



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY PACH BROTHERS, AUGUST, 1899

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

This is the most authentic as well as the most recent portrait of Mr. McKinley. It was taken while the President sat on the lawn before the vine-covered villa of Vice-President Hobart, at Long Branch, New Jersey.

RIDPATH'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

COMPLETE IN FIVE VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPEDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME V

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS,
TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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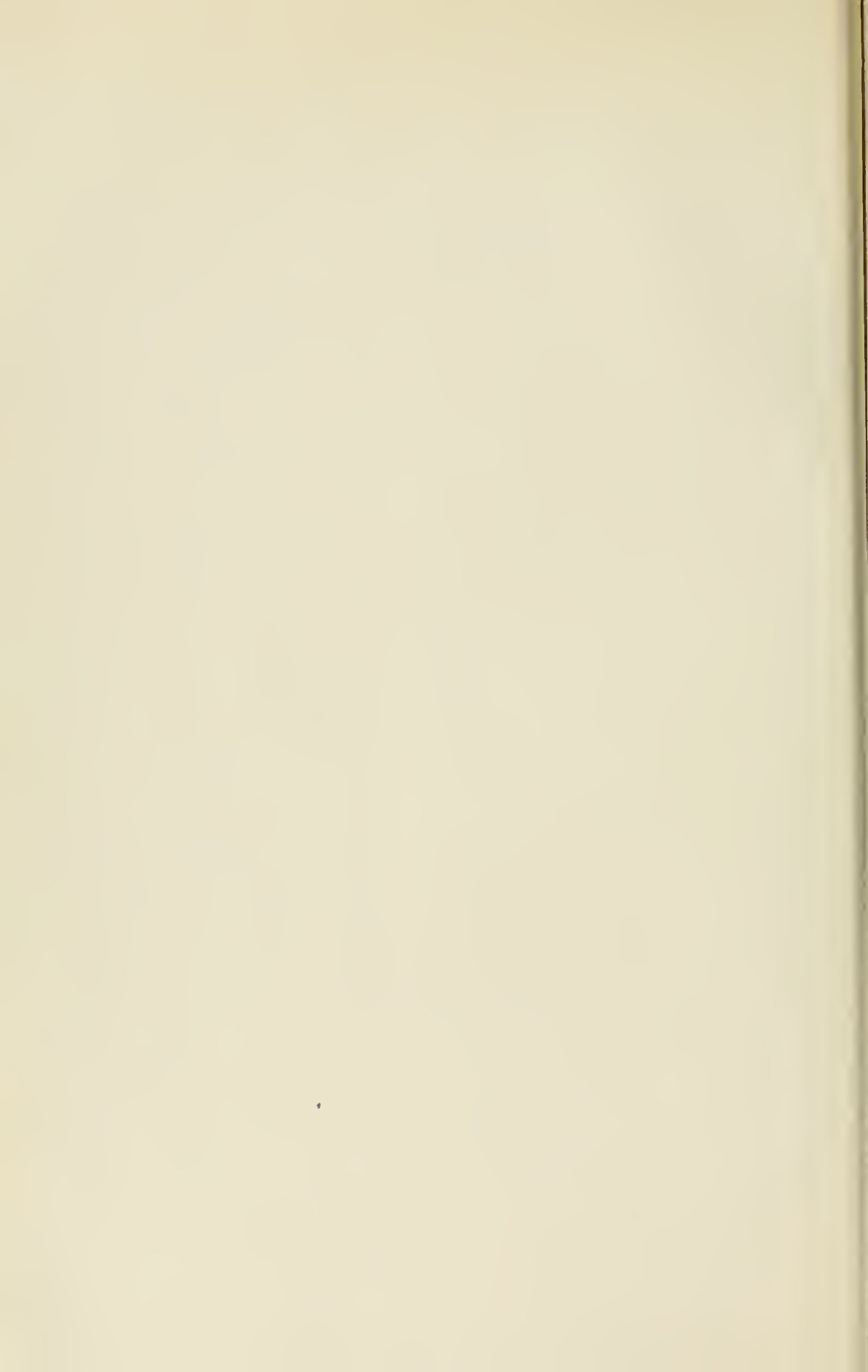
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To

William M. Ridpath of Spokane

A Faithful and Manly Brother



PREFACE.



HE close of the century has suggested, if not demanded, the continuation of the present work by the addition of a supplementary volume. Almost fifteen years have now elapsed since the

first edition of the *History of the World* was published. A revision in 1889 brought the narrative down to that year. The last decennium has been sufficiently rich in historical events to warrant the completion of the work to the date of the appearance of this volume which is probably the last of the series. The narrative here undertaken includes an account of national affairs in both hemispheres down to what is approximately the end of the nineteenth century.

Besides the fitness of the thing there is also the requirement of it. The alertness of the human mind in our age; the frequency of its readings; the limitless facility for knowing and hearing whatever is doing in the whole world—have conspired to fix the attention of all peoples upon what now is. The whole temper of the age turns from what once was to what now is. Of a certainty this is not the way of wisdom; only it is the way.

The myriad printing presses of the world, teeming hourly and momentarily, with the flying transcript of the universal drama, as reflected in the distorted vision and inflamed imagination of a million scribes—have conducted powerfully to create a demand for current annals. Even before the event has completed itself; verily, while the event is still, in military phraseology, "in the air," without a single permanent buttress to support it, the cry comes into every historical study of the world, to take the uncompleted event and to give it a historical setting. Such history must, in the nature of the case, be imperfect—though not as imperfect as the voice which demands it is unreasoning and arbitrary.

Under such antecedents, the history of current events must be undertaken and brought to as great a degree of perfection as the condi-

tions may admit. All human affairs suffer from distortion, from obscuring mist and diffracting coloration, when they are viewed from a close-by point of observation. The natural eye of man has its focus, within which all objects are blurred and indistinct. How much more the eye of the mind when it is required to determine the magnitude and motion of near-by bodies hanging and twisting in the very door of the pupil!

To stand off is therefore an essential prerequisite of correct historical writing. The historian cannot delineate and interpret correctly an event which by distance falls short of the natural focus of his vision. Nevertheless, with the aid of lenses and with change of position, he may do something toward rendering distinct that which was obscure, and to make reasonable the chaotic babble of the passing days.

The period under consideration in this part of the narrative is, without exaggeration, one of the most important in human history. Whatever may be the result of the present crush and conflict of the forces of civilization, there can be no doubt of the critical character of this age. Without entering into a discussion of the principles involved, every thoughtful student of historical movements can discern in the current aspect of the world the unmistakable beginnings of a great transformation. Human society is in the alembic; the civilized life of man is on trial. Every civil and political institution of the world is passing through an ordeal in which it is tested as if in furnace fires. That a new order will arise out of the cinders of the present order is as certain as the progress of the seasons, as inevitable as the astronomical changes in the skies.

On the whole, the contest that is now on in the world is a contest *to determine the place of man, as man, in the human drama*. More exactly the question is whether the man of the future shall be slave or free. The great movement of the age is the movement for emancipation; and the counter movement is for enslavement. One force is bearing the human race onward to the open plains of freedom and

boundless hope; and the other force is thrusting humanity backward into its mediæval conditions of servitude and degradation. All of the minor eddies and whirls in the great ocean of contention have this significance, and nothing more. They are all only the secondary results of the one great maelstrom in which the winds and the waves of the New Era are battling with the downward pressure and fatal suck of that ancient gulf in which the wrecks of so many ages have been swallowed up. In our own country, the story of the present epoch is but an account of one swirl in the contest which is to conclude the present and usher in the future.

Not in this sense, however, is the narrative of events usually perused or sought by the American reader. The common reader has his attention fixed upon the thing itself without reference to the *principle* of the thing, or the *significance* of the larger fact of which the thing is but a fragment. There has thus come to pass, in modern times, a sort of diurnal history, a knowledge of which, instead of invigorating, only enervates the reader. Such history is the record of petty things and sensational incidents, not one of which is worthy of record save in so far as it illustrates the larger and silent contention which is going on throughout the civilized world.

This statement applies with peculiar force to American citizenship at the present day. The American citizen sees around him a vast and growing society. He thinks that the mere massing and augmentation of human forces in the United States signify greatness and perpetuity. He watches the contention between the upper and the under man with the same interest which he feels in the contest of two wrestlers on the stage. He does not reflect upon the *result* which is certain to ensue from the victory of the one or the other of the contestants. He is satisfied to have been interested with the *fight* and to be able to talk it over with others who neither know nor care for anything but the fight itself.

Through all the processes of society the same thing may be witnessed. From the smallest contention of the local neighborhood—the lawsuit of a farmer with the magnate of a township who is carrying a new road from his own plantation through the farmer's field to the post office—all the way upward to the presidential election, the interest turns evermore upon the inconsequential question, *What is it?*

and never upon the all-important question, *What does it signify?*

The current history of the United States, and indeed of all countries, in order to be valuable, must interpret the event into its meaning. Such interpretation may not satisfy the journalistic passions of the day, but without it there can be no history. It is true that such interpretation will traverse and perhaps offend a thousand prejudices. The political predilections, the economic traditions, the social superstitions, and indeed the whole form and body of the time, may be roused by even the smallest administration of truth.

This method abbreviates not a little the prolonged and inane narrative of current facts. It takes out the essential principle and heart of things, and briefly delineates only what is vital—to the end that the reader, as well as the beholder, shall be able to discern the *nature* of what is done.

In this spirit, I have tried to present a brief account of the events in the career of the leading nations during the last decennium of the century. As to the order of narrative, I shall begin with the history of the United States, recounting the course of affairs in our country from the first years of the administration of Harrison. This will include an account of the reaction against the policy of that chief magistrate; of the second administration of Cleveland; the Republican reëscendency under McKinley; and the Spanish-American war.

In the succeeding chapter, the history of Great Britain will be given in like manner, from the period of political stagnation after the failure of the first Home Rule Bill to the rush made by the empire after the Chinese spoils in 1898-99. Subsequently, the history of France, of Germany, of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, the Oriental nations, Australia, and the Minor American Republics, will be considered in their turn, with as much fullness as the limits of the volume will permit. The object, in a word, is to make a fairly comprehensive narrative of the course of events in all the leading nations during the closing period of the century. The author delivers the completed work to the public with an expression of thanks for the favor with which his *Universal History* has been hitherto received, and with the hope that the present additional volume may be found as acceptable as its predecessors.

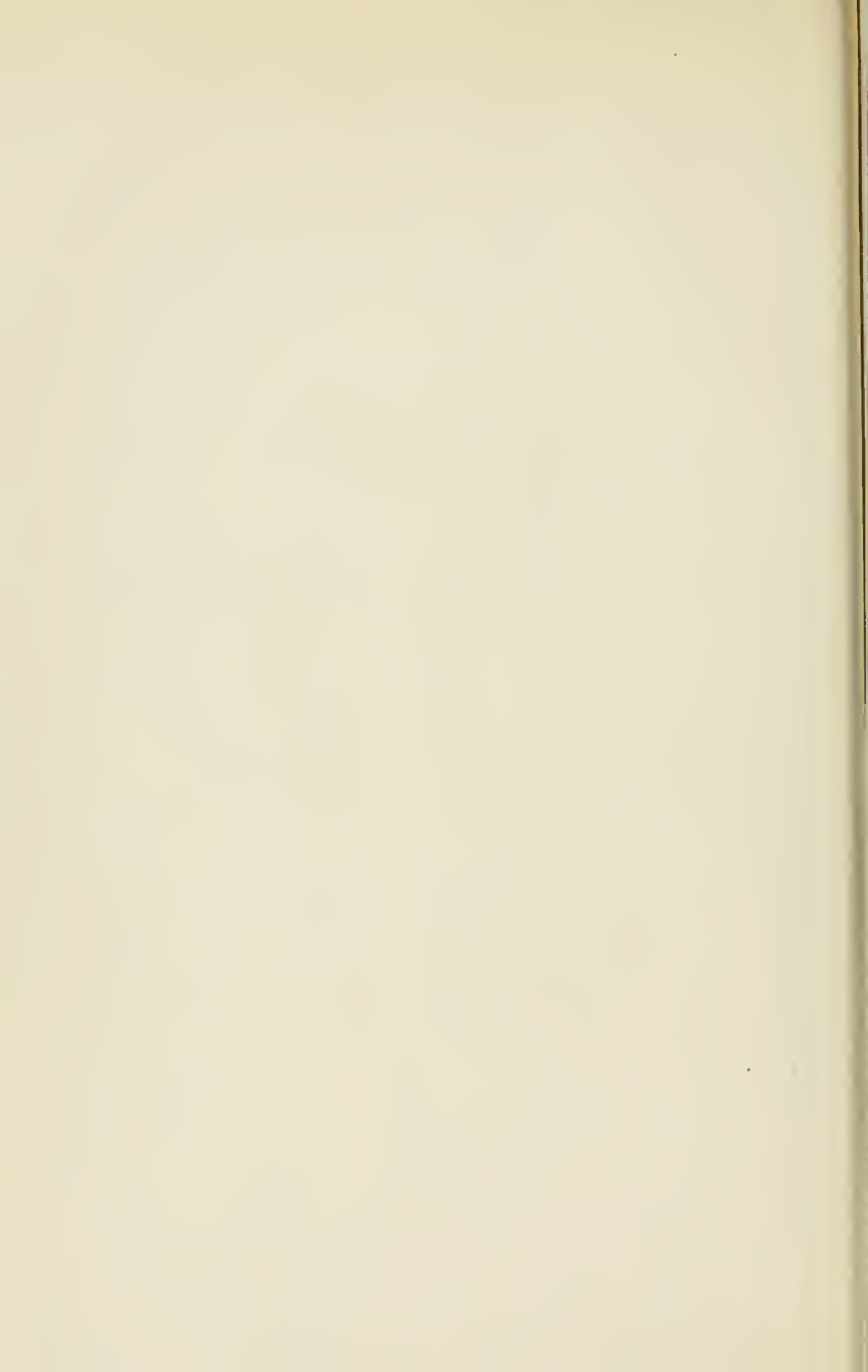
J. C. R.

New York, June 1, 1899.

RIDPATH'S
UNIVERSAL HISTORY

VOLUME V.

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NINETEENTH CENTURY.



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Book Twenty-Ninth.

THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER CLIX.—THE UNITED STATES.



IN this volume we shall narrate, on a scale somewhat enlarged from that employed in the preceding volumes, the leading events in all the principal nations from the year 1889 to the close of the nineteenth century. Following the order hitherto pursued, we shall begin with the history of our own country, and proceed by way of the European nations to Western Asia, and thence to the Orient and the remoter insular parts of the world. As to the history of the United States, the narrative is resumed from the point at which it was dropped on page 248 of Vol. IV. of this series.

In the current chapter we shall revert, first of all, to the work of the Fifty-first Congress. The proceedings of that branch of the Government were marked with much partisan bitterness and excitement. The first question which occupied the attention of the body was the revision of the tariff. In the

preceding pages we have developed, with sufficient amplitude, the history and various phases of this question.¹ The Civil War brought in a condition of affairs which must, in the nature of the case, entail the tariff issue on the rest of the century.

More than two decades elapsed, however, after the close of the conflict before the attention of the American people was sufficiently aroused to the true nature of the laws bearing on their industrial condition. Then it was that they first became aware of the fact that a schedule of customs duties, which had been brought forth under the exigency of war, still existed, and that under the operation of this schedule a vast array of protected industries—particularly manufactures—had come into existence.

These industries had grown great and strong. Around them consolidated corporations had been formed, having millions of money at their command, and vast ramifica-

¹ See Chapter CXXVI., pp. 215-219; 234.

tions into political society. As a consequence, the revenues of the United States were swollen to mountainous proportions. The treasury at Washington became engorged, and at length the necessity was developed of doing something in the nature of reform.

The state of the National treasury—depending as it did upon the protective tariff system—entailed two prodigious evils: In the first place the surplus served as a temp-

under this condition that President Cleveland, as already noted, sent his celebrated annual message to Congress, in which he discussed the single question of the evils arising out of the existing system, concluding with an appeal to that body to take such steps as should lead to a general reform.

Thus the question arose, and thus it obtruded itself into the Presidential contest of 1888. The Democratic platform boldly espoused the doctrine of tariff reform, but



PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON AND HIS CABINET, 1892.

tation and motive in Congress for all manner of jobbery and extravagant expenditures. In the second place, it enabled the combined monopolies of the country to uphold themselves by influencing national legislation in favor of the protected industries and against the common interest of the people as a whole. The protected industries were thus brought into alliance with monopolies; the two constituted an almost impregnable phalanx. The situation was really a danger and constant menace to the public welfare. It was

stopped short—out of an expedient deference to the manufacturing interests—of absolute free trade. The Republican platform declared for a revision of the tariff system—such a revision as might preserve the manufacturing interests, but favor those industries which seemed to be disparaged. This clause of the platform proved to be wonderfully effective in the political campaign which ensued. The event showed, however, that the platform was a shuffle. A very large part of the Republicans understood by “revision of

the tariff" such legislation as should *reduce and reform* the existing system, and not merely make changes that should accord with the interests of the protected classes.

With the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, it soon became apparent that "revision of the tariff" was not to mean a reform by the reduction and curtailment of the schedule, but that the actual movement was in the other direction. Representative William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought in a measure which passed into history under the name of the McKinley Bill, and which, finally adopted by the Republican majority, was incorporated as a part of the governmental system.

The policy of the bill was to abolish the existing duties on a few great articles of production, particularly raw sugar and the lower grades of refined sugar. By this means a vast reduction was secured in the aggregate revenues, notwithstanding the fact that the *average* rates of import duties on manufactured articles in general was raised from about forty-seven per cent. to more than fifty-three per cent. The McKinley Bill, becoming, therefore, efficient by thus drawing to its principles the sympathies of the protected classes, and at the same time by throwing free—and therefore cheap—sugar to the people, attracted not a little popular sympathy. The contest over the measure was extreme in animosity, and the bill was adopted only after great delay.

The sequel showed unusual results. The tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress was immediately attacked by the Democratic and Independent press of the country. Opinion was overwhelmingly against it. The gen-

eral elections of 1890 brought an astonishing verdict of the people against the late enactments. There was a complete political revulsion, by which the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly three to one. At a later period a second reaction



THOMAS B. REED.

ensued, somewhat favorable to the McKinley legislation, and the author of the measure referred to succeeded in being chosen, in 1891, Governor of Ohio, attaining his position by a popular majority of over twenty thousand.

Another incident in the history of the same Congress relates to the serious difficulty which arose in the House of Representatives between the Democratic minority and the speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. The

Republican majority in the Fifty-first House was not large, and the minority were easily able, in matters of party legislation, to break the quorum by refusing to vote. In order to counteract this policy, a new system of rules was reported, empowering the Speaker to count the minority *as present*, whether voting or not voting, and thus to compel a quorum. These rules were violently resisted by the Democrats, and Speaker Reed was denounced by his opponents as an unjust and arbitrary officer. He was nicknamed in the jargon of the times "The Czar," because of his rulings and strong-handed methods of making the records of the House show a majority when no majority had actually voted on the pending questions. It was under the provisions of the new rules that nearly all of the political measures of the Fifty-first Congress were adopted.

One of the most important of these acts was the attempt to pass through Congress a measure bearing radically upon the election-system of the United States. A bill was reported by which it was proposed virtually to transfer the control of the Congressional elections in the States of the Union from State to National authority. It cannot be doubted that the measure reached down to the fundamental principles of American political society. The "Force Bill," as it was called, brought out the strongest passions of the day. The opposition was intense. The Republican party was by no means unanimous in support of the measure. A large part of the thinking people of the United States, without respect to political affiliation, doubted the expediency of this additional measure of centralization.

Certain it was that serious and great abuses existed in the election systems of the States. In many parts of the United States elections were not free. In parts of the South the old animosities against the political equality of the black man were still sufficiently vital to prevent the freedom of the ballot. Congressmen were many times chosen by a small minority who, from their social and political superiority, were able to baffle or intimidate the ignorant many at the polls. Such an

abuse called loudly for a reform; but the measure proposed doubtless contained within itself the potent germs of abuses greater than those which it was sought to remove.

In the Northern States of the Union, also, the election system became more and more abusive. In this section, however, it was not social or race prejudice but the influence of corporations and the over-mastering spell of concentrated wealth which corrupted the suffrage and brought the political life to lower and lower levels. It was in the North and the East that the party boss emerged into the foreground, and by preparing the antecedents of elections and getting control of the ballot-box, began to work havoc with the liberties of the people.

The Elections Bill was for a long time debated in Congress, and was then laid over indefinitely in such manner as to prevent final action upon it. Certain Republican senators who were opposed to the measure and at the same time strongly wedded to the cause of the free coinage of silver money, joined their votes with the Democrats, and the so-called "Force Bill" failed of adoption.

The third great measure of the Fifty-first Congress was the attempt to restore silver to a perfect equality with gold in the coinage system of the United States. Since 1875 there had been an increasing departure in the market values of gold and silver bullion, though the purchasing power of the two money metals had been kept equal when the same were coined under the provisions of legal tender. The purchasing power of gold bullion had in the last fifteen years risen about sixteen per cent, while the purchasing power of silver bullion had fallen about four per cent, in the markets of the world, thus producing a difference at that period of twenty per cent, or more in the purchasing power of the two metals in bullion. One class of theorists, assuming that gold is the only standard of values, insisted that this difference in the purchasing power of the two raw metals had arisen wholly from a depreciation in the price of silver. This class included the monometalists—those who desired that the monetary system of the United States should be

brought to the single standard of gold, and that silver should be made wholly subsidiary to the richer metal.

The advocates of the free coinage of silver argued that the difference in the bullion values of the two money metals had arisen most largely from an increase in the purchasing power of gold, and that equal legislation and equal favor shown to the two money metals would bring them to par, the one with the

States, to whom the payment of all debts according to the highest standard of value—that is, in gold only—was a fundamental principle.

The debates for a while seemed likely to disrupt the existing political order. Suddenly the United States Senate, by a combination of a large number of free-silver Republicans with the great majority of Democrats, passed a bill for the absolute free coinage of silver,



MINT OF THE UNITED STATES AT PHILADELPHIA. PRINCIPAL SEAT OF AMERICAN COINAGE.
From a Recent Photograph.

other, and keep them in that relation in the markets of the world. They claimed that the laws hitherto enacted by Congress, discriminating against silver and in favor of gold, were impolitic, unjust, and un-American. It was urged in the debates of 1889-90 that the free coinage of silver would be of vast advantage to the financial interests of the country. This view and argument, however, were strenuously opposed by the money centers and the credit-holding classes of the United

and for the day it seemed that the measure had succeeded.

The administration, however, was strongly opposed to free coinage. The Senate bill was, therefore, arrested by the management of John Sherman, Speaker Reed and the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Another bill, in the form of an amendment providing for the *purchase* (but not for the *coinage*) of four and a half million ounces of silver monthly by the Treasury of the United



VIEW IN IDAHO.—PIED DE OREILLE.—From a Recent Photograph.

States, and the payment therefor in silver certificates having the form and functions of money, was passed by the House, and finally accepted by the Senate. An expansion of the paper money of the country was thus effected, while at the same time the control of the silver bullion was retained in the treasury under the management of those who were opposed to free coinage, and hopeful ultimately of at least effecting a compromise by which a more valuable silver dollar might be substituted in the interest of the creditor classes in place of the standard silver dollar, which had borne the full legal-tender quality since the foundation of the Government. By the legislation just referred to, which was designated as the Sherman Law, the ultimate decision of the silver question was thrown over to future Congresses.

In addition to the admission of four new States, the Fifty-first Congress passed the necessary acts for the organization of Idaho and Wyoming. These were destined to make the forty-third and forty-fourth members of the Union. Idaho at the time of organization contained a population of 84,385. Wyoming had a population of 60,705. The acts for Statehood were passed for the two new commonwealths on the 3d and 10th of July, respectively, in the year 1890.

In June of the same year was taken the eleventh decennial census of the United States. Its results, so far as they might be depended upon, showed that the aggregate population of the country had increased to 62,622,250, exclusive of Indians not taxed and whites in Alaska and Indian Territories. These additions doubtlessly increased the grand total to about sixty-three million souls. The center of population had continued its progress westward, having removed during the ninth decennium from the vicinity of Cincinnati to a point near the hamlet of Westport, in Decatur County, Indiana.

The period which is here before us was marked by the death of three other great generals of the Civil War. On the 5th of August, 1888, Lieutenant-General Sheridan, at that time commander-in-chief of the American army, died at his home in Non-

quitt, Massachusetts. Few other generals of the Union army had won greater admiration and higher honors. He was in many senses a model soldier, and his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven was the occasion for memorial services throughout the country.

