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WAR OF THE METALS.

WASHINGTONIANA.

MEXICO, HAWAII AND JAPAN.

By THEODORE W. NOYES,
PRESIDENT OF THE WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE.

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APPENDIX.

FINANCES OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PARTNERSHIP.

Annual Report as President of the Washington Board of Trade, 1898.

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CURIOUS PHASES OF THE WAR OF METALS.

The free-silver oracle speaks through a double-headed idol like the god Janus of Roman mythology. One head faces the mining camps of the Rocky Mountains; the other overlooks the farms of the Middle West and South. Through its two sets of lips the oracle speaks with contradictory tongues. To the silver owner in the Rockies, directly and specifically, and indirectly to frightened creditors everywhere, it proclaims: "Independent free coinage at 16 to 1 will double the market price of silver over all the world and enrich the bullion owner without cheating anyone else!" To farmers and to debtors it declares: "Free coinage will not double the world price of silver, but by substituting for the gold dollar a depreciated and depreciating silver dollar, it will raise prices for the benefit of the farmer, and by cheapening money it will render easier the payment of debts!"

Through one head the oracle predicts an impossibility to deceive and conciliate the honest, and through the other it proclaims the truth in a shape to tempt the dishonest. The end is held to justify the means in making converts to the religion of free silver and in swelling the throng of worshipers before the double-headed idol.

If the declaration that free coinage here would raise the price of silver to \$1.29 per ounce over all the world were taken seriously and generally believed, the silver shrine would be promptly abandoned by the great mass of its devotees. Such belief might prevent honest men from utterly destroying in righteous indignation the abhorrent image, but, on the other hand, it would rob the idol of attractiveness, except for the silver owner, and leave him almost a solitary worshiper at a deserted altar.

FREE-COINAGE MAGIC.

Jugglery by Which Silver Is to Be Doubled in Value—
The Midas Touch of Uncle Sam—Why Confine the
Wonder-Working Power to the White Metal?—
Some Suggestive Questions.

[The Washington Star, Oct. 28, 1896.]

If independent free coinage at 16 to 1 will, as Mr. Bryan insists, permanently double the value of silver over all the world, a single legislative act, performed on Capitol Hill, will cause instantaneously the Mexican dollar to buy twice as much as it now does, not only in this country, but in London and Paris also. The Indian rupee will buy twice as much as at present, not only in Bombay and London, but in St. Petersburg. The vast deposits of silver in the mines of Mexico will be instantly doubled in value. The national debt of Mexico, payable in gold, will be in effect cut in half because the Mexican silver in which it is to be paid has approached by that much nearer to the value of gold. Without inconvenience to ourselves we will have caused the hoarded silver of the Mexicans, the Hindoos and 400,000,000 Chinamen, though buried in the earth, to know 100 per cent. of increase. Every piece of silver in the world, in ore, bullion, ornament or coin, will feel the magic influence of our value-expanding edict, and at the Midas touch of Uncle Sam will assume a double share of the characteristics of gold.

If we thus have power to work miracles and to spread comparative opulence among the humble homes of more than half the people of the world, the question arises, why should we limit our beneficence to the extent of merely doubling the wealth of the silver Hindoo, Chinaman or Mexican, by fixing the coinage ratio at 16 to 1? If we can double the world's market value of silver, we can quadruple it, or multiply it by eight or by sixteen. There is no reason why we should be wedded to the ratio of 16 to 1. It does not appear that precisely this coinage ratio ever prevailed in any country in any age of the world. The "money of the Constitution" is sometimes misleadingly referred to, but the first coinage ratio under the Constitution was 15 to 1, and it was also the carefully estimated commercial ratio, on which

basis the constitutional ratio would be about 31 to 1 at the present day. We are told that in early Bible times silver was treated as equal in value to gold, the ratio being 1 to 1. Why not restore the money and ratio and parity of the Bible rather than the alleged ratio of the Constitution, thus giving to silver its scriptural value before even the most ancient of the European gold bugs began their fiendish work of appreciating gold at the expense of silver, and thus blessing the silver owner, small or great, of Mexico, India, China and all the world by increasing sixteen fold his metal's purchasing and debt-paying power?

TURNING SILVER INTO GOLD.

If Uncle Sam is to play King Midas he will appropriately enact the part in a truly royal style. He will certainly not be content with a beggarly appreciation of silver to the ratio of 16 to 1, and will undoubtedly at the very least convert all the silver outright into gold at the ratio of 1 to 1, even if he finds himself able to confine his magic touch to silver and to refrain from changing our wheat, corn and potatoes into gold.

There are still other ratios which might find advocates. There is the Columbian ratio of $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 1, which prevailed at the time of the discovery of America, and which may perhaps be entitled to consideration as the original American ratio. Outside of this sentimental consideration it is to be urged in favor of this ratio that the resulting dollar will be most convenient in size and weight for use. The 16 to 1 dollar is too bulky for popular use. A 31 to 1 dollar at the present commercial ratio would be unendurable. A 1 to 1 dollar, of the size and weight of the gold dollar, would be too small, though it is probably selfish to take into account this detail, when the blessings are considered which we are to shower under this ratio upon the world at large. A $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 dollar, the true Columbian dollar, would be a little larger than the present half dollar, making a very convenient coin for popular use.

If we can raise the value of silver over all the world to any increased price for it that we announce as to be paid at our mints, then most assuredly we should adopt for the world the Bible ratio of 1 to 1 with all the powerful arguments in its favor, or the Columbian ratio of $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 with sentimental considerations and a convenient coinage size and weight to plead for it.

The question arises, however, when we find that we can with impunity disregard scornfully the world price of silver and by legislative act fasten a new price for silver upon all the nations of a tributary earth, why should we confine our price-fixing power to silver? Why should we not extend it to some commodity of which individual Americans produce more and which they more generally possess? If by an act of legislation we can double the world price of silver, why not likewise, by Congressional enactment, double the world value of wheat, corn and cotton?

If the world price of silver is increased by free coinage to \$1.29 per ounce, as Mr. Bryan promises, the mine owner will pocket an additional profit of 64 cents on every ounce mined, an annual minimum gain to existing American mine operators alone of over \$35,000,000.

DOUBLING SILVER'S PRICE ON OURSELVES.

The theory advanced by Mr. Bryan, which maintains that by free coinage here silver will be doubled in price over all the world, treats free coinage as a purchase of the silver by the Government for a fixed price at the mints. You and I and all the other taxpayers of the United States supply the money which is to be thus expended, and the question arises, why should we who produce and own no silver double the price of silver upon ourselves when we wish to buy? How does it benefit us who do not sell silver to have it cost more? Why should we take this \$35,000,000 from our national tax money—already insufficient to supply our current needs—and hand it over voluntarily and unnecessarily to the silver owners, who make a handsome profit now in selling their silver for one-half of what we insist upon paying them hereafter?

Under the Sherman act we bought silver to be coined into money. How did that business operation differ from Mr. Bryan's proposed purchase?

We paid under the former only the commercial value of the silver; under the latter it is proposed that we double the price. Under the former the coinage was limited with the purpose of confining it to American silver or to an amount which could be maintained at a parity with gold; under the latter coinage would be unlimited. Under the former the coinage was on the Government's account, all taxpayers profiting by the difference between the commercial and the coinage value of the silver; under the latter the coinage

would be on individual account and the profit or seigniorage goes to the silver owner instead of to the nation, the aggregated taxpayers.

If we are not satisfied with our experiments under the Bland and Sherman acts, and wish to add more silver dollars to our currency than can be supplied from the millions of silver bullion already bought and lying in the Treasury vaults, why not buy the bullion for ourselves and earn for ourselves the seigniorage? Why insist upon enriching the silver-owning class at the expense of the masses, the taxpayers of the United States?

Is American shrewdness at striking a bargain totally lost? If we are going to offer to buy the four billions of silver of the world, why do we offer to pay twice what we can now get it for in the world's markets, and defend ourselves solely by saying that it will be worth the double price just as soon as we offer to pay that amount for it?

For Uncle Sam to make an extravagant guess at the price which silver will bring after he has "remonetized" it, and then insist upon paying that double price for it now, and to offer to buy all there is in the world at that price, when he can get all he wants for half of that price, is to entitle himself to a dunce's cap of the very largest size.

But the role which Uncle Sam is really expected to fill is not that of fool, but knave. Independent free coinage will array him not in the cap and bells, but in the striped suit of a convict in the court of nations. For the overwhelming majority of the 16 to 1 advocates accept the truth that free coinage will not double permanently the world price of silver, but by depreciating the dollar will raise prices and render easier the payment of debts.

All financial experience suggests that under free coinage there would be enough temporary rise in the price of silver to bring great gains to silver owners, especially to speculators, to the money handlers and money changers, to "a class at the expense of the masses," and a sufficiently speedy decline to cheat creditors for the benefit of debtors and to expose the nation to all the evils of a depreciated and depreciating currency.

THE DEBTORS' CHANCE.

Curious Phases of the Problem of Repudiation—Effect of Changing Ratios—Taking Revenge in 1896 for the "Crime of 1873"—The Wolf and the Lamb.

[The Washington Star, Oct. 29, 1896.]

Independent free coinage at 16 to 1 would benefit debtors only by swindling creditors. Every man to whom a dollar is now due would be compelled to accept for it one-half of that amount. American debtors, including the nation itself, would go into fraudulent bankruptcy at fifty cents on the dollar or thereabouts, indelibly staining the credit of the nation and that of every debtor in it.

The charge of dishonesty in free coinage at 16 to 1 is met by the allegation that the gold standard dollar has appreciated since 1873 until it is now a 200-cent dollar and needs depreciation itself by one-half to be rendered honest.

The theory of gold appreciation has been thoroughly discussed in the campaign, and in the opinion of the sound-money men has been exploded. But there is another branch of the discussion on this point which has not been so fully or so satisfactorily explored.

If it were possible to demonstrate that gold had appreciated, as alleged, this demonstration would not suffice to prove that the half-value silver dollar under unlimited free coinage at 16 to 1 would be an honest coin.

If debtors have been gradually robbed for more than twenty years by a dollar appreciating slightly though with fluctuations from year to year, the evil and crime are not to be remedied by wholesale robbery of the creditors of to-day, by a sudden and large depreciation of that dollar. One crime does not justify another. There is no retributive justice in the crime, since the persons to be robbed to-day are not the robbers of the last twenty years.

Because A, a debtor of fifteen or ten years ago, was swindled to an almost inappreciable amount through gradually appreciating money, therefore B, a creditor of to-day, should be swindled out of 47 per cent. of his due by a sudden depreciation of the money in which he is paid. This is the silver view of compensation. All creditors are grouped together

and all debtors are grouped together without regard to the years in which they lived and are arrayed against each other like the Indians and white men of old times on the frontier. If a white man killed an Indian, the Indians would, in retaliation, kill the first white man whom they met. The creditors of to-day are to be robbed 47 per cent. because the debtors of the '70s and '80s may have been robbed 2 or 3 per cent., though the debtors of the '70s who suffered this small robbery are in many instances the creditors of the '90s whom it is proposed to plunder of half their due in retaliation for the previous robbery committed in part upon themselves. They are thus plundered both going and coming.

A debtor vendetta is declared against all creditors, lasting from generation to generation, without regard to individual changes in the composition of the two classes, or even of changes in the course of years from one class to the other.

THE CURE FOR APPRECIATION.

The cure for the evils of a fluctuating, appreciating money is not to substitute a depreciated fluctuating money, but a steady, unfluctuating currency, neither appreciating nor depreciating. Any swindle perpetrated upon the debtors of 1873 is not satisfied by swindling the creditors of 1896. The statute of limitations has probably run against the previous swindle. In any event, we cannot show our abhorrence of an old rascality by resorting to a new one. The dubious and infinitesimal crime of 1873 does not justify the vast proposed crime of 1896. Nor would the one justify the other if that of 1873 were the greater.

To cure the alleged evils of an appreciating money of twenty years' development we are asked to endure the certain evils of a depreciated and depreciating money to-day. Discarding as unreliable a constantly lengthening financial yard-stick, shall we substitute instead of a stable measure, one that is constantly shortening? The evil of a changing money standard is not to be remedied on the homeopathic principle that like cures like. It is only in the nursery rhymes dedicated to Mother Goose and other members of the Goose family that the wise man who has scratched out his eyes by jumping into a bramble bush conceives the brilliant idea of jumping into another bush in order to scratch them in again.

If on account of the imagined mysterious affinity between the price of silver and all of the commodities except gold the

apparent depreciation of silver is really an appreciation of gold, and the gold dollar has been appreciating in value since 1873 until now it is a 200-cent dollar and needs to be cut in two in order to enable a debtor to pay equitably a debt contracted in 1873, it is evident that this depreciation of the dollar is just only in the case of the creditor of 1873. The debtor of no other year has had each dollar of his debt doubled upon him. The number of debts still existing which were contracted in 1873 or in the adjacent years, when on the silverites' theory our dollar was worth approximately 100 cents, is infinitesimal, and they are nearly all corporation indebtednesses, railroad, governmental and municipal, due from wealthy and powerful debtors, whose credit was strong enough to maintain long-sustained indebtedness, and who made such profitable use of the borrowed money that they might be supposed able to pay the extra interest or bonus represented by the alleged appreciation of the dollar of payment. Against the debtors of 1873 and thereabouts (not one per cent. of the entire number of debtors) who will be justly treated by depreciation of the dollar to fifty cents, if gold has really done all the fluctuating, are to be placed all other creditors than those who loaned in 1873 or thereabouts, who will be swindled in a constantly increasing amount as the date of their loans approaches the present day. Statistics show that the bulk of existing debts not yet due were contracted within the year, and that only the most insignificant fraction is older than five years, which is the maximum limit of western real estate mortgages.

RESULT OF FLUCTUATING RATIOS.

The assumption that silver has remained uniform in value, and that our gold dollar has done all the fluctuating, works out some curious results, if accepted. It is not always the debtors who have been defrauded even on this theory. The depreciation of silver or the appreciation of gold has not been continuous. Debtors who obtained loans in '86, '87, '88 and '89 and paid in 1890, for instance, paid in cheaper dollars than they gave, and defrauded their creditors, instead of being defrauded. The ratio of silver to gold in 1886 was 20.78 to 1; in '87, 21.13; in '88, 21.99; in '89, 22.10, and in 1890, 19.76.

The depreciation of silver in the silver dollar represents the alleged appreciation of the gold dollar. The silver dol-

lar has not depreciated nor the gold dollar appreciated continuously since 1873.

Debtors who borrowed in 1876 paid in 1877 in a cheaper dollar than they received. Silver appreciated or gold depreciated in those years.

Commercial ratio of silver to gold.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1876—17.88 to 1	.894
1877—17.22 to 1	.929

Those who borrowed in 1879 and paid in 1880 paid back a cheaper dollar than they received.

Commercial ratio.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1879—18.40 to 1	.868
1880—18.05 to 1	.886

Those who borrowed in 1883 and paid in 1884 paid back a cheaper dollar than they received.

Commercial ratio.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1883—18.64 to 1	.858
1884—18.57 to 1	.861

Those who borrowed in '86, '87, '88 or '89 and paid in 1890 paid in a cheaper dollar than they borrowed.

Commercial ratio.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1886—20.78 to 1	.769
1887—21.13 to 1	.758
1888—21.99 to 1	.727
1889—22.10 to 1	.724
1890—19.76 to 1	.810

Those who borrowed in '87, '88 and '89 and paid in '91 paid in a cheaper dollar.

Commercial ratio.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1887—21.13 to 1	.758
1888—21.99 to 1	.727
1889—22.10 to 1	.724
1891—20.92 to 1	.764

Those who borrowed in '94 and paid in '95, or the first six months of '96, and those who borrowed in '95 and paid in the

first six months of '96, paid in cheaper money than they borrowed.

Commercial ratio.	Bullion value of silver dollar.
1894—32.56 to 1	.491
1895—31.60 to 1	.505
1896 (six months) 30.32 to 1	.528

All but a small fraction of the indebtedness of 1896 was, according to the authorities, contracted in 1895 and 1894. In those years the creditor loaned to the debtor, on the silverite theory, 200-cent dollars; in the natural course of events, if he received payment in the first six months of 1896 he would receive dollars somewhat less than those he had loaned, but what else than swindling is it to compel him to receive for the 200-cent dollars which he loaned 100-cent dollars, on the ground that dollars were worth only 100 cents in 1873? Half of the great bulk of existing debts would, on the silverites' own theory, be stolen from the creditors for the benefit of debtors under the forms of law.

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB.

The creditors who have loaned within the last five years, including 99 per cent. of the class, when threatened with a depreciation of their dollar by half, in vain call attention to the fact that if the dollar of their debts has appreciated at all, the amount is infinitesimal and justifies in no event a greater reduction than that amount.

It seems paradoxical to liken a debtor to a wolf and a creditor to a lamb, but the situation strongly suggests the fable in which the lamb was accused by the wolf first of disturbing his drinking water, though the lamb was downstream, and, secondly, of insulting the wolf at a date which the lamb showed was prior to his birth; on the strength of which prenatal insult the lamb was torn to pieces and devoured.

The free-coinage debtor of '96 says to his recently contracted debt: "You committed against me the crime of 1873. By that crime you have fattened at my expense to twice your original size. I will now justly proceed to tear you in two."

"Alas," vainly pleads the youthful debt; "at the date you speak of I was not yet born."

THE CRIME OF 1661.

A Plea for the Remonetization of Wampum—Two Centuries of Debtors Wronged—Real Independence of European Financial Domination Proposed—Depreciation of Sea Shells.

[The Washington Star, Oct. 30, 1896.]

Hear the new American free coinage declaration of independence! A great and powerful nation of 70,000,000 people, with all our wonderful resources, is capable of having a financial policy and a distinctive money of its own; should not submit to remain in financial subjection to England or to all Europe; is able single-handed to double the price of silver or anything else in the markets of the world, and he who is so unpatriotic as to assert the contrary is a pusillanimous, crawling, traitorous creature, whom it would be flattery to characterize as a nineteenth century Benedict Arnold!

The first point of the declaration is that the gold standard, which has been the American standard in fact since 1834, and formally since 1873, is still European, foreign, alien; that in order to demonstrate our Americanism we must abandon the gold standard, which, unlike other Europeans, has not, it is alleged, become naturalized here, even after a sixty years' residence, and in establishing a new standard we must declare our independence of the world's commercial ratio of silver and gold and force upon all other nations a radically differing ratio of our own devising.

Those who thus scorn European co-operation or advice in legislating concerning the civilized world's medium of exchange derive great comfort from the opinions and suggestions of Prince Bismarck, the representative of a gold-bug despotism and the land of the Rothschilds, whose views, curiously enough, these Europe-haters themselves solicited. Bismarck, the man of gold, as well as of blood and iron, cynically replies in effect: "I was a gold bug while in control of Germany, in fact, demonetized silver, yielding to expert opinion, but while I believe in gold for Germany, I have had a predilection for bimetallism, especially for America.

which is freer to make dangerous experiments than Germany. I approve heartily of a test of free coinage in the United States if not incompatible with your interests. If you succeed Germany may imitate you if she likes, and if you fail, nobody will suffer especially but yourself, and Germany may use you as a warning and horrible example." We are to dose ourselves experimentally as apothecary's cat for Europe; we are to pull chestnuts out of the fire for the benefit of European bimetallists, and in the very performance of these humiliating roles we are called upon to please ourselves with the idea that we are proclaiming and demonstrating our independence of Europe.

The silverites' bogus declaration of independence appeals to our characteristic and dominating national pride, and attempts to pervert and abuse the national sentiment. Uncle Sam is placed in the position of a small boy who dares not take a dare, no matter how ridiculous or dangerous the feat to which he is challenged.

One of the most effective of Rogers' cartoons in Harper's Weekly deals with this appeal to Uncle Sam's false pride. The free coinage bull is pictured as tossing poor Mexico high in the air. Bryan, as a small boy in a Lord Fauntleroy suit, is urging Uncle Sam to jump with him into the bull ring and tackle the infuriated animal, saying: "He can't do that to big men like me and you, Uncle Sam."

REAL INDEPENDENCE.

If we are going to declare our independence of the world's idea of the relative value of silver and gold and the world's preference concerning its form of money, let us cut loose entirely from the effete despotisms and old world notions. Why use silver as money? The world so scorned by us has long been using it. It is identified especially with Asia, with barbarous despotisms and the half-civilized races. Shall we accept our form of money and our financial ideas from the silver bugs of China? Shall we be ruined by Chinese cheap money? Cannot seventy millions of strong, rich and brainy Americans do better than copy China, India and Mexico? What is the original and characteristic American money, for which we are indebted neither to European gold bugs, nor Asiatic silver bugs, nor any effete, old world financier whatsoever? Wampum, of course. We shall never rise to the full stature of our proud independence of the old world and its financial tyranny until we have restored this genuine

American money to the lofty legal-tender position which it occupied before it was struck down by the crime of 1661.

Wampum, the Indian, and, consequently, the original and distinctively American money, was made of cylindrical perforated beads of polished shell. It was also used for many years in the colonies, both in dealing with the Indians and among the colonists themselves. It was heartlessly demonetized in Massachusetts in 1661, in 1662 in Rhode Island, and soon afterward in Connecticut. New Netherland was slower than the New England colonies to duplicate the Massachusetts crime of 1661, but in the course of a few years, after vainly seeking to lower the coinage ratio of wampum to keep pace with the depreciation of that currency, New Netherland also followed suit and demonetized wampum.

New Netherland's desperate efforts from 1641 to 1662 to compel, by legislation, the colonists to receive the wampum at the coinage ratio fixed by law, and to preserve this ratio, though through overproduction at first, and demonetization by other colonies at last, the commercial value of the wampum was constantly depreciating, are full of interest, especially in the light of the present struggle to bolster up another falling money.

In 1641 the coinage ratio of wampum was four beads to one stiver, a stiver being an English penny, and each bead being, therefore, worth about half a cent. In that year an ordinance of the director and council of New Netherland, April 18, declared:

"Whereas very bad wampum is at present circulated here, and payment is made in nothing but rough, unpolished stuff, which is brought here from places where it is 50 per cent. cheaper than it is paid out here, and the good, polished wampum, commonly called Manhattan wampum, is wholly put out of sight or exported, which tends to the express ruin and destruction of this country (*note that Gresham's law gets in its deadly work and the inferior money expels the superior*); in order to provide in time therefor, we do therefore for the public good interdict and forbid all persons, of what state, quality or condition soever they may be, to receive in payment or to pay out any unpolished wampum during the next month of May, except at five for one stiver, and that strung, and then after that six beads for one stiver. Whosoever shall be found to have acted contrary hereunto shall provisionally forfeit the wampum which is paid out and ten guilders for the poor, and both payer and payee are alike liable.

The well-polished wampum shall remain at its price as before, to wit, four for one stiver, provided it be strung."

This ordinance made the ratio 4 to 1 for polished wampum, 5 and 6 to 1 for unpolished, and provided a penalty for departure from the legal ratios.

In 1650, May 30, the ratio was further lowered by ordinance to six white (or three black) for one stiver, while in the case of poor-strung wampum the ratio was eight white (or four black) for one stiver. The penalty for refusal to obey this ordinance was "to be deprived of their trade and business."

In 1657 (November 29) an ordinance was passed which recites the excessive and intolerably high prices resulting from the abundance of wampum and its depreciation in value, and then proceeds to reduce the ratio from six to eight white beads for one stiver. It, however, excepts existing contracts from its operation, and to prevent swindling of debtors gives them three months in which to pay up at the old ratio. In this respect it was more honest than the present free coinage proposition in its bearing upon existing creditors.

But even this reduction did not suffice, and in 1658 (November 11), in despair of holding up wampum, an ordinance was passed fixing a maximum legal price upon the commodities to be purchased with the wampum. The latter was still to be a legal tender at eight white beads to one stiver. It was forbidden to sell bread, beer or wine at a higher price in wampum than as follows: Half a gallon of beer, 12 stivers; can of French wine, 36 stivers; a coarse wheaten loaf (eight pounds weight), 14 stivers.

In 1662 the 16 to 1 ratio had been reached, and, in view of the demonetization of wampum by other colonies, a further reduction of 24 to 1 was declared by an ordinance of December 28, 1662, preliminary to its demonetization in New Netherland. If, instead of demonetizing wampum, after the example of the other colonies, New Netherland had by law re-established the old ratio of 4 to 1 as an act of justice to wampum, and contended that the price fixed by it must prevail in the other colonies, it would have done what the United States is now asked to do for silver.

If now strong in the feeling that we are great enough and strong enough with our seventy millions of people and unequalled resources to have a financial policy and a money independent of all other nations, we resolve to discard gold with European domination and silver with Asiatic domina-

tion, and to restore to its former proud position as standard money of ultimate redemption our distinctively American money, wampum, which was struck down by the crime of 1661 and 1662, we can adopt for wampum the historic ratio of 16 to 1, which prevailed in New Netherland in those years, and our policy will be sustained by all the 16 to 1 arguments which are now dinned in our ears.

It may be objected that the commercial ratio of wampum is now much less than 16 beads to 1 penny. But what of that? Will not the price which the great and glorious republic fixes for wampum at its mints raise the price to that figure over all the world? Who anywhere will be so foolish as to take less than our mint price for his wampum?

Will it not be dishonest to pay in wampum debts contracted in gold? No. As compared with wampum, gold has been appreciating in value for over two hundred years, or ever since wampum was struck down by the crime of 1661-'62. This appreciation has defrauded the debtors of the world for centuries. It is now high time that by the use as money of a commodity which has been depreciating during that period, justice should be done to wampum and retaliation practiced by debtors upon the swindling creditors of two centuries.

Will it not be favoritism toward a class of citizens, to wit, sea coast residents, at the expense of all other Americans, to make money of shells? No. The people of the interior with their gold and silver deposits have shackled America long enough in subjection to the financial policies of Europe and Asia and to their own enrichment.

Can the United States thus multiply the price of wampum in the markets of the world? Where is the Benedict Arnold who will venture to assert that this great and glorious nation cannot make the world take sea shells at the value fixed at our mints? As Mr. Bryan suggests: To such dastards as dare to lay a limit to the power of the American people I hurl their cowardice and lack of patriotism in their faces.

And what if the world will not accept our wampum money? Are we not a world within ourselves? Have we not declared our financial independence? Will not the result be to save us from the horrors of currency contraction through European drainage of our supply, to cause us to make and spend all our money at home, and thus to boom everything and to protect and enrich everybody?

SHYLOCK WORKMEN.

**Cutting Off the Nose in Order to Spite the Face—
Down with the Eighth Commandment—Proposed
Silver Independence Means a Chinese Isolation—
Our Country's Greatness.**

[The Washington Star, Oct. 31, 1896.]

The creditor Shylocks, marked for financial destruction in free coinage retaliation for the crime of 1873, include every one (millions in the aggregate) who is paid salary or wages only after service or labor is performed. To the extent to which free coinage depreciates the dollar in which wages are paid, to that extent it reduces wages, although they still remain nominally at the same figure. Let us assume that free coinage would, as many of its advocates assert, raise the price of all commodities to double their present rate. No workingman believes that his wages would be doubled at once. He knows that months and years of strikes and lock-outs would elapse before wages could be raised in due proportion. Cutting wages in half by their payment in 53-cent dollars might increase our foreign trade by placing our manufacturers on an equal footing with competitors mainly in silver countries who have the advantage of employing cheap labor. American manufacturers would not dare to propose directly to American workmen this cut in wages; but if the workmen themselves clamor to be paid in depreciated money and the same result of a reduction in wages can be reached through compliance with the workingman's own demand, the thoughtless manufacturer who overlooks the disastrous effect upon his future market of national repudiation and the adoption of a depreciated currency might be well pleased to take the workmen at their word.

The necessity of paying high wages in this country in order to keep our people up to the mark of a higher order of life, development and culture than that prevailing in Japan, China and Mexico, has been the most serious drawback in American competition with many foreign manufacturers. Perhaps a temporary seeming business prosperity might follow if our workingmen would declare of their own accord

that they are overpaid, that our money is too good for them, and that they wish to be paid in the kind of money, with the same reduced purchasing power, that satisfies foreign cheap labor. But if any American workingmen are prepared for this act of self-sacrifice, why go at it in a roundabout way by debasing the national currency—a procedure which will swindle thousands of innocent third persons who are so unfortunate as to be creditors, and work general panic and disaster? Why not move directly to the point and announce a willingness to have their wages reduced one-half without any tampering with the nation's money and the national honor?

CUTTING OFF THE NOSE TO SPITE THE FACE.

The individual who cut off his nose to spite his face is as Solomon in wisdom in comparison with the workman who, in response to the demagogue's appeal to spite the moneyed classes, cuts the purchasing power of his wages in two and leaves himself merely with the privilege of fighting for a proportionate increase to make matters even again.

As the farmer is invited to raise at his own expense as taxpayer the price of silver, which he does not produce, in the hope that in some way he will thereby also raise the prices of what he does produce, so the laborer is invited to legalize half wages for himself now in the hope that his employer, whom Mr. Bryan is teaching him to hate as his natural enemy, will philanthropically double wages in the future in order to make him as prosperous as he was before.

DEFRAUDING THE REPUBLIC'S PRESERVERS.

Another group of creditors who are to be swindled out of one-half of their dues by a 50-cent dollar are pensioners and holders of certain government bonds, the obligations to whom on the part of this republic are based upon bloodshed, danger incurred, sufferings endured and money advanced in order to save the Union. It is now proposed that a grateful nation shall show its appreciation of these services by dishonorable repudiation of one-half of the obligations incurred in the struggle to preserve the nation's life.

We are invited to revive in 1896 the spirit of 1776 and to declare our independence of the financial tyranny of England. The vital facts of the proposed independence are silver monometallism, like that of Mexico, as our national

financial system, and the payment of 100-cent debts in 50-cent dollars.

We are invited to declare not self-respecting independence, but Chinese or Mexican isolation. We do not want to be isolated. We wish to be in touch with the rest of the world. The American spirit is a conquering, absorbing, dominating spirit, not that of the surly hermit who shrinks from everybody in the recesses of his cave. We can hold our own with all the world. We want the best of everything in the world. We want to profit by the world's experience in all respects and build to higher levels of civilization upon that experience as a foundation. We want the best language, English, the coming-language of the globe. Who cares that it came to us from England, and who proposes that we declare a new independence of Great Britain, discard the English language and restore Choctaw as a distinctively American tongue to the proud position which it occupied on this continent prior to the time when it was struck down by European immigration. We want the best money in all the world in order to make domestic and foreign exchanges, and we will not, merely because England uses it, discard gold, the world's money, and substitute either the Asiatic and South American money, silver, or our own North American wampum.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

Our proposed isolation will be that of the outcast, for it will flow from repudiation of part of our national debt. We declare our independence not of the decrees of Lombard and Wall streets, but of the Ten Commandments. Our defiance is leveled not at British financial tyranny and the Rothschilds, but at the God of nations, who declares to governments as to individuals, "Thou shalt not steal."

The free-coinage pronunciamento is not a declaration of independence, but with its associated issues in this campaign is rather a proclamation of civil strife. The Chicago and St. Louis coalitionists run up the banner of repudiation, sectionalism and internal dissension. Their campaign arrays class against class, section against section, and appeals to the basest passions of the individual.

The American republic, toward which depressed but aspiring humanity in every quarter of the globe has turned for inspiration, is in this struggle subjected to a test of its right to live. Has the national conscience become corrupted?

Are the people, rent by passion and faction, class hatreds, sectional rancor and individual envy, greed and malice, to confess themselves unfit to govern themselves?

The lessons which America has taught mankind are the capacity of the people for self-government, the dignity of labor and the true greatness of nations, not merely in proclaiming peace and good will within its boundaries and to all men everywhere, but in diffusing the blessings of justice, of Christian beneficence and of the good faith which develops naturally and inevitably from a sensitive national conscience over its own people and the whole world.

The spectacle of the masses of a vast population, the masters of a new world, governing themselves with sound judgment, toiling industriously and with success for their own material, intellectual and moral advancement, toward whose progress the law, the government and all the national institutions are tributary, has given life and strength to the spirit of liberty everywhere. The growth of the power of the people in this favored land and their advance in numbers and in physical conditions, in intelligent skill, in self-reliant readiness to grapple with emergencies, in fertility of resource, in broadening enterprise and in loftiness of ideals, have not only blessed America, but all of marveling mankind.

The old world knew well only government by the few; America taught the possibility and the blessing of wise and righteous government by the many.

The old world had degraded labor, till the workman was as the cattle of the field; America has magnified and glorified labor, as a Divine command, through obedience to which a whole nation of toilers have reaped the reward of unequaled power and prosperity for themselves, and have proclaimed human brotherhood and hopeful, helpful, Christian sympathy to the oppressed of all the world.

Shall we abdicate this noble leadership of nations? Shall we taint the stream of our world influence and change it from a blessing to a curse? Shall we destroy our lesson of the dignity and worth of labor and of the capacity of the common people for self-government by so using the forms of that government as in the name of that labor to strike down the national honor and to brand the republic as a swindler, filching from his coin of payment and shirking honest debts?

The sweating of coin and the sweating of labor by employers are alike infamous. It is proposed that Uncle Sam shall criminally apply the sweating system to the coin and the wages of the land and rob each of half its substance.

The very greatness in population and resources which is cited as a demonstration of our ability to declare our independence of the Ten Commandments furnishes a sufficient reason for adhering to the principles which have made us great, and for moving steadily forward in the path which we have trodden.

To preserve liberty and union as one and inseparable, and to increase our domestic blessings and our wholesome influence upon the world as the leader among nations in the arts of peace and civilized progress, it will be necessary for the great middle class, Lincoln's common people, the real rulers of America, to guard vigilantly against the encroachments of aggregated wealth on the one hand, and the threatening demonstrations of the lawless mob on the other; to steer the ship of state between the rocks of plutocracy and the whirlpool of repudiation and anarchy. But let no one in the name of the people preach the doctrine of sectionalism and class prejudice, pointing to disunion, and the destruction of the government by and for the people. Let no one in the name of labor degrade labor from its high estate. Let no one in the name of national pride stain the national credit and make the republic, once so honored, a hissing and a by-word among the nations of the earth.

We are told by the free-coinage advocates that this nation is great enough, single-handed, to double the price of silver over all the globe; great enough to make fifty cents one hundred cents by act of Congress; great enough to bear, Atlas-like, a world's weight of silver on its shoulders; great enough, by its own voluntary act, to double with impunity the pressure of this crushing load.

But the nation is not great enough—in folly—to attempt unnecessarily and with no promise of reward this impossible task, and is not great enough—in knavery—to brazen out the swindle which will result from its inevitable failure to raise the burden of the silver of the world to twice its present level.

The nation is too great to be ungrateful to the pensioners and bondholders who risked life and treasure in the republic's defense in its mortal struggle; too great to stifle the warning whispers of the national conscience against dishonorable repudiation of just obligations; too great to place upon America and Americans the stigma of fraudulent bankruptcy; too great for isolation and disgraceful exile from the family of civilized nations; in short, too great to be dishonest, too great to be nailed to a silver cross after the fashion and as a legitimate successor of the impenitent thief.

WASHINGTONIANA.

Speech at Board of Trade Reception, February
20th, 1894.

It is seldom that the people of Washington enjoy the privilege of meeting their Congressional partners in the work of capital making, and the occasions are still rarer when the Washingtonians, the silent partners of the firm, have the opportunity of speaking their minds. The phrase-makers have coined an expressive designation, "the unspeakable Turk." But the Washingtonian is better entitled to this adjective. For in his public affairs it must be admitted that the unspeakable Washingtonian is even less speakable than the unspeakable Turk.

The meetings of silent and active partners are often scenes of recrimination, and it is easy to imagine the partners assembled to-night as indulging in this reprehensible practice.

Washington, the silent partner, might be conceived as saying to Congress: "I contributed to you as the active partner in the capital-making firm five-sevenths of the site of the city and my rights and privileges of American citizenship. I supplied the fund from which the firm's original public buildings were erected. The pledges which you made at that time on the strength of these contributions have been repeatedly violated. For three-fourths of a century you tried to freeze me out of participation in the benefits of the partnership. You have pocketed my contributed capital, neglected the business of the firm, and forced it on at least one occasion into bankruptcy. Even now, when a quickening of conscience and an accession of national and patriotic pride have made you comparatively faithful to your trust, you are repeatedly levying upon me unjust assessments in violation of the spirit of our agreement, and having long cruelly wronged me, you now treat my requests and complaints with contempt."

And Congress might be imagined as replying: "You are the noisiest silent partner that the mind of man can con-

ceive. You are a chronic grumbler and kicker, growling at everything I do or leave undone in conducting the firm's business. I cannot be bothered with your petty affairs when important national concerns demand my attention. Your people wrangle among themselves and make contradictory suggestions. If you don't know what you want yourself, how am I to heed your requests and your advice?"

But no such recrimination as that suggested is in the slightest degree threatened to-night. The members of the Board of Trade are not the sort of individuals to invite unsuspecting Congressmen to break the bread and taste the salt of their hospitality, and then take advantage of the occasion to pound them for the shortcomings of other Congresses and other Congressmen. Neither the citizens nor the legislators who deserve to be scolded are here to receive their punishment. The faithful and able friends who have shown their interest in the Capital and its welfare by assembling in this hall to-night are not the men who need to be lectured on constitutional duty, patriotic pride or public spirit. On neither side of the partnership shall we fall into the clergyman's error of scolding the congregation present for the absence of those not on hand to receive merited reproof.

Many a time in noting how one section of the city has stood coldly aloof or has actively obstructed when another section was striving for some public improvement or the removal of some public evil from its confines, I have been reminded of Aesop's fable of the father and the quarreling sons, who were unable to break the fagots when collected in a bundle, but easily broke them one by one when the bundle was unclosed and the sticks were handled separately. And I can imagine Forefather Washington, like the father in the fable, saying in spirit to his sons, the men of his namesake city: "My sons, if you are of one mind and unite to assist one another, you will be as this bundle, uninjured by all the attempts of your enemies; and if you are divided among yourselves you will be broken as easily as these sticks."

When we of Washington have removed the obstacle to the city's highest development which our own lack of hearty and organized co-operation supplies, there is strong reason to believe that Congressional inertia and indifference may be overcome, that the District's legislature will perform faithfully its constitutional function and that our brightest dreams of the future of Washington will be fully realized.

Let the Board of Trade collect the scattered sticks of

Washington's resources for aggression and resistance, and the resulting combination will be unbreakable and irresistible.

In spite of the drawbacks suggested, the capital-making partnership has of late years labored satisfactorily upon its task. An ugly, straggling village has been converted into a beautiful city. But the great results in certain respects which have been accomplished serve to render conspicuous by contrast the lack of a corresponding development in other things, like a few pieces of furniture of inharmonious richness in the municipal house. The city must live up to the newest and best of its furniture. It must be supplied with all the fittings and belongings of a great modern capital.

The city's rapid growth has been recent; the new Washington is still in its infancy; and this fact significantly suggests to the ambitious and public-spirited that the opportunities are not by any means exhausted of conspicuous identification with the upbuilding of the Capital. In many cities the grooves have long ago been formed in which municipal affairs and achievements must run. The founders and creators of the greatness of these cities are historic names and the list is closed. In the case of Washington, the city in which the whole republic takes pride is building upon a city in which for three-fourths of a century no one took pride. It is now building and its founders and builders are of the living present. A vast deal remains to be accomplished. There is room for every notable contributor to the welfare of the expanding capital to erect for himself a conspicuous and enduring monument as a creator of the new Washington. There is room for a L'Enfant and a Washington in planning and perfecting a second city, larger in area than the first, which is springing up outside the present urban boundaries. Who will give it a model street system without oppressing and impoverishing the city; a model sewer system; a model rapid transit system?

Not only is there this recent city to offer a field of municipal achievement, but the old city has tasted the elixir of life and is itself a new Washington. Who will successfully champion its requests for current maintenance and development before the appropriations committees? Who will bless it with a code of modern laws? Who will give it a safe, satisfactory and reasonably attractive system of railroad terminals? Who will secure for it a creditable municipal building? Who will revolutionize its whole bridge system and efface, especially, the national disgrace of the present Long

Bridge? Who will mend its ways, especially its footways, its dilapidated and discreditable sidewalks? Who will cure the hundred ills which afflict and hamper the growing city? Who will identify himself with the making of the world's modern capital that is to be and build to himself still living an historic monument?

In the name of the people of the National Capital, I invite all present to-night, guests and hosts, young and old alike, to enroll their names and act vigorously their parts among the patriarchs of the infant and prospective city in the renowned and patriotic order of founders of the new and greater Washington.

Speech as President of the Washington Board of Trade, at the Board's Annual Reception at the Arlington, February 24th, 1898.

Once a year, at the invitation of their Washington constituents of the Board of Trade, the constitutionally appointed municipal legislators of the District of Columbia hold an evening session at the Arlington, instead of at the Capitol, in which these local constituents are permitted to participate.

On these occasions newcomers among our distinguished aldermen and common councilmen have an opportunity to catch something of the drift of public sentiment among the quarter million of people whose legislative needs are entrusted exclusively to their tender mercies, and they are also enabled to inspect samples of their Capital constituents and to ascertain whether the Washingtonian really has horns, hoofs and a forked tail, as some allege. On their part the Washingtonians, having for this occasion only the privileges of the floor, may corner the evasive Congressmen, hem them in with chairs, and compel attention to a year's accumulation of suppressed utterances—just as I am doing at the present moment.

In welcoming our guests to this joint session the temptation to a loyal Washingtonian is almost irresistible to dilate copiously upon the beauties of the developing Capital, like a doting mother with her only child as a text. And there is something inspiring in the reflection that we residents of or legislators for the nation's city are finishing the work which the fathers began, and are building up to-day a new, en-

larged and constantly expanding Washington on more extensive lines and with a finer municipal equipment than the most optimistic forefather ever pictured in his rosiest dreams.

But Washington does more than appeal to the national pride; it is a distinct factor in developing and strengthening patriotic sentiment.

Like anti-Tammany in a recent election, the nation needs very much a unifying force. American national sentiment hidden under modern cynicism, unsentimental and selfish business interests and sectional prejudices is wrapped in as many coverings as the Egyptian mummy, and frequently has no more apparent life than the remains of the great Rameses; but the electric shock not only of threatened national danger, but merely of the unexpected sight of the flag or sound of some national air in foreign lands will pierce and consume the obstructive coverings and revivify in an instant the latent patriotism.

A stroke of lightning should not, however, be required to give active life to the spirit of American nationality. Especially should not miserable sectional prejudices, jealousies and misunderstandings be fostered at the expense of a broad Americanism, and be permitted to weaken and destroy the patriotic national sentiment.

I lived for four years in South Dakota just before that hustling community became a State. As a full-fledged, enthusiastic Dakotan, I vigorously resented many a time Eastern misconceptions of that community's spirit and tendency; Eastern sneers at a people of unbounded energy and intelligent progressiveness, in whose miniature cities the school house was ever the conspicuous public building; Eastern denunciations of them as unfit for statehood, and as suitable material only for a rotten borough in the American system. Then there were not merely conscious and avowed caricatures, but serious references, based on honest ignorance, which represented this people as being fittingly typified by the whooping cowboy, full of bad whisky and puncturing the atmosphere with bullets, or by the jay farmer with abnormal goatee and a potato side to his head. Worse still were the malicious libels imputing universal knavery to the community, picturing the citizens as chased from the East by criminal records, as robbing the Government by vast and systematic land frauds, as combining in a body to swindle innocent Easterners by salted mines, bogus town sites and worthless mortgage securities. But I soon found

that there was reciprocity in sectional misconceptions, and that many Westerners evened up matters by classifying Easterners who remained in the East either as brainless dudes, boasting inherited money and nothing else, or as sharpers using unscrupulous brains in the pursuit of money, from the Shylocks of Wall street to the gold-brick bunco man. I also discovered that as an ex-Washingtonian I was compelled to resent Western misconceptions of the people of the Capital as frequently as Eastern misconceptions of the community of which I was an adopted member.

