages are in general low as compared with those of the United States and the European countries, but after the war there was a remarkable general rise in wages. This should not be taken



A CLOSE VIEW OF RUSSIAN SAILOR TYPES

Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

as the result of strikes. It is the outcome of mutual good-will between employers and workmen. Although there are local trade unions—without national organization—these are in close harmony with the capitalists, for the capitalists themselves help the unions to grow. Among others, the late T. Sakuma, formerly the head of a large printing office in Tokio, has done much to foster the unions.

T. Sakuma was a State Socialist. The government favors State socialism. The

the hands of private capitalists. The government, however, owns several roads, the largest of which is the Tokaido. A State socialistic plan of government ownership of all the railroads in Japan was once introduced, but it failed of its purpose.

BARON YEIICHI SHIBUZAWA

The history of industry of modern Japan is largely identical with the life of Baron Shibuzawa. Baron Shibuzawa is called the



The *Pallada* (now beached)

The *Variag* (now sunk)

The *Perseviet* (now disabled)

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS IN THE HARBOR AT PORT ARTHUR

colleges teach it. Attempts made lately at a radical socialistic organization have not met any success worth mentioning, though with the view of protecting the factory hands the government recently tried to introduce a factory law based on State Socialism. But it has not met success, because such law, it was decided, is not needed, inasmuch as the relations of capital and labor can be cordially maintained without it. The ownership of railroads is chiefly in

J. P. Morgan of Japan. But he is more important to Japan's industry than Mr. Morgan is to that of the United States, for the industry of the United States can in a sense get along without J. P. Morgan, but the industry of Japan cannot do without Baron Y. Shibuzawa. The Baron was a farmer's son. He served the Shogun, and went abroad with one of the Shogun's relatives. After his return he was called by the Mikado's government to serve in the Finance



COUNT LAMSDORFF

THE RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHO NEGOTIATED THE EXTENSION OF THE FRANCO-
RUSSIAN UNDERSTANDING TO ASIATIC AFFAIRS, AND WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE NEGOTI-
ATIONS WITH JAPAN DURING THE PERIOD JUST BEFORE THE WAR

Department. In 1873 he resigned his office in order to enter the business world. His first plan in this direction was to combine capital. For this purpose a bank modeled on those of the western countries was needed. The first national bank was established. There were three investors of importance, Messrs. Mitsui, Ono, and Shimada. Mitsui and Ono became the dual heads of the bank, while Baron Shibuzawa was the director, because the Baron was the one that outlined the plans for the bank while he was in the Finance Department of the government. Baron Shibuzawa advocated the combination of capital not only in banking business, but also in all the other businesses, such as railroading, manufacturing, mining, transportation on water, and so forth. He also advocated scientific and systematic business dealings, because otherwise the wealth of the nation would not be developed. Thus he established a paper mill in Oji, in the suburb of Tokio, and conducted the industry according to his ideas. In 1876 he was of the opinion that the railroad business could not be perfected by the government's efforts alone. He favored private ownership of the railroads. Thus he recommended through Lord Hachisuka that a number of the nobles buy up the Tokio-Yokohama line from the government. The contract was made by which the nobles were to pay \$1,500,000 in seven years. But in 1877, when the fifteenth national bank was instituted, Lord Iwakura advised the nobles to deposit all their money. Thus, after \$30,000 was paid in, the contract for the sale of the railroad became void. He has been for twenty years one of the trustees of the Nihon Railroad Company. He effected the merging of the Chikubu line, the largest for the transportation of coal, with the Kiushiu line.

He should not, however, be counted upon as a railroad king as Jay Gould was in the United States; for the idea of the government control of industry, largely borrowed from German State Socialism, gained its adherents among younger men than Baron Shibuzawa, and they came into power. They have studied the subject exhaustively but none of them had the practical experience of the elderly man. Whether the younger men are right and the Baron is wrong, or vice versa, cannot now be determined.

In 1874 he established a joint stock gas

company. In the same year he assisted the establishment of a commercial school which, after many trials, became the present Higher Commercial College. In 1882 he successfully advocated the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce. In the same year he established the Osaka Cotton Mill and the Miye Cotton Mill, the former of which is the largest cotton mill in Japan. Before this establishment was made he was of the opinion that the cotton yarns which had hitherto been imported should be manufactured at home with the home materials. The then Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Y. Shinagawa, suggested that Baron Shibuzawa receive a government subsidy, but the Baron flatly refused to accept the offer. He combined the capital of nobles and Osaka merchants for the cotton mills.

The Mitsubishi Company, founded by the late Yataro Iwasaki, father of Baron Iwasaki, the head of the Bank of Japan, has done most in developing the water transportation facilities. But Shibuzawa's principle would not allow any one man to monopolize any industry. So he gave his assistance to the movement for competing against the Mitsubishi Company. In spite of the fact that he is one of the trustees of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, which belongs to the Mitsubishi Company, he assisted the establishment of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, which is the newly born steamship company after the Chinese-Japanese War.

AMERICAN COMPANIES IN JAPAN

Soichiro Asano, of the International Oil Company, the president of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, is also the head of the International Oil Company of Echigo, on the Japan seacoast. This company is largely invested in by the Standard Oil Company. On that account the people gave the International the nickname of the Standard Oil. An ex-minister of the United States to Japan has been instrumental in bringing about the investment of the Standard Oil Company and the building of the railroad through the oil-well region. The capital is several million dollars, more than half of which was invested by the Standard Oil Company since the Chinese-Japanese War. All the important work is done by the American engineers and others from America. All the machinery was brought from the United States. In

1903, however, the International Oil Company paid no dividend, while other minor Japanese companies paid 3 per cent.

There is another large company which has recently become a member of an American trust. It is the Murai Tobacco Company in Kioto. Formerly the company was carried on by Mr. Murai and an American individual capitalist. Within two or three years it merged into the American Tobacco Trust. This seems to have been inevitable, since the supply of the Murai Company is largely imported from the United States.

the Tokio *Economic Journal*, the idea of the government tobacco monopoly on the ground that the officials would not be able to conduct the business so well as the private business men. But he and his sympathizers were defeated, and the bill was passed in 1903. The government was thus authorized to buy all the supply of the leaf-tobacco of Japan and to sell to the tobacco manufacturers at a uniform price.

Another instance of great government monopolistic industry is the camphor monopoly of Formosa. This business was from



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A VIEW OF THE QUARTERDECK OF THE JAPANESE BATTLE-SHIP *ASAHI*

GOVERNMENT MONOPOLIES

In connection with the tobacco company, the government monopolistic control of the supply of tobacco may be explained here. Hitherto the tobacco farmers had absolute freedom in disposing of their products, and the tobacco manufacturers could buy their supply individually directly from the producers. But several years ago a bill was introduced in the Diet for the government monopolistic control of the supply. This bill was sharply combatted by Honorable U. Taguchi, the champion of the principle of non-interference of the government in business. He for some time opposed in his organ-

the start controlled by the government. Last year the government made a contract with an English firm for the exclusive sale of the camphor product of Formosa. The camphor business of Formosa is by far the largest monopoly of its kind in the world.

EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGNERS

Not many foreigners are employed in the industries of Japan. Besides the American workers employed in the International Oil Company, there are a few Germans employed in the beer breweries. The most noted of the breweries are the Asahi Beer Brewing Company in Osaka, the Kirin Beer

Brewing Company in Yokohama, the Ebis Beer Brewing Company, the Sapporo Beer Brewing Company in Sapporo, Yezo, and the Kabuto Beer Brewing Company. All these companies employ Germans. The beer products of Japan are exported to the cities of Asia and Australia.

During the earlier period of Japanese transportation by steamers most of the engineers employed in the steamers were Englishmen or other foreigners, but now that

of the adaptor. I have already said something about the invention of wireless telegraphy by a Japanese official in the Department of the Navy. It is necessary here to explain that this invention is original with the Japanese, not borrowed from Marconi, although Marconi announced his invention before the Japanese officer. On that account, when Signor Marconi applied to the Japanese Government for the grant of the patent right he did not succeed in obtaining it.



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SAILORS WORKING A TWELVE-POUNDER GUN

many Japanese young men have become familiar with engineering no foreigner except in insignificant cases is employed in such work.

INVENTION

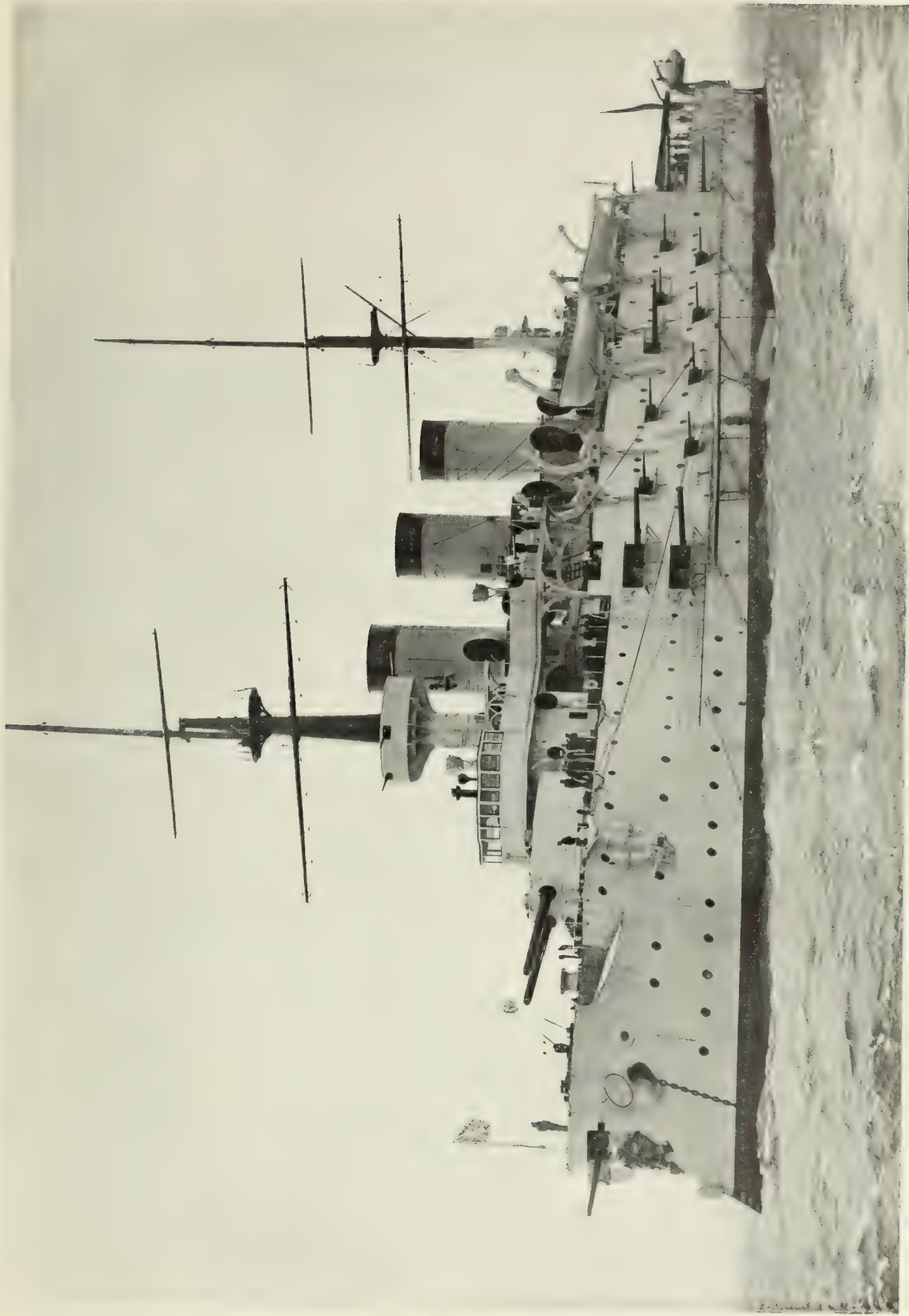
Modern Japan has so far been busy adapting western methods to her own conditions; hence the Japanese have had no leisure to indulge in absolutely original inventions. The adaptation of borrowed methods, however, requires of itself in a measure originality

EDUCATION

Every child six years old must attend a public school for at least four years, and every city or village must have at least one grammar school. The grammar schools are mostly free institutions, but the collection of a small fee from every child is left to the discretion of each community. At first, one penny a month used to be collected in some places from every child; now a community may collect five or ten cents from each child monthly, but this payment of fees does not



THE JAPANESE BATTLE-SHIP SHIKISHIMA.
One of the most powerful and modern battle-ships in the world



THE RUSSIAN WARSHIP "POBIEDA," OR "VICTORY," WHICH THE JAPANESE SUNK IN PORT ARTHUR HARBOR
She had a speed of eighteen knots and was built at St. Petersburg. She had a greater freeboard than any other warship in the world

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THE JAPANESE IMPERIAL DOCKYARD AT YOKOSUKA



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A SUNDAY MORNING INSPECTION IN THE RUSSIAN NAVY

hinder children from attending the schools. Today, out of all the children of school age, 90 per cent. attend grammar schools. In 1903 there were 4,300,000 pupils in grammar schools, 80,000 in the middle schools, 6,000 in the higher middle schools, and 4,000 in the colleges and the universities. All these schools are supported by the respective communities or by the government. There are, besides, many private schools and colleges. Taking the latest census of population at 45,000,000, we can see that 10 per cent. of the whole population are in school.

There are night schools for the children of the working class in cities. There are also technological night schools for them. But these are not to be ranked with those of the United States. They are merely supplements to the day schools. If more life is put into the work of education, it will do much to improve the conditions of the poorer class.

GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGEMENT OF EDUCATION

Whereas in the United States education is largely left to the care of private citizens or local communities, in Japan the central government takes direct interest in educational work. The United States Government never dictates what Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Princeton universities shall and what they shall not teach. But the Japanese Government regulates the courses of study in the universities of Tokio and of Kioto. The local public schools are supported by the respective localities. Still, the government selects the text-books used in the schools. I well remember that I used to read grammar school readers with the government seals on.

As an instance of government interference in education, the present Minister of Education, Mr. Kubota, while he was a member of the Diet, strenuously advocated the shortening of the school terms in order to make practical men of the students. His suggestion was lately put into practice. Today a young man can save about five years from his school life as compared with the term of the anti-reform period.

THE CHANCES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In Japan, owing to the fact that so many students are anxious to work their way

through colleges, the economic arrangements of the communities in which the colleges are situated are such that a student cannot obtain opportunities so easily as in the United States to work at odd hours in order to earn his living or tuition. A young man without adequate means to pay all his expenses during his school life nearly breaks himself down, physically as well as mentally—physically, because he overworks himself; mentally, because he specializes his efforts to such an extent that his mind is not well proportioned.

So, among many reasons why so many Japanese young men come to this country to be educated, the financial advantage which he derives from the abundance of college endowments is the paramount one.

THE NEWSPAPERS

There are sixteen daily papers of note in Tokio alone, while there are altogether 480 daily papers in all Japan. Of these, eleven are the papers of national reputation. They are *Jiji Shimpō*, *Tokio Asahi Shimbun*, *Kokumin Shimbun*, *Nihon*, *Tokio Nichinichi Shimbun*, *Hochi Shimbun*, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and *Tokio Mainichi Shimbun*, all of which are published in Tokio, *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, and *Asaka Mainichi Shimbun*, both of which are published in Osaka, and *Hinode Shimbun* of Kioto.

Of these eleven, *Osaka Asahi* and *Osaka Mainichi* have the largest circulation. The former has a circulation of 145,000 and the latter of 100,000 daily. This is because Osaka is the commercial centre, and the papers are of direct interest to the business communities.

THE MAGAZINES

There are innumerable kinds of magazines in Japan. Of these we may here mention three which are published in Tokio. They are *Taiyo* (the Sun Trade Journal), which has the largest circulation—100,000 monthly—*Tokio Keizai Zasshi* (the Tokio Economic Journal), and *Toyo Keizai Zasshi* (the Oriental Economic Journal). *Taiyo* is published by the Hakubun Kwan Publishing Company. It was originally composed of many different monthly magazines published by the company. Thus, *Taiyo* is nicknamed "An Exhibition Magazine," a name which is very characteristic of the magazine. *Tokio Keizai Zasshi* is edited by the Honor-

able Ukichi Taguchi, who is reputed one of the most noted economists of Japan. He upholds the principle of free trade, of non-interference of the government in business. *Toyo Keizai Zasshi* is edited by Doctor Tameyuki Amano, whose renown as an economist is greater than that of Honorable Taguchi. Doctor Amano upholds the diametrically opposite principle to that which Honorable Taguchi upholds. The text-books of economics used in schools are largely his productions.

The newspapers and the magazines in Japan are not half so well developed as those in this country in any respect. It was only seven or eight years ago that the modern printing-machine, which relieves the human hands of much labor, was adopted. But considering the fact that the Japanese public is very well educated, the newspaper business is a promising enterprise.

RELIGION

Of the three religions, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, which are the leading religions of Japan, the first is the State religion. Its belief is based on the existence of Takamagahara (high heaven), whence the prehistoric ancestors of the present Mikado descended to rule the archipelago.

The second is the religion of the leading men of Japan. It consists of ethical dogmas in regard to the conduct of public and private men. It does not like to deal with speculative theology, nor with life after death. In short, it deals exclusively with the present. Confucius says, "Superhuman beings may be respected, but should be kept away."

The last has by far the greatest number of converts. Buddhism is based upon the belief that Buddha is a supreme being, has no beginning and no end, and rules the world, known and unknown; that the soul of every living being, whether human or animal, is an offspring of Buddha, and the body in which the soul resides is a temporary resting place, which may be occupied or abandoned at option; that to die is to return to one's original birthplace, where one is absorbed by the all-powerful Buddha, still retaining one's individuality; and that, therefore, a soul transmigrates in every seventh generation, disappearing and reappearing, now as a man, then as an animal, according to merit during the previous existence.

Thus, the Buddhists are indifferent to life. This indifference has on the one hand an effect upon a man of making him view passively the things of the troubled world. On the other hand, it builds in him a beautiful character, whereby he will not grudge to sacrifice his life for his country and for his fellow men. This character is more or less inherent in every Japanese.

The introduction of Christianity has in a measure modified the religious ideas of the Japanese. But owing to the fact that the missionaries are men of stern loyalty to Christ, never for a moment entertaining the idea of compromise between different religions, mission work is greatly handicapped. It can be prophesied that Christianity will not be able to take firm hold of the Japanese so long as it remains in the position of an intruder. The Japanese are generally very religious people, but they have very liberal ideas of religion. They will accept anything that tastes good. Thus, to impose Christianity upon them with the condition that they renounce all previous affiliations is madness.

FOREIGN BOOKS

Until the dawn of modern Japan, the Dutch were the only people that were allowed anything like liberal intercourse with the Japanese. Consequently, Dutch was the prevailing foreign language. All the western ideas were conveyed through this language. The art of medicine especially was learned from the Dutch books. Today the medical books that are used in Japan are mostly German, and German is the language preferred in the military schools. English books are today most popular, as they teach history; and English is the prevailing foreign language in business circles. French books are not so popular today as they used to be in the beginning of modern Japan. Then the Japanese learned the science of government mostly from French books, but now English is gradually driving away French. Russian came lately to be taught in the military schools. Generally speaking, the foreign books that are used in Japan are mostly of history and the sciences. Fiction is not so welcome, because the Japanese have not yet acquired any pronounced taste for it.

Thus, foreign books have made Japanese practical men fully awake to the reality of the world. They have turned the thoughts of

the Japanese people from their passive attitude toward the world to an active attitude.

POLITICS

The revolution of 1868 was the work of Samurais, or warriors, of poorer families. The high officials in the restored Mikado's court were useless parasites. The leaders of the revolution were wide-awake men who knew from their experiences as poor men what the common people needed and deserved to have. So while they retained the principle of national unity under the Mikado's sovereignty, at the same time they were not slow to welcome the democratic principle. The abolition of the social distinction of four castes was not asked for by the common people. Even the adoption of constitutional government in 1888 was not so much the result of the activity of the people's delegation as a favor of the Mikado. Both these were accomplished without any protracted struggle between the sovereign and the subjects. They were rather granted in the manner of a present from the Mikado.

The common people appear to be rather indifferent to politics, trusting confidently in the successors of the pre-revolutionary Superior Samurais for good government. Even the legislature, which is elected by the vote of the people, is composed mostly of these sons of Samurais. Popular education, however, has done much to improve the political ideas of the common people. Evidently, these plebeians are coming to the realization that they also have the supreme voice in the legislature, represented by their delegates. This democratic principle is growing with the progress of time. Whether in some future day the Japanese patricians and the plebeians will have violent struggles such as those which in olden time shook the Roman Empire at the root remains to be seen. But, strange it is that the pride of the descendants of the Samurais does not seem to conflict with the demand of the common people for social as well as political recognition. It is possible, therefore, that the distinction between the two, which in reality exists, will die away before long through the agencies of social intercourse and universal suffrage, and that Japan will not have to repeat the folly of the empires of the past.

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT

In 1896 the government added to the Cabinet the Colonial Department. Mr. Tomonosuke Takashima became the minister. The purpose of this department was to assist the emigration of the Japanese people. After the Chinese-Japanese War Japan acquired Formosa Island. This island must be colonized by the surplus population. Hokkaido (Yezo) must be better prepared for immigration. Moreover, the spirit of national expansion was greatly heightened by the victory in the war, and the desire of the people to find a new sphere of influence outside of the Land of the Rising Sun became so wild that within a short time the emigration was doubled. This efflux must be encouraged as much as possible. The available land surface for this purpose was thought to be in Australia and North and South America. Minister Takashima communicated many times with the Colonial Secretary of England, thereby obtaining many valuable rights for Japanese immigrants in Australia. He also assisted the emigration to Peru and Chile. The one-year life of the Colonial Department, however, did not prove the necessity of its further existence. Its duties were transferred to the Department of Commerce and Agriculture, and the infant department forthwith died. Yet the service the department rendered should not be slighted, especially as colonization will be one of the greatest issues of national politics after the Russo-Japanese War, and the resurrection of the dead department is possible.

RELATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

That the United States showed her goodwill toward Japan, when the latter was in trouble half a century ago, is still fresh in the memory of the Japanese. This memory is like the filial affection of a child. Had it not been for the disinterested attitude of Consul-General Townsend Harris and Commodore Perry, by order of their home government, Japan might have been trampled down by the western powers at the first day of her second birth. The United States has fostered this child with the tender care of a mother. She received into her home the sons and daughters of Japan to educate, that they might become corner-stones of the newly born nation. Even when the youth was at

times mischievous his god-mother would not chastise to the extreme, but rather would extend to her a wider toleration. Now that Japan has grown up to be able to say "Man am I grown; a man's work must I do," in spite of the worry of the United States over the disparity of Japan's strength and that of Russia, as if she would say, "Stay, my best son; thou art yet more boy than man," Japan has now entered the service of "Arthur" and begun the conquest of false knights for the cause of civilization. Japan is in debt to the United States for all that helped it to grow. So it will be seen that the tie that binds the two nations is social rather than anything else. Politically, the two countries have not entered any offensive and defensive alliance. Yet the informal social tie is stronger than any formal political alliance, for without the former the latter would be a mere paper contract.

Commercially, Japan is today in a close interdependence with the United States. She exports silk, tea, and porcelain to this country in exchange with cotton and machinery; while her steamships are plying between her own ports and Seattle, San Francisco, and other ports of this country.

Intellectually, Japan owes much to the United States. Many Japanese young men and women have been educated in this country. On their return, they have transmitted what they have learned to their juniors at home. Thus, directly and indirectly, the United States has been all the while uplifting Japan intellectually.