Still more conspicuous was the fall of General William T. Sherman. Among the Union commanders in the great Civil War he stood easily next to Grant in greatness and reputation. In vast and varied abilities, particularly in military accomplishments, he was perhaps superior to all. It may well be thought that he was more fortunate than any other—and wiser. After the war he steadily refused to be other than a great soldier. No enticement, no blandishment, no form of applause or persuasion, could induce him to exchange the laurels which he had won in the immortal contest for the Union for any other form of chaplet or perishable wreath. Sherman might have been President of the United States. It were not far from the truth to believe that he was the only man in America who ever willingly put aside that glittering prize. To have fallen into the hands of politicians, place-hunters, jobbers, and cormorants, would have been intolerable to that brusque, sturdy, and truthful nature. With a clearer vision even than the vision of Grant, he perceived that to be the unsullied great soldier of the Union was to be better than anything made by men in caucus and convention. Born in 1820, he reached the mature age of seventy-one, and died at his home in New York City, on the 14th day of February, 1891.

The event produced a profound impression. The general of the Union army who had fought so many great battles and said so many great things was at last silent in death. Of his sterling patriotism there had never been a doubt. Of his prescience in war, of his learning, of his ability as an author, there could be as little skepticism. As to his wonderful faculties and achievements, all men were agreed. His funeral became the man. He had provided for that also in advance. He had directed that nothing other than a



WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.—From a Photograph, 1888.

soldier's burial should be reserved for him. His remains were taken under military escort from New York to St. Louis, where they were

deposited in the family burying-ground, in Mount Calvary Cemetery.

After the death of General Sherman only two commanders of the first class remained on the stage of action from the great Civil War—both Confederates. These were Generals Joseph E. Johnston and James Longstreet. The former of these two was destined to follow his rival and conqueror at an early day to the land of rest. General Johnston had been an honorary pall-bearer at the funeral of Sherman, and contracted a heavy cold on that occasion, which resulted in his death on the 20th of February, 1891, at his home in Washington City. Strange fatality of human affairs that, after twenty-five years, he who surrendered his sword to Sherman at Raleigh should have come home from the funeral of the victor to die! General Johnston was in his eighty-third year at the time of his decease. Among the Confederate commanders none were his superiors, with the single ex-

ception of Lee. After the close of the war his conduct had been of a kind to win the confidence of Union men, and at the



MILITARY FUNERAL OF GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

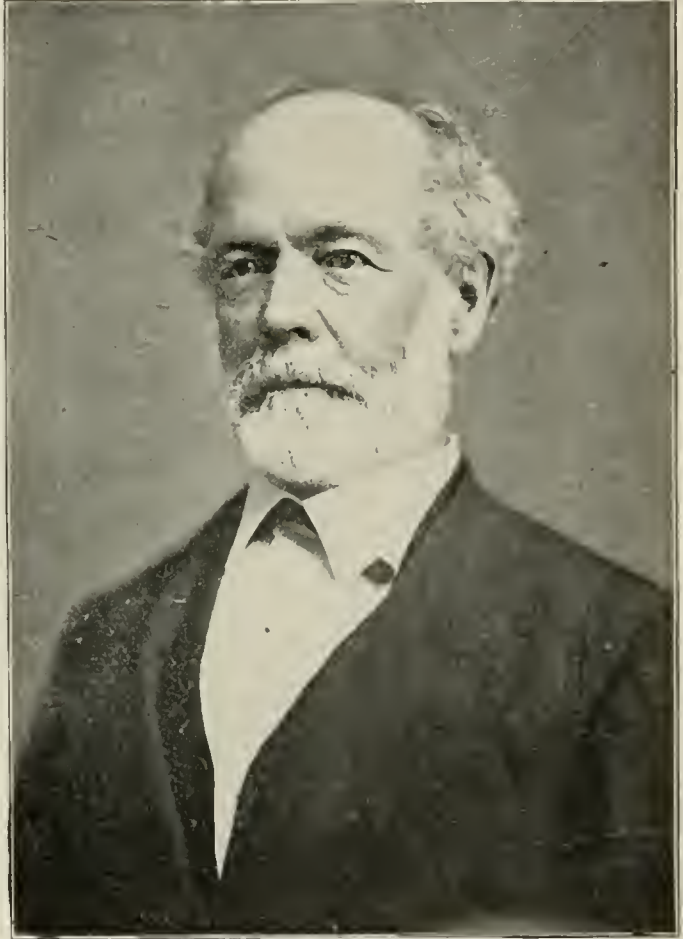
time of his death he was held in universal honor.

It was at this time—namely, in February of 1891—that a serious event, reaching upward and outward, first into national and then into international proportions, occurred in the city of New Orleans. There existed in that metropolis a branch of the secret social organization among the Italians known by the European name of the Mafia Society. The principles of the brotherhood involved mutual protection, and even the law of revenge against enemies. Doubtless much of the spirit which had belonged to the Italian order of the Mafia had been transferred to America. At any rate, some of the features of the order were un-American in character, and some of the methods dangerous to the public and private peace.

Several breaks occurred between members of this society (not the society itself) and the police authorities of the city; and the latter, by arrest and prosecution, incurred the dislike and hatred of the former. The difficulty grew in animosity until at length, Captain David C. Hennessey, chief of the police of New Orleans, was assassinated by some secret murderer or murderers, who, for the time, escaped detection. It was believed, however, that the Mafia Society was at the bottom of the assassination, and several of the members of the brotherhood were arrested under the charge of murder.

A trial followed, and the circumstances tended to establish—but did *not* establish—the guilt of the prisoners. The proof was not positive—did not preclude a reasonable doubt of the guilt of those on trial—and the first three of the Italian prisoners were ac-

quitted. The sequel was unfortunate in the last degree. A great excitement followed the decision of the court and jury, and charges were made and published that the jury had been bribed or terrorized with threats into making a false verdict. These charges were never substantiated, and were



JOSEPH ECCLESTON JOHNSTON.
From a Photograph by Cook, Richmond, Va.

doubtless without authenticity. But on the day following the acquittal of the Italians, a public meeting, having its origin in mob-ocracy, was called, and a great crowd, irresponsible and angry, gathered around the statue of Henry Clay, in one of the public squares of New Orleans.

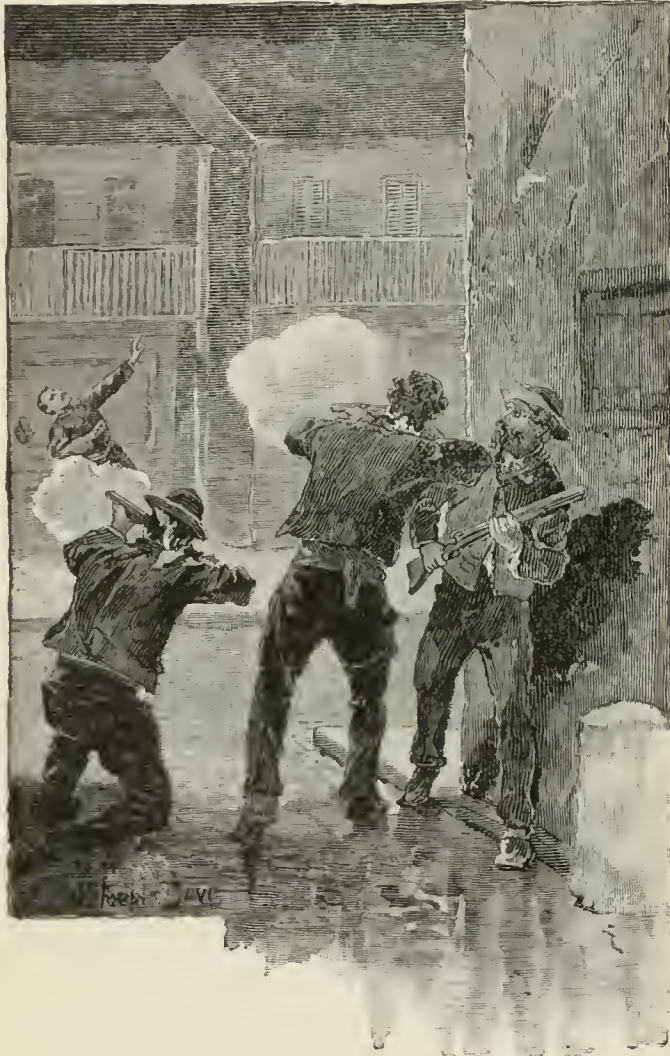
Speeches were made. The authorities of the city, instead of attempting to check the

movement, stood off and let it take its own course. A mob was at once organized and directed against the jail, where the Italian prisoners were confined. The jail was entered by force. The prisoners were driven from their cells, and nine of them were shot

The event was followed by the greatest public excitement. Clearly, murder and outrage had been done by the mob. It was soon proved that at least two of the murdered Italians had been subjects of the Italian kingdom; the rest were either naturalized

Americans or foreigners bearing papers of intention. The affair at once became of national, and then of international, importance. The President of the United States called upon Governor Nicolls, of Louisiana, to give an account of the thing done in New Orleans, and its justification. The governor replied with a communication in which it was hard to say whether insolence or inconsequential apology for the action of the mob was uppermost. With this the excitement increased. The Italian minister, Baron Fava, at Washington, recorded his solemn protest against the killing of his countrymen, and the American Secretary of State entered into communication with King Humbert on the subject.

Italy was thoroughly aroused. The Italian societies in various American cities passed angry resolutions against the destruction of their fellow-countrymen by the mob, and the newspapers of the country teemed with discussions of the subject. There was, unfortunately, a disposition on the part of America to play the bully. At times, threats of war were freely made, and it appeared not im-



ASSASSINATION OF CAPTAIN DAVID C. HENNESSEY.

to death in the jail-yard. Two others were dragged forth and hanged. Nor can it be doubted that the innocent as well as the guilty (if indeed any were guilty—as certainly none were guilty according to law) suffered in the slaughter.

possible that the two countries would become unhappily involved in a conflict. The more thoughtful, however, looked with confidence to the settlement of the question by peaceable means.

The Italian government presently recalled

Baron Fava from Washington, and during the remainder of the year, communications between the two Governments were made only through the Italian chargé d'affaires at Washington. Gradually, however, the excitement subsided. The American Government was fortunate in having as its representative at the Court of Italy the Hon. Albert G. Porter, a man of calm temperament, and deeply imbued with a sense of justice and right. By the beginning of 1892 it had become certain that the unpleasant episode would pass without further menace of war, and that the question involved in the difficulty would be justly settled in course of time by the equitable rules of diplomacy.

The controversy between the United States and Italy brought into strong relief the peculiar character of our republican constitution. In the nature of the case, foreign powers can deal only with the central administration at Washington. The States of the Union are constitutionally prohibited from holding political or diplomatic relations with foreign Governments. Within the republic, the central Government can only in a limited sense hold the State responsible for the actions of its people. Something of the same principle obtains between the State and the municipalities that exist within its borders. In the case under consideration, the King of Italy could not demand justice of the City of New Orleans, or even of the State of Louisiana, but only of the Government of the United States; and the Government of the United States had done no wrong! Such was the complexity that the international tort could hardly be remedied. As a result of the entanglement, the administration was obliged to repair the wrong

with shuffling explanations, apologies, and expressions of goodwill. Throughout the controversy, the Italian Government conducted the negotiations in a spirit of forbearance.

The year 1891 was noted for a serious difficulty between the United States and the Republic of Chili. The complication had its



ALBERT GALLATIN PORTER.

Minister Plenipotentiary of United States to Italy, Administration of Harrison.

origin in the domestic affairs of that republic, particularly in a revolution which, in the spring of the year named, began to make headway against the existing Government. At the head of that Government was President José Manuel Balmaceda, against whom the popular party in the Chilian Congress was violently arrayed. The President was accused of seeking to influence the choice of

his own successor in the approaching election; but more especially of retaining in office a ministry out of harmony with the Congressional majority.

The latter point was the more serious, and led at length to the assumption of dictatorial powers by the President. This course seemed necessary in order that Balmaceda might maintain himself in power and uphold the existing ministry. The popular

at the town of Iquique. Thus far the movement had in no wise disturbed the relations of Chili with the United States. It is in the nature of such revolutions that the insurgent party must acquire resources, gather arms, and create all the other means of its existence, progress, and success. The Chilians of the Congressional faction found themselves in great need of arms, and would fain look to some foreign nation for a supply. In the



THE CAPITOL AT SANTIAGO DE CHILI.—From a Recent Photograph.

party seceded from Congress only to take up arms. This party was known in the civil conflict that ensued as the Congressionals, while the upholders of the existing order were called Balmacedists. The latter had possession of the Government; but the former, outside of the great cities of Valparaiso and Santiago, were the more powerful.

The insurrection against Balmaceda gathered head. A Congressional Junta was formed, and a provisional government set up

in emergency they managed to get possession of a steamship called the *Itata*, belonging to the South American Steamship Company, and sent her to the western coast of the United States to purchase arms.

The steamer came to the harbor of San Diego, California, and by the agency of an intermediate vessel managed to secure a large purchase of arms, and to get the same transferred to her own deck. At this juncture, however, the Government, gaining informa-

tion of the thing done, ordered the detention of the *Itata* until her business and destination could be known. A district attorney of the United States was sent on board the ship, which was ordered not to leave the bay. In defiance of this order, however, the officers of the *Itata* steamed out by night and got to sea. The smugglers put the officer of the United States in a boat, sent him ashore, and disappeared over the Pacific horizon.

The announcement of the escape of the

government of the Revolutionists, and the latter consented to the surrender of the *Itata* to the authorities of our country. This was done, and the incident seemed for the time to have ended without serious consequences.

After the affair of the *Itata*, public opinion in Chili, particularly in the cities of Santiago and Valparaiso, turned strongly against the United States. This is said of the sentiments of the Congressional party. That party saw itself thwarted in its design, and



PORT OF VALPARAISO, CHILI.—From a Photograph.

Itata led to vigorous action on the part of the Government. The United States warship *Charleston* was ordered out in pursuit from the Bay of San Francisco. The *Itata*, however, had three days the start, and it could hardly be expected that the *Charleston* would be able to overhaul the fugitive. The latter made her way to one of the harbors of Chili, whither she was pursued by the *Charleston*. But the matter had now come to a protest made by the United States to the provisional

put at fault by its failure to secure the wished-for supply of arms, that failure having arisen through the agency of our Government. However correct the course of the United States may have been, the Revolutionists must needs be angered at their disappointment, and it was natural for them to look henceforth with distrust and dislike on the authorities of our country.

The public animosity centered about the legation of the United States in Santiago.

Hon. Patrick Egan, the American minister, became unpopular with the Congressionalists because of his supposed favor to the Balmacedan Government. That Government still stood. It was recognized by the President of the United States as the Government *de jure* and *de facto* of Chili. Egan must therefore hold relations with Balmaceda and his minister of foreign affairs. He must continue to stand in with the existing order until some other order should be established in its stead.

It appeared subsequently that our minister and our Government misapprehended the importance and strength of the revolutionary movement. The Congressionalists steadily gained ground. Perhaps the revolution which was progressing could not be seen in full magnitude from the position occupied by our minister at the Chilian capital. At all events the Congressional army came on in full force, and soon pressed the Government back to the limits of the capital and the immediate vicinity of that city. Affairs drew to a crisis. A bloody battle was fought at a place called Placilla, near Santiago. The Balmacedists gave way before the storm. The battle of Placilla, and a subsequent engagement still nearer to the capital, went against them. The insurgents burst victoriously into Santiago, and the revolution accomplished itself by the overthrow of the existing Government. Everything went to wreck. Both Santiago and Valparaiso were taken by the revolutionary party. The Balmacedists were fugitives in all directions. The dictator himself fled into hiding, and presently made an end by committing suicide.

In such condition of affairs it was natural that the defeated partisans of the late Government should take refuge in the legations of foreign nations at the capital. A ministerial legation is, under international law, an asylum for political refugees. At this time the official residences of foreign nations at Santiago, with the exception of that of Great Britain, were all crowded more or less with fugitives flying thither for safety from the wrath of the successful Revolutionists. The attitude of Great Britain from the first had

been favorable to the Congressional party, and it was evident that that power would now stand in high favor with the victors.

It chanced that the minister of the United States was by birth an Irishman. He was an Irish agitator and British refugee, lately naturalized in America. Probably the antagonistic attitude of Great Britain and the United States at the Chilian capital was attributable in part to the nativity and political principles of Egan. At all events, the American ministerial residence gave asylum to numbers of the defeated Balmacedists, and the triumphant Revolutionists grew more and more hostile to our Government and to our minister because they could not get at those who were under his protection.

This hostility led to the establishment of a police guard and a force of detectives around the American legation. It seemed at times that the place might be actually attacked and taken by the angry victors in the recent revolution. At length, however, under the protests of our Government, the guards were withdrawn, and the legation was freed from surveillance. Relations began to grow amicable once more, when the difficulties suddenly took another and more serious form.

It happened at this time that the war vessels of several nations visited the harbor of Valparaiso, drawn thither by interest and for the sake of information or the business of the respective navies. Among the ships that came was the United States war-steamer *Baltimore*. On the 16th of October, 1891, a hundred and seventeen of the under officers and men, headed by Captain W. S. Schley (afterwards famous as an officer in the American navy), went on shore by permission, and in the usual way went into the city of Valparaiso. Most of them visited a quarter of the city not reputable in character. It soon became apparent that the ill-informed enmity and malice of the lower classes were strongly excited at the appearance on the streets of the men and uniform of the United States.

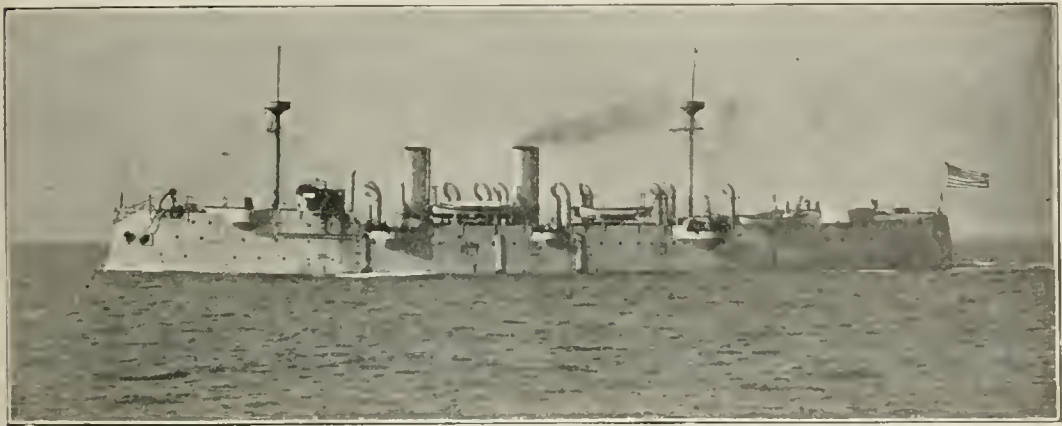
With the approach of night, and with apparent prearrangement, a Chilian mob rose, and began an attack upon the sailors. The Americans retreated and attempted to regain their

ship; but the mob closed around them, throwing stones, and presently, at closer quarters, using knives and clubs. Eighteen of the sailors were brutally stabbed and beaten, and some died from their injuries. The remainder, leaving the wounded behind them, escaped to the ship.

Intelligence of this event was at once communicated to the Government of the United States. The country was greatly excited over the outrage, and preparations were begun for war. The Navy Department was ordered to prepare several vessels for the Chilean coast. The great warship *Oregon*

ended by instructing Montt to let the contents of the note be known! This was soon followed by another communication from Señor Matta, demanding the recall of Patrick Egan from the Chilean capital, as *persona non grata* to the Government. But he failed to specify the particular qualities or acts in the American minister which made him unacceptable.

The publication of these two notes brought matters to a crisis. The President, through the proper authorities, demanded that the offensive note of Matta be withdrawn, that the demand for the recall of Egan be reconsidered, and that reparation for the insults



THE WAR-STEAMER BALTIMORE.—From a Photograph.

and two others were equipped, manned, and directed to the Pacific shores of South America. The President immediately directed the American minister at Santiago to demand explanation, apology, and reparation for the insult and crime committed against the Government of the United States. The Chilean authorities began to temporize with the situation. A tedious investigation of the riot was undertaken in the courts of Santiago, resulting in an inconsequential verdict.

Meanwhile, Señor M. A. Matta, Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, added fuel to the flame by transmitting an offensive communication to Señor Pedro Montt, representative of the Chilean Government at Washington, in which he reflected on the President of the United States, accused our Government of falsehood, attacked Egan, and

and wrongs done to the crew of the *Baltimore* be made with ample apology and salute to the American flag by the Chilean government. Answers to these demands were again delayed, and on the 25th of January, 1892, the President sent an elaborate message to Congress, laying before that body an account of the difficulties, and recommending such action as might be deemed necessary to uphold the honor of the United States. For a single day it looked like war.

Scarcely, however, had the President's message been delivered to Congress, when the Chilean Government, receding from its high-toned manner of offense and arrogance, sent, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, a paper of full apology for the wrongs done, and offering to submit the affair of the *Baltimore* to arbitration of some friendly power.

The offensive note of Señor Matta was unconditionally withdrawn. The demand for the removal of Egan was recalled, and, indeed, all reasonable points in the contention of the President freely and fully conceded. The crisis broke with the knowledge that the apology of Chili had been received, and, like the recent difficulty with Italy over the New Orleans massacre, the imbroglio passed without further alarm or portent of war.

By the enactment of the McKinley Bill, certain kinds of industry in the United States were made prosperous to a degree; other in-

dividuals, but also the reciprocal features of the McKinley law. Between the 10th and 30th of March, commercial treaties were framed between the United States on the one side, and France, Spain, and several of the Central and South American States on the other side, covering the principle of reciprocity in the future trade of our country with the nations referred to.

These measures were the last important civil acts of the administration of Harrison. The spring of 1892 brought around once more the crisis of a Presidential election. As the



ATTACK OF THE CHILIANS ON THE SAILORS OF THE BALTIMORE.

dustries were disparaged and retarded. The act was the ultimate expression of the high-protective policy. Never before in a time of peace had a civilized nation adopted such a schedule of discriminating duties on imports. The opponents of the measure denounced it as not only unwarrantable, but also unconstitutional. An action was made against the measure, and the cause was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. By that august tribunal the act was tested, and on the 29th of February, 1892, was declared to be constitutional. Meanwhile, measures had been taken to carry out, not only the protec-

time approached, the conditions that were to determine the contest became interesting and involved. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, had without doubt been anxious for many years to reach the Presidential chair. His abilities for the exalted place were acknowledged even by his political opponents—this, too, while many of his political friends doubted his temper.

The sequel showed that disease had already attacked this remarkable personage, and marked the end of his career. During his incumbency as Secretary of State, he had been much harried by politicians, great and

small, to become the candidate for the Presidency in 1892. It can not be doubted that his influence in procuring the incongruous clause in favor of reciprocity in the McKinley Bill had furnished to the Republican party its only chance of success in the impending election.

As the time for the nominating Conventions drew near, Blaine—now a sick man—was more and more annoyed by both enemies and friends. His position in the Cabinet, when the President himself was a candidate for renomination, placed him at a great disadvantage. The Secretary had announced that he would not be a candidate. His friends, however, continued to say that they had a right to nominate him if they desired to do so.

In the meantime, the army of office-holders, numerous and strong, had rallied for the renomination of Harrison. Suddenly, on the 3d of June, within four days of the meeting of the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis, Blaine resigned from the Cabinet. His note to the President, and that of the latter to him, were severely formal. The National Convention met. Harrison was put in nomination, and so was Blaine; but the strength of the latter had now turned to weakness. Prejudice had arisen against him. The office-holding following of the administration in Convention was able to cry out many things reflecting on the conduct and political character of the late Secretary. Benjamin Harrison was easily renominated; the small vote of Blaine melted away, and his star sank behind the horizon. For Vice-President, Whitelaw Reid, late minister to France, was nominated in place of Levi P. Morton, whose name was not offered to the Convention.

The Republican platform declared for the policy of protection, with the principle of reciprocity added; for bimetallism, with the provision that the parity of values of gold and silver should be maintained. There should be an unrestricted ballot. The Monroe Doctrine should be advanced and defended. The immigration of criminals and paupers and laborers under contract should

be forbidden. The policy of Home Rule in Ireland deserved the sympathy of Americans; and the persecution of the Russian Jews was declared a barbarity. The proposed ship canal of Nicaragua should be controlled by the United States. Reasonable governmental aid should be given to the oncoming World's Columbian Exposition.