And I call upon every Western man within sound of my voice to remember that the representation of Washingtonians as untaxed mendicants, dependent upon the national bounty, is denounced by them as a lying and insulting caricature, as atrocious as any emanating from the ignorant East under whose injustice the Westerner himself may have smarted. As I frequently pointed out to my fellow South Dakotans, the District of Columbia has not been a notable national beneficiary even as compared with the new Western States like South Dakota itself.

The owners of the soil of Washington were here before the Government came, before the nation and Government were even created. They gave up their own property to the Government that the nation might practically own and exclusively control a national city. They donated to the nation five-sevenths of the area of Washington.

The greater part of the soil of most of the Western States was, on the other hand, at first the territory of the nation, acquired by purchase, conquest or treaty, including treaties with the Indians, and passed by gift to individual settlers under the homestead and timber culture laws, and by nominal sale, but actual gift under the pre-emption laws. The nation wisely donated land to the people who would live upon it and cultivate it. Later, when these communities of settlers became States, the nation gave back to them the proceeds of the sales under the pre-emption law in the shape of grants of money for educational purposes, and added thereto vast land grants direct, including over one hundred millions of acres for schools and colleges.

Thus, in the case of Washington, private individuals were the donors and the nation was the beneficiary; in the case of my adopted State and others, for instance, in the Louisiana purchase, the nation was the donor and the individuals and communities the beneficiaries.

But this, some one may say, is ancient history. Let it be conceded that Washingtonians many years ago aided a poverty-stricken national government, put up with its broken pledges, and performed almost unassisted, for three-quarters of a century, the work of capital-making, nominally assumed by the nation,—Are you not untaxed beggars now?

The nation which at first owned five-sevenths of Washington, still owns one-half, and its percentage now increases every year. It still holds and exercises exclusive control over that city. The taxes which Washington pays are determined by Congress alone. If they are too light the reproach attaches not to Washington but to Congress; but they are not too light.

The census records of 1890 show that the per capita municipal tax levy of Washington is greater than that of the vast majority of American municipalities exceeding 4,000 in population. It exceeds that of Omaha, Allegheny City and Indianapolis, and is only slightly exceeded by that of Cleveland, Newark and Milwaukee, all cities approximating it in size. The per capita indebtedness of Washington far exceeds that of any of the enumerated cities. It is nearly twice as great as the next largest, and seven times the smallest. Not one of these cities has so large a floating non-tax-paying population as Washington, with its one-third negro population and its thousands of temporary residents and Government employes. This non-taxpaying element reduces the nominal per capita tax levy without reducing it in fact by money subscriptions. Not one of the enumerated cities has so few money-making resources in commerce, trade and manufactures in proportion to population with which to meet this drain of taxation.

A like showing is made in national taxation. The only present national taxes which fall directly, and unmistakably and in ascertainable amounts upon Americans, are the internal revenue taxes. In 1895 the District, in spite of the comparative smallness of its area and population, contributed to this fund more than any one of sixteen States and five territories.

It contributed more than the combined contributions of Maine, Vermont, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho and Wyoming. It has no representation in the national legislature which is paid from, and which disburses this fund, while the States whose combined contributions are exceeded by its own alone have 14 votes in the Senate and 18 in the House.

The Washingtonian's per capita contribution to that fund exceeded in 1895 that of the citizens of twenty-two States and five territories.

For instance, we paid into the fund from which are drawn the salaries of the South Dakota Senators and Representatives nearly six times as much as the South Dakotan; toward the salary of the Kansas Congressman five times as much as the Kansan; for the Texas Congressman five times as much as the Texan; for the Vermont Congressman over ten times as much as the Vermonter; for the Congressman from South Carolina or Arkansas, twelve times as much as the Arkansan or South Carolinian; and for the Mississippi Congressman one hundred and twenty times as much as the Mississippian.

This mistaken idea concerning the people of the capital, indeed, sectional misconceptions and prejudices of all sorts, great or small, whether entertained in North, South, East or West, should be gradually modified and finally eliminated to the end that a broad, loyal, genuine Americanism may pervade the whole land.

We are to recognize that our country in its physical aspects with seacoasts and ports, its manufacturing, agricultural and mining sections, all interdependent and necessary to one another's prosperous existence, is the pre-ordained home of a single people; that this is the American people, "one from many," wonderfully homogeneous in spite of diversity of origin, one in ideas, associations, sympathies and national objects.

We Americans of 1898 are to say with the fullness of conviction and the quadrupled emphasis of a hundred years of experience what Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina said almost prophetically in 1765, at the Colonial Congress in New York: "There ought to be no New Englandman, no New Yorker known on the Continent, but all Americans."

In accomplishing this result there is a distinct field of usefulness for the capital with its unifying, nationalizing, patriotic influence.

Washington was brought into being as peculiarly and exclusively the home and abiding place of the Nation as distinguished from the State. It is the crystallization of the national idea, the substantial embodiment of the abstract Union. Here, literally, there is no New Englandman, no New Yorker, but all Americans.

The city of the whole nation has planted deeply in every portion of the republic the roots of its existence. It is an

object of pride and affection to all Americans. Here all come together on equal terms, upon land in which they have a common interest, governed exclusively by the Union of which they are a part. The West learns the East, the North the South, and vice versa. All sections are bound more closely together. Prejudices are softened and gradually removed. National sentiment dominates, the American spirit is developed, and patriotism is strengthened.

George Washington foresaw this unifying, nationalizing function of the capital, and for that reason proposed to locate in it the national university, which he projected. Here, he said, the susceptible youth of the land, in the atmosphere of the nation's city, and reviewing the workings of the General Government, would be impressed with a love of our national institutions, counteracting both foreign influences and sectional sentiments. The university of which he dreamed was never born, but, carrying out his idea on a grander scale, the capital has itself become a national university, in which a whole people are students, for the promotion of liberal, enlarged and patriotic Americanism, teaching enthusiastic love of country, and making of all of us better citizens.

Speech as President of the Washington Board of Trade at the Board's Annual Shad-bake at Marshall Hall, May 21st, 1898.

In greeting our guests of to-day in the name of the Board of Trade a few words touching the nature of this gathering may be appropriate.

Our annual shad-bake is a Potomac Valley substitute for the barbecue in the opportunity which it offers to legislators to mingle out-of-doors in a democratic go-as-you-please fashion, with their constituents. Since the Constitution—and not our own votes—selects for us our exclusive legislators, who are to-day among our guests, we are not perhaps entitled to any ante-election explanations or assurances, and the political fence-mending customary at the barbecue or camp-meeting, is here perhaps superfluous.

It is well, however, for Washingtonians and their Congressional aldermen and common councilmen to come together frequently in open, manly fashion for the inter-

change of opinion and information. Unless in some mysterious way it is conducive to wise law-making that legislators should be total strangers to the constituents whose legislative needs are to be learned and supplied, this partial introduction of aldermen and common councilmen to local taxpayers is most advisable, both for the welfare of the Federal District, and for the benefit of the conscientious legislator, entrusted by the Constitution with the duty of assisting to shape the destinies of the National Capital and a resident community of nearly 300,000 people.

This duty cannot be well and faithfully performed by a hermit who keeps himself persistently ignorant concerning local conditions, and who shrinks from contact with the people for whom he is to legislate.

A wholesome tendency of these shad-bakes is to bring about a closer acquaintance between the national legislators and their local constituents under the Constitution, and a better Congressional understanding of genuine local needs, and in spite of certain picnic crudenesses in entertainment, and unavoidable individual discomforts from annoying sun or pelting rain or an over-enthusiastic reception by resident red ants, our hope has been that occasions like the present, so characteristic of this section of the world, would prove interesting and enjoyable.

Our trip down the Potomac and the spectacle after arrival here of the planking and absorption of innumerable shad turn our thoughts naturally to the river and its inhabitants; and serve to remind the local historians that the first white man who ever sailed over the river's surface commented with astonishment upon the abundance of fish in the Potomac, whose appropriate Indian name signifies: "Where fishes spawn in shoals."

This man, Captain John Smith, of that famous and ubiquitous family, well known everywhere even in those early days, who sailed up the river in 1607, many years before the Puritan forefathers landed at Plymouth Rock, has proved himself as a teller of fish stories the worthy forerunner of the most gifted imaginations of our local fishing clubs. What member of any of these organizations can fail to take a professional interest and pride in Smith's description of the solid mass of Potomac fish, "laying," he said, "so thick, with heads above the water," that for want of nets he attempted to catch them with a frying pan.

Moreover, the first white man who ever lived on the banks

of the Potomac, Henry Fleet, who was captured by Nacostan Indians in 1621, and dwelt a captive for several years on or near the present site of Washington, bears cumulative testimony to the amazing numbers of Potomac fish. Fleet also discovered that the Nacostan Indians not only planked their shad, but also their human captives, fastening them to a stake or tree, and roasting them by means of surrounding fires. Indeed, Fleet narrowly escaped being thus "planked" himself.

From these beginnings all through our records the Potomac is rich in historic associations. With the home of George Washington on the Virginia bank opposite to where I now stand, and with George Washington's and the nation's city not many miles from here on the Maryland shore, the Potomac cut a notable figure in revolutionary and early republican annals. A meeting at Alexandria and informally at Mt. Vernon of Maryland and Virginia commissioners to discuss interstate arrangements concerning the Potomac became the nucleus of the Constitutional Convention and the movement for the formation of "a more perfect union." From the creation of the Capital upon the banks of the Potomac the nation's city and its river are identified with national history, through the war of 1812, and the Civil War, and through the various stages of peaceful development down to the present day.

I feel like apologizing for the present appearance of our river, which has evidently been on a high old tear up in Maryland and Virginia, and now moves sluggishly to the Capital and Mt. Vernon, with purity defiled, and with a next morning's biliousness coffee-coloring every lineament. But I hope that our legislators, pardoning the Potomac's misbehavior, will be inspired as the result of their inspection of its relations to the capital to utilize our great and historic river to its full capacity for the benefit of the health, trade and general welfare of Washington. An unlimited and wholesome water supply is tendered the Capital if our legislature will only make wise and adequate provision of aqueducts, reservoirs, settling basins and filter beds. The river will also serve as an effective transporting agent to sweep the capital's sewage harmlessly into the sea, if Congress will only provide the comprehensive system which is to convey the sewage to a safe point below the city and commit it to the Potomac's current. When the malarious marshes of the Anacostia, as well as of the Potomac, have

been banished, the quickened waters will cut large slices from the District's death rate. Public baths and a bathing beach may be made to contribute further to the city's health.

We of Washington must master the Potomac, harness it and put it to work. It must no longer be permitted, in the absence of a sea wall and through the presence of Long Bridge, to threaten the city with flood; or unsettled and unfiltered, to permeate with the historic soil of Virginia the physical systems of those of us who are accustomed to drink water; or to disseminate malaria from marshy flats; or being practically bridgeless, so far as modern structures are concerned, to obstruct communication with Virginia and the South. We must make of it the city's faithful servant, as a cleansing and purifying agent fanning the capital with cool and healthful breezes, bringing pure cold water to every home, quickly removing the gas-generating sewage, serving through its recreated fisheries as a source of cheap and abundant food supply, fostering light manufactures and furnishing force for illuminating and transportation purposes by means of the Great and Little Falls water power, and finally in its dredged and deepened channels reviving the ancient commercial glories of this region when Georgetown, Alexandria and Bladensburg contended for the supremacy.

While thus developing the usefulness of the Potomac in all directions for the purposes of peace, the National Government will not neglect the precautions which prevent the river from being an easy means of hostile access to the Capital in time of war. The great guns which sweep the Potomac not many miles from here, and the mines which lurk under its waters give assurances on this point.

When Washington was threatened by the British in 1814 our Secretary of War scoffed at the idea that the enemy would really attack what he sneeringly designated as the "sheep-walk," and the capital was left practically unprotected. The national sentiment toward Washington is now far different from that which then prevailed. Affectionate pride has taken the place of contemptuous neglect.

The nation's city has nothing to fear from either the direct or indirect effects of war, unless the nation itself is overthrown, in which event the capital will share its fate. The truth is that the national patriotic sentiment upon which the prosperity of both the Union and the city of the Union is based, weakens from disuse and neglect in times

of busy, peaceful money-making, and grows strong in times of national danger, when Americans appreciate most profoundly that the Union is not a mere abstraction, but something to love, to live for, and if need be, to die for. Herein is found one of the compensations of war to counterbalance some of its evil, a revival and new birth of patriotism, a repudiation of sectional prejudices, a discarding of the obstructive coverings of undue love of money and of cynical dislike of sentimentalism with which the American is too often accustomed to cover and conceal the national patriotic sentiment.

In China there is domestic worship of the god of wealth. In Japan, while the seven gods of wealth are not neglected, the essence of the national religion—Shintoism—is patriotism, reverence of the Emperor, love of country. Let us observe in our devotions to the Almighty Dollar a Japanese subordination of that worship to patriotic reverence of native land, placing above love of money both love of country and love of God.

The city of the Union, created, largely owned and exclusively controlled by the nation, is identified in its fortunes with the Union itself. Washington typifies the vitality, continued prosperity and grand destiny of the republic, which it shows forth in miniature and which it is destined forever to reflect. From the bloodshed of the revolution the nation and its capital arose. The civil war, which in its ultimate effects tightened the bonds of union, quickened and strengthened a wholesome love of country, and made the republic a unit, strong and great, developed in proportion the nation's city. A grander and more perfect capital, as well as a grander and more perfect union sprang from the smoke of battle. And so our foreign war of to-day causes the men of every State and section to feel that first of all they are Americans, and that in modern as in ancient times it is sweet even to die for one's country. This struggle stirs the patriot blood of the nation, of late grown somewhat sluggish, dissipates narrow sectionalism, solidifies the Union, and broadens and strengthens the foundations of patriotic sentiment upon which both the nation and the nation's city rest.

In war and peace, in prosperity and adversity, in life and death, the republic and its capital are one and inseparable.

Speech as President of the Washington Board of Trade at the Annual Reception, February 23, 1899.

At this year's joint session in the Arlington assembled of Congress, the Capital's only legislature, and the Washington Board of Trade, representing the people of the District, there are two topics which demand and must receive immediate and special attention:

1. Washington is about to ask Congress to accept largely on faith and to enact without prolonged debate a codification of the District laws, prepared by Judge Cox, and now undergoing revision and approval by the Bar Association, the District Commissioners, the Board of Trade, and the citizens generally.

The foundation of the law of the District is the common law, as modified by old British statutes "found applicable to local and other circumstances" in Maryland at the time of the first English emigration to that colony, and as further modified by old Maryland statutes enacted prior to the session of the present District to the United States. These ancient enactments have not been sufficiently altered by Congress or construed out of existence by our courts. The local statutes have been aptly compared to those of the Medes and Persians, which change not. Thus it happens that many of our basic laws date from a time when American colonies were fining men in tobacco for staying home from church, or boring the tongues of those who swore as many as three times, or punishing scolding women with the ducking stool.

The Capital's statutory clothing with its variegated materials displays a Joseph's coat of many colors, and in damaged condition and antique cut it suggests Rip Van Winkle's costume just after his awakening.

On the basic material of the common law—now considerably moth-eaten, torn, worn threadbare, hanging in tatters—have been fastened patches of old British and Maryland statutes, and the later patches of occasional acts of Congress. There has been some scientific patching of comparatively recent date, and the courts in pursuance of their power of construing the statutes, have constructed a lining for the suit, which, without materially altering its antique outward appearance, renders it in some respects much more comfortable. But the greater part of the occasional patches,

since the suit was first fitted, have been sewn in at random, experimentally, by amateur legislative tailors, adjusted to no want, remedying nothing, and only adding to its picturesque inutility as a practical covering of municipal nakedness.

When Maryland ceded the land now constituting the District that State was protected by the same statutory clothing with which the Capital was blessed. But since then Maryland has been periodically and at frequent intervals supplied with successive suits of modern legislation in conformity with the progress and fashion of the times. The District's suit of the end of the last century has never received a comprehensive overhauling, repairing and renovating.

We need a new suit of laws, following in a general way for comfort's sake the lines to which we have grown accustomed, but reproducing in sound, substantial and modern material the old and approved pattern. In ridding the municipality of mildewed and decayed garments, displaying rents and shreds and tatters, some improvements in modern cut may appropriately be secured in the new well-fitting suit. We desire the change, even though the proposed garments may be thought to show obvious defects. At their worst they will respond more readily to mending and patching than the hopelessly antiquated costume which now pretends to protect the community from municipal hot winds and icy blasts.

So let our legislators bless the Capital with the suit ready-made by Judge Cox, and approved as to its general pattern by the whole community. Do not insist that it shall be of the precise legislative cut to which you are accustomed in your home State. The pattern of all the States cannot be followed. Contention over the matter means delay and denial. Give to the Capital its new suit of statutory clothing and give it ungrudgingly and promptly.

2. Washington proposes—and the President of the United States heartily endorses the proposition—that the Nation and the National Capital co-operate to celebrate worthily in 1900 the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Republic's permanent seat of government in the District of Columbia.

The changes wrought by the nineteenth century in both Nation and Capital, have been striking, even marvelous.

In 1800 more than two-thirds of the Republic's 5,300,000 population lived within fifty miles of Atlantic tidewater, scattered through a thousand miles of forest, or collected in

a few seaport towns. Five hundred thousand had penetrated the Alleghanies and were swallowed up in an inaccessible wilderness, separated everywhere from the sea-board population by at least a hundred miles of mountainous country. Thus the Union was not a physical unity. Difficulties of land transit kept even the Americans of the long, narrow Atlantic fringe of settlement isolated as comparative strangers. The trans-Alleghany settlers had even less in common with the seaboard population, and rather looked forward to independent development with an outlet, not eastward, but southward, through the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Not even the idea of the unity of the Union was strongly and generally developed in the American mind. There was no great confidence of the quick growth of a homogeneous nation. In the opinion of Thomas Jefferson, a statesman accused of being a visionary enthusiast, the full settlement of the western country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi would not be accomplished for thousands of years. In his first inaugural, Jefferson spoke of our country as furnishing "room for our descendants, to the hundredth and the thousandth generation." The same Jefferson, usually sanguine, lacked unwavering confidence in the continued unity of the Republic, and spoke at times with strange indifference concerning its possible disintegration. "Whether we remain in one confederacy," he wrote in 1804, "or form into Atlantic and Mississippi confederations, I consider not very important to the happiness of either part."

In the century now closing the republic has developed into the Union, physically and in spirit. Territorial acquisitions have expanded the national domain from ocean to ocean, and the nation has grown into a symmetrical giant, with mountain backbone, veins and arteries of rivers and lakes, sinews of steel rails, nerves of electric wires, intersecting, communicating and giving unity to the most widely-separated portions of the nation's body. The Union is also one of spirit. The growth of national sentiment has been continuous. That principle prevailed in the Civil War. Since that war we have all been nominally Unionists and Nationalists. In the war with Spain, with its unification of reunited sections, the nominal has become the real. The Union is one in fact.

In 1800 the Republic dominated nothing, not even with certainty itself. In 1900 it will dominate one hemisphere—and a slice of another; it will control an isthmian canal, a

new trans-continental connection between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and will command the West Indian and Hawaiian approaches thereto. It will move irresistibly toward trade supremacy in the favor of our American neighbors to the south and our Asiatic neighbors to the west, and whether in Atlantic or Pacific, it will labor effectively and with enlightened selfishness for the common good of America and all mankind.

The growth of the Capital since 1800 has kept pace with that of the nation. The national sentiment which transformed confederation into nominal union, created the ten miles square as the Union's exclusive territory, the material embodiment of that national principle. The Civil War confirmed the Union as a legal entity, strengthened immensely the national sentiment, and in its results lifted the Capital from the mud and placed it upon a pinnacle. The Spanish war made a reality of the abstract Union, and the Capital promptly responds to the impetus thereby given to national sentiment. Bryce, in the American Commonwealth, says that the people of the United States, owing allegiance to State and nation, have two patriotisms, two loyalties. We of the District of Columbia, owing allegiance only to the nation, have only one patriotism, one loyalty. We are Americans and nothing else. Our allegiance is undivided. Our Americanism is unmixcd, exclusive, all-pervading.

In 1800 the small population of the Capital was collected largely in two settlements, one Hamburgh on Observatory Hill, and the other Carrollsburgh on James Creek, between the Arsenal and the Navy Yard. The site of the city was marshes, pastures, dense woods, and some cultivated ground, where wheat, tobacco and Indian corn were raised. For much of its length Pennsylvania avenue was "a deep morass, covered with alder bushes." Massachusetts avenue traversed (on paper) a boggy, undrained wilderness. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, said that you might look in almost any direction over an extent of ground nearly as large as the city of New York without seeing a single fence, or any object except brick kilns and temporary huts for laborers. Another disgusted statesman described the embryo city of 1800 as "a mud-hole almost equal to the great Serbonian bog."

The Capital of 1900 is approximately before our eyes and does not need detailed description. Upon these swamps and pastures has arisen America's most attractive city, in percentage of smooth street surface foremost among the

municipalities of the world; adorned with imposing public buildings and with private residences of the most varied and pleasing architecture; a forest city with a hundred thousand shade trees; a city of parks and small reservations, made beautiful by the landscape gardener and the sculptor; a city fast creating a model rapid transit system, and in many other branches of municipal development approaching the ideal.

In 1800 a new nation set up housekeeping in its distinctive permanent home on the banks of the Potomac. The daughters of the family, children of the then recently deceased confederation, step-daughters of the Union, while always welcome at the homestead lived in residences, State capitals, of their own. There was another daughter, Columbia, child of the Union in a peculiar sense, who, like Eve from Adam's side, like Minerva from Jove's brain, issued from the nation's heart, flesh of its flesh, blood of its blood, soul of its soul. Non-existent prior to Union, Columbia knew no other life than that derived from the nation, and owed no divided allegiance and affection. In her veins the national blood flowed purest.

At birth Columbia was endowed with funds deemed adequate for her suitable maintenance. But in course of time her guardians, some indifferent, some jealous that she embodied a national power superior to that of her stately sisters, wasted her maintenance fund, and neglected and abused the child of the Union. The circumstances of her birth, the equities and the pledges in respect to her support, the un-mixed national blood that flowed in her veins were all forgotten. She was ridiculed and despised as a charity child by these guardians guilty of a breach of trust. She was threatened with destruction, punished and starved.

As the Cinderella of the family she was compelled to sleep among the pots and pans, to make companions of rats and mice, and to dress in rags, while her proud State sisters flaunted before her their finery.

But, in due course the fairy godmother appeared. She appealed to the memory and conscience of Columbia's guardians. Her magic wand was "the fine, strong spirit of American nationality." At its transforming touch the humble surroundings of the modern Cinderella have been glorified. Dust and vermin and rags have disappeared, and the child of the Union (as universally beloved as the Union itself) adorned as becomes her birth and station and natural attractiveness, takes her proper place in the family circle, no

longer despised and neglected, but an object of affectionate and admiring regard to everyone in Uncle Sam's household who responds to the magic invocation of patriotic national sentiment.

We, assembled here to-night, national legislators and people of the Federal District, are joint partners in the guardianship of Columbia's interests, and as such are to see that the close of a miracle-working century in the history of the Nation and the Capital is worthily celebrated.

Speech as President of the Washington Board of Trade at the Annual Shad-bake, May 6, 1899.

At this year's shad-bake the Washington Board of Trade welcomes especially the executive branch of its government. Our Congressional aldermen and common councilmen, with few exceptions, miss this customary pleasure. The saddest result of the present irrational arrangement of Congressional sessions, is that our legislators lose every second year this sail upon the Potomac, this pleasing assault upon the toothsome shad, with the incidental excitement of dodging a superheated sun or occasional showers, and of collecting in person May-day reminders in the shape of the earnest, persevering tick and the active, wandering ant. Above all, they lose the opportunity of communing closely with the people of Washington, and thus a new Congress is in December precipitated into the most important local legislation, totally unprepared.

The executive department forms an integral and important part of the Capital's make-up. It adds to the population a peaceful army over twenty thousand strong, who more or less stable in tenure of office during good behavior under the merit system, secure homes for themselves and families and constitute an intelligent and influential factor in the genuine, permanent Washington. The commanders-in-chief of this peaceful army from Washington to McKinley have been friends, well-wishers and practical promoters of the welfare of the nation's city. The affectionate interest shown by the great men of the past in the minutiae of the Capital's concerns puts to shame the indifference in respect to it felt or expressed by some public men of the present, who seem to think it beneath their dignity and an uncompensated and inexcusable waste of time and of excessively

valuable brain-matter to concern themselves at all about the affairs of the nation's city.

The river whose broad expanse is spread before us teaches an object-lesson on this point. General Washington, at the height of his fame, the victorious leader of the American revolutionary forces, soon about to become the republic's first President, thought it not beneath him to explore in a canoe the upper waters of the Potomac in order to increase its navigability and to promote its national usefulness. Today our great men neglect even the broad, deep estuary of the tide-water Potomac, and permit the guns at Indian Head and the Capital's navy yard on the Potomac's main tributary to become inaccessible to battleships, and to all vessels of great draught.

The evil results of this neglect of the navy yard and of the Anacostia, are especially notable. Here in the early days was a noble stream, easily navigable as far up as Bladensburg, which town has been described as a "sea port," and which then shipped large quantities of tobacco in commercial competition with Alexandria and Georgetown. The Anacostia was wholesome and health-giving, as well as beautiful, and the land at its confluence with the Potomac, the site of Carrollsburg hamlet, was thought to be the most desirable and valuable portion of the National Capital. Now through natural sedimentary deposits, allowed through neglect to accumulate, and artificially fostered through the permission of the authorities to construct low, drawless obstructive bridges across the Anacostia, the stream is no longer navigable except at its very mouth, and even there vessels of large draught may not reach the nation's navy yard. No longer a healthful and desirable section, the portion of the city at the confluence of the streams suffers from the marshy flats which, covered with sewage, and exposed to the sun at low tide, poison the air, sending disease and death to the Navy Yard, Insane Asylum, Arsenal and Capital, and to the schools and homes of citizens. The same conditions and the same neglect which caused the Potomac flats developed this nuisance also. The same remedy which Congress applied to the Potomac problem should likewise be utilized here. There is no just ground of discrimination between the two cases. In both the navigability of a large river, constituting a part of the harbor of the nation's city, is to be restored. In both the public health is incidentally conserved by the abatement of a nuisance. The fact that the disease germs from the Anacostia blow especially upon the legisla-

tive branch of government, while the Potomac flats, now reclaimed, have ceased to infect the White House neighborhood, should not be a retarding consideration in the reclamation of the Anacostia; Congress, having protected the President, should not be permitted to continue, self-sacrificingly, to expose itself to the deadly microbes. We must save Congress from and in spite of itself. Nor should the absence of log-rolling facilities in the case of this broad, well-watered stream prevent it from receiving consideration among the streaks of moisture which are occasionally given legislative existence and supplied with visible water through items of appropriation in the river and harbor bill.

Many other great men besides George Washington have taken lively interest in the national city and river. In 1833 President Jackson strongly urged the construction of an imposing and adequate bridge across the Potomac to replace the old Long Bridge, built in 1808 by private subscriptions, which had been swept away in part by a freshet. Jackson's plan contemplated a noble structure, in part of granite, and was to cost between two and five million dollars, according to the varying estimates of the engineers. But the spirit of false economy in Congress finally prevailed even over the iron will of Old Hickory. The bridge was rebuilt cheaply with the solid causeway embankments, numerous piers, and the low-lying structure which from that day have made it to Washington a flood-threatening dam. The engineer who built it gloomily refused to predict a long life for it, and threw the blame for its existence upon a scrimping, short-sighted Congress. Periodically, the freshets have broken through some portion of the obstruction, often turned upon and flooding the city before they succeeded in knocking out the dam. Periodically, with asinine persistence, the old structure has been restored. Even the great and progressive railroad, to which the bridge's use was conditionally donated in 1870, has not been ashamed to maintain this threatening nuisance, and it exists to-day in all its dangerous obstructiveness and original ugliness, a disgrace to the railroad, to the Capital, to Congress, and to the whole nation, whose historic river is thus defaced and whose city is thus endangered.

May we not in 1900 rise to the height of Jackson's idea of 1833? If Jackson could without loss of dignity display this deep interest in a bridge across the Potomac, may not any public man of to-day, however lofty, safely pursue a similar course? Could there be a finer opportunity for such a man,

while still living, to erect to himself a monument? A memorial to a civilian in the republic must, it appears, be of his own construction, like St. Paul's as a memorial of Sir Christopher Wren, or modern Washington as a memorial of Alexander R. Shepherd. War heroes monopolize apparently the public statues erected by a grateful republic. What civilian then will take up Jackson's uncompleted plan and, pushing it to success, build for himself a monument more enduring than that of his own figure in bronze or marble?

The Potomac is practically bridgeless, so far as modern, adequate structures are concerned. Its mile expanse of breadth, crossed only by rickety, ramshackle bridges, separates the north and south, hems in one side the expanding Capital and isolates our Virginian suburban settlements. The welfare of the nation's city and due respect for the nation's river, unite in demanding a radical change in these conditions. In addition to its practical uses, present and prospective, as the cleanser of the city's sewers, as the purveyor of pure and wholesome water, as its source of a cheap and abundant food supply, and as a motive power, which at Great and Little Falls shall furnish electricity to run our cars and light our streets, the historic Potomac has been a political and patriotic factor in the Republic's annals. In the early days it played a unifying part like that then and now performed by the nation's city itself. It bound together the long, narrow belt of Atlantic coast settlements, and those of the Mississippi basin, which were separated everywhere from the seashore population by at least a hundred miles of mountainous country, and which apparently looked forward to independent existence with an outlet southward through the Mississippi rather than eastward to the Atlantic. The Potomac, one of the world's great rivers, seven miles wide at its mouth, pierced the republic at its narrow, central point, and extended itself for four hundred miles, nearly to the border of the thirteen colonies, and to the tributaries of the Ohio in the Mississippi basin. Through a system of canals, and up-river improvements, in accordance with a plan devised by the far-seeing Washington, it promised to the isolated Western settlements another outlet than the Mississippi, and suggested a means of communication between the two distinct and widely-separated groups of American communities. For years the Potomac thus kept the East and West in touch until at last the railroads took up the task and linked the sections with bands of steel. By means of the river and the wide-spreading streams which

united to form it, the nation from its capital extended westward an arm, a hand and outstretched fingers, and grasping the Mississippi settlements held them firmly to the Union.

As it was thus in the beginning a bond between the East and the West, so the Potomac should now be a bond between the North and South, connecting, instead of separating them. While the latter sections were at sword's point, in sentiment or in fact, a practically bridgeless Potomac, holding them apart, might as a symbol have been natural and defensible. But now in the reunion of the States the Potomac should re-enact its historic part as a unifier and bind together through adequate connecting bridges the once hostile sections.

The grandest and most fitting memorial with which to commemorate the centennial of the National Capital and the greater America, which a miracle-working century has developed, would be a memorial bridge across the Potomac to Arlington, whose national patriotic function it should be to connect the Union's capital with the State of the late Confederacy's capital, to bridge the watery chasm between the sections, to unite the nation's city of the living with the city of the nation's dead; a cemetery now truly national since, with the bones of those who died to save the Union in Civil War have been laid the remains of men from South and North, and East and West, who died for the whole great and re-united Republic. Let the memorial bridge symbolize this reunion, this national expansion and development.

As the Potomac, rising in the original West and connecting the northern and southern colonies, through the numerous tributaries to its waters combined these national elements in a majestic stream and broadened and deepened in its course until it poured a vast volume into the outside ocean, so moves with ever-expanding and beneficent flow the great river of American national spirit and influence—developed in the mingling of North, South, East and West in the nation's city on the banks of the Potomac; quickened by the memory of the great man, who, living though dead, influences the world from Mt. Vernon; strengthened by the sacrifices of the patriots who died for the Union in the sixties and the nineties, who still speak to America though buried at Arlington; combining into one stream the ever-increasing influences of the nation's city of the living and of its cities of the dead, and pouring this vast whole-

some and vitalizing volume into the thought and tendencies to action of the outside world.

The man who lies at Mt. Vernon died as a creator of the Union. Those resting at Arlington died for the sake of that Union. At the confluence of the Anacostia and the Potomac live representative Americans who are developing the Union of to-day—the greater America—into the dominant force in one hemisphere and a power for good in all the world. Let the men of the nation's city so live and so act that the Union, for which the men of Arlington and Mt. Vernon died, shall strengthen and expand, and more and more from year to year shall perform the grand functions and fulfill the divine purposes for which it was created.

**Report as Chairman of the Committee on Public
Library of the Washington Board of Trade, March
27, 1894.**

“Why is there not a majesty's library in every county town? There is a majesty's jail and gallows in every one.” The reproach of Carlyle's question of more than half a century ago has been in large measure removed in England through the series of public libraries acts; and in New England, also, and in many States of other sections of the Republic, majesty's libraries—libraries of the American majesty, the people—are far more numerous and conspicuous than the jails. The school and the library, twin agencies of education, lessen the need for the prison, and push it into the background.

AN EDUCATING AND CIVILIZING AGENT.

To-day there is general recognition of the important educational position of the free circulating library and reading-room, accessible at hours when their treasures can be utilized by students, both from schools and colleges, and from among the working people, whose daylight hours are largely occupied in bread-winning. Especially are such libraries appreciated in this land of free schools. In State after State, responding to the popular demand for these educating and civilizing agencies, has legislation been enacted to supply each little municipal subdivision at the taxpayer's expense. So notable has been this movement that it has been reason-

ably predicted that the last quarter of the nineteenth century will go down in history as the age of electricity and free libraries. The progressive community needs the public library as it does the telegraph and telephone. It is on the same footing with the common school; it is the free university of the people. In the public school a liking for books, a desire and thirst for knowledge, may naturally be acquired. The library develops this liking and meets and gratifies this desire. The school imparts the ability to educate one's self by the intelligent use of books. The library supplements this instruction by providing the means and opportunity for such self-education. As Commissioner W. T. Harris, of the Bureau of Education, has aptly stated: "The school teaches how to read—how to use the printed page to get out of it all that it contains. The library furnishes what to read: it opens the storehouse of all human learning. These two are complementary functions in the great work of education."

The library is, then, a true university, both for the graduates of the public schools and for the whole people, without regard to class, or sex, or age, or wealth, or previous condition of servitude to ignorance. The people eagerly avail themselves of the educational opportunities offered by the public library. It raises the whole community to a higher intellectual plane. It is also not without its beneficent influence as a moral agent. In some of the small New England towns the record shows that as many as one out of every five inhabitants, counting men, women, and children, is registered as a borrower of library books. More persons have there registered to read than have registered to vote. The statistics also show that, at first, fiction was most largely drawn upon by such readers, but that, as the taste for reading was developed, stronger food for the mind was demanded, and the ratio of serious reading steadily increased. The reading-room has proved and will prove a strong rival to all demoralizing resorts in claims upon the evenings of many, especially the young, and has served and will serve more and more as a satisfactory substitute for nightly idleness in dreary lodgings or on the streets.

WASHINGTON HAS NO FREE PEOPLE'S LIBRARY.

What Carlyle sought for each English county town, and what many English and American villages now enjoy, the National Capital lacks and seeks to obtain. It is fast becoming the Republic's educational center. Universities are

founded in rapid succession within its limits. But the great free library university, for those whom Lincoln lovingly called the common people, is yet to be created. According to the statistics there are much more than a million books in the semi-public libraries of Washington—about a twentieth of all in the Republic; and when these have been apportioned among the citizens after the methods of statisticians it appears that the District workingman has fourteen times as many public books as the average American. And the only difficulty is that he cannot possibly make any use of them whatsoever.

The resident in the more elevated sections of Washington who could get no water on the upper floors of his house, and very little on any floor, saw countless gallons wasted in the departments, in fountains and otherwise, and learned from statistics that he and the other citizens were, in per capita average of gallons daily used, among the largest consumers of water in the country. The population of the Capital, credited with fourteen times their due proportion of books, and without a single available lending library with reading-rooms open at night, without even the command of books enjoyed by the working people of little Northern and Western towns, detect a similar mockery in the library statistics. No satisfactory substitute either for actual water or actual books is furnished by complimentary statistics.

WANT AMIDST PLENTY.

The departmental libraries at the Capital contain nearly three hundred thousand volumes, accessible only to a few employees of the Government, and closed to them early in the afternoon. The vast wealth of reading matter in the Congressional Library is practically out of reach of the workingmen and school children, owing to the hours of opening and closing and the conditions placed upon the enjoyment of its privileges. Not one of the great Government collections is open in the evening, when alone the great mass of the people can use the books. There are fifty-two libraries in the District, each containing over one thousand volumes, and not one of them is a free lending library, with a reading-room open at night for the benefit of the general public. Such an institution is the most urgent need of the National Capital. Viewing this ocean of more than a million books, spread tantalizingly before them, the workingmen, the school children, the Government clerks, the great mass of the citi-

zens of Washington, thirsty for the knowledge which comes from reading, may well exclaim with the Ancient Mariner: "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink!"

A great national reference library for the world's scholars does not prevent in other capitals the existence of numerous popular libraries, and should not in Washington. "In London, where the British Museum, with its vast library of over two million volumes, is still sacred to scholars, there are thirty local libraries, in addition to many special libraries, open to various classes of students. In Paris, where the great national library is only open to readers well armed with credentials, there are sixty-four popular libraries, while Berlin has twenty-five."

THIRTY-THREE THOUSAND CHILDREN DEMAND A FREE LIBRARY.

To meet the absolute necessity of books as working adjuncts in the public schools, small libraries have been formed in connection with some of the buildings, and the High School has a very creditable collection. But to complete and perfect its educational system, already so admirable, by adding the people's free university to the free school, Washington absolutely needs the proposed public library, as an aid to the development of intelligent men and women, the good Americans of the future, the pillars of the Republic. Its creation is demanded in the name of the 63,000 children of school age in the District, and especially in the name of the 33,000 of this number who are over twelve years of age.

TWENTY THOUSAND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES DEMAND A FREE LIBRARY.

Investigation of the departmental libraries shows that a very large percentage of their three hundred thousand volumes is composed of technical books and books of reference, which have a direct bearing on the work of the department which possesses them; that there are only between twenty thousand and thirty thousand volumes suitable for a general circulating library, and these are confined mainly to three departments. The Interior Department, with 10,000 volumes, and the War and Treasury Departments, with 5,000 volumes each, possess nearly all these books. The clerks in the departments which have no libraries need and demand them, and the favored departments need a wider range of

reading material than the small collection at the disposal of each provides. There are, in round numbers, about twenty thousand persons residing in Washington who draw salaries from the Government. Many of these represent families and the number of readers in this Government constituency can therefore be estimated only by the customary multiplication of the number of Government employees. In the name, also, of this numerous and book-loving element of the population the creation of the proposed local library is demanded.

**TWENTY-THREE THOUSAND WORKINGMEN DEMAND A
FREE LIBRARY.**

Last, but not least, comes a powerful appeal from the District workingman. Sometimes, in view of the notable absence from the Capital of dirty, noisy factories, which would tend to reduce the city's attractiveness as a place of residence, the question is raised, "Is there any such individual as the District workingman?" The census of 1890 discloses the fact that, while it is the policy of the Capital to encourage only light and clean manufacturing, like that of Paris, over twenty-three thousand adults were engaged in the District in lines of work which are classed as manufactures, omitting from consideration entirely all the other numerous forms of labor. Nineteen thousand of these are engaged in purely local industries. Over four thousand are discovered to be in Government employ, mainly in the Government Printing Office and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. It appears from this report that there were in 1890 in the District twenty-three hundred manufacturing establishments with a capital of \$28,876,258, paying in wages \$14,638,790, using materials costing \$17,187,752, and with products of the value of \$39,296,259.

To the census figures must be added the thousands of workingmen engaged in other lines of work not classed as manufactures, and then this number must be multiplied, since many are the heads of families, to ascertain the number of readers, and, in behalf of this great multitude of people, a free lending library and night reading-room are now demanded.

ALL WASHINGTON APPEALS FOR A FREE LIBRARY.

While attention has been called to certain elements of the population as standing in special need of library facilities, it

is to be remembered that only a small fraction of all the people in Washington have the leisure to utilize and enjoy a public library during daylight hours, so that practically a whole city of 250,000 inhabitants makes this appeal.

HOW THE BOOKS MAY BE OBTAINED.

The first need of the free library—books—can easily be supplied. The librarian of Congress states that there are many thousands of duplicates in the Congressional Library suitable for the purposes of this circulating library, which can be spared for such use if Congress will consent, and he has formally approved the granting of such consent by Congress.

The existing departmental circulating libraries might be added to these books from the Library of Congress and made into a general departmental library, to which the people of the District not employed by the Government might also have access. The circulating books, numbering between twenty thousand and thirty thousand, accessible in the main only to the clerks in three of the Departments and accessible to them only so far as the fraction contained in their own library is concerned, would, if collected in a general departmental library, be opened to all the clerks in all the Departments. A great body of Government employees would enjoy privileges of which they are now entirely deprived. Those now having a departmental circulating library at hand, instead of being limited to its five thousand or ten thousand volumes, would have access to more than twenty thousand in the general library, augmented by large additions from the Congressional Library and by private contributions, which, if the library were once started, would undoubtedly be considerable. The clerks in the particular buildings in which the circulating departmental libraries are now accommodated might suffer a trifling inconvenience from the removal of the books for a short distance, but catalogues of the library should be in all the Departments, and delivery branches established in different parts of the city. This inconvenience would thus be reduced to a minimum, and as an offset to it would be the finer library to which these clerks would have access and the public benefit of a great expansion of the number of readers to whom the accumulated books would be available. Other Departments and bureaus than those which now have circulat-

ing libraries have applied in some instances and intend to apply in others for like privileges. The establishment of a general departmental library, open also to the public, would save the Government the expensive duplication of books in numerous small collections, and would also economize in the room space devoted to departmental library purposes. Apparently the Government and the clerks would profit by the project, as well as the population in general of the city.

When the nucleus of a library properly housed is once obtained, the collection will certainly grow rapidly through private donations of books and money, and when it has demonstrated its usefulness and the fact that it is appreciated by the public some one of Washington's wealthy men may be moved by local pride or other good motive to endow it and attach to it his name. No citizen could erect to himself a nobler memorial.

WHERE SHALL THE LIBRARY BE HOUSED ?

It is evident that the books can readily be obtained; the difficulty is in securing a habitation for the library. A location in the new City Post-Office has been warmly urged. In Senate debate it has been stated that all the space in this building will be needed by the General Government; but, notwithstanding this announcement, the amount of available space in this vast structure will be so great, its location is so central, and there is such fitness in housing the library in a Government building which is primarily devoted, in name at least, to local uses, that your committee recommend that the first effort on the city's part be to obtain this location for its library.

If the library can be enabled with certainty to preserve its distinct existence while housed under the same roof with the great national library, contingencies might arise which would render a location in some unused portion of the new building for the Library of Congress extremely desirable. There will be abundant room in that structure for at least a quarter of a century. An extensive reading-room and every library facility will be available. The disadvantages of a location not sufficiently central may be overcome by the establishment of branches in different parts of the city, like those of the Boston public library.

Then the advantages of space in the proposed new municipal building, or in a structure to be donated by some public-

spirited benefactor yet unknown, have been considered. Your committee have thought the wisest course to be to make every effort at first to obtain a location in a building already authorized or in course of erection, whose construction is assured. A municipal building, worthy of the city, when it is legislated into existence and actually erected, would be naturally the permanent home of a city library; but we must not wait for this event to occur, or for the wealthy benefactor aforesaid to appear or be discovered. Delays in securing the suggested nucleus of books are dangerous, and every month of the people's deprivation of needed library facilities is injurious. The free library of Washington should speedily come into being. It is, therefore, considered wise neither to commit the Board to an unchangeable opinion concerning the library site nor to suggest postponement of action by seeking quarters at this time in some prospective building, whose existence is as yet only in our hopes.

LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED.

Your committee ask authority to urge upon Congress legislation which shall create a library of the kind described as necessary in this report, with the suggested nucleus of books, and in that location which shall appear, after conference with the appropriate committees of Congress, to be most available. Your committee submit the draft of a bill as a suggestion of the general lines of the proposed legislation.

If only a small fraction of the books in Washington can be made accessible to the mass of its people, the city will be well supplied. It will no longer starve in an overflowing granary. The project of a public and departmental circulating library and reading-room, open in the evening, is worthy of the strongest and most enthusiastic labors in its behalf. It will doubtless receive the hearty support of the Board of Trade, of every public-spirited citizen, and of all friends of the Capital and its people, who appreciate the fact that a city of a quarter million of inhabitants contains men to be considered and not merely streets, buildings, trees, statues and monuments.

The campaign for a tax-supported library on the lines of the foregoing report was vigorously pushed, and by Act of Congress, approved June 3, 1896, the library was established on the basis desired.

The act reads as follows:

“AN ACT To establish and provide for the maintenance of a free public library and reading room in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a free public library and reading room is hereby established and shall be maintained in the District of Columbia, which shall be the property of the said District and a supplement of the public educational system of said District. All actions relating to such library, or for the recovery of any penalties lawfully established in relation thereto, shall be brought in the name of the District of Columbia, and the Commissioners of the said District are authorized on behalf of said District to accept and take title to all gifts, bequests and devises for the purpose of aiding in the maintenance or endowment of said library; and the Commissioners of said District are further authorized to receive, as component parts of said library, collections of books and other publications that may be transferred to them.

SEC. 2. That all persons who are permanent or temporary residents of the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of said library, including the use of the books contained therein, as a lending or circulating library, subject to such rules and regulations as may be lawfully established in relation thereto.

SEC. 3. That the said library shall be in charge of a Board of Library Trustees, who shall purchase the books, magazines and newspapers, and procure the necessary appendages for such library. The said Board of Trustees shall be composed of nine members, each of whom shall be a taxpayer in the District of Columbia, and shall serve without compensation. They shall be appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and shall hold office for six years: *Provided*, That at the first meeting of the said Board the members shall be divided by lot into three classes. The first class, composed of three members, shall hold office for two years; the second class, composed of three members, shall hold office for four years; the third class, composed of three members, shall hold office for six years. Any vacancy occurring in said Board shall be filled by the District Commissioners. Said Board shall have power to provide such regulations for its own organization and government as it may deem necessary.

SEC. 4. That the said Board shall have power to provide for the proper care and preservation of said library, to pre-

scribe rules for taking and returning books, to fix, assess, and collect fines and penalties for the loss of or injury to books, and to establish all other needful rules and regulations for the management of the library as the said Board shall deem proper. The said Board of Trustees shall appoint a librarian to have the care and superintendence of said library, who shall be responsible to the Board of Trustees for the impartial enforcement of all rules and regulations lawfully established in relation to said library. The said librarian shall appoint such assistants as the Board shall deem necessary to the proper conduct of the library. The said Board of Library Trustees shall make an annual report to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia relative to the management of the said library.

SEC. 5. That said library shall be located in some convenient place in the city of Washington, to be designated by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia upon the recommendation of the Trustees of said library: *Provided*, That in any municipal building to be hereafter erected in said District suitable provision shall be made for said library and reading room, sufficient to accommodate not less than one hundred thousand volumes."

This act carried no appropriation, and the first maintenance provision for the library appeared in the act making appropriations for the District of Columbia, approved June 30, 1898, as follows:

Free Public Library.—For librarian, one thousand six hundred dollars; first assistant librarian, nine hundred dollars; second assistant librarian, seven hundred and twenty dollars; and for rent, fuel, light, fitting up rooms, and other contingent expenses, three thousand five hundred dollars; in all, six thousand seven hundred and twenty dollars.

In pursuance of the law of June 3, 1896, the Commissioners appointed the Board of Trustees therein described, and the trustees organized, electing Theodore W. Noyes President and B. H. Warner Vice-President, first passing the following resolution:

"Whereas the municipal library of Washington owes the act of incorporation, which is its life, to the unwearied efforts, great tact and good judgment of Mr. Theodore W. Noyes; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we enter on the first page of our records and before all other acts this acknowledgment of our obligations to Mr. Noyes."

On January 12, 1899, in response to the suggestion of Mr. B. H. Warner, Vice-President of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Andrew Carnegie offered to donate \$250,000 for the erection of a building for the library, if Congress would provide a site and suitable maintenance.

On March 3, 1899, Congress passed an act to provide a site for a building for the Washington Public Library, as follows:

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That authority is hereby conferred upon a commission, to consist of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, and the President of the Board of Trustees of the Washington Public Library, to cause to be erected upon Mount Vernon Square, in the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, a building for the use of the Washington Public Library, with funds to be contributed by Andrew Carnegie: Provided, That such building shall be commenced within twelve months and completed within three years from the passage of this act: And provided further, That no liability shall be incurred by the United States or the District of Columbia for the cost of the erection of said building.

SEC. 2. That said commission shall invite ten architects or firms of architects, of conspicuous ability and experience, to submit competitive designs for the said building, upon a carefully drawn programme, said competition to be adjudged by said commission acting with two other persons to be selected by the competing architects. The architect, or firm of architects, whose design shall thus be adjudged most acceptable shall be employed as architect of the building, to act under the direction of the office of construction hereinafter provided for, and to furnish all designs and drawings required for the construction of the building and personal services requisite for their artistic execution. Said architect shall receive as full compensation for the said designs, drawings, and personal services the sum of three per centum of the total cost of said building, to be paid from time to time as the work progresses; and all designs and drawings furnished by him for the said building shall become the property of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 3. That the construction of said building shall be placed in charge of an officer of the Government especially qualified for the duty, to be appointed by the aforesaid commission, who shall receive for his additional services an in-

crease of forty per centum of his present salary, to be paid out of any available funds, and he shall disburse the funds under rules to be prescribed by the said commission, make all contracts, and employ all necessary personal services not herein otherwise provided for."

Mr. Carnegie subsequently increased his donation to \$300,000, and the commission created by the foregoing act is proceeding with the arrangements for the erection of the building.

NOTES OF TRAVEL IN MEXICO, HAWAII, AND JAPAN.

MEXICO'S WONDERS.

Extraordinary Diversity of Sights for the Curious—
The Kaleidoscope of Aztec Land—An American
Combination of Spain and Egypt—Discomforts and
Charms.

(Editorial Correspondence of the Evening Star, Dec. 7, 1895.)

When the curious but ease-loving traveler wishes to indulge in polar exploration without risk of freezing or starvation, of eating or being eaten by his fellow-explorers, of smashing aluminum boats or of falling from a pole-bound balloon, he follows, in a comfortable steamer, the warm, ice-melting gulf stream to the North Cape of Norway and to Spitzbergen. When the same traveler wishes to penetrate the tropics without exposing himself to sunstroke, to fever, to savage cannibalistic tribes, to dwarfs shooting poisoned missiles, or even to the horrors of seasickness, he now glides down the mountain backbone of the continent in a railroad car to southern Mexico, far into the torrid zone, at an altitude which saves him from equatorial dangers and renders it possible, through rapid descents in short excursions to the right and left, to taste, with impunity, the full delights of the tropics.

I have recently enjoyed a rapid tour of this sort in Mexico, visiting the principal cities and the notable sights of the great central plateau, at an average height above the level of the sea exceeding that of the summit of Mount Washington,—diverging to the left as far as picturesque and semi-tropical Orizaba, only eighty miles from the Gulf

of Mexico, with its Swiss mountains, mountain torrents and picturesque buildings, and its Javanese coffee, palms and bananas,—diverging to the right as far as attractive and prosperous Guadalajara on the Pacific slope of Mexico, with its lake, its waterfall, “the Niagara of Mexico,” and its canon that boasts the temperate zone at its top and the torrid zone at its bottom; and pushing southward as far as Oajaca and the famous ruins of Mitla, also in the vicinity of the Pacific, and many miles nearer to the equator than is the second cataract of the Nile.

WONDERFUL DIVERSITY OF SIGHTSEEING.

The principal plateau city is of course Mexico, a great modern capital of nearly 400,000 population, the center in succession of Aztec, Spanish-American and Mexican civilization, and wonderfully interesting, both from what it is and from what has been preserved of the striking evidences concerning what it has been. But there are on the plateau a half-dozen other distinct types of city, as, for instance, beautiful Puebla, the cathedral city; unique Guanajuato, a typical mining town, and Aguas Calientes, the Arkansas Hot Springs of Mexico. I doubt whether anywhere else in the world so short a distance of travel can display a more striking diversity of sightseeing. There are exhibited the characteristic spectacles of the torrid; temperate and frigid zones; here the tropical jungle, the palm, the bamboo and the banana; there the coffee, or the magney, Indian corn and beans; then the cactus of the arid wastes of the Mexican desert, and, finally, the ice-plant of the glaciers of Orizaba or Popocatepetl, volcanoes crowned with perpetual snow. In historic associations and relics of the past there is the same diversity. There are reminders of Diaz, of Juarez and Maximilian, of General Scott and Santa Ana, of Spanish viceroys and Hidalgo, of Cortes and Montezuma, and of the unknown builders of pyramids and palaces, that antedate the beginnings of recorded history in America. Among the men of the Mexico of today there is in appearance and customs a similar diversity. There are a few hundred men of vast wealth and millions of paupers; there are feudal lords and vassals, and there are types representing or suggesting the proud Spaniard and the pliable Egyptian, the Ethiopian and the Mongolian.

MORE FOREIGN THAN EUROPE.

Mexico is more foreign in appearance than nine-tenths of Europe, the thoroughfares of which are well trodden by the tourist myriads, and which has few by-ways remaining to gratify curiosity with the new and strange. Mexico's twelve millions of natives are, speaking generally, either pure Indian, direct and unadulterated descendants of the Aztecs and other Indian tribes, or mixed Indian and Spanish, or (much the smallest class) pure Spanish. Four-fifths of the people have some Indian blood, two-fifths are pure Indian, and about one-third can neither speak nor understand Spanish, and use their original Indian dialects. In the outward appearance of the men, women and children and in their habitations, costumes and habits it suggests in its different sections and among its varied peoples now Europe in Moorish Spain, now Asia in Palestine, now Africa in Egypt.

SPANISH SUGGESTIONS IN MEXICO.

The large cities are Spanish, with low, flat-roofed homes of the Moorish type, bare and forbidding without, but built around courts often rendered attractive by fountains, flowers, statuary and singing birds. Iron gratings at the balconies shut out the lover from the dark-eyed Mexican senorita, as they do in the case of her Spanish sister, and both young women are, unhappily, discarding the picturesque mantilla for the latest Paris fashion and spoiling their complexions with Parisian rouge.

The Mexican horseman is even more dashing and picturesque than his Old World counterpart. As in Spain, the city's heart is often a plaza, a promenade park, with a stand for Sunday band music, with the cathedral facing the plaza on one side and the palace or other Government building on the other. In both countries no city is complete without a paseo, the Sunday afternoon driveway, where all the world displays itself in its best bib and tucker, and a bull ring, where also on Sunday the national sport attracts the multitude. Mexico's churches, like Spain's, are notable for size and beauty; for masterpieces of painting and treasures of gold, silver and precious stones within, and for beggars at their doors. When the Spanish conquered this country its surface was dotted with countless Aztec temples. The order given was to tear down every one of these structures and to erect in its place a Christian church.

Thus it results that there are churches today in the most inaccessible spots, on the summits even of the pyramids, the vast artificial mounds, which formed the favorite foundation of temples of Aztec sun-worshippers; and thus it also results that the church edifices are numerous beyond conception, though many of the old buildings have long ago been disused and have fallen into ruin. The City of Mexico has even now sixty churches, and Puebla, the sacred city, with less than a hundred thousand population, has quite as many. Not only are these religious structures notable for their number, but many of them are impressive in size and architecture and rich in adornment. They were founded by Spaniards in a cathedral-building age, and were constructed according to the plans of Spanish architects, at a time when Mexico was pouring countless millions into the lap of Spain, and when there was no deterrent in lack of money to the most extravagant building projects. When church property was nationalized by Juarez, and monasteries and nunneries were suppressed, it was found that three-fourths of the republic's entire property was in the hands of the church. The wealth, and, to some extent, the rich adornment of the churches were affected by Juarez's reform, but still today these structures are, as in Spain, the country of notable cathedrals, the sights most proudly displayed to the tourist.

AMERICA'S BIGGEST CATHEDRAL.

The cathedral of the City of Mexico is to be compared in size with the vast cathedral of Seville, and that of Puebla in beauty of interior adornment with the best of Spain. The only church in the world that unmistakably and notably exceeds in size the Mexican cathedral is St. Peter's at Rome. The Seville cathedral is 398 feet by 291 feet, and the nave is 134 feet high. Baedeker gives the Mexican cathedral's dimensions at 425 feet by 200 feet; height, 185 feet; towers, 218 feet high. The Mexican cathedral is thus higher and longer than that of Seville, but not so wide. The Seville structure occupies a larger ground area, but a part of that vast building has fallen in, and is practically a ruin, in the hands of repairing workmen, who will be engaged upon it for years and perhaps centuries. Meanwhile this portion of the cathedral is inaccessible and spoils the effect of an interior view of the structure. According to Baedeker's figures, the Mexican cathedral ranks in size in the class of Seville and Milan, surpassed only by St. Peter's, and sur-

passing not only all the other Spanish cathedrals, but every other in the world, including St. Paul's, London; St. Sophia, Constantinople, and the Cathedral of Cologne. The Mexican cathedral, which was nearly a hundred years in building, is also notable as having once boasted the richest altar in the world, and as being now unique in possessing a choir railing said to have cost a million and a half dollars, and a wooden floor which certainly did not cost as many cents.

The Puebla cathedral, with its floor of colored marbles, its rich and artistically attractive high altar of different varieties of Puebla onyx, and the beautiful ironwork and wood carving about the choir, boasts an interior which equals that of the cathedral of Toledo, or Burgos, or Leon, or any other of the structures of which Spain is justly proud. The music at Puebla was also pleasing. An organ, a piano, a violoncello and other stringed instruments, and men's and boys' voices (choir in vestments and director with baton), combined with excellent results. These boy choirs in scarlet and white vestments were also found in Oajaca's and Tlacolulu's cathedrals in the far south. There is a magnificent display of silver in remote Tlacolula's church; Tlaxcala has the oldest church in North America, with its cedar beams brought from Spain, Cortes' church of San Francisco, constructed in 1521; there is artistic wood carving by Indian artists of power and taste in the Church of Ocotlan, perched upon a hill in the same city of Tlaxcala, and almost every leading church of almost every considerable town has a treasure of some sort, a Murillo, an alleged Titian, or some other exhibit to interest the sightseer.

COUNTERPARTS OF SPANISH CITIES.

Not only have many individual Spanish sights their counterparts in Mexico, but even the cities may be grouped and compared. The City of Mexico is nearly as large as Madrid or Barcelona, and far surpasses both in novelty and interest. Outside of its wonderful picture gallery—the finest in the world—Madrid is only an imitation Paris. Barcelona is a bright, attractive modern business city. Mexico is all of this, and in addition interests with Oriental scenes and suggestions. It has many of the sightseeing attractions of Madrid, Barcelona and gay Seville, with touches of scenes from the streets of Cairo. Guadalajara and Puebla are nearer the size of Seville, and each has manifold attractions. Guanajuato is the Mexican reminder of Toledo and Granada,

perched on the rocky hillsides, terraced, quaint and picturesque.

You hear the same language spoken as in Spain; you pay separately so much for each act at a theatrical performance in both countries; the male citizens (and some of the citizenesses) smoke constantly and everywhere, as in Spain, but the Mexican does not stare quite so hard at the ladies as the Spaniard does, nor does he make such ostentatious and juicy use of a toothpick between courses at table d'hôte.

In some of the Mexican homes there are reminders in architectural effects and in stucco work in horseshoe arches and graceful columns of the Moorish influence upon the Spaniards during the period of Moorish occupation of Spain, but Mexico has nothing to compare with the delicately beautiful relics left by the Moors in the Alhambra at Granada, and in the Alcazar at Seville, which, with the wonderful Moorish mosque at Cordova, constitute the chief attractions of Southern Spain. If, however, Mexico has not relics of the work of North Africa, it has in its Indian dark-skinned people reminders of the Africans and Asiatics themselves. In the small villages and country sections where the millions of Indians dwell, Oriental scenes are plentiful. I do not now refer to observed analogies in traditions and religious rites, in chronological systems and zodiacal signs, or in social usages and manners upon which the argument for belief in the common origin of early Mexican and Old World civilization is based, but to the surface resemblances which impress themselves upon and interest the ordinary unscientific observer.

HINTS OF THE ORIENT IN MEXICO.

The dark-skinned men, with bright eyes and white teeth, dressed first in white cotton and then draped in a serape, a shawl by day and a blanket by night, are distinctively Oriental, and the effect is not destroyed either by the immense sugar-loaf sombreros which they wear upon their heads or the sandals which, when not barefooted, they fasten upon their feet.

The women, often in gay colors, and draped in a dark-colored shawl, called reboso, which half conceals the face, also suggest Asia or Africa rather than America or Europe. The Egyptian shaduf finds its counterpart in the well sweep of Irapuato, where strawberries are grown and sold every day in the year, and where irrigation is resorted to as in Egypt,

systematically and on a large scale. In the absence of trees and rocks the Egyptian shaduf is small, is composed of prepared timbers, and the counterpoise to the well bucket is an immense hunk of dried, hardened Nile mud. The Mexican shaduf generally utilizes a forked tree, and swings across it a long tapering tree trunk or branch, and the counterpoise consists of a large single stone or a mass of stones fastened together. Though Mexico stretches farther south than Egypt, the two countries lie, speaking generally, between the same parallels of latitude, but the altitude of Irapuato is over 5,000 feet above the sea level or the level of the Nile, so that the same degree of undress is not expected or found in the Mexican as in the Egyptian shaduf worker. I saw, however, in the neighborhood of Irapuato two Indians at well sweeps working side by side, who were dressed only in white cotton loin cloths, and who looked like the twin brothers of shaduf workers whom I have seen and photographed on the Nile. In the tropical altitudes of Mexico, and in the hot springs sections, as at Aguas Calientes, without regard to altitude, there is at least an Egyptian disregard of the conventionalities in attire, and a disposition is noted to take a daily fashion hint from the Garden of Eden instead of from Paris, the children discarding even the fig leaf. The water-carrier of Cairo is much like his brother of Guanajuato, where a long leathern jar is used. The groups about the fountains all over the republic, with jars of rounded pottery borne on the woman's head on a protecting turban-like ring, or balanced on the man's shoulders, are also Oriental. Corn is ground between two stones in Asiatic fashion.

THE EGYPT OF THE NEW WORLD.

Egyptian sand spouts are common; also Egyptian types of domestic utensils of pottery. The Mexican woman, with her baby at her back, securely fastened in the reboso, which throws the infant's weight on the mother's shoulders, is to be compared with the Egyptian woman, whose "reboso" covers her face while the child straddles her shoulders, holding to her head, and leaving her hands as unfettered as in the Mexican fashion. There are no Egyptian camels, but even more numerous donkeys, the patient burros. The Indian villages, whether of adobe or of bamboo, with thatched roofs and organ cactus fences, and whether alive with goats, donkeys or snarling curs, are African in effect. There are

Aztec picture writings resembling the Egyptian, the paper being made from the maguey instead of papyrus. The Aztecs employed captives on great public works, as in Egypt. Mexico thus has pyramids much broader based than those of Egypt, though not nearly so high, and idols quite as ugly. Gold ornaments, beads, masks and other highly-prized antiquities are found in the tombs as in Egypt.

WHEREIN MEXICO FALLS SHORT.

There are disadvantages and annoyances on the Mexican trip. After crossing the Rio Grande an arid desert waste annoys the traveler with heat and dust for many miles. The railroad trip to the City of Mexico is, however, not so far as to San Francisco, four days and nineteen hours from New York, and is quite as comfortable. As in southern Europe, the houses and people are, speaking generally, unprepared for the cold, and in case of a cold wave both visitors and natives often suffer. The hotels are, with a few exceptions, poor, but they are very much better than the reports concerning them prevalent in the United States lead one to expect. One can fare as well as in Spain. The foreign language is an annoyance to the American who has done little European travel. But Americans ought to learn Spanish. Next to English it is the language of the Americas, and in view of present growing commercial relations and manifest destiny Spanish should have the preference over every other modern language in our public schools and colleges. The worst nuisances that the tourist encounters in Mexico will also remind him of southern Europe and the Mediterranean countries in general in the ubiquity and the excessive energy of the insect kingdom. There is not the slightest trace of the proverbial Mexican procrastination in the operations of the bedbugs, fleas and lice. Whatever they have to do, they do promptly and with all their might. The bulk of the Mexicans need public schools and soap and water; varied industries and insect powder. But today I am considering them not in the more serious phases of their conditions and needs, but exclusively from the sightseeing point of view, which discovers picturesqueness in rags and dirt.

MEXICAN "BIGGEST THINGS ON EARTH."

Mexico boasts the richest and most productive silver mines in the world; the cradle of civilization in this conti-

nent; the ruins and romance of historic and prehistoric America; the Garden of Eden, if it was situated on this continent, and in the Cholula pyramid the Tower of Babel of Indian tradition; the spot where the first known European set foot on this continent to which he gave his name—the place, the coast near Tampico; the man, Americus Vespucci; the largest meteorite in the world; in the statue of Charles IV., on the Paseo, in the City of Mexico, the first and according to some authorities the largest bronze ever cast in America, and according to Humboldt the finest equestrian statue in the world next to that of Marcus Aurelius at Rome; the stoutest tree on the continent and perhaps in the world at Tule, 154 feet two inches in circumference, six feet from the ground; according to the latest figures, which reduce Mount St. Elias and exalt Orizaba, the highest mountain on the continent; the largest American church building in the Mexican Cathedral and the most beautiful in that of Puebla; the first pulpit and first church structure in the New World at Tlaxcala; the largest bell in America and one of the largest in the world in the Mexican Cathedral. It is said to be nineteen feet high. The “Monarch of Bells” in the Kremlin at Moscow is twenty feet high and weighs 444,000 pounds, but it is cracked and useless, while Mexico’s bell is sound and serviceable. Finally, Mexico boasts the most pretentious theater on the continent. That of Guadalajara is an immense structure, with an imposing front of numerous columns of the Greek style of architecture, but it is now excelled by that of Guanajuato, which is one of the showiest and most elaborate buildings of the kind in the world. It is the sight of Guanajuato. It is under Government control, and official permit to visit it is issued by the Governor of the State. It has been a dozen years in building, at great expense, as if it were a European cathedral or an American State capitol or the Washington postoffice.

They do not hurry things in Mexico. It is the land of “manana”—tomorrow. The national coat of arms represents an eagle standing on a cactus, with a serpent in its mouth. It is popularly known as the bird and the worm, and it has been hastily inferred therefrom that the national motto reads: “It is the early bird that catches the worm.” But only a few days of Mexican experience demonstrate the fallacy of this interpretation, and suggest that the real national motto is either “More haste, less speed,” “Some day, some day,” or “In the sweet bye and bye.”

AZTEC AND SPANIARD.

In the Footsteps of the Conquering Cortes—Vestiges of America's Venice—Unique and Interesting Street Scenes in Mexican Cities—Bargain Sales Every Day.

(Editorial Correspondence of the Evening Star, Dec. 14, 1895.)

The American in Spain naturally takes a deep interest in the reminders of Columbus. He finds not even the Alhambra more thought-inspiring than the bridge of Pinos near Granada, where Queen Isabella's courier, sent by her from the recently conquered Moorish city, overtook Columbus, who was about to quit Spain in despair, and turned him back to give "to Castile and Leon a new world." The American also develops a spontaneous Columbian enthusiasm in Palos, with its convent of La Rabida, so intimately associated with the turning point in the career of Columbus, and its port, whence the great discoverer sailed; and in Barcelona, from which the most imposing of the many monuments erected in his honor looks out upon the Mediterranean, where he was royally welcomed by Ferdinand and Isabella on the return from his first voyage.

A similar interest attaches to Mexican reminders of Cortes, the first Old World conqueror of the New, and this interest is not diminished by the fact that the associations connected with Cortes, who took possession for Spain of what Columbus found, are in the land where his fame was won, and not in the mother country, where both discoverer and conqueror died neglected and humiliated.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF CORTES.

We can trace every stage of the wonderful march of Cortes and his handful of followers from the coast near Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Here, at Tlaxcala, a mountain town, not far from the present city of Puebla, the Spaniards fought with a fierce and warlike mountain tribe which soon became the faithful ally of Cortes, saving him more than once in times of imminent danger, and sharing the military honors of the conquest. In this city, which at the

time of the conquest was compared favorably by Cortes with Granada, but which is now the mere shadow of its former self—a half-deserted, decaying village—are found the most interesting collection of Cortes' relics in all Mexico. One sees here the banner which accompanied Cortes in his memorable march, the standard which Cortes presented to the Tlaxcalan chiefs who befriended him, portraits in oil of the latter, the robes which they wore at their baptism and the font in which they were baptized, a silken embroidery on which is pictured the first battle between the Spaniards and Tlaxcalans; and one can visit the palace occupied by Cortes.

After turning aside with some of the Spaniards to ascend Popocatepetl for sulphur to be used in gunpowder, we enter the valley of Mexico by way of Amecameca, as Cortes did, and gaze with him in astonished and speechless admiration upon the magnificent prospect spread before us.

"In the center of the great basin were beheld the lakes, occupying then a much larger portion of the surface than at present; their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets, and, in the midst—like some Indian empress with her coronal of pearls—the fair City of Mexico, with her white towers and pyramidal temples, reposing as it were on the bosom of the waters."

We descend in Cortes' footsteps, and, after a brief halt at Ixtapalapa, where, in the palace of Cuitlahua, Montezuma's brother, the Spaniards were royally entertained, we follow Cortes upon the great causeway across Lake Tezcuco straight into the City of Mexico.

HISTORIC POINTS IN THE AZTEC CAPITAL.

Where the Hospital of Jesus now stands Montezuma welcomed the Spaniards, and thence they marched to their quarters near the present Plaza Major and cathedral. We can rebuild in imagination the vast pile of Montezuma's palace, on the site of the present national palace, and the suburban castle of Chapultepec, which rose high above all other structures, displaying upon the heights which it crowned the same venerable cypresses which are admired there today. We can imagine the audacious capture of Montezuma in his own city and castle, and finally after many vicissitudes of fortune the attempt of the Spaniards to escape from the city on Noche Triste, the sorrowful night, by way of the western causeway. We can recreate the terrible

struggle along the dike, aided by structures which mark historic points of this exodus. The movable bridge, built by the Spaniards as a substitute for draw-bridges, destroyed by the Aztecs, stuck fast in the first intersecting canal of the causeway, and the second canal could be crossed only upon a bridge of dead bodies. At this point now stands the ancient church of San Hipolito, upon whose wall is carved this inscription: "So great was the slaughter of Spaniards by the Aztecs in this place on the night of July 1, 1520,—named for this reason the Dismal Night,—that after having in the following year re-entered the city triumphantly, the conquerors resolved to build here a chapel to be called the Chapel of the Martyrs, and which should be dedicated to San Hipolito, because the capture of the city occurred upon that saint's day." The point in the causeway is also indicated where Alvarado is said to have made his famous leap across a bridgeless canal, using his spear as a pole, and breaking all the records for pole-vaulting. Farther out, at Popotla, is the Noche Triste tree, under which Cortes is said to have wept on the Dismal Night, a tree jealously guarded by the Government. The only notable Spanish public memorials preserved in Indian-ruled Mexico thus commemorate a famous slaughter of the Spaniards and the spot where the Spanish leader shed tears of mortification and grief.

Having seen Cortes ignominiously chased out of Mexico we must imagine him recuperating at Tlaxcala, collecting and disciplining a new army, building brigantines to serve as his navy on Lake Tezcuco, and finally engaging in a fierce struggle with the soldiers of Guatemozin, the new Aztec emperor, a heroic figure in the war, and cutting his way over the Iztapalapan causeway, back to his old quarters near the pyramidal Aztec temple, and to the mastery of the city.

The story of the conquest of Mexico is the most exciting romance ever written. It has not been neglected either by the historian or the novelist. As the average tourist in Egypt finds an entertaining guide in "Uarda" and "The Egyptian Princess," and the visitor to Italy's resurrected city delights more in the descriptions found in "The Last Days of Pompeii" than in those of Baedeker, so in Mexico "The Fair God" and "Montezuma's Daughter" give to many buildings and historic spots still visible and to many views which may still be enjoyed a vivid interest which they would otherwise lack. It is a fascinating occupation to visit the scenes described in fiction and history, and to trace reminders of an ancient city in the modern successor upon its site.

THE OLD CAPITAL AND THE NEW.

The Aztec city of Mexico—Tenochtitlan—was more extensive and populous than the present great capital. It was the Venice of the New World. It was built originally on some islands in the western part of Lake Tezcuco. It stretched its habitations on piles out into the shallow lake. Canals traversed it in every direction. Canoes as the New World gondolas were the ordinary Tenochtitlan vehicles. Great causeways of lime and stone, broad enough for a dozen horsemen to ride abreast, connected the city on the south, the west and the north with the mainland. Canals intersected these causeways and were crossed by draw-bridges which could be raised in case of danger, thus cutting off all communication with the inland city. Tenochtitlan resembled in location and means of defense the ancient lake dwellings of Europe. It made a Chinese or Cantonese use of the surface of the water to sustain human habitations, not merely in houses on piles, or in house boats, but in the famous chinampas or floating islands, which were for the most part immense rafts of reeds and rushes, bearing several feet of a rich soil from the bottom of the lake. Some of these artificial movable islands were two or three hundred feet long, sustaining the residence hut of a gardener who grew flowers and vegetables in the greatest profusion.

Modern Mexico is no longer a Venice. The waters of Lake Tezcuco have withdrawn until the center of the present city is several miles from its shore. Only a few feeble reminders remain to suggest its Venetian days, its causeways, its canals and its floating islands.

VESTIGES OF THE AZTEC VENICE.

One of the most interesting of Mexico's suburban excursions is to the south to Ixtapalapa and along the Viga canal, including Santa Anita and its alleged chinampas. The great causeway to Ixtapalapa was that by which Cortes twice entered the city across the waters of Tezcuco, the first time hailed with demonstrations of welcome by myriads of Aztecs, the second the occasion of Tenochtitlan's final conquest, greeted by the fiercest and most desperate resistance.

The modern trip to Ixtapalapa begins prosaically in a little street car pulled by a single mule. We enter this car at Mexico's great plaza in full view of the vast cathedral,

which takes the place of the pyramid and surmounting temple of the Aztec war god. We leave the Plaza Major and go southward down the main street of Tenochtitlan, which, when Cortes first entered it, was lined on both sides with beautiful palaces of red stone, belonging to the Aztec nobility, and exciting by their magnificence astonishment and unbounded admiration in the Spaniards. But in the second entrance—that of the conquest—every one of these fortified palaces was leveled to the ground. Near the city's limits our street car turns to the left and we are soon paralleling the Viga canal, the last notable vestige of Tenochtitlan's waterways. After a long but interesting ride along its banks, over a fine, well shaded road, passing through the Indian villages of Santa Anita and Ixtacalco, we turn sharply to the left at Mexicalcingo, and are soon in Ixtapalapa. Here were the famous gardens of Cuiclahua, Montezuma's brother, where he feasted the visiting Spaniards. Here also was the home of Guatemozin, the last great Aztec emperor. Now gardens and palaces have disappeared, and only a miserable, dusty, scantily populated village remains.

FLOATING ISLANDS AND THE VIGA.

On the return trip to Mexico we left our street car at Santa Anita and took a scow ride in among the chinampas—all that remains of the floating islands. If any of these islands ever did float it is evident that they are now fastened immovably. Workmen were engaged in raising rich soil by dredging the bottoms of the intersecting canals and in spreading it over the "floating islands," which thus assumed an artificial appearance and might easily be supposed, on superficial examination, to rest upon rafts. The soil of these artificial gardens is very fertile and grows immense crops of vegetables and flowers, which form part of the lading of the Viga flat boats that supply the Mexican markets.

Returning to the canal we embark in a Mexican gondola for a trip down the Viga to Mexico. Our gondola is not even an Aztec canoe, but unequivocally and flagrantly a flat boat, constructed on the graceful lines of the mud scow. We sit under a low awning, which protects us from the sun, and our barefooted gondolier, dressed in white cotton and a sombrero, poles us slowly down the equally sluggish canal. Here we see a picturesque, scantily clad, dark-skinned In-

dian propelling a small boat laden with fagots. We pass hundreds of flat boats on their way to market, piled high with vegetables, flowers, wood, hay, fruit and stone. Some of the scows are house-boats, and whole families, from the infant to the grandfather, live in them. Domestic operations are performed in the open air, with a Neapolitan abandon and lack of reserve. Here we pass under a low stone bridge, and are compelled to throw ourselves flat in our boat, with our awning spread upon us. The scenes on the populated banks of the canal are as interesting as those on its surface. We see women and children in various stages of undress washing their clothes or performing their personal ablutions. The *Viga* laundry consists of an equipment of stones conveniently located on the river bank. Occasionally we can look up some small intersecting canal and see gardening operations upon the modern floating islands and small boats filled with natives navigating the ditches around them.

Decidedly, there is now no suggestion of Venice in the scene. If several thousand windmills and as many fat cows were scattered over the flat landscape the canals might, however, enable the scene to recall recollections of Holland.

OTHER OLD WORLD SUGGESTIONS.

Though Mexico no longer reposes as an island capital on the bosom of the waters and present resemblances to Italy's beautiful city of palaces and canals are remote and far-fetched, there are many obvious suggestions of the Old World in Mexican scenes, a few of which may be noted.

An Old World superfluity of beggars, for instance, is conspicuously in evidence.

The Mexican beggars are not to be compared in deformity with those of Constantinople, or in persistency with those of Killarney, but they maintain a fair European average in both respects and suffice to cause the American visitor who has been "so long abroad" to feel perfectly at home in Mexico. Cortes, distinguishing Cholula from other Aztec cities, wrote that he saw there "multitudes of beggars such as are to be found in the enlightened capitals of Europe." Since the conquest all the other Mexican cities seem to have attained Cholula's distinction and now proudly display these evidences of European enlightenment.

MUMMIES AND THE LIKE.

In several different places, including Guanajuato, Mexico has a display of comparatively modern mummies and of catacombs. The practice prevails—as in Barcelona and some other European communities—of renting tomb space for the use of a corpse. In Mexico, if, at the expiration of the original term there is no renewal of the lease, the corpse is evicted and dumped into an extensive underground chamber. If in the dry air the evicted mummifies he stands against the wall; if he tumbles to pieces his bones join the vast miscellaneous heap. The Guanajuato catacomb is ghastly enough to satisfy the most exacting connoisseur of the gruesome.

UNIQUE STREET SCENES.

Then there are street scenes of a strange and foreign aspect to the American, as, for instance, black street car hearses and street car funeral hacks, utilized in the burial of the most distinguished men, like the late Romero Rubio, Diaz's father-in-law, and at his death a Cabinet officer in the present administration. There are also curious street signs, rude but vigorous and highly colored pictures depicting scenes suggestive of the business conducted within, and inappropriate names in staring letters as trade-marks, so to speak, of the different stores. Imagine, for instance, "The Last Days of Pompeii" as a business sign, or "The Sacred Heart of Jesus," which is the name of a score of establishments, ranging from a saloon to a flour mill. Then one enjoys in the streets the spectacle of men embracing, each patting the other's back with the hand of the embracing arm, the whole performance constituting the national form of greeting, as handshaking is with us. The delicate patting of this salute has no justification on utilitarian grounds. If, instead of patting, the Mexicans were to scratch one another's backs, in the self-inaccessible spot between the shoulderblades, one could understand the significance of the performance and with good reason commend it.

Countless porters at the railroad stations ready to carry anything from a hand satchel to a Saratoga trunk for the smallest of small fees suggest Europe; also the vendors who crowd about the windows of the cars at every stopping point to sell their wares. The variety of the articles thus offered is extraordinary. In addition to the edibles and

drinkables, the pulque and the strange fruits, nearly every place has some specialty to offer. Thus at Salamanca the peddlers have buckskin gloves, at Aguas Calientes linen drawn work of a fineness and cheapness to turn the heads of lady tourists, at Irapuato strawberries every day in the year, at Queretaro opals by the peck, at Celaya famous dulces, confections of milk and sugar; at Guadalajara pottery, at Puebla onyx ornaments, and at Apizaco canes of coffee wood curiously and sometimes artistically carved by the Indians.

BARGAIN SALES EVERY DAY.

These things can not only be bought at the places where they are made or grown or found, but at the metropolis, and there also can be had cheaply old silver, filigree work, beautiful straw work, wood carving, feather work keeping alive some of the ancient Aztec art, figures in wax and clay, and countless other Mexican products, in addition to direct importations from Europe which have paid little or no duty, and American goods, which to meet the vigorous European competition are in many lines sold more cheaply than in the United States. When it is considered that the depreciation of the Mexican silver causes every transaction to appear to the American as a bargain sale, with a discount of nearly 50 per cent., the attractions of Mexico as a shopping place at once become notably apparent.

What lady can resist the opportunity for foreign cheap shopping, when she remembers that she may also experience the unholy joy (a returning European traveler's emotion) of smuggling her purchases across the border and of getting ahead of the customs officers and of Uncle Sam?

While the ladies are shopping the men can, if they please, climb Orizaba or Popocatepetl—snow-clad volcanoes, 2,000 feet higher than Mount Blanc. It is not necessary, however, to rule out the ladies in the mountain-climbing trips. I see that a party of men and women have recently ascended Popocatepetl, and that they went from the City of Mexico as far as the first stage of the ascent—wonderful to relate—on bicycles. As further evidence that Mexico is in many respects fully abreast of the times attention may be called to the recent newspaper announcement of a projected cable road to the very top of lofty Popocatepetl.

MODERN MEXICO.

The New North American Invasion Across the Rio Grande—One of the World's Great Men—Porfirio Diaz, Spanish-Indian President and Uncrowned King—Future of the Americas.

(Editorial Correspondence of the Evening Star, Jan. 4, 1896.)

The Americans, i. e., the United Statesers, are invading Mexico. This invasion differs from its predecessor of half a century ago in that it is peaceful and beneficial in the highest degree to the invaded. American enterprise and the far-seeing wisdom of Mexico's political leaders have combined to develop a comprehensive railroad system in our neighboring republic, practically an extension of certain great trunk lines of the United States, already covering well the most important points and pushing toward the country's remotest corners. Mexico's contribution to the pan-American route, which is to convey through passengers from Maine or Oregon to Patagonia, and which is to knit together the Three Americas, is now near the Mexican southern border. The railroads with which the northern invaders have blessed this land are developing the rich natural resources of hitherto inaccessible sections, stimulating trade, and bringing into the republic an annually increasing host of tourists to enjoy the magnificent scenery, the prehistoric ruins and the unique scenes illustrating the life of the people, and also with ideas of expenditure on a gold basis to scatter depreciated silver among appreciative recipients. With its twin agent of civilization, the telegraph, the railroad has also rendered revolutions all but impossible. No revolt can make much headway before the news is flashed to Diaz, and through the aid of the facilities furnished by the railroads troops may be massed and the rebellion crushed in its incipency. Mexico's railroads, with a single exception, are owned and run by Americans, in accordance with American methods of equipment and management. The army of railroad men constitute the first and most important branch of the northern invaders, and associated with them are the

drummers, representing business America, and the tourist host. Then come the Americans who, either for themselves or as superintendents for Mexican owners, have so wonderfully developed the republic's mineral resources in recent years. The coffee lands have also attracted numerous American investors, some of whom have done well for themselves and all of whom have contributed something to the prosperity of Mexico.

THE UBIQUITOUS AMERICAN.

Everywhere in the younger republic one meets Americans, here in trade, here in the hotel business, here as tourists, here introducing some northern invention, as an electric plant, into a progressive Mexican city; here in mining, here in coffee planting, here in charge of railroad, express or telegraph business. But compared with the entire population they are, of course, a mere handful. Their influence in Mexico is out of proportion to their number, for the reason that they have so strong a hold upon the sources of national development and prosperity. They are not more numerous, because Mexico is not really attractive to those colonists who must struggle individually with the soil, the class which constitutes the great bulk of home-seeking and home-making immigrants. On the plateau the soil is often thin and poor; in the hot lands fevers and the competition of Indian cheap labor at a maximum rate of 25 cents a day in our money discourage immigration. There is more room here for the capitalist than for the laborer. It is not a good place for the young man to come "to make his fortune," without well-defined and reasonable plans of immediate employment. Intoxicants are temptingly cheap and the moral atmosphere is unwholesome for the voluntary or involuntary loafer.

Mexico has not merely railroad ties with the United States, but is bound fast by newspaper ties as well. The capital city has two good daily newspapers printed in English, one of which, the Mexican Herald, an enterprising, newsy, up-to-date paper, presents to its readers the full Associated Press reports. The republic is thus in the system of American newspapers as well as that of American railroads, and, no longer isolated, is in touch with the thought and action of the North American Continent.

THE REIGN OF LAW AND OF DIAZ.

There was a time when heavy investments of American capital in Mexico would have been viewed as impossibilities, rendered such by local hostility toward foreigners, and especially Americans, and by the lack of a settled, organized government to repress lawlessness and to guarantee security to invested capital. That stage in the country's history is happily passed. Diaz, one of the world's great men, rules the republic with a strong, yet tactful hand. He is at once a soldier and diplomatist. He welcomes the foreigner without losing his hold upon his countrymen. He has checked the revolutionary tendencies of Mexico, formerly a sort of Ferris wheel among nations, notable for the magnificent impressiveness of its periodical revolutions. The army is back of him, and through the railroad and accompanying telegraph which his policy has sent everywhere in Mexico he can, as I have already suggested, drop soldiers upon the backs of conspirators as soon as they have fairly begun to conspire. He has, to a great extent, broken up the elements which threaten revolt, conciliating or crushing possible conspirators. Many restless, lawless spirits, including the surviving remnant of bandits, have been converted into "Rurales," the efficient mounted protectors of the public peace. Other disturbers have been quieted and rendered conservative by appointment to higher offices, or have been exiled, or imprisoned, and, in some cases, perhaps, shot "while attempting to escape." In one way and another Diaz, who was an old revolutionist himself, and who approached his task of rendering revolutions impossible with the acquired knowledge of an expert, has long ago steadied the republic and caused his reign, if such it must be termed, to be an era of peace and good order and security to life and property.

While in the City of Mexico I had an interview with President Diaz in the National Palace, the vast building which occupies a part of the site of the still vaster structure of Montezuma's world-famous palace. My sponsor and interpreter was Mr. Butler, the able and genial secretary of the American legation in Mexico. The stranger from Washington is at once made to feel at home here by the representatives of his Government. Minister Ransom, the courtly ex-Senator from North Carolina, and his son Robert vie with each other in their tender of hospitable attentions, and no one could be apparently on a better footing at the Mex-

ican White House, or secure for a visitor an interview with President Diaz under more favorable conditions. The Mexican President understands much that is said in English and can speak it to some extent, but he protects the Presidential dignity in these interviews (as is natural) by speaking only Spanish, and, when necessary, utilizing an interpreter. In conversation with him, however, there is not the unavoidable stiffness of the ordinary interview through an interpreter. You speak to him and not to the interpreter, for you feel that he understands nearly everything that you say, and that so far, at least, as your own remarks are concerned, your Spanish-speaking friend is a commentator rather than an interpreter.

AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT DIAZ.

We found the President in a reception room hung with the famous Maximilian tapestries, and he sat down and chatted sociably with us for half an hour, apparently oblivious or careless of the fact that a crowd, including a high Government official, cooled their heels in the ante-chamber.

The interview was not a formal, pre-arranged affair to furnish the basis of a newspaper publication, but the President talked interestingly on many subjects in the course of the desultory conversation.

He evidently appreciates fully the value of the right sort of American in developing the material resources of the country which he governs. The man who builds and manages Mexican railroads and the man who develops the republic's mineral wealth are to him the model Americans. In this connection he spoke in warm terms of ex-Governor Alexander R. Shepherd, who has spent great sums of money in making highly profitable the mines of Batopilas in northern Mexico. President Diaz inquired particularly as to Mr. Shepherd's whereabouts (he was then in Europe), and said that he had at least two American friends in whom he could place at all times the fullest and most unquestioning reliance. One of them, he said, was Shepherd, and the other Huntington, the railroad magnate.

Admiration was expressed of the wonderful view from the residence White House of Mexico, lofty Chapultepec, and of the Paseo or driveway leading to it, with its magnificent statues of Guatemozin, Columbus and Charles IV. Diaz did not display any special enthusiasm on the subject of natural scenery. He intimated that so far as these par-

ticular scenes were concerned, they were so familiar to him that he had come to take them much as a matter of course.

In response to a complimentary reference to the good order prevailing today in Mexico, Diaz spoke freely upon the subject. He was evidently pleased and proud at what he had already accomplished in this direction, but in view of the comparatively recent date of the full supremacy of the law he deprecated an expectation of precisely the same settled conditions everywhere in that republic which he assumed to exist everywhere in the United States.

Questioning as to the possibility of a visit by him to the United States, I asked whether he was prohibited from going outside of the republic's jurisdiction during his term of office. He replied that the rule on that subject had been even more stringent than at present; that when he first became President the law made of that official a prisoner within the federal district, forbidden to step foot outside its limits; and that he finally succeeded in securing the amendment of this law, so that now he can visit any part of Mexico, though he may not go beyond its borders. He added dryly that the Mexican Presidents were not inclined at any time to view this confinement, so to speak, as a punishment, and intimated that anyone in the past who was so fortunate as to hold the Presidency was apt to prefer to stay close to the seat of Government in order to be sure of retaining it.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Diaz is an older man, a smaller man physically, though strongly built, and a much darker man than photographs and paintings of him had caused me to expect to meet. He is sixty-five years of age, though he looks considerably younger, and the Indian blood in his veins, of which he is proud, imparts a decided shade to his complexion. He gives the impression of a man of great force, but with powers under perfect restraint. He seems what he is generally conceded to be, "The right man in the right place." He has been the power either on the throne or behind the throne since 1877, and he will reign, all elements of the people enthusiastically assenting, as long as he lives. It is also expected that he will exercise the kingly prerogative of selecting his successor; indeed, the name of the man supposed to have been chosen for this honor is already whispered in the inner circles.

Diaz is of the mixed Spanish and Indian race which controls Mexico. The oppressions by the mother country apparently soured the Spanish blood in Mexican veins. Descendants of the Spanish conquerors fought by the side of descendants of the conquered Aztecs against Spain as a common enemy. Irrespective of ancestry they merged into the Mexican-American. It is curious how the see-saw of time and fate has sent the murdered Guatemozin up and the conquering Cortes down in Aztec-Spanish land. Guatemozin's bones have moldered undiscovered somewhere in the vast forests of Central America, where Cortes hanged him, or they would occupy the place of honor in Mexico's Pantheon. The most impressive statue in the Mexican capital is the magnificent representation of Guatemozin on the Paseo, revered by the Indians, and erected and admired by men with the blood of the Spanish conquerors in their veins. The companion piece to Guatemozin's statue on the Paseo is not Cortes, the conqueror, but Columbus, the discoverer, who is appropriately honored in this part of the New World. As for Cortes, not only is he uncommemorated in tablet or monument, but rancorous hatred did not even permit his bones to rest undisturbed in their Mexican tomb. "In 1823," says Prescott, "the patriot mob of the capital in their zeal to commemorate the era of the national independence and their detestation of the 'old Spaniards,' prepared to break open the tomb which held the ashes of Cortes and to scatter them to the winds! Friends of the family, as is commonly reported, entered the vault by night, and, secretly removing the relics, prevented the commission of the sacrilege."

A WELCOME TO HOSPITABLE GRAVES.

This treatment of Cortes is a curious exception to the general amnesty and the policy of toleration which Mexico seems to have declared in respect to the dead who in life figured conspicuously in her history. She has apparently been content to welcome even the most hated to a hospitable grave. Under the Altar of the Kings in the Cathedral of Mexico molder together the bones of certain Spanish vice-roys, and the heads of certain patriot Mexicans, including Hidalgo, struck off by the Spanish as the heads of traitors. Close at hand in the Chapel of San Felipe lie the remains of Iturbide, who destroyed Spanish rule in Mexico, made himself emperor, was finally shot by the patriot Mexicans

as a traitor, and, being dead, reposes in the cathedral under a monument inscribed "The Liberator."

In Mexico's Westminster, the Pantheon of San Fernando, lies Juarez, the famous Indian President, under a tomb which is a masterpiece of sculpture, and only a few feet away are the monuments which mark the last resting places of Miramon and Mejia, the generals of Maximilian, who were executed with him at Juarez's order. At the foot of Chapultepec rises a monument to the Mexican cadets killed in the assault by the North American invaders. In the foreign cemetery at its end toward Chapultepec lie the bones of the American soldiers killed in the invasion, and on their monumental shaft is inscribed their victories: "Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, Mexico." No one, it seems, is begrudged a hospitable grave but Cortes!

In this land of revolutions first one race has been on top and then another. For three hundred years the Spanish blood was in the ascendancy; now the Indian prevails. The Mexican Madonna is the Indian Virgin of Guadalupe, who, inspiring the patriot armies, overthrew and superseded as the national patron saint, the Spanish Virgin, de Los Remedios, in whose name the Spaniards went to battle. It is the Virgin pictured as an Indian who was recently crowned at Guadalupe, some of our American bishops participating in the elaborate ceremonies. Juarez, "the Washington of Mexico," was a full-blooded Zapotec, and he ruled, and Diaz now rules, asserting the supremacy of the Indian through their Zapotec blood.

IS MEXICO'S AUTONOMY IN DANGER?

Has Mexico reason to fear the invading Americans, even though they bear gifts? Not at present, and probably never. As a race we are a land-hungry people, but a belt of desert and forbidding territory separates us from the desirable portions of Mexico. Our colonists do not go there as settlers upon the land in dangerously large numbers. Not labor, but capital, is needed, and supplied.

The United States must and will control the successful competitor among the canal and railroad routes to connect Atlantic and Pacific across the narrow end of the continent, but this control does not render necessary annexation either of Mexico or of the country traversed by the interoceanic highway.

Millions of the Mexicans are not in condition to be assimilated in a real republic like the United States. The Government, though admirable and the one best adapted to existing circumstances, is not of and by the people. The elections have often been mere forms. The national legislature, of which the lower house meets in the old Iturbide Theater, with the reporters in a private box and the spectators in the galleries, passes entirely too many measures by a unanimous vote. Four million people, who speak and understand only some Indian dialect, and whose needs are so barbarously limited that twenty cents a day of our money will satisfy them, would be an indigestible lump even for the ostrich stomach of the American Republic. In many parts of the rural districts the conditions of the feudal system prevail. The Mexican hacienda is a vast estate, sometimes containing hundreds of thousands of acres, with its castle, the fort-like central building or house, around which the feudal village clusters, with its lord, generally an absentee, enjoying himself in Paris, and with its vassals in thousands of peons, who are kept chronically in debt to the lord, and who, under the laws and customs, are as tightly bound to the soil as if slavery and serfdom had not been abolished by law in Mexico. From the feudal system of the Middle Ages to modern self-government is too sudden a transition.

Neither the people to the north nor to the south of us are now knocking at our doors for admission, and there is no tendency toward or present prospect of forcible annexation. Canada, outside of the French province, would be readily assimilated, and is anxious for commercial but not political union. Mexico would not be easily absorbed. Many of her people, especially those near the border, are suspicious and apprehensive of us. Secretary Seward, who drove out the French for them, does not entirely banish from their memory General Scott, with his army of North American invaders. The process of Americanizing both neighbors goes on, however, steadily. Canada is likely to secure first commercial and then political independence of Great Britain before there can be peaceable annexation to the United States, if that event is ever to occur. With Canada and Mexico self-governed as republics, and closely bound to the United States by commercial ties and common interests, and with the institutions and influence of the great Republic dominating the American continent, manifest destiny will have sufficient gratification, no matter how long the repre-

sentation of Canada and Mexico in the government at Washington may be delayed.

With a pan-American railroad fastening together the American continents with bands of steel; with reciprocity devices to foster and encourage trade; with legislation to develop American shipping and American commerce; with consular reports and such publications as those of the Bureau of American Republics to guide the manufacturers wise enough to utilize them, and with an enlarged and vigorous American doctrine, the modern application and logical development of the Monroe doctrine, to unify the hemisphere, the three Americas will advance rapidly together, shoulder to shoulder, into a common and unexampled prosperity.

A KING AMONG TREES.

Mexico's Giant at Tule Perhaps the Stoutest in the World — A Typical Zapotec Village — Scenes in a Timbuctoo of the North American Continent — On the Way to Mitla's Ruins.

(Editorial Correspondence of the Evening Star, Jan. 18, 1896.)

Though spelled Oaxaca and pronounced Warhacker, the word sounded tunefully as Eldorado in the ears of Cortes, for it was the name of the most fruitful valley and the richest gold-producing province in Aztec land. And when the Spaniard kidnaped Montezuma in his own palace, and ruled through the royal captive, one of the first gifts extorted from him was the grant to Cortes of a vast tract of land in Oaxaca. So after the conquest, when a Spanish emperor occupied Montezuma's shoes, this grant was renewed and confirmed, and Cortes was made Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca. The modern Indian-peopled city of this name is famous not only as the spot favored by Cortes, but as the birthplace of Juarez and of Diaz, as the present terminus of the Mexican Southern Railroad, and the most southern point yet reached in Mexico by the Pan-American route, and finally as the starting point for a drive to the Big Tree of Tule and the ruins of Mitla.

In front of the worse of the two Oaxaca hotels—any one who has been in either of them will at once decide that I stayed where he did—there stood on a balmy day in last November two vehicles bound for the ruins of Mitla. In entire harmony with their uses and their destination they were themselves ruins, as unmistakable as any left by the Aztecs, Toltecs or Zapotecs. First came a dilapidated carriage, once perhaps the showy turnout of a Spanish viceroy, now a sad relic of departed worth, broken, scratched, cracked, tattered and torn, worn paintless and threadbare, whose doors, held in place by dirty bits of string, clung tenaciously when requested to open, and in yielding generally splintered the wood work in a fresh spot. The second vehicle was even less promising. It was a double-seated

wagon with springless springs, and in the last stages of decay. Each conveyance had as motive power five mules, with three leaders abreast, and was driven by a bandit in sombrero and serape.

THE START FOR TULE AND MITLA.

The little group at the hotel entrance, consisting of Dr. Leopoldo Batres, conservator of ancient monuments of Mexico; his son, a bright youngster; the English engineer; Madame and myself, stared at the Mitla procession with dubious eyes. Finally Madame, after a critical examination and some hesitation, marks the carriage as her choice of evils. The English engineer seats himself with our driver, Madame and I take the back seat, our driver's whip cracks savagely, and off we go for Tule and Mitla. The other vehicle containing Dr. Batres and his son, and creaking ominously under the burden of the conservator's portly form, quickly follows. Dr. Batres is to stop at the palace of the governor of Oaxaca to get papers from that official addressed to the municipal authorities of Tlacolula, and to overtake us at the Big Tree. The conservator of ancient monuments had a double mission on this trip. He was engaged in an inspection of the ruins in his charge, in order to see that they were in readiness for examination by the Congress of Americanistas, a society composed largely of Europeans, which devotes itself to the study of American antiquities, and which was soon to meet for the first time in its history in the new world, and in the City of Mexico. Dr. Batres was also enlisted in a man hunt, a search for typical Zapotecs, to be displayed as ethnological exhibits before the same Congress of Americanistas. Inasmuch as he spoke the Indian dialects, Spanish and French, and had an intimate knowledge from his official position of the ruins visited, he proved, as might be expected, a valuable companion on our travels.

Oaxaca has reached that stage of municipal development in which the streets are paved with rough cobble-stones, and the only unpleasant bits of travel in our excursion were within Oaxaca's limits, before the hard, well-beaten dirt road of the country was reached. Upon this thoroughfare our vehicle moved along smoothly and rapidly, and the procession of Indian vehicles and pedestrians which we passed on their way to town kept us constantly pleased and in-

terested. The Oaxaca typical vehicle is an ox-cart, the oxen burdened and adorned with rude yokes, fastened to the horns and extending backward over the top of the head and neck, and the cart lumbering along on clumsy wooden wheels, with massive, far-projecting hubs. Sometimes the wheel is in a single piece, the section of a tree trunk, and always in the rural districts it closely approximates this primitive form.

A GIANT AMONG TREES.

Seven or eight miles from Oaxaca we turned from the main road into a lane running through a grove of trees, one of the streets of Tule village, and in less than a half mile from this point we came to the church of Santa Maria del Tule and the monster tree in the churchyard. As one passes through the gateway which pierces the high adobe wall surrounding the church enclosure, he comes face to face with the mighty ahuehuete or Mexican cypress, and the sight takes his breath away. The vast bulk of its trunk and branches dwarfs into insignificance the church standing close by. It seems impossible that this area of vegetable growth should come from a single shoot, and the fact that the surface of the trunk is not smooth and regular, but is deeply indented, with huge ribs standing out at intervals like the sails of a giant windmill, tends to strengthen the impression that the tree is a composite, a case of vegetable Siamese twins, or perhaps the Tule triplets among trees. One M. Anza is quoted as saying concerning it in the last century that "three united trunks form the famous sabino of Santa Maria del Tule." But later travelers do not coincide with M. Anza, and M. Charnay, the French savant, who visited this province when engaged in his world-famous investigations in Chiapas and Yucatan, expressly negatives this view. With this preface, let us plunge at once into figures and announce that according to the latest measurements (those made by Campbell and given in his Mexican guide), the circumference of the trunk six feet from the ground, is 154 feet and 2 inches. Some of its branches spread out a hundred feet from the trunk, and the height of the tree is about 160 feet.

In one side of the trunk is pointed out a wooden tablet, over which the bark has grown until it has become almost a part of the tree, and a nearly illegible inscription appears upon it, said to have been signed and placed there by the

great Humboldt, who is alleged to have declared that there is no other tree to surpass this in the whole world, save a certain one which he saw in Africa. The stranger knocking about in Mexico is apt after a time to find the German savant and great American traveler something of a bore. Everywhere you run up against some reminder of the ubiquity of the man. If you wax enthusiastic over the view from Chapultepec or the Cathedral towers, you soon discover that Humboldt has seen it all, and said whatever it was most appropriate to say. You admire the statue of Charles IV. on the Paseo, and are told that Humboldt, too, thought it was fine, surpassed only by that of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. And when the ordinary traveler thinks that he has found something new and surprising in comparatively untrodden wilds, Humboldt is thrown in his face in a most discouraging fashion. After a while one gets the impression that this very comprehensive wanderer and investigator of over ninety years ago saw everything Mexican that there was to see, walked and rode everywhere, armed with barometer, thermometer and other scientific weapons, climbed all the heights, measured and pictured and philosophized upon all the ruins, compared everything with something somewhere and some time else, and spared not even the Big Tree from his objectionable omnipresence. When Walter Wellman finally discovers the North Pole he will undoubtedly find Humboldt's name carved upon it, together with an inscription stating that the North Pole is unsurpassed in its way by anything that Humboldt had ever seen except the South Pole, which is loftier, and from which the prospect is notably finer and more extensive.

AS TO TULE, HUMBOLDT NEVER IN IT.

These reflections under Tule tree, which were reasonable certainly at that time and place, were modified somewhat when I found later that Humboldt did not compare the Mexican tree unfavorably with one that he saw in Africa; that (1) his writings do not contain this displeasing comparison; that (2) he had never been in Africa, and that (3) according to an intimation of H. H. Bancroft he did not visit the Mitla neighborhood during his Mexican perambulations.

Can it be that the great Humboldt is a great Humbug—the forerunner and model of the modern fake-fabricating

foreign correspondent? Perish the thought. Humboldt visited President Jefferson and Washington city in 1804 and was warm in his praises of the beauty of the city's site. A man who gives such pleasing evidence of good judgment and discerning taste cannot be a fakir.

Humboldt's statements in his Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain concerning the Tule tree, seen or unseen, which are made as if of his own knowledge, without reference to another as authority, are as follows:

"At the village of Santa Maria del Tule, three leagues east from the capital, between Santa Lucia and Tlacocheguaya, there is an enormous trunc of cupressus disticha (sabino) of thirty-six metres (118 feet) in circumference. This ancient tree is consequently larger than the cypress of Atlixco, of which we have already spoken, the dragonnier of the Canary Islands and all the baobabs of Africa."

This tree is as worthy of admiring study as any of the ruins which are so thick in Oaxaca, the site of hundreds of forgotten cities of the past. It is a Mexican antiquity which, instead of crumbling gradually to dust, adds yearly to its vast girth and stature, and promises to live and grow for centuries to come. In ages past it was, and it still is, an object of wonder and veneration to the Indians. It is said that Cortes camped under it in his historic march to Honduras. If he did, however, he left, to his credit, be it said, no commemorative tablet a la Humboldt. In brief, the Tule cypress is possibly the oldest and stoutest tree in the world.

I have seen the Mariposa group of big trees in California, which are world famous for their girth, but no one of the redwoods begins to be as impressive a spectacle as the Mexican ahuehete. The latter is not of a height to correspond to the area covered by its trunk and spreading branches, and is much shorter than a number of the redwoods, both of the Mariposa and Calaveras groups. The cypress is not, however, of a squatty appearance. The smooth-surfaced trunk of the redwood shoots upward in a graceful column sometimes two hundred feet before it is broken by branches, and no great expanse of foliage adds to its spectacular effectiveness. The Tule cypress, on the contrary, sends up its vast, gnarled, deeply indented, venerable-looking trunk only about twenty feet before it shoots out branches in every direction, as thick as large trees at the junction with the trunk, and stretching between fifty and a hundred feet from

it. The diameter of the circle of the ground space underneath the tree's spreading branches is 141 feet. From the point where the foliage begins to the tree top is about 140 feet. The impressiveness of this vast area of foliage may be imagined.

THE BIGNESS OF THE TULE TREE.

Successive visitors to the Tule tree who have measured it and printed the resulting figures have varied considerably in their reports. It has, of course, increased in size every year. The absorption of the so-called Humboldt tablet into the body of the tree gives an indication of this growth. For convenience, I will put in tabular shape some of the successive measurements of the Tule cypress, and the corresponding figures concerning the California redwoods.

THE TULE TREE.

	Circumference.	Height.
Humboldt (1803).....	118 feet.	
Von Tempsky (1853).....	135 feet.	
Ober (1883).....	146 feet.	160
	(5 ft. from ground.)	
Campbell (recent).....	154 ft. 2 in.	
	(6 ft. from ground.)	
Batres Expedicion (recent).....	66 metres—216.3 ft.	

CALIFORNIA BIG TREES.

	Circumference.	Height.
Grizzly Giant (Mariposa).....	94	(250)
Highest Mariposa tree.....	—	272
Keystone State (Calaveras).....	45	325

The Batres measurement asserting a circumference of over 200 feet is printed upon the only photograph of the tree which now seems to be sold in the Mexican shops. It probably gives the girth of the trunk close to the ground, where the great ribs of the tree swell outward as they enter the soil, and it is difficult to decide with precision where the beribbed trunk ends and the roots begin. Other variations of measurement are probably due largely to the different degrees in which the measurers followed the irregularities in the deeply indented trunk.

AN OAXACAN CATASTROPHE.

While we were still trying to grasp an adequate conception of the magnitude of the Big Tree, and were puzzling ourselves as to whether it was twins, triplets, quadruplets or a single individual, the Batres equipage crawled slowly into view, displaying a broken back, spliced with splints and rope. "It is well, Madame," said Dr. Batres, "that you chose the other coach. My own has broken in two and tumbled me upon the ground." It often happened that Dr. Batres, who was educated in Paris, spoke such un-American French that we had difficulty in comprehending him, but the meaning of his words on this occasion, supplemented as they were by appropriate accompanying gestures, full of animation, was on the instant perfectly and painfully evident.

Soon our procession moved again through the streets of Tule. Our reception in this Indian village and in others through which we passed, as like it as peas in a pod, was African, and many of the sights were African also. We were greeted at the beginning of the long main street by outposts of barking, snarling dogs, whose numbers increased and the volume of whose chorus enlarged as we penetrated the village. The fences on either side of the street were hedges of organ cactus, the gates were cane, sugar cane or bamboo. As in a new Western mining camp there is a gradual development in man's habitations, beginning with the tent, then passing to the chimneyless hut of rough logs of uneven lengths, then to the cabin of smoothed, planed logs or even lumber, equipped with windows and a chimney, so there is a similar evolution in Oaxaca's villages. The aristocrats live in adobe structures with tiled roofs. The plebeians build themselves primitive dwellings of wattled cane work plastered with clay, windowless, chimneyless, thatched either with palmetto or maguey leaves, according to the altitude and temperature of the village. There are palms in abundance in tropical Mexico, but on the higher levels the maguey takes its place, the general utility plant of the Mexican, who eats its sprouts, thatches his roof and feeds his fires with its dried leaves, makes pins and needles of its thorns, twine, rope and paper from its fiber, and pulque (beer) and mescal (whiskey) from its juice. With us the maguey is called the century plant, because it is supposed, erroneously, to blossom only once in a hundred years. In Mexico it may be properly called the century plant, because it has at least a hundred uses.

AN AMERICAN TIMBUCTOO.

It is not surprising that in habitations and living occupants of the streets, from snarling dogs and patient donkeys to dark-skinned, lightly-clad natives, there should be suggestions of Africa. These villages are in the same latitude with Senegal in Senegambia, with Timbuctoo, and with the sixth cataract of the Nile, with Bombay in India and Manila in the Philippine Islands.

The most interesting Indian village which we visited lies between Tule and Tlacolula on a by-way diverging from the main road, and boasts the euphonious name of Tlacoahuaja. In the old times all of fruitful Oaxaca was densely populated with a series of magnificent cities, now dead and buried and crumbled into dust.

“And millions in these solitudes,
Since first the flight of years began,
Have laid them down to their last sleep.”

The natives of the present, living over the remains of the myriads of the past, are constantly unearthing antiquities, treasures of the buried dead, which they sell cheaply to semi-occasional visitors. Dr. Batres and the English engineer were ardent pursuers of bargains in these antiquities. And thereby hangs a tale, the Tlacoahuaja episode. As we drove slowly up the main street of the Zapotec town, accompanied by our customary reception committee of yelping curs, there issued, it seemed, from every other house Tlacoahuajans of both sexes and all ages, offering antiquities for our inspection, heads of jade, idols of stone or clay of varying sizes and degrees of dilapidation, but of unvarying ugliness. Finally Dr. Batres' broken-backed wagon, which led the way, stopped, the procession came to a halt and Dr. Batres disappeared in one of Tlacoahuaja's lanes. He was on the track of a rare treasure, his driver said, and would return quickly. Meanwhile the crowd of curio-venders took possession of us.

When half an hour had passed without any indication of Dr. Batres' return the English engineer, evidently yearning to discover behind the cactus hedges and in the thatched huts some priceless antiquity, recently unearthed, could no longer restrain his uneasiness concerning the missing conservator of ancient monuments, and though he himself could speak not a word of Zapotec valiantly volunteered to

go upon a tour of discovery in search of the lost one with the additional idea, possibly, of conserving some ancient monuments himself. So he disappeared also. Within another half hour the peddlers of antiquities discovered that we green hands made no purchases except upon the advice of our missing experts, so they arranged themselves in the shadow of the hedge and patiently waited, with the exception of one hideous hag, who became insulted at our lack of appreciation of her offered idol, anathematized us vigorously and hid herself in her hut.

SCENES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

In another half hour I had photographed numerous Tlaxcoahuajans and their dwellings, the patient group of curio vendors, the shifting scenes on the village street. Here, in front of a low hut, of which a section of the thatched roof was broken away, so that its foundation framework of light poles protruded skeleton-like, was a group of Zapotecs at home, cunning moon-faced babies on the backs of only slightly-bigger brother and sister, full-grown men dressed in white cotton, with sombrero, serape and sandals. Here a half-naked Zapotec with fine muscular development of the arms and chest labors along the main street under an immense, filled, cylindrical basket, much larger and heavier than himself. Here comes riding by a Zapotec maiden, mounted on a donkey, with basket panniers on either side, the damsel's eyes shaded from the sun by her reboso converted into an impromptu hood. While we were curiously inspecting a procession of horsemen, followed by numerous heavily laden mules, which we were told, were bull fighters and their paraphernalia on their way to perform in a neighboring village, Dr. Batres appeared, eager to take his departure, and impatient and disturbed at the absence of the English engineer, who was supposed to be searching for him. After another period of shouting and waiting and fretting, the Englishman came in sight, and as he approached we saw that his face was radiant with the joyful enthusiasm of one who has unearthed a long-lost treasure. As to whether he was in fact laden with one or more precious antiquities deponent sayeth not. Presumably not, for it is unlawful to remove such finds from Mexico, and I do not believe that the Mexican National Museum was in any respect richer for our trip.

As darkness gathered at the end of our first day's experience we drove into Tlacolula, where we were to spend the night.

MITLA'S RUINS.

Palaces, Pyramids, and Tombs of Zapotec Kings—An Ancient City of the New World—Mosaics, Columns, and Fresco Paintings of a Vanished Civilization—The Hidden Treasure City.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, February 8, 1896.]

We were awakened at a very early hour in the morning by the shrill voices of the choir boys in Tlacolula's Church, close to the window of our improvised hotel in this Mexican Indian village. The church to which our attention was thus attracted proved interesting, not merely from its youthful choristers, but from its magnificent display of antique solid silver, which in some miraculous way escaped confiscation in the struggles between church and state during the reform era. And we captured the best of our typical Zapotecs while he was cleaning some of this very silver in front of the old church building.

A MAN-HUNT.

I have mentioned that Dr. Batres was collecting Zapotec types to exhibit in connection with his proposed address before the Congress of Americanistas, then soon to meet in the City of Mexico. Dr. Batres had very definite and fixed ideas of the facial and physical characteristics of the different Indian tribes of early Mexico. Indeed, he had unalterably formulated in lectures and publications his theories on this subject. He had previously caught and confined in his house in Mexico some Tarascans who looked as Tarascans ought; Aztecs and Toltecs were readily to be captured in the valley of Mexico or thereabouts; but his hunting ground of genuine Zapotecs was limited to the section of country which we were then visiting. A hooked nose projecting like a beak from a long face was the most conspicuous characteristic of Dr. Batres' typical Zapotec. So our party made a specialty of carefully inspecting Indian noses on every occasion. The Jefe Politico or Mayor of Tlacolula, a keen,

soldierly-looking old man, to whom Dr. Batres had letters from the Governor of Oaxaca, entered heartily into the spirit of the man-hunt. He brought up group after group of Zapotecs, typical or otherwise, to shake hands with our party in turn and to submit their noses to a competitive examination. Nearly all of them found difficulty in believing that anybody would be so foolishly extravagant as to pay their expenses to Mexico, enabling them to enjoy the luxury of being in that city during the world-famous coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe, merely out of interest in the shape of their noses, and the most effective work of the Jefe Politico consisted in restoring confidence in the rectitude of Dr. Batres' intentions concerning them. As a rule they were as suspicious and timorous as a Washington colored boy would be if offered his expenses and something in addition to go over and exhibit himself at night to a Baltimore medical college. The group of young men, however, who were polishing-up silver in front of Tlacolula Church showed no uneasiness whatsoever. They were eager to avail themselves of so good an opportunity to behold the coronation of the Virgin, and they vigorously impressed upon the party of inspection the merits of their respective noses. One selected from this group became the leader of the three typical Zapotecs finally chosen, and at intervals on our journey from Mitla until we saw them for the last time in Dr. Batres' house in Mexico, these Indian exhibits would file solemnly into our presence and shake hands ceremoniously all around, amusingly suggestive of the delegation from Cambodia, which haunted Wang in the comic opera.

MITLA'S FAMOUS RUINS.

When our procession left Tlacolula for Mitla, eight miles away, the Jefe Politico accompanied us, and in our visits to the ruins served as our guide, companion and familiar friend. At Mitla we found another hacienda converted into a hotel, where we were comfortably accommodated.

Mitla is one of the famous ancient cities of Central America, and as a new world ruin it is in the same class in point of interest with Palenque in Chiapas, Uxmal in Yucatan, and Copan in Honduras. Where a vast city once stretched its streets and raised its temple-crowned pyramids and wonderful palaces now all is solitude and desolation save for a miserable Indian village of thatched huts, and the fast disappearing remnants of three or four palaces and a few

of the countless pyramids of ages ago. Unlike the other notable ruins of Mexico which are overgrown and hidden by luxuriant tropical vegetation, Mitla is exposed to the sun and wind of a desolate barren sandy valley, in its site resembling more the Egyptian ruins along the Nile than its new world neighbors. Whether Mitla was built by Zapotecs or Toltecs or a race of men preceding both, whether it is 700, 1,700 or 2,700 years old, whether the ancestors of its builders came from China or Cambodia or Egypt or West Africa, or were of American origin are questions over which the archaeologists may be permitted to quarrel undisturbed. No inscriptions are found here to give a clue, and the hieroglyphics discovered in the other Central American cities have never yet been deciphered, but await still their Rosetta Stone.

Leaving the cool court yard of our adobe "hotel," with its orange and pomegranate trees and it surprisingly harmonious monkey and parrots, we soon reached the outskirts of the modern Indian village, and began to run the gauntlet of antiquity vendors, composed largely of girls and boys with ugly idols, masks and beads, collected from palaces and tombs. Some of the children had the sweet and plaintive voices of the water girls of the Nile. The babies were more attractive than the Egyptian, since their teeth were just as white, while their eyes were not sore and fly-infested like those of the race upon the Nile, which is cursed with ophthalmia as with an epidemic. After threading our way among numerous cane-built huts and spreading consternation among the Zapotec children of tender years we came to the first of ancient Mitla's exhibits, a recently excavated tomb of plain stone, without ornamentation or inscription. Near by numerous pyramidal mounds were scattered among the houses. We examined one which had been cut entirely through, and thoroughly excavated. Like many other of the Mexican pyramids, these mounds, through the action of the elements, have assumed the appearance of natural conical hills, and it is only when one is pierced by the investigator that its artificial character is made plain. These small mounds are pronounced by Dr. Batres to be in material and method of construction miniatures of the great pyramids of the sun and moon at Teotihuacan, twenty-seven miles from the city of Mexico. The latter pyramids have interiors of clay and volcanic pebbles, incrusting on the surface with a light porous stone, over which there was originally a coating of white stucco, such as was used for dwell-

ings. The largest of Mitla's pyramids is one which stands to the west of the main palace group, which we soon approach. It bears upon its summit a small chapel, the invariable Spanish substitute for the Indian temple which surmounted the pyramid in this part of the world.

MEXICAN AND EGYPTIAN PYRAMIDS.

All of these structures in Mexico bear a strong family resemblance, whether they are tiny, as at Mitla, or monstrous, covering forty-five acres, as at Cholula, near Puebla. In every case they are the foundations of a temple or palace; whereas the Egyptian pyramid is a tomb and nothing else. The latter rose to an apex; the former was truncated and bore a structure upon it which was accessible by a stairway. Height was the conspicuous feature of the Egyptian pyramid; area covered was that of the Mexican pyramid. The former was, as a rule, made of stone; the latter generally of sun-dried bricks. But there are brick pyramids in the old world, including one near Sakhara, Egypt. Humboldt, who did see the pyramid of Cholula, whatever may have been the case in respect to Tule tree and the ruins of Mitla, compares it with the other great pyramids of the world. The dimensions are given in French feet, each of which equals 1.066 English feet.

STONE PYRAMIDS.

	Height.	Length of base.
Cheops, Egypt.....	448	728
Cephren, Egypt.....	398	655
Mycerinus, Egypt.....	162	280

BRICK PYRAMIDS.

	Height.	Length of base.
Sakhara, Egypt.....	150	210
Teotihuacan, Mexico.....	171	645
Cholula, Mexico.....	172	1,355

In Cholula pyramid the length of the base is to the perpendicular height as 8 to 1, while in the stone pyramids of Ghizeh the corresponding proportion is 8 to 5. The former was to be climbed to a surmounting structure like an artificial capitol hill, hence its grades were rendered easy by cov-

ering an immense area with a comparatively low mound. The latter was no more to be sealed than the exterior of any other monumental shaft, and it was pushed high in the air regardless of the steepness of grade. Cholula pyramid is consequently more than twice as large at the base as Cheops, the biggest of the Ghizeh pyramids, while it is considerably less than half as high as Cheops, and very little higher than Mycerinus, the smallest of the Ghizeh group.

A short distance to the east from the chapel-crowned pyramid of Mitla we came upon the best preserved of the ruins, the main or royal palace. Here many years ago four structures, built on oblong mounds of stone and earth about six feet high, faced a central court. The north and south buildings were about 130 feet long; the east and west mounds 120 feet. Only the northern structure, the one whose south front faces the court, is reasonably well preserved. Fragments of the east buildings are standing, traces of that on the west are visible, but nothing whatsoever remains of the south structure. The facing of the front wall of the north building, containing the three entrances to the palace, is of large stone blocks of different forms and sizes, so arranged, without the use of mortar, that the surface is broken into panels of varying dimensions, filled with a so-called mosaic of small blocks of stone, so set with relation to one another as to form a great variety of patterns, twenty-two different figures having been counted on this single wall. In ordinary mosaic tiny pieces of glass, marble or other material are cemented on stucco in various designs. Here the design, which is always rectangular or diagonal in character, is formed by the projecting heads of oblong-shaped pieces of soft sandstone, cut with the greatest accuracy and nicety, so as to fit for their whole length close together. The lintels of the doorways are immense blocks of stone, two of them being over nineteen feet long. The wall is about eighteen feet high and 130 feet long. The three doorways give entrance to what may be called

THE HALL OF COLUMNS,

a room extending in length the full 130 feet of the palace's width and about 66 feet wide. In a row in the center of the hall stand six stone columns, about fourteen feet high, each cut from a single block. Humboldt says of them: "What distinguishes the ruins of Mitla from all

the other ruins of Mexican architecture is six porphyry columns, which are placed in the midst of a vast hall and support the ceiling. These columns, almost the only ones found in the new continent, bear strong marks of the infancy of the art. They have neither base nor capitals. A simple contraction of the upper part is only to be remarked." John L. Stephens, the American who did so much to entertain and enlighten the world in respect to the buried cities of Central America, did not visit Mitla, and generalizing from what he had seen and failed to see in the other ruins he concludes that the Mexican architecture could not have been derived from the Egyptian because among many reasons columns are absent from the new continent. He says:

"Again: Columns are a distinguishing feature of Egyptian architecture. There is not a temple on the Nile without them; and the reader will bear in mind that among the whole of these ruins not one column has been found. If this architecture had been derived from the Egyptian so striking and important a feature would never have been thrown aside." But this reasoning fails, for there are columns in Mitla, though they are contemptibly insignificant in size compared, let us say, with the stupendous columns at Karnak. Adjoining the Mitla Hall of Columns is a wing, constituting the remainder of the palace, 61 feet square. It has a central court and four apartments, and is ornamented throughout with mosaic work of the kind described as seen on the facade.

MITLA MOSAICS.

The mosaics resemble the arabesque designs, and are perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Mitla. There is nothing like them in any other of the ancient cities of the new world, and a note in Humboldt's *New Spain* quotes M. Zoega, "the most profound connoisseur in Egyptian antiquities," as making "the curious observation that the Egyptians have never employed this species of ornament." Dupaix, who visited Mitla in 1806, pays tribute to the mosaics as follows: "But what is most remarkable, interesting and striking in these monuments, and which alone would be sufficient to give them the first rank among all known orders of architecture, is the execution of their mosaic reliefs—very different from plain mosaic and consequently requiring more ingenious combination and greater art and labor. They are inlaid on the surface of the wall, and their duration is

owing to the method of fixing the prepared stones into the stone surface, which made their union with it perfect."

I quote from Dupaix with a great deal of pleasure, because Hubert Howe Bancroft, who confesses that he was never here himself, and who, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States," almost demonstrates that nobody else in his full senses was ever here, freely admits that Dupaix visited Mitla, yet refrains from intimating that he was impossibly farsighted, short-sighted or color-blind.

South of the palace which has been described, and close at hand, is another similarly constructed in four buildings about a central court. Fragments only of the buildings remain. The most interesting feature of this group is an underground gallery in the shape of a cross. The walls are panels of mosaic work and show traces of red paint. At the entrance is a circular supporting pillar with a square base, called by the Indians, "the pillar of death," in the belief that whoever embraces it must die shortly—or some time. The Indians also take a deep additional interest in the subterranean gallery, because it is thought to lead to buried treasure.

FRAGMENTS OF FRESCO PAINTINGS.

To the north of the main palace, and farther removed from it than the palace with the subterranean passage, is a third group of buildings, three in number, 284 feet long and 108 feet wide. A church has been built adjacent to or trenching upon the site of the palace, and the central of the ruined structures now serves, being repaired, as the curate's house. The portion of this ruin used as a stable is notable as containing some fragments of rude red and black paintings, representing processions, and viewed as hieroglyphical and ecclesiastical and as indicating that this palace was devoted to the uses of the priests, while the first palace was the retiring place in seasons of sadness of the king, built above royal tombs. The most elaborate reproductions and explanations of these extremely unsatisfactory fragments of paintings are those just published by Dr. Edward Seler, who is at the head of the American department of the Ethnologic Museum of Berlin. In a visit in 1888 he discovered a series of these paintings in the curate's stable, and after seven years of deliberation the discoverer has made up his mind what the pictures mean, and has given his views, handsome-

ly illustrated, to the public. Dr. Seler comes to the conclusion that the story told in the unconnected fragments is nothing else than that of Quetzalcoatl, the culture hero of the Toltecs, as Osiris was the culture hero of the Nile. As the story of the whitewashed, rain-washed fragments grows more illegible every year, it is unlikely that anybody will ever be able to contradict Dr. Seler as to the meaning which he has assigned to them from his inspection seven years ago.

The palaces of the Zapotec city do not now make very imposing ruins. They are not of sufficient height to be impressive in comparison with the towering temples, pyramids, obelisks and columned halls of Egypt. The Mitla palaces, the Cholula pyramid and the Tule tree are all wonderful in the surface area covered by them respectively, and comparatively insignificant in height. The mosaics, primitive columns and fresco paintings, if the latter are ancient, are the unique attractions of Mitla. There are here no idols and sculptured surfaces carved in figures or hieroglyphics like those of which Charnay took casts in other ancient cities of Mexico. In the whole Charnay collection as exhibited in the Smithsonian and National Museum there is not a cast from Mitla. It is a peculiarity of these New World ruins that it is the palaces which are built of stone, and which still exhibit vast remains for inspection, while in Egypt the palaces were of perishable material, and have long ago disappeared, colossal temples supplying the existing ruins. Speaking of the Mitla palaces standing in his time, Dupaix says of them that they "were erected with lavish magnificence. * * * They combine the solidity of the works of Egypt with the elegance of those of Greece." Their beauty, says Charnay, can be matched only by the monuments of Greece and Rome in their best days. Humboldt comments upon "their symmetry and the elegance of their ornaments."

As the zoologist discovering a single bone can in an instant in his mind's eye complete the skeleton, clothe it with flesh and animate it with the life of ages ago, so the archaeologist gazing on broken, crumbling ruins can reconstruct the beautiful and imposing architecture of the ancient city, and revel in the prospect which he beholds. The strain upon the imagination of the tyro in archaeology is sometimes severe when he is called upon to follow, without resting every footstep of the expert in these excursions. But even the most unimaginative will be impelled by what he sees here to repeople in thought this barren, desolate valley, to send the Mitla streets in every direction to far distant termini,

on one side even to the fortress on a commanding eminence which still looks down upon the city's site, to raise here and there scores of truncated pyramids, bearing on their summits primitive temples, undying fire, and, perhaps, the shambles of human sacrifice, and to rebuild in pristine beauty and magnificence the royal palaces and tombs that furnished the most notable sights of this ancient religious center of the Zapotecs.

ANCIENT CITIES OF THE NEW WORLD.

A visit here fills one with an irresistible desire to see the other ruined cities of the old New World—Palenque, with its stucco adornments, carved tablets and hieroglyphics; Uxmal, with its magnificent buildings and its sculptured facades of wonderful richness, and Copan, with its curiously carved colossal idols and its undecipherable hieroglyphics. And when the wonders of these and a score of other unearthed cities in this once densely populated region have been enjoyed, we may discover in the unexplored wilds of Guatemala that silver-walled mysterious city pointed out at an inaccessible distance to Stephens, who deposes and says: "I conceive it to be not impossible that within this secluded region may exist at this day, unknown to white men, a living aboriginal city, occupied by relics of the ancient race, who still worship in the temples of their fathers." In this gleaming, aboriginal, hitherto inaccessible city will be found when discovered the treasure house of the continent, in which the Indians secreted their accumulated treasure to baffle the covetous Spaniard. The discovery of these vast deposits of the precious metals may be the final mouthful needed to glut the world with silver and gold. But more important even than the rifling of the American treasure house would be the gain of treasures of knowledge in finding through the language of the hidden city the key to unlock the hieroglyphics of Copan, Palenque and Yucatan. Among the precious stones to be secured here will be a new Rosetta Stone. Let the rush of our explorers be no longer to the North Pole or the South Pole or Central Africa, but to this rich and fruitful field.

The annual exodus from the United States into Europe will be diverted in the direction of these places, including the aboriginal treasure city, just as soon as the extension of the Pan-American route carries one within the range of convenient access to them. Mexico ought to uncover, pro-

tect and render accessible her buried cities, and as the American Egypt she would attract within her borders a countless host of tourist visitors annually, bringing thousands of dollars to the empty purses of the bulk of her population. The Indians at Mitla steal the pieces of mosaic in the belief, based upon a tradition, that they will turn to gold. Mexico can verify the tradition and coin gold from the mosaics by keeping them in place, vigilantly protecting them against vandals, and preserving them in full effectiveness as magnets to draw dollars from the great American traveling public.

NIKKO'S GREAT DAY.

Festival and Procession in Honor of Ieyasu—Old and New Japan—Imitative Orientals in Pursuit of the Secret of Western Power—Japan Stoops to Conquer

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, February 5, 1898.]

The manager of our hotel at Nikko was the personification of modern Japan. An irrepressible conflict between the old and the new waged ceaselessly within him. As Europe and Asia in surging crowds of all nationalities occupy simultaneously or in succession the floating bridge across the Golden Horn at Constantinople, so oriental and occidental ideas and tendencies in turn or together swept over the mind of our Japanese boniface, rudely jostling and crowding one another and often producing hopeless confusion.