ARMY AND NAVY

Perhaps in no other respect has Japan made more progress than in the upbuilding of the army and navy. In the beginning of modern Japan her army and navy were like those of the nations of the Middle Ages. Japan felt the need of organizing them according to the standard of modern efficiency. This efficiency was fairly attained at the time of the Chinese-Japanese War. Yet had Japan fought at that time a first-class European power instead of China she might not have been so successful as she was. So, in spite of the protest of the people, Japan's representative, Ito, was obliged to take the suggestion of Russia, France, and Germany to return the Liao Tung Peninsula to China after the war. This indignity

spurred the nation to better its military equipment. She constructed six new first-class battle-ships to strengthen the navy, and added six divisions to the seven divisions already existing, making in all thirteen divisions. In 1902, the present Minister of the Navy, Baron Yamamoto, by his indomitable will, pushed to final passage the bill for the construction of six additional battle-ships in ten years. These ships will not be ready for the present war. Yet, looking forward to the time when some naval power other than Russia might take advantage of Japan's enfeebled naval power, the policy of Baron Yamamoto—in fact, of all the prominent men in Japan—in passing the bill, deserves the warm praise of the nation.

That Marquis Yamagata organized the Japanese army according to western plans some thirty years ago is a historical fact. But for the recent actual training of the army many younger men should be credited. Among others, the present Minister of War, Mr. Terauchi, has done much to improve the education of the men in the army. He took personal interest in the affairs of the students in the Military College and schools. Not only Minister Terauchi, but also all the higher officers, treat their subordinates as their sons. Even the mere soldiers are by no means slightly treated. The spirit of brotherhood among the army is something wonderful. There are many stories of cases in which even the Mikado, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and the princes have shared the burden of the soldiers. This paternal care encourages the soldiers so much that they would readily sacrifice their lives for their Mikado and for their country. Why the Japanese soldiers are so brave and efficient is a question that cannot be answered easily even after much study. But this much can be said: that whatever differences there are between the Japanese soldiers and those of other countries, they are largely the natural outcome of racial characteristics. The Japanese as a race are peculiarly fitted for soldiers. This characteristic was developed and made more prominent by modern military training. So, neither the German army training nor the English naval training could have brought about the present efficiency of the Japanese army and navy without this racial characteristic.

THE COST OF WAR TO RUSSIA AND JAPAN

A COMPARISON OF THE RESOURCES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND OF THEIR FINANCIAL SYSTEMS AND OBLIGATIONS—THE PRODIGIOUS EXPENSE OF MODERN WARFARE—THE EXAMPLE OF ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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IT is not merely a struggle between Slav and Oriental which is in progress in the Far East. It is a battle between the rouble and the yen—a measuring of Slav and Oriental financial power. In the final outcome of this struggle as much may depend upon the strength which the treasuries of the two countries will develop under stress as upon the fighting qualities of their warships and brigades.

The Spanish-American war cost the United States more than \$350,000,000. The ease with which that great sum was laid ready to hand for the prosecution of the war, the vast public subscriptions aggregating \$1,400,000,000 received by the government when it proposed to sell \$200,000,000 of bonds, the display of irresistible financial strength which we made at the very outset of the war, played as important a part in ending the struggle as did naval blockades and land investures.

It cost Great Britain the colossal sum of \$1,200,000,000 effectively to establish her views of government in South Africa. Even in a comparatively second-rate war, such as was the South African campaign, the British Government spent more than \$2,000,000 a day in field operations. Incomparably strong as was the financial position of that nation, we have seen consols, from the first days of South African hostilities, when they sold at 103, drop to 86. That percentage of decline meant a nominal loss to all the holders of British Government securities aggregating something like \$500,000,000; and the entire financial, economic, and industrial life of Great Britain has been profoundly affected by the expenditures in connection with the South African campaign.

The cost of modern warfare has increased

by such tremendous bounds that it becomes quite as important to study national budgets and balance sheets as to know the fighting strength of armies and the effectiveness of naval equipment. The stock exchange quotations which are marked against government securities in the financial centres of the world sometimes tell more quickly than the most brilliant work of the war correspondent the drift of the fortunes of war. In these days of armored cruisers, lyddite shells, and smokeless powder it is no longer certain that the laurels of battle will rest on the side where there are the greatest number of men imbued with the finest courage and the highest patriotism. Ministers of finance have as great influence on military history as have Ministers of War.

In this Russian-Japanese struggle it is certain that the expenditures which the war must entail have given the greatest concern to the Finance Ministers of both nations. The credit of neither has been the highest in the world's financial centres. Russia, however, has great superiority over her antagonist when it comes to a measure of financial strength in the markets of the world. Russian securities are more widely distributed and are held in greater volume outside the nation than is the case with any other national debt. Roughly speaking, her total debt is about the same as that of Great Britain, and exceeds that of any other nation except France. France, of course, has the monumental debt of the world—a debt practically equal to that of Russia and the United Kingdom combined; but unlike Russia's, it is all held by home investors.

The financial interrelations which grow up between the great money centres of the world,

the investments made by the capital of one country in the securities of another, become in times of war of almost as much interest and importance as are the official relations between governments. It might reveal as important an influence to trace the movement of coupons as would be found in tracing those relations which are marked by treaties and diplomatic connections. France has been the great market for Russian securities. France has had capital to offer in exchange for military friendship, and the price she has paid on her part for the benefits of the Dual Alliance has been prodigious. France today holds more than \$1,400,000,000 of Russian Government securities—an amount far in excess of the total indebtedness of the United States. Germany, Holland, and Belgium each hold many Russian bonds. There are practically none in Great Britain, and next to none in the United States.

Japan, on the other hand, has found the market for her securities in London. Borrowed yen have been made repayable in pounds sterling, and the cordial relations exemplified in the British-Japanese alliance had their foundation in the successful flotation of several Japanese loans in Threadneedle Street. There has been in the United States in the last few years some passing interest in Japanese securities. At one time there was serious contemplation of the floating of a Japanese loan here, but the plan never matured, and the bonds were floated in England. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the market for Russian securities lies first in France, then in Germany, Holland, and Belgium; while Japan must in the main look to Great Britain for financial support.

When one attempts to get statistics in regard to Russian finances there are serious difficulties to face. The most expert statistician, thoroughly familiar with Russian official publications, would hesitate to say just what is the Russian debt. In the first place, the Russian Government is engaged in the most extensive and varied activities of all of the great governments of the world. The Russian budget is by no means confined to a statement of the ordinary receipts by taxation and the ordinary expenditures for the machinery of government. A vast system of railroads is owned and operated by the State, and an important and widespread banking system is under the State's control.

There are many industrial activities and most complicated and obscure financial engagements, guarantees, and interests which the government has undertaken, all difficult of classification.

The ordinarily reported government debt consists roundly of \$3,300,000,000, mostly in the form of 4 per cent. loans. In addition to that, the guaranteed bonds of railway corporations may properly be included in the obligations of the nation, although it is perhaps fair to accept the Finance Minister's view that these guaranteed obligations are offset by the value of the property on which they are based. The government, too, has guaranteed the mortgage bonds of Land Credit institutions to the amount of some \$335,000,000. The debt for which the government is directly and indirectly responsible, therefore, is over \$4,250,000,000, a debt making almost as colossal comparisons with the debts of other nations as does Russia's vast extent and huge population with the area and population of other nations.

The Russian budget for 1904 has just been issued. Its figures are imposing. The total ordinary revenue for the year is estimated at just under \$1,000,000,000, while the ordinary expenditures are several millions below that figure.

Russian budgets for years, on their face, have been most satisfactory documents, showing constantly increased revenues, and expenditures always well below the total income—that is to say, "ordinary" expenditures were always below the ordinary income. Financiers and statisticians have long had differences of opinion in regard to the correctness of the Russian Finance Minister's methods of bookkeeping, however. Each year there is a vast total of extraordinary expenditures, always made up from a marvelously prolific and ever-ready "free balance" in the treasury. The budget this year shows a total of more than \$100,000,000 of such extraordinary expenditures, and it is estimated that there will be a deficit of nearly that amount made up from the free funds at the disposal of the treasury. These funds, of course, are replenished from time to time by loans. The extraordinary expenditures are explained as being chiefly on account of construction of railways in one form or another. It is this mixing up of the results of taxation and of industrial ventures, of the

expenditures on account of government administration, and the cost of railway operation and spirits manufacture, which leads to confusion and wide differences of opinion in regard to the state of Russian finances.

Whatever differences there may be regarding the moot question of annual deficits, there can be no denying the enormously strong position in which Russia finds herself today if she is to stand the strain of long-continued war expenditures. The accounts show that with the closing of 1903 the gold in the State Bank and in the Treasury amounted roundly to \$525,000,000, the total gold stock of the country having increased in the year \$90,000,000. The Imperial Bank of Russia, wholly owned by the government, exhibits tremendous financial strength in its present position. A statement issued a few days ago showed in round figures that the bank held cash in hand amounting to more than \$140,000,000, while in addition to that it held \$290,000,000 of gold bonds and possessed a balance of \$84,000,000 of gold held for its account in banks outside of Russia.

One of the greatest factors in the strength of the Russian financial position, however, lies in the vastness of her existing debt. With the investors of France holding \$1,400,000,000 of her securities they must of necessity buy more. They cannot permit prices to be unduly depressed, and rather than see that, investors already interested in Russian securities will certainly buy more. The same is true in only a less degree in Germany and Holland. Then there is the mysterious war-chest of Russia, more or less indefinite in its character, and about which there is no official information to be had; but whether or not there is a gold fund which Russia holds to be used only in war's emergencies, she at least has abundant resources that could in a final test of financial strength be pledged to furnish ample security for tremendous issues of bonds. The longest piece of railroad in the world unmortgaged is the Siberian Railroad. It has all been built from the items included in the budgets "extraordinary expenditures," and bears no direct mortgage. There are vast crown lands, and other resources besides, so that Russia's position, either present or prospective, is one in which she is in no likelihood of meeting failure because she is unable to command the necessary international credits.

Japan's debt is but little more than a fraction of Russia's. Its total was, before the impending domestic issue of \$50,000,000, only \$280,000,000. By far the greater part of that is in the form of domestic loans. The debt of Japan has practically all been created since 1870. That year it amounted to only \$2,844,000. In 1878 expenses connected with the suppression of the Southwestern rebellion brought some sudden additions, and by 1879 the national debt had jumped to \$125,000,000. From that point it was reduced slightly, and there was no marked change until 1895, since which time it has run up rather rapidly. It is still, however, among the smallest of national debts of the world in respect to the total volume, and in respect to per capita indebtedness is the smallest of all great nations. Both Russia and Japan have clean records so far as repudiation is concerned.

The disturbed situation in England, the fall in consols there, and the drop in Russian securities in the Continental markets, all contribute to make the floating of a Japanese loan at the present time difficult. It seems hardly likely that American investors would take kindly to such an issue in the face of the great odds of money and men which Russia can throw into the scale against Japan, although, considering the strategic military advantages of Japan's position at the moment, there are undoubtedly investors ready to take her securities should the concession in prices be sufficiently attractive. So far Japan has succeeded in floating a loan for \$50,000,000 at home, and it has been subscribed for with much enthusiasm under the influence of the personal subscription of the Emperor. If the war is to be of long duration, however, Japan will need funds from outside her own realm; and if the struggle settles down to one so long continued that the question of national credit becomes of the very first importance, as it may, Japan must be in the end at great disadvantage in any competition with Russia in the money markets of the world.

Russia is undoubtedly in a position to carry on her campaign in the Far East for a long time without any additions to her funded obligations. She can draw upon her gold stock, upon the resources of the Imperial Bank, and upon the gold reserves that are back of the bank-note issues, and for many

months would certainly occupy an impregnable financial position. Japan, on the other hand, must seek money outside of her own boundaries if she is to make great financial expenditures in the prosecution of the war. But in this connection it is well to remember that commissaries whose chief duties are to provide rice and dried fish are less expensive than were those English commissaries who had to supply for the South African campaign millions of jars of jams, marmalades, and other delicacies of the English table. The standard of living for either army is much below what it would be in more highly civilized European nations, and the cost of maintaining soldiers in the field will probably fall far below the average cost per man either of the South African or the Franco-Prussian war. Russia's expenses will be enormously increased by the distance of her operations from her base of supplies, but it is of course important that she owns the line of communication.

Taking it all in all, Russia's superiority from a financial point of view must be clearly admitted. The difficulties of her Finance Minister will be less than will the difficulties of the Japanese Treasury, but Japan can count upon great national enthusiasm at home, which will provide at first for her financial needs, and she will be able undoubtedly at some price to float bonds in London, and might possibly even find some market in this country. When one remembers that China was able to float a loan in London during the period of most active hostilities in the Chinese-Japanese war it will be seen that capitalists are ready to take chances if the margin of profit is sufficient. As long as there is the reason there is to believe that Great Britain will never permit the national life of Japan to be threatened, there is as much reason to think that Japan will be able, though perhaps at great sacrifice, to float bonds enough to provide all the funds that the war will demand.

OUR TRADE IN THE WAR ZONE

THE UNITED STATES INCREASING ITS ORIENTAL COMMERCE MORE RAPIDLY THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY—GREAT BRITAIN BEING OVERTAKEN—JAPAN NO COMPETITOR—RUSSIA OUR MOST DANGEROUS RIVAL—A REVIEW OF TRADE CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS

BY

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THE commercial conditions in the countries within the war zone are especially important to the United States. Sixty years ago President Tyler sent Caleb Cushing as a special envoy of the United States to establish commercial relations with China. England, in 1842, had opened the doors of China to commerce through the "opium war," and obtained agreements that commerce might be carried on by England at certain "treaty ports." Minister Cushing, on his arrival, presented a letter which proved the beginning of our commerce with that section of the world, a commerce which has grown with greater rapidity than that of any other country with the Orient, and with greater rapidity than that of our own

commerce with almost any other part of the world. That letter was as follows:

"I, John Tyler, President of the United States of America—which States are Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan—send you this letter of peace and friendship, signed by my own hand.

"I hope your health is good. China is a great Empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great mountains and great rivers of China. When

he sets he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; and on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers and going constantly toward the setting sun, we sail to Japan and to the Yellow Sea.

"Now, my words are that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace. It is proper, and according to the will of heaven, that they should respect each other and act wisely. I therefore send to your court Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of this country. On his first arrival in China he will inquire for your health. He has strict orders to go to your great city of Peking and there to deliver this letter. He will have with him secretaries and interpreters.

"The Chinese love to trade with our people and to sell them tea and silk, for which our people pay silver, and sometimes other articles. But if the Chinese and the Americans will trade there should be rules, so that they shall not break your laws or our laws. Our minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. Let the people trade not only at Canton, but also at Amoy, Ningpo, Shanghai, Fuchau, and all such other places as may offer profitable exchanges both to China and the United States, provided they do not break your laws nor our laws. We shall not take the part of evildoers. We shall not uphold them that break your laws. Therefore, we doubt not that you will be pleased that our messenger of peace, with this letter in his hand, shall come to Peking, and there deliver it; and that your great officers will, by your order, make a treaty with him to regulate affairs of trade, so that nothing may happen to disturb the peace between China and America. Let the treaty be signed by your own imperial hand. It shall be signed by mine, by the authority of our great council, the Senate.

"And so may your health be good and may peace reign.

"Written at Washington, this twelfth of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

"Your good friend,
(Signed) "JOHN TYLER,
"President."

The result of Cushing's mission was a commercial treaty between China and the United States by which certain ports were opened to Americans. Similar privileges were soon granted to other nations. Ten years later, Japan, which up to that time had no commercial relations with the outside world, signed a treaty on demand of the United States, by which American vessels were allowed to enter certain of its ports and

trading privileges were given to American merchants. Thus the United States did much to open the commerce of the Orient.

Japan's total commerce now amounts, in round terms, to \$250,000,000 a year, about equally divided between imports and exports, and that of China to a little more than \$300,000,000 a year, of which imports considerably exceed exports. Korean commerce amounts to but \$15,000,000 a year. The commerce of Siberia and other Russian possessions in the war zone can scarcely be measured statistically, since a very large proportion reaches it either by rail direct from European Russia or by the Russian line of subsidized steamers from the European ports of that country. It is not recorded at the points at which it enters Siberia or Manchuria.

The commerce of Japan, China, Korea, Hong Kong, and the Russian possessions fronting on the Pacific has grown within a half century from less than \$100,000,000 to about \$600,000,000, of which about two-thirds are imports and one-third exports. Fifty years ago, in 1853, the total commerce of the United States with that section of the world amounted to \$14,000,000; in 1903 it was nine times as much.

The commerce of the United States with Japan, Korea, China, Hong Kong, and Asiatic Russia, 1843-1903, was as follows:

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE
COUNTRIES NAMED

1843	-\$4,385,000
1853	---\$10,573,000
1863	---\$11,030,000
1873	-----\$35,244,000
1883	----- \$37,260,000
1893	-----\$49,349,000
1903	-----\$72,320,000

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO
COUNTRIES NAMED

1843	-\$1,846,000
1853	-\$3,248,000
1863	---\$4,061,000
1873	-----\$16,653,000
1883	---\$11,356,000
1893	---\$11,464,000
1903	-----\$49,970,000

Next to the United States comes Great Britain, yet its commerce with the territory in question has only grown from \$50,000,000 in 1853 to \$100,000,000 in 1903—that is, doubled.

The total commerce of Great Britain and the United States with Japan, China, Hong Kong, Korea, and Asiatic Russia has been as follows:

GREAT BRITAIN	
1873	\$121,000,000
1883	\$110,000,000
1893	\$81,000,000
1902	\$98,000,000
UNITED STATES	
1873	\$41,807,000
1883	\$48,600,000
1893	\$60,800,000
1902	\$122,290,000

Hong Kong is included because most of the merchandise arriving there passes on into China and other near-by territory within the present sphere of military influence.

Taking imports and exports separately, imports into the United States from this region have grown from \$10,000,000 in 1853 to \$72,000,000 in 1903, while those of Great Britain have fallen from \$42,000,000 in 1853 to \$25,000,000 in 1903. Exports from the United States have grown from a little less than \$2,000,000 in 1853 to \$50,000,000 in 1903, and exports from the United Kingdom to those countries have grown from \$9,000,000 in 1853 to \$75,000,000 in 1903. Our exports are twenty-seven times as great as in 1853; Great Britain's, eight times as great.

The growth in exports is shown by the following comparisons:

Exports from Great Britain and the United States to Japan, China (including Hong Kong), Korea, and Asiatic Russia:

FROM GREAT BRITAIN	
1883	\$51,000,000
1893	\$52,000,000
1902	\$73,000,000
FROM THE UNITED STATES	
1883	\$11,221,000
1893	\$11,261,000
1902	\$49,964,000

Exports to Japan from Great Britain and the United States respectively:

FROM GREAT BRITAIN	
1883	\$13,000,000
1893	\$18,000,000
1902	\$26,000,000

FROM THE UNITED STATES

1883	\$3,375,000
1893	\$3,195,000
1902	\$21,485,000

Exports to China and Hong Kong from Great Britain and the United States respectively:

FROM GREAT BRITAIN	
1873	\$43,000,000
1883	\$37,000,000
1893	\$33,000,000
1902	\$47,000,000

FROM THE UNITED STATES

1873	\$4,920,000
1883	\$7,800,000
1893	\$8,000,000
1902	\$32,700,000

The following tables, too, show an interesting comparison:

The percentage of imports of Japan supplied by Great Britain and the United States, respectively, from 1881 to 1902:

GREAT BRITAIN	
1881	52.5%
1891	32.2%
1902	18.5%
UNITED STATES	
1881	5.7%
1891	11.1%
1902	17.0%

The percentage of the imports of China supplied by Great Britain and the United States respectively, 1890-1902:

GREAT BRITAIN	
1890	19.1%
1897	18.9%
1902	17.7%
UNITED STATES	
1890	2.0%
1897	5.9%
1902	9.3%

From 1883 to 1903 our imports from the countries named doubled, while our exports more than quadrupled. In 1883 our imports from China, Japan, and Hong Kong amounted to \$37,000,000; in 1903, to \$72,000,000. The amount from Korea and Asiatic Russia was a mere trifle. In 1903 our exports to these countries, including Korea and Asiatic Russia, amounted to \$50,000,000.

This makes clear that our trade interests

in these quarters is very great. We buy a very large proportion of the unmanufactured silk and practically all of the tea exported by Japan, and we also buy large quantities of raw silk and tea from China, as well as many other articles, such as opium, matting, rice, wool, and manufactured silks. Of the exports of \$50,000,000 value in 1903, \$21,000,000 went to Japan, \$19,000,000 to China, nearly \$9,000,000 to Hong Kong, and \$1,500,000 to Asiatic Russia. Of the merchandise sent to Japan, mineral oils, raw cotton, manufactures of iron and steel, flour, manufactures of leather, and tobacco, are the most important. Raw cotton fluctuates in our trade with Japan. Cotton from India sells for considerably less than that from the United States, being a shorter staple and therefore less valuable; and in years of a plentiful supply in India, Japan draws more from that country than from the United States. In years of short crop in India it relies more upon the United States. Our exports of raw cotton to Japan in recent years have ranged from \$5,000,000 to \$12,000,000 a year.

Mineral oils average about \$5,000,000; manufactures of iron and steel, from \$2,500,000 to \$5,000,000; tobacco, from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. Flour in 1903 amounted to \$4,500,000, which far exceeded the exports of any preceding year. From this and other recent developments it appears that the Oriental taste for flour is increasing and that there is a growing disposition to abandon rice for flour where practicable.

The same kind of merchandise is exported to China in about the same proportions.

Exports to Korea began only in recent years, and in 1903 amounted to but \$171,000. Those to Asiatic Russia are but \$1,500,000. Considerable quantities of goods shipped to Japan and China, however, pass from these countries into Korea, and it is not improbable that \$2,000,000 worth of Korea's imports come from the United States through Japan and China.

The commerce of Manchuria is so mingled with China's commerce as to render a special statement extremely difficult. Most of it passes through Chinese ports. Of the \$11,000,000 worth of goods entering Newchwang in 1902, however, about \$4,000,000 worth came from the United States, chiefly cotton cloths, kerosene oil, and flour.

Aside from the trade with Great Britain and the United States, the bulk of the commerce of the countries under review is with their near neighbors, India, Australia, and so on. Japan imports wheat and flour from Australia. China takes cotton yarn from India and Japan, and opium from India. The sugar imports of both countries and the jute and hemp are drawn from the Dutch East Indies, the Philippine Islands, and India. Part of the kerosene oil for both countries comes from Sumatra, part from Russia, but a large part of the cotton and cotton manufactures, most of the kerosene oil, most of the iron and steel and wood manufactures, most of the machinery, most of the leather, paper, tobacco, cigars, and bicycles come from the United States or Great Britain, with a small supply from Germany and France.

As regards our trade with the two countries now at war, our exports to Japan in 1873 were \$8,000,000; in 1903, \$21,000,000. To Russia, our exports in 1873 were \$12,000,000; in 1903, \$15,000,000. Thus in thirty years our exports to Russia increased 25 per cent., and to Japan 160 per cent.

Exports from the United States to Russia, China (including Hong Kong), and Japan, have been as follows:

TO RUSSIA	
1880	— \$13,229,000
1890	— \$10,637,000
1903	— \$17,606,000
TO CHINA AND HONG KONG	
1880	— \$3,979,000
1890	— \$7,385,000
1903	— \$27,383,000
TO JAPAN	
1880	— \$2,552,000
1890	— \$5,232,000
1903	— \$20,924,000

Russia's total imports from all parts of the world increased from \$242,000,000 in 1871 to \$305,000,000 in 1901, or 25 per cent.; while Japan's total imports in the same time increased from \$22,000,000 to \$127,000,000, or 480 per cent.

Other facts are extremely suggestive. One of our largest exports to countries in the war zone is kerosene. What country is our chief rival in kerosene production? Russia. Flour is also becoming important. What country is our chief rival in wheat and flour produc-

tion? Russia. Lumber comes next. What country has, next to the United States, the world's largest timber supply? Russia. Russia not only manufactures cotton goods, but now pays an export bounty on cotton goods manufactured in Russia for export. Russia also is a great producer of provisions, and is already sending butter in large quantities over the Trans-Siberian Railroad, as well

as by her subsidized steamship routes to the Orient. In other words, Russia is a natural producer of nearly all of the articles which form the bulk of our exports to the Orient, and naturally would be an active and vigorous rival in the contest for that market, while Japan's productions are entirely different in character from those of the United States, and in no way competitive.