On the 21st of June, the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago. Many desultory and threatening movements had been made in the Democratic party to prevent the nomination of Grover Cleveland, who was now for the third time recommended by a tremendous following for the Presidency. But this opposition could not organize itself—though backed by the powerful influence of Senator David B. Hill, of New York—and was impotent to prevent the success of the favorite. That remarkable personage was again nominated for the Presidency, and with him, Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic platform declared allegiance to the Jeffersonian principles of government. Centralization of political power was deprecated. Federal control of elections was denounced, as was also that "sham" reciprocity which had joined itself with the pernicious doctrine of protection. The laws should be enforced. Trusts should be controlled. Silver should be coined freely with gold, but with parity of value. Civil service should be promoted. The Chinese, paupers, and contract laborers should be prevented from immigration to the United States. The tax on State banks should be repealed. Soldiers should be pensioned, popular education favored, railroad employees protected by law, the "sweating system" abolished, employment of children in factories prohibited, and sumptuary laws opposed.

The National Convention of the Prohibitionists was held in Cincinnati, beginning on the 30th of June. General John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for President, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for Vice-President. The platform declared for laws for the suppression of the liquor-traffic, demanded equal suffrage for women, and governmental con-

trol of railroads and telegraphs; restriction of immigration, suppression of speculation in margins, free coinage of silver at existing ratio, and an increase in the volume of money; tariff for revenue, and proper protection against the influence of foreign nations.

The National Convention of the People's party assembled at Omaha on the 4th of July. The numbers in attendance and the enthusi-

also an income tax; also a system of Government savings banks; also opposition to ownership of lands by aliens and corporations. On this platform, General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Judge James B. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President, were nominated. With this *personnel* and under these respective political banners the parties to the contest went to the people in the campaign of 1892.

About the time of the National conventions in this year began the distressing series of events which, with increasing volume, widened into all departments of American industry, blasting the fruits of labor, and indicating in the industrial society of the United States the existence of profound and dangerous vices. On the 30th of June, the managers of the great iron works at Homestead, a short distance from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, apprehending a strike of their operatives on account of a reduction of wages, declared a lockout, and closed the establishment. This was said to be done under the "necessity of making repairs," and the like; but the dullest could not fail to understand the true intention of the corporation.

The operatives assumed a threatening attitude; and the managers sent secretly to the Pinkerton detective agency at Chicago for a force to protect the works. A large body of

armed men was sent with the purpose of putting the same secretly into the works to defend the establishment. As the boat bearing the Pinkerton force came near to Homestead, it was fired on by the strikers, and a battle ensued, in which ten strikers and four detectives were killed. A very large number of the latter were wounded on the boat, and the whole were driven away. The strikers gained possession of the works; the civil



DAVID BENNETT HILL.

asm showed conclusively a great increase in the following of this party, which now began to be designated as Populists. The platform declared in favor of the union of the labor forces of the United States in a common cause against corporate power; demanded governmental control of railroads, telegraph, and public corporations; demanded also the free coinage of silver at the existing ratio, and an increase in the circulating medium;

authorities were powerless, and an appeal was made to the governor of the State.

The Pennsylvania National Guard, to the number of 8,500, was called out, under proclamation of the governor. On the 12th of July, a military occupation was established at Homestead, and was maintained for several weeks. The restoration of order was extremely difficult. The leaders of the strike were arrested. Superintendent Frick of the iron works was attacked by an anarchist, who attempted to assassinate him in his office. At length, under the necessity which the social status has to maintain itself, order was enforced by law and by the power of the military. In the meantime, the miners of the Cœur d'Alene mining region, in far-off Idaho, rose against a body of non-union workmen who had been introduced into the mines, killed many, and drove away the remainder. Railroad bridges and other property were destroyed, and a reign of terror established. It was not until the 17th of July that military rule prevailed over the rioters, whose leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

In a short time, a dreadful scene of violence was enacted at Buffalo, New York. A strike occurred of the switchmen of the Erie and Lehigh Valley Railway at that city. The attempt was made to put the strikers down, whereupon they attacked the loaded freight-trains standing on the side-tracks, and burned the cars by hundreds. The whole National Guard of New York was, on the 18th of August, summoned to the scene. The strikers were overawed or dispersed. On the 24th of the month a settlement was reached, and the switchmen who had begun the strike returned, as far as possible, to their duties.

About this time, an alarm came from the approach of cholera. That dreadful disease had broken out at Hamburg, and had desolated the city. The malady spread to Antwerp, Bremen, and Havre, and found, even in London and Liverpool, a few points of infection. On the 31st of August, the steamer



GENERAL JAMES B. WEAVER.

Moravia arrived at New York from Hamburg, bearing the disease. The vessel was quarantined in the lower bay. Proclamation was made by the President requiring all ships from infected ports to be detained outside the danger-line for twenty days. A few other steamers beside the *Moravia* arrived with cholera on board, and the authorities of

New York were obliged to contend with the disease until the coming of the cold weather.

In due time, the Presidential election was held. Though the followers of Harrison had been able to force his renomination, they were not able to secure his re-election. Everything went overwhelmingly against the Republican party, and mostly in favor of the

and Cranfill, 723,314. Thus, by a remarkable change from the verdict of 1888, the defeated candidate of that year was restored to the Presidency by a popular plurality of nearly four hundred thousand votes.

The date now arrived for the celebration in the United States of the Fourth Centennial of the Discovery of America by Colum-

bus. The other nations conceded to our country and people the honor of holding a World's Columbian Exposition as a jubilee and commemoration of the giving of these continents to mankind by the man of Genoa, in the years 1492-93.

When the demand for such a fitting observance of the great event became urgent, cities began to contend for the honor, and Congress signified a willingness to hear the claims and proposals of contestants. Washington City, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis entered the lists to secure the location, each with an agreement to provide suitable grounds and raise by subscription the sum of \$5,000,000 with which to erect buildings for the purpose. Chicago submitted her claims with an agreement to raise \$10,000,000 for the Exposition. Each city sent delegations of prominent citizens to press their respective claims before Congress. A decisive vote, after eight ballots, was reached by that body on February 24, 1890, the result being as follows: For Chicago, 157; for

New York, 107; for St. Louis, 25; for Washington City, 18. It was thus determined by a very decisive majority that the Fair should be held in Chicago, and the leading citizens of that city took the preliminary steps for forming an organization under the laws of Illinois, taking as a title, "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892."



GENERAL JOHN BIDWELL.

Democrats. Of the electoral votes, Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. Of the representatives in Congress elected, 217 were Democrats, 128 Republicans, and 8 Populists. The popular vote showed for Cleveland and Stevenson, 5,554,685; for Harrison and Reid, 5,172,343; for Weaver and Field, 1,040,600; for Bidwell

On the 25th of April, Congress passed, and the President approved, an act entitled, "An act to provide for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures, and the products of the soil, mine, and sea, in the city of Chicago." The act also created the World's Columbian Com-

the service on the juries of award and in conduct of the Exposition. A woman's department was created by act of Congress, and a board of lady managers was appointed by the President, in pursuance of the creating act. There was also appointed a board of control and management of the Government exhibit, as well as superintendents of the fifteen departments into which the Expo-



HOMESTEAD, PENNSYLVANIA.—SCENE OF THE LABOR WAR OF 1892.—From a Photograph.

mission, thus establishing the legal title of the enterprise. At the same time it was provided by a supplemental act that a dedication of the Exposition buildings, with appropriate ceremonies, should take place October 12, 13, and 14, 1892. Five days later the Chicago Columbian Corporation effected a permanent organization, and the business of promoting the great Exposition was begun.

One particular feature was the recognition of women in full fellowship with men in

sition was divided. The President also appointed commissioners of the Fair for the several States; and on the 24th of December, 1890, he issued a proclamation officially inviting all the nations of the earth to participate in the Exposition.

The inaugural ceremonies provided for were in two parts—those to be observed in the dedication of the *buildings* of the great Exposition to be given in October, 1892; and those attendant upon *the formal opening to*

visitors, in May, 1893. It had been the original intention (and invitations to distinguished people throughout America were issued to that effect) to dedicate the buildings with imposing ceremonies on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of October. But considerable delay attended the construction of the buildings, and it was deemed advisable to postpone the dedication until the 21st of the month, which was accordingly done; and invitations announcing this fact were issued in August, 1892.

The preliminary steps of the organization having been completed, and the necessary

ings according to the conceptions of the projectors, and an appeal to Congress was made for additional aid. The application was bitterly opposed by a large number of influential members, and upon a vote the scheme was defeated. But a compromise was reached by which the Government agreed to issue souvenir coins, of the value of fifty cents each, to the amount of \$2,500,000; and these were turned over at their face value to the World's Fair directors, who were privileged to dispose of them at whatever advantage they could obtain. Shrewd speculators,



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COLUMBIAN BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, JACKSON PARK, CHICAGO.

committees appointed, the World's Fair Corporation selected as a site best adapted for the Exposition and buildings a tract of 663 acres, occupied by Jackson Park and Midway Plaisance, two of the principal Chicago parks. These had a lake frontage of a mile and a half. A selection of the site was followed with the opening of subscriptions, by which the sum of \$4,500,000 was secured upon the personal pledges of 29,374 persons, to which amount \$5,000,000 was added by an issue of Chicago city bonds.

This enormous sum, however, was found to be inadequate for a proper preparation of the grounds and construction of the build-

recognizing the demand that would be made for the souvenir coins, submitted various bids for the entire issue, one of which was finally accepted, by which the Association hoped to realize \$5,000,000, or double the face value of the coins. This large increase to the original fund encouraged the directory to carry out all the designs for buildings and improvements which they had conceived.

A considerable part of the grounds in Jackson Park was unimproved, and lay in large depressions, which required a great amount of filling. The waterways had to be dredged, so as to admit sailing craft through the devious channels of a lagoon. Half a

million dollars were spent in accomplishing this work, while as much more was expended on landscape gardening, fountains, observatories, statuary, etc. This outlay of a million dollars was but the beginning of the cost of the total improvements amounting to about \$25,000,000.

With the coming of October 12, 1892, nearly every town within the United States celebrated the quadricentennial of the American discovery with some form of jubilation. Special preparations on a gigantic scale were made by New York City for an observance of the day. To prevent the threatened conflict between the celebration and the dedication of buildings at Chicago, Senator Hill, of New York, introduced a resolution to postpone the dedicatory ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition until October 21st, and this measure was adopted by both Houses of Congress. New York exerted herself to make her celebration memorable for its magnificence. The ceremony began on Monday, October 10th, with a parade of school children, in which there were 25,000 in line; the procession passed in review before President Cleveland and the New York State officers.

On the following day, interest was intensified by a grand naval parade in the harbor of New York, participated in by the fleets of nine great nations, affording one of the most imposing spectacles of modern times. The city was thronged with visitors as never before; the decorations cost \$1,000,000, and were of regal splendor. The shore of the bay was lined with excited spectators, who stood for hours watching with unabated interest the lines of ships that steamed in solemn procession from Gravesend Bay to the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. A perfect day bathed the city with sunshine, while a refreshing breeze invigorated the spectators. A grander sight had not been witnessed since the Spanish Armada sailed out of Lisbon, in 1588, with the vain hope of subjugating the British Isles.

As early as the 18th of October the crowds from every part of the earth began to pour into Chicago. There had gathered no fewer

than one million visitors. Never before in history had so many people assembled on a festal occasion. The pent-up enthusiasm of a century broke in a tidal wave. Four hundred years, with their blessings and marvelous progress, were to receive the offering of a world's applause, and be remembered with libations of gratitude.

The dedicatory festivities began on the evening of the 19th, with an inaugural reception, banquet, and ball, at the Auditorium. Four thousand invitations were issued to the most prominent personages in America, and to the representatives of foreign powers. The President of the United States was unable to be present owing to the fatal illness of Mrs. Harrison, and the duties which he was expected to perform were devolved upon Vice-President Morton. A more distinguished gathering was never known among men, and the wealth of ornamentation was in harmony with the beauty and importance of the assemblage. The Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, diplomatic corps, governors, army officers, mayors of leading cities, World's Fair officials, and the fairest women in the land, were gathered at the banquet. The reception and ball were given in the Auditorium, but the banquet was spread on the top floor of the adjoining Studebaker Building, which had been made an annex by cutting arched passages connecting it with the Auditorium.

Thursday, October 20th, was appointed as a day of parade. Fully one hundred thousand men were in line. Uniforms were worn by many of the marching bodies. The crowds that viewed the spectacle were almost infinite. The sidewalks along the entire line were thronged with humanity. Chicago on the day succeeding was densely crowded in all her avenues, hotels, and conveyances. This was the day set apart for dedicating the World's Fair buildings. Michigan Avenue and lake front were soon thronged with people. The nodding plumes of advancing cavalymen were seen toward the south, followed by troop after troop, wheeling into line, and forming in front of the Auditorium, where they were joined by four batteries of



COLUMBIAN NAVAL PARADE IN THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK, OCTOBER 11, 1892.—From a Photograph.

artillery. The regulars were an escort to the Vice-President, Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries of Church and State, who were to take part in the exercises. Every adjacent street was lined with carriages, waiting for the distinguished occupants; twenty rounds from the batteries was the signal for the great march to begin.

The procession moved southward, with General Nelson A. Miles and his staff at the head of a company of cavalrymen, whose yellow plumes, bright uniforms, and brilliant caparisons, rendered the scene one of great spirit. Following these was a mounted military band leading a troop of cavalry in a solid line twelve deep. These in turn preceded a troop of white cavalry and Indian and colored dragoons, while behind was a regular battery, followed by a section of the National Guard, preceding sixty Toledo cadets on bicycles. In the rear was a long line of carriages bearing the distinguished personages that were to officiate in the dedication, led by Vice-President Morton, who was accompanied by President Palmer, of the World's Fair Commission. Then came other carriages filled with Cabinet members, judges, governors, and World's Fair officials, the whole forming a procession more than a mile in length.

One hundred and fifty thousand invitations had been issued, admitting the holders to the Building of Manufactures; seats were provided for 120,000 persons, and every seat was occupied. The dedicatory exercises were, perhaps, the most imposing ever witnessed, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. The night jubilee consisted of the grandest display of fireworks that the world had ever seen. Three exhibitions were arranged to take place simultaneously in Washington Park on the south, Lincoln Park on the north, and Garfield Park on the west side, each display being a counterpart of the other, and the programs identical. It was estimated that more than half a million people were witnesses of the three displays.

One of the most novel and interesting pieces was a representation of the American

flag floating in the sky *at a height of 2,000 feet!* The flag was 300 feet in length, and presented a design never before attempted in aerial work. It was attached to a balloon, under the control of Professor Baldwin, the aeronaut, who carried it to the required altitude, and then lighted the fuse connected with the flag. A marvelous thing followed. Almost instantly the banner spread itself like a canopy, and, taking fire, burned for five minutes with all its colors intensified, thus affording a spectacle of grandeur that had never been exceeded at any pyrotechnic exhibition.

The ceremonies of dedication concluded on Friday, October 21st. The immense crowds of people that had come to Chicago from every point of the compass, began to depart. The crowds in the stations on Saturday night were very great, yet the accommodations appeared to be ample, as they had been in the city during the several days of the celebration. Every expression was a congratulation or plaudit for the magnificent sights the people had witnessed, and with which the Nation had been inspired.

The interval between the dedication of the buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago and the opening of that Exposition in the following May was filled with the Presidential election, with the excitements consequent thereon, and with the change of administration, on the 4th of March, 1893.

The victorious Democratic party again went into power, not only in the Executive Department, but in both branches of Congress. In the Senate, however, the majority of that party was so small and unstable as to make uncertain any measures other than those upon which there was complete harmony of opinion. President Cleveland went back to the White House with a tremendous support from the people at large, and only a modified support from his own party.

The new Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary S. Herbert, of Alabama;



PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND AND HIS CABINET, 1893.

Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton, of Nebraska; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

In the President's inaugural address, he followed the obvious lines of his well-known policy. He dwelt in particular upon the necessity of a complete reform in the revenue system of the United States, urging upon Congress the duty of substituting for high

and more humane aspect of civilization. On the 31st of May, 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition was opened, amid salvos of exultation, by President Cleveland, who pressed an electric button and set all the immense machinery in motion. The firing of cannon, the waving of flags, the playing of bands, were the vehement manifestations of the general rejoicing. The marvelous "White City" of architectural splendors now presented a sight that was dazzlingly



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—WOMAN'S BUILDING.

This structure was the work of a woman architect, Miss Sophia G. Hayden, of Boston, whose design was considered one of the most elegant of those submitted for any of the Exposition buildings.

protection the policy of customs-duties for revenue, with only such incidental protective features as might appear in the nature of the case. From the very beginning, however, it was manifest that the adoption of the new policy was to be hampered and impeded by every kind of cross-purpose known to legislative bodies, and in particular by the interests of those who were the representatives of the protected industries.

From this condition of civil and political affairs, the attention and interest of the people were soon fortunately directed to another

beautiful. To the visitor it seemed a dream of Oriental magnificence, affording such an object lesson of energy, capacity, and genius as no other country had ever revealed.

It was quite two months after the opening, however, before the disturbing sounds of saw, hammer, and rumbling wagons ceased. The unsightly scaffolding was at length removed; all the exhibits were disposed, and the gigantic Fair was presented in its perfected and symmetrical grandeur. No transformation scene was ever more extraordinary than that which revealed Jackson Park con-

verted from a wild, semi-chaotic covert of tangled brushwood and noxious marsh into a Heliopolis of splendor, made beautiful by the sublimest arts that ever found expression.

The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building held its proud position as the most imposing structure ever reared on earth. It

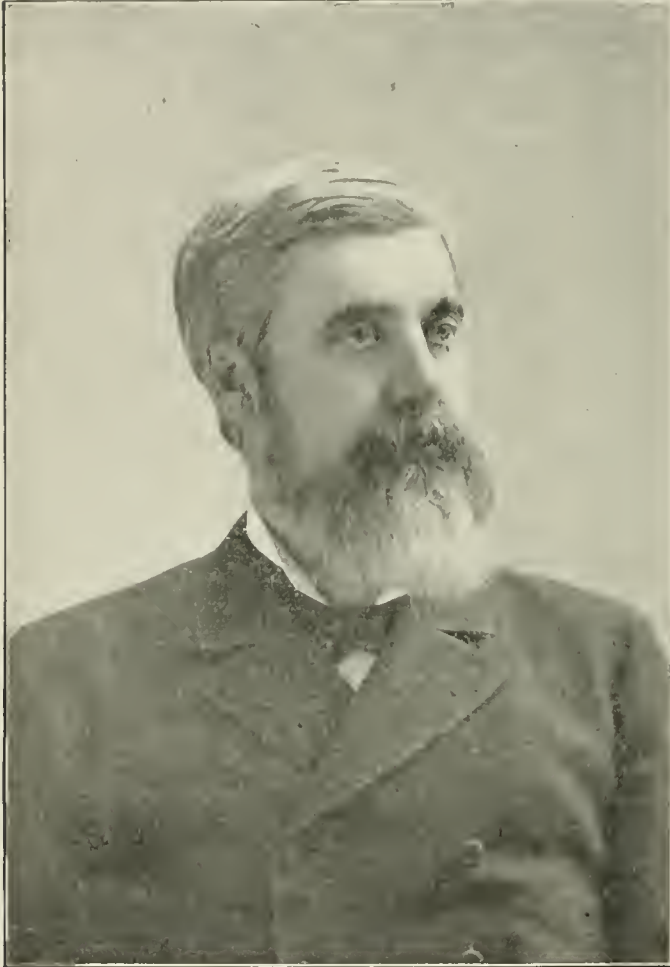
the wealth of the globe seemed to be here gathered and exposed as the expression of peace triumphant.

The architecture of many of the buildings showed a wide range of treatment; yet in the style and grouping there was a remarkable harmony—a blending of color and design as charming as unique. The material used in the construction was necessarily perishable—to

the end that the most imposing effects might be produced at a minimum of cost. It required a genius of economy to construct a magnificent palace at the expense of a few thousand dollars; but the genius was not wanting for the work. A cheap material was found in "staff," a composition of cement and plaster-of-paris, possessing little durability, but having, when properly applied, the appearance of white stone. Over the skeleton structure of the several buildings this composition was laid, giving to them the appearance of marble palaces. The embellishment of statuary was added in the same manner. The roadways were artistically laid out, and substantially made of macadam, with a top dressing of red gravel, while the lagoon of stagnant water was converted into a Venetian canal that wound through the Park in a most picturesque manner.

Over the course of this beautiful canal a number of electric launches and gondolas plied,

carrying throngs of delighted passengers. Communication between various parts of the ground was facilitated also by means of an elevated intramural railway. This made a circuit of the whole area at such a rate of speed as rendered the aerial voyage exceedingly agreeable. A refreshing and restful ride was likewise provided by what



WALTER Q. GRESHAM,

Secretary of State under the Second Administration of Cleveland.

occupied an area of more than thirty acres, lifting its imperious towers to an altitude of 250 feet. But though excelling in proportions, the Manufactures Building held no other pre-eminence above the many other structures in Jackson Park. So varied, so select, so excellent, so beautiful, so artistic, and so gigantic were these edifices that all



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—SCENE ON THE LAGOON WITH HORTICULTURAL BUILDING IN THE BACKGROUND.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

was known as the movable sidewalk, a unique application of the principle of the endless chain. A double platform was operated at different rates of speed, so as to enable passengers to step on or off while the sidewalk was in motion. On the speedier platform, seats were arranged, and on these the passengers were carried over a pier that extended one thousand feet into the lake. Roller or invalid chairs were used by those who could afford the luxury of such a conveyance.

To give a satisfactory description of all the exhibits of the Exposition would require volumes. All nations and lands being represented, the Fair was a universal, commercial, and ethnographic congress, in which were brought together all conceivable products of forge, loom, field, and finger; a place where gathered all races of men, from the Esquimaux to the Equatorial blacks, and where cannibal savagery shook hands with the highest types of civilization.

While it is not desirable to describe all the hundreds and thousands of wonderful and beautiful displays, yet some of the exhibits were such as to require the particular attention of the reader.

The Government Building was filled with objects that claimed the closest interest, and next to the Manufactures Building, drew the largest crowds of visitors. Here were displayed the most ancient as well as the most improved implements of war. Here were gathered the firelocks, fuses, arquebusses, matchlocks, blunderbusses, and other obsolete firearms, arranged in such a manner as to show the evolution of weaponry—to display, in comparison with the latest revolving, breech-loading arms and the heaviest cannon for coast defenses, the rudest weapons of savagery.

Beside these was placed an arsenal in which the machinery for boring great guns was in operation, and the making of cartridges was illustrated by the actual industry. All the arts of war were admirably represented by figures in proper uniform; the pontoon corps, sappers and miners, the topographic corps, signal corps, field hospitals, and effi-

gies of privates, officers, troopers, and foot soldiers, with the uniforms and accoutrements of the whole world militant.

In another department of the same building was the fishery exhibit, with specimens of nearly every fresh- and salt-water fish and furbearing pelagic animal. A large fish-hatching establishment was also shown in operation; and a display was made of boats and implements used in the whale, cod, and sturgeon fisheries.

Between the Government Building and the lake was a broad plaza where several pieces of ordnance were mounted, including rifled cannon, mortars, and rapid-firing guns. Near the water's edge, by the walk, were sections of heavy ship-armor that had been pierced by steel-pointed shells exhibiting the extraordinary penetrating power of improved projectiles. A full-sized battleship, with mounted guns, and a complete complement of men and officers, lay alongside the pier, on which were daily naval drills. Near by was a life-saving station with full equipment of boats and accessories. The numerous white tents, in which the members of the service were quartered, added the general appearance of an army encamped in the midst of the tremendous implements of war.

A curious sight in this vicinity was the Viking Ship, from Norway. The antique vessel was manned by a crew of Norwegian sailors. The Viking scallop lay moored beside the shore near the battleship. It was a copy, down to the minutest detail of construction, of the ship found at Gokstad, Norway, in 1889—a vessel supposed to have sailed the seas one thousand years ago. The old relic of the Vikings is now sacredly preserved in the National Museum at Christiania. The new, like the old, was an open boat, seventy-five feet in length over all, sixty-seven and one half feet at the water line, and sixty feet of keel. The propulsion was by means of a square sail, or by oars when the weather permitted their use.

In this open boat, in the early summer of 1893, Captain Magnus Anderson and eleven companions came from Bergen, Norway, to New London, Connecticut, in forty-three days.