Like others of the enterprising and ambitious among his people he had deigned to stoop to conquer, not to win love after the fashion of the heroine in Goldsmith's comedy, but to gain the secret of western power. Japan reverences the money-making, cannon-firing abilities of the "foreign devils." The Japanese have humbly placed themselves at the feet of occidental instructors in order to learn all the mysteries of a new and strange civilization, with the confident ambition of some day surpassing and discarding every foreign teacher. Devotion to no occidental fetich has been neglected. In language, dress, education, military methods and even in religion there has been painstaking imitation. In the latter respect the modern Japanese in repudiating Buddhism and other oriental creeds too often falls short of Christianity and sticks in an intermediate agnostic stage between the old and the new, suggesting, like the half-converted Jew in the witicism, the blank page between the Old and the New Testaments.

That our hotel boasted a visible, responsible manager at all was notable evidence of the progressiveness of the new Japan. Yaami's, the famous hostelry at Kioto, was favored with no such official. Neither was the vast Imperial Hotel at Tokio. In Japanese inns in general, outside of the foreign concessions, which have some admirable hotels under Eu-

ropean or American management, like the Grand at Yokohama, the bediamonded and omniscient hotel clerk of America is represented by an irresponsible gypsy-like group crouching about a tiny charcoal fire, kindled apparently in a hole in the floor, among whom the proprietor sometimes skulks incognito, while the stranger within the gates, in the absence of his guide, is compelled to confide his griefs to brown and plump maidservants, who eke out an extremely defective English vocabulary with profound bows and pleasing smiles.

A DUAL LIFE IN JAPAN.

But here at Nikko was a real, live hotel manager, eager to please, bubbling over with enthusiasm and misinformation. During the day the oriental section of his brain was inactive and the occidental had full sway. Discarding the flowing robe of the aristocrat and the loin cloth or the sack and tight-fitting drawers of the plebeian of the orient, he appeared in ill-fitting European clothes of utilitarian deformity and of many colors, like Joseph's coat. His feet, accustomed indoors to the soft tabi—a sock with a separate compartment for the big toe—a foot mitten, so to speak—and out-of-doors to wooden clogs or straw sandals, were confined and cramped in hard, ugly occidental shoes of leather. His head, usually bare and protected by a thick black crop of hair, was rendered as uneasy as that which wears a crown by the unaccustomed pressure of a stiff derby. Instead of the Japanese fan and parasol he wielded a cane. In striking contrast with the bare, unheated Japanese house, with its movable screens for walls and partitions, with its mat floors, highly polished wood and its lack of visible furniture, this manager conducted a modern hotel, with stove-heated rooms, boasting high beds, chairs and tables. As a finishing touch to the de-orientalizing process, a brass band was let loose upon the guests at dinner time, in which Japanese performers played European music and conscientiously blew as hard as they could from beginning to end of the musical program.

At night, behold the manager as an oriental at ease in the Japanese annex to the hotel, sitting luxuriously on his heels on the floor, arrayed in flowing kimono and smoking the tiny pipe which the Japanese affect. During the day he has been exposed to the arrogance and the whims of occidental femininity; at night the oriental woman ministers to him as a semi-slave, a being "with never a soul to save."

who must borrow a soul in the hereafter in order to continue her service of her husband, her lord and master, beyond the grave. In this phase of his dual life the manager reflects with bitterness upon the despised sex, which, through self-assertive representatives of it from beyond the seas, has overturned his preconceived ideas of femininity and has disgusted and alarmed him. To be sure, the process of modernizing the Japanese woman in ideas, in customs and costumes had been officially authorized and had begun, but happily a reaction had set in and woman was again taught to know her place. In his land man preceded woman in everything. Married women in the good old time had to shave their eyebrows and blacken their teeth.

The husband wears mourning garments for the dead wife only thirty days; the wife for the dead husband thirteen months. The wife is therefore to the husband as one to thirteen. Thus in Japan it takes even more women than tailors to make a man. These thoughts comforted his spirits, chafed by the nagging of women from over the sea. It is very trying to the oriental to be subjected to feminine arrogance. He knows that both Confucianism and Buddhism have treated her as of an inferior soul-lacking order of creation. He recollects the Buddhist popular precept: "Woman has no home in the three worlds—past, present and future." Yet here were women, foreign women, making themselves very much at home in the present world, notwithstanding the proverb, and clearly indicating a firm determination to dominate also in the world to come.

Across the seas the woman, he has learned, takes precedence over the man. She goes first everywhere, and the men are proud and happy to serve her. But what could one expect, our oriental thinks, from foreign devils whose mourning color is black instead of white, who remove their headgear instead of their footgear when they wish to be polite, who salute by handshakes and disgusting kisses instead of the traditional bowings and prostrations, and whose creed carries barbarism to its climax in its impious requirement that a man shall leave father and mother and cleave to his wife.

A MODERN SUBSTITUTE FOR HARA-KARI.

But there is a limit to the manager's orientalism. In spite of kimono, tabi, hibachi, futon, tobako-bon and other Japanese surroundings, he is not tempted in the slightest degree to commit hara-kiri or suicide after the national method by

disembowelment in resentment of the day's insults. But, instead, he reserves to himself the occidental right of expressing that resentment in vigorous English swear words, his own language being entirely deficient in terms of abuse and in verbal facilities for the purpose of profanity. He thus makes use of the occidental safety valve for the relief of the emotions, the absence of which in the case of the Japanese leaves apparently no resort but suicide.

On this particular day our Nikko manager soared above all his troubles. Complaints glided from his unctuous personality like an opponent's grasp from the oiled body of the native wrestler, without wrinkling his smooth, inscrutable countenance and without subtracting a single beam of the joyous enthusiasm that danced in his oblique eyes. The fastidious gentleman from Philadelphia, who, demanding bread from his Japanese waiter at the beginning of his meal, was offered not a stone, but toothpicks, found in the manager a sympathetic and consoling listener to his tale of woe. So did the Englishman who had been advised by the manager (the Englishman's own inclinations tending in that direction) to make the Lake Chuzenji trip on horseback, and who had been soaked to the skin in pitiless rains. So did the stout Australian to whom the jinrikisha system of rapid transit for the lake trip had been recommended as easiest, and who found to his disgust that for half a mile of the way he had to leave his jinrikisha and clamber on foot over sharp and slippery rocks. So did the American woman who had endured unresistingly the robberies of the hackman in the cities of her native land, from whom a charge of \$1.50 per hour for carriage hire at home would elicit no remonstrance, but who by persistent and fretful faultfinding sorely tried the manager's patience because her jinrikisha man for his day's labor up and down the steep hills of Nikko had charged her 20 sen, or 10 cents more than the corresponding charge for the day over the smooth and level streets of Tokio. But the lady crying extortion over a charge of 42 cents for a carriage and human horse for the day was soothed as well as the others through the tact and diplomacy of the manager. And to all the complainants, as soon as the symptoms of placation appeared, the manager announced with bows and smiles and appropriate gestures his triumph over all his rivals, his masterpiece of planning!

"Ladies (or gentlemen), for the procession of to-day, my arrangements, the arrangements for the guests of this hotel, are unsurpassed. In the broad avenue opposite the Sorinto

column, where everything can be seen, a pavilion for the exclusive use of my guests has been built. There will be claret punch for my guests and ice cream and light refreshments. Nothing like it for the enjoyment of European and American visitors has ever before been known in Nikko." And off the manager shot to communicate the glad tidings to the next member of the army of the discontented.

IN HONOR OF IEYASU.

This, the 3d of June, is Nikko's great day, noted for the festival and procession in honor of Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa shogun, who is buried here as to his mortal part and deified and worshiped as a god, Toshogu, in the mortuary chapel near his tomb.

Ieyasu is the most famous name in Japanese history. Soldier, statesman, law-giver of the sixteenth century, he wrested temporal power from the Mikado's feeble hands, and worshiping with the rest of the nation that monarch as divine, he removed him from degrading contact with mundane affairs and confined him in the unapproachable seclusion befitting a god. So great is Ieyasu that though the dynasty which he founded and which reigned for two hundred and fifty years has been dethroned as a usurpation by the Mikado, who finally broke from his gilded prison, Ieyasu himself retains his glory and is worshiped as divine by the Emperor himself, the descendant of the very Mikado whose temporal power Ieyasu usurped.

In no other respect did Ieyasu demonstrate his greatness more conspicuously than in the selection of a burial place. In a valley surrounded by Japan's most picturesque mountain scenery, in a region held sacred by the earliest traditions of the people, on a hillside covered with groves of majestic cryptomerias, there has been built in his honor the richest architectural structure in all Japan, a marvel of carving and of elaborate ornamentation in gold and red lacquer.

The bronze Daibutsu of Kamakura is the grandest of Japanese monuments, despite its rudimentary and irrelevant mustache. The Higashi Hongwanji, the great Buddhist temple of Kioto, is impressive from its vastness. But in varied and fantastic and beautiful forms and in richness of decoration the Nikko temples are unsurpassed.

On this eventful morning the deified spirits of Ieyasu, Hideyoshi and Yoritomo were accustomed to occupy three

sacred litters or palanquins and indulge in an excursion to a neighboring temple, attended in procession by a considerable section of the population of Nikko in fantastic and religious array.

WAITING FOR THE PARADE.

While the preparations for the procession were in tedious progress the foreign visitors to Nikko strolled through the temple grounds and enjoyed the picturesque, animated and varied scenes. Men and boys in costume, intending participants in the procession, were everywhere. Here a crowd of small boys in brocades and embroideries, and of mimic soldiers of assorted sizes, with long wooden spears, swords, bows with lacquered quivers, brocade helmets with bronze ornaments, and in some instances with old and costly coats of mail, protecting them to the knees, formed a ring about an old man and boy, strolling performers of crude acrobatics and jugglery. Here an important and dignified little Japanese policeman performed with becoming gravity his serious functions. He was arrayed in a white duck suit, resplendent with brass buttons. His soldier cap of blue was ornamented with gold braid. On his hands were white cotton gloves, and he bore a sword instead of a club. On his nose was perched (one of the few large things in Japan) a pair of spectacles with immense frames, of the kind associated by illustrators with Chinese sages. Our wanderings take us with the crowd of spectators, old and young, past many booths where refreshments are sold, especially the Japanese counterparts of the snow ball and lokey-pokey; past other rude stands, where young Japan buys gaily-colored paper birds that fly through the air for a considerable distance, when properly manipulated and encouraged, and finally we stumble across the frail wooden structure with bamboo curtains for walls which furnishes a resting place and shelter from the sun to spectators of the parade among the guests of the Nikko hotel.

The booming of the great bell in the Buddhist temple just opposite the pavilion proclaims that the hour when the procession is due has arrived. But no one expects it. The custom of delay, which finds characteristic expression in the Spanish "manana" or tomorrow, is as powerful in Japan as in Spain or Mexico. One is told that invitations to native dinners often specify a time an hour before the guest's attendance is really desired and expected.

While we wait, our attention is again attracted to the crowd of spectators, a source of unflinching interest. Here three small boys in fancy dress, with feather headgear, perform feats of tumbling, and collect small coins from the spectators for their achievements. A priest hurries by with a black head-dress, a white under garment and a changeable green silk robe of chameleon capacity. The footgear of the crowd includes the tabi alone, the tabi with straw sandals, the tabi with wooden clogs, and European or American shoes. For headwear most of the Japanese use nothing save thick hair and a paper umbrella. A few heads display protecting handkerchiefs. Some of the priests wear curiously-shaped black caps, close-fitting, with a single black streamer rising from each and curving over almost to the back of the neck. Men credited with being temple attendants wear what resemble black fools' caps. A baby here and there catches the eye with a gorgeously-colored knitted turban. The elaborately-dressed hair of some of the women is decorated with balls and flowers of colored silk, with pendant tassels. Here a coolie displays a large bowl-shaped or mushroom-shaped hat woven of straw and covered with cotton or left uncovered. The most striking and incongruous head-dress is a derby hat, perched stiffly on the head of one in Japanese costume. The Japanese full dress festival suit for men, of which many are visible, is gray-blue or blue-gray, with white crests in each lapel and on the middle of the back. The women's favorite costume for the occasion is a soft blue or gray kimono, with touches of red, and a tasteful brocade obi or sash. Young girls alone are privileged to wear gay, bright colors. Peculiarities of children's attire are colored aprons, adding to the brilliant effects of the ever-changing kaleidoscopic aspect of the passing crowd.

UMBRELLAS AND KODAKS.

Foreign ribbed umbrellas are strongly and strangely in evidence. The Japanese have learned to prefer them except as a protection against rain, for which purpose they think that the wide-spreading oiled paper umbrella of their own country is more effective.

Another foreign, yet interesting element of the scene, is the kodakist, with eager, curious, crafty look, inveigling Japanese children and adults into favorable lights and positions for snap-shots, and lavishly expending miles of film upon an endless procession of fascinating photographic sub-

jects. The kodakist has been warned away from Japan by the bugbears of the Japanese duty on cameras and of the disastrous effect upon the film of the moist atmosphere, which has also been credited with supplying insufficient light for instantaneous exposures. But if the kodakist who has not progressed beyond the snap-shot stage leaves his kodak at home when he visits Japan he will always regret doing so. Thousands of instantaneous exposures have been successfully taken in Japan, well developed and printed by Japanese photographers and marvelously colored—all for a price less than that charged for simple developing in the United States.

A diversion for the spectators is now produced by a crowd of men dressed in white cotton, who rush rapidly up the street dragging a tree after them, and who scatter its leaves, twigs and branches. In watching their forms disappear up the broad avenue one is impressed with the magnificent frame-work surrounding the street scene, especially with the fine trees through which glimpses are caught of a mortuary chapel, or a temple or pagoda, or a curiously-shaped monument, or a stone stairway leading to some great building. And upon every wall and bank a cluster of Japanese find a perch, developing fine color effects through a combination of the red, yellow and blue of the kimonos with gray and moss-green walls and the background of foliage.

GENIAL JAPANESE CROWDS.

The short, brown men, women and children who surge to and fro in front of the pavilion are as interesting as their costumes and as their scenic surroundings. A Japanese crowd, polite, smiling, considerate, clean as to the body from daily hot baths, whatever the condition of the clothing, lacks the ill odors and rowdyism of other crowds and surrounds itself, comparatively speaking, with an atmosphere of sweetness, courtesy and urbanity. When, in April, thousands upon thousands of the people of Tokio throng in boats, in jinrikishas or on foot to view the pink clouds of cherry blossoms that line for miles the avenue of Mukojima on the river bank in the suburbs, there is every excuse for disorder that an uproariously jolly crowd of excursionists can find. There is sake drinking and there is much unavoidable crowding and jostling. Occasionally the women and children and curious foreigners who are enjoying the scene press closer to the refreshment booths that skirt the

avenue, in order to permit some hilarious picnickers with painted faces and grotesque costumes to cut a wider swath through the crowd than is permitted to those who are not thoroughly exhilarated with the spirit of the occasion and with the Japanese intoxicant, but there is only the faintest reflection of the belligerent rudeness and the omnipresent "drunk and disorderly" nuisance that characterize the occidental and many oriental crowds.

When thousands gather in some service before the shrine blazing with gold and lacquer in the Higashi Hongwanji at Kioto, the largest temple in the empire, the same courteous consideration for others is shown. While shaven priests in rich vestments burn incense, equally shaven widowers, announcing by their hairless heads their determination not to marry again, and other bald, old men, squat with the crowd on the temple floor side by side with the ancient women who wear "horn-hiders" to conceal the evidences of Satan which old Japan attributes to the sex, and add their individual contributions to the sea of heads with spreads, wave on wave, in every direction. The small coins which the faithful throw on the temple floor to be gathered up after the service by the priests (and bushels are thus collected after every service) are tossed indiscriminately and unhesitatingly into the crowd, and no attention whatsoever is paid by the worshipers to the impact of the coins. A bald head hit unintentionally may wince, but that is all. The coin drops unheeded to the floor. A similar habit of contribution in our rude and barbarous western land would make the bald heads shining marks and targets for the youthful and irreverent, and the bald heads themselves, lacking oriental patience and fortitude, yea, though deacons of the strictest sect, would arise from their devotions in ungodly passion to eject with violence the offenders. Courtesy covers a multitude of peccadilloes. The traveler is swindled right and left in every section of the globe, but Japanese cheating is so pervaded with politeness and consideration, with bows and smiles, and complimentary hissing intakes of the breath, that the coarser swindling of other lands shocks by contrast. Whether in business or pleasure, whether cheating or picnicking, whether viewed individually or collectively, the Japanese as a rule is a kindly, genial being with whom it is a pleasure to come into contact.

While we have been studying the crowd the procession has been forming.

TOMB AND SHRINE OF IEYASU.

Farthest up the mountain side, where the trees are greenest and the little mountain streams gurgle sweetest, and save for nature's sounds the profoundest hush pervades the scene, lies the tomb of Ieyasu, of light-colored bronze, grandly impressive in its perfect simplicity.

From the stone table in front of the tomb, holding a bronze stork candlestick and incense burner and a vase containing artificial lotus flowers, the tomb's only accessory embellishments, the devotee descends by a long stone and moss-grown stairway to the shrine of Ieyasu, to which most of the other structures, scattered lower in successive terraces on the hillside, are subsidiary, serving either as approaches or for other uses in connection with the worship of Ieyasu as a god. In striking contrast with the stern simplicity of the dead man's tomb is the rich and elaborate decoration of the shrine of the never-dying god and of the gates and other approaches to it. Nowhere else in the world is there a more notable display of minute wood carving, of delicate coloring, of lacquer and inlaid work.

Near to the innermost gate which leads to the main shrine the devotee descending from the tomb would join the procession of June 3, for here stands the building called Mikoshido, which contains the palanquins or shrines or floats that are borne in this procession when the deified spirits of Ieyasu, Hideyoshi and Yoritomo occupy them, and so heavy are they with the weight of metal and wood and departed greatness that seventy-five men are required to carry them. N. Ban, an ambitious Japanese, who has courageously written an English guide to Nikko, and who, like some others of his countrymen who have essayed similar works for other parts of Japan, is a hard taskmaster for his English words, compelling them often to do double or triple duty by serving with new meanings in unaccustomed connections, gives a somewhat different account of this structure. He says that on the left "is the building in which the sacred cars of the three original gongen of Nikko are placed during the celebration (sic) of festivals."

DESCENDING THE HILLSIDE AT NIKKO.

Starting from this point, the sacred palanquins and the accompanying procession descend the hillside to the open court of a temple almost on the level of the river and the

sacred bridge. This course carries them first through the exquisitely beautiful gate called Yomei-mon, with its white carved columns, thence down a broad flight of steps and past the bell tower and the perforated so-called "moth-eaten" bell on the left and the drum tower and the so-called Corean bronze lantern on the right. Here the stairway of the Leaping Lions is reached, and, having descended these, the procession passes the decorated structure which contains the Buddhist scriptures in a red lacquered revolving book case, and the holy water cistern, a granite monolith. Then it marches under a bronze torii, the curious archway of two upright and two horizontal beams which forms the characteristic approach to every Shinto temple. Next it comes to the stable of the "sacred white pony" (which is no longer white) and the treasure buildings opposite.

On the sacred stable one may note the famous carving of the monkeys severally represented as closing the ears and mouth and shading the eyes, in respect to which the facile pen of N. Ban has written: "They are pumingly (sic), called first mizaru (don't see any wrong); second, kikazaru (don't hear any wrong); third, iwazaru (don't talk any wrong)." On the treasure house, opposite the stable, is the curious painted carving of elephants by the famous left-handed artist, Hidari Jingoro, concerning which N. Ban, with easy control of English, remarks: "It will be noticed that the joints of the hind legs are represented as bent in the weary direction." The procession's course now carries it under Nio-mon, or gate of the two kings, with its carvings of lions, unicorns, tigers, elephants and certain concededly fabulous beasts, though all of the carved animals above enumerated are in reality fabulous, since they resemble nothing in nature, Japan at the time of their creation by the carver possessing none of them alive to serve as models. The procession sweeps down the broad stairway which rises to the Nio-mon, passes the shoe-removing station at its foot, a wooden structure where every one must lay aside his shoes before proceeding through the gate of the two kings into the sacred inner precincts of the deified Ieyasu; passes the five-storied pagoda with its graceful lines and attractive red coloring, thence under the great granite torii presented by the Prince of Chikuzen.

As the procession begins to descend the stone stairway leading from this torii it becomes visible to the patiently-waiting crowd in and about the hotel booth, who have long been straining their eyes for this view, having exhaustively

inspected the entrance to the hall of the Three Buddhas, just opposite, and studied every line of the Sorinto or evil-averting monument, a black, cylindrical copper column, forty-two feet high, which guards this entrance.

HERE COMES THE PARADE.

To the spectator from this point looking up the broad avenue lined with cryptomerias the procession appears as a line of blue on one side and a line of pink on the other, followed by a confused mass of yellow and white. The blue line resolves itself into a file of men with spears, swords, brocaded helmets and vestments of blue or green, the pink line is composed of men similarly armed, wearing a reddish overdress. There are perhaps seventy-five in each file. Then comes a grotesquely masked figure in a green kimono, brandishing a spear and followed by two mimic tigers with fierce wooden heads decorated with red lacquer, and with gold and brocade bodies. Three men, concealed under the brocade, furnish legs and motive power to each beast. A band of musicians follow with flute and drum, whose colors are black and yellow, accompanied by the six sacred Kagura dancers with bells and fans, a white handkerchief head-dress, a white waist over a brocaded skirt, and a brocade obi or sash. These are the damsels of varied ages who, for a consideration, offered to the gods and tossed in front of them on their platform near the shrine of Ieyasu, go through a form of posturing in the god's honor, called the Kagura dance, that is as little like a dance as the classic, sacred No dance, which is freely admitted by every one who has seen it to be no dance at all. Now appear six priests in white robes with black headdresses, each mounted on a sacred pony. The saddles are in some cases of tiger skin, and all are gay in color. Each pony is led by two coolies in white, and followed by a banner bearer.

A real, live, modern dog now gives a flavor of the nineteenth century to the procession.

The soldiers of old are upon us, first a hundred of two-sworded men, dressed in blue, carrying on their shoulders antique guns (warranted not to fire) in red cloth coverings; next perhaps another hundred with long bows and quivers of arrows at their backs, a like number with very long spears, and then a mailed host of perhaps two hundred, wearing two swords, brass and gold-lacquered helmets, shoulder pieces and body protection of mail, very impres-

sive as far down as the knees, but below the mail appear legs clad in striped suits of cotton and bare or straw-sandaled feet.

Next comes a group of children in brocade attire with artificial flowers in profusion for head dresses, and bearing in hand such effigies as that of the fish.

Then follow footmen in red, wearing grotesque masks; footmen in yellow, with tall wooden banners; more horsemen and their attendants, perhaps twenty, and empty black lacquer litters with brocaded banners and many-colored streamers floating from them. Each is carried by four bearers. The black lacquer pole which rises from the center of the litter and from which the banner floats terminates at the top in a bronze ornament, often elaborately worked, and in most cases taking the shape of the Tokugawa crest, that of the family of Ieyasu.

A smaller litter incloses a great drum, which is borne by four men and beaten constantly by a fifth. More footmen come into view with swords, tall black caps and blue, white and red kimonos, and then appears the full band of the procession, fifers and drummers in brilliant brocades.

Many men now march by bearing in their hands representations of hunting birds in wood or plaster.

Lastly come the three sacred cars, upon which patters constantly a shower of cash contributed by spectators, each surrounded by a crowd of eager bearers in white robes and black caps and each richly decorated and resplendent in gold lacquer, while three high priests on sacred ponies bring up the rear.

The procession, after passing the hotel booths descends the hill, first by the broad, smooth avenue already described, and then by the stony road which leads to the sacred bridge. But before the river is reached the procession turns to the left in order to descend to the temple, where the palanquins are deposited until all the offerings have been made and the tedious services have been completed. Then the procession reverses its route and starts on the return of the sacred palanquins to their accustomed resting place. The return trip, though uphill, is made at a much livelier gait than the descent, and in comparison with its tortoise movements earlier in the day the parade in the afternoon shows much of the hustling animation of mourners returning from a funeral.

At this time it resembled somewhat in gait a religious procession of the Inari temple that I saw at Kioto, in which

the rich palanquins were borne quickly along by a host of half-naked men and boys, who interrupted their march only to dance and sing and wave their hands, drunk with religious enthusiasm and sake. They seemed a jolly, pleasing crowd, but just before reaching us they had contested the right of way with a trolley car, and the old overcoming the new, had overturned the sacrilegious vehicle that interrupted the procession of the gods and several of the passengers and bystanders were crushed under the car.

JAPANESE JINGOISM.

Boy's Holiday Teaches a Soldier's Love of Country—
Patriotism Is Religion—Lilliputians in Material
Things, Giants in National Spirit—The Sign of the
Carp.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, February 12, 1898.]

A foreign visitor to Nikko in the first week of June, wandering down the village's single street, lined on both sides with little shops where the local specialties of carved wood and furs and various curios are sold, notes the evidences of one of the most widely-celebrated and most popular of Japanese anniversaries.

From many a house or garden tall bamboo poles rise in the air from which float immense paper carp, so arranged with strings fastened inside the head that their open mouths catch the air and they expand and move in a very life-like fashion. In some instances a lighter piece of bamboo terminating in a broom shape is attached to the end of the main pole. Or at its top is a ball or fez-shaped object. Banners often hang from bamboo arms of the same pole, sometimes so large that they dwarf the carp, displaying ferocious figures of fighting men, generally in black and white, sometimes in colors. Occasionally the pole blossoms out in ten or a dozen drooping twigs, long slender sticks issuing on every side at the same height, and terminating in small balls, apparently of metal.

These are the emblems of boys' day in Japan, when every family in which a boy has been born during the year proclaims and celebrates the fact. The date of this celebration is the fifth day of the fifth month. The old calendar, which is still used in the rural districts of Japan, is almost a month later than the new calendar, which regulates the time in the Japanese cities.

We had thus the privilege of noting a double celebration of the day, in May in Kioto and Osaka, and in Nikko in June. But the May observance was comparatively a spiritless affair. There were few of the flying carp in either Kioto or Osaka. The rainy weather discouraged to some extent

the exposure to the elements of paper fish, but the custom so far as the carp are concerned seems to be dying out in the large cities where modern and occidental ideas prevail.

But the swaying fish of many bright colors made a fine display in Nikko, hanging sometimes in bunches of half a dozen over prolific households, one carp for each boy in the family, whether born during the year or earlier.

Our idea of the carp is of a sluggish fish, a frequenter by choice of still and muddy water, or as in China, the contented inhabitant of a tub, fed on food-leavings like the family pig of other lands. But in Japan the fish is typical of intense vitality, and is famous for the power and perseverance with which it swims against the current and surmounts waterfalls. Thus its paper counterpart symbolizes the hopes of the Japanese that their boys may, like the carp, stem all adverse currents, leap over the most formidable obstacles and live long and prosper.

NO GLORIFICATION FOR THE GIRL

The girls also have a holiday, the 3d of March, when the feast of dolls is celebrated. The boys' day glorifies the birth of a man into the world. The girl enjoys no such glorification. The girl's emblem is like the Japanese woman herself, a doll, a toy, a plaything. The boy's is the symbol of all that is powerful and masterful and enterprising.

In spite of the fact that the Japanese do not hide their women in jealous oriental seclusion, and in spite of the fact that occidental ideas of costumes and manners have been permitted to creep in among them, there still lurks under the modern varnish the old decayed conviction of the inferiority and degradation of women that is taught both in the Buddhism and the Confucianism which influence the national thought.

The ineradicable oriental view of the differences between the sexes from the tenderest age is reflected in the ancient Chinese ode, supposed to have been selected by Confucius himself, which commemorates the building of a new palace for King Swan, 825 B. C.:

“And it shall be whenever sons are born
 These shall be laid on beds to sleep and rest;
 In loose long robes they also shall be dressed,

And sceptrelets be given them for toys,
 And when they cry what music in the noise!
 Once these shall don the scarlet aprons grand
 And be the kings and princes of the land.

“And it shall be when daughters are born
 These shall be laid to sleep upon the ground,
 In swaddling bands their bodies shall be bound,
 And pots shall be their playthings. 'Twill belong
 To these to meddle not with right or wrong;
 To mind alone the household drinks and food
 And cause their parents no solicitude.”

The glorification of the boy is complete when the poet goes into raptures over the music of his cry. But these very raptures show the fallacy of the notion entertained and expressed by many travelers that Chinese and Japanese babies never cry. If the boy in his comfortable robes on the bed and in spite of having a sceptrelet as a plaything cries, even though he cries musically, surely the girl in tight swaddling band tossed on the ground among the pots will bawl most vigorously, careless that no poet finds music in her cry. It appears then that the brown babies were in 825 B. C. exercising this inalienable right of universal babydom, and I doubt whether they have since surrendered this right.

JAPANESE BABIES DO CRY.

Unquestionably the Japanese babies are wonderfully patient, well regulated and well behaved. But I heard a baby crying lustily on my first day in Japan. I saw a Japanese infant despotically ruling his accompanying family of worshipers, from grandmother down, in a first-class railway carriage between Tokio and Kioto, and the boo-hoo was one of the most effective weapons of his tyranny. If the Japanese babies were ever non-crying they have now adopted modern notions and customs on the subject in humble imitation of their parents and have changed all that. The non-crying baby, like the scentless flowers and the non-singing birds described by voracious travelers, has largely disappeared from Japan, and if present appearances are reliable will soon be as extinct as the dodo.

Altogether, the Japanese babies are most attractive. In general make-up with shaven crowns, variegated by hair tufts, they look strikingly like the Japanese dolls sold in

America. Fastened to the back of mother or elder sister or brother they bury their noses in the back of the neck of their carrier and inspect the world with black and bead-like eyes. In Osaka I saw one favored infant who was strapped to his carrier's back with his face turned outward, apparently a more healthful and reasonable fashion.

Groups of children, with their bright-colored dresses, their oftentimes sweet voices and pleasing manners, are the delight of the foreign visitors, and especially of the amateur photographer.

Here the master of a dancing school leads his pupils, a score or more of little girls, out for a vacation romp in Shiba Park, in Tokio. The hair of Miss Flora McFlinsey was never more elaborately dressed than that of these children, and as to bright colors in attire, in kimono, obi and all the rest, Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

Close at hand are some smaller children, apparently of a roving disposition, equipped each with a charm bag to ward off accidents, and a metal bag containing the name and address of the prospective wanderer to the end that he may be returned to his home if he is lost.

Here comes rushing along an avenue of the park a whole school of boys out for the breathing spell of a recess. They cut up pranks, and laugh, and quarrel, and testify in every way to an overflow of animal spirits, just as young America would disport himself, except for the latter's disrespect of his elders.

But not all the juvenile conditions are ideal. A great many of the heads of children are scabby from eczema, produced probably by shaving with dull and dirty razors, to which the youngster's head is subjected until the age of five or six years is reached. No effort is made to cure this eruption because, it is explained, a superstition attributes a disease-averting and health-giving influence in later life to the youthful scabby head. Evidently there is also a popular superstition which ascribes some physical ill, present or future, to the blowing of an infant's nose, however much it may need this delicate attention. Dainty handkerchiefs of children's sizes are made by the thousand in Japan, but they are used, it would seem, exclusively for export purposes.

In addition to the outward display of carp and banners floating over many a house there was an indoors exhibit in Nikko on the boy's holiday, which was in accord with the

symbolism of the carp, as the type of force, power, the over-comer of difficulties. Images of generals on horseback and soldiers on foot, wrestlers, fighters of every grade and description, war flags and banners, toy suits of armor, swords, bows and arrows, and the other implements of ancient war, which have filled the toy shops for weeks, are now displayed by the proud parents of the boy in their home.

FIRST LESSON IN JINGOISM.

The most conspicuous of these exhibits are large, set pieces, representing warlike subjects such as Hideyoshi on his throne and the Empress Jingo and her councilors.

This mythical empress is a model for the boys in spite of her sex and figures conspicuously as the warrior woman among the images of the 5th of May, that are used as object lessons to teach the young the deeds of heroes, and to promote patriotism.

The Empress Jingo, the conqueror of Corea and the mother of Hachiman, the god of war, may be viewed as typical of the national patriotic sentiment and of the warlike spirit of territorial extension. Under Shintoism, the nominal national religion, emperors and empresses, Jingo among them, are deified and worshiped. Thus in Japan, at least, Jingoism equals Shintoism equals Patriotism, and every "Jap" is a Jingo.

In respect to things material and visible Japan is a realization of the imaginary land of Lilliput, described by the voracious Gulliver. In national spirit and aspiration Japan is of Brobdingnagian proportions.

Every visitor to Japan testifies to the accuracy of the first of these statements. The smallness of things Japanese is the foreigner's most vivid impression, from his first to his last glimpse of the little brown men and women and their proportionately tiny appurtenances and belongings. On landing at Yokohama he is placed in a jinrikisha or enlarged baby carriage, and is hauled to the hotel by a bare-headed and bare-legged male nurse, while he instinctively feels for his rattle and nursing bottle. Since the baby carriage is used by men, the doll's carriage falls to the infants, and in the few cases where the Egyptian and Mexican method of transporting the baby fastened to the mother's or older sister's back is not employed, a vehicle is utilized which might have been made from Cinderella's pumpkin without enlargement by the fairy god-mother. I saw one of these tiny baby

carriages in Osaka, and it was among the most curious of the many curiosities of street scenes in Japan. Leaving Yokohama to go to Tokio, the great modern capital, or Kioto, the ancient and venerated city, the foreigner enters a dwarf car on a narrow-gauge track and is pulled by a miniature engine over lilliputian bridges and through lilliputian tunnels. Wherever he visits he finds narrow streets, small frail houses, with tiny rooms and furnishings. As the streets are alleys, so the horses are ponies. Going into the country he finds that the farms are gardens of minute proportions, in which rice and tea and grain are cultivated with the microscopic attention bestowed by the European gardener upon his choicest plants. The little "Jap," with his diminutive farm and his toy house, eats from a table which is a lacquer tray, from a bowl which is a cup, and from a cup which is as a thimble, and smokes a pipe which allows him but three whiffs before it needs refilling. In gardening his proudest achievement is to dwarf a maple or pine tree, so that, though a century old, it is only a foot high, and to confine the veteran of the forest in a flower pot. The same tendency is noticeable in the arts, in minute ivory and wood carvings, in microscopic cloisonne work, and in devotion to the small and delicate in painting upon a great variety of materials.

MOTHER GOOSE IN JAPAN.

In short, there can be no doubt that Mother Goose, in the course of her world-wide wanderings on her broom, had paid a flying visit to Japan, and had that miniature country and people in mind when she wrote:

"There was a little man and he had a little wife,
 Who cut their little loaf with a sharp but tiny knife,
 She had a little cat which chased a little mouse,
 And they all lived together in a very little house."

The quaint smallness of things Japanese is most keenly appreciated through contrast by an American, fresh from the magnificent distances and vast expanses of the land of so many "greatest things on earth," from grand canons and mammoth caves to monuments and waterfalls, geysers and machinery.

But, as I have already indicated, if Japan is the vest-pocket edition of a nation in material things, in spirit and

ambition it is a giant unabridged. The Japanese people, from the coolie, with his loin cloth and straw sandals, to the statesman, are full of that devotion to the national idea, that pride of country, that unbounded faith in the national future, of which the combination is the world over described at home as intense patriotism and abroad as national "cockiness" and bumptious conceit. The Japanese statesmen are already in imagination inheriting the power now wielded by the effete nations of Europe, whose speedy exhaustion they predict.

As a sample specimen, listen to the words of Count Okuma, recently the minister of foreign affairs and the strong man of the late administration:

"The European powers are already showing symptoms of decay, and the next century will see their constitutions shattered and their empires in ruins. Even if this should not quite happen, their resources will have become exhausted in unsuccessful attempts at colonization. Therefore who is fit to be their proper successors if not ourselves? What nation, except Germany, France, Russia, Austria and Italy, can put 200,000 men into the field inside of a month? As to intellectual power, the Japanese mind is in every way equal to the European mind. It is true, the Japanese are small of stature, but the superiority of the body depends more on its constitution than on its size. If treaty revision were completed, and Japan completely victorious over China, we should become one of the chief powers of the world, and no power could engage in any movement without first consulting us. Japan could then enter into competition with Europe as the representative of the oriental races."

The Japanese statesmen, headed by Marquis Ito, who, after a period of retirement from power, is again prime minister, played upon this patriotic sentiment in precipitating war with China. It is a common device of rulers to pick a quarrel with the foreigner in order to solidify the home people. But there was never a more successful resort to it than in the case of Japan. Her government was beset by domestic dissensions and in sore straits. Three successive hostile majorities had appeared against it in the diet. From the moment that war was declared every opponent and every critic disappeared. All Japan advanced, and struck as one man, and the loose-jointed, disorganized, anaemic giant China went down before it at the first blow.

The spirit which made Japan formidable against China was intensified by the result of the struggle. And it is con-

spicuous everywhere in Japan to-day and is carefully fostered by the government.

JAPANESE PATRIOTISM.

Said Count Okuma in a speech before the Oriental Association of Japan: "Undoubtedly Japan is a comparatively poor country, but the abounding patriotism of her subjects in spite of her poverty is unique. Foreigners were therefore astonished at the love of country shown by the people and at the vast sums of money placed at the disposition of the government, which permitted the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion without having recourse to foreign capital.

"If, however, those countries should injure Japan's prestige, rights or interests, I need hardly affirm that the patriotism of the 40,000,000 Japanese would, as I have already said, burst out like a volcanic eruption."

Every influence tends to keep the patriotic spirit at white heat. Not only the adults are drilling all over Japan, but the children also. In the schools the pupils bow with reverence to the portrait of the emperor in entering and leaving the room, and love of country is taught both in their secular and their religious education.

In the grounds connected with the temple of Hirano Jinja in Kioto I noticed some school children at their recess recreation. They had divided into two bands, armed with wooden swords and guns, each army with its standard. One lay in ambush for the other, and the surprised army retreated until a little hill was reached, on top of which a stand was made, and the pursuers beaten back. Young America could not have entered into mimic warfare with greater spirit.

Shintoism, the original faith and the present state religion of Japan, is practically patriotism and not much else. Its foundation is the worship of ancestors, thence of the emperor, as the heaven-born father of his people. Devotion to the ruler easily becomes love of the fatherland which is ruled. Patriotic loyalty to the emperor is religion, and in this kind of religion there are many fanatics.

The worship of one's own ancestors, derived from China, has been broadened in Japan into the worship of the hero ancestors of other men, who, deified after death, constitute the Shinto pantheon with its membership of millions. The famous soldiers and other heroes are honored and worshiped

in shrines erected to their memory. Religion lights the torch of patriotism.

Osaka, which as Japan's great manufacturing city is the center of the industrial war which the empire is to wage against Europe and America, is also an important military center, and in that city this spring I attended a Shinto service which showed clearly the manner in which all the influences of state and church unite to foster loyalty to the emperor and love of country.

WORSHIP FOR DEAD SOLDIERS.

Close to the one large hotel for foreigners in Osaka is a monument to certain soldiers who fell in battle. A Shinto shrine is connected with the monument, and on the 6th day of May the annual military service was held there in honor of the heroes, attended by all the soldiers in the district, officers and men, infantry and cavalry, and by a multitude of curious visitors from civil life. On one side of the inclosure, in front of the shrine, stood the officers in uniform, from seventy-five to a hundred in number. At their feet, sitting on mats, were a hundred or more of sons of the officers, in semi-military dress. On the opposite side of the inclosure were a brass band and a small group of spectators. Outside, in the adjacent tea house, and in intersecting streets, the people were packed and jammed, constantly harassed, shoved and pushed and scolded by the important little Japanese soldiers. Back of the monument glimpses could be had of the arms or uniforms of the thousands of soldiers, standing ready for the order to march. First the procession of priests in white robes, with curious black headdress and black wooden shoes, entered the inclosure, headed by wooden palanquins containing the offerings. Then the long and rather tedious Shinto service proceeded. The offerings of many different articles, including fruits and vegetables, were passed from hand to hand, and presented before the shrine. At last the officers came before the monument in succession and presented branches handed to them by a priest. Then the officers gradually withdrew, and 12,000 soldiers marched before the monument, in small bodies, halted and saluted at the word of command and to the sound of trumpets, and passed on quickly to make room for another detachment. After several hours of infantry procession, the cavalry passed and saluted in similar fashion. Neither young nor old could fail to be impressed by the

spectacle of honor, even worship, offered to those who had died in the service of their country, and to be inspired with the patriotic desire to emulate their example.

The national military spirit is fostered not only in school and in church, so to speak, but in the very holidays and anniversary days of the boys. As I have already noted the boys' day on the 5th of May is permeated with Jingoism, Shintoism, patriotism.

Japan's national ambition is thus gigantic. Will she be able to realize a fraction of her dreams?

A VISION OF CONQUEST.

Her cry is "Asia for the Asiatics," meaning by the Asiatics the Japanese. She is spending the Chinese indemnity and much tax money out of the scanty resources of her own people in army and navy development to meet, resist and, if possible, overcome Russia in Asia before the Siberian railroad connects the two Russias, and gives to the government at St. Petersburg power of concentrating troops, which would prove irresistible. She has a well-disciplined and admirably equipped army of considerably over 200,000 men, more than double the Russian force laboriously collected at Vladivostok. Her navy, already imposing, will before long be among the strongest five in the world, surpassing the United States in the race unless our gait is faster than at present. Her people have surreptitiously aided the insurgents in the Philippine Islands, now the property of Spain, upon which Japan has for some time cast covetous eyes. She planned a peaceful conquest by colonization of the Hawaiian Islands, and nothing but annexation by the United States is certain to baffle her well-conceived design. In trade, as well as in arms, she aspires not only to lead in Asia, but to be among the great powers of the world. Her vast military expenditures have interfered sadly with national industrial development, but the ambition to be wealthy is merely postponed in favor of the determination to be powerful, and not by any means abandoned.

It is impossible not to admire the high aims and courage of this people, as well as their kindness, their ingenuity, their manual dexterity and their artistic taste.

The dwarf in material things has expanded into the giant like the great pine at Karasaki, a tree which started out to be a dwarfed pine with sprawling horizontally growing branches after the regular model, but which escaped

from its would-be minimizers two thousand years ago, and is now a magnified dwarf pine, enlarged five hundred times.

Can Japan, so admirable in small things, be equally admirable when the dwarf has become the giant?

Has the Japanese character the adaptability of the elephant's trunk, with its capacity of picking up the smallest pin and of performing the most delicate operations and also its power of applying gigantic force in breaking down walls and uprooting trees?

The Japanese has nothing more to learn, he thinks, in either the deceptions or the bluffs and ultimatums of diplomacy. He believes that he has discovered the secret of the occidental powers in the maxims, "Might makes right," "Providence is on the side with the heavier artillery," and he arms and drills himself, buys guns and warships, and discards his foreign instructors.

If the Aztecs in Mexico had handled the Spaniards on the Japanese principle of dealing with threatening conquerors they would have received the invaders with reverential prostrations, and in a comparatively short time they would in humble imitation of the visitors be wearing armor, riding horses, studying Spanish and mastering the secrets of the foreigners' power; and finally, when all was learned that the Spanish had to teach, the Aztecs would have opposed to them their own weapons and their own military methods, and would have cast them out like oranges sucked dry.

Japan means to cut a figure in history. Will a new Jingo give birth for her benefit to a modern god of war, and another Ieyasu arise to lead to victory? Or will the Japanese vision of glory collapse, bubble-like, at the first hostile contact with a European power?

JAPAN AND HAWAII.

Asiatic Excitement over Our Proposed Tariff—Japan Speaks through Count Okuma—Hawaiian Annexation and Our Duty on Tea and Silk—Future of the Far East.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

Tokyo, Japan, June 8, 1897.