REAR-ADMIRAL URIU AS AN ANNAPOLIS CADET

THREE JAPANESE REAR-ADMIRALS TRAINED AT OUR NAVAL ACADEMY—URIU'S AMERICAN CLASSMATES NOW BUT LIEUTENANT-COMMANDERS—STORIES OF HIS CADET LIFE—THE INFLUENCE OF ANNAPOLIS ON THE JAPANESE NAVY

BY

CHARLES W. STEWART

SUPERINTENDENT NAVAL WAR RECORDS, NAVY DEPARTMENT

FROM 1877 to 1881 I was a cadet-midshipman at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and a friend and classmate of three Japanese students, Uriu, Serata, and Enouye. The Americans of this class are now lieutenant commanders, while Uriu and Enouye are rear-admirals. Serata attained the rank of captain in 1897, and was made admiral in 1898. Of the fifteen Japanese students who attended the Academy, the greatest is Uriu, who sunk the *Variag* and *Korietz* at Chemulpo.

Uriu and Serata were roommates and chums before and during their cadetship. They were communicants in the Presbyterian Church at Annapolis. They occupied room No. 8, and our class pun was "Why are the Japs like cows?" and the answer was "Because they ruminat." This did not visibly please Uriu, but Serata was immensely delighted.

The Japanese students were conspicuously neat and clean, wore fresh linen, and took from one to three baths daily. They were good, generous, fearless fellows, entering heartily into academy sports and games. They were agile on deck and aloft. Enouye was called "Anyway" and "Yex," and

Serata was called "Tim." Uriu had no nickname. In stature Uriu was slender, Serata was somewhat heavy, and Enouye was stocky. All were healthy, vigorous, and alert. They were about the same height, each about five feet five inches, which is above the Japanese average.

Uriu was quiet, cool, reserved, deep, studious. When he spoke it was evident that he had been thinking hard. In the first three years Serata stood higher in studies, graduating fourteenth in the class. Uriu developed steadily, and in the last year led Serata in marine engineering, ship-building, public law, French, and Spanish. Serata excelled in electricity, ordnance, and navigation. Uriu has advanced step by step, proving his ability in diplomacy and the construction, development, and equipment of Japan's effective navy.

The Superintendent of the Academy, because of complaint by students of excessive lessons, required an individual statement of the time devoted to study. Enouye's total of daily study hours was twenty-five hours, showing him to be the most studious man that ever attended the Academy. It also showed he was something of a joker.

Uriu was born of Samurai parents in

Japan, 1858, and, with Serata, was prepared for the United States Naval Academy by a thorough study of the English language. He frequently spoke of a Mr. Bradford as his friend, counsellor, and guide, and who was probably his instructor. At graduation Uriu was twenty-sixth in his class. His best work was in English, history, law, seamanship, languages, and tactics. His knowledge of literature was exceptional. He was fond of reading the Bible, Shakespeare, Æsop, Bacon, Poe, and Franklin.

Like all Japanese, Uriu gave "th" the sound of "s." Thirty-three was pronounced "sirty-sree."

The class of 1881 of the Academy has maintained an organization, and Uriu's letters printed in class reports show his affection for his old colleagues. After graduation he spent two years in Europe. He returned to Japan and was a lieutenant in the Japanese Naval College at Tokio. In 1885 he was ordered to his ship in Korea. In 1888 he was attached to the General Staff, and detailed to the great dockyard at Yokosuka, as second in command. From 1893 to 1897 he was naval attache to the Japanese Legation at Paris. Upon his return to Japan he commanded the cruiser *Akitsushima*. While he was commanding the armored cruiser *Foo-so* in 1898 she sunk in collision. Of this accident he wrote for our class report:

"I had a lamentable accident of collision with another ship of the fleet, and I was obliged to beach my ship to save her. She was floated after great effort and is now refitted and ready for service. I appeared before the court-martial and was punished pretty severely."

In 1900 Uriu commanded, as a rear-admiral, the battle-ship *Yashima*, the flagship of the fleet. This is proof that the loss of the *Foo-so* did not seriously affect his promotion or reputation.

Uriu married a charming Japanese lady, formerly Miss Nagai, a graduate of Vassar College, whose sister married Kurino, the late Japanese Minister to St. Petersburg. He is the father of three sons and three daughters. At the age of forty-six he is a rear-admiral. His classmates at Annapolis will not be rear-admirals, in the ordinary course of naval promotion, until 1916.

Serata, like Uriu, was devoutly Christian,

cheerful, sympathetic, zealous, and of fine ability. His fingers were so flexible that he could cross his first and little fingers and, holding them so, make his second and third fingers glide back and forth like snakes through the triangle formed. He acquired this dexterity while working in a match factory near Tokio when a boy. In the first year Serata stood third in mathematics; at his graduation he was fourteenth in a class of about eighty members. After graduation he spent two years in Europe, returned home, and in 1888 was naval attache at Tientsin. In 1891 he commanded a training-ship. He commanded a ship at the battle of the Yalu in the Chinese-Japanese War. The last shot from a Chinese ship inflicted a wound from which he died in 1900. By a tragic coincidence the Chinese ship which fired this shot was commanded by McGiffin, a classmate of Serata at Annapolis. McGiffin received injuries in this engagement which subsequently caused his death.

Enouye was handicapped by an insufficient English vocabulary. After graduation he returned home and was commissioned as master, and in 1882 lieutenant. For three years beginning in 1884 he was a member of the admiral's personal staff. He distinguished himself in the Chinese-Japanese War.

On one occasion when Enouye met an old classmate in Japan he forgot all the English he ever knew, but showed his pleasure by repeatedly embracing the American, swearing his affection in the purest Satsuma dialect, all the while singing old Academy songs, which, strangely enough, he seemed to remember perfectly, though he had forgotten the meaning of the words. Enouye opened a bottle of wine in the cabin of his ship, the *Naniwa*, where he exhibited with much pride and joy his old Academy rain-coat, with Y. ENOUYE stenciled on it. Possibly to convey to the mind of his guest his purpose in showing this coat, though the weather was hot and clear, he rushed out on the quarter-deck and shouted, in excellent English: "Rain-coats! Cap-covers! Over-shoes and leggings!" the astonished Japanese officers and crew looking at him as if they thought he had suddenly gone mad. Enouye had suddenly remembered the orders for rainy day dress at Annapolis.

JAPAN'S NAVAL TRAINING

THE METHODS AT THE JAPANESE NAVAL ACADEMY—DIET, EXERCISE, DRILL, SERVICE—HOW CADETS ARE CHOSEN—SAILORS RECRUITED AMONG THE COAST-FISHERMEN—THE GENERAL WAR BOARD AND ITS WORK

BY

A JAPANESE NAVAL OFFICER

THE secret of the wonderful fighting power and endurance of the men of the Japanese Navy lies in large measure in their magnificent training.

The Japanese Naval Academy was first established at Tokio about thirty years ago. Here Admirals Togo, Kamimura, Dewa, Nashiba, and Misu, who are in command of His Imperial Majesty's fleets, received their first lesson in the art of war from the corps of British naval officers, which included Lord Douglas, who is now in command of the British North Atlantic Squadron. In 1887 the Naval Academy was transferred to Yetashima, a pleasant island, admirably situated with an excellent harbor, and given over exclusively to naval education. Here are numerous large and well-appointed buildings for the cadets, forming an establishment larger than that at Annapolis, now under the charge of Rear Admiral Togo—not to be confused with Admiral Togo in command of the Japanese fleet, an older man and no relative of the head of the naval school. The nearest port of any size is Kure, a few miles away, where there is a large naval yard. Yokohama is about 450 miles away by the sea route.

The regulations governing the admission to the Japanese Academy differ greatly from those governing the Annapolis Academy. In the United States a candidate for naval education must seek either the coöperation of a congressman or of the President, although it is true that the congressmen usually hold competitive examinations to choose the appointee; in Japan every subject has a chance for a commission in the Imperial navy, and the only formality which attends his taking an examination is to make application to the Minister of Marine. The applicant must be at least sixteen years of age, and must pass a rigid physical and mental examination.

The present Minister of Marine, to whom all applications must be made, is Baron Yamamoto. The examinations are conducted in any of the following large cities of Japan: Tokio, Nagoya, Sendai, Kanagawa, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumanoto.

The mental examination consists of tests in mathematics, geography, chemistry, Japanese and foreign history, physics, the Chinese and Japanese languages, and French and English. It is an interesting fact that most of the applicants prefer to be examined in English, a condition of affairs which indicates the wide spread of this language among the people of the Japanese Empire. In the physical training tests (for the physique plays a most important part in the training of the Japanese soldier and sailor) the applicants must undergo a severe endurance test. If the applicant passes the required examination, he is at once admitted to the Academy, where he remains for three years, taking thorough courses in mathematics, gunnery, torpedoes, seamanship, and the general science of naval warfare. The cadets receive no stipulated allowance, but all their expenses are paid by the government.

Why is the Japanese naval officer so hardy? is the question often asked me. It is because physical exercise is one of the most important features in the development of the Japanese sailor, and I might add that this is true also of the military training. At the Naval Academy one hour is devoted each day to the most rigorous exercise. Exercises are given to develop every muscle in the body—the chest and the shoulders are especially developed. The general course of exercises is called in Japanese *Judo*, well-known in America as *Jiu Jitsu*. It is a form of defense especially designed to afford a small, slight man facility for overcoming a large and muscular opponent. It depends upon a

knowledge of anatomy. The skilled exponent of *Jiu Jitsu* is able to seize a large opponent, and, by swift manipulations of the opponent's limbs, render him quite helpless, with a broken wrist, leg, or shoulder. The principle of leverage is brought into play for the purpose of breaking limbs or otherwise incapacitating one's antagonist. These exercises are now being introduced into the United States. At present, several well-known American athletes are studying them in Washington. Under the old feudal regime in Japan, the nobles, as well as the soldiers and sailors, fought with the sword; and sword exercises, too, continue to be an important feature of the development of the Japanese sailor. The result of all this physical exercise is that the men become agile and acquire what Americans call staying power.

After the Japanese naval cadet has been at the Academy for three years he must pass a second mental and physical examination. He is then sent on a cruise for six or eight months on a training-ship as midshipman. Subsequently, he is given an assignment of one year on a man-of-war in commission. At the expiration of this time he is appointed to the navy with the rank of sub-lieutenant.

The training of the ordinary sailor is quite as rigorous as that of the officers. Most of the seamen are recruited from among the sea-coast fishermen, and the result is that the rank and file of the navy is made of sturdy sea-faring men, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue in all kinds of weather. The men are, in every sense, a hardy lot, inured to exposure, and, if necessary, to privation. In the second attack on the Russian ships at Port Arthur the Japanese sailors withstood the fierce snowstorm which disconcerted even their enemy, accustomed to snow.

The average age of the Japanese navy is lower than that of any other navy in the world. No one over twenty years old is accepted for enlistment. The average height is five feet four inches—less than the average height of any other navy in the world.

Diet has entered largely into their training. Our sailors eat rice, vegetables, and fish, principally. We find that this simple diet is more nutritious than meat, although poultry and ham are served to them. Rice forms the main article of food, and much of the hardihood, as well as the strength, comes from this fare, simple as it is. I might

add that this simple diet extends to the army of Japan.

The sailors are given six months' training ashore before they are assigned to ships. This training, which is very thorough, is given at the naval barracks at Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, and Maidsuru. During the six months' training ashore the sailors are given daily drills and much exercise. Then they are examined for their fitness by naval officers, and are sent to ships in commission. After serving on these ships for two or three years, the most intelligent are sent to the gunnery and torpedo schools at Yokosuka barracks. Here special attention is given to marksmanship, and the men are drilled in finding range and gun-pointing. The most expert become gun captains and man the guns in the turrets of the big battle-ships. In the target practice, which has been carried on very extensively in the Japanese navy, special dotters are used as a substitute for expensive shells. The dotter is an electrical instrument attached to the gun. The practice in finding range and pointing by it is the same as if a big shell were fired from a big gun.

The gunnery and torpedo schools at Yokosuka are important adjuncts of the Japanese navy. The value of this torpedo training was shown at the outbreak of the war, when torpedoes were used by the Japanese successfully for the first time in modern warfare.

The manner of directing the Japanese navy in war time differs from that in use in the American navy. Every order given to commanding admirals goes by order of the Grand General War Board, called the Daihonyei, in Japanese. Baron Yamamoto is the Naval Minister, and Admiral Ito is Chief of the Naval General Staff. Admiral Togo is commander of all the fleets. The War Board may meet at Tokio or at any place where the Emperor may be. The Emperor is the supreme head of both the army and the navy.

Promotion in the Japanese navy differs from promotion in the American navy. Advance through the rank of second sub-lieutenant (which corresponds to that of ensign in the American navy) to first sub-lieutenant is made by periods of service. Advancement beyond that point is by fitness and ability. The succeeding ranks are lieutenant, lieutenant commander, commander, captain, rear admiral, vice-admiral, and admiral.

STORIES OF RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE SOLDIERS

BOTH READY FOR SELF-SACRIFICE—THE RUSSIAN OFFICER A HARD DRINKER, THE JAPANESE OFFICER TEMPERATE AND SELF-DENYING—THE COSSACKS GOOD CAVALRYMEN, BUT HARD TO HANDLE—THE JAPANESE CAVALRY INFERIOR—THE LEVEL OF INTELLIGENCE HIGHER IN THE JAPANESE ARMY THAN IN THE RUSSIAN

BY

WILLIAM THORP

HERE is a story of Russian bravery. There is a monument in Turkestan to several Russian soldiers captured by the Turcomans in 1879. They were artillerymen, and their guns were captured with them; so the Turcomans naturally ordered them, on penalty of death, to serve those guns against their own comrades. Every man refused, choosing death by horrible torture and dying without a murmur.

At the battle of the Yalu two Japanese sailors, on different ships, when in the very throes of death, gasped out, "Has the *Chen Yuen* sunk yet?" that vessel being one of the two most formidable ironclads of the Chinese fleet.

Anecdotes like these might be multiplied indefinitely from the fighting records of the two armies now warring in the Far East. There is nothing to choose between them as regards courage and devotion to duty. With those qualities both are exceptionally well equipped. But there is this difference—that the dominating impulse of the Russian is not merely a readiness, but an actual enthusiasm for self-sacrifice, while of the Japanese it is an overmastering desire to beat the enemy at any cost. Of course, the Russian is eager to win, and the Japanese is ready enough to go to certain death for his Emperor and his flag; but that does not affect the general truth of the contention.

This passion for self-sacrifice is the keynote of the Russian character, and is cultivated in the army by every possible means. The recruit is invariably told the story of that heroic company of infantrymen in the Lomakin expedition into Turkestan, who, at a critical moment, threw themselves into

a deep ditch in order that the guns which were sorely needed at the front might be galloped over their bodies. It is doubtful whether this could have happened in any army but the Russian.

The Russian army officer is usually a well-educated man and widely read in his profession, but the limited circle from which he is drawn necessarily brings down the average of talent in view of the number of officers required for so vast an army. A cadet in the Russian service must come from a noble family, from an official family, or from a wealthy and influential commercial family whose head "has never kept an open store."

The instruction given in the Military Academy and Cadets' School at St. Petersburg is considered by military experts to be as good as any in the world, except possibly that of West Point and that of the Military Academy at Santiago, Chile, which are supposed to be unquestionably the best. Great attention is paid to physical culture and to the education of the cadets in the military ideals of honor and loyalty. After they pass out of the training institutions, the cadets come to the parting of the ways which decides whether or not they will become good officers. If they are keen and enterprising young fellows, they contrive to be sent to one of the Turkestan regiments, or to some lonely outpost in the Caucasus, in Siberia, or in Manchuria, where they may reasonably look forward to a chance of active service. In these regions they get the finest training for actual warfare that any officer could receive, for they are always hunting down brigands, suppressing small insurrections, fighting in little wars, or at least hunting big game. There are no

keener sportsmen than the Russian officers in Siberia and Central Asia. Their quarters are always adorned by such spoils of the chase as tiger skins, bears' heads, bison tusks, and wolf skins. It is these men who are now bearing the brunt of the Russian campaign in the Far East, and nearly every distinguished officer in the Russian service has gone through this stern training.

garrison towns social life nearly always takes precedence of military duty, and the officers are glad enough to delegate to non-commissioned officers the tiresome work of drilling and looking after their men. While discipline is rigidly maintained, there is a general atmosphere of tiredness which astonishes the foreign visitor. Nobody seems keen for duty. The officers appear to take



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

RUSSIAN TROOPS TRAVELING ACROSS SIBERIA BY RAIL

Showing the rude accommodations that the railroad supplies for military purposes

If, on the other hand, the cadet becomes attached to a regiment in St. Petersburg, Moscow, or one of the other numerous garrison towns in European Russia, he may receive a good theoretical education in military science, but his environment is the worst possible considered as a preparation for the practical business of war. In Russian

little interest in the general welfare of the men or in the efficiency of the regiment. They spend most of their time paying calls, attending other social functions, and making merry at their mess.

The monotony of the life is intense in small towns, where the social circle is limited. Sooner or later it inevitably tells on an



By courtesy of General Hasegawa.

JAPANESE SOLDIERS UNLOADING PROVISIONS FROM A TRAIN

officer's spirit. A former captain of the Russian army told me of a friend of his who lived for years in one of these small towns and was then ordered away to St. Petersburg. In less than six months he received a command to return, and promptly blew his brains out.

"Nobody was surprised," said my friend.



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NONCOMBATANTS BEING DEPORTED FROM MANCHURIA BY THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

"We all know what life in such places is like. A man can be happy in Siberia on a lonely outpost where he has no companion of his own rank within a hundred miles, but there is no happiness possible in a small Russian garrison town for a man of average intelligence."

Usually these officers take to drink. The quantities of *vodka*, champagne, and whisky they consume every day in their mess would amaze even the seasoned toppers in other armies. I have seen Russians drink four or five glasses of *vodka* and cognac before dinner merely for an appetizer, and consume liquor during the meal in the same proportion. On Russian warships which I have visited, the same heavy drinking goes on in the ward-room. The officers usually saunter down there about five o'clock in the afternoon and take a few nips before dinner—and go on drinking steadily until that meal is served. Dinner often lasts for two or three hours when there are guests present, and by the time the officers go up on deck most of them are incapacitated for the proper performance of their duties, although they are too seasoned to appear obviously drunk. This sort of thing goes on constantly in both services, but it is worse in the navy. It is needless to point out how seriously it detracts from efficiency.

The enlisted men in the Russian army are not so ignorant, dull, and wooden as they are generally assumed to be. Conscription, of course, brings all sorts of men and all kinds of intellect into the service; but every effort is made by the officers of most regiments in Asiatic Russia to develop the intelligence of the rank and file. Similar efforts are not commonly made in European Russia because of the officers' inertia. There are probably no large bodies of soldiers anywhere in the world who are more independent and intelligent, from a military point of view, than the Cossack levies. The conscripts drawn from Asiatic provinces, though of inferior caliber, are far superior as fighting men to Russia's European soldiers. Most of them have been accustomed to hard traveling, hunting, and a life of adventure and hardship. Naturally their spirit is freer than that of the Russian "*moujik*," who has generations of serfdom behind him. For this reason discipline is far less strict in Asiatic regiments than it is in European.

Among the Cossacks it is mildest of all, the average "sotnia," or troop, being more like a happy family than a military organization. The Cossack can be led with ease, but he is hard to drive. During the Boxer outbreak in Manchuria this fact was discovered by Russian generals unfamiliar with the handling of these people, only after they had sustained some serious reverses. Large colonies of Cossacks have been planted in Manchuria as farmers with the idea that they will form a valuable permanent garrison, but some Russian officers with whom I have spoken fear that these Cossacks will be very reluctant to leave their crops and their homesteads in order to go to war.

"It is a mistake to make the Cossack a landed proprietor," said one of these officers to me. "As he becomes more and more prosperous, he loses his military qualities because he naturally does not care to leave his farm and perhaps never see it again. A Cossack should be allowed to own nothing except his horse, his saddle, and his weapons."

If there is one thing in which the Russian army excels it is marching. Lord Roberts' famous march to Candahar has been equaled over and over again by the Czar's troops in their Central Asian campaigns. When General Kouropatkin marched a force of Turkestan troops to join Skobelev in an attack on the Turcomans, he and his men were swallowed up in an unknown, trackless desert for twenty-six days, yet they covered over forty miles a day, and marched in at the end of the time in perfect military order without a single man sick or fallen out. It was a wonderful feat, but it was not regarded in Russian military circles as being anything extraordinary.

Although the Russian soldier is undoubtedly brutal and has a tendency to commit massacres like that at Blagovestchensk, in which thousands of defenseless Chinese neutrals, men, women, and children, were brutally slaughtered during the Boxer troubles, he is nevertheless a good fellow, who gets along admirably with the people among whom he is campaigning or is quartered. If he does not kill his enemy, he makes a friend of him by his rough camaraderie and overflowing good nature. When he is quartered in a house, he promptly makes himself one of the family, minding the baby, washing the dishes, and giving the housewife the easiest of easv



By courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*

A JAPANESE SOLDIER LEADING A PACK-HORSE WITH A LOAD OF PROVISIONS

times. This excellent spirit has been mainly responsible for the easy assimilation of Russia's conquests in Manchuria.

Russian officers themselves admit that most of the auxiliary services of the Russian army are inferior to those of the Japanese. The transport and commissariat departments are defective, and the hospital corps and medical staff are the worst in the world, ruling out those of Latin-American States like Venezuela, which can hardly be called civilized powers from a military point of



By courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*

A TYPICAL JAPANESE CAVALRYMAN



By courtesy of Collier's Weekly

A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION AT PORT ARTHUR
Showing: troops drawn up to do honor to the priests, and in the background some Chinese looking on



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York
JAPANESE CHILDREN RECEIVING THEIR MILITARY TRAINING



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York
A JOLLY TROOP OF THE CZAR'S SOLDIERS IN MANCHURIA

view. The Russian Red Cross, a wealthy and ably managed organization, is doubtless making up for many of the shortcomings in this respect.

The extreme thoroughness displayed by the Japanese Government in the organization of its army and navy was well exemplified by the establishment of the Imperial Naval College at Tokio by Vice-Admiral Sir Archibald Lucius Douglas, whose guest I was on the British cruiser *Ariadne* during the recent international blockade of Venezuela. Admiral Douglas told me that when,

as a captain, his services were lent by the British Admiralty to Emperor Mutsuhito, he took over to Japan with him an entire ship's company, including a commander, lieutenants, sub-lieutenants, midshipmen, marines, warrant officers, petty officers, able seamen, and ship's boys. The only member of the crew omitted was the chaplain. The Japanese were not content to have two or three officers as instructors in the theory of the business, as the British Admiralty first suggested. They wanted a complete crew, so that each man could teach the Japanese



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York
A TRANS-SIBERIAN TRAIN AT THE MUKDEN STATION



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York
A SUPPLY-TRAIN CARRYING HORSES TO THE FRONT



A JAPANESE CAMP

By courtesy of the New York Herald

of his own rank exactly what their duties were, thus creating a number of perfect duplicates of the crews of British ships.

Although the Japanese army is raised by conscription, the level of intelligence among the enlisted men is far higher than in the Russian army. This is due to the incomparably better system of public education in Japan and to the mental alertness of the race. I know a foreign officer who served as gunnery

instructor in the Japanese army; he has many complaints to make against the Japanese as men and as soldiers, but the one thing he credits them with is superb intelligence. This agrees with my own observations and with those of practically every foreigner who has visited Japan or mixed extensively with Japanese.

Education is regarded in Japan as being one of the finest military weapons, and every



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

A CONSTRUCTION LINE ON THE EASTERN SIBERIAN RAILWAY



JAPANESE TROOPS LANDING IN KOREA

By courtesy of the *New York Herald*

recruit in the Mikado's army is assured of rapid promotion if he becomes expert in any useful line of knowledge. The barrack libraries are excellent. They are provided with all the best English, German, and French books, as well as with Japanese works. It is not at all uncommon to find a Japanese private who can speak three or four languages and converse intelligently on advanced scientific and literary subjects. And this despite

the fact that there is little prospect of an enlisted man rising beyond the non-commissioned ranks, although he may be assigned to special work suited to his particular ability and draw larger pay for it than his own colonel does. This is a peculiar feature of the Japanese service—that some men can attain most remunerative positions in semi-civilian departments without a corresponding increase in rank.