The daring company passed safely through more than one severe storm, and with fair wind and smooth sailing, averaging ten or twelve miles an hour, came bravely through the North Atlantic. This nautical feat makes that of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina* seem insignificant. It was in such a craft, or canoe, that Leif Ericson made his voyage from Greenland to the then un-

duction of the fleet in which Columbus made his first voyage of discovery. The *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*, each manned by a Spanish crew, and each built to reproduce the original, even to cordage, equipment, armament, and colors, were among the great wonders of the Exposition. The three vessels had already participated in the naval review and celebration of the New



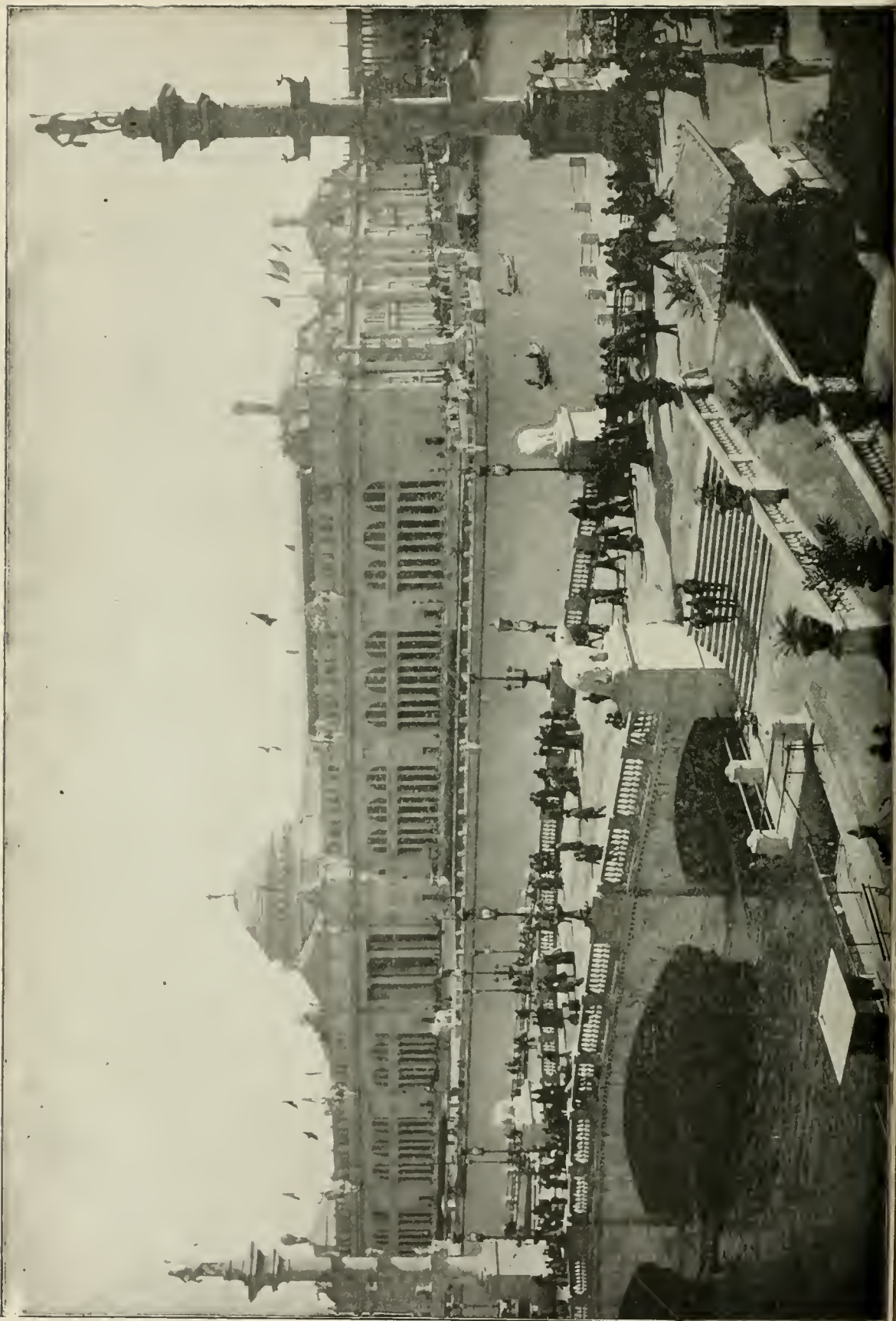
WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE VIKING SHIP.—From a Photograph.

known regions of the midnight land of the West in the year 1001; such a vessel was the first to touch the shores of the New World. The successful passage of the Atlantic by this frail craft must effectually remove all doubt as to the ability of Ericson, Thorfinn Karlsefne, and Björne, those adventurous Vikings of the tenth century, to accomplish the voyages credited to them by the Sagas.

Below the Viking ship, and in front of the Agricultural Building, was anchored a repro-

World discovery, August 3, 1892, at Palos, the port of departure. In February following, the vessels sailed for America, the *Nina* and the *Pinta* being under escort of the United States cruisers *Bennington* and *Newark*, and the *Santa Maria* accompanied by a Spanish man-of-war.

The squadron arrived at Hampton Roads, April 21, 1893—the place of rendezvous of the foreign and American navies that appeared in the great naval parade in New



York. After their participation in that great event, the three vessels were sent in tow, by way of the St. Lawrence and lake route, to Chicago, where they arrived in due season, and were given a national welcome.

Near by the three Columbian ships on an elevation overlooking the lake, was a reproduction of the Palos Convent of La Rabida, where Columbus once and again halted in a half-famished condition. There he besought the good Father Perez to give a morsel of

that was ever made. Among the collection, rising above its fellow-engines of destruction, was a 122-ton gun, the largest that the great German cannon-maker has ever produced. It constituted a wonder worth miles of travel to behold. The 1,200-pound steel-pointed projectile lay in a cradle of the hydraulic loading crane beside the gun, and likewise a canister bag containing 600 pounds of powder to be used in propelling the tremendous thunderbolt to a distance of twenty



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—CONVENT OF LA RABIDA (reproduced).—From a Photograph.

food to stay the hunger of himself and his son Diego. Every detail of the convent was a reproduction of the original La Rabida. Its quaint rooms were filled with Columbian relics, including a casket in which reposed for a while the bones of the great discoverer.

South of La Rabida Convent was a building of considerable size, devoted to Krupp's exhibit of great guns for field, siege, and fortress, and man-of-war. Here might be seen the greatest display of giant weaponry

miles. This immense gun, and its machinery for loading and firing, required a large ship for its transportation across the ocean, and two specially-made steel cars for its conveyance to Chicago. As a mark of his respect for America, Krupp presented the gun and its machinery to the city of Chicago, where it remains permanently, an enduring symbol of the reign of force, and a memento of the Columbian Exposition.

Still further towards the south was an

Esquiman village, and an Alaskan exhibit of natives, boats, huts, and totem poles. Beyond these a little way were teocallis, or prehistoric Central American temples. Near by was a reproduction of the cliff-dwellings of the Rio Moncos Cañon, in Southwestern Colorado. In the museum were implements of stone and bone, and also numerous utensils of domestic use made of clay; also mats, sandals, and wrappings deftly woven from the yucca palm, to the raising of which the American cliff-dwellers devoted most of their labors. Here were also shown a score or more of skulls, and several mummied bodies of this ancient and extinct race.

The Fine Arts Building was situated at the north end of the lagoon, from which the structure arose in classical grandeur. Those who sailed the lagoon might alight from the gondolas on broad flights of stone steps leading up through the colonnade to the southern portal. Besides the principal structure, there were two annexes, in like architectural style. In this building were displayed the art products—the paintings in particular—of all the nations of the world. Certain it is that no other exhibit of pictorial glories, with the possible exception of that of the Paris Exposition of 1889, ever rivaled the display here made in the art department of the Columbian Fair held in an American city, founded within the memory of men still living!

It is not practicable within the limits of this work to enter into a detailed account of the thousands of art trophies exhibited at the great Exposition. Perhaps the most splendid of all the displays was that of France, though there were not wanting many critics who conceded the palm to the artists of Great Britain. Some considered the display made by the artists of the United States equal to any other. The departments of Austria and Belgium were also of the highest merit. The Slavic artists, both Russians and Poles, contributed many pictures worthy of immortality. It is probable that the French section, in which the high-light and realistic paintings were exhibited, was the most splendid of all. Here, though the throngs were not equal to those ever present among the

displays of material industries and merely useful arts, the intellectual and ideal men and women of great races gathered from day to day, feasting their eyes upon the most magnificent products of the human genius.

Nearly opposite the building of Fine Arts, at the other entrance of the lagoon, was the great structure devoted to the display of electrical apparatus and phenomena. This exhibit was perhaps the most characteristic of all, in this, that it represented the scientific spirit of our age. No such display of the wonders of electricity, and of the machines and contrivances in which that mighty and all-pervading force has been made to show its sublime results was ever before possible—not even at the Paris Exposition of 1889; for even the quadrennium intervening had wrought wonders in the progress of the electrical arts. If the visitors to the Department of Fine Arts included the idealists, the dreamers and poets of the world, those who thronged the building in which the electrical display was made included the thinkers, inventors, and forerunners of mankind in all those arts that have force for their minister, and contrivance for their visible expression.

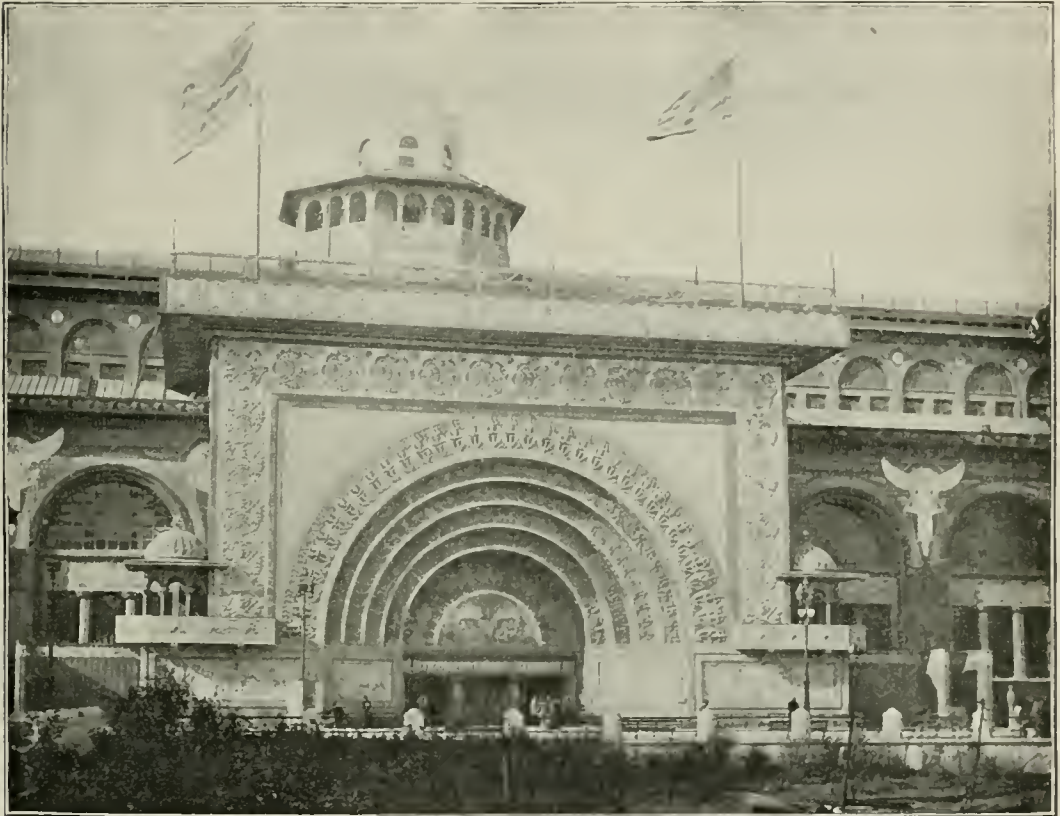
Over to the west was placed what was known as the Transportation Building. The fundamental idea in this great structure and in the display made therein was to exhibit in orderly succession the various stages of progress made by man in his means of locomotion and conveyance. The exhibits in this department were arranged in order of chronological development, showing each stage from the rudest contrivance of barbarians and savages to the most splendid and perfect means of transportation in our day—from the lumbering cart on land and the rude dugout on running stream to the magnificent train of parlor-cars and sleeping-coaches and the greatest steamships that plow the deep. The entrance or doorway to the Transportation Building, designed by the architect Sullivan, was one of the glories of the World's Columbian Exposition, being declared by many to be the most splendid entrance ever constructed by man.

Space fails in which to enumerate even the

leading edifices in which the great Exposition of the works of the human race was made. The exhibit of fish and fisheries was given in a building not far from the eastern annex of the Fine Arts Building. Here, in huge tanks, were arranged in scientific order, all the known species of fresh-water fishes, and all the more important variety of fishes from the sea. These might be seen, as in their native habitats, sporting and feeding and reproduc-

study the varying products of the world, from the giant ferns of Australia to the hardy lichens of the Arctic coasts; from the bread-fruit of the tropics to the apples of Siberia; from the roses of Persia to the microscopic blossoms of the snow-cliffs of the Sierras.

Among the features of interest at the World's Columbian Exposition was the Midway Plaisance, lying between Jackson and Washington Parks. This celebrated place



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—ENTRANCE TO TRANSPORTATION BUILDING—THE SULLIVAN DOORWAY.
From a Photograph.

ing in the manner of nature. Here were sharks, dogfish, rays, skates, flounders, grenadiers, lampreys, lobsters, crabs, soles, starfish, and fresh-water creatures—everything from whales to infusoriae.

The peaceful aspects and beautiful products of the natural world were displayed in the Horticultural Building, where were gathered nearly all the varieties of flowers and fruits growing on the earth. Here the visitor might

may be regarded as a sort of ethnological adjunct to the Exposition proper. It was a feature which, like all other things, had grown from small beginnings. The origin of it may be traced back as far as the Crystal Palace Exposition, at London, in 1851. The Plaisance was about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in width. It had the form of a broad street, or avenue, with the exhibits, or features, arranged on either side.

The shows here gathered were essentially racial—ethnological. Nearly all the half-civilized nations of the world had sent thither colonies of their people, bringing their architecture, rude arts, and customs with them. The historical element was not wanting; for many of the establishments represented former aspects of the social life and industries of mankind. Such was the Irish village, and such was the old German keep, or castle, with its narrow ways and surrounding moat and bridges. The Javanese village was one of

advantage of the things to be seen in the Plaisance, and of a knowledge of them to the historical and ethnical inquirer, was very great; but the vicious classes made these object lessons of the Orient to be no more than a gratification of the baser feelings and mere sensual curiosity.

Any sketch of the World's Columbian Exposition would be incomplete which did not mention, with some note of wonder and praise, the gigantic wheel erected in Jackson Park, from designs and plans formed by a

young engineer of Illinois, named G. W. G. Ferris. This daring projector of the greatest revolving spectacle ever witnessed by man was a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y. Though only thirty-five years of age, he had distinguished himself as a builder of cantilever bridges. The Ferris wheel was little short of a miracle. It was made for the most part of steel. The materials were prepared at Detroit. The central shaft was forty-five feet in length, and thirty-two inches in diameter. This was raised to the gudgeons in which it revolved at a height of a hundred and forty feet. The circumference of the wheel was occupied with thirty-six passenger cars, hung in the outer rim, each car having a capacity of fifty passengers. The cars, in going over, rose to the height of 268 feet from the earth. The passengers in going over rose skyward until they might have looked down a distance of



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION. THE "STREET IN CAIRO," MIDWAY PLAISANCE.
From a Photograph.

many of its kind, showing, as if in object lesson, the natives of remote and insular regions in the same habits and surroundings as in their own country. Of this kind was the village of Samoans, and of similar order were the establishments of the Chinese, the Algerians, the Moors, and the Copts.

Oriental theaters were another feature of the Plaisance, in which the Western races were able to witness, as in the East, the dramatical plays and sensuous dances of the North African and West Asian peoples. The

prepared at Detroit. The central shaft was forty-five feet in length, and thirty-two inches in diameter. This was raised to the gudgeons in which it revolved at a height of a hundred and forty feet. The circumference of the wheel was occupied with thirty-six passenger cars, hung in the outer rim, each car having a capacity of fifty passengers. The cars, in going over, rose to the height of 268 feet from the earth. The passengers in going over rose skyward until they might have looked down a distance of

fifty feet on the top of Bunker Hill monument, if that tremendous obelisk had stood near by. The building skill of Ferris in the construction of this monstrous contrivance was not only vindicated, but the enterprise itself proved to be popular and highly profitable to the management.

Connected with the World's Columbian Exposition were a number of notable congresses. The chief of these was the Congress of Religions, the sessions of which were held during the latter half of September. At this remarkable meeting were gathered representatives of nearly all the great religions and philosophies of mankind. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians, and

the 28th of the month, the city was plunged into consternation and grief by the assassination in his own house of Mayor Carter H. Harrison, to whose great abilities, persistency, and unwearied exertion not a little of the success of the World's Fair should be attributed. It had been his duty for fully six months to act as the representative of the city in its relation with distinguished foreign visitors, committees, delegations, and the like, and in all of these duties he had borne himself with distinguished ability and dignity. A lunatic, named Pendergast, conceived that the mayor should have appointed him to office, and under this hallucination gained entrance to the mayor's home, and



WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE FERRIS WHEEL.

Christians sat down together in amity, and discussed for many days the tenets of their respective faiths, and the points of excellence which each claimed for his own. It may be doubted, however, whether either the opinions or the practices of mankind were improved or modified by the gathering of religious leaders, each of whom must, in the nature of the case, spend his energies in converting instead of being converted.

It had been the purpose of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition to close the same on the 30th of October. It was intended to make that day, if possible, the most glorious of all the days of the memorable summer. An elaborate program was prepared, and great preparations made for the closing exercises, when suddenly, on

shot him dead. The ceremonies that had been planned for the close of the Exposition were accordingly abandoned, and on the 30th of the month the October sun went down on the so-called "White City," over which funereal silence settled with the night.

The great structures demanded for the accommodation of the World's Columbian Exposition cost approximately nineteen millions of dollars! Nor does it appear that the construction was other than economical. Nearly every edifice in Jackson Park was erected for the summer, and without respect to permanence. It would appear that in this particular the management was at fault. Perhaps it was not foreseen that the tremendous creations of the year could not be removed and destroyed without producing a

sentiment of regret, if not of actual pain, to the whole American people. It had been wiser that a considerable part of the buildings, at least, should be permanent. The managers of Jackson Park, however, had decreed otherwise. The foolish edict was, that the park should be restored, as nearly as possible, to its former condition—a thing virtually impossible.

After the Exposition, the demolition of the White City was undertaken. To the eye the work was as if the Goths and Vandals of ten ages had been loosed to do their will on the sublimest culture of the nineteenth century. While the work of tearing down and removing the great buildings was in progress, a fire broke out, which became first a conflagration, and afterward a tornado of flaming horror, the light of which might have been visible a hundred miles. The elements conspired at the last to reduce to gas and ashes the residue of that sublime aggregation of structure, the equal of which had not hitherto been seen by the sons of men.

To the nineteen million dollars expended for buildings was added the expenditure of about ten millions in other outlays. The total cost of the Exposition was reported at \$30,558,849. The total receipts were \$32,796,103. The result of an excess of receipts over expenditures might well be noted as the crowning marvel of the enterprise. Our wonder in this particular is heightened when we reflect that the premonitory swirl of the great financial panic of 1893-94 fell fatally on the country during the months of the Exposition. Moreover, the subdued fear of a cholera epidemic was among the people—a circumstance not to be overlooked when we reflect upon the exposure to which the city of Chicago was necessarily subjected in the summer of 1893. Notwithstanding all this, the Columbian Exposition went forward to a triumphant conclusion. Neither the great financial panic nor the fear of cholera was able to prevent the glorious consummation of the work and the congratulation of all the civilized peoples of the globe on the splendid results of the enterprise.

Before the close of the Columbian Exposi-

tion, the so-called Cherokee Strip, a fertile and attractive part of the Indian Territory, was opened for settlement to the whites. In accordance with the law of Congress, six million acres of desirable lands were offered for sale. The result showed that the passion for landownership and for settlement and colonization and the building up of States is not yet extinct in the American people. The date fixed for the sale of the lands was the 16th of September, 1893. There was a great rush for the new territory, and about one hundred thousand settlers suddenly threw themselves into it with a zeal of competition for homes that amounted almost to battle.

Meanwhile, the political life, as expressed in the legislative action of the Nation, dragged on through much contention. On the 30th of October, 1893, the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman Law was unconditionally repealed by Congress. This was the last of the series of acts which, beginning with the demonetization of silver, in 1873, and extending, with various revivals of the controversy, over a period of twenty years, finally resulted in at least the temporary establishment of the single gold standard of values in the United States instead of the standard according to the silver unit which was fixed at the foundation of the Government by the Statute of 1792.

The tariff legislation of this epoch, by unsettling values, contributed not a little to the overwhelming disaster of the times. Whether the tariff reform advocated by Cleveland and the Democratic party was or was not a thing wise to be undertaken, certain it is that values were, for the time, ruinously affected by the acts of the current Congress. The tariff legislation took form in a bill prepared by Representative William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, which, though not a measure of free trade and not a measure founded on the principle of a tariff for revenue only, nevertheless included as much of these two principles as the expediency of the hour would bear.

The Wilson Bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the Senate. In that body the monopolies had so

great an influence that a measure proposed by Senator Gorman, including a tariff on coal and iron, and a differential duty on refined sugar, was included in the Wilson Bill, and forced upon the reluctant House. Such was the odium created by this measure, which was adopted on the 13th of August, that the elections following hard after went overwhelmingly against the Democrats.

While this legislative work was in progress, the industrial depression and discontent and suffering of the people led to the most alarming consequences. Strikes and lockouts became the order of the day. Business failures resounded through the land like the falling of a forest. Commerce dwindled away. Presently, in the latter part of April, 1894, a hundred and thirty thousand miners in Pennsylvania and the Ohio valley stopped work, and were joined immediately afterward by fully twenty-five thousand others. Nearly all the coke-plants in Western Pennsylvania were closed. Meanwhile, the discontented and half-starved people began to show their desires and passions in a way never hitherto displayed in the United States.

Those who had been thrown out of employment began to combine, without knowing why, into what was known as the Army of the Commonweal. One such army, under the leadership of J. S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, marched on Washington City, to demand employment from the National Government. Another band came on from the far West, under the leadership of their so-called "General" Kelley. Railway cars were appropriated here and there by these complainants for transportation. Collisions occurred between

divisions of the army and various bodies of troops.

On the 30th of May these men of the Commonweal made a demonstration on the steps of the Capitol at Washington. The authorities of the District, on the alert for some excuse, found the leaders of the army on the



WILLIAM L. WILSON.

Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, Second Administration of Cleveland.

Capitol grounds on the grass, in a place forbidden. Coxey and Carl Browne were here-upon arrested for trespassing, and were convicted and imprisoned. During the whole summer of 1894, these strange movements of the discontented people continued at various places.

Meanwhile, riots broke out in the coke regions near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On the 4th of April, 1894, six persons were killed there. Serious disturbances among the miners occurred in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, and Kansas. In many places the State militia was called out, and petty fights occurred. At Cripple Creek, in Colorado, a great riot took place, and prominent citizens were seized and held for some time as hostages.

Hard after this came a prodigious scandal in the politics of New York City. There a vile system had been established under the alleged auspices of the Tammany Society. There came at length a revolt of public sentiment. Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, a noted preacher of the metropolis, led a public crusade against the iniquitous government of the city. It transpired that the saloons and disorderly houses of New York had, in many instances, entered into corrupt combination with the police officials, paying them for the privilege of carrying on their vicious and unlawful pursuits without disturbance. Bribery and blackmail had spread through all the purlieus of the city.

It was under these conditions that the Senate of New York appointed a committee to investigate the shocking condition of the metropolis, and placed at the head Senator Lexow, whose name passed into the history of the day. The revelations made by the committee were astounding. A municipal election came on, and the Tammany Society was routed. A People's ticket was successful against the most powerful political organization in America, backed as it was by an average majority of sixty thousand votes. For the time, at least, a better state of affairs was brought about in the leading American city.

The fall elections of 1894 went overwhelmingly against the Democratic party. It were hard to say whether the triumph of that party only two years previously, or its disaster at the middle of the Cleveland administration, was greater. As a matter of fact, the election of Cleveland, in 1892, was not a great indorsement of the Democratic party.