The immigration controversy between Hawaii, which is virtually under American protection, and Japan, the dispatch of both Japanese and American warships to Honolulu, and the Congressional proposition to tax heavily under the new tariff the cheap silk, tea and matting of Japan have caused many manifestations of anti-American sentiment recently among certain classes of this people. Mischief-makers, using the native press, and political agitators, with the purpose in view of currying favor for themselves with the people and of embarrassing the existing Japanese administration, have misrepresented the facts and labored zealously to inflame the popular prejudices. For instance, our tariff legislation is represented to be a blow aimed specifically at Japan, demonstrating a change of sentiment on our part and a present strong dislike and fear of that nation. Not only is Hawaii pictured as defenseless before Japan, but the United States itself is represented to be, as Rudyard Kipling suggests, temptingly spankable.

Another cause of ill-feeling by the Japanese toward the foreigners of the empire, including Americans, is the unconcealed dread with which the latter note the approach of the year 1899, when the new treaties go into effect, which abolish the consular courts and extend Japanese jurisdiction over all residents of the empire. Many of the foreigners engaged in trade profess to fear both loss of personal security and destruction of business. They point to the various indications of the popular belief that the foreigners are to be driven out of the Japanese trade and of the increasing hostility of the people to outsiders. They call attention to the recent action of the diet of the empire in passing a bounty

act granting a subsidy to Japanese exporters of raw silk, which they view as a virtual rebate of the export duty for the benefit of their Japanese competitors and a discrimination against them. Their distrust and dislike are noted and reciprocated by the Japanese.

For Americans to be surrounded by an atmosphere of hostility in Japan is a novelty. They have heretofore been excepted when the anti-foreign cry was raised. Even now, of course, the feeling against them is confined to a comparatively few among the people, does not extend seriously to the thoughtful and governing class and is, perhaps, temporarily fostered and exaggerated for the purpose of retaining for Japan as long as possible some trade or labor-colonizing advantages now enjoyed, which, it is perceived, must at some time be surrendered, but of which the surrender may be postponed.

INTERVIEWING COUNT OKUMA.

I obtained the government view of the situation, or as much of that view as the government was willing to disclose, in an interview with Count Okuma, the minister of foreign affairs, who is the strong man and dominating spirit of the present administration. He played a prominent part in the restoration of the imperial government in 1868 and since that time has been conspicuous in Japanese political history as a statesman and leader, whether in the administration or in opposition. He was minister of the treasury from 1873 to 1881, and once before his present term as minister of foreign affairs he held the same portfolio. He is consequently a statesman of ripened experience, thoroughly identified with the new Japan. He has been and is now a strong and uncompromising advocate of the adoption by Japan of modern foreign methods. One of the cries of the leaders of the revolution of 1868, who overthrew the Shoguns, usurpers of two centuries' standing, and restored to the mikado the temporal power, was the expulsion of the foreigners and the return of Japan to her previous condition of isolation. But the brainy men who led this movement, when once in power, judged accurately the situation and changed their views and their policy with lightning rapidity. They welcomed the foreigner, and for a time sat at his feet in order to learn all that he could teach.

THE FOREIGNERS MUST GO.

But they stooped to conquer. They learned merely to compete with their teachers and with the purpose of discarding these instructors as soon as they thought that they could do without them. Count Okuma in a speech delivered not long ago before the Oriental Society attributed the progress in Japan very largely to foreign influence, extolled the foreign models and methods and criticised unsparingly, with a view to improvement, his people's shortcomings in many respects when compared with the so-called civilized nations. Possibly Count Okuma thinks that the process of throwing aside the foreigner as an orange sucked dry has begun too soon and is proceeding too rapidly. But certain factions among the people are impatient, political opponents are ever ready to raise the cry of subserviency to the foreigner and the assassin lurks in the background.

Of the latter Count Okuma bears with him a constant reminder in the shape of a disabled leg, shattered by a bomb thrown at him by a political fanatic, who concluded that the count, who was then minister of foreign affairs, was yielding too much to the foreigners in the matter of treaty revision, and selected this form of remonstrance. But Count Okuma, while he sees clearly the advantages derived by Europe and America from the superiority of their methods, and believes in the most thorough and complete imitation and adoption of them by the Japanese, does not thereby admit in the slightest degree the superiority of the foreigner himself. He wishes to arm the Japanese with every known artificial weapon in order that, conditions being equal, his countrymen may demonstrate the natural superiority with which he credits them. The extent of the count's belief in Japanese capacity and of his ambition for Japan's future is indicated in a speech delivered by him before he was made for the second time minister of foreign affairs, and when he could talk with greater freedom than as a member of the administration. As quoted by Henry Norman in his "Peoples and Politics of the Far East," the count on this occasion said:

"The European powers are already showing symptoms of decay, and the next century will see their constitutions shattered and their empires in ruins. Even if this should not quite happen, their resources will have become exhausted in unsuccessful attempts at colonization. Therefore who is fit to be their proper successors if not ourselves? What

nation except Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy can put 200,000 men into the field inside of a month? As to intellectual power, the Japanese mind is in every way equal to the European mind. It is true the Japanese are small of stature, but the superiority of the body depends more on its constitution than on its size. If treaty revision were completed, and Japan completely victorious over China, we should become one of the chief powers of the world, and no power could engage in any movement without first consulting us. Japan could then enter into competition with Europe as the representative of the oriental races."

This digression may serve to suggest what manner of man Count Okuma is, and may also throw some light upon the guarded statements of his interview.

AMERICAN TOBACCO IN JAPAN.

I met Count Okuma in the reception room of the foreign office at Tokyo, in sight of the spot where he was crippled by the would-be assassin's bomb. On a table in the center of the room in evidence of the prevailing national habit was a plentiful supply of cigarettes and a complete smoking outfit for the use of visitors. The count entered with a cigarette in his mouth and smoked constantly during the interview. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the count is credited with objecting to the tobaccoless cigarettes so largely used by the Japanese, with thinking that their use tends to prevent the desired increase of the stature of the nation, and with a disposition to encourage increased importations of real tobacco from America. Mr. Mitsunashi, his private secretary, served as the intelligent and accurate interpreter of our conversation.

The lines upon the count's smooth-shaven face and his scanty gray hairs suggest his age of nearly sixty years. His face is a strong one, with a good forehead, prominent cheekbones, a broad flat nose, and a large, firm mouth, with a cynical half-smile lurking at each upward-tending corner. He talks quickly and fluently, and gives his interpreter a great deal to remember before he stops to take breath. His projecting teeth, showing a conspicuous gold filling, are very much in evidence when he speaks, and make as vivid an impression upon the spectator as those of Theodore Roosevelt.

After the customary health queries and an interchange of courtesies concerning the comparative facilities and en-

joyments of travel in Japan and the United States, I referred to the hostile comment upon the proposed new tariff of the United States in the native press and chambers of commerce, and asked whether in the count's opinion there was any danger of a material lessening of the traditional friendly feeling of Japan toward the United States in this connection.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE PROPOSED TARIFF.

He replied: "The Japanese nation at large, the bulk of whom are agriculturists, has not shown any signs of discontent with the proposed tariff. But manufacturers, merchants and other residents in the districts in which silk, tea and matting are produced, are much disturbed. I have recently returned from a trip through the south, visiting Shizuoka, Osaka, Kolec and Kioto, the districts noted for silk and tea, and the discontent in these sections is great. Since Japan was introduced, so to speak, to the civilized world, by the United States, and since at the time of the restoration Japan was largely assisted by the American minister, Mr. Townsend Harris, and since the trade relations of the two countries are so extensive that between one-third and one-fourth of our entire exports goes to the United States, naturally a very friendly feeling has been entertained by Japan toward the United States, and our exporters to America were anxious to increase the imports from that country in return for articles bought from us. Largely through the efforts of these men the imports of such products as iron, locomotives, timber, flour, kerosene oil and cotton have largely increased and would continue to increase even faster in the future if the conditions were unchanged. The imports of cotton alone directly from the United States promise soon to equal the value of silk exports to the United States from Japan. In the same spirit a Japanese line of steamers runs to Seattle in the United States. Another, with steamers now building, will run to San Francisco. These lines have not only the object of encouraging exports from Japan, but imports from the United States to Japan. But the proposed tariff, if enacted, amounting to about 100 per cent. on Japan's tea and silk, will have the effect of causing the Japanese who are thereby injured not to welcome American goods as heretofore. America's kerosene will suffer in the keen competition with that of Russia, its iron with that of Belgium,

England and Germany, its cotton with that of China, Egypt and India. These opinions have been expressed in the chambers of commerce of the tea and silk districts and are being reflected and repeated throughout the empire. There is a report here that the Senate will reduce the duty on silk, tea and matting, and confirmation of it is awaited with anxiety. Should, however, the tariff bill pass even in the shape proposed by the Senate committee it cannot fail to injure seriously the trade between the two countries, both in imports and exports."

NOT A BLOW AT JAPAN.

I called attention to some public utterances, which assumed that our proposed tariff legislation on tea, silk, and matting, was a direct and intentional blow aimed at Japan, and asked the count if that was a prevalent belief.

He said: "At first the Japanese did think that the legislation was aimed at them, but I have already taken measures to explain the matter, and now they believe only the truth. When the question first arose I received hundreds of memorials on the subject, some of them even accusing me of inefficiency for not officially interfering. I replied to these memorials that if the law really made a specific discrimination against Japan I should interfere officially. But it did not thus discriminate. Other nations were affected. There is an unintentional discrimination perhaps arising from the fact that the tea and silk of Japan are cheaper than those of its competitors, and that a specific duty of so much for a certain quantity without regard to its quality bears most heavily upon the cheapest goods. For instance, a duty of 10 cents per pound would tax 100 per cent. the average Japan tea, while it would tax but 50 per cent. the average Indian tea, the former costing about one-half the latter. I doubt whether a heavy duty on tea would ultimately be of benefit to the United States. The cost of our cheap tea would be largely increased to the consumers, who are, I understand, the middle and lower classes. As your Congress represents the mass of the people who would be thus affected it seems doubtful whether such legislation could pass the representatives of the people, or be beneficial if passed."

I remarked that the Japanese law granting a bounty to Japanese exporters of raw silk had been drawn into the controversy, other exporters claiming that the act was a discrimination against them, being practically a rebate of the

export duty, and some of the Japanese suggesting that our tariff legislation concerning tea and silk was in retaliation for this legislation. I suggested that if the United States should retaliate at all the retaliation would be direct and unmistakable, imposing an additional duty equivalent to the bounty.

THE BOUNTY TO JAPANESE SILK EXPORTERS.

The count replied that of course the bounty act had no connection whatever with the proposed tariff. "This act is not intended to apply injuriously to foreigners, and if it has any such effect, that result will be unavoidable under the present treaties. Until the new treaties go into effect foreigners are not amenable to our laws, and if the bounty were extended to them, as well as to the Japanese, and any of them should profit by its provisions through false pretenses or otherwise break the Japanese laws in this connection, Japan could not punish them. This is the reason that foreigners are not included in the law."

I asked whether, this being the case, the bounty would be extended to foreigners when the new treaties did go into effect and they became amenable to Japanese laws.

The count replied that the law would probably be amended at that time in some way to suit the circumstances. In response to questions, the count said that the bounty act is to go into effect on April 1, 1898, and the new treaties July, 1899.

HOW TO INCREASE TRADE WITH JAPAN.

I asked what other steps than a reduction of the proposed tariff on silk, tea and matting the count would suggest for the purpose of increasing trade between the United States and Japan.

He replied: "Within a few years I have repeatedly expressed the opinion to the president of the chamber of commerce of New York, correspondents of American papers and many others with whom I have conversed that the most important factor in increasing this trade will be intelligent and unceasing activity on the part of the consular representatives of the United States in studying local conditions and needs, and making them known to the American manufacturers and merchants. Enlarged facilities of communication will also increase trade. The Japanese steamers run-

ning to Seattle return with full cargoes. The Great Northern Railway, with which it connects, is anxious that the service shall be doubled. The new Japanese line to San Francisco will doubtless have a similar effect in increasing American exports to Japan."

THE TROUBLE WITH HAWAII.

"What is the present status of the Hawaiian controversy?"

"For some unknown reason the Hawaiian government has obstructed the immigration of Japanese into Hawaii which it had previously invited. Three ship loads have been stopped, and not only the people on these ships, but others on their way to Hawaii, have suffered damage. This act is in violation of treaty. Previous to that event the Hawaiian assembly adopted a measure imposing a heavy duty upon Japanese sake, an unmistakable and objectionable discrimination. Japan is compelled to take a serious view of the matter and to conduct strong negotiations on the subject. Twenty-eight years ago the first batch of Japanese immigrants went to Hawaii. About eleven years ago immigration was resumed under a treaty with Hawaii, signed at the request of the Hawaiian government, which was then anxious to replace Chinese by Japanese as laborers on the islands. Since that time large numbers of Japanese have gone to Hawaii, until now there are about 25,000 of them there, peaceable, law-abiding people, still well-liked by the owners of the land and planters who employ them. But for some reason several members of the present Hawaiian cabinet represent that the large and increasing number of Japanese is detrimental to the country, and indeed threatens its independence. They seem to have no such fear of an increase in the number of Chinese, whom they previously disliked.

NO MENACE TO HAWAIIAN INDEPENDENCE.

"The Japanese government and the Japanese people have no idea of menacing the independence of Hawaii. Nothing could be farther from their wishes and purposes. They will be quite content if their treaty rights are observed and respected. Japan's position is so just and reasonable that I fully expect a satisfactory settlement by negotiations, and do not apprehend any serious trouble.

"No; there is no deadlock, no issue joined, as reported in the papers. The negotiations are progressing."

"If the two governments are unable to agree, is the issue one which would properly be referred to arbitration?"

"I do not think the matter so serious as to render arbitration necessary. If the two countries cannot come to an agreement, resort to arbitration may be the alternative. But as the Japanese government does not ask anything but what is reasonable I hope that the matter may be settled between the two governments exclusively."

I called attention to the printed statement that drilled soldiers had been sent to Hawaii in the guise of laborers.

He said: "There is no foundation whatever for the report in the sense intended. Japan has a general system of conscription, requiring three years of service, beginning at the age of twenty, from all who pass the examination. There are over 20,000 men every year who are relieved from this service and return home to their farms and other occupations. Some of these men may have gone to Hawaii to labor in the fields there, but they are agriculturists, not soldiers."

"Is it not possible that if the Japanese in Hawaii are permitted to increase until they form a majority in numbers and power they may get beyond the control of the far-removed home government, and make serious trouble in spite of the just and friendly attitude of the government of Japan?"

"I do not entertain any such apprehension. An order issued by the consul general in Hawaii is now effective throughout the 25,000 immigrants. They are peaceable and law-abiding people, who go there with no other object than money-making. Obedience to legal authority is a natural characteristic of them. I do not believe that there would be any trouble if the number were indefinitely increased."

NO DANGER OF A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

"If the Japanese had a majority of the population might they not overturn the existing government and gain control merely by demanding and securing representation in the Hawaiian legislative body?"

"Most of the Japanese do not go there to reside for any length of time. They return to Japan after a few years of money-making. The individual Japanese in Hawaii are constantly changing. They have no political interest in

the country. There would be no danger of the Japanese obtaining control of the islands if they were fully admitted as voters in the representative government. With a long residence qualification and ability to speak and write English very few of these contract laborers and temporary sojourners would qualify. Nearly all of the first and earlier batches of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii have already returned to Japan, and those who are there are in the main immigrants of the last few years, who will in turn come back to Japan, who are now not concentrated at Honolulu, but scattered over the plantations, working hard, and entirely harmless and unobjectionable, to the great satisfaction of those who are employing them."

"What is the Japanese government's opinion of the relations between the United States and Hawaii?"

INTIMATE RELATIONS OF HAWAII AND THE UNITED STATES.

"Japan recognizes that the relations between the United States and Hawaii are very intimate. The Americans are in a majority among the whites on the islands. They own most of the property. They have a large majority in the present cabinet. As Hawaii lies between the United States and Japan, somewhat nearer to the United States, some people on the islands have already sought annexation by the United States. But that republic should be satisfied with upholding the independence of Hawaii. Both the United States and Japan have an interest in maintaining the status quo. This arrangement is most beneficial for all concerned. I cannot understand that the United States should desire to annex Hawaii. Politically it would be a mistake, and strategically the great strength of the United States lies in her solidarity."

"Suppose that the United States should annex Hawaii, is Japan's interest in the islands such as to entitle her to protest against annexation or to view the act as unjust or unfriendly to her?"

"It is difficult to express an opinion on that subject now. I do not believe for an instant that annexation will come to pass. I believe that the Japanese, as a nation, would greatly deplore such a consummation, if it should be effected."

"On what lines is Japanese development now proceeding most rapidly?"

"The great purpose which Japan ought to pursue, and is

pursuing, is to raise to a higher level her position in the eyes of the world. To do this it is important to strengthen and extend her system of common education. Japanese commercial money-making ability, tending to make the nation wealthier, must also be increased, and to that end education is necessary. It is also essential to advance and extend female education, the higher education of women. Better progress must also be made in the study of science."

JAPANESE NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

I referred to the indications of a strong national sentiment among the Japanese and to the wise policy of the authorities in fostering that sentiment in the schools and in the services of the national religion, especially in memorial services, honoring those who fell in battle.

The count responded with enthusiasm: "That principle or sentiment forms the fundamental basis of all our education. The Japanese is taught to place the emperor, the ruler of his country, in the first place in his thoughts and in his reverence, and his nation vis-a-vis other countries.

"One fault observable in our previous system of education was the tendency to over-educate the mind at the expense of the body. Bodily, semi-military exercises in the schools and among the young men are going on not only in the cities, but even in the remotest districts of the empire."

I said that I had observed this universal drilling and military, or semi-military, exercising, and that on the surface it seemed as if the whole nation, young and old, was preparing itself to fight somebody.

The count responded laughingly: "The Japanese are a peace-loving people. What they seek is the healthful physical development, the bodily education, of the nation. They are not planning and, indeed, have no desire or inclination to fight anybody."

IMPROVE THE CONSULAR SERVICE.

Count Okuma's suggestion of the importance of the cooperation of our consular service in building up foreign trade and of the need of greater efficiency on the part of those agents is sound and touches a weak point in our line of assault upon the markets of the world. Our consuls must be active, energetic men of affairs, and the greater

their experience and knowledge of the business conditions and methods of the country to which they are sent the more valuable will their services be. In China and Japan at present our consuls are judges in courts of extensive jurisdiction. These offices with their important commercial and judicial functions should cease to be classed in the category of rewards for partisan or personal political services to be distributed as tokens of grateful appreciation of skill in manipulating primaries or a convention or some particular class of voters. But Count Okuma's criticism while well founded as a general proposition would be unjust if it were construed as applying to the American consulate closest at hand. It is generally conceded that the improvements in our export trade to Japan, which Count Okuma credits largely to the friendly offices of the Japanese traders, are in great measure due to the intelligent and persevering labors of Consul General McIvor at Yokohama. Especially is this true in relation to the increased importations of cotton, and to the development now in progress of our exports of lumber. Sentiment plays a small part in international trade. While Japan's grateful affection for us was at its height, and while we were buying far more from her than any other nation in the world, she bought very little from us and patronized instead the Englishmen whom she heartily disliked. Sentiment is not responsible for the recent increases in her American purchases. In the case of cotton, for instance, she now buys directly from us instead of indirectly through Liverpool, because Mr. McIvor convinced the owners of the Japanese cotton mills that it was economy to dispense with the commission to a middleman and put them in the way of obtaining a cheap freight rate for the cotton from American railroads. The individual purchaser of cotton or iron or kerosene oil in Japan will buy that article wherever he can get it to the best advantage, and will not permit national friendliness or unfriendliness to affect his individual pocket book.

These considerations minimize apprehensions of a reduction of the volume of our exports to Japan in case of the imposition by Congress of a heavy duty upon tea, silk and matting. Japan under the new treaties will herself soon be increasing largely her present duties on imports and her government will of course as a matter of policy carefully avoid taking any position at this time which imputes unfriendliness in such increases on the part of the importing toward the exporting nation.

JAPAN'S INTENTIONS CONCERNING HAWAII.

There is no reason to question the sincerity of the disavowal by the Japanese government of covetous inclinations toward Hawaii. It speaks for today, not for next year, or the next decade, and it speaks for itself alone, not for the individual Japanese either in Japan or Hawaii. In the immediate future Japan has "other fish to fry." The keynote of Japan's foreign policy is sounded in the quoted words of Count Okuma: "Japan could then enter into competition with Europe as the representative of the oriental races." "Asia for the Asiatics" is the Japanese Monroe doctrine, and as the only genuine nation of the far east, as the only oriental people welded together into homogeneous and powerful combination by a strong national sentiment, they are or aspire to be the Asiatics for whom exclusively Asia is reserved. Defeat of even the smallest realization of this ambitious hope is threatened by Russia, which prevented Japan from securing a foothold on the Asiatic continent as a result of her victory over China, and which will soon, it is evident, take for her own use that which she compelled Japan to relinquish. With the completion of the Siberian railroad to a terminus in a seaport open all of the year, at present in the possession of China or Corea, Russia will dominate the Pacific. She can concentrate through her railroad an overwhelming land force for Asiatic use, and her strong navy will be at home in her Pacific harbors, to cooperate with army and fortifications. Russia and Japan aspire to play the same role in Asia, and only one can be successful. The Japanese people have not entertained the slightest doubt of their ability to whip the Russians in Asia in a fight between the two armies, and their only apprehension has related to their navy, which they have been incessantly strengthening. Russia is steadily massing troops and collecting warships at Vladivostock. Japan is spending the Chinese indemnity and much other money in warships, in fortifications and in army development. All Japan is drilling, for the sake of its health, as Count Okuma says. If there is not a collision in the near future between these opposing forces it will be because Japan confesses defeat in advance, and abandons her dream of Asiatic supremacy. Clearly Russia will fight for a winter seaport on the Pacific. For centuries she has been bottled up and confined to harbors closed by ice for half the year. In the eyes not only of apprehensive Japan, but of uneasy England, she is now,

like the Afrite in the Arabian Nights, about to escape from the bottle and to expand in stature until her head touches the sky.

JAPAN WANTS THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

If Japan abandons the hope of checking Russia in the north her next ambition in accordance with the principle of "Asia for the Asiatics" is to annex the Philippine Islands, her neighbor on the south. Japan does not fear Spain, and would, it was whispered, have assented some time ago to a petition of the insurgents and have taken a hand in the recent fray if she had believed that the European powers would permit her to retain possession of the islands. In case of a general war in Europe, breaking up the concert of the powers, Japan would, it is believed, promptly seize the Philippine Islands. With the defeated Chinese to be constantly watched, if not feared; with menacing Russia to the north; and with Spain as an enemy already made in opposition to southern expansion, Japan will not now reach out for Hawaii at the risk of offending the United States. Hawaii is on the American, not the Asiatic side of the Pacific, and the American flag has once floated over it. Japan would be sorry to see it annexed by the United States, for annexation would close a profitable market for the empire's contract labor, and would destroy all hope of Japan's ever possessing a point of vast strategic importance to the naval control of the north Pacific. But she has no such interest in the islands that her present government would for a moment contemplate a war over their control. It would be more in accord with Japan's national policy if the thousands of her people now cultivating as contract laborers the sugar lands of Hawaii were developing the rich resources of her own Formosa.

JAPAN HAS TROUBLES OF HER OWN.

In speculating upon the probable action of Japan in future years a distinction must be made between the people and the government of the empire. They are not equivalents. The control of the latter over the former is not perfect, and the tendency is not toward a strengthening of the government. There are internal dissensions, the material out of which revolutions are made, among the Japanese. A majority of those who have representation in the parliament

which has been created desire that its nominal powers shall become real, and they engaged in a fierce struggle with the government over the appropriations, attempting to coerce the cabinet by cutting off the supplies. Then there are sectional jealousies, inflamed by the monopoly of office-holding enjoyed by four of the great clans, formerly daimiates, since the revolution of 1868. The anti-foreign sentiment, which is increasing, also tends to make unruly a people ordinarily submissive to constituted authorities. Ito, one of the greatest of Japanese statesmen, is credited with having precipitated the war with China in order to unite the wrangling factions and to avoid an internal outbreak. The result of the war naturally inflated the national vanity. The humiliation afterward inflicted by Russia, for which the Japanese held their own government partly responsible, cut the national pride to the quick. The tendency of both events is to increase the individual self-assertiveness of the Japanese.

In the case of any controversy which wounds Japanese sensitiveness, now abnormally excessive, or which threatens disappointment of any cherished hope of the people, the question which will arise is not merely what will a wise government, carrying out a definite policy, think or do, but what will an excited people permit or compel their rulers to do. The expressions of the native press and of individual Japanese concerning Hawaii are not so politic and reassuring as those of the government.

Japan necessarily plays the waiting game. Discretion forbids any more in the direction of Hawaii at this time. But if the United States repudiates its semi-protectorate over the islands, as for instance by unqualifiedly refusing or indefinitely postponing annexation, Japan will absorb them naturally and irresistibly without the necessity of any open reversal by the Japanese government of its announced policy and without requiring from it any action whatsoever. It is a significant fact that the Japanese population of Hawaii was increased by more than half a thousand merely from the three ship loads of immigrants, who, as it is usually stated, were stopped and sent back to Japan. To be sure more than a thousand were rejected, but 543 ran the gauntlet and now swell the peaceful army of occupation. In spite of everything that the Hawaiian government, unsupported, can do, Japanese immigrants will enter in sufficient numbers to control the affairs of the islands in the near future by combination with the royalists and nominal

restoration of native rule, if not by openly and in the first instance making Hawaii a dependency of Japan.

If the Hawaiian Islands are to remain a part of America and are not to be abandoned to Asia peaceful annexation to the United States should be effected at this time, when the policy of the Japanese government, which looks to extension in other directions, has not been demonstrated to be in any respect visionary, and when the Japanese themselves have not been aroused and rendered dangerous by the failure of any cherished projects in Asia, and both in Japan and Hawaii are reasonably well controlled by the government at Tokyo.

HAWAII'S CRISIS.

Annexation by America or Final Absorption by Japan
—Japan's Severe Pressure on Hawaii—Arbitration
Is the Next Move of the Little Republic—No War
after Annexation.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

Honolulu, Hawaii, July 1, 1897.

The steamer City of Peking, which brought to the islands by way of Japan the first information of McKinley's election, performed a similar office in regard to the annexation treaty, the definite news that it had been signed, conveyed in a cablegram to Yokohama, arriving here by that steamer on the 29th of June. With that cablegram as an inspiration this community worked itself into a state of feverish excitement and expectation, many crediting the printed rumors, based upon alleged private information, to the effect that the foreign affairs committee of the Senate had already reported favorably upon the treaty, and that a day had even been fixed for voting upon it, the 19th of June being the date assigned. The coming of the Mariposa from the Pacific coast with news a week later than that of the Peking was eagerly and impatiently awaited, and when it was learned on the arrival of that steamer this morning that the Senate had been true to its traditions as a deliberative body and that action upon the treaty would not be immediate, the disappointment, though unreasonable, was profound.

STRONG NEGOTIATIONS.

The news of the signing of the annexation treaty came at an interesting point in the war of words called "strong negotiations" by Count Okuma, which has been progressing between Japan and Hawaii. The Star's regular correspondent at Honolulu, Kamehameha, has kept its readers thoroughly informed of the various stages of this controversy preceding the very recent answer of Mr. Cooper, Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs, which Mr. Shimamura, the Jap-

anese minister, has awaited for some time with unconcealed impatience and annoyance. The new matter in this document, unpublished up to the present date, even in Honolulu, and of importance as establishing a fresh line of Hawaiian defense, is in substance to the following effect: The treaty of 1871, which Japan claims to have been violated in this case, is limited in its scope. It applies only to merchant immigrants and not to laborers. This limitation upon the treaty has been recognized by Japan in applying it to incoming Hawaiians.

That the treaty does not apply to laborers is further shown by the fact that a labor convention between Japan and Hawaii was necessary to regulate the new kind of immigration. The laws passed by Hawaii, following the labor convention, of the enforcement of which complaint is now made, were not objected to by Japan at the time of their enactment as in contravention of the treaty. It follows that the treaty does not apply to the cases of any of the immigrants in controversy; and that subject to the labor convention, which is still in force because six months' notice of its abrogation is necessary, Hawaii is entitled under the general powers of independent governments to make and enforce such laws of general application as it deems necessary with reference to the admission of aliens. Hawaii welcomes immigration in accordance with its laws, labor conventions and treaties when they apply.

JAPAN STILL DISSATISFIED.

Since the aim of the Japanese minister has been to elicit from the Hawaiian government a confession that it had violated a treaty in excluding immigrants, a promise of indemnity for the injuries inflicted, and a pledge against similar violations in the future, this explanation would evidently share the fate of its predecessors in being viewed as unsatisfactory by Japan's representative; and as that official had in a newspaper interview thrown out menacing intimations of what might happen if Hawaii's answer should continue to be unsatisfactory, his course on receipt of the reply has been a matter of anxious conjecture. While all Hawaii was holding its breath in the intensity of its apprehensive observation of Mr. Shimamura, in suspense lest he should shake off Hawaiian dust from his feet and sever diplomatic relations with the republic, or should present an ultimatum, to be enforced by the guns of the Naniwa.

there came as an additional element of friction and excitement the news of the annexation treaty and of Japan's protest.

On my arrival here from Yokohama, eleven days ago, I discovered that the question of the possibility of arbitrating the immigration question was one of profound local interest. In response to a question from me Count Okuma, Japan's minister of foreign affairs, had intimated in Tokio that, while in view of the justice and reasonableness of Japan's position he hoped for a settlement of the matter through negotiation by the two governments exclusively, in the event of continued disagreement arbitration might be the alternative. Minister Shimamura had in a newspaper interview, indorsed by him as accurate, expressed precisely the opposite opinion. He spoke of the controversy as a matter involving the honor of Japan, in which, indeed, that nation's honor was at stake, and added: "In small affairs arbitration may be allowed, but never where the honor of a nation is at stake. There is no court where cases in international law are tried—the only tribunal is the strong arm and the strong vessels. Honor is too sacred a thing to any nation to be played with by courts of arbitration."

A TALK WITH MINISTER SHIMAMURA.

Shortly after my arrival in Honolulu I called upon Minister Shimamura for the purpose of interviewing him. He is a slender, nervous, frail-looking man, whose black mustache gives as yet no indications of the gray of even middle age. He is notably courteous in manner. He was Japanese consul in New York City for some time, and speaks English fairly well. When at a loss precisely what to say, and wishing time to think, he prolongs the final syllable of every fifth or sixth word with a long-drawn-out ah——— or eh——— to an extent that is painful to the hearer, and suggests an impediment of speech. It is said that under similar circumstances Daniel Webster was accustomed to sink his voice until it became temporarily inaudible. Mr. Shimamura's method is just as effective.

We talked over much the same points that were discussed in my interview with Count Okuma, except that Mr. Shimamura disclaimed official authority to say anything on the subject of annexation.

IS ARBITRATION ADMISSIBLE?

When the arbitration matter was brought up he called into the room Mr. Akiyama, the special legal adviser sent from Tokio to co-operate with him in the settlement of the immigration controversy. Mr. Akiyama is smooth-shaven, stout, smiling and pugnacious. After much questioning I elicited from them a joint answer to the query whether this issue was one in respect to which arbitration is admissible that was much milder in tone than Mr. Shimamura's previous utterances. Possibly instructions on the subject had been received from Tokyo since the date of the first interview. Mr. Shimamura said: "I cannot say yet whether the matter does or does not fall within the class of cases in respect to which arbitration is admissible. Japan is seeking only justice. Much will depend upon the nature of the answer which I am awaiting from the Hawaiian government. Japan may not object to arbitration."

After the Hawaiian answer above referred to had been sent I called again on Mr. Shimamura, reminded him that he had made his views concerning the admissibility of arbitration dependent on the character of Mr. Cooper's reply, and asked if there was now anything that he wished to add to what he had said on this subject. He replied courteously that he could say nothing further concerning arbitration, that the whole matter now rested with his home government. We talked for some time about other phases of the controversy, and he gave no indication of indignation or excitement, and no intimation of any sensational action on his part, such as demanding his passport, and quitting the country, at which he had at one time hinted.

AKIYAMA'S ANGRY OUTBURST.

Counsellor Akiyama, whom I met in the Hawaiian Hotel, was not so restrained and circumspect. He said with much heat concerning Mr. Cooper's last letter: "It's smoke, smoke, nothing but smoke!" He asked me if I had read the letter. I replied in the negative, saying, however, that I thought I knew its substance. He snapped out: "It has no substance. I am going home on the next steamer. There is nothing that I can do here. My government will now settle the matter."

HAWAII TO PROPOSE ARBITRATION.

The issues in the immigration controversy are now distinctly formed. The question is clearly one in respect to which arbitration is appropriate, and this fact is recognized by Count Okuma, who controls Japanese foreign policy. The Hawaiian government may reasonably be expected to apply at once for the good offices of the United States to bring about such arbitration by some impartial umpire, before Japan hurls an ultimatum and mediation is rendered difficult. This step cannot be taken too quickly. When the disappointed and exasperated Akiyama gets to Tokyo the tendency of his reports and recommendations, and of his influence, so far as it goes, cannot fail to be in the direction of some vigorous action against Hawaii and in opposition to arbitration.

The annexation treaty news was not expected at this time, even by the Hawaiians, and came as a complete surprise and shock to Japan's representatives here. Neither Count Okuma in Tokyo nor Mr. Shimamura here showed any appreciation of the possibility of such an event as the speedy signing of a treaty. Japan's protest to the United States against the treaty, which, it is understood, is to be reinforced by a similar protest to the Hawaiian government against its ratification, was also a startling surprise to everybody. The intimation of the possibility of such a protest made to me by Count Okuma in Tokio was, I was informed by a prominent official here, the most definite and significant statement on the subject made up to that time by any representative of Japan, the previous policy having been to profess complete indifference on the subject, as a matter in which Japan was not especially concerned.

THE PROTEST WILL HELP ANNEXATION.

While courteous consideration of Japan's protest may work some slight delay in voting upon the annexation treaty, the ultimate effect of the protest should be to increase the votes in favor of annexation when the time for action comes. It throws a light upon the real views and purposes of Japan in respect to the islands. It shows that Hawaii is to be Japanese if not American, and that annexation is the only way to prevent its abandonment to Asia. It makes annexationists of those who, averse to annexation except as a last resort, refuse to yield to a possible enemy

control of so important a naval and strategetic point in the adjacent Pacific, and who are unwilling to surrender to the tender mercies of Japan the progressive American community and government in these islands, and will not permit the civilized and Christian institutions of Hawaii to be submerged and lost in a pagan and Asiatic flood.

Japan's political interest in the islands, frequently denied, is now clearly revealed. For many years there has been steady pressure, sometimes by officials, sometimes by individuals, to gain representation in the Hawaiian government for the Japanese in the islands. A high official at Tokyo told me that when Kalakaua was king he promised such representation to the Japanese. This statement is not improbable. It is known that at one time Kalakaua believed that the affinities of the Hawaiians were Asiatic rather than American, and sought for a matrimonial alliance between certain scions of royalty of Japan and Hawaii. At the time of the revolution of 1893 the Japanese consul general demanded of the new government the right of suffrage for Japanese subjects in the islands. In Count Okuma's first communication to the Hawaiian government in the pending immigration controversy he advanced the view that the treaty between Japan and Hawaii placed the Japanese in the islands on terms of absolute equality with Hawaiians "in civil rights," as well as in the protection of life and property, and this proposition was construed by Minister Cooper as another instance of pressure for the right of suffrage, and reply was made on the basis of this construction. It should be said, however, that in his conversation with me (though not in any official correspondence) Mr. Shimamura vigorously denied that any request for suffrage was intended or made under any reasonable construction of Count Okuma's letter.

THE JAPANESE YEARNING FOR HAWAII.

There has been a constant effort by individual Japanese to secure the voting right. In climate, soil and wages, Hawaii is a paradise for the Japanese. They are in love with the country, and want to take possession, either through the ballot box or otherwise. Their reported talk both in Hawaii and in Japan, in the native newspapers and on the streets, is to the effect that Hawaii belongs and must continue to belong to them.

When Paramount Commissioner Blount was about to or-

der the American flag to be lowered and the American marines to return to the Boston, the apprehension was felt and expressed that following the withdrawal of the Americans Japanese from their warship, the Naniwa (now again in Honolulu harbor), would march in and take possession. Rather than permit this apprehension to interfere with a consummation so desirable from Japan's point of view as the hauling down of the American flag, the Naniwa was ordered away from Honolulu.

Concerning the tendencies of the Japanese on the islands, Admiral Walker's report of 1894 states the truth concerning them according to the consensus of opinion, except that it is thought that the result of the recent Japanese victory over China has been to intensify their restlessness, self-assertiveness and political ambitions. Admiral Walker said: "They are inclined to be turbulent; they stand together as a solid body, and their leaders are said to have political ambitions and propose to claim for their free men the right to vote under the conditions with which that right is granted to other foreigners. They are a brave people, with military instincts, and would fight if aroused to violence."

RECIPROCAL DISCOURTESIES.

A peculiarity in the quarrel between Japan and Hawaii is that each of the wranglers finds more cause of complaint in the other's manner of conduct and in alleged discourteous behavior than in the original act upon which the controversy is based. In the beginning the most heated complaints at Tokyo were not that immigrants were excluded, but at the manner in which it was done; at the alleged discourtesy of a change of policy and of construction of the law by Hawaii without the slightest notice to Japan, whose people were thereby injured; at the alleged brusque refusal of the Hawaiian foreign minister to allow counsel to see the rejected immigrants, and at other similar alleged rudenesses. Some of the Hawaiian officials, on the other hand, found in the tone of Count Okuma's first communication in the immigration controversy an arrogance of assumption which would not in their opinion have been employed in dealing with a strong nation toward which a show of courtesy was necessary.

Another Japanese grievance against Hawaii which rivaled in intensity that based upon the exclusion of immigrants was the increase by the Hawaiian government of

the duty on sake, the Japanese intoxicant, from 15 cents to \$1 per gallon, a duty almost prohibitive. The new tariff goes into effect to-day, and the Peking, which brought annexation news to the satisfaction of part of the community, brought also, to the delight of the Japanese, a vast ship load of sake, which was yesterday unloaded and put through the custom house at a saving of nearly \$25,000 on the duty in force to-day.

TWO SUPERSENSITIVE OPPONENTS.

Both of the contending governments are exceedingly sensitive and apprehensive lest they be treated otherwise than with the deference that is due to independent civilized nations. Japan is just entering the family of treaty powers, and is very much afraid that she will not be recognized by everybody as on terms of equality. She is quick to view as insulting any apparent discrimination against her. As a new-comer in a more elevated stage of international society she suspects every one of a disposition to snub her, to laugh at the cut of her garments and to criticise her manners. Hawaii is a nation, but not a power, lacking organized army and navy, and a homogeneous, loyal population from which to develop military strength. To be sure, one of the Japanese papers said that the excluded immigrants were induced to return to their steamer by the firing of blank cartridges from the guns in the Honolulu forts. But unfortunately the forts and the guns in the forts of Honolulu are as blank as the alleged cartridges.

Japan, which has won recognition as a treaty power mainly through recent achievements in war, is surprised and shocked at the "high-handed" acts and words of this little republic, which has neither army, navy nor fortifications to entitle it to consideration. And the Anglo-Saxon republic fiercely resents what it considers the threatening arrogance of a Mongolian power, which has merely furnished it with coolie laborers for its sugar plantations, and upon that fact alone bases an effort to intimidate, dominate and finally absorb it.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE JAPANESE.

Undoubtedly the Japanese coolies came to Hawaii as semi-slaves, merely to labor for a contract period of servitude and to return to Japan. They were not recognized as among the responsible people of the islands any more than was

the Asiatic buffalo, imported to work in the rice fields. But the Old has been transformed into the New Japan, and before the eyes of alarmed Hawaii a similar transformation is working in the 25,000 Japanese within its borders, who seem to be preparing to say: "We work, but we are no longer mere coolies, slavishly lacking human rights. We can fight, we are of the race which has just whipped China. We are of the nation which has won through treaties with the other civilized powers recognition for its people as the equal of all others in the world. We like this country, and we are here to stay, and to increase our numbers from Japan at pleasure, with all the rights that belong to anybody else, and our strong home government, one of the greatest of the Great Powers, will protect us in these rights. If the islands are to have a representative form of government, we mean to vote, and through unlimited immigration we shall very soon dominate such a government. If force is to decide we have already enough fighting adults on the islands to put to flight any army that the rest of the population can bring against them, and we are largely increasing that number every month." The Japanese camel has its nose and head in the warmth and shelter of the Hawaiian tent, and now threatens to enter fully, to kick out its deluded host and to become exclusive occupant. This coolie laborer, entering for the purpose of harmless and useful servitude, now threatens, the Hawaiians fear, to be transformed into a ruler.

"SUAVITER IN MODO, FORTITER IN RE."

The supersensitiveness of Japan suggests the wisdom of the most scrupulous care on the part of the United States in the observance of all the formalities and niceties of international etiquette in diplomatic dealings with that nation. The United States will, of course, frame its tariff and decide the question of Hawaiian annexation in accordance with the dictates of its judgment, irrespective of Japanese protests, but in its method of reaching results which may be displeasing to Japan it can afford to go to the extreme limit of international courtesy. Japan has been and is a friend of the United States, and that friendship should not be impaired by any neglect in the observance of formalities.

It is to be regretted that opportunities for the charge of discourtesy have been permitted to arise in the dealings between Hawaii and Japan. But Hawaii believes that the

action which she has taken, maintained as she has maintained it, is necessary to the very existence of American republican government in the islands, and she holds that the alleged discourtesies on her part are mere pretexts of Japan to excuse any arrogant or forcible action by that government in pursuance of a fixed policy to hold the islands in statu quo until that date in the future, when, having meanwhile made the population overwhelmingly Japanese through immigration, she can safely absorb them. It is possible, however, that Hawaii could have done what was necessary in the matter without furnishing to Japan so many plausible pretexts for auger.

NO HINT OF WAR IN JAPAN'S PROTEST.

Events have fully disclosed Japan's ambition concerning Hawaii. She naturally deploras annexation by America, for that event, speedily accomplished, is the only certain preventive of the success of her shrewd waiting game in respect to the islands. But Japan's great hopes and profound fears for the immediate future, as I have already suggested in the *Star*, relate to Asia and not to the mainland or islands of America, and all the indications are to the effect that nothing more than a verbal protest would be elicited from her by immediate annexation.

If, however, the United States and Japan should unexpectedly be thrown into collision, the latter would have the advantage so far as immediate control of the islands is concerned. There are approximately 20,000 male adults among the Japanese here. Some of them served in the recent war against China, many of them have received the drill of conscripts. Control of the sea for a time is necessary to arm them fully. But the *Naniwa*, the Japanese protected cruiser in Honolulu, is through her rapid-fire guns superior in battery to the *Philadelphia*, is better protected and carries more men. It may reasonably be assumed that our officers are more skillful in naval warfare, and that individually as fighters our men are stronger than the Japanese; but our fighting machine is inferior. The maxim that Providence favors the heavier artillery is not confined in its application to the land. In the close quarters of Honolulu harbor the guns which can throw the most metal in a minute are very apt to first strike a vital spot. The climate of Honolulu is delightful, and its harbor furnishes to-day a healthful and inviting station for one of the strongest of our modern warships.

APPENDIX.

FINANCES

OF THE

National Capital Partnership

BY

THEODORE W. NOYES,

PRESIDENT OF THE

Washington Board of Trade.

An abstract of remarks made before the District and Appropriation Committees of the Fifty-Fifth Congress.

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FINANCES

OF THE

National Capital Partnership.