CONVICTS AT WORK ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

The active forces of the Japanese army may fairly be said to consist of picked men. The force required is so small in relation to the population that sweeping exemptions are possible. Men are thrown out for slight physical defects and for such reasons as the necessity to support a family or to care for aged parents, the practice of a profession or any learned calling, and the holding of a government position. Even after these exemptions, the

the "Samurai" class, and most of them come from the Chosiu clan, to which Marquis Ito, Count Inouye, Field-Marshal Yamagata, and the majority of Japan's other famous men belong. There is no finer fighting stock in the world, for the "Samurai" were warriors for two thousand years, and though they are extinct today as a class the "Samurai" training is still carefully imparted to their descendants.

In old Japan only the "Samurai" were



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

THE CONVICTS IN A RAILROAD CAMP IN EASTERN SIBERIA DRAWN UP FOR ROLL-CALL BEFORE THEIR DINNER

The Russian railroads in Asia have been built mainly by convicts

number of men who pass the rigid tests imposed is still too great, and there is a further winnowing process which gets rid of most of the men whose degree of intelligence does not impress the conscription officers. The only notably weak point in the men chosen is a tendency toward defective eyesight. Of course, those with the best eyesight are taken, but the entire Japanese nation is somewhat defective in this particular.

The officers are practically all drawn from

allowed to carry arms. The "hei-min," or trading and middle classes, and the coolies were never permitted to fight. In view of this fact, it is remarkable that such a fine military spirit should now dominate the whole of the Mikado's forces, which are drawn by conscription from all classes of the population. The experience of previous campaigns has shown that the coolies and the "hei-min" are little, if at all, less martial than the men whose ancestors were warriors for 2,000 years. The followers of the "dai-

mios," the lords of feudal Japan, were too numerous for all to secure positions as officers for themselves and their sons, and as a consequence there are now three or four regiments in the Japanese army which are composed exclusively of men of "Samurai" birth. The marines are "Samurai" with hardly an exception, and they are generally considered to be the finest body of men in the service of the Mikado. Their extreme courtesy and fine manners impress every

their social obligations, and their messes are the simplest and least luxurious in the world. Drinking is discouraged by the commanding officers. A bottle of wine or spirits is rarely seen, unless it be the light "sake" of the country, on which it is very difficult for any man to get drunk. General Grant expressed the opinion, after his visit to Japan, that the Japanese officers were among the best in the world; and he highly praised the several military schools and colleges maintained by



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

A TYPICAL VIEW OF CONSTRUCTION OPERATIONS ON THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY

Many Japanese disguised as coolies have taken part in the building of Russia's great railroad, and have carried home with them a full knowledge of its condition and line

foreign visitor to a Japanese warship; and in time of war they have proved themselves to be the bravest of a brave race. They are organized in every detail on the model of that British "*corps d'elite*," the Royal Marines.

Long before he enters the cadets' school, the Japanese officer is taught to despise money and luxury, to scorn the society of women, and to fear nothing except cowardice. It is a thoroughly Spartan training, and it is kept up strenuously in regimental life. Japanese officers waste very little time over

the government in Tokio and elsewhere. Other foreign experts have echoed his opinions. It is difficult to find any serious adverse criticism of the Japanese army in the reports which have been made from time to time by foreign military attaches stationed at Tokio.

The cavalry is distinctly inferior to that of the Russians. The spirit and intelligence of the men are good, but their riding is very bad, and their mounts are small, weak Chinese ponies—quite unfitted to bear the rigors of



By courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*

RUSSIAN SOLDIERS LAYING A LIGHT MILITARY RAILROAD IN THE FIELD

The track and sleepers come in short sections that are quickly joined together, and require no roadbed beyond fairly level and solid ground

a hard campaign. The officers are usually mounted on Australian "walers," which are better, certainly, but in no way equal to the horses of the Cossacks. It is remarkable that the Japanese Government, while spending so much money and brains upon the organization of its army, should not have remedied at any cost the inferior mounting of the cavalry. Perhaps the deficiency is explained by the fact that very few Japanese know a good horse from a bad one. Another curious defect in this well-organized army is that the field-pieces of the artillery do not carry a spare wheel into action, as do those of almost every other army in the world. This is the more strange when it is remembered that once or twice the lack of this fifth wheel was seriously felt during the war with China.

There have been many conflicting statements about the comparative endurance of the Russian and Japanese soldiers. If figures may be relied upon, the Japanese are less susceptible to sickness than any other soldiers of the great powers. During the occupation of Peking by the allied forces, the comparative figures of sickness among the troops ran in round figures thus: Nine per cent. of the Russians were ill; 5 per cent. each of the French, Germans, and British; 4 per cent. of the Americans; and but 2 per cent. of the Japanese. According to these figures, the Russians seem likely to have a great many more sick men on their hands than the Japanese during the present campaign. Practically speaking, the only disease to which the Japanese succumbed during the occupation of Peking was typhoid fever.

The Japanese Red Cross and field hospital services are admirably organized, and have won the highest praise from foreign critics. During the war with China, the Japanese Empress and the ladies of her court spent all their time making lint and bandages and supplying medical comforts to the troops in the field. Following their example, many ladies of the highest birth followed the army as nurses, and according to the latest Japanese newspapers they are doing so in the present campaign. Japan has advanced wonderfully in the art of caring for her sick and wounded soldiers; and this is the most wonderful testimony to the reality of her escape from the Oriental slough of despond. In the Satsuma Rebellion, when Japan had only just set her feet in the path of western

progress, 17 per cent. of the wounded men died; in the war with China less than 10 per cent. died; and in the North China campaign less than 5 per cent. The Hiroshima field hospital had a remarkable record. The percentage of deaths among wounded men was only 2 per cent., and among sick men a little more than 3 per cent.

There are two weak points in the personnel of the Russian navy which probably account in a large measure for its recent reverses. The enlisted men are not liable to serve until they are twenty-one, and consequently they miss the valuable training which could be given to them as boys when their minds are most impressionable. They are not trained from an early age to "think as sailors," as the men in the British navy and in other navies are. They come into the navy full of landmen's ideas, of which they never wholly rid themselves, and all through their service they seem to regard themselves as landmen whose misfortune it is to have to go to sea for so many years. This feeling is attested by the scene which takes place whenever a Russian warship returns to a home port from service on a foreign station. Following an ancient custom, every man in the crew throws his hat into the sea to express his joy at getting home again safely.

The other weak point is that officers of the Russian navy are not permitted to resign when they come to the conclusion that they have mistaken their vocation. They can retire only when they are invalided by a medical board or dismissed by a court-martial. The natural consequence is that there are many officers in the Russian navy who do not like the service and have no interest in work which they are forced to do against their will.

Russian naval officers are famous in all the ports of the world visited by warships for their splendid hospitality and overflowing good nature. No allowance is made to them by the government to cover the cost of entertainments, but they entertain like princes, although the majority of them have little means beyond their pay. The Russian sailor, whether he be an officer or an enlisted man, throws his money right and left while he has it, and lives on a few cents when it is spent, until the next pay-day comes around.

Peter the Great once visited some of his



By courtesy of Collier's Weekly

A GROUP OF JAPANESE GENERALS AND THEIR STAFFS AT THE MANOEUVERS

warships and found that the food supplied to the men was very bad, so he promptly hanged three pursers, and gave the strictest instructions that in future the appetites of his soldiers and sailors must be thoroughly satisfied. He left these instructions as a solemn charge to his descendants, and the spirit of them is still obeyed, for Peter the Great is a living force in Russia today. The diet of the Russian army and navy is good, and will bear comparison with that of most other nations, but it has generally happened in Russian land warfare that the

soldiers have gone hungry because the commissariat system broke down.

Every officer and petty officer in the Russian forces has the right to inflict punishment on those of inferior rank. The punishments are carefully graded. As a man rises in rank, so the punishments which he can give increase. For example, a ship's corporal can sentence a man on his own responsibility to one day's light imprisonment, while a captain can inflict twenty-five lashes and ten days' arrest.

Some foreign officers think that a mistake



By courtesy of the New York Herald

RUSSIAN TROOPS DIGGING TRENCHES IN OPERATIONS IN THE FIELD IN EASTERN SIBERIA

was made in dressing the Japanese soldier in European fashion—in a dark-blue uniform much like the traditional uniform of the American army. These critics contend that the enlisted man, who is usually drawn from the coolie class, would fight better in the light costume he is accustomed to, and would march better if he wore straw sandals instead of leather boots. As a matter of fact, however, the Japanese troops nearly all threw away their boots in the war with China and made themselves sandals as they passed through the country. They did not do so in the Pekin campaign, because the eyes of

Japanese soldiers, indeed, are always kept in the pink of physical condition. The *Jiu Jitsu* training is largely responsible for this, and Western gymnastic courses are also used extensively. Then, too, every Japanese regiment puts in much of its time route-marching, and lives under canvas for a considerable period of the year. In these circumstances the men are bound to be well set up and physically strong, even though many of them may have gone into the army from the slums of congested cities like Tokio and Osaka.

There is a fine spirit of comradeship through-



From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by Underwood & Underwood, New York

A RUSSIAN ADVANCE GUARD MARCHING ALONG THE MANCHURIAN RAILROAD

foreign troops were on them, and they consequently wore their company manners. Those who know the Japanese coolie are confident that he can bear any amount of hardship in any kind of clothes. In the north of Japan the people commonly walk about in winter on the snow-covered ground or on frozen lakes in their bare feet, with only a thin cotton tunic over their bodies, so that the general supposition that the Japanese soldiers are less able to bear the bitter cold of a Manchurian winter than the Russians are is unfounded.

out all ranks in the Japanese army, but it is not immediately obvious among the officers to the eye of the outsider. The men invariably address one another in most ceremonious terms, almost as if they were strangers, and the free and easy spirit which characterizes most military messes is conspicuously absent. It would be regarded as the grossest breach of good manners. In the Russian service the colonel may be familiarly slapped on the back by a subaltern when both are off duty, and even a general is treated as one of themselves by a company of junior officers in the

mess. There is nothing of that kind in the Japanese army. Two officers who had known each other from boyhood would always practice punctilious politeness whenever they met, as if they had just been introduced. That is one of the "Samurai" traditions. But two officers would also share their last yen with one another, even though they were but slightly acquainted. That is another "Samurai tradition" maintained in full force today by Japanese officers.

There is the same obligation upon them to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their men. In the Korean and Manchurian campaigns against China there was a lack of supplies. With hardly an exception, the officers gave their blankets and overcoats to the weaker of the men, and shared their money, rations, and private supplies with any fellow-soldier who needed them. Similarly, the men share with one another, and the resulting bond of comradeship is a fine military asset.

During the Manchurian campaign against China, all Japan rang with stories of the heroism and self-sacrifice of His Imperial Highness Prince Kan-In, a close relation of the Mikado. He saved the lives of three wounded men in different engagements under the fire of the enemy, and he used to sleep night after night on the frozen, snow-covered ground, without any covering, having given away his blankets and his overcoat to sick and wounded men. He now holds high rank in the Japanese army, and may be taken as a good type of the Imperial princes of Japan. Most of them are now serving in either the army or the navy, and three of them command warships.

"During my campaigning in Manchuria," said a Japanese who went through the Chinese War and who now resides in New York, "I think the greatest hardship we had to endure was the terrible cold at Haiching. It was bitter even for a Manchurian winter. When we were on the march our beards froze to our coats, and I saw many men who had their ears and feet frozen off. But never once did I hear a single murmur or complaint from any man in the force."

The energy and initiative of the Japanese soldier were strikingly displayed by a private named Kato Juraro, at Kiomai-shan in the Chinese War. His regiment, when about to engage the enemy, was stopped by a broad and rapid river. He was in the leading company.

His captain sent back to the colonel for instructions, and the colonel replied that somebody must find a ford. But before the order could be received, Juraro had waded out into the river in half a dozen places, until he found a shallow place. The river was frozen by a thin coating of ice, and the enemy on the opposite bank kept up a hot fire at him all the time. When he emerged he was wounded, and his clothes were frozen to him like a sheet of mail armor, but he had found the ford and was content.

The Japanese soldier possesses abundant initiative, and is never afraid to act upon his own responsibility. One of the stories held up to the admiration of recruits tells of the exploit of a sergeant named Kodama and five men at Hwangchiatai, in the Manchurian campaign against China. They were sent to reconnoitre the Chinese position in the night. While they were doing so, the sergeant noted the extreme confusion and unpreparedness of the enemy, and he conceived the daring idea of attacking the entire army with his five men. They discharged their rifles as quickly as they could and rushed rapidly from point to point, uttering blood-curdling yells. The Chinese thought they were attacked in force and fled in confusion, leaving their camp and supplies behind them.

There is certainly less initiative in the lower ranks of the Russian army, but Russian officers of my acquaintance strenuously deny the common statement that the Russian private is expected to be a machine to obey orders and nothing more. They assert that initiative, intelligence, and energy are always encouraged and rewarded, and they support the statement by quoting the behavior of Kouropatkine and Skobelev in the Turcoman campaign. Both of those famous generals used to watch the private soldiers most intently in battle, in siege, and in the humdrum life of the camp, and whenever any special thoughtfulness or initiative was displayed they were prompt to reward it on the spot by treating the man to champagne or *vodka*, or by promoting him by word of mouth in the presence of his comrades.

"Shikata go nai!" ("There is no help!") This phrase is heard in Japan as often as "Mañana" in Latin America. It expresses at once the fatalism and the Spartan resolution of the Japanese character. When a mother hears that her son has been killed in



Photographed by Frances Benjamin Johnston

COUNT CASSINI

RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

WHO CARRIED THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, WHEN HE WAS RUSSIAN MINISTER AT PEKIN, BY WHICH THE RUSSO-CHINESE BANK WAS FORMED AND THE EASTERN SIBERIAN RAILROAD EXTENSION THROUGH MANCHURIA WAS AUTHORIZED, THE TWO THINGS THAT HAVE GIVEN RUSSIA HER PRESENT ASCENDENCY IN MANCHURIA



By courtesy of the Russian Ministry of War

RUSSIAN SOLDIERS AND CAVALRY EMBARKING ON FLAT BOATS AT STRETENSK



Photographed by the Detroit Photographic Company

THE RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER THE USURI RIVER, BETWEEN VLAHIVOSTOCK AND KHABAROVSK
Which the Japanese tried and failed to blow up

battle, she does not weep or show any visible sign of emotion. She bows her head and calmly says, "Shikata go nai!" When a man is sent by his officer to certain death, he does not sit down and write his last letters home or go around shaking hands with his comrades for the last time, as white men would do in the same case. He simply mutters, "Shikata go nai!" and walks out of the officer's tent straight to his mission. It does not follow that the Japanese are braver than other soldiers, for there are

really very few cowards in the world, and most men will do heroic deeds at a pinch. But the Japanese undoubtedly surpass Europeans and Americans in this peculiar, quiet, Spartan resolution. Their title of "the French of the East" is singularly inapt, for there is no race less prone to talk of "*la gloire*" and perform their brave deeds theatrically.

The result of a careful study of the Russian and Japanese soldiers is to leave one in doubt as to which is the better.

THE VICTORY OF OUR EASTERN DIPLOMACY

THE FRANK AND EFFECTIVE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN PRESERVING CHINA FROM DISMEMBERMENT FOUR YEARS AGO—THE RESTRICTION OF THE AREAS OF WAR NOW—THE OPEN DOOR AND A FAIR CHANCE FOR TRADE — SECRETARY HAY'S BRILLIANT, PEACEFUL ACHIEVEMENTS

THE most recent stroke of our diplomacy in the Far East, whereby assurances have been secured that the neutrality of China and her administrative entity in all practicable ways will be respected by Japan and Russia, and that the area of hostilities will be limited as much as possible, recalls the preceding forceful, far-seeing, and thoroughly American diplomatic achievements of Mr. Hay. Washington, in his memorable Farewell Address, formulated the basic principle of our diplomacy, as follows:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop."

That rule has been closely followed in all our diplomatic history, and at no time more implicitly than in handling our interests in the Far East in recent years.

Our war with Spain brought the nation to self-consciousness as no other event in our history had done. That short but momentous conflict aroused us to a realization of the fact that more than a century of remarkable internal industrial development had rendered us an important factor in the world-system.

While engaged in this course of self-development we had been but half conscious that a gradual but steady absorption of many of the best markets of trade and commerce by the aggressive maritime powers of Europe had been going on, and that there was great danger that our nation might find itself confined practically to the home market for its products. What was to become of the largely increasing productions of factory, loom, and farm, with most of Africa, large portions of South America, and Asia practically preëmpted by colonization, "spheres of influence," and the like, by the aggressive powers of Europe? Where could the United States look for a legitimate, open field for the exercise of her now fully matured commercial powers?

These problems had received the careful consideration of statesmen and students of the course of events long before the guns of Dewey awakened us to self-consciousness. Their successful solution was of vital importance to the commercial prosperity of our country.

In 1899 a fair solution was advanced by Mr. Hay by the initiation of the "open-door" policy, the success of which has won him a well-merited renown.

China, recently become a near neighbor,

was a natural field for the extension of our trade relations and the development of our industrial activities. For centuries it had been almost a hermit nation, hedged about by walls of conservatism stronger than its wall of stone. Gradually, however, she had been opening her ports and engaging in international trade on an increasing scale. But already Great Britain, Russia, and Germany had gained special advantages and exclusive privileges in portions of China, and the danger was imminent that the empire might be totally dismembered, or divided among those and other powers under the guise of "spheres of influence."

To meet and prevent, if possible, such a contingency, and to retain in China "an open market for all the world's commerce, to remove dangerous sources of international irritation," and to promote administrative reforms in China which were greatly needed to strengthen the Imperial Government and maintain the integrity of China, a series of negotiations were inaugurated by Mr. Hay in September, 1899, with the powers which had secured "spheres of influence" in that country. To secure these results which would benefit the whole western world, it was proposed that each power holding "spheres of influence" within China should give assurances in writing that within their respective "spheres" there should be:

(1) Non-interference with any treaty port or with any vested interest of any nation;

(2) Equality of treatment for all nations in the collection of tariff duties, and provision for the collection of such duties by the Chinese Government itself; and

(3) Equality of treatment for all nations in the matter of harbor dues on vessels and in railroad charges.

In other words, it was proposed that *all* non-privileged nations having commercial relations with China were, in such relations, to be treated as if there were no "spheres of influence" or other government present in China. All that was desired was "a fair field and no favor."

Communications on these lines were made, beginning in September, 1899, to the governments of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and by December of that year replies had been received from all those governments giving cordial and full assurance of the principles suggested by our govern-

ment. The expressions of the government of Germany were especially cordial, and in his note of February 19, 1900, Count von Bülow, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, said:

"Gladly complying with your wish, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency . . . that the Imperial Government has, from the beginning, not only asserted but also practically carried out to the fullest extent in its Chinese possessions, absolute equality of treatment of all nations with regard to trade, navigation, and commerce. The Imperial Government entertains no thought of departure in the future from this principle" . . . and, "upon being requested, will gladly . . . participate with . . . the other powers in an agreement made upon these lines, by which the same rights are reciprocally secured."

This great triumph in favor of equality of treatment for the commerce of the nations was scarcely won when the world was startled by reports of frightful massacres and atrocities being perpetrated by the "Boxers" upon all foreigners in China in the early part of 1900. The central government of that country, too weak or indifferent to restrain its subjects or to afford protection to foreign residents, abandoned the administration of the government and fled for personal safety to an inaccessible refuge, leaving to the provincial governors or viceroy the difficult duty of handling locally the affairs of the country. Practical anarchy prevailed, and a feeling was rapidly developing among some of the powers that the situation justified a movement on the part of the powers to take possession of the country for the purpose of restoring order and enforcing due reparation for the wanton destruction of lives and property of their nationals. And once in possession, it was thought and hoped that an indefinite period would be necessary to restore an improved order of things.

While great anxiety and uncertainty prevailed and the nations stood aghast at the frightful fate which seemed almost inevitably to await the entire diplomatic corps and all the other foreigners in Peking, and the ancient empire seemed tottering to its fall, there appeared a clear, calm note addressed by our Secretary of State on July 3, 1900, to all the powers having interests in China, containing a statement of the position of our government with respect to affairs there. It declared the intention of the government to be

to adhere to its well-known policy of peace with China, the furtherance of commerce, the protection of American citizens, and the demand of full reparation for wrongs done them. The purpose of the President was declared to be to act concurrently with the other powers to reestablish communication with Peking, to rescue the Americans there, to protect Americans and their property everywhere in China, and to prevent the further spread of disorder in the empire. It declared further that it was the policy of the government of the United States to seek a solution for bringing about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, to protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers, and to safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

The tone of the note was so calm, frank, and reassuring that it met with a most sympathetic and hearty reception, and it aided greatly in encouraging and promoting the expedition which successfully undertook the rescue of the besieged legations and the early restoration of order and peace in China. It was a timely anticipation of a critical state of affairs, fraught with momentous consequences politically and commercially, and it served to reënforce respect for the "open-door" policy and insure its continuance.

The negotiations that followed, resulting in the protocol between China and the allies, which was signed September 7, 1901, has also served to heighten the respect of the nations of the world for the straightforward, frank policy of the government of the United States.

In those negotiations the demands made by the powers on China for punishment of those guilty of instigating or participating in the anti-foreign massacres were drastic and humiliating in the extreme, but by the skilful endeavors of our commissioners a degree of leniency was secured which, while insisting upon adequate punishment, yet saved in a measure the self-respect of the Chinese Government by providing that the punishments should be inflicted by that government itself, and not by the allies.

Similar fair and reasonable consideration for China was insisted upon by our representatives in providing the means to prevent

the recurrence of such troubles, the policy being to favor a stable and responsible government in China, thereby securing protection for our citizens and our interests under existing treaties.

The firm stand taken by our government against the exorbitant demand made by the allies by way of indemnity served to very considerably reduce the amount originally demanded, thus giving to the Chinese and to the world an example of disinterested and unselfish diplomacy which was almost startling. This considerate policy with regard to the indemnity has been persevered in, for within a year the United States Government has generously insisted, in direct opposition to all the other powers, that the silver tael in which the indemnity was to be paid, and which had fallen very much in value since the protocol was signed, should be accepted at its market value on the date of the signing of the protocol.

This friendly spirit manifested for China is not without its effect upon her, and has tended greatly to strengthen the ties which bind the two nations.

Early in 1902 our government received information of the terms of a proposed agreement between China and Russia with regard to Manchuria. By it exclusive rights and privileges were to be given to Russia in that province which were in direct conflict with our treaty rights and tended to impair the sovereign rights of China in that part of her dominion.

A prompt and vigorous protest was made by our government to both parties to the agreement because of its effect upon American interests and those of the whole world and because of its conflict with assurances given with regard to the "open door." This protest was followed by a considerable modification of the terms of the said agreement in favor of other nations, and called forth from Russia a renewal of her assurances that she would maintain the principle of the "open door."

The recent commercial treaty negotiated by our government with China, signed at Shanghai October 8, 1903, has further strengthened and reënforced the "open-door" policy by removing many annoying restrictions upon foreign trade, and simplifying the methods of intercourse with the government of China; but the most important advantage

gained by that convention was the opening of the two cities of Mukden and Antung in Manchuria as places of "international residence and trade." These cities, while not seaports, are important trade centres, and have strategic value commercially in that province. Events of diplomatic importance have followed one another in rapid succession in the Orient.

About the first of February a clash between Russia and Japan seemed inevitable. The geographic situation of those two powers made it evident that the area of hostilities would embrace to a greater or less extent the Empire of China, and that China herself was likely to become involved in the conflict the consequences of which might seriously impair the integrity of that empire and the benefits which the "open-door" policy seemed to assure to the United States and the world.

Quick to perceive and prompt to act in such a situation, Secretary Hay, after some preliminary negotiations, sent the following note, February 10th, to the governments of Russia, Japan, and China, and a copy of it to other powers requesting similar representations to Russia and Japan:

"You will express to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the earnest desire of the government of the United States that in the course of the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan the neutrality of China, and in all practicable ways her administrative entity, shall be respected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and peaceful intercourse of the world may be occasioned."