Neither was the overthrow of that party, two years afterward, a popular indorsement of the Republican party. Both of these great elections were in the nature of rebukes administered by a dissatisfied and ultimately independent people, first to one party, and then to another.

The beginning of the second administration of Cleveland was troubled with a complication relative to Hawaii. During the recent Republican ascendancy in the Government, an American party had appeared among the Hawaiians, favoring the abolition of the native monarchy, the substitution of a republic therefor, and the ultimate annexation of the islands to the United States.

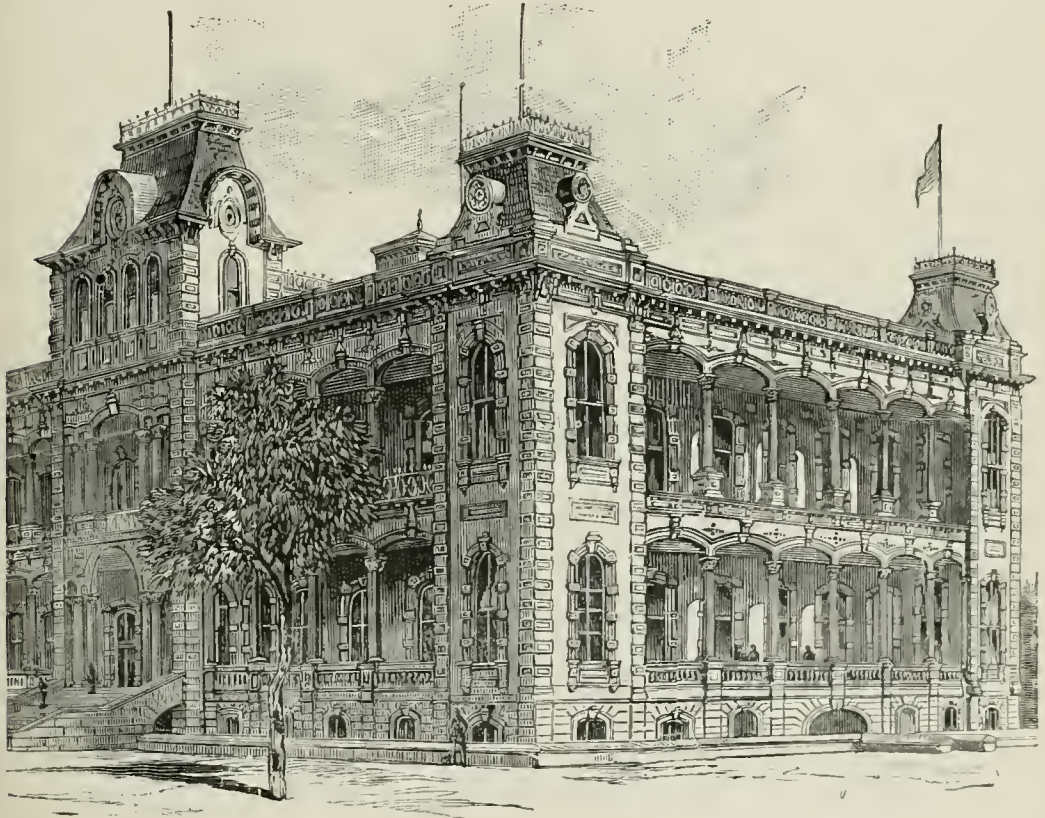
This policy had the support of the administration of Harrison. A Hawaiian insurrection broke out, and Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned. A treaty of annexation was prepared, and the movement for joining the islands to the United States was under full way when Cleveland came again into the Presidency. His policy differed from that of his predecessor. He sent an agent named Blount to Hawaii, to report on the political conditions there present, and the request was made that the proposed treaty of annexation be returned to the State Department at Washington.

On the 14th of April, 1893, came the report of Blount, which was so adverse to the policy hitherto pursued by our Government that the President ordered a protectorate of the United States, which had been established over Hawaii, to be withdrawn. On the 27th of May, the American flag, which had been run up over the public buildings at Honolulu, and had briefly floated there, was pulled down, and the affairs of the island were remanded to native authority. For a time it appeared that the queen would be restored; but the Republican party had now become so strong that the insular monarchy could not be readily set up again. A republic was presently established by the Hawaiians, led by the Americans resident in the islands, and Mr. Dole, an American, was elected president.

To this period belongs also the important

arbitration between the United States and Great Britain relative to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. In that remote water a serious controversy had arisen between the vessels of the two nations, and acts of violence had taken place. The question was whether the jurisdiction of the United States, with the consequent exclusive right of American sealers to ply their vocation, extended

duced the seal product in Behring Sea, and threatened the extinction of the valuable industry. On the 29th of February, 1892, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the two powers, agreeing to refer the controversy to an International Board of Arbitration. The court thus provided convened on the 23d of March, at Paris, and it was agreed that a temporary understanding,



THE ROYAL PALACE AT HONOLULU.—CAPITOL OF THE HAWAIIAN REPUBLIC.

out from the seal islands seaward to the deep waters of Behring Sea. Our Government was disposed to hold that the doctrine of *mare clausum*, or the "shut-up sea" held in this case, while Great Britain—turning from her ancient policy of the shut sea to the doctrine of *mare liberum*, or "free sea"—now espoused the principle which the United States had previously maintained.

The ravages of the ships of both nations in the deep waters had already greatly re-

duced the seal product in Behring Sea, and threatened the extinction of the valuable industry. On the 29th of February, 1892, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the two powers, agreeing to refer the controversy to an International Board of Arbitration. The court thus provided convened on the 23d of March, at Paris, and it was agreed that a temporary understanding,

called *modus vivendi*, regulating the conduct of the nations, should be extended to the 31st of October, 1893. The final result was a decision against the United States on the main question at issue; namely, that our Government could *not* extend its authority to open waters of the Behring Sea. An award of damages to the extent of \$425,000 was also made against the United States.

The latter part of the year 1894 was still further troubled with alarming difficulties

between the employees and the proprietors of the great manufacturing establishments of the country. On the 17th of July, ten thousand workmen in the great textile manufactories of New Bedford, Mass., struck against a reduction of wages, and soon afterward no fewer than twenty-three thousand operatives at Fall River were locked out by the mana-

fact that the principle for which the workmen contended was just, the public necessity of having the cars operated, and the combined powers of organization and wealth calling upon the authorities, municipal and military, of the city to put down the strikers and rioters, prevailed, and the strike was suppressed—not, however, until several seri-



SEAL COAST IN THE PRIBYLOFFS.—ISLAND OF ST. PAUL.—From a Photograph.

This illustration, inserted to elucidate the Behring Sea Seal controversy, has an added interest since the publication by David Starr Jordan of his historical and scientific story "Matka and Kotik," of which the Pribyloffs are the scene.

gers. Then came the strike of the journeymen tailors of New York City, which was long continued, and disastrous alike to employers and employees. In the latter part of January, 1895, a dreadful strike occurred of the employees of the electrical street-car companies of Brooklyn. In this movement about twenty-five thousand men were involved. Notwithstanding the well-known

ous conflicts, involving the loss of life and great distress to the people, had occurred.

In that epoch which we are now considering, one event of the most portentous character occurred. The coal strike practically ended on the 18th of June, 1894. The losses entailed upon the coal-mine owners and the operatives were estimated at twenty millions of dollars. On the 26th of June, just after-

ward, the American Railway Union, a powerful organization of operatives, declared a boycott against the Pullman Palace Car Company, having its offices and manufacturing establishments at the town of Pullman, near Chicago.

This boycott was proclaimed by the American Railway Union as an act of sympathy with the striking employees of the Pullman Company. The Company refused to submit to arbitration. Notwithstanding the enormous profits of the corporation, regularly declared on a capital which had been watered until it was more than twelve times as great as at first, the wages of the employees had been time and again reduced, and other oppressive measures had been taken, until the operatives were brought to the verge of desperation. When they struck against further oppression, the Railway Union declared the boycott against the cars, and immediately a tremendous array of power was exhibited on both sides of the controversy.

A great blockade of railway freight and of passenger trains on the roads centering in Chicago was established. The mails in some cases were delayed. The strike spread as far as San Francisco, and in two days traffic was practically suspended. The organic forces of society now rallied.

On the 2d of July, the United States courts in Chicago issued sweeping injunctions against the strikers. Regular troops under command of General Miles were sent to the scene to suppress rioting. On the 6th of July a great riot occurred; many were killed, and two hundred and twenty-five cars were burned.

Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, and his fellow-officers

were arrested on a factitious charge of contempt of court. President Cleveland issued a proclamation on the 8th of July, and ordered a division of the standing army to suppress the riots in California. Gradually the strikers in Chicago were put down, and by the 15th of the month the movement was suppressed. Soon afterward a commission, headed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, was appointed by the President of the United

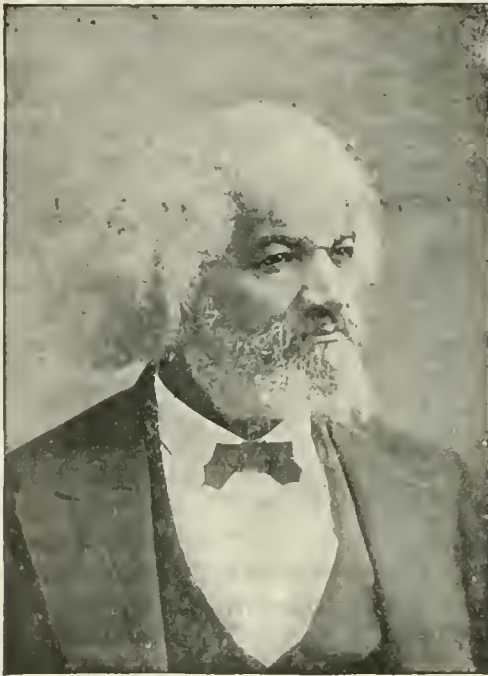


HONORABLE CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner of Labor for the United States.

States to investigate the origin, character, and results of the strike. By this commission the true nature of the event was discovered and established. The report showed that the whole blame for the disaster rested upon the Pullman Company, and that the strikers, except in a very few desultory instances, had not been guilty of either breaking the law or doing other violence to society. In course of a few months, Debs

and his fellow-officers of the American Railway Union were brought to trial for the alleged contempt of court, in not answering a summons thereof; and for this they were convicted and sent to prison.

During the administration of Harrison and the second administration of Cleveland, a number of prominent Americans passed away by death. On the 16th of November, 1893, Ex-President James McCosh, of Princeton College, died, at the age of eighty-three. On



FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

the 13th of the following April, David Dudley Field, of New York, one of the most distinguished jurists of the United States, expired, at the advanced age of eighty nine. On the following day, Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, passed away, aged sixty-four; and at nearly the same hour, General Henry W. Slocum, who had reached his sixty-seventh year, died in Brooklyn. On the 7th of June, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, the greatest philologist of our country, passed away, at the age of sixty-seven.

On the 20th of February, 1895, the distinguished Frederick Douglass died at his home

in Washington. He had long been recognized as the leading African of the world. Since the days of Toussaint l'Ouverture, no man of black visage in any part of the world had been the peer of Frederick Douglass. At the time of his death he had entered his seventy-ninth year. It would appear that although white blood mingled with the Nigritian in his veins, he was nevertheless a true African. His attainments were remarkable. His patriotism was as conspicuous as his humanity. Born a slave, he had lived to become one of the greatest leaders of his epoch. Having on his shoulders the cruel marks of the driver's lash, he had in his brain, none the less, the visions of the dawn, and in his soul all the music of the song-birds of freedom.

The work of transforming Territories into States of the Union was continued during the second administration of Cleveland. In the early summer of 1894 an act was passed to enable Utah to become a State, and this act was signed by President Cleveland on the 17th of July. A constitution was prepared and voted on by the people. This being found to accord with the Constitution of the United States, and to comply with the provisions of the Edmunds Law, that State, after remaining for forty years in the Territorial condition, was formally admitted into the Union on the 6th of January, 1895.

In the last quarter of the century, the progress of civilization into the great Northwest, and perhaps some changes of climate in that region, have brought the disastrous accompanying circumstance of the destruction of great forests by fire. On several occasions, in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, these fires have broken out, spreading from neighborhood to neighborhood, and from county to county, devastating the country for many square miles, and leaving nothing behind but earth and ashes.

On the 10th of September, 1894, one such fire broke out in Northern Michigan, and raged for about a week. For two or three days the conflagration was appalling. The forests were swept down like fields of stubble. Similar fires occurred in Wisconsin and parts

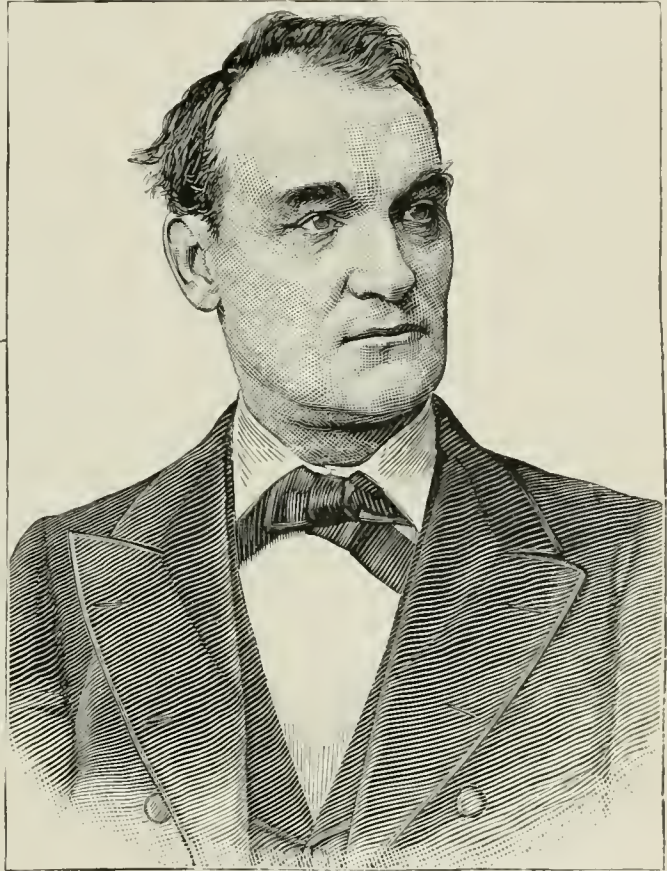
of Minnesota. In the last-named State the towns of Hinckley and Mission Creek were utterly destroyed. So sudden and dreadful was the visitation that in these two towns alone, three hundred and fifty persons perished in the flames. In the various neighborhoods that were ruined by these conflagrations, it was estimated that from 1,200 to 1,500 lives were lost. The destruction of property was quite incalculable.

On the third of December in this year, the last session of the Fifty-third Congress began. In his message, President Cleveland recommended the increase of the American army to its full legal strength of 25,000 men. He also indorsed the project for building additional battleships and torpedo boats, thus following the line of policy laid down nearly twenty years previously by Samuel J. Tilden. It was one of the peculiarities of public opinion, at this time, that it seemed to fall back upon the notion of making strong the Republic by increasing its military power—this in the face of the well-known fact that such preparations are a sign of decadence rather than of strength.

The President also urged such modifications in the tariff schedule as would transfer coal and iron to the free list, and would remove the so-called differential duties from refined sugar. He also recommended the increase of the gold reserve in the treasury by the issuance of gold-bearing bonds. The enormous expenditures which had been made by the Fifty-second Congress, and also by the Fifty-third, had threatened with depletion the gold reserve, which was kept without warrant of law in the Treasury of the United States.

In accordance with this policy, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 20th of Feb-

ruary, 1895, issued \$62,500,000 in thirty-year bonds at four per cent. These were taken by a syndicate of New York bankers, who secured the bonds at the rate of about four and one-half per cent. above par, and succeeded in selling them at about twelve and one quarter per cent. above par. The loss to the Government from this nefarious trans-



JOHN G. CARLISLE,
Secretary of the Treasury, Second Administration of Cleveland.

action was very great; but it was only the beginning of the process by which the bonded debt of the United States was, in the period which we are here considering, increased by \$262,000,000—this in a time of profound peace, and at a period when the people of the Nation were anxiously concerned to have the national debt *extinguished*, rather than *augmented* and *perpetuated*.

On the 4th of March, the Fifty-third Con-

gress came to an end. The appropriations for the second session amounted to more than half a billion dollars. The principal things which had been accomplished by the body were—first, the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Silver Law; secondly, the amendment of the McKinley Tariff Bill by the substitution therefor of the Wilson-Gorman Bill, which included a tax of two per cent. on the excess of incomes above \$4,000 annually; thirdly, the restoration of the duties on sugar, with a bounty of five millions to the sugar-growers. Negatively, this Congress refused to pay the sum awarded by the arbitration of Paris in favor of the British North American sealers—though the Secretary of State had agreed to the award, and though the agreement had received the indorsement of the administration.

It was in the spring of this year that those difficulties, long pending in the island of Cuba with the provincial government of Spain, came to a crisis. On the 8th of March the American merchant steamer *Alliance* was fired on off the east coast of Cuba by the Spanish cruiser *Conde de Venadido*. An insurrection gathered head in the island, and the patriots, who were the insurgents, found great leaders in José Martí, Calixto García, Maximo Gomez, and Antonio Maceo.

Spain, for her part, sent additional troops to Cuba, and the local government was assigned to the Provincial Governor-General, Valeriano Weyler, between whose administration and the Cubans the utmost animosity began to prevail.

The insurrection assumed revolutionary proportions, and for the ensuing two years a cruel provincial war was waged between the Cubans and their Spanish oppressors. Late in 1896, General Maceo was killed in an ambush, and the Cuban cause seemed about to perish with him; but the sympathy of the United States, the secret aid given to the Cubans, and their own spirit in contending with their oppressors, led to a continuance of the struggle.

For a long time there had been premonitions of serious trouble between our country and the Spanish kingdom. He who ran might

read the portent of a coming outbreak, and with closer attention he might read the inevitable result of a war between the two nations.

As far back as 1873, just after the second inauguration of General Grant as President of the United States, an incident had fallen out which for the time seriously threatened hostilities. In that year there was a Cuban insurrection, and an American vessel called the *Virginian*, plying in West Indian waters, and engaged, we do not doubt, in supplying or attempting to supply the Cuban insurgents with the means of prolonging the rebellion, was seized as a filibuster by the Spaniards, and was taken for condemnation into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. There the captain of the vessel, many of the crew, and several other persons connected with the business were condemned and put to death.

The whole affair resembled the fiasco of William Walker in Nicaragua, in 1860. But the execution of citizens of the United States, even when caught in unlawful acts in a neighboring island, was not calmly brooked by the American authorities, and great excitement followed. The Spanish Government, however, acknowledged the haste of its Cuban subordinates, made apologies, and concluded the affair by the payment of large indemnities to the representatives of those who had suffered in Santiago. Other events succeeded at intervals, well calculated to inflame the passions of both Americans and Spaniards. The morbid condition continued without relief until the summer of 1895, when, on the 12th of June, President Cleveland issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the United States to aid the Cuban insurgents; but the proclamation was little regarded.

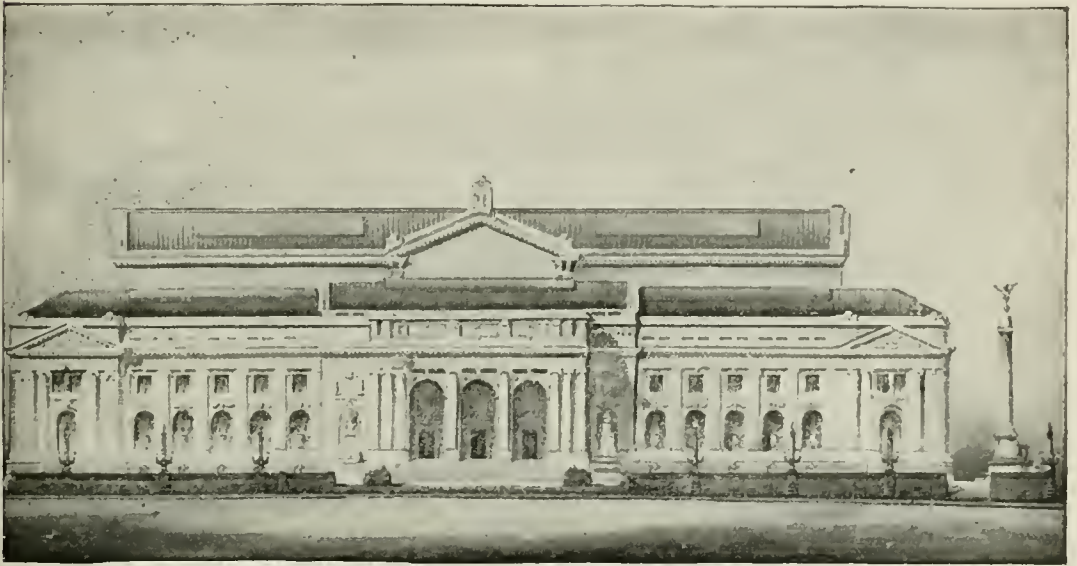
Meanwhile the political affairs of Central America tended to a complete transformation of the isolated States of that region into a Central Republic. A difficulty arose between the Nicaraguans and Great Britain. The consul of the latter power, representing the British Government at Bluefields, was illegally expelled from his place, and for this Great Britain demanded reparation, including an indemnity of \$77,500. This demand being refused by the Nicaraguans, a body of

English marines seized the custom-house at Corinto, and held it with a threat of further retaliation.

At this juncture, the Government of San Salvador offered to mediate, and the offer, being re-enforced with a guarantee of the payment of the indemnity, Great Britain relinquished the custom-house, and things went well again.

It has been mentioned above that, as a part of the work of the Fifty-third Congress, a tax of two per cent. was laid on incomes amounting to more than \$4,000 annually; that is,

condemning the remainder; some clauses thereof were said to be constitutional and the others unconstitutional; but before this decision was fairly and fully promulgated, the court reversed its own decision and declared the whole income-tax law to be unconstitutional! This was accomplished by the vote of a single justice, who changed from the affirmative to the negative side of the question, thus making a vote of five to four against the law—being a majority of one. The result was disappointing to the great mass of the people of the United States; and



PROPOSED NEW PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW YORK.

the *excess* of incomes over \$4,000 was to be taxed at the rate of two per cent. This law, if it had become effective, would have greatly increased the revenues of the Government by compelling the rich to pay a reasonable proportion of the taxes of the people. But wealth does not readily assent to be taxed. A strong combination was made against the law, and a suit to test its validity was instituted and carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Before the judges of that tribunal the cause was argued with the greatest ability and persistency. At length a decision was rendered, upholding a *part* of the law and

the disappointment found expression, as we shall see, in the platform of one of the leading parties in 1896.

Several matters may be mentioned incidentally at this period that may be properly regarded as historical. One of these was the combination of the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Libraries in New York City. For a long time the first two of these had existed as separate institutions. Samuel J. Tilden, near the end of his life, provided in his will for the institution of a new library in the city to bear his name; but the will of the great lawyer was assailed by some of the collateral heirs, and was set aside as invalid. The

heirs, however, agreed that a considerable portion of the money bequeathed for that purpose should be given to the project which Mr. Tilden desired to promote.

This circumstance led to the combination of the three libraries under one management. A great library building had already been erected on Fifth Avenue, looking into Central Park. This building was intended, first, for the Lenox Library; but the new scheme contemplated the establishment therein of the Tilden Library as well, and of the removal thereto of the Astor Library from its old station in Lafayette Place. Afterwards, however, these plans were changed, and preliminary arrangements were made to secure for a new building the old reservoir double-block at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue. Thus the city of New York secured a Public Library of fully 300,000 volumes, with property estimated at about eight million dollars. The final arrangement for this was effected on the 2d of March, 1895.

Another incident was the opening of the Harlem Ship Canal, by which the Hudson River and the East River and Long Island Sound were connected with a channel sufficiently wide and deep for the passing of ships. The visitor to the scene of this great internal improvement can but be struck with the immense possibilities that are provided by nature and man for the future of Manhattan Island.