Whenever appropriations for the District of Columbia under the organic act of 1878 are under discussion;

Whenever a violation of the letter or spirit of this organic act is proposed, as, for instance, in suburban street extension and improvement solely at the local taxpayers' expense;

And whenever a raising of the District's standard of assessment and a consequent increase of the local burden of taxation are threatened;

The suggestion or direct statement is made at the Capitol that Washingtonians are mendicants, dependent upon the national bounty, untaxed or lightly taxed, and draining, vampire-like, the life blood of every Congressman's tax-burdened constituents.

Universal appreciation of the truth concerning the financial relations of the nation and the national capital and concerning the actual weight of taxation borne by the Washingtonian is of vital importance to the local community.

I.

The primary responsibility for the support and development of the national capital is upon the nation; and Congress, not the people of the federal District, fixes the amount of the latter's tax contribution toward the cost of the capital's maintenance.

The original owners of Washington donated five-sevenths of the city's soil and yielded the right of self-government to the nation on the understanding and implied agreement that the nation was to build up here a magnificent capital ONE District of Columbia.

at its own expense, reimbursing itself in part from the proceeds of the sale of the donated lots. A pretentious city was planned and lots were sold by the Government on the strength of this understanding. Patrick Henry complained that the residents of the District might, under the arrangement, "enjoy exclusive emoluments to the great injury of the rest of the people," and pamphlet protest was entered against Congress meeting all the needs of the capital, on the ground that the independence and self-respect of its citizens would be degraded. It was from the beginning, in theory at least, the city of the nation, and not the city of its residents, and the primary responsibility for its development has always been in equity upon the nation, and the residents who have no voice in the disposition of the money exacted from them, are the incidental contributors.

In spite of this conceded relation of nation and capital, the local taxpayers of the District for three-fourths of a century were compelled to assume practically the entire burden of capital-making, the nation violating and neglecting the obligations which it had incurred. In 1878 the amount of the contributions of the resident taxpayers toward the expenses of the capital was fixed by law at one-half the total amount, the nation tardily and inadequately fulfilling its original agreement. The people of Washington, under this agreement, make a double contribution. First, as American citizens, paying national taxes direct and indirect, they contribute their proportionate share of the national money expended on the capital, and, second, as local taxpayers they contribute an amount equal to that supplied by the people of the United States as a whole, including themselves. They are thus assessed on both sides of the partnership, and they are the only contributors who have no say in the partnership affairs, for they are American citizens only for the purpose of taxation and military service, and not for the purpose of representation in the national legislature, which controls all the partnership concerns.

II.

The burden imposed by Congress upon the local taxpayer is fully as heavy as that which the average self-governing

American municipality imposes upon itself, and in view of the peculiar disabilities under which the District of Columbia labors, its tax is harder to meet than that of the average American community.

Let us see with what tenderness for the "untaxed" resident taxpayers Congress has attended to Washington's financial concerns. Extra Census Bulletin No. 65, concerning the finances of municipalities having 4,000 or more of population in 1890, shows that the per capita indebtedness of the Washingtonian is greater than that of the resident of any other very large American city, with the single exception of Jersey City, and that the per capita tax levy upon the Washingtonian is greater than that of the citizens of the vast majority of municipalities, and fully up to the average exaction from the residents of cities approximating it in size. Census Commissioner Wright, in his preface to the bulletin, pertinently remarks: "In comparing the rates of taxation between the several places it should be borne in mind that the relation of the assessed valuation to the true valuation varies greatly, and what is apparently a high rate of taxation may be owing not to an excessive levy, but to the low value placed upon the property assessed, requiring the rate to be correspondingly high in order to yield the desired revenue. It would seem, therefore, that the taxation per capita represents more nearly the relative burdens imposed by the tax levy."

Let us compare the taxation and indebtedness of Washington with that of several cities approximating it in size:

	Per capita tax levy.	Per capita indebted- ness.
Omaha.....	\$7 98	\$12.93
Allegheny.....	9.04	14.51
Indianapolis.....	10.49	17.51
Washington.....	10.69	85.86
Cleveland.....	11.17	23.51
Newark.....	11.21	46.62
Milwaukee.....	11.65	14.26

[NOTE.—It is to be remembered that in all the census figures of 1890 Washington means the original city alone, and does not include Georgetown and the outlying District.]

These figures show that the average Washingtonian is as heavy a taxpayer and labors under many times as heavy a burden of municipal indebtedness as the average taxpayer in the cities enumerated. Not one of these cities has so large a percentage of floating non-taxpaying population as the capital, with its one-third negro population and its thousands of temporary visitors and the Government employees, and this non-taxpaying population reduces the nominal per capita tax levy without reducing it in fact by cash contributions. Not one of the cities enumerated has so few money-making resources in manufactures, trade and commerce, in proportion to its population, to meet this drain of taxation.

The tax burdens of the suffering citizens of St. Louis and Chicago and of the "untaxed" Washingtonian compare as follows:

	Per capita tax levy.	Per capita indebted- ness.
Washington.....	\$10.65	\$85.86
St. Louis.....	11.84	47.87
Chicago.....	12.80	11.98

This census bulletin also shows that Washington has a greater per capita municipal tax levy than 809 of the 1083 American municipalities exceeding 4,000 in population.

Municipalities exceeding 4,000 in population compared with Washington in per capita tax levy.

States.	Less than Washington in tax levy.	Greater than Washington in tax levy.
Alabama	8	2
Arizona	1	.....
Arkansas	5	.....
California	1	18
Colorado	.....	7
Connecticut	33	4
Delaware	2	.....
Florida	2	3
Georgia	3	9
Illinois	38	4
Indiana	30	7
Iowa	17	6
Kansas	8	11
Kentucky	13	3
Louisiana	1	2
Maine	16	10
Maryland	5	1
Massachusetts	56	46
Michigan	31	8
Minnesota	6	6
Mississippi	2	4
Missouri	26	3
Montana	.....	2
Nebraska	7	3
Nevada	1	.....
New Hampshire	8	4
New Jersey	21	7
New York	149	29
North Carolina	12	.....
North Dakota	.....	2
Ohio	43	26
Oregon	2	2
Pennsylvania	79	3
Rhode Island	14	3
South Dakota	.....	1
Tennessee	4	4
Texas	11	11
Utah	2	2
Vermont	8	2
Virginia	11	2
Washington	.....	8
West Virginia	3	2
Wisconsin	29	6
Wyoming	1	1
Total	809	274

TAX RATE AND TAX ASSESSMENT.

Further use may be made of these census bulletins to show that Washington's tax assessment is higher than that of most other municipalities approximating it in size, and that consequently its apparent low rate (\$1.50 per \$100) gives a false idea concerning its actual tax burden. The census bulletin states the actual and assessed value of real estate in parallel columns, explaining that "the true value is as reported to this office by local officers or others believed to be familiar with real estate values in their respective localities." The statements of actual values are in many cases, perhaps, in all, underestimates, but the comparative showing in respect to the different cities is interesting and significant. In Washington the assessed value is so much nearer the actual value than in other cities that it is put as the same. The showing in respect of the municipalities already cited is as follows:

	True Value.	Assessed Value.
Washington.....	\$123,110,219	\$123,110,219
Omaha.....	99,948,575	16,315,645
Indianapolis.....	78,138,610	39,069,305
Allegheny City.....	100,448,120	47,859,475
Cleveland.....	200,000,000	72,734,940
Milwaukee.....	140,646,000	85,603,020
Newark.....	132,789,960	88,526,640
St. Louis.....	342,933,710	212,131,450
Chicago.....	1,250,000,000	170,554,147

The true value of Chicago real estate, as reported to Mr. Stead in his investigation there, was 2,000 millions, instead of the 1,250 millions with which it is credited in the census bulletin, and there are other underestimates. But even according to the census statement, the assessed value of Omaha's real estate is less than one-sixth of its actual value; of Indianapolis, one-half; of Allegheny City, less than one-half; of Cleveland, less than one-fourth, and of Chicago, less than one-seventh.

The same results are reached when the per capita tax levy, showing the actual tax burden, is compared with the

rate of taxation, Washington, in spite of its low rate, being burdened equally as heavily on account of its high assessment.

	Rate.	Per capita tax levy.
Washington.....	\$1.50	\$10.65
Omaha.....	5.61	7.98
Indianapolis.....	1.90	10.49
Allegheny City.....	1.63	9.04
Cleveland.....	2.93	11.17
Milwaukee.....	2.26	11.65
Newark.....	1.81	11.21
St. Louis.....	2.19	11.84
Chicago.....	6.42	12.80

Judging by the rate of taxation the citizen of Omaha is taxed more than three times as heavily as the resident of Washington, and the citizen of Chicago more than four times as heavily; but, owing to the low assessment of these two cities, the Omahaite pays less in actual cash into the treasury than the Washingtonian and the Chicagoite only a trifle more.

In view of the effort to raise the standard and amount of the District's tax assessment by increasing undervaluations instead of lowering overvaluations it is to be remembered that the local assessment is already in the aggregate grossly excessive when compared with those of other American municipalities. The slightest examination in detail of the tables already printed and of other figures furnished by Extra Census Bulletin No. 65, demonstrates conclusively the truth of this statement.

THE ASSESSMENT OF WASHINGTON.

The assessed and taxed fraction of Washington is less than one-half of the entire area, the Government owning the exempted remainder. It appears that this half of the capital is assessed at more than seven times the value of all Omaha, more than three times the value of all Indianapolis, 75 per cent more than the value of all the great city of Cleveland, and ten millions more than two-thirds of the assessment of

Chicago, with its vast area—more than 1,000,000 inhabitants—and its numerous and costly buildings and fine residences.

Washington (population 188,932, according to the census of 1890) had less than one-fifth of the population of Chicago (population 1,099,850), while its assessment was much over two-thirds of that of Chicago. In other words, Chicago had more than five times the population and only one and one-third times the assessed valuation of the taxed half of Washington. The assessment of the whole of Washington, including the Government's exempted half, would amount to seventy-six millions more than that of all Chicago.

The assessed half of Washington (\$123,110,219) is assessed at nearly a million more than the combined assessments of Cleveland, Ohio (\$72,734,940), and the following largest cities of their respective States thrown in for good measure: Portland, Oreg. (\$18,025,175); Des Moines, Iowa (\$11,334,440); Sioux Falls, S. Dak. (\$5,730,000); Cheyenne, Wyo. (\$3,000,000); Kansas City, Kans. (\$7,941,933); Fargo, N. Dak. (\$1,960,479); Tucson, Ariz. (\$781,160); Virginia City, Nev. (\$868,848)—\$122,376,975.

The aggregated population of the cities in the above list amounts to 437,339, as against 188,932 for Washington, as follows: Cleveland, 261,353; Portland, Oreg., 46,385; Des Moines, 50,093; Sioux Falls, 10,177; Cheyenne, 11,690; Kansas City, Kans., 38,316; Fargo, 5,664; Tucson, 5,150; Virginia City, 8,511.

The assessed half of Washington (population 188,932; \$123,110,219) exceeds by more than \$1,000,000 the combined assessments of Detroit, Mich. (\$105,556,478), and Omaha, Nebr. (\$16,315,645)—\$121,872,123. Detroit (205,876) was more populous than Washington. Omaha was nearly as populous (140,452). Both are richer cities, Detroit far richer in property and resources.

Of these cities the aggregated populations are 346,328, as follows: Detroit, 205,876; Omaha, 140,452.

Turning to the South, the assessed half of Washington (\$123,110,219) exceeds the whole of New Orleans, with 242,039 of population, over 50,000 larger than Washington in 1890, with a number of other cities, the largest in their

respective States, thrown in, as follows: New Orleans, \$87,652,430; San Antonio, Tex., \$16,282,122; Mobile, Ala., \$9,337,755; Wilmington, N. C., \$3,756,682; Key West, Fla., \$2,137,161; Vicksburg, Miss., \$3,685,496; total, \$122,851,546. Of this list the aggregated populations are 362,297, as follows: New Orleans, 242,039; San Antonio, 37,673; Mobile, 31,076; Wilmington, N. C., 20,056; Key West, 18,080; Vicksburg, 13,373.

The 12 municipalities of Georgia exceeding 4,000 in population, including Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, etc., have a combined assessed valuation of \$87,871,859. The 10 municipalities of Alabama exceeding 4,000 in population, including Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Anniston, etc., have a combined assessed valuation of \$43,697,746. Georgia and Alabama municipalities combined aggregate \$131,569,605. Thus the assessed half of Washington is valued at only \$8,000,000 less than the combined valuation of all the cities and towns (22 in number) in the great States of Georgia and Alabama.

The assessed half of Washington is assessed at seventeen times as much the whole of the city of Newburgh, N. Y., while Washington has only eight times the population of Newburgh. Its assessed valuation is about the same as those of Rochester and Syracuse combined, while the aggregate population of these two cities exceeds that of Washington by more than 30,000.

City.	Population.	Assessed value of real estate.
Washington	188,932	\$123,110,219
Newburgh	23,087	7,729,035
Syracuse	88,143	40,397,516
Rochester.	133,896	83,646,622

Kansas City, Mo., has 70 per cent of Washington's population and only 49 per cent of its assessed valuation. Omitting St. Louis, the 28 Missouri cities exceeding 4,000 in population have a combined population of 349,799 and a combined tax assessment valuation of \$103,822,801. Thus these 28 cities, with a population nearly double that of

Washington, are valued by the assessors at \$20,000,000 less than the assessed half of Washington. Changing the form of the statement, the assessed half of Washington is valued at \$20,000,000 more than all of the 28 Missouri cities, omitting St. Louis, but including Kansas City.

It has already been shown that Chicago has more than five times the population of Washington, while the assessed valuation of the capital is more than two-thirds of that of the great Western metropolis. The 44 cities of Illinois exceeding 4,000 in population, omitting Chicago, have a combined population of 496,846 and a combined tax assessment of \$51,902,277. Thus these cities have more than two and one-half times the population of Washington, while the assessed half of Washington has nearly two and one-half times as large an assessed valuation as these aggregated cities. In other words, the assessed half of Washington is valued at more than \$70,000,000 in excess of the combined values of all the Illinois cities, 44 in number, omitting Chicago. Peoria, the nearest Illinois city to Washington in population, has more than one-fifth of Washington's population and only about one twenty-fourth of Washington's assessed real estate valuation.

City.	Population.	Assessed value of real estate.
Washington.....	188,932	\$123,110,219
Peoria ..	41,024	5,337,470
Chicago.....	1,099,850	170,554,147

COMPARED WITH COMMERCIAL CITIES.

In comparing the assessed valuation of Washington with that of the commercial and manufacturing cities like Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, New Orleans, and Detroit, for instance, it is to be remembered that Washington lacks the millions of taxable property which are found in the American business city in the twenty-story skyscrapers, in the solid blocks of business establishments, and in the warehouses and factories. Washington's greatest and almost only conspicuous and notable factories are the Government work-

shops, such as the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the Government Printing Office. Washington's greatest business establishments are the Government Departments, with their thousands of employees. These factories and these business establishments cut no figure in Washington's assessed valuation, for they are within the exempted half of the capital, which belongs to the nation.

How ridiculously low would be the assessed valuation of any of these commercial and manufacturing cities if its list of taxable property were similarly treated and there were stricken therefrom its principal factories and business establishments. How quickly would the people of any of these cities perceive and complain that their assessment valuation was excessive if after such eliminations their city's tax valuation was greater than that of some equally populous neighbor, whose tax list had not been thus curtailed. Washington's population in 1890 was less than that of any of the cities above enumerated; less than one-fifth as large as that of Chicago. Its assessed half lacked the indicated important factors of a business city's valuation, which cut so large a figure in the assessment of these other cities, yet the valuation of the assessed half of Washington was, as has been said, more than two-thirds of that of the whole of rich Chicago, 116 per cent of that of Detroit, 140 per cent of that of New Orleans, 143 per cent of that of Milwaukee, and 169 per cent of that of prosperous and busy Cleveland.

City.	Population (1890).	Assessed value of real estate.
Washington.....	188,932	\$123,110,219
Chicago.....	1,099,850	170,554,147
Detroit.....	205,876	105,556,476
New Orleans.....	242,039	87,652,430
Milwaukee	294,468	85,603,020
Cleveland.....	261,353	72,734,940

SINCE THE CENSUS.

In order to take advantage of the census figures for the purpose of making comparisons, it is, of course, necessary to utilize the assessments of 1890, but the changes since

then in Washington assessments have not been made in the direction of comparative reduction, but have, on the contrary, it is believed, increased the disproportion between the capital's excessive assessment and those of other American municipalities. In the census year Washington's assessment was \$123,110,219; in 1898 this valuation, including that of Georgetown, has enlarged to \$159,559,921, an increase of nearly 30 per cent, which will more than hold its own, it is believed, in comparison with those of most other American municipalities.

It is to be remembered also in this connection that other American cities are steadily enlarging their boundaries and by direct annexation increasing from year to year by millions their assessed valuation, while in the case of the District of Columbia there is a steady reduction in the absolute amount of taxable real estate from year to year, corresponding to the condemnations made by the national Government in the federal District and the nation's city for public purposes. For instance, in creating Rock Creek Park and the Zoological Park the Government took nearly 2,000 acres of land from the District's tax list and put them in the exempted column. A similar effect was produced, for further example, when valuable blocks of land were condemned as the sites for the Congressional Library building and the so-called city post-office. Clearly where an increasing aggregate valuation is placed upon a decreasing property list the burden of assessment upon that property grows heavier and heavier with abnormal rapidity.

An increase of the local standard of assessment would be not only unjust and oppressive, but entirely unnecessary. The law contemplates the raising annually by taxation in the District of an ascertained amount, being one-half of the approved estimates of the Commissioners. Section 48 of the organic act of 1878 says:

To the extent to which Congress shall approve of said estimates Congress shall appropriate the amount of fifty per centum thereof, and the remaining fifty per centum of such approved estimates shall be levied and assessed upon the taxable property and privileges in said District other than the property of the United States and of the District of Columbia.

The tax levy based on the present assessment raises more from year to year than suffices to meet one-half of the approved estimates. The creation of such surplus through excessive assessment is not only unnecessary and unjust, but it does not seem to be either contemplated or authorized by the law.

TAXATION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY.

It has been said broadly on the floor of the House of Representatives that the resident of the District of Columbia pays no personal taxes. The District law taxes personal as well as real property and the gist of the accusation is that the amount of assessed personal property in the District is comparatively small. Examination of the figures given in Extra Census Bulletin No. 65, already freely quoted, shows that Washington as compared with other cities approximating it in size makes a reasonable showing of assessed personal property and a remarkably large showing when the disabilities tending to cause the District property owner to claim domicile elsewhere are considered. Personal property is taxable where its owner claims residence. The Washington property owner is induced to make and claim residence elsewhere and to pay in that other place taxes on his personalty, first, by his judicial disabilities, the Supreme Court of the United States saying in express terms that the resident of the District of Columbia stands in a more unfavorable attitude toward the national judiciary than an alien, not being able, as the citizen of a State, to sue in the federal courts. The Washington property owner finds a further and stronger reason for claiming residence and paying personal taxes outside of the District in the fact that the apportionment-of-offices law in effect now shuts out from national employment in the classified service the avowed citizen of the District of Columbia, and in the further fact that residence in the District bars him from participation in national, state and municipal elections. It is to be remembered, however, that the per capita tax levy of the census bulletin upon the basis of which comparisons have been made between the tax-burden of Washington and those of other American cities is the tax levy for all purposes on

both real and personal property. The comparison is between the total tax burdens of the respective cities, and if in comparison with some municipalities a smaller percentage of the total tax is in Washington's case imposed on personal property a larger percentage in the same proportion is in Washington's case imposed upon its real property, an adjustment of the total tax burden in no respect easier to bear.

Extra Census Bulletin No. 65 states the total assessments of real and personal property in the various American cities and also the assessments upon real estate alone in the same cities. By subtracting the latter from the former the personal property valuations may be compared. For the reasons already stated Washington's personal property assessment is smaller than that of many cities, but it is easy to find numerous communities, both east and west, which make a poorer showing than Washington in this regard, though the peculiar circumstances which render Washington merely the transient residence and not the legal domicile of many wealthy owners of local real estate are lacking in their cases.

	Population.	Assessed value Personal Property.
Washington.....	188,932	\$1,005,302
Omaha.....	140,452	3,674,070
Denver.....	106,713	7,255,000
Des Moines.....	50,093	2,597,320
Seattle, Wash.....	42,837	3,598,070
Kansas City, Kans.....	38,316	1,011,386
Sioux City.....	37,806	1,697,731
Brooklyn.....	806,343	14,126,407
Buffalo.....	255,664	10,991,125
Jersey City.....	163,003	5,707,750
Rochester.....	133,896	5,935,700
Albany.....	94,923	5,696,725
Syracuse.....	88,143	3,091,466

Thus in 1890 Washington's assessed personal property equaled in value those of Denver and Omaha combined, the largest, richest cities in their respective states, with a combined population of 247,165, as against 188,932 for Washington.

Washington's assessed personal property exceeded the combined valuations of Omaha, Des Moines, Kansas City, Kans., and Seattle, each the largest and wealthiest city of its state, with a combined population of 271,698 as against 188,932 for Washington.

Washington's valuation of personal property exceeded in 1890 that of wealthy, prosperous Buffalo, with 66,000 more population and \$26,000,000 more of total assessment.

Washington's personal property valuation was, in 1890, only \$3,000,000 less than that of the great city of Brooklyn, with more than four times Washington's population and over three times Washington's total assessment.

STATE TAXATION.

It is also suggested that this showing of municipal taxation does not take into account the state taxation borne by residents of the cities with which Washington has been compared. The census bulletin is not clear upon this point, though it states that the per capita tax levy is "for *all* purposes on real and personal property." If, however, state taxation is not included, who has reason to complain? Why should Washington, enjoying none of the rights and privileges of a state, maintaining no legislature to disburse funds of its own raising for its own benefit, be viewed as properly chargeable with the expenses incident to the enjoyment of these rights and privileges? The District has been pronounced a state under a treaty with France, a construction conferring privileges on aliens, but not a state under the Constitution whose people can sue in the federal courts. The District is a State when direct taxes are to be collected but not a state when representatives are apportioned, though the Constitution couples the two things. The District is not a state to make and carry out through a state legislature laws for its own benefit, but it is now reproached on the assumption that the tax burden incident to the exercise of this privilege of a state is not imposed upon it.

The Congress of the United States corresponds in the case of the District to a state legislature and consequently state taxes are in its case merged in its national taxation.

NATIONAL TAXATION.

The Washingtonian makes a strong comparative showing as a contributor to the national taxes. The District has shared in every such tax and has undergone special national burdens. Through its custom house it has made contributions to the national treasury, and if the consumers of dutiable goods pay this tax, it has contributed far above the average of municipalities, as one of the large seacoast cities, which are recognized as the heaviest consumers of imported and dutiable articles.

The only national taxes that fall directly and unmistakably and in ascertainable amounts upon Americans are the internal-revenue taxes. The States and Territories which contributed in 1895 less in internal-revenue collections to the national treasury than the District of Columbia are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming (16 States), and Alaska, Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Oklahoma (5 Territories).

The per capita contribution of the District of Columbia for that year is greater than that of Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Montana, Mississippi, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming (22 States), and Alaska, Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Oklahoma (5 Territories).

The District of Columbia contributed in 1895 in internal-revenue taxation for the support of the national Government considerably more than the combined contributions of Maine, Vermont, Mississippi, North and South Dakota, Idaho, and Wyoming. The per capita contribution of the Washingtonian to this national fund was 15 times as great as that of the resident of Alabama, 11 times that of the resident of Arkansas, 12 times that of the resident of Maine, 11 times that of the resident of South Carolina, 10 times that of the resident of Vermont, and 120 times that of the resident of Mississippi.

Does not the Washingtonian pay enough both in national and local taxes? Is he in any respect favored by the legis-

lative body which, not chosen by him, decides for him all questions of equitable taxation?

WHICH IS THE MENDICANT.

The figures above given concerning national taxation throw light upon the question whether the Western Congressman's average constituent is really robbed to ease the tax burdens of the mendicants residing in the District of Columbia. It appears that the contribution of such constituent to the national revenue is infinitesimal and in the cases cited far exceeded by the contribution of the Washingtonian himself. While the District has no representation in the national legislature which is paid from and which disburses this national fund, its contribution to the national revenue exceeds the combined contributions of Maine, Vermont, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho, and Wyoming, which cast fourteen votes in the Senate and eighteen in the House. The Washingtonian pays into the fund from which are drawn the salaries of the South Dakotan's senators and representatives nearly six times as much as the South Dakotan; toward the salary of the Kansas congressman five times as much as the Kansan; for the Texan congressman, five times as much as the Texan; for the Vermont congressman, over ten times as much as the Vermonter; for the congressman from South Carolina or Arkansas, twelve times as much as the Arkansan or South Carolinian, and for the Mississippi congressman 120 times as much as the Mississippian.

Neither in the past nor present, neither in respect to money nor land, has the District of Columbia been a notable national beneficiary, even as compared with the states of the west, in which a mistaken impression to this effect largely prevails.

The owners of the soil of Washington were here before the government came, before the nation and government were even created. They gave of their own property to the government that the nation might practically own and exclusively control a national city. They donated to the nation all but a small fraction of the area of Washington.

The greater part of the soil of most of the western

states was, on the other hand, at first the territory of the nation, acquired by purchase, conquest or treaty, including treaties with the Indians, and passed by gift to the individual settlers under the homestead and timber-culture laws and by nominal sale, but actual gift under the pre-emption laws. The nation wisely donated land to the people who would live upon it and cultivate it. Later when these communities of settlers became states the nation gave back to them the proceeds of the sales under the pre-emption law in the shape of grants of money for educational purposes and added thereto vast land grants direct, including over one hundred millions of acres for schools and colleges.

Thus in the case of Washington private individuals were the donors and the nation was the beneficiary; in the case of most of the western states the nation was the donor and the individuals and communities the beneficiaries.

III.

While the nation up to 1878 exacted an excessive and oppressive contribution from the local tax-payers toward the upbuilding of the capital and since that date has required all that could be equitably demanded, it has failed to carry out fully its own obligations toward the capital, having shamefully neglected these obligations for three-fourths of a century and not offering now to reimburse payments made on its account during this season of neglect.

The general government, by the fact of planning a magnificent capital, covering a large area and characterized by broad streets, avenues and reservations to an extent unsuitable for a self-supporting commercial city and by founding this capital in a place comparatively uninhabited, as well as by the terms of the bargain with the owners of the soil, and by the declarations of its representatives at the founding of the city and afterward, showed an intention to build up a national city at the nation's expense, on a grand scale, irrespective of the future population of the District. In connection with the gift to it of seventy per cent of the soil of Washington, in order to sell lots carved from this gift, the nation promised that Washington should be the permanent seat of government, and pretended that this permanent

capital would be improved at national expense, without regard to the scanty population that would be at first attracted to it. Having secured this magnificent donation and pocketed the proceeds from the sale of lots, the nation utterly failed to meet its promises. It frequently threatened to remove the capital, which meant, of course, the death of Washington. It practically abandoned the work of street improvement and capital making to the scanty resident population.

For more than thirty years, during which period \$700,000 had been realized from the sale of lots pledged for the benefit of improvements, its expenditures upon streets and avenues, which were its exclusive property, were less than \$700 per year, and its annual appropriations since that time until a recent period in the city's history have been widely varying in amount and at the best inadequate. In 1878 the government, which had in the beginning impliedly undertaken to meet all the expenses of capital making, and then shifted that burden in the main upon private citizens, decided that justice required it to pay one-half of the District's expenses.

The nation has now returned half-way to the original and appropriate idea of the federal city. This guardian, who for three-fourths of a century was unfaithful to his trust, now, without making the slightest restitution for the wrongs of the past, shares the expenses of the ward whom he equitably bound himself in the beginning to support, and some men call it charity! The people of the District are not subject to this or any other reproach upon their public spirit, so far as their relations to the nation are concerned. They have risked life and shed blood in every national war. They furnished the first volunteers and supplied more troops in excess of their quota in the civil struggle than any state except one. In the recent war with Spain they gave similar evidence of prompt and patriotic energy, their fine regiment of volunteers far exceeding their quota in numbers, and equaling in discipline and soldierly efficiency the best furnished by any state of the Union. They have paid their proportion of every national tax, direct and indirect. They have contributed in proportion to population far more than any other American community for national purposes. They gave to the nation the greater part of the soil of Wash-

ington, an acquisition pronounced by Jefferson "really noble."

They thus supplied a fund from which most of the original public buildings were erected. Those that since then have been constructed at national expense are offset by attractive homes aggregating millions of dollars in value with which they have adorned the city and swelled its taxable property. Nearly all the work of street improvement and capital making which for three-fourths of a century was done was done by them. From 1790 to 1878, according to the report of a Secretary of the Treasury, they expended \$14,000,000 more than the United States in this the nation's task, in addition to \$25,000,000 spent on local government, schools and for other municipal purposes. Under this burden they worked themselves into virtual bankruptcy in 1835, and so in recreating the city after 1870 the main expense of the achievement was represented by the grievous debt of some \$20,000,000. In both cases they took upon themselves national burdens and were led by public-spirited motives, as the Senate committee reported in 1835, into expenditures which did not properly belong to them.

These national expenditures thus assumed by the District make up the indebtedness which burdens Washington (as we have seen) more heavily than any other very large American city, save one, and annually absorbs in interest and sinking fund and diverts from needed current expenditures a million dollars. Instead of quibbling over and attempting to evade the act of 1878, the equitable principle recognized by this piece of legislation should be applied to the period before 1878, and reimbursement should be made for local expenditures beyond the proper proportion within this period. The payment of one-half the District's expenses by the United States as the untaxed owner of one-half the city property and as interested to that extent in all improvements, was urged by Senator Southard in 1835. He also advocated the reimbursement to the District of whatever it had expended in the past beyond its just proportion. Congress has followed only one-half of Senator Southard's advice. If justice requires that the government should pay a certain proportion of District expenses now, both justice

and consistency demand that it should pay the same proportion of the expenses of the years of its indifference and neglect. It was shown in 1878, as already stated, that up to date the citizens of Washington had expended upon the capital in excess of the amount appropriated by Congress about \$14,000,000. A balance should be struck, and whatever sum is necessary to make the expenditures of the general government upon the capital equal to those of its citizens should be credited to the District.

IV.

The unjust and iniquitous repeal of the act of 1878 would be ruinous to the local taxpayers; and its serious violation as by its repeal, direct or indirect, in its application to the portion of the District outside of original Washington, would be proportionately disastrous.

If through the repeal of the organic act of 1878 the entire burden of capital expenses were thrown upon the local taxpayers the present heavy per capita tax levy would be doubled. A mere handful of District taxpayers now raise annually, to be expended by the government, on the capital, over \$3,000,000. More than a million dollars of the local revenues are diverted into interest and sinking fund charges in connection with the debt contracted by the agents of the government, mainly to improve the streets, the government's exclusive property, in carrying out the government's obligations to build up a capital worthy of the great republic. Six millions now expended annually for the capital are not enough to meet the current reasonable and increasing municipal needs. Three millions contributed by the local taxpayers would be entirely inadequate to sustain the national capital as it now exists or to keep it in line of natural development. A repudiation of national obligations in respect to the nation's city would result either in a discreditable capital, poorly sustained by reasonable taxation upon local resources, or in the virtual confiscation of local property through excessive taxation.

A partial repeal of the act of 1878, as by limiting its application to the bounds of the original Washington, and by

rescinding it so far as all of the District outside of the original city is concerned, would work a corresponding measure of injury to the community. At the last session of Congress the people of the District asked that body to amend or repeal the so-called highway act for the purpose of ridding the capital of an injurious discrimination against that part of the city which happens to lie outside the boundaries of the original Washington. An appeal was made to our legislature to refrain from the obvious injustice of extending the grand national street plan of the capital exclusively at local expense. It was demonstrated that this course would be outrageously unfair and unendurably oppressive. Congress was urged to amend the highway act in such a manner as to repeal section 15 of that act, which provided that condemnation damages under the highway law should be one-half assessed against the land benefited thereby without regard to the aggregate percentage of actual benefit and the other half charged up to the revenues of the District. Not only was the United States excluded by this section from participation in the original condemnation of the streets, but the nation was caused to repudiate for all time to come financial concern in the capital beyond "Boundary street" by the provision "that no expense for the improvement of any street, circle, reservation or avenue laid out under the provisions of this act outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown shall be charged to the Treasury of the United States, but such expense shall be paid solely out of the revenues of the District of Columbia." This provision was a repeal by indirection of the organic act of 1878 so far as the new Washington beyond Boundary street is concerned, and was a precedent pointing the way to the entire destruction of that equitable statute.

Congress heeded the urgent appeal made to it, and among the amendments of the highway act passed at the last session was one repealing section fifteen. Congress thereby condemned and repudiated the proposal embodied in the highway law of 1893 to extend the grand national plan of the original city over the misfit subdivisions and unsubdivided land of the suburbs entirely at local expense. The law of 1878 now applies to all municipal expenditures, including

those for condemning and improving streets, in all parts of the District without any exception whatsoever, and for the first time since 1893 it is possible to anticipate the development of suburban Washington as an integral part of the national capital with the same street plan sustained under the same policy of proportionate contribution by the nation and the nation's city.

RE-ENACTING SECTION FIFTEEN.

But hardly is the District rid of the pernicious provisions of section 15 when legislation is proposed in various bills which will re-enact piecemeal in the case of successive single streets the iniquitous principle of exclusive local contribution for suburban street condemnation and improvement which Congress has just condemned and abolished in its application to the comprehensive extension of Washington's streets collectively. Congress is asked by these bills to reverse and to stultify itself.

Every protest and every argument ever made against the existence of section 15, lately deceased, apply with equal force to the proposed resurrection now of the principle and spirit of that obnoxious enactment. Congress and this community, having in effect disapproved repudiation of the half and half principle in reference to the extension of Washington's streets collectively, will not of course abandon that principle in the extension of the same streets individually and separately.

In every possible way the people of the District have protested against the proposed imposition whether the street extensions are presented one at a time or in a bunch. The Board of Trade has repeatedly and formally declared that proportionate contribution by the United States under the act of 1878 is a vital feature of such extensions, lacking which they should not be made at all on the proposed grand and national scale. Its latest declaration on the general subject is contained in a resolution, unanimously adopted on the 6th of January, 1898, as follows:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Board of Trade it is the duty of the District officials and citizens generally not to propose or give

assent publicly or privately to appropriations being made for any municipal purposes other than those made in accordance with the act of June 11, 1878; and that it should be made manifest to Congress, whenever necessary, in an earnest and unmistakable but respectful manner, that appropriations made otherwise are not desirable or acceptable.

THE WHOLE DISTRICT IS THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

There is no justification of any attempt to dissect the federal District and to place the severed portions in differing relations to the nation. The Constitution set apart for national uses and subjected to the national power of exclusive legislation with the accompanying disabilities every foot of the ten miles square, and not merely that portion of it which was first platted to form the original city of Washington. Every District property owner is equally subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and pays his taxes into a common fund which is expended without reference to the section of its contribution—in portions of the District where, in the opinion of Congress, it is most needed for the public good. Attention has been called to the fact that the seat of government of the United States is not simply Washington, but the District of Columbia, as appears both from the Constitution and from the act of July 16, 1790 (U. S. Stat. at L., vol. 1, p. 130, section 6): “And be it further enacted that, on the first Monday in December, in the year 1800, the seat of government of the United States shall by virtue of this act be transferred to the District and place aforesaid.” In line with the legal condition from the beginning has been the movement to make as a fact the national capital and the District synonymous and identical, for instance, by consolidating Georgetown and Washington, by extending the same laws over Washington and Georgetown and the county, and by treating the city as including the entire District in local censuses.

Obviously it is ridiculous and unjust to discriminate between the people in the different sections of the federal District and to say to one contributor to a common fund: “You may not enjoy the benefit of expenditures from that fund on the same basis of treatment as your fellow con-

tributors because you live on one side of an imaginary line within the federal District while they live on the other."

STREET EXTENSION ON NATIONAL, NOT LOCAL LINES.

The pending bills to extend and improve separate streets entirely at the local expense propose substantially the reproduction in the county of the street plan of the original city. The avenues seeking extension propose to suffer no material contraction, and if all are carried through the belt of suburban subdivisions and connected with the street plan provided by the amended highway act the scheme of streets of the new Washington while occupying a somewhat smaller percentage of area in thoroughfares, will be on the same broad scale as that of the original city.

But the plan of Washington as conceived by our forefathers was on a national, not a local scale, the broad streets and avenues occupying more than one-half the entire area. The scheme would have been absurd for a self-supporting, self-developing Maryland village of that day. Its extension at this time to adjacent territory is equally absurd, as well as grossly unjust and unbearably oppressive, unless the nation stands in the same relation to the extended as to the original plan and in the same relation to the enlarged as to the original city. The nation should not inconsistently say to suburban Washington: "You are to be a part of the capital in plan, but not in any other respect. You are to be compelled to dedicate, open, and improve streets and avenues on a national scale, but exclusively at local expense. While making you an integral part of the capital in street system, you are repudiated as a part of that capital under the organic act of 1878."

NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CAPITAL EXTENSION.

The expense of the street system of Washington is not to be endured unless met by all the resources which combine to make the national capital worthy of the nation. If Congress will violate the obligations incurred at the founding

of the federal District, upon which the act of 1878 was based, and will say in legislation concerning the extension of single streets separately and successively, that the nation has no financial concern in the modern capital save in the portion limited by the imaginary line of Boundary street, then the streets of the repudiated section must be opened and improved on the basis of cramped local resources, and not on the national lines of the original city. But if, on the other hand, Congress wisely determines that the grand purpose of the highway act shall be carried out and that the greater Washington of the coming century, for which we moderns will be held responsible, shall not discredit the nation when compared with the city planned by the forefathers, then the violation of the organic act involved in the extension propositions now under consideration must be vigorously discountenanced.

Consider for one moment Washington's original street plan of which the use is suggested exclusively at private expense for the extension of the nation's city.

It represents the hard bargain driven with the original proprietors of the soil. John Law, a prominent citizen, who came here in 1800, charged in 1820, voicing a general complaint, that the city had been made vast by the politicians merely to gratify their cupidity and to tempt as many farm holders as possible to give up half their property. Even more bitter complaints were made concerning the area appropriated for streets and avenues, not merely one-half, but all of which was taken by the government without compensation. The property owners donated one-half of the lots and all of the streets and avenues to the nation; and the national representatives showed shrewd appreciation of the terms of the benefaction by setting apart as streets more than one-half of the total area of the city, 3,606 acres out of a total of 6,111, a greater percentage of street surface than in any other city in the world. Its vastness has been well pictured by imagining a street 100 feet wide, extending from Washington to New York, to be graded, asphalted, and supplied with gutters, curbstones, sidewalks, drains, sewers, lampposts, and shade trees. As the Senate District committee said in its report of 1835:

The plan of the city was formed by the public authorities; the dimensions of the streets determined by them without interference by the inhabitants or regard to their particular interest or convenience. It is a plan calculated for the magnificent capital of a great nation, but oppressive from its very dimensions and arrangements to the inhabitants, if its execution to any considerable extent is to be thrown upon them. No people who anticipated the execution and subsequent support of it out of their own funds would ever have dreamed of forming such a plan. At that period neither the government nor the proprietors contemplated that the whole or even a large proportion of the burden should be thrown upon the inhabitants of the city. * * *

The streets were not only oppressive from their size and extent in their original formation, but they will from the same cause continue to be an unending source of expense in their repair. They must annually cost nearly double the amount of streets of the same length of moderate dimensions. The government which created this condition of things ought not to be very deaf to the complaints of those upon whom such burden has fallen.

EXTENSION OF THE STREET PLAN.

The proposition now is to preserve much of this magnificent street plan, the grandest in the world, and to extend it to a considerable degree over the District outside of Washington under a method of extension in some respects more unjustly oppressive to the inhabitants of the federal District than the arrangement of which the original property owners complained. The latter were required to give land for the streets; but they were recompensed in part for their gifts by the understanding, afterward violated, that the donated streets should be opened and improved exclusively or largely at the expense of the nation. In the present extension of this plan to the county, on the other hand, the nation is exempted in at least one of the pending bills from participating even in the improvement of the extended street.

Had old Washington realized that the nation would disregard its implied agreement and throw the expense of street development almost entirely upon individual citizens, it would never have consented to dedicate for street purposes more than half of the total area of the city, and the new Washington beyond Boundary street may well shrink back

when invited to develop the extravagant and expensive but magnificent street plan of a great national capital with the feeble, unaided resources of a scattered suburban population, which in its natural development would never dream of dedicating to the public and of maintaining and improving at its own expense a street area that would take out of the market and render not only unproductive, but a source of direct and heavy outlay, over one-third of the entire suburban city.

The large owners of unsubdivided land in the District outside of Florida avenue will doubtless readily donate to the public the necessary streets, just as their predecessors did at the founding of the city. They will not even exact the understanding had with the original proprietors that the cost of improving these streets shall fall exclusively or largely on the nation. They will be content if, being annexed to Washington, the donated thoroughfares are treated in the same way as all other Washington streets and are developed under the act of 1878 on the half-and-half basis. But the owners of lots in the belt of misfit subdivisions intervening between the original city and the unsubdivided land and the owners of small plots in such unsubdivided land, whose property under the pending extension bills will be either all taken in streets or so mutilated as to be rendered practically valueless, occupy a different position. Why should they give to the public, they ask, that for which they have paid cash with no resulting benefits, even indirect, to themselves from the transaction? Clearly they must be compensated for their land taken for public uses, and just as clearly, if the land is to be thrown into Washington's grand plan of streets and made a part of the capital the financial treatment applied by law to the old must also be applied to the new streets of the nation's city.

UNJUST TO TAXPAYERS.

The system of street opening and improvement proposed by the separate extension bills, like those affecting Rhode Island avenue, Eleventh street and Sixteenth street, is unjust to all individual local taxpayers, whether living inside or beyond Boundary street. Under the organic act and

the present system and practice such improvements, whether in the suburbs or in original Washington, are paid for from the taxes of all Washington without regard to the location of the taxpayer, and the nation, a large property owner on both sides of Boundary street, contributes its proportion toward all. It is now proposed to establish a new precedent of exempting Uncle Sam from contributing outside Boundary street. The injustice to the suburbanite is obvious. But the owner of property inside the city has also a grievance. Why should he pay for the improvement of streets in the suburbs when Uncle Sam, who owns over 3,000 acres of these suburbs, has exempted himself from such payment? If he is equitably bound to pay for suburban improvements, inasmuch as the suburban taxpayer has long contributed toward urban improvements, does not the same equity apply to Uncle Sam, who owns one-half of the taxable values of Washington? Is it not ridiculous that the only urban taxpayer to be exempted from suburban contribution is Uncle Sam, who, with his thousands of acres beyond Boundary street, is by far the largest single suburban property owner?

The taxpayers of the District are absolutely unable unaided to develop the outlying territory on the lines of the original capital. Suburban Washington contains 31,925 acres, as against 6,111 acres in the original city and 6,500 acres in Washington and Georgetown. At a minimum estimate there will be much over 10,000 acres of streets to be condemned, opened, maintained and improved, as against 3,606 acres in the original city, under whose burden the taxpayers of the capital for three-fourths of a century groaned. The new city will be five times the area of the original city. The area of the streets to be donated, maintained, and improved will be twice as large as the entire area of the original city, and the imaginary street representing this area would extend to Chicago instead of New York.

The proposition carried to its logical termination means bankruptcy for the local taxpayers. The municipal expenses, even with extremely moderate suburban improvements on a cramped street plan and with the nation contributing its share of the entire cost, have sufficed to keep the taxes up to a high point compared with other municipalities.