The Japanese Government promptly responded on February 13th, saying:

"The Imperial Government, sharing with the Government of the United States in the fullest measure the desire to avoid, as far as possible, any disturbance of the orderly condition of affairs now prevailing in China, are prepared to respect the neutrality and administrative entity of China outside the regions occupied by Russia, as long as Russia, making a similar engagement, fulfils in good faith the terms and conditions of such engagements."

On the nineteenth of February Russia replied as follows:

"The Imperial Government shares completely the desire to insure tranquillity of China; is ready

to adhere to an understanding with other powers for the purpose of safeguarding the neutrality of that empire on the following conditions:

"Firstly, China must herself strictly observe all the clauses of neutrality.

"Secondly, the Japanese Government must loyally observe the engagements entered into with the powers, as well as the principles generally recognized by the law of nations.

"Thirdly, that it is well understood that neutralization in no case can be extended to Manchuria, the territory of which, by the force of events, will serve as the field of military operations."

On the same day the governments of Russia, Japan, and China were notified that the answers were "viewed as responsive to the proposal made by the United States as well as by the other powers," and that the other governments would be so informed, their adherence to the principles having been duly notified to the government of the United States.

This action gives China assurances of our continued friendly interest and our moral support in her effort to maintain her neutrality and peaceful conditions in her dominions.

In this cursory review of the diplomacy of our government during the past four or five eventful years of our history it is plainly to be seen that a consistent, broad, and effective policy of equality of opportunity in commerce and navigation in China has been pursued, on lines in complete harmony with our well-known precedents and traditions. Our presence in the Philippines has necessitated our taking an active and prominent part in Asiatic politics by assisting in the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia, by our insistence upon the integrity of China, yet this has been done without sacrificing in any degree our general policy of "no entangling alliances."

The elements that have entered into this policy are notably simplicity, directness, and openness. It can be safely asserted that the success which has attended our diplomacy in the Far East—and, indeed, always—is the result of the skilful use of these elements in all our international relations. As Mr. Hay has well said, "We have sought, successfully, to induce all the great powers to unite in a recognition of the general principle of equality of commercial access and opportunity in the markets of the Orient," and through all the correspondence on the "open-door"

run these or similar plain, frank words, "to insure to the whole world full and fair intercourse with China on equal footing. Nothing could be more simple or more direct, and every detail of the negotiations has been given extremely prompt and timely publication.

The maintenance and, if possible, the extension of the "open-door" policy means much to us as a nation and to the whole world. To our nation it means an opportunity to secure enlarging markets for the products of our growing industries on terms

of equality with other nations; to our citizens residing in or having interests in China it means increased safety to life and property; to China it means the establishment of a stable and responsible government and its territorial integrity, and complete sovereignty; and to all the world it means equality of treatment for its commerce with a country capable of great expansion in its purchasing power, and the removal of sources of international misunderstandings, all of which make for the permanent peace and prosperity of the nations of the earth.

THE DANGER OF WAR TO EUROPE

EFFORTS TO KEEP THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING—
THE BEARING OF THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN AND THE
ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATIES—THE FIRE BEHIND RUSSIA
IN THE BALKANS — INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS

BY

FREDERICK JAMES GREGG

WHEN the war between Japan and Russia began, the important question for the rest of the world was, not what the situation in the Far East would be in view of the decisive success of one of the contestants. It was whether, considering existing treaties, alliances, and understandings, and above all material interests, it would be possible to keep the struggle from spreading from Asia to Europe. Under the circumstances, the change which had taken place in the relations of Great Britain and France was of great significance.

When King Edward came to the throne there was little love lost between England and France. The French had watched the struggle of the two Dutch republics in South Africa with more than sympathetic interest. The early victories of the Boers were hailed as the work of people rightly struggling to be free. The Dreyfus case and the Fashoda incident—when England out-manoeuvred France in Africa—had helped to inflame French public opinion. The army, regarding itself as the nation, had resented the general tendency of Englishmen to look on Dreyfus at a martyr to a system. Here the government did not take the popular view. But

there was no reason to suppose that there was any difference among Frenchmen of any important party as to the alliance between France and Russia, which had rescued their country from a condition of isolation among the great powers.

In the person of King Edward a new element was introduced into the relations of France and England. His official visit to Paris after his accession, and the return visit of President Loubet to England, had more than social importance. Not only did the governments of England and France show signs of understanding each other, but the attitude of the populace changed. A deputation from the French Chamber of Deputies was made much of in London, and a similar London delegation in Paris. For the first time in generations a real state of friendship had been brought about between the two nations. This was the state of affairs when the negotiations between Russia and Japan over Manchuria gave indications of breaking down. It was suspected that the immediate result of a fight between the two rivals in the East might be to undo all the work of the English sovereign and involve France and England in unpleasantness.

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE

The exact terms of the Franco-Russian Alliance have never been made public. The treaty, which has not come before the French parliament for ratification, had existed for some time before it was recognized formally—on the occasion of the visit of President Faure to St. Petersburg. It has been said that each country bound itself to go to the assistance of the other in case it was attacked by two enemies. It was understood that no Asiatic power, except Japan, was to be regarded as coming within the definition of a possible enemy. When Korea announced, early in the present war, that she would actively assist the forces of the Mikado, the question was raised whether Russia would insist that this action meant that she was confronted by two enemies and so had the right to appeal to France for assistance. M. Delcassé let it be known that the French government had not changed its attitude as announced in the *Official Journal*, on the declaration of war, when its agents at home and in the colonies and protectorates were ordered to observe strict neutrality.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

If the terms of the Franco-Russian treaty were entirely a matter of guesswork, there was no doubt as to the principal provision of the understanding between England and Japan. The British Empire was to come to the assistance of Japan in case Japan found herself opposed by two great powers. The French statesmen showed that they realized that, with England helping Japan against Russia, no matter how willing their country, they could afford little if any help to their ally. Instead of one war in the Far East, there would be two wars. As M. de Lannesan, the ex-Minister of Marine, put it, the Russian Government knew that it would be no use for France to resort to armed intervention. By so doing France would expose herself to disasters prejudicial to her own interests and also to the prestige and influence of the Alliance. He went on to point out that those people were very blind who spread false stories in order to convince public opinion that Russia was entitled to expect armed intervention on the part of her European ally.

About the same time, Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Minister, and M. Delcassé were reported to have resumed the considera-

tion of the questions coming within the scope of an arbitration treaty between England and France. The foreign offices of both countries had been busy on the details of this arrangement when the relations of their two allies in the East became strained. This resumption showed that the French and English governments had come to the conclusion that there was no danger of their becoming embroiled.

A war between France and England, such as would be brought on if France joined Russia and England joined Japan, would be a naval war. In view of the greater strength of the British fleet, many French statesmen realized that no advantage could be looked for in the long run. The probabilities were that the experience of the Russians would be duplicated in the British Channel, and that before long England would have as free a hand in European waters as Japan had obtained in the Far East. There would be no opportunity for France to do any fighting by land. It was a case of choosing between supporting an ally whose interests were different from her own and considering the question of national safety.

THE KAISER HOLDS THE CARDS

One of the most interesting facts of the early period of the war was the silence of the Kaiser. This could not be explained by his recent illness. He was reported to have quite recovered his health. It is true that the arrangements for his yachting trip in the Mediterranean were countermanded for the time being. A great deal of excitement was caused by the action of the Emperor Alexander Grenadier Guards at Berlin in sending to the Czar, their honorary colonel, a specimen of their historic headgear, at a time when such action might be misinterpreted. But the arrangements for this gift must have been made long before the outbreak of hostilities. The statement had been made that the Emperor William had sent a letter of sympathy to the Czar after the first affair at Port Arthur. Later on it was explained that this was a mistake, and that he had despatched a similar note to the Mikado, which had reference to the rendering of hospital aid by the German Red Cross Association.

It was realized that the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was not involved, as such, in the complications in the Far East. Although Germany has large trade interests

in the province of Shen-tung, as compared with those of other powers they are small. This had been shown on the occasion of the expedition of the combined forces of the powers for the relief of the Legations at Peking. The representative of the Kaiser, Field Marshal von Waldersee, was allowed to take command as Generalissimo, an arrangement which would never have been agreed to by Russia, England, and Japan if Germany had cut as big a figure in that part of the world as they did.

As soon as the present war began it was plain that the Kaiser would play the part of keeper of the peace of Europe. For German interests in the Far East, the success of Japan rather than that of Russia was to be desired, for the Mikado had announced in the most positive terms that he had not embarked on a war of conquest. Germany had her long Russian frontier to look to. If France showed an inclination to take a hand in the fray, and thereby draw England in, the Kaiser was in a position to threaten to call upon the Triple Alliance to aid him in preventing a universal war.

THE BALKANS

Austria and Italy were interested in the Far Eastern situation only in so far as they might be called upon by the Kaiser to do police duty in Europe. Italy was friendly to England, and her relations with France had improved. Austro-Hungarian popular sentiment was for the most part pro-Japanese, though in diplomatic quarters it was pointed out that Japanese success might affect the Germans adversely in Shen-tung; the French in Annam, Tonking, and Siam; the United States in the Philippines; and the Dutch in Sumatra. The sentiment of the Slavs was favorable to Russia. At Vienna the Slav students gathered and cheered the Czar's ambassador. In fact, the sentiment of the Czechs, Croatians, Slavonians, and other branches of the Slav race, except the Poles, was with Russia.

The immediate effect of the outbreak of the war was to weaken the understanding between Austro-Hungary and Russia on the subject of Turkish reforms. The Sultan showed that he realized to what extent the preoccupation of the predominant partner in the enterprise to coerce him gave him a free hand. It became clear that Turkey, seizing on Russia's

difficulty as her opportunity, instead of putting in operation the reforms which she had promised, was simply temporizing, as Russia had done with Japan, in order to perfect her military preparations. Open efforts were made to diminish the importance of the Russian and Austrian civil agents. It was decided to nominate Mustapha Pasha as commander-in-chief of the police by the side of General di Giorgis. Turkey pretended that she desired to have a peaceable arrangement with Bulgaria, even though she had not granted an amnesty or given a promise to facilitate the repatriation of the refugees. The mobilization and concentration of troops continued. The Turkish frontier was virtually closed to all Bulgarian travelers, and the refugees who arrived from Macedonia told of the great oppression suffered by Bulgarians in that province. The Albanian rising assumed serious proportions, and Shemsi Pasha, who was successful last year in coercing the tribesmen at Ipek and Jakora, had great difficulty in dealing with the situation. In spite of the fear that war between Turkey and Bulgaria was inevitable, the latter country made little open preparation. She seemed to be relying on the promise of the powers to act at the right moment if her rights were threatened.

THE MACEDONIAN REFORMS

When the question of the Macedonian reforms was brought up in the British House of Lords recently, Lord Lansdowne pointed out that England desired that the Austro-Russian arrangement should have a fair trial, and that the Italian general and his staff, composed of the officers of the powers, should be allowed to go on with their plans for preserving order and protecting the inhabitants from the Turkish soldiers. On the other hand, it was admitted that if nothing effectual had been done by spring the dangerous insurrection would break out again and would be put down by the usual Turkish methods.

WHAT STOPPED THE FIRE

The suggestion was made that the Sultan had been dissuaded from starting a fire at the back door of Russia by a warning from the Kaiser, who for some years has been more friendly to Abdul Hamid than any other sovereign in Europe. In case German influence proved too weak, the proposal was made

that England, France, and Italy should make a naval demonstration on the Turkish coast—a form of coercion to which Turkey is very susceptible. German trade interests in Asia Minor had been growing in importance. This supplied an additional reason why the Kaiser should strive to prevent general hostilities.

DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN

The sympathy of Denmark was with Russia. But Denmark proposed to join with Norway and Sweden to insist on the observance of the existing regulations with regard to the entrance to the Baltic, and to prevent the use of any Scandinavian ports in the event of the war spreading to Europe. The three countries stated that they wished to preserve strict neutrality. Norway and Sweden were naturally pro-Japanese in their sympathies, because of their feelings for the Finns, whom they regard as properly part of themselves. The recent action of Russia, in depriving Finland of its ancient constitutional rights, which she had promised solemnly to observe, and the establishment of martial law in that country, had caused resentment in Scandinavia. One representative Finn has said that if his fellow countrymen had arms they would rise in rebellion. There was talk about the possibility of Poland's doing the same thing. But owing to the danger of disturbances in Russian Poland causing similar troubles in the former Polish provinces that now belong to Prussia, it was clear that Germany would have a good excuse to stop such a disturbance before it became serious.

HOLLAND

The sympathies of Holland were divided. She had fears for her great colonies in the Far East in the event of Japanese success. But a more important question than that was the preservation of her autonomy. So, in spite of the existence of Russophil traditions in that country, and the interest of its financiers in the economic future of Russia, the Dutch, who are better informed than the average run of Germans, realized that Germany would be dangerous to their independence in the case of a general European war.

CHINA'S ATTITUDE

In spite of what happened in the war with Japan, the sympathies of the Chinese Govern-

ment are with its yellow neighbor. This is not necessarily for racial reasons. The international expedition for the relief of the Peking legations gave the Czar's forces the excuse to enter Manchuria and they have stayed there ever since. In declaring China's neutrality the other day the Tsung-li Yamen, the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs, remarked that it could not be responsible for what was done in certain provinces over which it had no control, because European forces were in occupation. That Russia had no intention to evacuate Manchuria was shown very conclusively by a Blue Book issued as a parliamentary paper by the British Foreign Secretary recently. Lord Lansdowne gave the details of his negotiations with Count Lamsdorff. On no less than six distinct occasions the Czar's minister, through the ambassador in London, had volunteered "assurances" as to the intentions of his government to get out. But finally Lord Lansdowne informed him that Russia had given no indication of any intention to keep her promises.

But there were also many other reasons for this Chinese friendship for Japan. The Russians as early as last June had gone so far as to claim the right to keep foreign settlers out of Manchuria. They had treated the natives with brutality. One of the most striking events of 1900 was the drowning of a large number of Chinese by the Russians at Blagovestchensk on the Amur River, while the siege of Peking was going on. The Japanese have protested from the beginning of the trouble that led to war that they desired to preserve the autonomy of China and at the same time keep the door open for all the nations. The Boxer outbreak had been caused by Chinese resentment on account of Germany's forced lease of Kiao-Chau, in Shen-tung; Russia's acquisition of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan; Great Britain's occupation of Wei-hai-wei and a district at Mirs Bay; and France's demand for a foothold at Kwang-chau-wan. But the thing which particularly irritated the Chinese was the arrangement made between Russia and England, in 1899, to the effect that Russia should not encroach on the part of the country lying south of the Great Wall, and that England should not obtain concessions north of that barrier. In all this business Japan had taken no part.

KOREA

While Japan contended that Russia had broken her solemn pledge to withdraw from Manchuria, Russia, in a circular sent to her diplomatic representatives abroad, argued that the Chinese Government, in its attitude toward Korea, had broken, after the outbreak of hostilities, the customary laws governing the mutual relations between civilized nations. The Japanese had let it be known that they regarded Korea as a natural outlet for their rapidly increasing population, and that without this outlet the future of their empire would be endangered. A treaty was made between Japan and

Korea by which the Mikado virtually assumed the same protecting relation to the emperor of the other country as the King of England holds toward the Khedive of Egypt. The Koreans had no choice in the matter. If the Russians had been on the spot, there is no doubt that they could have made the same sort of agreement as Japan. Korea used to have as strong prejudices in favor of being left alone as Tibet now has. But the note, addressed to all the powers by the Emperor of Korea, in the early part of this year, in which he declared his determination to preserve strict neutrality, is no longer worth even the paper it was written on.

THE REBOUND ON RUSSIA

HOW THE WAR AFFECTS THE DIFFERENT RUSSIAN CLASSES — THE CZAR OPPOSED TO WAR—THE CLERGY TEACHING THAT RUSSIAN EXPANSION IS A CHRISTIAN CRUSADE—STORIES OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS

BY

GILSON WILLETS

THE story of the war's rebound on the social and political organization of the forty different nations and religions composing Russia begins with the Czar, the man whose dominant characteristic is horror of war. The tale of the Romanoff family shows why the Czar has this aversion. His father went to his tomb overwhelmed by religious superstition; his grandfather was killed by an assassin's bomb; his great-grandfather, crushed by catastrophes in the Crimea, committed suicide; his great-great-grandfather died a mysterious death; his great-great-great-grandfather, in 1801, was murdered. The effect of the war upon this autocrat has been to make the most melancholy of the world's monarchs the saddest man in Europe.

Politically considered, the Russian people are divided into four great classes: the nobility; the clergy; the merchants, burghers, and artisans; and the peasants and workingmen. In the first class is the Court, the Imperial circle—the nobility. This class gets its color from the Czar's personality. The Czar hates war. Very well, then, all nobles—

except the military men—outwardly, at least, are horrified by the present conflict. The result is that the Czar is unpopular with the officers of that army which, theoretically, he is now leading in person against Japan.

To General Bobrikoff, the Governor of Finland, I once said: "Is the Czar a good shot?"

"My master," replied the Governor, "shoots like a book-worm. And he wears a uniform as an educated man would wear livery—self-consciously and with detestation."

The clergy, the second great class, is divided into the white, or secular clergy, and the black, or cloistered, clergy—so called from their respective dresses. The ranks of the clergy are recruited from their own families or from the lower classes. The clergy are not on a social equality with the nobility—and a nobleman never takes orders, as such a step would mean loss of caste. A white priest must be married, but he cannot marry a second time. If his wife dies, he must enter a monastery. Hence the Russians tell many stories of the extraordinary means to which the priests resort in guarding the

health of their wives. If a priest's consort sneezes, a mild panic ensues in the household.

How is the clergy affected by the war? The teaching formulated by the Holy Synod—comprising the highest dignitaries of the Greek Church, and superintending the religious affairs of the nation—is this: Holy Russia wars not for conquest, but for the Cross. Holy Russia's mission is to carry the Cross into China, Persia, India—all heathen Asia—and even to restore the Cross to Jerusalem. The average Russian learns well the lesson thus taught; for religion is the deepest emotion of his soul. The war, then, is bound to make the clergy more emphatic in teaching that all war in which Holy Russia engages has its source in religious impulse and religious motive.

Next comes that vast governmental machinery, the Bureaucracy founded by Peter the Great. All public business is transacted under the emperor, by and through various boards, councils, or "colleges." The most important is the Imperial Council, consisting of four departments: Legislative, Military, Civil and Ecclesiastic, and Financial. The body next in power is the Senate, the judicial tribunal which issues decrees that have the power of law. Third comes the Committee of Ministers—of which M. De Witte is now the president—consisting of the ministers of the Imperial Household, War, Finance, Justice, Interior, Public Instruction, Imperial Domains, Post-Office, Roads and Public Buildings, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Comptroller General. Under these grand divisions are literally thousands of bureaus; and these bureaus, employing no less than a million officials and clerks, form the bureaucratic system and a distinct class—the official class—in the social organization.

The judiciary, for example, is divided into eight great bureaus, each of which is a court of appeals of last resort for certain provinces and under which are scores of courts and minor bureaus. All judges, magistrates, and clerks are wretchedly paid. Add to this that they are removable at will, and that many owe their office to favor rather than merit, and the abuses that characterize Russian justice are accounted for. In a law suit, fees from suitors are accepted from both sides, and the side that pays the highest fee wins the case. A magistrate who was also a collector of taxes, whose salary, to my

certain knowledge, was not over \$175 a year, made enough in "fees" to provide an American press correspondent, not many months ago, with pine-apples that cost seven dollars each in St. Petersburg.

The police system, through dishonesty in the ranks, is comparatively worthless. Russian policemen are quick, for example, to discover thefts—quick to capture and punish offenders. But the bulk of property recovered by the police never reaches the rightful owner. A citizen of St. Petersburg was robbed of silver plate. While searching for it, in company with a detective, he found it in a silversmith's shop. It bore his arms and initials, and he claimed it. The detective, however, declared that the owner must send to the police, as a proof that the silver was his, some other article from the chest from which the citizen affirmed the silver was taken. The citizen gladly sent the chest with its entire contents to the police bureau—and he never saw chest, contents, or stolen silver plate again.

The police are in absolute charge of both citizens and travelers. The traveler must produce a passport to enter the empire and to leave it. Journeying from one city to another, he must surrender his passport at each city, and give twenty-four hours' notice of departure. Thus a traveler who leaves a train at any station must remain, willy-nilly, twenty-four hours at that place; for he cannot get his passport back again sooner. A friend wished to move from the Hotel Europe, the principal hotel in St. Petersburg, to a smaller hotel around the corner. He came down with his bag packed ready to go. "Sorry," said the manager, "but you cannot leave this hotel or register at another hotel until we get your passport from the police; and that will take a day and a night. You must go through exactly the same procedure as if you were leaving the country."

What is the effect of the war on the bureaucrats? All the officials and their families, and all adherents of bureaucracy, undoubtedly, hail the war with an enthusiasm that amounts to glee. Like the upper military class, they welcome hostilities first because they are the true expansionists of the empire; second, because they believe that through this war Manchuria and Korea will be permanently annexed; third, because expansion means promotion and more bureaus with more officials—in short, more jobs.

Among the bureaucratic class there exists a genuine pride of country, of territorial advance, of military prowess. I met, in a recent visit to Russia, an official of the Civil Service who said: "If Japan attacks Russia it will be but as the flea on the lion. The lion may roar—and that's all—until he snaps up his tormentor." At the Service Club in Moscow a district judge brought his fist down on the table, exclaiming: "When Japan lays violent hands upon Russian authority she will be seized in the currents of sure death." Senator Beveridge tells of a high official of the Manchurian Railway saying: "It would be perfectly hopeless for Japan to fight us. Her statesmen know it, but they dare not tell their people that they know it. Suppose they actually occupied Korea and defeated us at first—we would swarm back upon them whenever we got ready and sweep them into the sea." This was the keynote of official Russia's faith in success—time and resources. "Look at the industrial map of the empire!" said a clerk in the Ministry of Public Instruction. "We've inexhaustible iron and coal, the richest gold mines, and the second largest bread-producing area; and our peasants make in their own homes every manufactured article we need—for example, not the sixtieth part of a shoe, as workmen do in the United States, but the whole shoe. So we can hold on, in war, for years. But Japan—look at her poverty! If she begins to fight us, she will do so hoping to have the thing soon over—for she lacks the real sinews of war."

Between the official bureaucracy and the people is the military class—though the army and navy are themselves part of the bureaucratic system. There are three subdivisions. The first class includes workingmen and peasants; the second, merchants not enrolled in the guilds, and burghers and artisans. The third class includes rich landowners and nobles. From the first two classes the army is recruited by conscription; from the third class are drawn the commissioned officers. Magistrates, clergymen, students, and merchants enrolled in the guilds are exempted from service. On all occasions in Russia, precedence is determined by military rank; a sub-lieutenant precedes a nobleman of the most exalted social grade, if that nobleman is not enrolled in the army or navy.

As for the navy, Russia, not being a

maritime nation, never has been and is not now a great naval power. Her vessels are fully manned, but the quality of the seamen is low. Having only a small merchant marine, Russia has few sailors or shipmasters to draw upon. Nor will she permit foreign naval officers to instruct her naval force. The result has been made clear by the poor showing made by Russia thus far in the war.

The pay of officers in the army and navy is barely enough to purchase uniforms. Every officer is supposed to have a private income sufficient for his needs. As in the judiciary, the inadequate pay of the military is the source of corruption and jobbing—officers resorting to many underhanded methods of making money. Five dollars a year is the highest pay a private soldier receives. Russians do not believe in paying their soldiers. They argue that paid soldiers are mere mercenaries. The Russian soldier is supposed to fight for his country as a son fights for his father. The Czar is father of his people, the general is father of his army, and the admiral is father of his fleet; the colonel is father of his regiment; the captain is father of his company.