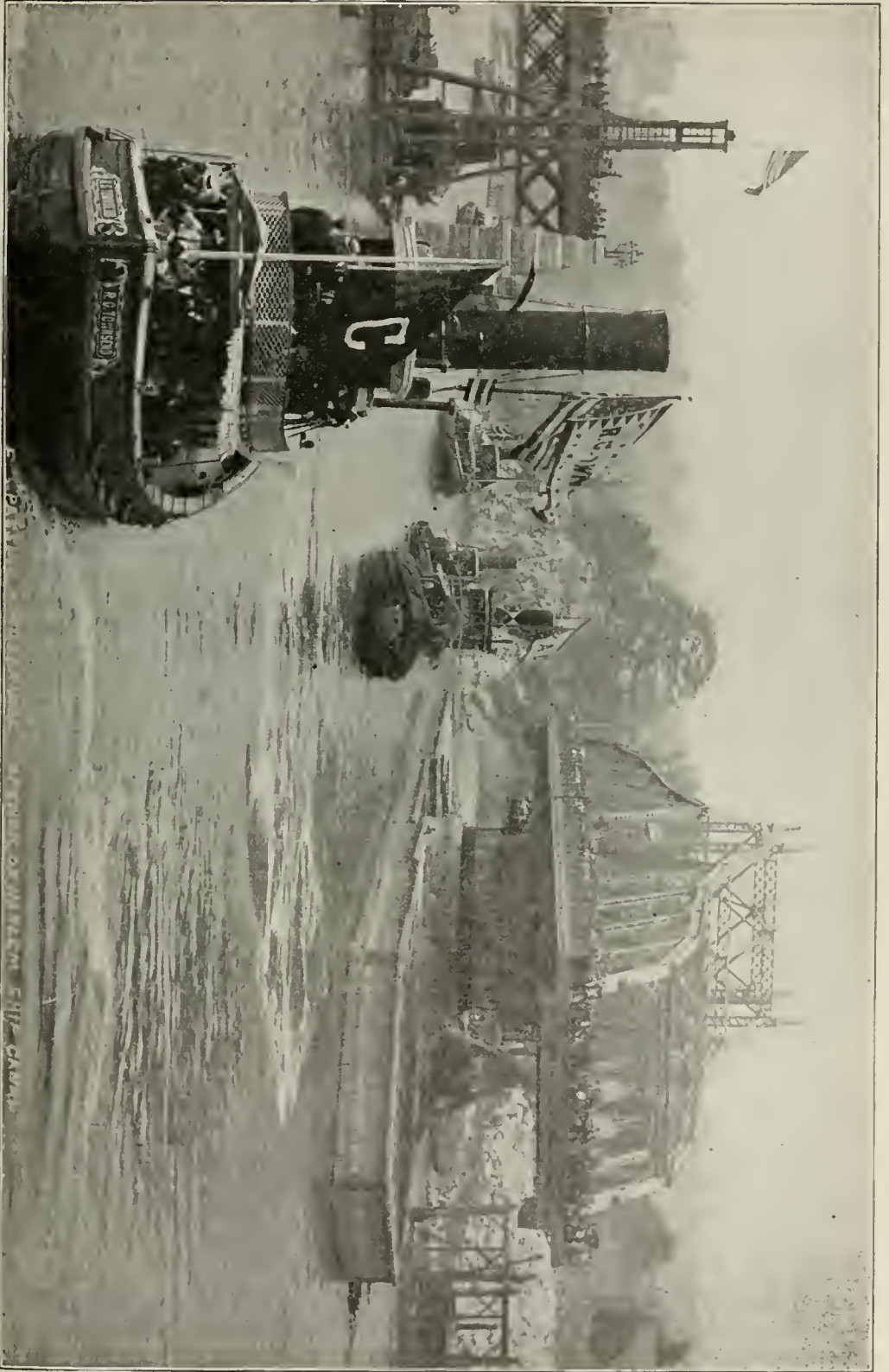
So far as human foresight can discern, the island, bearing the city of New York, must be destined to hold a conspicuous place in the civilization of many centuries to come. Provision was now made for the passage of ships of large burden entirely around Manhattan by way of the Hudson (or North) River, through the canal and the Harlem River, into East River, and thence into the harbor again. Fancy and patriotism can easily foresee a time when all this vast extent of much more than forty miles of shore will be occupied throughout with stone-walled and stone-paved docks and slips immutable as the ages; more elegant and commodious even than those of the Mersey, into which the ships of all nations shall go, and there be anchored in

safety to the shore of what was once a forbidding and desolate island, which was sold by the Indians to the Whites for \$20! Such is the work of man on his way from barbarism to civilization and power.

The by-elections, which were held during the year 1895, resulted generally in favor of the Republican party. The country had now been suffering for more than two years from the effects of a disastrous financial panic, from the lack of money for the prosecution of enterprises, from low prices, and, indeed, from almost every economic hardship. These things were charged up to the administration of Cleveland, which became more and more unpopular as time went by. The results of the November elections this year greatly encouraged the Republicans. They were able to claim victories in New York, New Jersey, Iowa, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even in Maryland and Kentucky. It was at this juncture that the first general election was held in the State of Utah, and this also resulted in a Republican victory; though Republicanism in that region meant the free coinage of silver, together with the reinstatement of protective duties—this against the sentiment of the Republicans in the commercial centers of the East.

When the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress convened on the 2d of December, 1895, the President in his message recommended several financial measures which, on the whole, were calculated to continue and intensify, rather than break, the strain and hardship of the country. He would have the treasury notes issued by the Government, years ago, and long used as currency, to be retired by means of an issue of bonds bearing interest at a low rate. He would also have the tax on the National Banks reduced to a nominal rate—this in the hope of stimulating those institutions to a greater liberality toward their customers and the people at large.

On the 17th of the month the President sent a special message to Congress, calling attention to the fact that the British Government had refused to submit to arbitration



OPENING OF THE HARLEM SHIP CANAL.—PASSING KINGSBRIDGE.—From a Photograph.

her dispute with Venezuela relative to the so-called Schomburgk line, which was claimed by Great Britain as the boundary of her possessions in that country. This claim, if admitted, would include many of the Venezuelan gold-fields with the British possessions.

It was the policy of Great Britain at this time—or at least of her subjects—to get possession of nearly all the gold-mines of the world, with a view to putting herself in a

on the urgent representations of the United States, finally acceded to the propriety and right of arbitration as the means of settling the dispute.

A commission was accordingly constituted, and the President appointed Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court; Robert H. Alvey, Chief-Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, Ex-President of Cornell University;



ON THE COAST OF VENEZUELA.—PORT OF LA GUAYRA.—From a Photograph.

position where she might sell her gold to all those nations using that metal as a basis of their currency. In following this policy of fastening the gold corner with immovable anchors, she thought to secure from Venezuela the largest possible extent of territory. The United States hereupon interfered and proposed arbitration. This was refused, and the President referred the matter to Congress. There seemed to impend an international crisis; but the Government of Great Britain,

Hon. Frederick R. Conder; and President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, to act as a Commission on the part of the United States in determining the Venezuelan boundary; that is, in determining from the historical antecedents what the boundary justly is. In order to promote this work, the two Houses of Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of the Commission while prosecuting the investigation.

The first public event of the year 1896

was the additional sale of one hundred millions of thirty-year Government bonds, which was said to be necessary "in order to protect the gold reserve in the treasury." There had been accumulated, at this time, a vast amount of idle, uninvested funds in the banks in the money centers, and these funds sought investment. Enterprises had failed in all parts of the country, and money no longer offered itself to legitimate manufacturing or commercial investments. The industries of the country were at a stand-still, and the necessity existed—according to the policy of the great financiers and bankers—to get their accumulated funds into *some* form of investment. The National bond was the form selected, and the treasury of the United States, acting in conjunction with the powerful money interest of the metropolis, and under the ostensible motive of replenishing the gold reserve, which had been seriously reduced by the exportation of gold coin, ordered the sale of another one hundred millions of four-per-cent. bonds. This sum was a part of the total two hundred and sixty-two millions referred to in a preceding paragraph.

On the 25th of February, 1896, an incident occurred in the harbor of New York which was of an exciting and dangerous character. Officers of our Government boarded a British steamship called the *Bermuda*, which was manifestly fitting out for a filibustering expedition to Cuba. In doing so, the vessel was using an American harbor for an unlawful purpose. She was accordingly boarded and seized, together with a large amount of munitions of war already collected in her hold. The work had been accomplished under the direction of General Calixto Garcia, who was the promoter of the proposed expedition. He was arrested by the officers of the United States, but was subsequently released. On the 15th of March he succeeded in sailing from the harbor of New York with the *Bermuda*, which had again been well supplied with munitions of war, and in reaching the Cuban insurgents without serious difficulty—a thing that could hardly have been accomplished but for the secret friend-

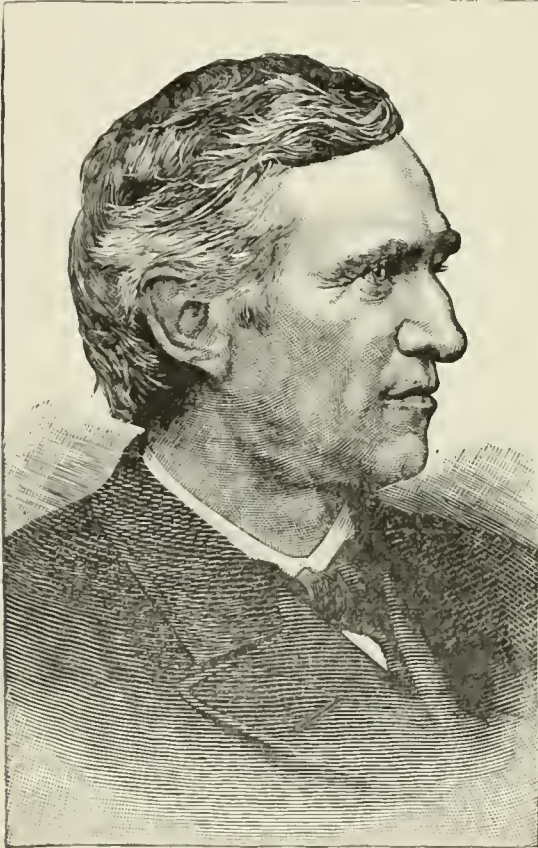
ship of the United States for the patriots of Cuba.

Three days after the incident here referred to, the Senate of the United States passed resolutions, offering the recognition by our Government of the Cuban insurgents to the extent of their rights as belligerents. Similar resolutions were carried in the House. The effect of this action was to arouse profound indignation in Spain. In that country, hostile demonstrations were made against the United States, and it was with difficulty that the Spanish Government could protect the American consulates from the violence of the angry mobs. So great was the excitement in Spain that the universities had to be closed in order to prevent the violence of rioting students.

While the people of the United States continued to suffer the most severe financial disasters and industrial hardships, and while a large part of the people attributed this condition to the attempt which had been made in the treasury management of the United States to introduce and confirm the English system of money, the American ambassador at the Court of St. James, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, following the policy of the administration which he represented, sought to promote good-fellowship with the British nation—this to the extent of arousing strong opposition at home. The House of Representatives passed resolutions of censure, on the 20th of March, 1896, against Ambassador Bayard, condemning him for utterances which he had given in speeches made at Edinburgh, Scotland, and at Boston, England; but the resolutions were of small effect in checking the tendency of the times.

In April of this year occurred an international episode of considerable interest. Some idealist had proposed that the ancient Olympic games of the Greeks be revived, and that representatives of the European and American nations should repair to Athens to participate in the celebration of the 766th Olympiad. The project excited the imaginations of many peoples, and athletes from several countries in Europe and America repaired to the scene of the contest. The

games were celebrated in the ancient classical manner. One of the principal features was racing. It remained for the year 1896 of our era to witness the repetition of the old foot-race made from the field of Marathon to the Acropolis in Athens. The race was won by an American! Indeed, our Americans showed themselves to great advantage in these games. Eleven of the so-called "points"



THOMAS F. BAYARD,

Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, Second Administration of Cleveland.

of excellence were awarded to American athletes. The Greeks themselves won ten points; the Germans, seven; the French, five; the English, three; the Hungarians, two; the Australians, two; the Danes, one; and the Swiss, one.¹

One favorable fact must be recorded with

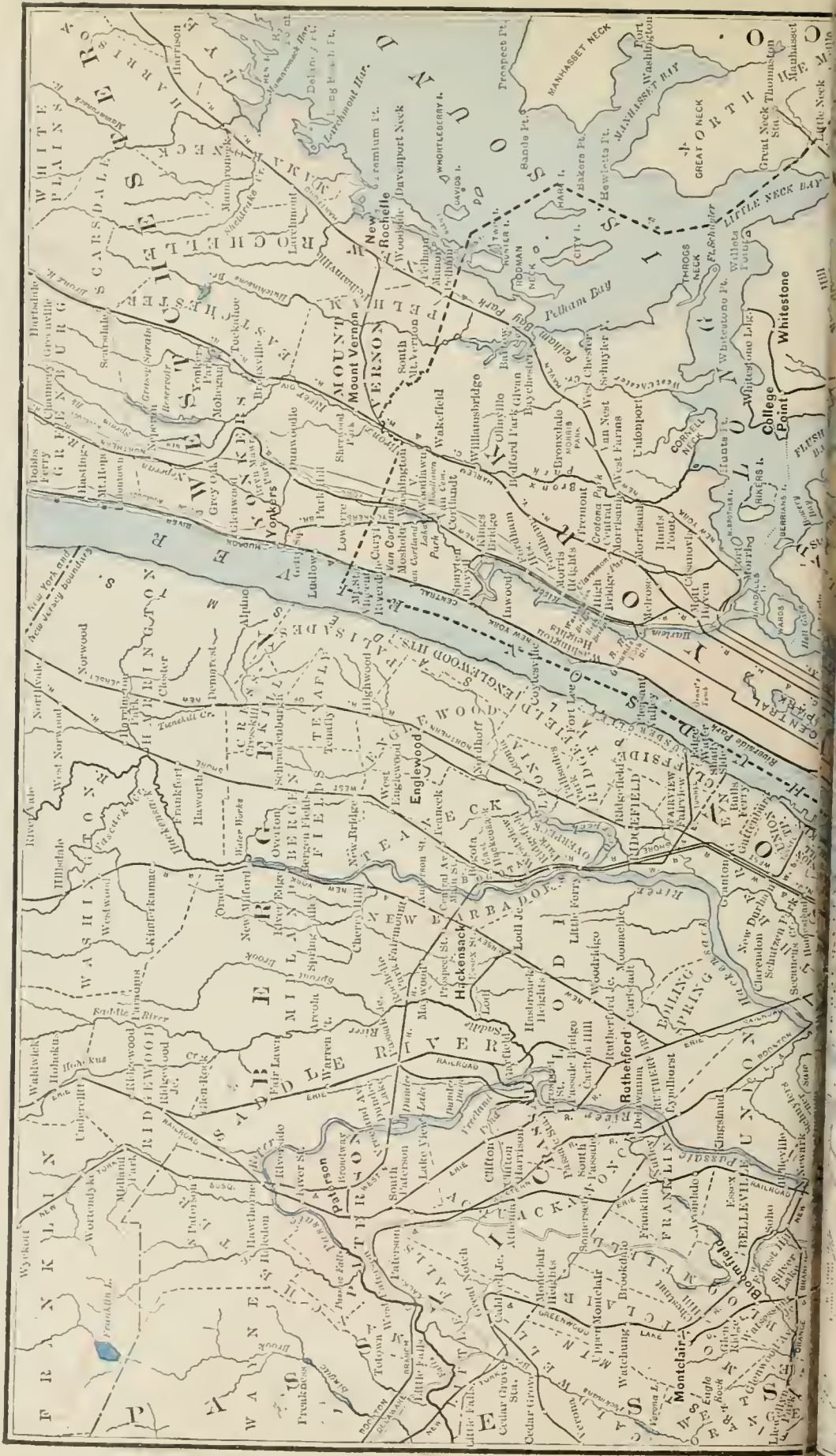
respect to the second administration of Cleveland, and that was the placing of fully 30,000 employees of the National Government under the Civil Service rules. This was the largest practical movement ever made in the direction of a general reform of the Civil Service in the United States. The sincerity of Mr. Cleveland in promoting this great work, which had been begun nominally as far back as the administration of Grant, can not be doubted; and this fact will probably remain as the principal thing to be commended in his administrative policies.

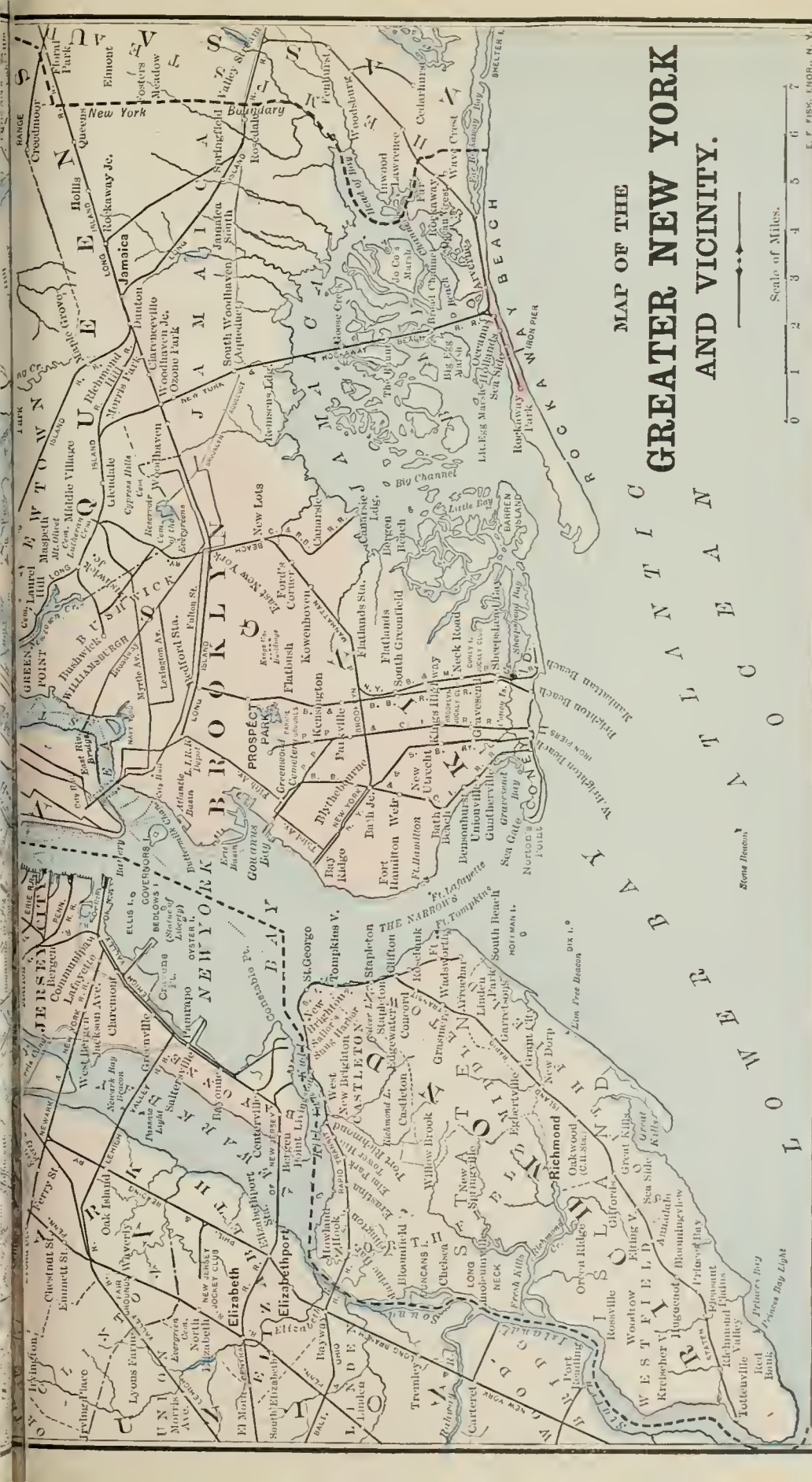
On the 11th of May, 1896, Governor Levi P. Morton, of New York, signed the bill for the institution of what, in the phraseology of the times, is called "the Greater New York." The policy of enlarging cities so as to include much and exclude little had already been begun in Chicago. About fifteen years previously that city had widened her borders until she had become of greater territorial extent than any other city in the world. Her Halsted Street, straight as an arrow, had been extended within the corporate limits to the unparalleled length of twenty-eight miles! The project of a like enlargement was agitated in New York, and the sentiment in favor thereof grew till at length it prevailed, and "Greater New York" became a fact. By this means, Long Island City, as well as Brooklyn, and all of Richmond County, with many surrounding cities and suburbs, was included under a single municipal government, thus advancing New York to the second rank among the cities of the world. Only London remained at the close of the century superior in population and resources to the American metropolis.

Meanwhile the political condition of the United States had become distracted to a greater degree than had been known since 1856. The Republican National Convention was called to meet at St. Louis on the 18th of June. It was with the greatest difficulty that the body could be held together in tolerable solidarity until a nomination of

¹ For illustration of the Greek games see 292

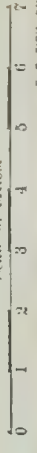
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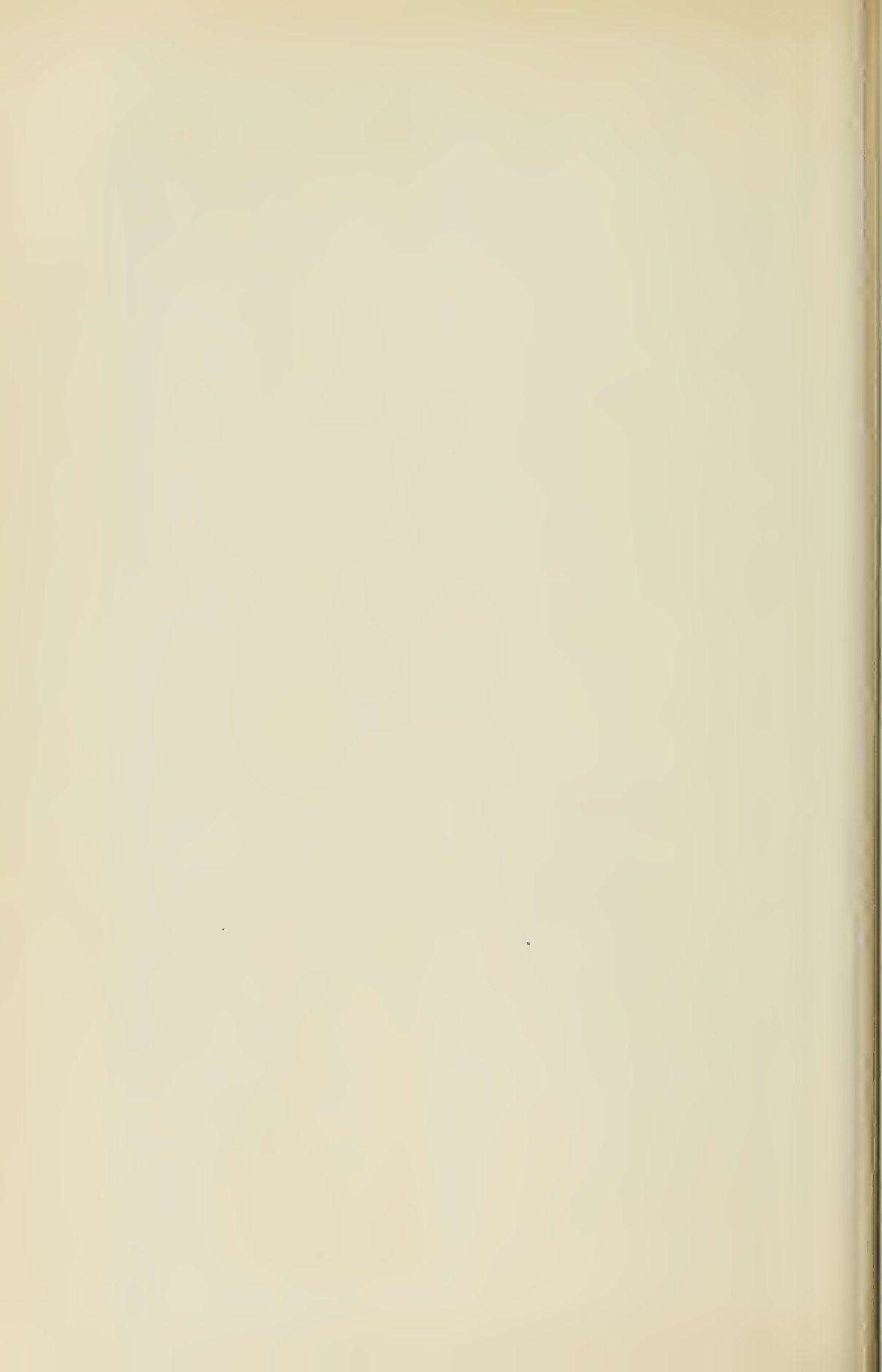




MAP OF THE
GREATER NEW YORK
 AND VICINITY.