If the suburbs were to be developed on the original city's magnificent lines and entirely at the local taxpayers' expense, the result of higher and higher taxes and finally financial disaster would clearly be inevitable. This monstrous proposition is intelligible only on the mistaken idea that Washington taxpayers are in some way unduly favored, and that they can without injustice be punished with what would otherwise be grossly unreasonable and burdensome exactions. Congress, with full power on the subject in its hands, already requires from the local taxpayers an equitable contribution to the capital's expenses, and no steps should be irrevocably taken which will increase largely such taxation.

Either suburban Washington should be made a part of the capital in all respects or the section should be retroceded to Maryland and permitted to develop on the natural lines of its own resources as a series of Maryland villages. The Greater Washington must be built up on the general plan of the original city, making a Capital with a big C worthy of the Nation with a big N, or the federal District must be reduced to the limits of the picayune capital worthy of a nation spelled with a lower case n.

This capital, whether it is to be Greater or less Washington, will embody the national idea and will serve as an index of the strength of national patriotic sentiment and of national prosperity and power.

No act of the forefathers furnishes more convincing evidence of wise forethought than the creation and general design of the national capital. What they planned the men of to-day are to carry out with the enlargements and improvements befitting the greater republic of the present time, and necessary to make the modern city in every branch of municipal development a model capital.

What is done for the capital is done for the nation and for the promotion of national sentiment. At once the bond and token of union the nation's city and the spirit of American nationality are intertwined. Sincere and enthusiastic love for country is what keeps alive the modern republic and gives it prosperity and glory. Both capital and nation have planted the roots of their existence in this patriotic sentiment. The union and its peculiar residence and part prop-

erty, hallowed by every association which can keep patriotism alive, rest upon the same supports.

The national sentiment was never stronger than it is to-day. The whole republic thrills in response to the patriotic impulse. The nation and whatever pertains to it are spelled in the largest type. I do not believe for an instant that American sentiment will declare for a contracted capital, discreditable when compared with the broad plans of the forefathers and involving ultimate repudiation of national concern in national territory. I am convinced, on the contrary, that the seventy million Americans of to-day, instead of approving a retrograde anti-expansion policy of contemptible smallness in a matter of national concern would, if polled, decide that there can be no more patriotic and ennobling labor than that which associates one's name with the illustrious forefathers in developing worthily and on an equitable basis the city of the union, thereby fostering the national sentiment, realizing the national aspiration and gratifying the national pride.

SUMMARY.

1. The primary responsibility for the support and development of the national capital is upon the nation; and Congress, not the people of the federal District, fixes the amount of the latter's tax contribution toward the cost of the capital's maintenance.

2. The burden imposed by Congress upon the local taxpayer is fully as heavy as that which the average self-governing American municipality imposes upon itself, and in view of the peculiar disabilities under which the District of Columbia labors its tax is harder to meet than that of the average American community.

3. While the nation up to 1878 exacted an excessive and oppressive contribution from the local taxpayers toward the upbuilding of the capital, and since that date has required all that could be equitably demanded, it has failed to carry out fully its own obligations toward the capital, having shamefully neglected these obligations for three-fourths of a

century and not offering now to reimburse payments made on its account during this season of neglect.

4. The unjust and iniquitous repeal of the act of 1878 would be ruinous to the local taxpayers; and its serious violation as by its repeal, direct or indirect, in its application to the portion of the District outside of original Washington, would be proportionately disastrous.

5. The nation's obligation of proportionate contribution toward the maintenance and development of the federal District is equitable in its nature, based primarily on the circumstances of the capital's original creation, and secondarily on present and continuous conditions enforcing both the original and a renewed obligation upon the nation as the untaxed owner of one-half of Washington's real estate and of over 3,000 acres of the unplotted portion of the federal District. The obligation is as just and as binding to-day as it was at the beginning of the century. National recognition of this obligation is crystallized in the organic act of 1878. That act should be faithfully and thoroughly obeyed and sustained, both in letter and in spirit. It should not be attacked directly or indirectly, openly or insidiously, by threats of wholesale repeal or by undermining the law and destroying it piecemeal as by confining its application to a limited portion of the federal District, or by nullifying the spirit of the legislation through numerous exceptions in enacting laws and making specific appropriations hostile to its intent. Instead of quibbling over and attempting to evade this act as by proposing to open and improve suburban streets in the federal District solely at local expense, the equitable principle embodied in the organic act should be applied to the period before 1878, and if the financial relations of nation and capital are to be unsettled and reopened, instead of curtailing the national contribution, just reimbursement should be made to the District for local expenditures beyond its proper proportion during the three-quarters of a century of national neglect.

6. Maintenance intact of the organic act is not only a point of honor with the nation, but is strongly urged by the dictates of national pride. During the period when the

national obligation, tardily recognized by the organic act in 1878, was neglected, the capital was a national shame, a byword and reproach. Since the nation has returned even half-way to its original obligation the capital has become an object of national affection, in whose attractiveness and in whose welfare the whole American people take pride. In place of the discreditable, straggling, neglected village of the period of national indifference there has arisen the capital of to-day wherein the eye is pleased by all that both nature and art have done to adorn the most beautiful city on the continent. In its honest, economical and effective municipal government, in its asphalt pavements, in its system of shade trees, in its underground electric system of rapid transit, in its broad streets and avenues, already comparatively free and soon it is hoped to be relieved entirely of overhead wires, and in its numerous and diversified parks, it has become a model among the municipalities of the world.

The ward of the nation will never again be starved and ill-treated by its guardian, once contemptuous, now grown proud and affectionate.

In the present partnership of nation and nation's city the former has indorsed the latter's promise to prosper as well as to pay. The swelling prospects of other places that attract men may collapse, mineral deposits may fail, tariff changes may ruin the business of a manufacturing town, fickle commerce may flow in other channels; but the fortunes of the republic and its capital are inseparably interwoven, and while the states of the Union endure and flourish, Washington as the nation's city will show forth the republic in miniature, responding in its own growth to the national development and prosperity.



REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 14, 1898.

Gentlemen of the Washington Board of Trade:

The past year's record of the Board of Trade has been marked by activity and achievement, and the review of what has been accomplished cannot fail to gratify every member of the Board and to inspire him to renewed and redoubled efforts for the local welfare.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The healthy growth of the Board itself through the accession of new members has added over one hundred names to our list, a net increase of over sixty, to be credited largely to the energy of Secretary Harries and the Membership Committee. Greater interest in committee work has resulted from systematic enlargement and strengthening of the committees in pursuance of the policy of assigning additional members where they most desired to be and where they would consequently labor most effectively. The committee membership has been increased over two hundred since the last annual meeting and now numbers 365 (with a few duplications) as against 158 (also with duplications) in the preceding year. A new Committee on Mercantile Interests has been created; at first a special committee by the action of the Executive Committee and later a standing committee by the action of the Board of Trade. My desire has been and is that every member who can give active attention to this work shall be represented in the committee lists and on that committee in whose public labors he is most interested. The number of, and attendance upon, the meetings of committees, directors and the Board itself have been unusually and gratifyingly large, and the influence of the Board locally and with the representatives of the

nation has increased. In the number and importance of legislative propositions discussed and definitely acted upon in public meetings of the Board and in the legislation, small and great, promoting the local welfare, and secured largely through the Board's efforts, all the records have in the year now closing been broken.

The most important local legislation secured during the year is summarized in the following resolution of thanks, passed by the Board of Directors at a meeting July 6, 1898:

Whereas the Board of Trade, through its appropriate committees, acting in accordance with the directions of the said Board, has urged upon Congress at its present session the passage of legislation amendatory of the highway act, for the increase and purification of the District's water supply, for carrying into effect the comprehensive system of sewage disposal, for the maintenance of the free public library, for the reclamation of the Anacostia flats and for the development of manual training as part of the District's educational system and the erection of adequate manual training schools; and,

Whereas Congress has responded wholly or in part to the arguments and appeals of its District constituents on all these subjects and has radically and beneficially amended the highway act, and has provided for the completion of the aqueduct tunnel and for preliminary investigations pointing toward filtration of the Potomac water, and has taken significant steps, involving considerable expenditure, in the direction of the comprehensive system of sewage disposal, and has provided for the maintenance of the free public library, and has authorized the surveys preliminary to the reclamation of the Anacostia flats, and has authorized the erection in Washington of a large and creditable manual training school; therefore,

Be it resolved, That the directors of the Board of Trade extend the hearty thanks of the Board and of the community to their legislators who have so faithfully and wisely performed the duties assigned to them by the constitution, and especially to the District committees of the two houses, and to the subcommittees of the appropriations committees in charge of the District appropriation bill, whose patient and intelligent labors for the promotion of the Capital's welfare are warmly and gratefully appreciated.

VALUE OF HARMONIOUS CO-OPERATION.

This record teaches the lesson of the value of harmonious effort, of sinking petty personal and sectional differences and standing shoulder to shoulder in defense and promotion

of the general welfare. Too often wrangling among citizens themselves, or in the Board itself, has brought to a standstill important public projects.

The Board of Trade, representing in its membership every section of the District and every local interest, and dealing on broad, liberal lines with those subjects which are of general concern, is a needed unifying force in the life and progress of the municipality. Citizens who wisely organize in the various sections of the District for the advancement of sectional interests and the securing of sectional improvements come together in the Board of Trade, not to promote especially the welfare of their particular section, or their own individual fortunes, but to co-operate with other citizens in the advancement of those measures which are for the common good of all. The Board, fulfilling this function, and consistently acting on this line of policy, in close touch with the Commissioners, and acting, so far as the public interests permit, in harmony with them, conceding to the citizens' associations in the various sections the handling of matters peculiarly sectional and local, and banding together the public-spirited from all the associations and from the citizens generally for the promotion of the general welfare, will continue to be a power for good in the community. In municipal, as in national development, we are to know no north, no south, no east, no west. All Washington is to work for wise highway extension, though the subject is of greatest immediate concern to the suburban city; for the removal of grade crossings, though East and South Washington are the special sufferers from this evil; for an increase in the water supply, though this lack is most painfully felt in the high sections of the community; for comprehensive sewage disposal, though the low-lying, business section will benefit most thereby; for the reclamation of marshy flats, whether in the Anacostia on the east or the Potomac on the south and the west; for abating the nuisance of open sewers, whether they deface the northwest in the shape of Rock Creek, or the southeast in James Creek canal. The legislative achievements of 1898 give a foretaste of what may be accomplished when the forces which work for Washington pull as one man in the same direction, and furnish inspiration for persistence in

the policy of harmonious and energetic co-operation. When we, as citizens, are united, our National Legislature has no excuse for indifference and neglect, and the natural American tendency of the present day to be proud of the National Capital, to be interested in its concerns and to foster and develop it will suffer no check for which Washingtonians may reasonably be held responsible.

Many details of what has been accomplished and the outlines of the proposed future work of the Board are suggested in the reports of the various standing committees.

COMMITTEES WHICH MAKE WASHINGTON ATTRACTIVE.

Much of Washington's strength, like that of woman, is in its beauty; its face is its fortune. Among the Board's most important committees, therefore, are those which labor to increase the city's material prosperity by developing its external attractiveness. The special committee on the highway act and the standing committee on streets and avenues have played a prominent part in this year's activity.

The Committee on Streets and Avenues in its report presents an interesting recital of the events leading up to the enactment of the important legislation amendatory of the highway act of 1893. The Board, through an able special committee, prepared, and at a public meeting indorsed, a bill which largely reduced the street area of the suburban extension plan, cut down by one-half the estimated cost of opening streets through existing subdivisions, eliminated from the act of 1893 section 15, which threw the entire cost of suburban street opening and future improvement upon local taxpayers and property-owners, and provided a bond issue, the United States and the District contributing, to meet the expenses of the amended plan. The Board at the same time declared that proportionate contribution by the United States under the act of 1878 was a vital feature of the amendatory legislation, and that if the elimination of section 15 could not be otherwise secured the whole highway act should be repealed. The House of Representatives being unwilling at that time to appropriate, on any basis, so large a sum of money for straightening crooked streets, accepted the second alternative and voted to repeal the entire act. The Senate made a compromise proposition to drop

the bond issue proposal, to yield for the time being at least the plan of cutting through the belt of subdivisions in the first section of the street plans, to repeal section 15, and other objectionable features of the act, and to retain the street extension maps, after certain modifications of the first section, coupled with remedial provisions for the benefit of suburban property-owners injuriously and unjustly affected by the original act of 1893. This proposal was finally accepted by the House, and it became a law. As the Committee on Streets and Avenues remarks, this act was "probably the most important matter of legislation passed during the present year affecting the interests of the people of the District of Columbia." Though there was a Congressional refusal to make present provision on an equitable or on any basis to carry out a suburban street extension plan, yet the difficult feat was accomplished of eliminating from the highway act its most offensive and injurious features without destroying utterly the street plans and maps upon which so much thought and intelligent labor have been bestowed.

Its parks and reservations constitute the city's conspicuous and characteristic charm. The Board of Trade, through its appropriate committee, will steadily pursue its settled policy of protecting these public breathing spaces against all injurious trespassers, whether railroads, individuals or the brick and mortar of public buildings; of enlarging the reservation area by adding, for instance, Anacostia Park to Potomac and Rock Creek Parks; of improving and preserving the people's real estate; of opening up Rock Creek Park to the public and of adorning the small multiforn beauty-spots scattered over the city in every picturesque fashion that artistic ingenuity can devise.

Our public buildings are sometimes municipal adornments; sometimes not. The Board of Trade labors to make them architecturally attractive as well as commodious and convenient for their occupants.

The Committee on Public Buildings makes an urgent appeal for a vigorous effort to secure a municipal building. With the natural rapid growth of the District in all its municipal affairs, requiring each year more room in which to conduct its business, and making more cramped and in-

sufficient the rooms now occupied, there may be easily discovered abundant reason why there should be no more delay in the matter of providing suitable accommodations for the transaction of the important business of the District.

I gladly emphasize the committee's recommendation of an especially vigorous campaign for a municipal building. No other project deserves to be more earnestly pushed at the approaching session.

COMMITTEES WHICH MAKE WASHINGTON HEALTHFUL.

Another group of committees deals with lines of work which promote municipal prosperity by making the city more healthful.

The Committee on Public Health, which co-operated during the year with the Water Supply, Sewerage and Harbor Improvement committees in securing valuable legislation, makes an interesting and elaborate report. There were during the year 322 fewer deaths than in 1896-'97, and the death rate was 19.32 as compared with 20.71 last year. An urgent demand for filtration of the Potomac water is based upon the fact that typhoid fever is more and more prevalent in towns over the whole vast drainage area of the Potomac; that there is increased contamination of water with the specific cause of this disease, and that filtration by the natural method, or filter beds, is the only way by which the bacterial causes of disease can be effectually removed.

The city needs a chemist and laboratory for the detection of food and milk adulteration; also school physicians to make daily inspections of the children, especially those who are discovered by the teachers to show signs of illness.

Statistics of cause of absence collected by John T. Freeman, superintendent of public schools in southeastern district and Anacostia, show that from 21 per cent. to 25 per cent. of all absences are due to malarial diseases in the children of the schools. Malaria has become a serious cause of interference with the education of the children. Such a condition offers the strongest reason for the immediate improvement of the Anacostia River, the source of malarial disease.

The committee approves the plan of garbage disposal by which the expense of collection is paid for by the grease

obtained, and also the plan of the collection of ashes by the municipality.

The Committee on Sewerage reports effective opposition at the last session of Congress to the bond issue proposed by the Board for the completion of the comprehensive project of sewage disposal, but notes a gratifying increase in the current appropriations for sewerage purposes, which have not only allowed the construction of necessary city and suburban sewers, but have made possible a considerable progress on the Tiber Creek and New Jersey avenue intercepting sewer, and the making of contracts for its completion to the junction of New Jersey avenue and D street northwest. They have also enabled the Commissioners to begin plans and make estimates for a sewage pumping station, which will materially hasten the progress of the work in that particular and facilitate the selection and condemnation or purchase of land for the pumping plant. The committee urgently recommends an immediate and concentrated attack upon the dangerous open sewer of James Creek canal, and upon the task of convincing Congress of the imperative necessity, from economic and sanitary considerations, of pushing the comprehensive sewage disposal project to a speedy termination.

The Committee on Water Supply traces the successive steps of the Board's fight for an increase of the quantity and improvement of the quality of the city's water. First, the raising of the dam at Great Falls was secured, next, in order to supplement this work and give it practical value by an enlargement of the means of storing and distributing the increased volume of water, a committee of experts was appointed to examine into the feasibility and wisdom of completing the tunnel and the reservoir near Howard University. In accordance with the report of this committee, which was strongly indorsed at a public meeting of the Board of Trade, Congress at its last session appropriated \$594,421 to complete the tunnel, and some work has already been done upon it.

An effort to impose water meters indiscriminately upon all water consumers was met and defeated in the House of Representatives in a fight in which the Board, through its committee and its officers, actively participated. Filtration

is recommended as a subject worthy of municipal thought and skill, and a welcome is tendered in advance to any system of purification demonstrated to be practical, efficient and reasonably economical.

The Committee on River and Harbor Improvements presents convincing reasons for the development of the reclaimed Potomac flats as a park; for the removal of the menace of the present Long Bridge; for the dredging of the Georgetown and Washington channels, and for the improvement of the Anacostia River as a navigable stream as far up as Benning bridge, and the deepening of its channel and reclamation of the flats above that point as a national and municipal sanitary measure. Col. Allen, United States Engineer in charge, will make a full report, on the reassembling of Congress, of the work done under last session's appropriation of \$2,000 for a survey of the Anacostia River, and a project for its improvement.

COMMITTEES WHICH PROMOTE BUSINESS INTERESTS.

The material welfare of the city is also promoted by other committees which deal almost exclusively with business interests.

The Committee on Mercantile Interests reports among the interesting and important events of the year in the local business world the abolishing of the trading stamps, which were viewed as a menace by mercantile Washington. The District Court of Appeals decided that the issuance of these stamps was a violation of the local law against gift enterprises.

The committee notes that the condition of business at the present time among the merchants seems to be much better than it was at this time last year. The war undoubtedly has been a great benefit to Washington's mercantile interests, causing the disbursement here of a large amount of money which would not otherwise have been put in the channels of Washington's business.

The Committee on Commerce and Manufactures reports that it favors the acquisition of the water power at Great Falls by the Government when, and only when, we have proper assurances that the Government will immediately make its use available to the citizens of the District for light-

ing and manufacturing purposes, and that without such assurances the mere acquisition of the land and water rights as proposed would have only the injurious effect of putting it out of the power of private enterprise to make proper use of such water power. On the general subject of the advisability of encouraging the introduction of new manufacturing plants in this city the committee points out that the smoke nuisance can be easily localized at an unobjectionable distance by the conversion and distribution of power in the form of electrical currents, and it recommends that, as Washington is an immense and important center of distribution for Government supplies, the energies of the Board be devoted, for the present at least, to urging upon Congress the desirability of manufacturing here many articles for which it has constant and imperative use.

The Committee on Insurance has been active in a campaign against "wildcat" insurance companies operating in the District. The committee estimates, after careful inquiry, that there are policies actually in force in this District aggregating at least a quarter of a million dollars which are utterly worthless, and on which not a penny could be recovered in case of loss. Legislation designed to correct this evil was proposed by the committee, indorsed by the Board of Trade, and reported favorably to the Senate from the District committee. Action upon it is hoped at the approaching session of Congress.

I may add that this community seeks both to protect itself against worthless insurance and to secure good insurance at the lowest rates. The twofold task will doubtless receive the careful attention this winter of the Board of Trade, as well as of the insurance committee.

The Committee on Public Order demonstrates clearly the urgent need of an increase of the police force. Originally there was one patrolman to about 1,000 people in the District; now there is about one to 1,600, and in one instance a single patrolman is assigned to a territory including thirteen miles of beat.

The value to the community of the National Guard and the importance of its adequate maintenance are pointed out. Increased appropriations, especially for drills, camps of instruction and practice marches, are recommended; also an

appropriation to enable the naval battalion to utilize the United States ship Fern, which has been transferred to it for its use.

I may with propriety add that this committee raised money by subscription to equip the National Guard and District regiment of volunteers for active service in the war with Spain. The Board contributed not only from its means, but from its membership to the national defense, and it loaned to the Government to command the District regiment its valued secretary, efficient in war as in peace. The record of the District of Columbia for patriotic public spirit, begun in the war of 1812 and continued in the Civil War, in which the first volunteers came from the District, whose quota was more largely exceeded than that of any State except one, is enlarged by the addition of a new and creditable chapter based upon the history of the war with Spain. The volunteers accepted from this community in the recent struggle vastly exceeded the District's quota, and the prompt and enthusiastic tender of service by the National Guard placed the local force at the disposal of the President in advance of all competitors for that honor. It was not their fault that they were not first mustered in as volunteers. The fame of the District has been enhanced both at home and abroad by the soldierly bearing of the well-disciplined and effective regiment which the Capital sent to Santiago.

The Committee on Bridges reports that the replacement of Long Bridge by a more durable structure is expected as a part of the plan of terminal improvement by the railroads entering the city from the South. The project of a national memorial bridge across the Potomac has during the year received the enthusiastic indorsement of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the committee believes that by earnest and energetic work during the coming session of Congress provision for the construction of this bridge can be secured.

I heartily indorse the recommendation of a vigorous campaign in behalf of the memorial bridge.

The Committee on Taxation and Assessment last year reported a carefully drawn tax-sale law, which was indorsed by the Board at a public meeting and adopted by Congress. The policy of the Board with reference to the rigid uphold-

ing of the act of 1878 has been declared on several occasions during the last year. The success of the principle of proportionate contribution for which the Board contends has appeared not only negatively in the defeat of hostile propositions, but affirmatively in the elimination of section 15 of the highway act, a notable gain, which must be retained to the fullest extent and not surrendered in the slightest particular.

This committee in its report demonstrates that the amount raised by taxation in the District is excessive, and that the true remedy is a further reduction of assessments.

ABOLITION OF GRADE CROSSINGS.

A municipal improvement of great importance—hope of securing which at an early date is held out by the Committee on Railroads—is the betterment of the local steam railroad terminals and the abolition of the grade crossings within the city limits. The Board of Trade early laid down the principle of hostility to urban grade crossings. A report of the Committee on Bridges in 1892, dealing with the Long Bridge as an integral part of the Pennsylvania Railroad's terminal system, discussed not only the proposed improvements, but the question of an equitable distribution of the cost involved in abolishing the South Washington grade crossings. The Board of Trade unanimously adopted this report, and its statements represent the position of the Board.

It favors as first choice the abolition of grade crossings by the building of an arched masonry viaduct of the Berlin type, in the use of which there would be no disturbance of the grade of streets or street car lines, no damage to property-owners from long, ugly approaches to high bridges at certain streets, and there would be convenient passage-way for the public under the elevated structure at numerous points.

The present terminal conditions of our local roads are injurious and disgraceful to the capital of the American Republic. The stations compared with similar structures in Europe are inadequate in size, awkwardly arranged and ugly. Both roads sustain a series of death-trap grade crossings at which losses of life and injuries to limb periodically

occur, and which cause financial loss to the city through the obstruction to traffic and travel which occurs at them.

Both roads have, it is understood, agreed with the District authorities upon the engineering features of plans of terminal improvement, and the necessary legislation will, it is expected, be asked at the next session of Congress. The amount of the contribution to be exacted from the District in connection with the improvement of the Pennsylvania's terminal system is, it is understood, the only serious issue between the railroad on the one hand and the Commissioners and the people of the District on the other. The adopted report of the Committee on Bridges, to which I have referred, enumerates certain offsets to the railroad's bill against the public, based upon the grant of valuable donations of public property for the use and occupation of the railroad, which have been enjoyed in the past or whose future enjoyment is involved in the acceptance of the railroad's proposition of terminal improvement. In the negotiations upon this point the Commissioners and the Board of Trade will doubtless co-operate, to the end that all the equities of the District may be preserved.

When the local roads have built here European stations, covering large areas of ground—lofty, imposing and ornamental structures, perhaps with fine modern hotels in the upper stories, as in London; when they have abolished their local grade crossings and run rapid, noiseless trains over a Berlin viaduct or a girder tunnel in their course through the city, and when both cross the Potomac to southern connections on handsome and substantial bridges, not dams, not only will the attractiveness, safety and material prosperity of Washington be enhanced, but its suburbs will enjoy the rapid transit facilities which have brought such benefits and relief from congestion to Berlin. The railroads, as well as the public, will profit by this improvement of their service and broadening of their functions.

STREET RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

It is interesting to consider the development of the city's street railroads in this connection. A local newspaper description in 1892 of the underground electric road in Buda-

Pesth, which urged the adoption with specified improvements of a similar system in Washington, said:

It is well within the bounds of probability that Washington, combining in its municipal policy the push and progress of the new with the solidity and safety of the old world, will in the near future become in the matter of local rapid transit the model city not only of America, but of the world, to which students from all parts of the globe will resort for suggestions concerning the latest and best forms of street railway motor.

This prophecy is being rapidly fulfilled. The Capital has long been notable as the only city in the world in which the improved grooved rail has entirely superseded the projecting wheel-wrenching "T" rail. The Buda-Pesth underground electric system, formerly sneered at as commercially impracticable, is being extended with the suggested improvements over the entire city. Following the action of the Metropolitan, this system has during the year been installed upon all urban branches of the Capital Traction system. The stockholders of the Columbia road have within the same period resolved to substitute it for the cable. The Eckington and associated roads, forming the City and Suburban system, will use the underground electric upon their city lines, beginning with the Eckington. Even in the case of the Anacostia road there is promise in connection with a recent change in ownership and control of its equipment in the city with the Buda-Pesth system. The most important improvement remaining to be accomplished in the District street railroads is one which will bind closer together by absorption or by universal transfers or by common use of tracks the suburban and urban trunk lines, so that one may travel cheaply, quickly and conveniently wherever in the District the network of steel tracks extends.

THE UNDERGROUND CITY.

The successful fight in Washington against the overhead trolley has formed part of a campaign against overhead wires in general. In 1888 Congress passed a law forbidding the erection of any additional overhead wires within the city limits, and a fight to retain this law and to bury under-

ground the overhead wires in place when the law was enacted has raged ever since. This contention will continue until a general conduit system has been established upon a wise and just basis which will perfect underground Washington on equal terms of progress with the development of the surface city.

COMMITTEES FOR INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT.

Another group of committees promotes prosperity by developing the city intellectually and morally, and by making it attractive as an educational, artistic, literary and scientific center.

The Committee on Public Schools reports the partial success of its recommendation, indorsed at a public meeting of the Board of Trade, of an appropriation for two manual training school buildings. Congress appropriated \$50,000 for one building, with which a site was purchased, and the Commissioners now ask of Congress an additional appropriation of \$75,000 to complete this building. An urgent appeal is made for an increase of school facilities, so that no child within our borders shall be denied or abridged in such facilities. The committee urges an appropriation of \$25,000 to put on a permanent basis the kindergarten instruction which was initiated, largely through the efforts of members of the Board of Trade, by a small appropriation at the last session of Congress.

I will add that at the public meeting of the Board of Trade last winter, at which public school matters were discussed, stereopticon views contrasting the manual training facilities of Washington with those of other cities were presented with excellent effect. This experiment was so successful and the argument by illustration is nowadays so attractive and convincing that other committees of the Board may at future meetings reasonably resort to the same means of impressing some wholesome line of thought vividly upon the public mind.

PUBLIC LIBRARY.

In March, 1894, the Board of Trade unanimously and enthusiastically adopted the report of its recently created

Cómmittée on Public Library. This document set forth the important function as an educating and civilizing agency of the tax-sustained circulating library and reading-room, accessible at night, and supplementing for children and workingmen the public school. It said:

What Carlyle sought for each English county town, and what many English and American villages now enjoy, the National Capital lacks and seeks to obtain. It is fast becoming the Republic's educational center. Universities are founded in rapid succession within its limits. But the great free library university, for those whom Lincoln lovingly called the common people, is yet to be created. According to statistics there are much more than a million books in the semi-public libraries of Washington—about a twentieth of all in the Republic, and when these have been apportioned among the citizens, after the methods of statisticians, it appears that the District workingman has fourteen times as many public books as the average American. And the only difficulty is that he cannot possibly make any use of them whatsoever. * * * There are 52 libraries in the District, each containing over 1,000 volumes, and not one of them is a free-lending library, with a reading-room open at night for the benefit of the general public. Such an institution is the most urgent need of the National Capital. Viewing this ocean of more than a million books spread tantalizingly before them, the workingmen, the school children, the Government clerks, the great mass of the citizens of Washington, thirsty for the knowledge which comes from reading, may well exclaim with the Ancient Mariner: "Water! water everywhere, nor any drop to drink!"

The reproach of the absence of a true public library in the modern sense has in the past year been finally taken from the National Capital. The Board of Trade committee pushed steadily forward in the campaign to this end, and on June 3, 1896, secured the passage of a law by Congress establishing the desired public library as a supplement of the public educational system of the District. But no appropriation was made for the library's maintenance, and a fresh struggle began over the issue, whether the infant institution should be starved by withholding sustenance or by tendering only the indigestible and ultimately fatal food of support exclusively at the local taxpayers' expense, as an exception to the organic act of 1878. Finally (June 30, 1898) the question of maintenance was settled by an appropriation for library uses on the ordinary municipal basis in

accordance with the act of 1878. The public library, sustained by public appropriation, but supplied so far with books exclusively through private donations, has been housed in comfortable and accessible quarters at 1326 New York avenue, and is now organized and beginning operations as one of the most useful and beneficent of our municipal institutions.

While there is good ground of hearty congratulation over what has been accomplished, the Board's labor of love in connection with the library is not yet ended. First, books must be supplied in adequate numbers. Between 10,000 and 12,000 volumes have been donated, and nearly \$3,000 for the purchase of books. A memorial fund to purchase scientific periodicals has been subscribed. Public-spirited Washington will, without doubt, contribute liberally for this noble purpose.

In addition to the effort to enlarge the resources of the library by private subscriptions, the Board will doubtless vigorously sustain the Commissioners and the library trustees in an endeavor to secure liberal library appropriations, including one for books, and also legislation seeking to secure for the library's use some of the duplicates, copyrighted or uncopyrighted, on the shelves of the Congressional Library, and the miscellaneous books not required for official reference in the departmental libraries.

Another great gain of the year in Washington's intellectual development has been the opening of the Congressional Library at night, a privilege long sought in vain by the people, and specifically urged upon Congress in the last annual report of the Public Library Committee. On October 1, 1898, the doors of the Congressional Library opened for the first time to the general public at night, and with this wonderful collection for reference uses, and the Washington public library for circulating purposes, Washington may felicitate itself upon sitting down to a literary table well filled with wholesome digestibles, a treat all the more enjoyable because of the contrast with the Capital's protracted period of literary starvation.

The Committee on Charities and Corrections reports progress in the campaign for the creation by law of a Board of Charities for the District, and urges that every effort be

made to secure the enactment of this law at the earliest possible moment. It recommends the passage of the bill to provide for the compulsory support of children by parents, legislation reducing the maximum age of girls admitted to the reform school from 18 to 14, public support of the Associated Charities, and interest in the housing of the poor through the Sanitary Improvement Company. The committee congratulates the community upon the conversion, at the Commissioners' suggestion, of the periodically-appointed central relief committee into a permanent incorporation known as the Citizens' Relief Association, and it strongly urges that steps be taken to secure for Washington, in 1900, the meeting of the national conference of charities and correction.

This condensation of the committee's suggestions indicates the broad scope of the field of reformatory opportunities opened before the District, and I venture to emphasize the hope that in the ensuing year Congress may crystallize into law some or all of the forcible recommendations of the committee.

The Board, working diligently on these varied lines through its officers and committees, will contribute to the development of the Capital, physically, mentally and morally, and to the upbuilding of an ideal municipality on the banks of the Potomac.

It does not suffice, however, merely to foster the various features of municipal attractiveness which are making Washington an object lesson to the city builders of the world in certain lines of development. The facts concerning this municipal advancement must be made known universally. The city's light is not to be hidden under a bushel. One of the objects of the Board of Trade is to disseminate information concerning the attractions of Washington to the end that all the people of the Republic may know and appreciate their Capital and that the city's population of progressive and well-to-do Americans may be rapidly enlarged and its material prosperity thereby promoted. A special committee has been appointed to arrange for the publication of a Washington hand-book to be prepared by Secretary Harries. The latter's absence from the city during his active service as colonel of the District Regiment of

Volunteers and his severe illness since his return have prevented the issuance up to this time of the proposed book. This work is, however, it is understood, in an advanced stage of preparation, and the appearance of the publication may doubtless be expected during the coming year.

Some members of the special committee on the Washington hand-book have planned to exploit the beauties of Washington, not only through the printed and illustrated pages, but through stereopticon views, supplemented by the comments of one or more lecturers, who are to do missionary work for Washington in various sections of the country. If discreetly managed, this project should produce excellent results.

THE APPROACHING CAMPAIGN.

Next session's legislative campaign of the Board of Trade will be as important as any upon which it has ever entered. One new project is of overwhelming local consequence.

In 1895 the Board of Trade discussed, at a public meeting, the necessity of a new code of laws for the District, and listened to able and convincing addresses on the subject by judges of the local courts and others learned in the law. The appointment of a Legal Committee to promote codification was authorized by the Board of Trade. The Legal Committee afterward reported to the board of directors, recommending that Judge W. S. Cox be invited to prepare a codification of the District law, and that the Bar Association be invited to combine in the invitation to Judge Cox and to co-operate in bringing the movement to a successful issue. Judge Cox accepted the joint invitation of the Board of Trade and the Bar Association, and for three years he has been engaged in this labor of love, a task for which his profound and accurate knowledge of the law, his practical common-sense knowledge of men and affairs, and his cautious, conservative, judicial temperament admirably fit him.

A few days ago the President of the Board received from Judge Cox the following letter:

Theodore W. Noyes, Esq., President of the Board of Trade:

Dear Sir—At the joint request of the Board of Trade and the Bar Association, I have been occupied for some time past, in the intervals

of my official duties, in preparing the draft of a code of law for the District.

You are aware that we have never had in the District a systematic body of statute law. When the county of Washington was ceded by Maryland to the United States, the law in that county consisted of, first, the common law of England; second, old English statutes in force in the colonies; and, third, acts of the Assembly of Maryland, passed from time to time before and after the Revolution. To these were added acts of Congress, passed at intervals during the present century, not with reference to any general system of legislation, but to meet the supposed exigency of the hour. Many of these were passed without reference to the wishes of the people of the District, but to carry out the theoretical idea of members of Congress, and were so ambiguous and ill-conceived as to cause much uncertainty and controversy. In 1874 these acts of Congress were collected together under the title of "Revised Statutes Relative to the District," but they were not improved and derived no virtue from that circumstance.

Our laws, as a whole, may be said to be half a century behind those of the States in their adaptation to modern business and social conditions.

We need, in the first place, a very thorough reform in judicial proceedings, whereby needless delays and circuitous methods may be avoided and prompt and expeditious remedies administered. We need more effective relief for creditors, especially against fraudulent debtors. Our system of conveyancing should be simplified, and the law of estates and titles divested of a mass of technicalities, the reasons of which long ceased to exist. The law of marriage and divorce needs improvement, and the rights of married women need to be better defined. The law of corporations, and especially the law of foreign corporations doing business in the District, can be much improved. The law as to the rights of landlord and tenant and the liens of mechanics and others needs restatement. The law of crimes and punishments needs overhauling, as well as our criminal procedure.

The law of embezzlement should be extended and all fiduciaries who betray their trusts should be held to criminal responsibility. There are numerous technicalities in criminal practice which constantly cause a denial of justice, and which have long since been abolished in the States.

These changes are the objects which I have aimed at in preparing a code. I have taken existing laws as a starting point, and have endeavored to clear up obscurities in them and have added new features borrowed from other codes. I have had before me the codes of Maryland, Virginia, New York and Ohio, and have found many

improvements common to them all, which ought long since to have been introduced here. I have also added original matter suggested by my own experience.

Having done this work without assistance and at odd moments, I cannot flatter myself that it is free from errors and defects; but I think that, as a whole, it will be an improvement upon the existing condition of things, and it would be desirable to have it enacted into law, even if it shall need to be amended afterward. The only possible way of having this done, as it seems to me, is to present it to Congress in a complete form, with the indorsement of the Board of Trade and the Bar Association, the best representatives of the intelligent sentiment of the people of the District.

Yours very respectfully,

WALTER S. COX.

October 20, 1898.

This letter notes the completion of Judge Cox's formidable task. Arrangements have been made by the Board of Trade and the Bar Association jointly to print the proposed code in order that it may be examined and considered prior to its adoption by the Board and Bar Association, and the urgent request for its enactment into law by Congress.

IMPORTANCE OF CODIFICATION.

No other legislation to be brought before Congress at its approaching session is so important to the District's welfare as this. Other bills propose alterations of or additions to particular statutes upon particular points, but this codification goes over the entire body of local law, lopping off what is obsolete or obsolescent, putting in statute form court-made law, and improving and strengthening generally the laws by which we are governed.

The old English statutes bequeathed to Maryland were in turn handed down to the District, and Congress, our exclusive legislature under the Constitution, has not kept our laws up to the mark of modern progressive legislation. Its enactments affecting the District have been often slipshod, and always unsystematic. Complaint of Congressional inaction as our local legislature was made at an early date. Mr. J. Eliot in his "Historical Sketches of the Ten Miles Square," published in 1830, says that no essential changes had been made in the general laws or in their administra-

tion since the cession of the District by Maryland and Virginia, and that the citizens were governed by laws as they existed thirty years previously, which had accumulated for generations, many of them barbarous, long since wisely abrogated by the States in which they prevailed, but still in force in the District. The author adds some specimens of these curious antiquated laws. Justice Cole and other judges at the Board meeting of 1895 demonstrated that the District law was still a museum of antiquities. Representative Grosvenor at an Arlington meeting of the Board afterward dangled in our faces some statutory antediluvian monstrosity at that date still living and flourishing in the District, and pledged himself, at the proper time, to assist vigorously in relieving the District of these fossil statutes.

The first distinct step toward securing a consistent system of local law was taken when by authority of Congress a compilation of the existing statutes was made. This compilation co-operates with the labors of successive revisers or would-be codifiers of our statutes from the time of Cranch in exposing to our legislature the defects, absurdities and barbarities of our statutes.

Surely now is the accepted time to act. The fate which has overtaken previous attempts at codification, the legislative inaction which has so often wasted the results of years of intelligent labor, make me especially solicitous that through no fault of our own shall similar misfortune befall the present effort. Let us stand together in a campaign for the speedy passage of this code. If, in order to do so, any of us temporarily surrender individual opinion concerning some debatable point of legislation, the sacrifice should be cheerfully made in the general interest, and reward will be found through participation in the advantages enjoyed by the entire community through the code as a whole.

The first measure taken up this winter by the Board for a public meeting should, I suggest, be the code, and I hope that the coming session of Congress may suffice to win for the District the blessings to flow from the adoption of the code and to relieve the Capital from the throttling burden of ancient laws now fastened upon its neck, like the Old Man of the Sea on the shoulders of Sinbad.

If success meets the movement, Judge Cox, in whom the

whole community feels confidence, will have crowned a long life of public usefulness by a monumental labor which will bring untold benefit to the community, high and deserved honor to the codifier, and transform conditions surrounding District concerns into modern shape, conducive to the progress and prosperity of the nation's city.

MAINTENANCE OF THE ORGANIC ACT.

Another feature of the legislative campaign for the District's welfare of vast importance is the constant struggle for the maintenance intact of the organic act. This principle will come into question at the approaching session in three ways:

1. In the extension of suburban streets. In amending the highway act at its last session, Congress repealed section 15 and thereby condemned the proposal embodied in the highway law to extend the grand national plan of the original city over the misfit subdivisions and unsubdivided land of the suburbs entirely at local expense. But hardly is the District rid of the pernicious provisions of section 15 when legislation is proposed, in various bills, which will re-enact, piecemeal, in the case of successive single streets, the iniquitous principle of exclusive local contributions for suburban street condemnation and improvement which Congress has just abolished in its application to the comprehensive extension of Washington's streets collectively.

2. The principle needs to be guarded in every appropriation which disburses the revenues of the District of Columbia.

3. The principle is brought in question by propositions to raise the standard of local tax assessment and to increase the District's burden of taxation.

A pamphlet containing an abstract of arguments on this subject by the President of the Board of Trade before various committees of Congress at the last session has been ordered to be printed by the directors and will be issued for distribution before the convening of Congress. The overwhelming importance of this branch of the District's campaign for justice is fully recognized and the fight along these lines will undoubtedly be vigorously contested.

The Board will also doubtless be active in pushing for-

ward public projects which in 1898 have taken so excellent a start: (a) Endowment and development of the public library; (b) the securing of more and better water and the defeat of meter projects which tend to limit the use and increase the cost of the water supply; (c) reclamation of the Anacostia flats; (d) development of manual training schools; (e) speedy completion of comprehensive system of sewage disposal.

THE CITY'S CENTENNIAL.

Congress at the coming session will be asked by the President of the United States, in his annual message, to make legislative provision for the appointment of a commission, representing the House, Senate, the States of the Union, and the District of Columbia, to arrange an appropriate celebration in 1900 of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the seat of government in Washington. This occasion, so interesting and so important both nationally and locally, deserves and will doubtless receive the earnest and thoughtful attention of Congress, the nation's and the District's legislature. It may safely be assumed that the Board of Trade will be active, both in securing appropriate legislation in the matter and in contributing directly by its labors to the success of the enterprise.

LOOKING FORWARD.

The future upon which the Capital is about to enter is one of brilliant promise. Reference has been made to the beneficial effect of the war with Spain upon Washington's business interests. This benefit is profounder and farther-reaching than is usually imagined. It is not confined to the temporary increase of business in a few lines of local trade, due to the physical presence of many soldiers. The benefit is permanent and its causes are deep-rooted.

The National Capital is the heart of the nation, from which issues and circulates the life-giving element, permeating with national influence and power the whole of the body politic. The greater the current of national life, the larger and stronger the heart, the muscle which sends the Republic's life-blood pulsing through its veins. As the body politic expands and puts forth its strength, the national

heart grows in proportion. Thus Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, in enlarging the Republic and broadening the scope of national government, increase also the official machinery operated here, and develop the Government's city.

The National Capital is not only the heart, but the soul, of the nation, the peculiar abiding place of the spirit of nationality.

The legends of every imaginative people deal in some fashion with the fancy of the interwoven fates of widely differing individuals, of a crossing of life lines between them, so that the prosperity or adversity, the sickness or death of one of the affinities is faithfully reflected and reproduced in the other, however separated in space, in age or conditions of life they may be. The Republic and its capital, the city created, largely owned and exclusively controlled by the nation, are such affinities. Their common life line is the national patriotic sentiment. Strengthen the spirit of American nationality and the Nation waxes stronger and the Capital responds with corresponding growth. Wound the sentiment of nationality and both Capital and Nation languish; destroy it and they die.

As the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church, so the blood of the patriots is the seed of American national sentiment and of the National Capital which embodies this sentiment. The bloodshed of the Revolution created the Federal Union and the Capital. The bloodshed of the Civil War developed a nation and a national city. The bloodshed of the war with Spain washes out all traces of the civil struggle, reunites the national elements, expands and promotes the nation and the nation's city.

For the new America there is to be a new Washington. There can be no genuine expansion of the Republic which does not show forth as in an index in the Republic's city. So, likewise, prosperity in the Federal District means that the whole nation prospers and develops more and more from day to day. Their life lines being interwoven no one may savagely cut at one without injury to the other; and he who fosters the one builds up the other, and in a two-fold capacity meets the requirements and enjoys the patriotic privileges of a loyal and enthusiastic American.

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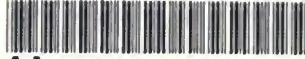
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