The Russian soldier, or officer, has the utmost contempt toward the Japanese. He denies that they are civilized. Their so-called civilization he declares a sham. A Cossack I met on the train to Helsingfors, in Finland, last spring, referred to the Japanese as "those make-believe people." Said an officer of the Army of the Interior: "Those yellow men, veneered with civilization, must attack us first. We don't have to deal the first blow. We simply will keep them off, while we strengthen and prepare, striking when we're ready." Senator Beveridge speaks of a Russian colonel who said to his men: "Well, boys, if the Japanese come, will you let them whip you, or will you whip them?" Whereupon the soldiers replied: "What! Those monkeys whip us! Never!" Moreover, the Russian soldier engages in the war as a kind of military evangelist to Christianize the world. He fights, as he says, "For God"—in whose name he believes he is advancing the Cross; "and for the Czar"—in whose name he fights with what we call patriotism.

Finally come the Russian masses, the third and fourth classes in the social organization. The third class consists of merchants enrolled in one of the guilds, of "respectable citizens,"

and of burghers not enrolled in the guilds, artisans, and mechanics. The guilds are in turn of three classes, according to the amount of capital employed in business. To belong to the first guild costs \$20,000, to the second \$10,000, to the third \$5,000. Below all these is the fourth class, consisting of the great mass of workingmen and peasants.

How do these, the people, regard the war? While the soldier regards the Japanese with contempt, the common people think of the Japanese with a hatred that is racial and instinctive. Like the soldiery, the masses also think of Russian expansion in the Far East as a matter of advancing the Cross among the heathen—this, again, the result of the teaching of the clergy.

Now comes a phase in the story of the war's rebound that has to do not with a class, but with all the classes. Many Russians of all grades have traveled and lived abroad. Many have been educated out of Russia. Millions of the peasants read, and some think. The influence of these more enlightened Russians is so perceptibly felt that the government itself understands that many of the nobles and the ordinary citizens, and even officers of the most distinguished regiments, wish to see some limit set to the power of the Czar. The most capable among the discontented are leaders of the Liberals—formerly called Nihilists, and now called Revolutionists. Revolutionary doctrines now pervade all society and all classes and percolate through the masses. The Revolutionary party now numbers legions of adherents high and low, rich and poor, including members of the nobility, the clergy, the Bureaucracy, the judiciary and the military, the burghers and the peasants. The following facts about their relation to the war is sufficient to exclude from Russia the entire edition of this magazine, excepting the copies that enter the empire in the mail-pouches of the American Ambassador and Consuls—mail which the censors must not touch:

On the seventh night of the Russo-Japanese War, a squad of German police broke into a house in Stuttgart, Germany, and seized ten tons of the kind of literature forbidden in Russia. Struve, the Russian writer responsible for this literature, escaped by the back door—and the police burned the entire first war edition of the Revolutionary newspaper, *Osvobozhdenie*. The police also

searched for the subscription list and found ciphers. Similar seizures and domiciliary searches occurred in Königsberg, Freiburg, Giessen, and Posen. The revolutionary editors in these places were captured and thrust across the Russian frontier into the keeping of waiting Russian police. All had received warning that Germany was no longer neutral territory serving as a safe harbor for Russian exiles, refugees, or liberals. Since these seizures Russian revolutionists have moved on from Germany into neighboring countries. The presumption is that the Kaiser promised the Czar, at their meeting last October, that Russian malcontents should not use Germany as a base from which to send their literature across the border. The conviction is, that Germany, if needed, will become Russia's ally, as France is, in the present struggle.

These seizures in Prussia, however, did not stop the Russian revolutionary presses in Paris, Brussels, Geneva, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Stockholm, or London. From all these cities contraband publications are poured into Russia for secret circulation, on the north via Finland, on the south via Poland, reaching, as they are meant to reach, the desks of bureaucratic ministers and of the Czar himself. In Stockholm, a year ago, I visited one printing establishment for the manufacture of Russian seditious literature, occupying a whole building. In London, at the present time, the printing office of the Messrs. Harrison, St. Martin's Lane, is working night and day, producing a steady stream of Revolutionary sheets in which the people of Russia are told to what extent the war with Japan offers opportunity to further the movement toward a Russian republic. These papers also warn Revolutionists, students in particular, to hold themselves in check and await the signals of their leaders.

All these Revolutionary newspapers and pamphlets are dignified and scholarly, and surprisingly moderate, with no suggestion of the Nihilism of Ivan Turgeneff that ended with the assassination of Alexander II. The Russians at the head of the Liberals and so-called Terrorists of today—a "Sacred Brotherhood" having fewer traitors than any secret masonic order in the world—may be Socialists, but few are Anarchists or Nihilists in the popular sense. They are still for the destruction of "The Lie"—namely, the Might

of autocracy; and for the uprearing of "The Truth," which is Right represented by free institutions. To attain their end, however, they no longer sanction the murder of a particular man. Only in a general and simultaneous uprising from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock, they maintain, can the last chapter of Czar-rule be written. As to whether the present war offers the opportunity, their literature expresses doubt.

The feeling of the Revolutionists, however, is clear. About a year ago, one evening in St. Petersburg, twenty men and women gathered about a table in a mansion on the Quai, bordering the Neva, near the American Embassy. The women were dressed in ancient native Russian costumes, like those seen in Makoffsky's painting, "A Russian Wedding Feast," for there was to be a fancy-dress ball at the Czar's Winter Palace that evening. At the dinner I was the friend of the enemies of Russian government as it is. The dinner was a secret, typical meeting of Revolutionists, and I attended as a friend of one of them.

The dinner was given by Count B——. There were present his wife, Countess B——, his two daughters and their governess; also Prince D——, of the Imperial household; Monsieur V——, editor of a St. Petersburg newspaper; Professor R——, of the University; a peasant-farmer from a Baltic province; a Jewish banker from Moscow; a count from Kief; a Polish prince from Warsaw; a Russian general and Finnish admiral, both retired. These are mentioned to show that it is true that there are Revolutionists very close to the Czar (for Prince D—— was present here, for example)—to show that high up in the army and navy there are Revolutionists; to show that at a court ball such as was to be given that evening the man who personifies Despotism is bowed to by nobles who are Revolutionists, and smiled upon by women who are as enthusiastic in the "sacred cause" as their husbands and fathers.

There were others present, including one who, like myself, was an American press correspondent. Next to him sat a man whom I will call simply Z. He was from Stockholm, and his presence in St. Petersburg was naturally not known to a secret police who offered \$5,000 to whoever would lure him into Russia. For three days Z

had been in St. Petersburg, hidden in the house of the American correspondent. The next day he would leave Russia as he had come—with the American correspondent's passport. The dinner was given in his honor. Many present had come from a great distance especially to speak with him. He was and is an expert in disseminating revolutionary doctrines. In Stockholm, he publishes the most popular weekly revolutionary newspaper. This paper is smuggled into Russia and distributed by the aid of women of the best families and by Jews.

The conversation was the ordinary dinner-table talk of every Revolutionist family in Russia: the Czar, the ministry, the social organization—ever and always these are the topics. This evening the talk turned upon the possibilities of Russia's having to fight Japan. The mighty Z from Stockholm shrugged shoulders that he had broadened by a rough life in our own western States, and surprised us by diverting our attention from the Far East to the nearer West. "A war in the Pacific," said he, "will be but a skirmish compared to the struggle that will follow Russia's attempt to secure an ice-free port on the Atlantic in one of the Scandinavian countries. In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark the Russian policy of expansion is viewed with profoundest distrust; and preparations are being made in those countries for an inevitable life-and-death struggle. Russia this very year sent a number of army engineers into Sweden, disguised as scissors-grinders and peddlers, to secure plans of fortifications and to make maps of harbors and roads. Russia now has more accurate maps of all Scandinavia than the Scandinavians themselves."

Later in the evening, Prince D——, the "ranking" Revolutionist at that meeting, said, just before leaving the house to go to the "Presence": "You see, every legal and peaceful attempt of the upper class to obtain a representative government body, or to secure liberty to discuss administrative questions, has failed. The result is that aristocrats are now driven to associate with Revolutionists to secure our ends. The revolutionary party of today consists of those of all classes who have developed the quiet, dogged resolution and self-sacrifice that lie at the core of the Russian nature when powerfully aroused."

Even the young women talk revolution. If you cannot talk Russian or French, they will talk revolution to you in English, German, or Swedish. When I asked Count B——'s eldest daughter if she included Tolstoi as a Revolutionist, she said: "Oh, no! Count Tolstoi is merely an intellectual Anarchist. One evening we were at a ball in Kief. The Countess Tolstoi and her daughters were in the ball-room, but nowhere could we find Tolstoi himself. After a long search we discovered him in an ante-room sitting with the servants. We asked him to come into the supper-room. 'No!' he replied. 'These servants are not enjoying themselves—why should I? I will remain here till my wife and daughters are ready to go.'" This placid maintenance of social equality was the manifestation of his essential doctrine.

I rode back to the Hotel Europe with the peasant-farmer from the Baltic province—a man as highly educated as any man in Russia can be who is not a noble. "Has not the Count warned you about your guide?" he asked.

"Yes! But I despair of remembering all the don'ts I have heard in St. Petersburg."

"Do what you like," he said, "except to talk about a meeting such as we have just left, especially when a friend like Monsieur from Stockholm is included." (Even in a drosky in the middle of the widest street in the world, the Nevski Prospekt, he would not mention the name of the redoubtable Z.) "That guide of yours," he continued, when we were seated in my room at the hotel, "is a paid spy for the 'Third Section'—the police. Every drosky-driver is a spy. Every *concierge* at every house is a spy. So when you think it safe to talk—well, you have in English an exclamation meaning hush. It is 'Sh!' So, Sh! don't mention the Czar. Sh! don't speak of the army. Sh! never talk about the nobles. Sh! don't refer to the peasantry. Always Sh! In those two letters you have the cause of that suffocation you feel, conversationally, in Russia. Since all the guides employed by travelers in this city are spies, and as you pay for the service of one of them—Sh!"

The next day I said to my guide: "Billy" (I couldn't pronounce his real name) "Billy, the streets are a-glitter with uniforms. What do you suppose all these soldiers think they are soldiering for?"

"For God and the Czar, sir."

That morning Billy took me to the railroad station to see the prisoners take the train for Siberia. Any stranger may witness that spectacle any Wednesday morning at eleven o'clock. Billy talked to one of the soldiers who guarded the five hundred prisoners. "Ask that man, Billy," I said, "what he thinks he is soldiering for."

"He says," replied Billy, "for God and the Czar, sir."

"But ask him, Billy, what else."

After a talk with the soldier, lasting fully ten minutes, Billy turned to me: "He says he doesn't know, sir."

"Now, Billy," I said, "point out for me the political prisoners in this gang?"

"*Political* prisoners, sir! There are none, sir."

In the afternoon I drove about the city with Count B——. I mentioned the spectacle of the morning. "Yes!" he said. "Among those *criminals*, you saw at least one hundred of *our* friends." Only his eyes betrayed his emotion. I understood that Billy's duty as guide was to keep strangers uninformed.

I asked the count if there was not, among the unlettered mass of the peasantry, a feeling of personal attachment for the Czar. And would not that attachment stand in the way of any limitation of the Czar's powers? "Nicholas has not taken a single step," the Count said, "to render himself popular among the peasants. They either hate him or have lost faith in him. If the Czar's powers are limited during the present reign, the peasantry will be indifferent to the change."

We were then in the Nevski Prospekt. Suddenly a *troika* dashed by, the horses at a gallop. In it was a man who bowed right and left, to people in drosky-sleds, to pedestrians. All uniformed St. Petersburg saluted and every man not in uniform lifted his hat. The count bared his head as the *troika* shot by—to that young man of whom it is said that he would rather be anything but what he is, the Emperor of all the Russias.

Two hours later, in the Palace Square facing the Winter Palace, a vast crowd had gathered. The Czar had been thrown from his *troika*, sustaining slight bruises.

"Doesn't this crowd suggest personal attachment?" I asked the Count, as we drove into the square.

"It is no more a testimonial of personal attachment," he said, "than the crowds one sees at a Lord Mayor's parade in London. A crowd like this is not permitted here. Watch!" Hoofs were heard, and a company of Cossacks charged into the square—with whips. The crowd dispersed. It had seen those whips before. All my ideas of personal attachment melted at the sight of those whips—knowing that in the hands of Cossacks the whips were not merely for horses.

Shortly after this I went up to Helsingfors, a little Paris in Finland. One day, talking with a Finnish judge, patriotism was mentioned, and I asked if the Finns would fight for Russia in case of war with Japan. "Patriotism!" he exclaimed. "Such a feeling on the part of the peoples under the Russian flag is unknown. Where there is universal discontent against a government, one can hardly expect the people to fight for that government. In Finland, this year, the government called for 7,000 recruits for the Russian army. They got exactly 280. All the remaining young men in Finland refused to respond to the levy. The Lutheran Finnish nation, of 3,000,000 souls, is revolutionary as a unit. The same with the Catholics of Poland, the Lutheran Germans of the Baltic provinces, and the Jews. Among these people, by every vain, unwise means, the government has tried to beat down the unconquerable spirit of the age in which they live. Russia dares not arm these peoples lest the soldiers turn upon their own drillmasters."

In the railway carriage, on my way back to St. Petersburg, a passenger gave me a copy of a New York newspaper in which an editorial was obliterated with lampblack. While in Russia I had seen many such smudges in foreign newspapers. Whole columns in some instances had been thus elided by government censors, who open private mail and confiscate letters at will. I took the paper to the office of Mr. Holloway, the American Consul at St. Petersburg, whose mail is exempt from lampblack. After a hunt among his uncensored papers, we found what lay beneath the lampblack in the copy that had aroused my curiosity. It said:

"All signs in Russia point to a Nemesis which will not long be delayed. Every day we hear of students and peasants breaking out in open revolt.

The lower and middle classes are sick to death of being under the heel of some official without whose sanction they can hardly tie a shoe-lace. Until lately the people believed in the Czar with a faith that was pathetic. Now the people have come to disbelieve—and the people will be avenged."

And the Jews! I knew a Russian journalist, a member of the Greek Church, whom I believed to be unprejudiced where Jews were concerned, and so I quote his words on this subject, rather than what was said by those of either the revolutionary or governmental parties or by Jews themselves:

"Whenever revolutionary pressure becomes dangerous," said he, "the government turns to its safety-valve, the Jew. As soon as the grumblings of the Mujik become ominous, the government tells him that the cause of all his poverty is the Jew—that the Jews wish to see all Christians in misery. Then they tell the Mujik, further, that it is a Christian duty to kill the Jews. Thus the simple, ignorant Mujik becomes a brute in his desperate effort to eliminate the cause of all his troubles.

"Now, in Muscovite Russia, a Jew is allowed to live on one of two conditions: either he must be a mechanic who earns his livelihood with his hands, or he must pay the 'patent' of the merchant of the first class—that is, 1,000 rubles (\$500) a year. Not until he has paid this 'patent' for ten years—many pay for the whole ten years in advance—is he permitted to come into Muscovite Russia with the right to buy and sell as he pleases as a privileged citizen. These two conditions serve the purpose, in theory, of eliminating revolutionary elements. The mechanics are so few that they need not be feared, while merchants who can pay 1,000 rubles a year for ten years are accounted rich, and the theory is that the rich Jew will support the government that protects him.

"Yet thousands of Jews are of the Revolutionary party. Many of the revolutionary newspapers are supported by Jewish bankers. After the Kishineff massacres, the authorities of Kief convened all the rabbis of the city, and commanded them to post in the synagogues placards to the effect that if the Jews would abstain from joining the movement hostile to the government they would be spared and protected, and that otherwise they would not be accorded protection. As a matter of fact, the Jewish youth, oppressed

and deprived of almost every human right, have embraced revolutionary views."

After listening to all this, I decided that even this Greek Church Russian, who called himself a conservative, was really a Revolutionist—only he did not know it. And I left Russia with the belief that if there are any men and women outside of the official class who are not of the Revolutionary party, they are not proud enough of the fact to mention it to an investigator.

To quote from the war editions of the secret newspapers of the *Russian Free Press* (they are printed in many languages, including English, that all may read):

"With the Russo-Japanese War, the time has probably come when the vast empire of the Czar will be called upon to withstand the shock of many foreign foes, and at the same time to meet the assault of those of its own household. . . . The government, not the Russian people, dreams of conquest in the Far East. With the outbreak of the war, the protest against militarism throughout the empire has increased. The news of successes of Russian arms in Manchuria since 1900 always met with an extremely cold reception in Russia. Now the news of failures and disasters in the East meets with equal indifference. The people will care naught for success or failure in the East as long as they are oppressed by military profligacy at home.

"Is the present war popular in Russia? There never will be a war *popular* in Russia while Russia remains as it is. Why should we fight for Manchuria and Korea when we cannot secure bread for our peasants? when our peasants are already overtaxed and brought to starvation by the burden of a military state? Why should we favor the military spirit, when our Cossacks already behave as ruffians and whippers of the people in the very streets of St. Petersburg? No! To the Russian mass this war is but an added calamity."

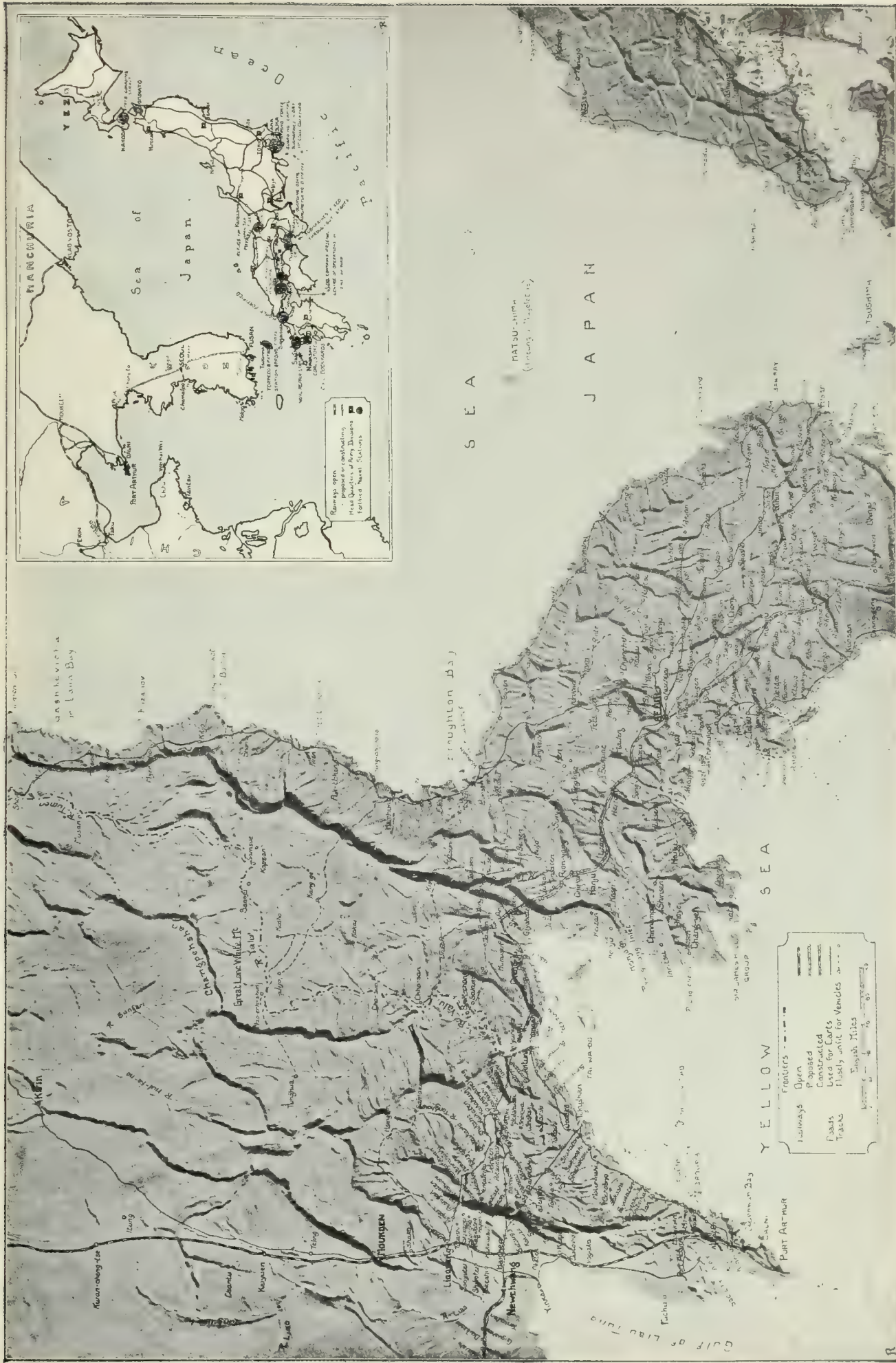
Referring to the social conditions in the country at the moment the Emperor placed the empire on a war footing, the revolutionary editors write:

"What a picture does the empire present! Its liberal-minded men languish in prison, are transported to Siberia, or are exiled from the country. Its educated youths are being

maimed by the knouts of drunken Cossacks; its peasants and laborers are being scourged and a harmless Jewish population is made the subject of massacre. . . . The mutterings heard all over Russia may herald the catastrophe which has been long delayed, but which is inevitable. . . . At this moment millions of sullen, discontented, poverty-stricken peasants and workmen are learning with fatal facility that only in revolution does there lie the slightest hope of escape from the iron tyranny that holds them in its grip. . . . Meantime the Czar suppresses, through his hired tools, every manifestation of discontent with the present state of things; persecutes every advocate of opposition to the established order; quells in bloodshed every attempt at a revolutionary movement. . . . May all liberal-minded elements the world over combine in order to meet the danger which threatens civilization from the barbarian power in Russia, join in a common resistance against its violence. It is indeed high time that this should happen. We wait for our leaders to say whether the war in the Far East offers the opportunity?"

It must not be concluded from the foregoing that there is no such thing as self-government in any part of Russia. For forty years the peasants in many towns have governed themselves by the elective process, precisely the same as the inhabitants of any town in New England. The police and the ministries meddle, to be sure. "And all that those towns require now," said Kropotkin, prince of revolutionists, in London, "is to free them from the meddling of the bureaucrats."

Meantime, those Russians who are not haters of government declare that the future of the world is with the Slav; that Russia looks ever a century ahead; that Russia is "The Inevitable"; that the Russians are the only remaining organized people on earth; that only in Holy Russia is religious faith permanent; that only in the Czar's empire are order, form, and authority in civil affairs perpetuated; that it is the mission of Holy Russia to give back to the peoples of the earth order, form, and civil authority; that it is Holy Russia which must advance the Cross for the regeneration of the world; and that the Russo-Japanese War is but another step toward the realization of these, Russia's true national ideals.