Scale of Miles.





candidates could be made. A considerable party, under the leadership of Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, and Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, withdrew from the Convention hall; but the principal body remained intact, and William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President of the United States. For Vice-President, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated. The Republican platform declared for the maintenance of the gold standard of values, and at the same time for bimetallism by international agreement; for the re-establishment of a protective tariff; for the control of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States; for the ownership of the Nicaraguan Canal by our Government; for an increase of the army and the navy; for the purchase of the Danish Islands in the West Indies to be used as a coaling station; for the protection of American citizens in Armenia and Turkey; for the development of reciprocity in trade with the Central and South American Republics; for the admission to Statehood of the Territories; for the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to adjust the disputes between capital and labor.

On the 7th of July, the Democratic National Convention was called at Chicago. This body, also, was threatened with disruption. The one vital issue before the Convention was the question of the restoration of the silver coinage to the position which it held before the act of 1873. The sentiment in favor of the free coinage of silver was overwhelmingly predominant in the Democratic Convention; but the opposite opinion was stubbornly upheld by the minority, under the leadership of Senator David B. Hill, of New York.

As champion of the free silver cause at length appeared in the Convention, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who, in a brilliant speech, carried the Convention with overwhelming enthusiasm to the standard of free silver. He was then himself nominated for the Presidency.

LOWER SECTION OF GREATER NEW YORK.—VIEW OF THE CITY FROM THE HUDSON.—From a Photograph.



For the Vice-Presidency, the nomination was given to Arthur Sewall, of Maine. The platform declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for a tax on incomes; for a repeal of the protective tariff laws; for the prohibition of immigration in competition with American labor; for an increase in the

The National Convention of the Populist party was held in St. Louis on the 22d of June. By this body the Democratic nomination of William Jennings Bryan, for the Presidency, was indorsed, and for Vice-President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated. The platform declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of

16 to 1; for the ownership by government of the railway and telegraph lines of the United States; for free homes to settlers; for a tax on incomes; for postal savings banks; for an increase in the volume of currency. The Convention denounced the issuance of National bonds; declared in favor of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum; and insisted on the immediate foreclosure of the liens held by the Government of the United States on the Pacific railways. All three of the leading Conventions declared the sympathy of the American people for the patriots of Cuba.

On the 2d of September, 1896, a wing of the Democratic party, calling itself "the *National Democratic party*," convened in the city of Indianapolis, and went through the form of nominating for the Presidency, Ex-Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The principal item in the platform was the declara-



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,
Candidate of the Democratic Party for President, 1896.

powers of the Inter-state Commerce Commission, etc. The Convention also uttered a severe criticism on the Supreme Court, relative to the abrogation of the income tax, and on the National banking system of the United States. Rotation in office was favored, as was also the early admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union.

tion for the establishment and perpetuation of the gold standard of values. It also declared for a tariff for revenue only. The members of this Convention issued mostly from the capitalistic centers of the country, and came together for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the election of the regular Democratic candidates. As was afterwards

shown, the movement was supported with the funds supplied by those having no other than a corrupt interest in the *National Democracy*.

The result of the election was in favor of the Republicans. McKinley and Hobart were chosen by a popular majority of 601,854. The vote of the Republican candidate showed a majority *over all* of 286,452.

The electoral vote was, for William McKinley, 271; for William Jennings Bryan, 176. This result had been proclaimed in advance, as the fact from which a revival of prosperity was to come to the American people. During the months of November and December a symptom of such revival was seen; but it proved to be only superficial and factitious. The end of the year saw business prostrated as before, and the elections occurring in April of 1897 indicated the disappointment of the people, even in the great cities, and their discontent with the policy of the victorious party.

In the meantime—that is, in the summer of 1896—a wave of interest passed over the Nation, originating in the Far North. Another Polar expedition was added to the long list of those that had preceded it. The Norwegian explorer, Fridtjof Nansen, conducting an Arctic expedition, arrived at Vårdo, Norway, on the 13th of August, with the announcement that he had succeeded in reaching a higher latitude than ever before attained by man. His farthest point towards the Polar spot was registered as 86° 14' N.

Nansen had prosecuted his voyage in the belief that a constant current flows from the Siberian sea into that of Greenland. He had noted the driftwood on the coast of Greenland, and had found traces in the ice-masses

and mud and dust of that region leading him to believe that these vestigia are of Siberian origin. Acting on this belief, he constructed a vessel able to withstand the impact of ice, and undertook to float with the ice-pack from the new Siberian Islands to Spitzbergen. The explorer was endowed, to the extent of \$100,000, by the Norwegian



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

President of the United States, 1897-1901.

Storthing and by private contributions. His ship was called the *Fram*.

Nansen departed on his voyage on the 24th of June, 1893. The explorer ascertained, for the first time, the correct outline of the Siberian coast. It was in 78° 50' N. that the *Fram* was anchored to an iceberg. This was 133° 34' east longitude. For six weeks the

Fram drifted to the south. Then the northward tide set in, and continued through the winter and spring of 1893-94. The cold was appalling. For weeks together the mercury was frozen. The desolation of the ice-fields was terrible to witness. But the *Fram* withstood all assaults. At length the deep Polar

Passing this line, Nansen entered a sea never before traversed by ship.

For a season the *Fram* was frozen fast in an ice-flow, thirty feet in thickness; but the stout ship at length broke loose and emerged from the situation, wholly uninjured. Satisfied that the vessel would drift safely toward Greenland, Nansen, on the 14th of March, 1895, accompanied by Lieutenant Johansen, with dog-sledges and small boats, started north on the ice-flow. On the 7th of April, 1895, he arrived, after indescribable toil and peril, in latitude $86^{\circ} 14' N.$, which was the highest point of his venture towards the Pole.

The return journey was of incredible hardship. On the 22d of June, 1895, a seal was shot, and by this means the explorers were saved from starvation. The journey was resumed, and on the 24th of July, land was seen; but the ice had not been broken up, and two weeks passed before the shore was reached. The point of land was the hitherto unknown projection of Franz Joseph Land. Here Nansen and his companions dwelt during the winter of 1895-96. They lived on bear and walrus meat, in a hut roofed with skins and warmed with burning oil. With the coming of spring, the explorers proceeded down the coast, where they were met by Captain Jackson, leader of an English expedition, which had been sent to Franz Joseph Land



FRIDTJOF NANSEN.

sea was found. At $79^{\circ} N.$ the line showed ninety fathoms. From this point, voyaging northward, the measurement ranged first to 1,600 and then to 1,900 fathoms. In June, of 1894, the vessel reached $81^{\circ} 52' N.$, and about New Year's Day, 1895, the point of $83^{\circ} 24' N.$ was passed. This marked the ultimate excursion northward of former explorers.

on the day of Nansen's arrival.

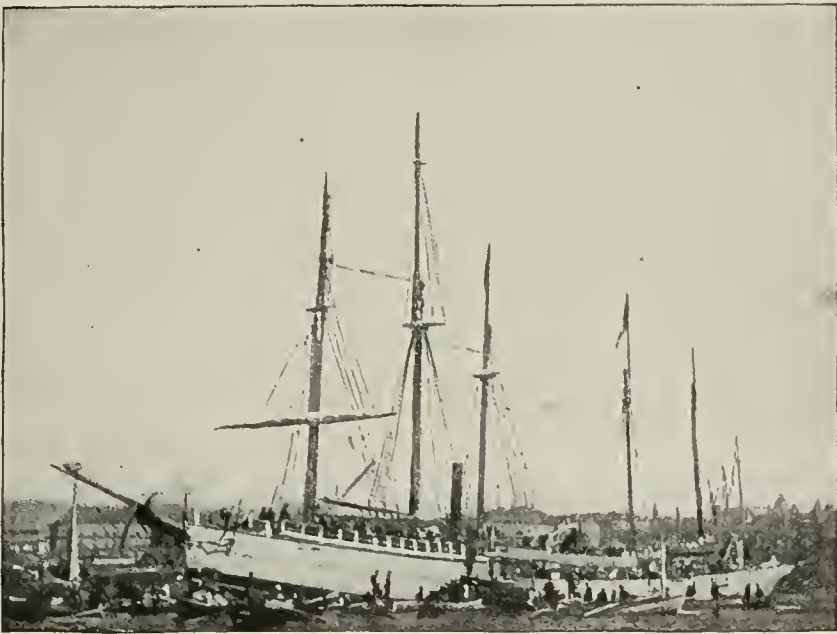
At Vardo the *Fram* entered open water a little northwest of Spitzbergen. The crew had been obliged to blast their way through one hundred and fifty miles of the ice-pack. On August 20th the *Fram* was anchored safely in the harbor of Skaervo, Finmark. Such had been the good-fortune of the expe-

dition that not a single life was lost during the more than three years of exposure to the perils of the Polar seas.

The 4th of March, 1897, witnessed at Washington City the brilliant event of the inauguration of President William McKinley, twenty-fourth President of the United States. He had already constituted and announced, unofficially, his Cabinet. The place of Secretary of State was assigned to John Sherman, of Ohio. The other appointments were: Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger, of

support. The populous cities, with their tremendous corporate interests, were strongly devoted to the new President, and strongly influential in determining the policy of the incoming administration.

The political history of the country, reviewed for the last twenty years, thus showed a series of remarkable oscillations. The Democratic victory of 1884 succeeded the long unbroken Republican ascendancy which had gone before. The election of 1888 brought a revulsion, and put the Republican party into power under Harrison.



THE SHIP FRAM.

Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, Secretary of the Interior; Joseph McKenna, of California, Attorney-General; James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

Never could there be anything more outwardly auspicious, from a political point of view, than this complete restoration to power of the Republican party. Its victory seemed to be complete. The great organized powers of the country were almost unanimous in its

The result in 1892 showed another striking reëction in the restoration to power of the Democratic party, during the second administration of Cleveland. The election of 1896 still again reversed the public judgment, and brought back the Republican ascendancy under McKinley. To him, and the party which he represented, the country now looked for political guidance for the ensuing quadrennium.

On April 27, 1897, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant was celebrated with a memorial service

and parade in New York City. The occasion was that of the dedication and delivery to the custody of the city of the great marble tomb



JOHN SHERMAN.

Secretary of State, Administration of McKinley.

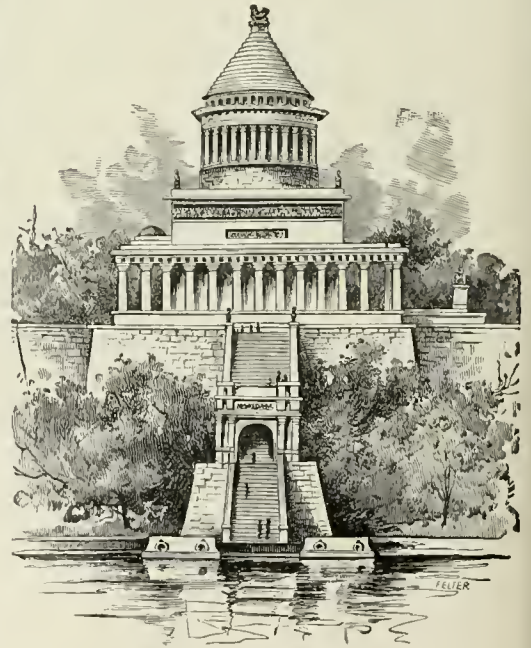
of General Grant, at Riverside Park, on the Hudson. In a preceding part of this work we have already narrated the circumstances of the death of the hero of Appomattox, and of the preparations for building an appropriate monument to his memory.¹ This work was undertaken soon after the General's decease; but for some time the enterprise, under inefficient management, lagged.

At length, however, General Horace Porter, who had been a member of Grant's staff during a large part of the Civil War, was appointed at the head of a Monument Commission to prosecute the work to completion. Books were opened, and subscriptions to the number of more than ninety thousand were made to finish the monument.

¹ See Chapter CXXVI., p. 224.

A suitable site was selected a short distance south of the temporary tomb in which General Grant's remains had lain for more than a half score of years, and there the splendid mausoleum was built. No other such tomb exists in the New World. The structure is of plain marble, in the severest simplicity of the Doric style.

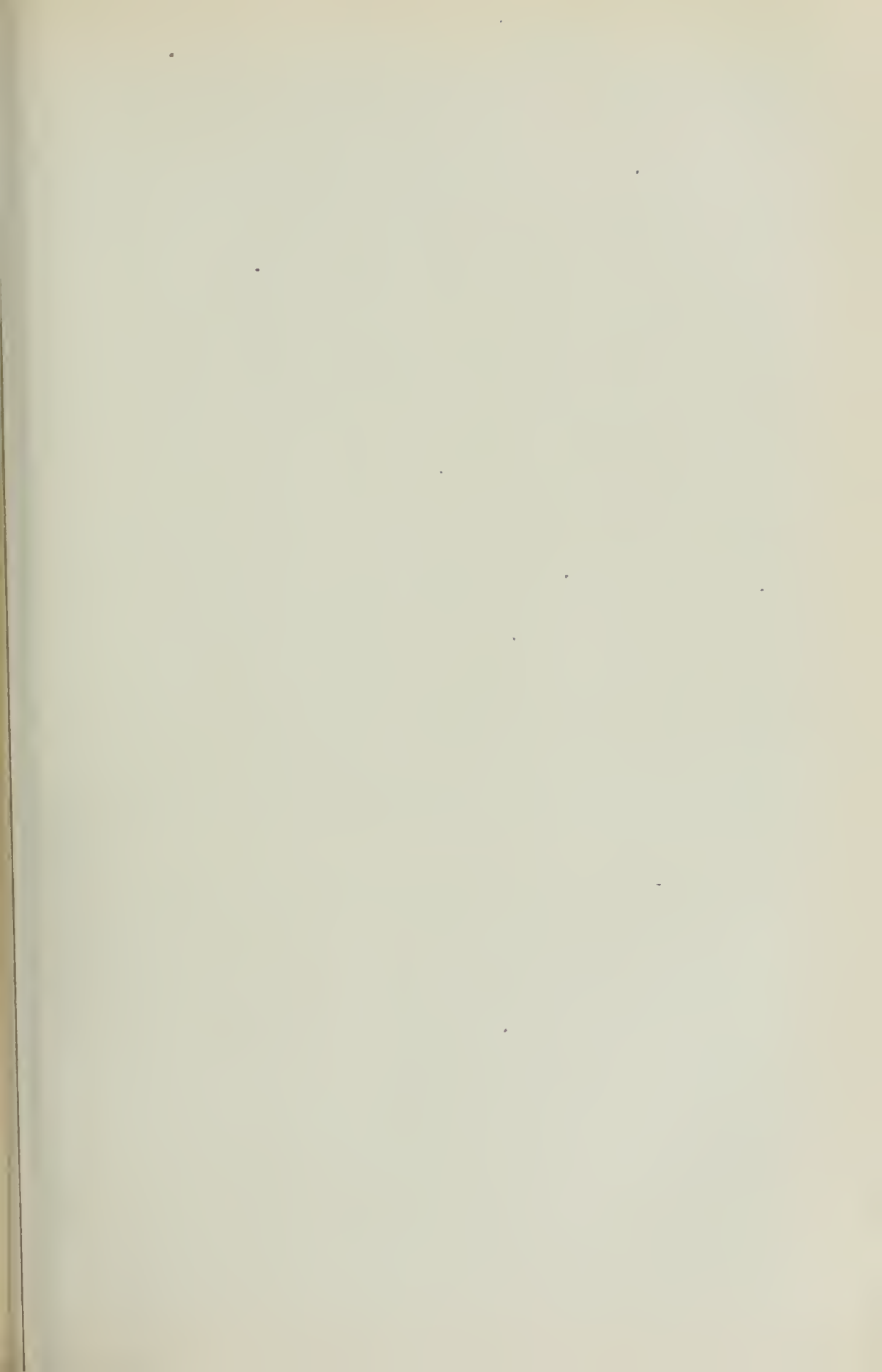
The monument was completed by the beginning of 1897; but the dedication was postponed until the recurrence of the anniversary of the birth of the hero, April 27. The event was memorable. The parade was the finest ever witnessed in America. Great interest was shown by the people in all parts of the United States. The ceremonies were more elaborate than those attending the first funeral of the General, nearly twelve years previously. In spite of the chilly air and high wind which prevailed, the great city put on her memorial garb, and the long course of the procession was through



TOMB OF ULYSSES S. GRANT,
At Riverside, New York.

the finest display of flags and streamers and emblems ever witnessed in New York.

About a million of people thronged the line of march or awaited the arrival of the



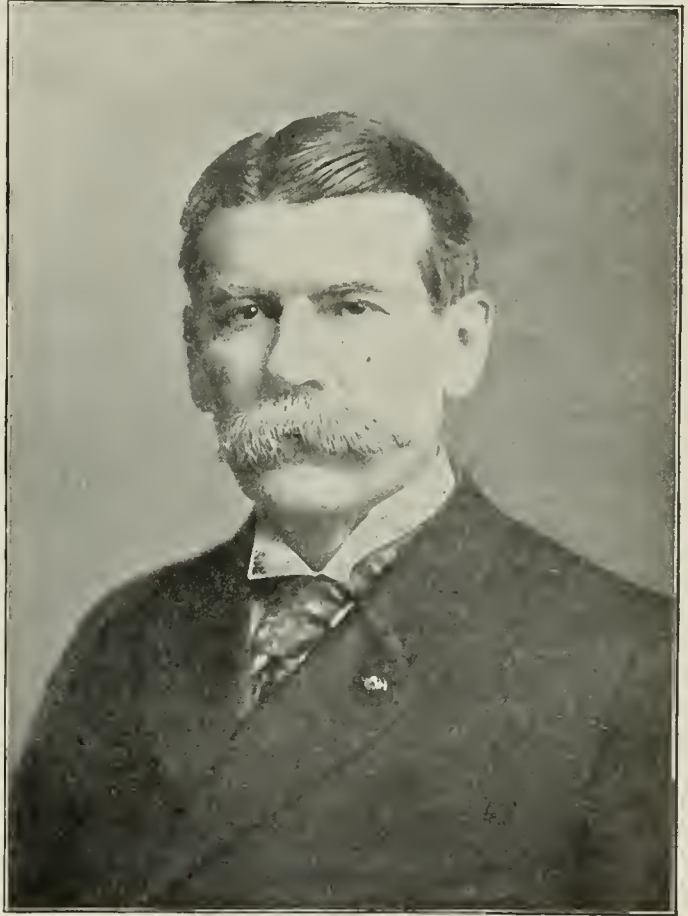


column at the monument. More than sixty thousand men were in line, of whom fully ten thousand were veterans of the Union War. Large detachments of Confederate veterans also participated in the parade; for General Grant's memory was cherished also by the old soldiers of the "Lost Cause." Federal troops, State militia organizations, naval and military cadets, and civic bodies without number, completed the procession, which was many hours in passing, and which *en route* was everywhere received with the strongest expressions of appreciation and affectionate approval.

The city was in gala attire. There was universal holiday. The march was begun at 10.30 A. M., and was not completed until 7 P. M. The grand stands were erected in the vast open spaces around the monument. Here the distinguished guests were assembled. The members of General Grant's family had the place of honor. The President and the retiring ex-President of the United States sat on the platform, and were surrounded with a great throng of the most distinguished American and foreign guests. The principal speakers were President McKinley and General Horace Porter, the latter of whom delivered the formal oration of the day. The event indicated clearly the strong patriotic sentiments of the American people, their surviving enthusiasm for military heroism, and, in particular, their unquenchable devotion to the memory of the Silent Man of Galena.

In June of 1897 President McKinley sent to the Senate, from the Department of State, a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Japan protested against this measure. It was claimed that that power had planned to seize upon Hawaii, a

charge that received a certain plausibility from the fact that the number of Japanese in the Republic was far beyond the number of any other one nationality, and also from the fact that Japan, on account of the refusal of the officials at Hawaii to allow a large number of recent Japanese immigrants to land, had sent two warships to the harbor



GENERAL HORACE PORTER,
Ambassador of the United States to France, 1897.

of Honolulu. On the other hand, Japan declared that the shutting out of the immigrants was contrary to her treaty with the Hawaiian Republic, and that the warships had been sent to the island merely in support of her claim for damages.

The rumors of a possible Japanese uprising in the island, while largely credited in the United States, were not trustworthy,

owing to the essential minority of numbers on the part of the Japanese as compared with all others in the territory. Of the native Hawaiians of pure blood there were, at this time, at least thirty-seven thousand, with an

the effect that the Government of the Republic was of an elective and parliamentary character that had been formally recognized by the foreign powers, and that it had continued for four years firm in its authority; wherefore its petition for the protection of the United States might be justly regarded as the will of the people. As to the character of the bulk of the inhabitants, the difficulties of admitting them to citizenship were dismissed with the statement that it would seem to be advisable that Hawaii should continue *permanently* as an annexed Territory, without having any authority in the legislation of the United States.¹

The new Administration was ushered in with a revival of the tariff question. This issue had indeed been forced to the fore in the late Presidential campaign, and it was understood that the election of McKinley would be followed with an attempt to revise the existing tariff system of the United States as the same was formulated in the Wilson Bill of 1893. In accordance with this expectation, the tariff was made almost the sole question of discussion in the special session of Congress, which began coincidentally with the inauguration of McKinley.

The purpose of the Administration was openly expressed to limit, as far as possible, the



NELSON DINGLEY,

Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, Administration of McKinley.

additional ten thousand of mixed descent. Of the Chinese, the natural enemies of the Japanese, there were fifteen thousand, while the nine thousand Portuguese, two thousand Americans, fifteen hundred Englishmen, and twelve hundred Germans, made the total much too great to be overcome.

In signing the treaty of annexation the State Department made a declaration to

¹ This declaration of the President of the United States slipped the anchor of the immemorial policy of the Republic. Always, hitherto, the acquisition of territory by the United States had been distinctly with the understanding and purpose to organize such territory by the people of the same, and to admit such territorial organization into the Union on terms of equality with the other States. It remained for President McKinley to open the way for the annexation of permanently dependent territories having neither the promise nor the possibility of statehood in the Union.

work of the special session of 1897 to a revision of the existing system on the lines of the McKinley theory. To this end the subject was immediately sent to the House Committee of Ways and Means, of which Nelson Dingley, of Maine, was chairman. After about two months a bill was prepared, which effected considerable changes in the existing schedules, increasing the tariff on many articles to the protective level, transferring many others from the free to the dutiable list, and many others from the ad-valorem schedule, which had been largely used in the Wilson scheme, to the list of specific duties.

The bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, went to the Senate, was debated by that body, and was extensively

revised and amended. In this form the measure was sent to a Conference Committee of the two Houses, from which it was reported back on the 19th of July, and was adopted by the Lower House. Once more the bill went to the Senate for approval, and was by that body adopted on the 24th, receiving thereupon the President's signature, and becoming a law of the land.

The new measure was less radical than had been anticipated, and was in the nature of a compromise among the various elements of commercial society, whose interests, drawing in this direction and in that, resulted in a final patchwork of devices for increasing the revenue and affording additional protection to certain branches of industry.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.



THE last four years of the nineteenth century witnessed many important events among the nations of both the new world and the old. In our own country this period may be marked

for the increasing interest taken by the people in international affairs. Perhaps the reason for this change might be found in the improvement of the means for inter-oceanic communication. Cables were laid undersea between all of the principal ports of the civilized nations. Telegraphic wires were stretched over the hitherto inaccessible regions of Asia. The journalistic press teemed with information about the affairs of men and states in all parts of the world; commerce tended to become universal.

As a result of all this, the people of even the most isolated countries discovered a hitherto unknown interest in the progress of political events and the general vicissitudes of nations. In some instances the new condition worked favorably to the peace of

mankind, but in others it conduced to turmoil and war. The unequal development of the different nations and the difference of institutions and of race brought into sharp contact states and kingdoms that had hitherto held few relations. The Republic of the United States, more than ever before, felt and expressed a concern about the affairs of the European powers. The Venezuelan difficulty between our country and Great Britain was one of the first symptoms of the changed and changing order. Another and more specific result was the rising conflict of sentiment, purpose, and interest between the United States and Spain. The holding by Spain of valuable possessions in proximity to the American coast furnished both motive and occasion for the straining of relations between the two countries.