RELIEF MAP OF THE FIELD OF WAR

FROM A MAP PREPARED BY THE INTELLIGENCE BUREAU OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT OF JAPAN



THE CZAR ARRIVING ON THE MANOEUVER GROUND

The Zarina The Grand Duchess The Czar The Grand Duke The Grand Duke Waldemar
Marie Paulowna Nikolai Nikolaievitch



THE CZAR REVIEWING ONE OF HIS REGIMENTS



A TORPEDO TAKING THE WATER AFTER DISCHARGE FROM A TORPEDO BOAT



By courtesy of Leslie's Weekly

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE HARBOR



A TORPEDO LEAVING ITS TUBE



AND TOWN OF PORT ARTHUR

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GENERAL KOUROPATKIN

Russia's greatest general, now in command of her land forces, who gained a reputation for ability in central Asiatic campaigns and is idolized by his soldiers. He has won all the Russian decorations for heroism



GENERAL RENNENKAMPF

"The Rupert of the East." Commander of the Russian cavalry, and a dashing and popular leader. His departure for the East was the occasion of an enthusiastic demonstration



GENERAL DRAGOMIROFF

Next in distinction to General Kouropatkin. He showed great bravery in the Russo-Turkish War, once forcing a passage of the Danube in the face of the Turkish army



ADMIRAL MAKAROFF

Commander of the Russian sea forces. He made some daring torpedo attacks in the Russo-Turkish War, and is well known as inventor of the Ermak ice-breaking steamers



MARQUIS YAMAGATA

Prime Minister of Japan and Field Marshal of the empire. He performed good service in the Satsuma rebellion in 1877 and in the war with China, and is a capable administrator as well as soldier



MARQUIS OYAMA

Chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Army, who took Port Arthur in the war with China, and who is the great Japanese military organizer



ADMIRAL TOGO

Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Navy, who directed the fleet in the attack on Port Arthur



ADMIRAL URIU

Educated at the United States Naval Academy. His fleet sank the *Variag* and *Koriets* at Chemulpo



GRAND DUKE ALEXIS

High Admiral of Russia, who has gone to the Far East to supervise the naval operations



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SAKHAROFF

Former Chief-of-Staff of the Russian Army, made Minister of War to succeed General Kouropatkin



BARON SHIBUZAWA

Japan's leading financier and industrial organizer. (See page 4635)



MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

President of the Japanese Privy Council, now on a special mission in Korea

THE GENIUS OF JAPAN

THE METHODICAL PREPARATIONS MADE FOR THE WAR—JAPANESE SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SERIOUSNESS—HOW THE JAPANESE HAVE MADE FIGHTING A BUSINESS—THE THINGS THAT MAKE FOR A POSSIBLE SUCCESS AGAINST RUSSIA

BY

ALEXANDER TISON

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF TOKIO

JAPAN has given the world many surprises, but never a greater surprise than her latest. In truth, Japan seems not to be able to go to war without surprising the rest of the world. The war with China was a revelation. Japan got ready for it in the face of the world, but no one seemed to be prepared for what it showed about Japanese fighting powers. The Boxer trouble was yet another revelation of Japan's military training and fitness. For years Japan has been making ready for this war, and all the while Russians great and small, from the Czar, grand dukes, ministers of state, generalissimos of the army, and men of all succeeding grades down to the humble secret-service men and spies, have been freely going up and down from end to end of Japan without knowing enough about what was going on to be ready for the blow when it came. Or can it be that Russia knew all her foe's plans and purposes; but, knowing them, did not believe Japan would dare to strike the blow?

"Remember, your foe is brave, confident, and crafty." So spoke the Czar, ten days after the war began, to a battalion of Siberian Rifles on their departure for the Far East. But Russia began with the capital mistake of despising her foe.

Every provision for putting all the power of the Japanese nation in the field was complete last summer, before Japan took up the discussion of her "irreducible minimum," which Russia treated with such scant courtesy. To the diplomatic business then in hand the exceptionally well-equipped Foreign Office at Tokio was able to give the undivided attention of the Japanese Cabinet, while in St. Petersburg all was feverish haste to put off the crisis till in some measure preparation could be made to meet it.

Russian unreadiness almost passes belief, yet no one doubts that Russia has spent more than Japan to prepare for the war. Where has the money gone? Already the despatches bring ugly rumors about the absence of coal in Russian depots, and obscure suggestions as to lack of penetrating power in Russian shells. The Chinese were handicapped by this sort of thing ten years ago, and it gave Japan then, as now, a great advantage. The "squeeze" has come to perfection in China, but the Chinese have no monopoly of venality.

So much for the things that belong peculiarly to this war. There remain the weightier things which would have to be reckoned with by any power at any time in a war with Japan. For all the many changes in Japan, of which we hear so much, the Japanese people as a people are essentially unchanged, and in fundamental things they are, it may be, unchangeable.

The Chinese in their war with Japan ran so fast that the Japanese could not catch them. Some may think that the Japanese would have run if the Chinese had not. No greater mistake could be made. No people living are more fearless than the Japanese. Death has no terrors for them. Some say that their calm endurance of pain and Spartan indifference to death are purely physical characteristics, while others count these things to be the effect of opinion and belief; but whatever their cause, nobody questions the fact. It is as true today as it was three hundred years ago, when the quaint words of Will Adams were written, that "The people of this lland of Japon are curteous above measure and valiant in warre." They are bold and heroic by nature. Deeds of daring and desperate adventure may be looked for from them as a thing of course.

Patriotism, too, is a passion with the Japanese. The tie which binds every Japanese to his emperor is closer than that between father and son. To die for his lord has always been the highest ambition of a Samurai. Time has not touched this ancient passion save to intensify it. The Japanese nation knows no division. It is as one man consumed with patriotic zeal to die, if need be, for the emperor, whom with unquestioning reverence the Japanese style "the Son of Heaven."

The Japanese are not dreamers, dawdlers, and petty weaklings. Sir Edwin Arnold, looking at a phase and misunderstanding it, said that the Japanese would not and could not take life seriously. Nothing could be further from the truth. Their private and public purposes are serious and their plans intensely practical, if not at times even prosaic. While we are in love with all that is picturesque and beautiful in old Japan, modern Japanese are quite as much in love with the serious business of life and all material progress in the arts of peace and war. They resent the suggestion that "they have the nature rather of birds or butterflies than of ordinary human beings." If they only fight hard enough in the present fray they may vindicate among other things their right to be taken seriously in the business of this workaday world.

No sacrifice is too great for the Japanese to make in such a cause at such a time as this. No man, woman or child in the empire will hold back money or life in the hour of the country's need. This is no perfervid figure of speech, but a plain statement of the fact.

The Japanese believe in themselves. They have gone into the war with Russia expecting to win. Self-reliance marks the Japanese in all relations of life. It is a quality which makes for their success. "They can, because they think they can." Aggression and insult the Japanese have always been quick to resent. China, time out of mind, has been treated like a conquered province. Cuffs and kicks are the only arguments used by some in dealing with Chinese of the lower class. That has never been a safe thing to try in Japan.

Alert and vigorous in mind and body, the Japanese may well be styled by the Czar, crafty. The enemy are likely to call intelligent skill and address by the name of craft.

The Japanese soldier is pretty sure to think of things to do and to use his head in doing them. Possibly in nothing more than this will he be found to differ from his brave Russian adversary.

The Japanese are deft. They do not bungle. Theirs is an almost infinite aptitude for detail and capacity to set things in order and marshal and carry through complicated functions without hitch or confusion. Nothing about this war has been left to be extemporized under the spur of occasion, and what has been planned will go through according to schedule, as smoothly as if it had been rehearsed a hundred times.

Moreover, it has been for ages the business, no less than the pleasure, of the Japanese to fight. They are thus warriors by tradition and inheritance, with all that this implies. Japan was like an armed camp till Perry came, and there has been quite enough fighting since Perry's time for Japan to keep her hand in. True, the Japanese navy is but a thing of yesterday, and not rich in traditions, but it seems to get on pretty well without them, and it may be fairly furnished with traditions by the time the present war is over.

What has been bred into them for more than a thousand years the Japanese have made more and better by the best teaching of the modern schools, applied with entire directness to the business of producing an engine of war. Their army and navy have the latest and the best devices for both offense and defense that can be made in the workshops of the world, and they know how to use them.

Given a people bold, brave, and patriotic, with serious and lofty aspirations for their national life; let them be self-confident, self-respecting, and ready to lay all that they have and are on their country's altar; suppose them intelligent, vigorous, efficient, resourceful, and persistent, disciplined in the arts and furnished with all the instruments of war; set before them something worth fighting for, and what may not be expected?

What is at stake for Japan now? Nothing less than her national life. Russia may deny this, but you cannot get a Japanese to believe that it is not so. There is talk of trade and the "open door," but Japan recks little of these things at such a time. She fights for her life, and Russia must reckon with this fact.

There is nothing about the war to fire the blood of a Russian. The most Russia can gain by it is a port free from ice and a territorial addition of more to that which may already be too much. Possibly, too, Russia could have had her port without a war if she had taken the trouble to satisfy Japan that she would be content with that.

Moral isolation in the world's sympathy is a position which no country will care to be in any longer than it can help. Is it too much to hope that this position may become so uncomfortable as to hasten the return of that firm and abiding peace which we, as good friends of both parties, must do all in our power to promote.

THE GENIUS OF RUSSIA

THE UNIVERSAL BELIEF IN A WORLD-CONQUERING DESTINY—HOW THE EMPIRE HAS STEADILY GROWN—ITS POPULATION INCREASING 2,500,000 A YEAR—THE PERSEVERANCE AND THE CHEERFULNESS OF THE RUSSIANS—THEIR STRONG RELIGIOUS FEELING—THE TESTAMENT OF PETER THE GREAT—THEIR LEADERS MEN OF GREAT ABILITY

BY

GEN. FRANCIS V. GREENE

(Major-General of Volunteers in the war with Spain; U. S. Military attaché with the Russian Army in the war with Turkey; author of "The Russian Army and Its Campaigns in Turkey, 1877-78," "Army Life in Russia," and "The Mississippi Campaigns of the Civil War.")

IN the fifteenth century, the Principality of Moscow was an inland State, about as large as France (204,000 square miles), but containing only a small fraction of its population and entirely insignificant as compared with France in wealth, power, or influence. Spain was then Mistress of the Seas, England was just rising into prominence, and France was the preëminently great power. Today the Empire of Russia, into which the Principality of Moscow has expanded, has an area of more than 8,500,000 square miles in one continuous piece, forty times as large as France, more than ten times as large as the aggregate area of the five great powers of Europe—one-sixth of all the land in the world. Its population of 140,000,000 souls is nearly one-tenth of all the people on earth, and is equal to that of Germany, France, Great Britain, and Austria combined; it is increasing at the rate of 2,500,000 per year, not through immigration, but through the surplus of births over deaths. In the sixteenth century, this Russian nation reached the Arctic Ocean by way of the White Sea—a barren performance. At the close of the seventeenth century, under Peter the Great, it found an outlet via the Baltic to western Europe and the Atlantic. At the

close of the eighteenth century, under the equally great Catherine, it gained a foothold on the Black Sea, with possibilities (not yet fully realized) of access to the Mediterranean. At the close of the nineteenth century, it reached the Pacific, after crossing Europe and Asia with its own rails. Its position in the world by reason of the size of its continuous territory, the number of its comparatively homogeneous population, and its never-ceasing expansion during nearly five centuries—is altogether unique.

What are the characteristics of this people, what is their purpose and what do they seek to accomplish, what are the chances of succeeding in their purpose? These questions are not easy to answer. The Russian characteristics are varied. Their purpose seems plainly evident to some, but is disputed by others; their chances of success involve the future history of the world.

First among the characteristics may fairly be cited a dogged perseverance, which laughs at obstacles, makes nothing of terrible hardships and privations, and pursues with never-failing effort and without discussion an object once clearly defined. In the private soldier this perseverance takes the form of fording rivers filled with floating ice, of carrying on a

winter campaign across mountains and through deep snows, without blankets or tents, of crossing the deserts of Central Asia under a scorching sun, without water—and all this cheerfully, joyously, without grumbling or discontent. In the great statesmen this quality is shown by a continuity of purpose, from generation to generation of successive ministers, always working toward the same point, and sacrificing their time, their health, their wealth, and often their reputation, in the pursuit of the ideals which have come down from Peter's time.

Next in importance, and perhaps even more important, is their lack of education. In 1877 among the recruits annually drafted for the Russian army, the proportion who could read and write was only 3 per cent.; in Germany it was 97 per cent. I doubt if these proportions have changed in the intervening years. The latest statistics show that in the Russian population of 140,000,000 only 1,750,000 boys and 550,000 girls were at school, or in all $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the United States the school enrolment is 20 per cent. and average attendance 15 per cent. Even in Japan, Russia's present antagonist, where the very idea of public common school was unheard of but a generation ago, the attendance is nearly 10 per cent., there being almost twice as many children at school, although the population is only one-third of that of Russia. A nation so close to the Middle Ages, so backward in education and in all the elements of civilization—literature, arts, mechanics, industries, commerce—that spring from education and depend upon it, can only be feeble as compared with the strength which would otherwise pertain to its numbers and area. Were Russia as advanced in civilization as Germany or England it would well-nigh dominate the world—certainly it would control Asia and Europe.

Another conspicuous quality of the Russians is what friendly critics would call their deep religious faith, and hostile critics their ignorant superstition. The Russians do not observe the Ten Commandments more closely than the other Christian or Jewish races, but they do observe the religious ceremonies of the church more closely than any other race except the Jews. They do accept without question or doubt the teachings of the Bible as it is explained to them, their sense of reverence is undiminished, and they believe

that God is personally directing the affairs of this world. Further than this, they are certain that the Czar is directly commissioned by God to carry out His purposes. A religious faith like this may have no results in morals, but it is a factor to be reckoned with in public affairs, for it leads those who possess it to deeds of heroism, perhaps fanaticism, which otherwise might not be anticipated.

Finally, the Russian is light-hearted. He has not much of this world's goods, and does not expect to have more. But with such as he has he is content, and he knows little or nothing of the great world beyond Russia. He is not morose, does not brood, but sings his songs, cracks his jokes, eats his cabbage, soup, and black bread, smokes his *papier-rosse*, drinks his strong *vodka*, repents in the morning and goes to work rejoicing, cheerful, free from care. This, too, is a quality not to be overlooked in estimating the Russian's capacity for public affairs or achieving great projects. Docile, obedient, cheerful, persevering, reckless of privation or danger, filled with a deep religious awe—or superstition, if you will—this is the average Russian; disregarding the educated and official class, and the discontented Nihilists, both of whom constitute, probably, less than 5 per cent. of the population.

The Nihilists may be disregarded—they have great intelligence, are profoundly dissatisfied, have committed terrible crimes, and have at times disarranged the social fabric; yet after a generation of effort they have accomplished nothing permanent, they have made no impression upon Russian institutions of government or society, and they have at present less influence than at any time in many years past. The small educated class of government officials, on the other hand, is a factor of the highest importance. In the lower grades he is simply a bureaucrat, enmeshed in red tape, faithful, and painstaking, but devoid of originality or initiative. But in the upper grades, the statesmen and soldiers of the highest rank, the good qualities of the Russian peasant—his perseverance, endurance, cheerfulness—all in a sublimated form, have produced for generations the very highest type of leaders. Gortchakoff, Giërs, Melikoff, Ignatieff, Todleben, Skobelev, Gourko, the two brothers Shouvaloff, Witte—these are only a few of the commanding spirits of the last forty years. At all times

during the two centuries since Peter the Great's reign Russia has had in her service the keenest diplomats, the most skilful soldiers, the most eminent statesmen—men of genius, highly educated, familiar with the literature of other languages as well as their own, well informed by study and extensive travel of the history and customs of other people—and all of them believing implicitly in the mission of Holy Russia.

As to the purpose of the Russians and what they seek to accomplish, this is to be learned more by a study of their history than of their own writings. The spurious "Testament of Peter the Great," although a somewhat clumsy forgery, is nevertheless a fairly accurate and truthful statement of Russia's political ambitions. It was first referred to in a book of which large numbers were found in Napoleon's baggage at Moscow, in 1812; it was given in full in a French publication in Paris in 1839, and afterward republished in 1854 at the outbreak of the Crimean War. It accords with the whole trend of what Napoleon said about Russia to his various secretaries at St. Helena. Quite probably the document was inspired by Napoleon as a justification for his invasion of Russia, and gives Napoleon's ideas of Russia's purpose based on her history during the century between Peter the Great and himself; and her history during the century since Napoleon has followed the same lines. In his document Peter is made to say to his descendants and successors on the Russian throne that

"The All-Powerful . . . permits us to look upon Russia as called upon to establish her rule over all Europe. . . . We look upon our invasion of the West and the East as a decree of divine Providence, which has already once regenerated the Roman Empire by an invasion of 'barbarians.' The emigration of men from the North is like the inundation of the Nile, which at certain seasons enriches with its waters the arid plains of Egypt. We found Russia a small rivulet; we leave it an immense river. Our successors will make it an ocean, destined to fertilize the whole of Europe, if they know how to guide its waves."

Then follow fourteen articles of instructions which Peter is made to recommend to the "constant meditation" of his successors. They are, in substance, to dismember Poland;

"take all you can from Sweden; . . . marry Russian princes with German princesses; . . .

do all in your power to approach closely Constantinople and India; . . . keep up continued wars with Turkey and Persia; establish dockyards in the Black Sea; obtain the command of this sea, as well as of the Baltic; reestablish the ancient commerce of the Levant, and thus advance toward India; . . . Make Austria drive the Turks out of Europe; . . . The result can not be doubtful; Russia will be possessed of the whole of the East and of a great portion of Europe."

This document, fictitious as it is, and inspired by some Frenchman, probably Napoleon, from motives of hostility to Russia, does nevertheless represent the political faith of the educated Russian; and the uneducated Russian simply follows his leader. The Russian believes that autocratic government is best suited to the needs of mankind and most conduces to their happiness, just as ardently and unquestionably as the American believes in the eternal fitness of representative self-government. As the latter is sure that his form of government is destined to be adopted by all nations and races as quickly as they can be educated up to it, so the former is certain that the rule of an enlightened despot is patterned after Divine rule and is the form of government which God intends shall ultimately be established over the whole earth; and he believes that Russia is the divinely selected agent to carry this into effect.

In short, it is no exaggeration to say that not only the present but past generations of Russians have dreamed that it was the destiny of Russia to rule the world, not in this century nor the next, but ultimately; and the dream does not seem so utterly fantastic when we recall that in less than five centuries her possessions have increased from 1-250 to 1-6 of the earth's surface, with outlets to the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Mediterranean—all in one piece and inhabited by a nearly homogeneous race, differing in these two essentials so completely from the British possessions, which are even larger in area and more numerous in population. Nor can it be denied that the elements of leadership are found in a race which has produced such priests as Platon and Pobiedonosteff; such authors as Tolstoi and Turgenieff; such poets as Pushkin; such statesmen as Gortchakoff and Witte; such soldiers as Suwaroff and Skobelev.

This dream of universal dominion has led sometimes in one direction and sometimes

in another, merely as different means to a single end. First to the Baltic, then to the Black Sea; toward Constantinople, and then toward India; finally to the Pacific and to and beyond the borders of China. For two centuries Constantinople has been longed for, almost obtained in 1878 and then snatched away. For generations India was coveted, but then given up; being now considered much less important than was thought in Napoleon's time. The markets of China have now taken in popular estimation the place formerly occupied by the alleged wealth of the Indus.

And as bearing upon the question of universal empire it must be acknowledged that, in spite of corruption among their officials, the Russians have shown a conspicuous genius for colonial government. They harmonize and affiliate with subject races far more than do the English; they treat them as equals and not as inferiors; send their women and children to live among them and be a part of the community instead of sending only their men to exploit the country, extract its wealth, and then return home. Witness the results in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, even in Finland and Poland. The Mohametan in southeastern Europe and in Asia is enthusiastically loyal to the white Czar, and in all the peoples and lands subdued and annexed by Russia since the time of Ivan III. there have been insurrections in only one—Poland.

Finally, what chance have the Russians of success in their aims? So far as they dream of universal dominion, this, of course, can never be realized; but there is reason to believe that their gradual expansion around the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian, and thence southward to the Indian Ocean, will continue for generations, bringing under their rule the inferior races of Turkey, Persia, and Arabia, to the great and manifest advantage of these races, of Russia, and of the world at large. In the Far East they have met a rude check, and it is possible they may find that the present contest is the most critical in which they have ever engaged. They have shown themselves distinctly inferior to the Japanese in readiness and preparation for war; they have suffered severe defeats on the water and lost control of the sea; they are separated from their base by thousands of miles of a recently built and poorly equipped

railway, which may be destroyed at many points. Unless they can gain an overwhelming victory on the frontier of Korea, they will probably be driven back to Harbin or to a point where the distance from Japan's base will reestablish an equality between the two contestants. But as they retreat they grow stronger, and Japan, energetic and plucky as she is, grows weaker. And how will it be a year hence, or ten years hence, when Russia can, if need be, place 500,000 soldiers in Manchuria?

There is little doubt that the present struggle, if other nations do not interfere, will be a bitter one. Should Russia gain a really decisive victory, as she did over Turkey in 1878, she would seek to make Japan a mere Russian province, filled with splendid harbors and forming a magnificent outpost for the coast of the Orient. Should Japan gain such a victory over Russia, she would wish to drive Russia entirely away from the Pacific Coast, establish herself on the mainland, and put herself at the head of the Far Eastern races. But neither will be allowed to do what it wishes. Wars are not ended in that way in these days, but in such a way as the great nations think proper. In her last war, Russia had Turkey at her mercy, but she was obliged to tear up the treaty she had made at San Stefano and to submit to such terms as the non-combatant nations saw fit to allow at Berlin. And in her last war, Japan inflicted a signal defeat upon China and dictated the terms of peace in the treaty of Shimonoseki, which was ratified on May 8, 1895. But only two days later, at the dictation of Russia, Germany, and France, the Japanese Emperor signed a document in which he renounced and gave up the chief advantages he had gained by that treaty. Similarly now; it is quite certain that Japan will not become a Russian province, nor will there be any "yellow peril" under the leadership of Japan; for no matter which side wins, the treaty of peace will be made not by the two combatants, but by a congress of all the great powers, including ourselves—so far have unforeseen events carried us away from the traditions of Washington. The terms of that treaty will be such as the great nations think best for the interests of the whole world, and not alone of the two nations who have carried on the war.

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR

THE COURSE OF EVENTS PRECEDING HOSTILITIES
— THE LONG CLASH OF INTERESTS — THE
RUSSIAN COERCION AFTER THE CHINESE WAR

BY

JOHN FOORD

SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE policy of continuous aggression in the Far East which Russia has followed for the last fifty years or more had its first exponent in Count Nicholas Muravief, who became Governor of Eastern Siberia in 1847, and set himself to the task of its expansion and development. It was under Muravief that the Amur River was first fully explored, and a line of Russian fortresses erected along its entire course. It was by one of his lieutenants also that the discovery was made that Saghalien, which was later to become a source of difference with Japan, was really an island.

Russia's opportunity to make a grand seizure of Chinese territory came with the Anglo-French punitive expedition to China in 1857 and the occupation of Peking by the allies. Under the pretext of having used their influence to secure the withdrawal of these unwelcome visitors, the Russians subsequently obtained the Amur River as the boundary between the two empires, and rights to navigate and settle on the river. The net gain to Russia of her readiness to take advantage of China's extremity was equal to a country considerably larger than the State of Texas. These newly acquired lands were divided into two provinces, known as the Amur and the Maritime province, and on the Bay at the mouth of the Ussuri there arose the great fortress and naval arsenal of Vladivostok or "Dominator of the East."

THE EARLY CLASH OF INTERESTS

Thus, after less than 300 years of advance from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, the outposts of Russia came face to face with the island Empire of Japan. Covering an area of about the extent of the entire range of our Atlantic States, Japan had for two centuries and a half been closely

sealed from the rest of the world, seeking no intercourse with foreigners and permitting none. When Commodore Perry with his black ships and his letter from the President of the United States reached the Bay of Yeddo, on July 8, 1853, there was an end to the seclusion of Japan, though it took another fifteen years to break down the institutions of feudalism and to bring, with a free constitution and Parliamentary institutions, the Emperor back to his own. But even before this time, Russians and Japanese had come into collision in Saghalien, and efforts were made by Japanese envoys in St. Petersburg, in 1862 and 1867, to arrange for a definition of spheres between the two countries. The first convention made on this subject provided for the joint occupancy of the island by Russian and Japanese subjects, but after this arrangement had existed for eight years Japan was compelled to agree to the surrender of Saghalien to Russia, the latter power generously agreeing to the Japanese occupation of the Kurile Islands.

The experience which Japan had at that time of Russian diplomacy has not been forgotten, and has had something to do with her attitude in the present controversy. While this controversy had its immediate origin in the events succeeding the war with China in 1894, the fact must be borne in mind that this war was, in its turn, the outcome of a long series of antecedent events, and an almost inevitable incident of the geographical position and rapid growth of Japan. A Japanese statesman is reported to have said: "Korea is like an arrow with the point aimed at our hearts"; and through all the negotiations which preceded the present war it was steadily maintained by Japan that it is indispensable to her safety and welfare to maintain the independence and integrity of

FACTS ABOUT RUSSIA

2½ times as large as the United States and Alaska.
The United States has 53 times as many miles of telegraph and sends 15 times as much mail.

36,000 miles of railroad, ¾ of it owned by the Government.
The United States has 23 times as many factories.
1-20 as much coal produced and 1-6 as much iron as in the United States.



FACTS ABOUT JAPAN

The empire includes 3,000 islands, stretching nearly 2,900 miles.
Area 147,123 square miles, nearly as large as the North Atlantic State.

Coal the chief wealth—9,000,000 tons mined in 1901.
Textile production increased from \$0,000,000 worth in 1886 to \$1,000,000,000 worth in 1901.
The population in 1900, 44,805,500.

MAP SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE RUSSIAN

DISTANCES
St. Petersburg to Vladivostock
5,800 miles.

St. Petersburg to Port Arthur
6,000 miles.
Vladivostock or Port Arthur to Harbin
200 miles.

30,000 miles of coast line, half of it ice-bound.
 Total exports \$350,000,000.
 Population in 1903, 141,000,000—
 Russians 66%, Poles 7%, Finns 5%,
 Turco Tartars 9%, and Jews 3%.

Next to the United States as a grain-producing country.
 Average laborer gets 4 as much wages as in the United States;
 Only 90 daily papers.



FACTS ABOUT KOREA

The area is 82,000 square miles.
 There are 9 treaty ports.
 Gold the great mineral wealth
 —nearly \$3,000,000 worth exported annually.

The population is 17,000,000—
 including 25,000 Japanese who control the country's activities.
 Education costs \$165,000 and religious sacrifices \$186,000.
 The navy consists of 23 admirals and one iron-built coal-barge.

DOMINIONS AND THE ROUTES TO THE WAR AREA

Manila to Yokohama 2,848 miles.
 New York to Yokohama via the new Panama Canal 10,091 miles.

New York to Yokohama via the Suez Canal 13,391 miles.
 Odessa to Vladivostock 10,823 miles.

Korea and to safeguard her paramount interests therein. From the very earliest times, Korea has been under the control of some outside nation, sometimes of China, for a longer time of Japan, and for 200 years under the joint suzerainty of both. After the restoration in Japan in 1868 her relations with Korea were disturbed by the manifestations of contempt which the rulers of that country took every opportunity to cast on the adoption by Japan of western customs.

Matters went from bad to worse, till Japan was compelled to do for Korea what the United States had, by Commodore Perry's expedition, done for her. Korea being compelled to open her doors to foreign intercourse, made a treaty with Japan in 1876, under which the independence of the peninsula was definitely declared, Fusan was recognized as a Japanese settlement and port of commerce, and a promise was given to open two new ports within a stated time. But China was by no means prepared to withdraw her claim to suzerainty over Korea, and it was only in 1885 that a convention was signed at Tientsin providing that both China and Japan should withdraw their troops from Korea, and that in case of renewed disturbances there neither government should take action without informing the other.

Russia appeared on the scene in the Korean capital for the first time in 1886, when a plot was discovered for placing the kingdom under Russian protection. It was at this time that Great Britain seized Fort Hamilton, in the Korean Straits, surrendering it only on receiving, through China, an explicit and official pledge on Russia's part that she should not occupy Korean territory under any circumstances whatever. Meanwhile, the Czar had issued his ukase commanding the construction of a railway across Siberia by the shortest way possible. The process of survey had not proceeded far when it was discovered that the shortest way to the port of Vladivostok passed through Chinese Manchuria, thus avoiding the great northern bend made by the valley of the Amur. Accordingly, in 1893 Russia obtained the consent of China to construct an extension of the Trans-Siberian Railway, to be known as the Chinese Eastern Railway, by the short cut across Manchuria.

The significance of this move was fully realized by the statesmen of Japan. It was

evident that the object of Russia was to reach the Yellow Sea, where she could have an ice-free harbor all the year round. The Russianization of Manchuria would merely be a prelude to the destruction of the independence of Korea, and the absorption of both would necessarily threaten the national existence of Japan. A perception of this impending danger doubtless helped Japan to come to a prompt decision when China refused to be governed by the treaty of Tientsin in dealing with the troubles produced by the anti-foreign movement in Korea in 1894.

THE WAR WITH CHINA

Japan took the position that the Korean Government, which was primarily responsible for the turbulence of its subjects, should be compelled to reform itself, and she invited the aid of China in enforcing this advice. China refused to accept her share of the task, which Japan undertook to carry out alone. On July 18, 1894, the Korean Government formally requested the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, which had been sent to insure the restoration of order in the country. On the 20th the Japanese Minister sent an ultimatum to the Koreans, giving three days in which to consider the needed reforms, which, if not adopted, he announced would be carried out by force. The Korean Government threw itself on the protection of China, and the war began which left Japan an easy victor at sea, and gave her possession of the Liaotung Peninsula, with Port Arthur, Talienwan, and Kinchow in occupation of her troops.

Then came the intervention of the European powers, and the appointment of Li Hung Chang as special envoy to negotiate a treaty of peace. That treaty involved a recognition of the full and complete independence of Korea, the payment of an indemnity of \$100,000,000, and the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula. These terms were accepted by the Chinese envoy with the less hesitation because he had previously come to an understanding with the Russian representative at Peking by which the intervention of the Czar was promised to prevent the permanent occupation of the Chinese mainland, at the southern point of Manchuria, by Japan. Accordingly, six days after the signing of the treaty, a joint note was forwarded to Peking

by the Russian, German, and French governments protesting against the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula, on the ground that its retention by Japan, with the stronghold of Port Arthur, must be regarded as a permanent threat to the independence of the Chinese Empire as well as of Korea, and a danger to the peace of the Far East.

This intimation was courteously conveyed to Japan, but she was given at the same time plainly to understand that the three powers meant to back it up by force if necessary. It was a bitter pill for a young nation to have to swallow after the intoxication of unchecked victory by sea and land, but Japan swallowed it without even pulling a wry face—than which no greater proof of self-restraint could well be given.

Some two years and a half after Japan's retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung, and by way of avenging this outrage a German squadron anchored off the harbor of Kiaochau and landed troops to occupy the town. Thereupon, Germany demanded the cession of Kiaochau, to be used as a naval and commercial base, and China had perforce to accede to the demand. It is rather a matter of inference than of historical fact that the occupation of Kiaochau was preceded by an understanding with Russia.

In any case, it formed the basis of a claim by the latter power that the obtaining of a naval base by Germany in North China had disturbed the balance of power, and affected Russian interests adversely. Accordingly, on December 18, 1897, Russia proceeded to occupy Port Arthur and, in due course, placed powerful guns on the heights, filled the place with troops, and closed the harbor to all except her own vessels. This act brought home to Japan, in the most forcible way, the essential incompatibility between her own safety and the continued advance of Russia. The impression became all the stronger when it was made evident that the absorption of Manchuria, justified by the presumed necessity of guarding the railroad and the Russian interests which had grown up along its course, was but a preliminary step to the extension of Russian influence over Korea.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CONTROVERSY

Thus when it became certain that Russia

had no intention of respecting her repeated promises to terminate the military occupation of Manchuria, the Japanese Government, toward the end of last July, invited the Russian Government to confer upon the subject of securing the permanent peace of Eastern Asia by a friendly adjustment of all questions relating to Manchuria and Korea where the interests of Japan and Russia meet.

The Russian Government expressed its willingness to enter into negotiations, and on the 12th of last August the Japanese Government, through its representative at St. Petersburg, proposed a basis of agreement of which the chief points were a mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea, and to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in so far as either had the influence to do so, in those countries. In its counter proposals, the Russian Government positively refused to make any engagement to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China in Manchuria, or to agree to any stipulation for the maintenance of the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations there, and requested Japan to declare Manchuria and its littoral entirely outside of her sphere of interest.

Russia was prepared to recognize Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, but proposed to restrict her liberty of action in Korea in various ways, going so far as to ask for the establishment of a neutral zone including all Korean territory north of the 39th parallel. The Japanese Government failed to see why Russia, who professed no intention of absorbing Manchuria, should be disinclined to insert in the convention a clause in harmony with her own repeatedly declared principle respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. Both politically and commercially, she regarded herself as having interests in Manchuria quite as important as those of Russia, and she therefore declared her inability to recognize Manchuria as being entirely without her sphere of interest.

Failing to secure a reconsideration by the Russian Government of this important point, the negotiations were broken off and the war began.

WHAT RUSSIA FIGHTS FOR

HOW SHE HAS CIVILIZED ASIA—MANCHURIA CHANGED FROM A LAWLESS WASTE TO A COUNTRY OF LAW AND PROGRESS—JAPAN DETERMINED TO RULE ON THE MAINLAND BY THE SWORD — RUSSIA'S CAUSE THE CAUSE OF CIVILIZATION

BY

CAPTAIN EDWIN WINTHROP DAYTON

THE only race in Europe that can touch the Oriental with a natural bond of human sympathy is the Russian. The Russian noble who can boast of Tartar blood is proud to claim his racial tie with Asiatic nations. Russian expansion in the Far East is the rising tide of a natural race movement along broad historic lines.

When Russia has absorbed small nations to the west she has been impelled by political and therefore unnatural causes.

Finland and that part of Poland which fell to Russian control when the nationalities of middle Europe were changing their frontiers have been the least harmonious additions to the Russian family, because Finland and Poland are too western in race affiliations to be readily adjusted to Eastern methods.

But wherever the Russian flag is flying over people of Eastern blood one finds a wonderful record of local improvement. Here Russian authority comes in kindly guise and meets with glad acceptance. The new rulers have soon proved themselves wise brothers who have been away in the West learning the arts of civilized life and have returned bearing the fruits of their hard-learned lessons to those parts of their own race waiting in the fatherland. The gradual extension of the eastern frontier has slowly absorbed territories black with countless ages of ignorance and cruel barbarism, but always quick in response to the uplift of the comprehending Russian life. Among various causes for ready success among Asiatics are especially the Russian's aptitude for Oriental tongues and his wonderful toleration of the various religions with which he comes in contact.

Russia has brought freedom to more men with less bloodshed and fewer blunders than any other nation. Beginning at home with her own ignorant serfs, she has accomplished a more certain moral, intellectual and social

success with a great mass of people than any rival nation. Fifty years ago, among the *mujiks*, or peasants, who enlisted in the army, one in fifty could read and write; today the record is one in three, and the next generation will raise this percentage to at least two in three.

When General Skobelev had subdued Goek-Tepe, in Turkestan, and Russian blood had redeemed central Asia from the cruelty and barbarism of ages, the only Russian demand enforced upon the independent neighboring States was the instant and complete abolition of human slavery. At Kuldja, in the Farther East, when the Taeping rebellion had been put down, the story of Merv was repeated. Passing scores of other corroborative cases, we come to Manchuria. Up to that point at least the Russian flag has advanced through Asia for Asia's good.

For a century before 1894 lawlessness had reigned supreme in all except the most southern portion of Manchuria. In 1894, Japan, grown strong in western military and naval science, seized an opportunity to attack China—vast but almost helpless. The ensuing campaign was scarcely a war—more truly described as a military promenade.

With her helpless neighbor prostrate, Japan demanded of China the cession of Manchuria, Formosa, The Pescadores, and the payment of a vast sum of money. All this spoil of war was obtained through no other warrant than that of a successful military raid. Japan had absolutely no claim to these lands other than her ability to wrest them from China by force. In all the centuries Japan has never established in Manchuria any enterprise, benevolent or commercial, upon which could be based any claim whatever for the right to invade its soil.

Three weeks after the signing of the treaty

which ended the war; the European concert (Russia, France, and Germany) compelled Japan to relinquish one part of her unrighteous spoil—Manchuria—which thus was restored to China.

In 1895 Count Cassini, the Russian Minister at Peking, concluded a treaty with the Chinese Government by which Russia obtained certain rights and privileges in Manchuria. This treaty, in strong contrast to the ruthless aggression of Japan, was essentially an instrument of peace. Under its provisions Russia undertook the construction of a great railway system from one end of the desolate land to the other—agreed to assume the responsibility of restoring law and order—specifically agreed to establish and maintain requisite military posts throughout the country traversed by the railway, for the period of eighty years covered by the lease; undertook to promote the exploitation of the mines of the provinces by Chinese and Russian subjects. In return for the vast outlay of labor and money, Russia obtained from China the right to occupy the open-water way at Port Arthur in addition to the construction and operation of the railway.

The vast populations of interior northern Asia must have an outlet to the sea. Therefore, Russia rented by straightforward business methods the necessary port. Port Arthur is essential to the successful conduct of the great Siberian Railway—not for war, but for commerce.

Up to the time when Russia secured this harbor it had never served other than merely local uses. It was in no way essential economically to either China or Japan, both rich in open ports. It is true that Russian soldiers were called upon to defend themselves in Manchuria during the Boxer outbreak of 1900; but they were there not as aggressive intruders, but in exact fulfilment of their country's treaty obligations.

The development of Manchuria within seven or eight years has been a modern miracle. Within these years Russia has spent \$300,000,000. Clean, well-planned, strongly built, modern towns exist where before were only huddled Chinese hovels. Contented, prosperous, happy dwellers live in the towns and on the farms—Chinese and Russian alike at last have justice regularly administered.

Japan meanwhile has maintained that the

advance of Russia to the sea has menaced her Empire—that this civilization growing up in Manchuria must be destroyed for her self-preservation. There has never yet been a single act of aggression on the part of Russia against any scrap of territory to which Japan could make any claim whatever. But Japan is determined to rule the mainland. It has not been Japan that has been threatened, but rather Japanese plans of imperial conquest. Japan is unwilling to see commerce and civilization win what she had hoped to seize as the easy spoil of battle.

When the Boxer insurrection was finally subdued and the robber bands again conquered, Russia wished to withdraw the bulk of her forces from Manchuria. Early in 1903 this plan was so far advanced that the Russian troops were all withdrawn beyond Mukden, with the exception of small details of railway guards and the garrison of Port Arthur. Immediately serious disturbances broke out in Mukden caused by numerous bands of Hunchuses armed with the most modern rifles. The preservation of her vast commercial and railway interests compelled the return of Russian soldiers to the disturbed districts. The interesting question has been raised—whence did the Hunchuses obtain their modern ordnance? Certainly not from either Russia or China. Suppose that the United States had invested \$300,000,000 in Cuba, and just as the American troops withdrew there had been an outbreak of organized and well-armed bands, whose purpose was to destroy that investment—can any American suppose that we should have adhered to our agreement to withdraw under such circumstances? The further withdrawal of troops was made impossible by the manifest intention of Japan again to seize the spoil which had lain within her grasp, however unworthily, in April, 1895. Japanese agents have been active among the remnants of the robber bands (*hunchuses*) intriguing for the destruction of the railway at the first favorable opportunity. Since 1895 it is no secret that Japan has strained every resource in the development of an army and navy which could have no possible reason to exist except for a renewed attack upon the Chinese coast. A year ago it was the common boast in Tokio that not even a shoe-string remained to be bought, and as to the financial question involved in this vast armament it is certain that the

country could not continue to bear the drain of money for any long period. Japan having thus invested vast sums of money, found herself in a critical dilemma. Russia's money had been spent to win a conquest by civilization's newer kind of warfare—commercial enterprise.

For Japan to change front and meet the foe on this new kind of battle-ground was possible, for Korea lay close at hand and open to Japanese trade influences—a far more promising field than Russia had found in Manchuria. But Japan could not afford to dismiss her great army or retire to her ports the splendid navy and substitute the less-heroic trader and merchant ship. With Japan prepared and determined to fight, the chance was almost lost, because the Czar longed for a reign of peace. Rather than enter upon a bloody war, the Czar compelled his ministers to grant various concessions, until Japan, fearing the last excuse for war might be lost, determined to strike while yet some show of reason could be found—and thus war broke.

The history of the world will show no island people permanently conquering a neighboring mainland. England had many a foothold across the Channel, but lost them all. Japan has attacked Korea often in the centuries past, but in the end was always expelled by the people indigenous to the soil of the mainland.

The strain of Malay blood in the Japanese will not permit them to enter into harmonious

relation with the Mongolian peoples of the great continent. After the China war, Japan might easily have developed paramount interests in Korea, but instead chose to attempt a *coup d'état* by kidnapping the king and queen and seizing the government. The king and crown prince escaped, and Japan stood again convicted—the unscrupulous marauder.

In sharp contrast to the great improvement in every department of life in Manchuria we see in Korea everywhere the evil influence of Japan—the finances demoralized by tons of counterfeit money shipped from Japan, and the Japanese shops in Korean towns crowded with spurious imitations of English and American goods. The Japanese, inflamed with the idea that they are to be the conquerors of the world, are insolent as well as dishonest. No other foreigner in Korea is so heartily detested by the native as the Japanese; his influence has been utterly bad wherever it has touched Korean life, either public or private.

In the Island of Formosa, delivered up to Japan nine years ago, there have been constantly repeated struggles by the unfortunate natives to throw off the cruel and selfish rule of their conquerors. Although Formosa is far richer in commercial possibilities than Manchuria, the world has in no way been benefited by the Japanese occupation.

The cause of civilization and the commerce of the world have gained notably because of the Russian development of Manchuria.

THE WAR—AND AFTER

SEA POWER NOT LIKELY TO DECIDE THE ISSUE—HOW ENGLAND IS INVOLVED IN THE WAR—VICTORY FOR JAPAN THE END OF WESTERN DOMINATION IN THE EAST—THE WAR A BLESSING TO RUSSIA

BY

HENRY NORMAN

Author of "All the Russias"

I HOLD most strongly that peace in the Far East ought to have been preserved, and might have been. If England and the United States had decided that this was the only settlement that could be tolerated, they might have conveyed their views in identical communications to the two would-be belligerents. To Japan they would

have said: "Manchuria is not your affair; it is ours and the world's; we mean that it shall remain part of China, in the sphere of influence of Russia, not a military and naval menace to you or China or anybody, and with equality of trade for all. We have informed Russia that we desire to see Korea remain independent within your sphere of

influence, on the same conditions. If there is war, we shall consent neither to a settlement which turns Russia out of Manchuria nor to one that turns you out of Korea." To Russia the same communication, with names changed, would have been made. Then there would have been no war. When Great Britain and the United States say the same thing, and are ready to follow it with deeds—and that thing can be decided upon the sea—it is going to happen.

I believe firmly that such an understanding could have been reached by the two nations, if England had had a Foreign Minister as farsighted, as ingenious, as tenacious as Mr. Hay. The American Secretary of State has proved himself beyond question the foremost of living diplomatists; when the leading influence in the Far East fell from the inert hands which held it in England, John Hay took it up for his country. He has accomplished in a year what we, with our enormous start in power and prestige, have failed during a dozen years to do: he has secured the commercial integrity of China. (Except in the German province: that may come later.) And he has done this without firing a shot or without even moving a ship or a man, simply by perfect comprehension of the forces at work, by consummate skill in checking or reinforcing them, by irresistible logic of argument, by a pertinacity which nothing ruffled or turned aside, and above all by a sincerity and straightforward honesty of purpose and of word upon which nobody has ever been able to cast a moment's doubt. It is a magnificent record, and without a parallel in diplomacy.

So much for the prevention of this war for reasons common to all nations. There remain the reasons which should have caused the English, in particular, to bend every effort to that end.

I fear it must be admitted that the view of the English Government, and of a majority of the English people, has been that any defeat or humiliation of Russia would be a good thing for England. It is a deplorably short-sighted view. England's interest was never more strongly for peace than in this Far Eastern quarrel. Suppose that the first of the three possible courses I have suggested comes to pass. A victorious Russia, determined to consolidate her influence over China once for all, and a Japan in danger of losing even her independence in the future—

does anybody suppose that situation would not have involved England in war? Assuredly it would, and other nations, too. Again, take the third possible course. An indecisive war, dragging on from month to month, with Japan financially bleeding to death, with China gradually being dragged in—first as bandits, then as irregulars, then as regulars, and with the acute danger of some Balkan State taking advantage of Russia's preoccupation—would that be a state of things we could contemplate with equanimity, or indeed without interference? Again, surely not.

The triumph of Japan over Russia would mark the beginning of a new era in world-affairs. For the first time in modern history an Asiatic race would have conquered a western Christian race—and the victory would be all the more remarkable in that it had chiefly occurred on the sea, the great field of western power. The prestige of the West as against the East would be broken. There is not an Oriental nation that would not feel that a new era had dawned—that the injustice and oppression of ages was not about to be destroyed at last. In every bazaar in India, from end to end of China, in tent and tea-house throughout Central Asia, in Afghanistan, in Siam, in the Philippines, in Arabia, in Egypt, in Turkey, the leaven of unrest, of hope, of the always smoldering enmity to the western man, would seethe and swell. In Asia all native eyes would turn to Japan. Japan's eyes would turn first to China, and with the enormous prestige that the defeat of Russia would have given her she would mold China to her will. A Chinese civil service, a reformed Chinese government and law and education and finance would grow under her fostering care and her wise guidance—all excellent. Then would grow, too, first a Chinese army, and then a Chinese navy—still under Japanese control. The western powers would be growing uneasy by this time, and would be protesting and inquiring. But it would not be an inviting task to coerce Japan into ceasing to educate China. "You encouraged me to adopt western ideas," Japan would say; "why should not China be allowed to make progress also?" And there would be no answer. Then would arise the cry some of us have long foreseen.

Then would be the end of western domina-

tion in the Far East. Europe would be there on sufferance. Some may think that this would be just: the countries of the world to the people who live in them. Against this must be set the question whether the restriction of Asiatic predominance over half the world would make for the higher development of the human race.

It is most important that one fact in connection with this war should be clearly realized. *It is a fight for the control of China.* Korea and Manchuria are subordinate or indirect issues. The real object is predominant influence in Peking, bringing with it the ultimate domination of the Far East and in the future the headship of all the Asiatic races. This is the colossal stake that is being played for; in comparison with this, nothing else counts, and nobody who wishes to appreciate the significance of events must lose sight of it for a moment. Russia and Japan are the two stags in deadly combat; China is the hind awaiting the victor. To find a parallel in importance as regards the future relationships of the nations we should have to go back to the fourth or the thirteenth century. Even the ambitions of Napoleon, if they had been realized, would have affected the destinies of mankind in a less degree. The situation at the end of the war will be this: can other nations afford to allow the victor to realize his ambitions?

One more observation. The present situation is full of peril for England. To begin with, it is probable that war in the Far East will bring war in the Near East. So far the powers have accomplished virtually nothing at all in Macedonia. The Sultan's position is as desperate as that of the people of Macedonia themselves. All students of Balkan politics will be surprised if the next few months pass without war—and its incalculable consequences. Again, the situation places extraordinary power in the hands of Germany, and she will use it with sole regard to her own interests and her desire to see a diminution of British influence in the world. Further, Russia will naturally take any course, however desperate, to avoid the admission of defeat. If necessary, she will abandon Port Arthur and Vladivostok, fall back to the Amur River, and begin again from there, meanwhile seeking to bring about a diversion

by dissensions elsewhere. The position of France, in that event, would be one of the extremest difficulty, demanding the utmost delicacy and sympathy on the part of her friends. Already the flames of hostility to England are visible almost everywhere in Europe—a manifestation which is not at all surprising in view of the language of so much of the London press. From the highest to the lowest, moderation of language, respect for the feelings of other nations, and a sense of responsibility, appear to have vanished from many newspaper offices. Denunciation of Russia is as extravagant as adulation of Japan is exaggerated, and both are making England a host of fresh enemies every week. For all this a day of reckoning will surely come, for the passion roused against England will have reached its climax when—if this happens—Russia has practically evacuated Manchuria, and Japan, unable to continue a ruinous struggle of indefinite duration, requests the powers to recognize the retrocession of Manchuria to China and to decree the end of the war. Then England is likely to learn the result of her Asiatic alliance, for it is the universal conviction that it was the Anglo-Japanese treaty which rendered war in the Far East both possible and probable.

In conclusion, I will venture upon one prophecy; namely, that the result of this war will be for Russia a blessing in disguise. The policy of expansion everywhere, at any cost and by any method, whether of arms or of diplomacy, together with its authors and upholders, will be discredited. The canker at the heart of Russia—the corruption of her bureaucracy—will be cut out. The statesmen who desire to curtail military expenditure and to encourage Russian production and commerce will come back to power. The Czar will brush aside opposition to the ideals of humanity and peace that he cherishes. The unparalleled natural resources of Russia, in mines and forests and wheat-lands and cattle-lands and oil-lands and great water-powers, will be developed. This movement will weed out the incompetent and dishonest official, and Russia will, I am convinced, date a new and a better epoch from the year in which two classes of her officials deceived their Emperor and betrayed their country.