Already, as we have seen in a previous chapter, a rebellion had broken out in Cuba against the Spanish authority in that island. The provincial government was, during the winter of 1897-98, put to its utmost tension in the effort to reduce the insurgents to submission. It was natural that the American



DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO THE RECONCENTRADO'S.—From a Photograph.

people should sympathize with the Cuban rebels, and that they should extend at least covert assistance to the popular cause in the island. Notwithstanding the feelings of amity which had recently prevailed as a concomitant of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Americans now conceived an extreme dislike to Spain, and in particular to Spanish dominion in the West Indies. It is probable that the efforts of the Cuban Junta and the sale of Cuban bonds in the United States—which bonds would become valuable

sibly waived by the American government, the effect of the thing done could not be trammelled up. On the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, while the American battleship *Maine* was lying at anchor in the harbor of Havana, a dreadful explosion, either within or without the vessel, occurred, by which the battleship was wrecked and sent to the bottom. The catastrophe, if accidental, might well have been overlooked but for the appalling loss of life. Two hundred and sixty-six American seamen were



THE BATTLESHIP MAINE.

in case the rebellion should be successful, but remain valueless in the event of failure—conduced to the growing dislike of Spain, and furnished an *à priori* reason for the interference of our Government in the affairs of Cuba.

It may be that these hostile elements and causes of conflict would have subsided had it not been for an incident which presently added to the inimical conditions, and indeed precipitated an open rupture. Although the incident referred to was immediately disavowed by Spain, and although it was osten-

carried down with the great ship to instantaneous death in the sea. Only Captain Sigsbee, and a few officers of the *Maine* who were on shore, escaped the awful fate of the sailors and men on board.

Great was the sensation produced in the United States by the destruction of one of the favorite American battleships. The distrust and anger of the people could hardly be restrained. The *Maine* had gone into the harbor of Havana in a friendly way, as is customary with the battleships of nations in foreign waters. Such ships represent much

more really than do the vessels of the merchant marine the sovereignty of the nation to which they belong. An insult done to a warship is therefore generally regarded as a just cause for a hostile declaration.

The Spaniards in Havana had looked upon the *Maine* with distrust and prejudice. The Spanish newspapers had denounced the presence of the warship in the harbor, and had

seemed a menace to Spanish authority. The presumption was that fanatical adherents of that authority had wrought the destruction of the ship.

Spain, for her part, immediately and fully disavowed the thing done, and offered to join our National authorities in an investigation. A Court of Inquiry was instituted at once by the National Government, and an investigation

was made of all the circumstances of the case. This court rather vaguely reported that according to the evidence obtainable, the *Maine* had been destroyed by some explosion against her side *from without*. The character of the wreck indicated, by the bending of the irons and the forcing inward of the fragments of the hull, that the force had been applied against the outer side of the vessel. But in what manner or by whom the torpedo (if torpedo it were) had been exploded, or by what means the mine (if mine it were) had been sprung, could not be, or at least was not, ascertained. In any event, the loss of the great battleship with nearly all her brave defenders, furnished an animus in the war which ensued, and justly or unjustly the battlecry of "Remember the *Maine*" was heard on the American side in every engagement, whether on land or sea.

The general tendency of affairs, and the war-breeding incident just narrated, acted together

in 1898 in precipitating hostilities between Spain and the United States. Just after the loss of the *Maine*, when the excitement relative thereto was hot, scores of representatives of the American press made their way to Cuba, and the newspapers teemed with accounts of the condition of affairs in the island. Many inflammatory stories were published, and conflicting reports were scat-



CAPTAIN CHARLES D. SIGSBEE,
Commander of the Battleship *Maine*.

called it a taunt and a banter, as though the ship should say to the authorities, "We are here to look on, and to strike you if you dare." A suspicion arose under these circumstances that the *Maine* had been treacherously destroyed, and this suspicion was confirmed by many circumstances. *Somebody* had done the evil deed. Ostensibly the *Maine* had been destroyed because it had

tered broadcast. As matter of fact, the civil war in Cuba had for the most part degenerated into bloodthirsty cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, and into guerilla methods and mere bushwhacking on the part of the Cubans. The ruling government which had been established by Captain-General Valeriano Weyler, in January of 1896, might well be indicated historically with a splotch of blood

as that of his antitype, the Duke of Alva, had been to the Protestants of the Netherlands. Appeals began to be made to the Government of the United States for interference on behalf of the Cuban patriots, and the outcry increased, until the roar was heard from ocean to ocean. There was a brief interval of confusion and growing hostility, and then a Commission of Inquiry, ap-



GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PALACE, HAVANA.—OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF CAPTAIN-GENERALS WEYLER AND BLANCO.—From a Photograph.

traced around with cinders.¹ Intelligence of his methods was widely disseminated, and his name became as hateful to the Americans

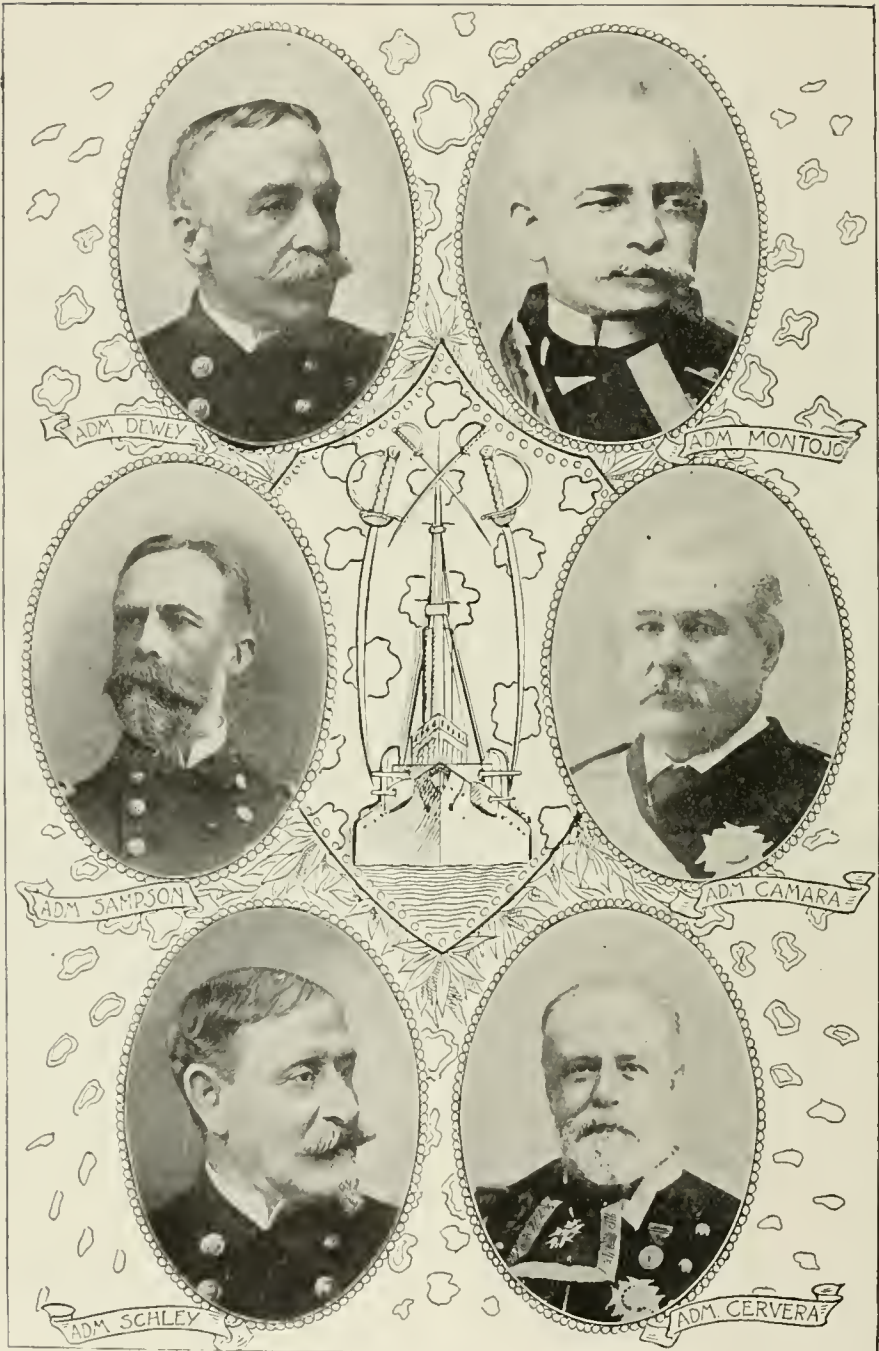
pointed by the Government and headed by Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, proceeded to Cuba to make an authoritative investigation.

¹ One of the incidents of the Weyler administration was for its savagery well calculated to waken the ire, not only of the Americans, but of the civilized world. The Captain-General found it difficult to discriminate between combatants and noncombatants. The Cuban forces were irregulars; now they appeared in the character of soldiers, and now in the character of civilians. They were not unlike the patriot bands who in the days of our Revolution made—

“The British soldier tremble when Marion's name was told.”

General Weyler, finding it impossible to concentrate and overwhelm the rebels, adopted a sweeping measure which was directed against noncombatants as well as combatants. He issued an “edict of concentration,” by

which the inhabitants of the insurgent districts were ordered to betake themselves to the fortified towns, there to be pent up with those who had been actually engaged in the rebellion. Death and solitary confinement were denounced as punishments against all who should refuse to obey the order. The wretched inhabitants—men, women, and children—flocked into the towns, and were shut up. Having no supplies, they soon began to starve. Disease came with all its horrors, and the so-called *Reconcentrados* suffered the pangs of slow torture until they died by thousands. American newspaper correspondents and photographers sketched and pictured the scenes witnessed among the sufferers, and photographs of such scenes, undeniably true, were scattered like firebrands among the Americans, whose animosity was already kindled to the point of flaming.



LEADING NAVAL COMMANDERS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898.

The report of this commission made in the two Houses of Congress was wholly unfavorable to Spain. The excitement in governmental circles rose to a high pitch, and resolutions were introduced in Congress declaring in favor of the autonomy of Cuba, and the cessation of Spanish rule. At first, measures were devised to interfere only to the extent of ending the Cuban war. It was urged that the continuation of such a conflict in immediate proximity to the American

despotism our fathers had renounced, and against it they took up arms—just as the Cubans of 1897 took up arms against Spain.

Interference by one nation on the score of humanity in the affairs of another nation is a principle recognized in international law. But such interference is a measure upon which modern nations have ventured but sparingly. Still, under the rules of international law, the United States *might* interfere in Cuba to put an end to the war



STREET SCENE IN HAVANA.

coast and in total disregard of the interests of commerce, and indeed of civilization itself, could not be longer tolerated. Nor can it be truly denied that the administration of Spain in Cuba had for a long time been so inefficient in fact and so repugnant to the instincts of progress as to create a just sentiment of indignation on the part of the people of the United States. Moreover, the Cuban revolution was in all respects analogous to our own war of independence. The insurgents were in the same attitude towards the Spanish despotism which our American rebels had held towards the British Colonial despotism of 1765. That

on the ground of its barbarity and long continuance; and whether inhumanity existed such as to warrant interference was a question which, according to the law of nations, our Government might decide for itself, even against the protest of Spain.

It was soon manifest that simple interference to prevent further barbarities and to end the conflict between the Spanish authorities and the Cuban rebels could not be carried out without engendering a war of more serious proportions. The excitement at Washington City and throughout the country rose to fever heat. The President first

St. Paul
Porter.

Dupont.

Terror.

Amphitrite.

Montgomery.
Marblehead.

Detroit.

Mayflower.
Foca.



By the courtesy of Scientific American.

New York.

AMERICAN FLEET UNDER COMMAND OF REAR-ADMIRAL SAMPTSON, BEARING DOWN ON CUBA.
From an original drawing.

Indiana.

sought to stay the tide and to prevent the clash of arms. At length, he sent to Congress an elaborate message on the condition of affairs in Cuba, and on the evils of Spanish rule in that island. He concluded his communication by asking, rather feebly and inconsequentially, for authority to act at his own discretion in the premises, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying out his diplomatical purposes, and in bringing the Cuban business to a settlement, by force of arms if needs be.

The message of the President was by no means satisfactory to Congress or to the people at large. The two Houses, in hot blood, took the matter up, and passed a resolution *directing* the President to interfere in the affairs of Cuba, and this to the end that the independence of the people of the island might be secured. Hereupon, the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor Polo y Bernabe, demanded his passports, and at once left the country.

On April 19, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives declaring that the people of Cuba "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." On the same day, a similar resolution was passed by the Senate. The concurrent measure was signed by the President on the 20th, and an ultimatum was sent to Spain demanding the immediate withdrawal of her land and naval forces, and indeed every token of her authority from Cuba—this under compulsion of an answer before noon on April 23.

This action on the part of the Government of the United States was very properly construed by Spain as a declaration of war. The passports were accordingly made out

and handed to the American ambassador, General Stewart L. Woodford, who immediately departed for Paris. Hereupon, on the 26th of the month, the President issued a proclamation declaring a state of war and ordering the blockade of the Cuban ports.

Havana, the most important city and port



GENERAL STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Ambassador of the United States to Spain, Administration of McKinley.

in the West Indies, was first to be surrounded and hemmed in by the American fleet. This had been already sent into Cuban waters under command of Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson. The squadron, including the flagship *New York*, the battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the cruisers *Cincinnati*, *Detroit*, and *Nashville*, the gunboats *Wilmington*,

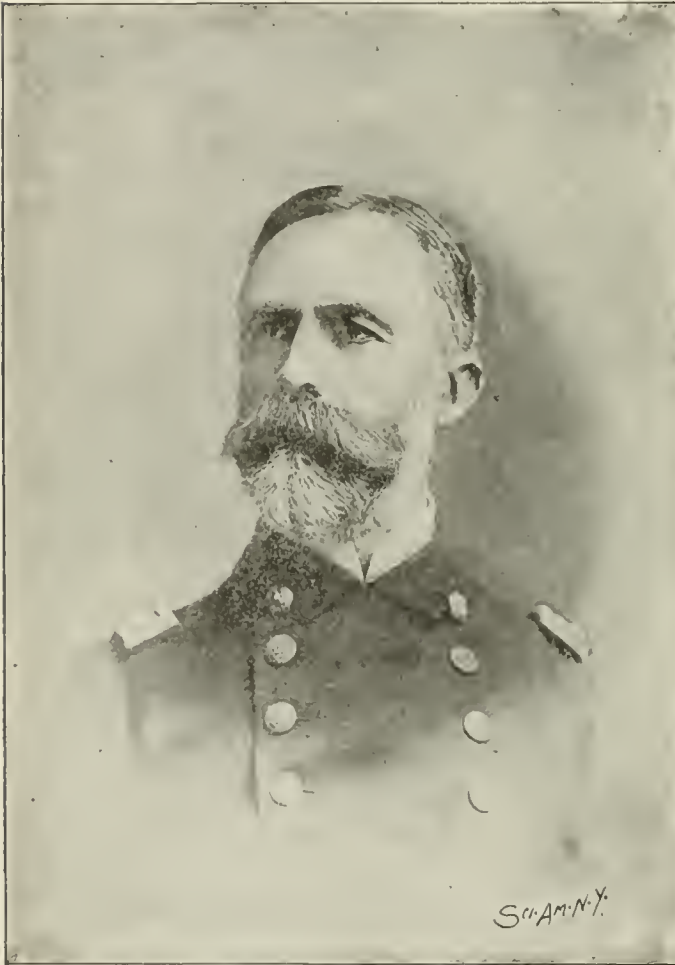
Machias, *Castine*, and *Newport*, and the monitor *Amphitrite*, departed from the American coast on the 22d of April, and in a short time reached its destination. On the way to Havana, a Spanish ship, the *Buena Ventura*, was run down and captured by the

in the island, and cut them off from succor by the home government of Spain.

As between the two nations thus plunged into war, the balance of military strength lay strongly on the side of the United States. Nevertheless the Spaniards had a powerful army in Cuba, and the fortifications of the two principal cities of Havana and Santiago were strong, almost impregnable. The Spanish fleets compared favorably with the American. In the West Indies, the enemy's squadron consisted of one first-class battleship and eight warships of the second class, of which the principal were the *Cristobal Colon*, the *Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Reina Mercedes*, and the *Vizcaya*. The Spanish squadron did not attempt to prevent the investment of Havana, for that would have involved at once a critical naval battle—something which the Spaniards could not well afford to hazard.

On the 23d of April, the President of the United States issued a call for a hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers. The National Guards in nearly all of the States were at once mobilized, and recruiting went on everywhere with the utmost enthusiasm. The country was thoroughly aroused, and warlike preparations were seen on every hand. Camps of rendezvous and instruction were established, and in an incredibly short time, the

ranks were filled for the conflict. On the 26th of April, the proclamation of a state of war was formally issued by the Government. Already, the blockade of Havana had been effected by Rear-Admiral Sampson, and bombarding between the battleships and the shore batteries along the Cuban coast had begun.



W. A. Sampson

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

Nashville. This was the first act of formal hostility—the first stroke of the war. In a few days, a cordon of warships was established around Havana, and certain vessels were sent to guard the entrance to other ports. The military plan included the complete blockade of Cuba, so as to isolate the Spanish forces

At the outbreak of hostilities, an assault on Havana was expected, but the fortifications of that city were so strong and the harbor was so dangerously mined that it was deemed inexpedient to make a naval descent on the place. The American fleet was accordingly directed first of all against Matanzas, and afterwards against Santiago de Cuba. On the 27th of April, the batteries at Matanzas were bombarded by Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*. The other ships participating in the attack were the cruiser *Cincinnati* and the monitor *Poriton*.

and everything was in preparation for battle. A Spanish fleet, under command of Admiral de Montojo, was also in the Pacific waters, having for its business in that part of the world the protection of the Philippine Islands.

This great group, called by the Spaniards *Islas Filipinas*, numbering about fourteen hundred islands great and small, constitutes an archipelago lying between the China Sea on the west and the Pacific Ocean, on the east. The principal islands are Luzon, Camarines, Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Panay,



CAMP OF RENDEZVOUS AND INSTRUCTION.—PART OF CHICKAMAUGA PARK, GEORGIA.

This first action of the war was trivial, and resulted in no loss to the Americans.

Meanwhile, another scene had opened on the far-off coast of Asia. At this time, the Pacific squadron of the United States was lying in Mirs Bay, on the Chinese coast, north of Hong Kong. This division of the American navy was under command of Commodore George Dewey, whose name was soon to become famous in American annals. Dewey was informed by cable of the progress of events in the United States, and he had his fleet well in hand when the declaration of war was issued. On the very next day, he was, under the rules of international law, warned by the Chinese authorities to depart within forty-eight hours from neutral waters. The mandate found the Commodore ready to go. His bunkers were full of coal,

Negros, Sebu, Bohol, Mindanao, Palawan, and the Sulu cluster. The capital of the whole is Manila, on Luzon. The bay of Manila is the principal harbor of the Philippines, and here was resting Admiral de Montojo's fleet consisting of the armored cruisers, *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Valasco*, *Mindanao*, and *General Lezo*, besides a fleet of minor vessels and water craft.

The condition of affairs in the Philippines just previous to the outbreak of hostilities may well be noted. About the end of summer, 1896, an insurrection broke out involving the greater part of the Filipino population, and headed by a certain Dr. Rizal, whose motive was to throw off the Spanish yoke and to make the islands independent.



EM. McCulloch
1898

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN
NEW YORK

Baltimore.

Raleigh.

Olympia.

Petrel.

Boston.

McCulloch.

Concord.

The influence of Rizal among the Filipinos became as great as that of Garcia or Marti in Cuba. Indeed the two insurrections, the one in the western, and the other in the eastern insular possessions of Spain, were sufficiently alike in their general features and leadership as to warrant the belief that they were somehow parts of the same movement.

The revolt in the Philippines made great headway for a season, but by the end of 1897, the Governor-General, Prèmo de Riviera, was able to report the suppression of the rebellion. Dr. Rizal had, in the meanwhile,

the Spanish government before the bold front of the revolt could be broken. Even then, as it subsequently appeared, the report of the suppression of the insurrection in December, 1897, was premature. General Blanco, who had been governor of the Philippines, was in the interim transferred to the West to take the place of General Weyler in Cuba. The rebel chiefs of the Filipinos having first been able to dictate the terms of settlement, were then able to revive the rebellion, and of this secondary insurrection, the celebrated Emilio Aguinaldo became the



MATANZAS.

been captured, tried by court martial, and shot. The fact of his trial was accompanied with so strange a personal incident as to make it worthy of historical mention. While Rizal was under sentence, he married a Philippine girl named Josephine Bracken, who, herself of Irish origin, had given her girlish enthusiasm to the cause of which Rizal was the leader. She became, after the execution of her husband, the divinity of the insurrection. They who knew enough of history to recall Joan of Arc, said that the girl-widow of Rizal was the Maid of Domremy come again.

Large reinforcements had to be sent out by

genius and general. Such was the condition in the Philippines at the close of 1897.

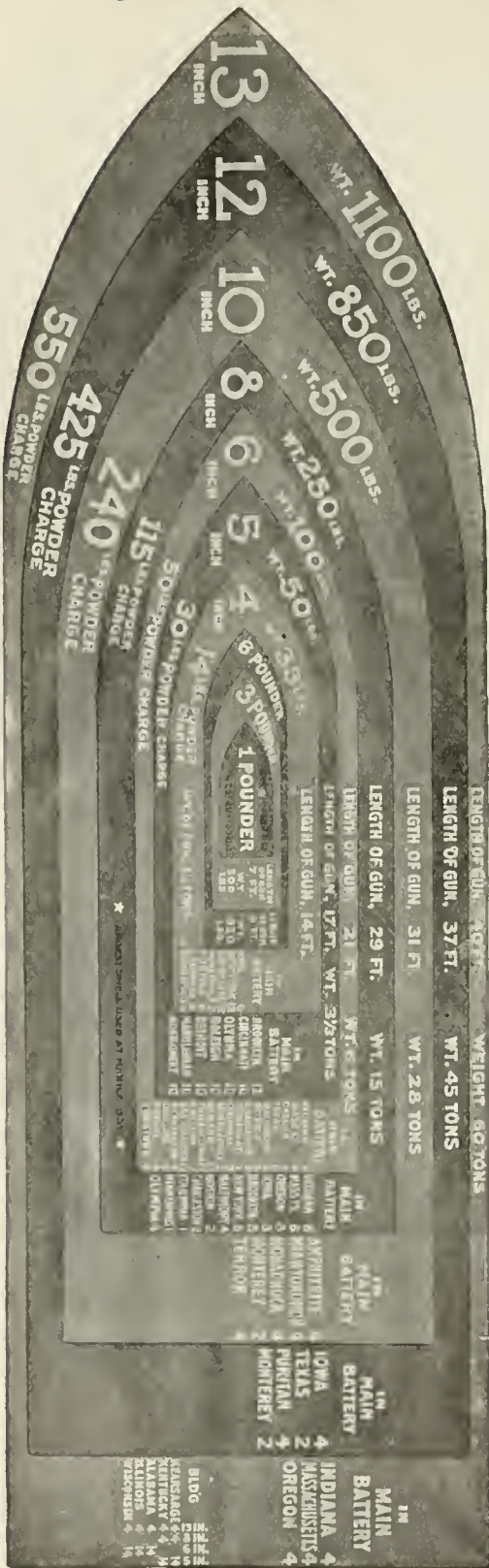
Commodore Dewey's instruction was to proceed against the Philippines, and to attack the Spanish fleet wherever found. The harbor of Manila was defended not only by the warships of Spain, but also by the land batteries which had been established at the naval station of Cavite, about seven miles southwest of the city. The Spanish fleet lay under the protection of the heavy guns of Cavite.

On the 29th of April, Dewey got under way from the Chinese coast, and on the 30th of the month, anchored in Subig Bay, on the

coast of Luzon, about thirty miles from Manila. Thence in the night, he followed the shore line, and about midnight made his way through the channel into the harbor of Manila. On the next day, which was Sunday, May 1st, about five o'clock in the morning, the American squadron, arranged in battle order, headed for the Spanish position. A spirit of enthusiasm prevailed among the sailors. A foolish and bombastic proclamation issued by Divilio, the Spanish governor of the Philippines, was read, and the attack was begun with shouts of "Remember the *Maine!*"

The conflict which ensued was the first in which American battleships had contended with foreign armored vessels. Many of the details of the battle may be omitted from the narrative, but other incidents are worthy of commemoration. The *Olympia* led the fighting from the American line, and the *Reina Cristina* took the brunt of the onset. From the first, it was noted that the Spanish guns, though courageously served, were not skillfully aimed. The shots flew wide of the mark. Many of the shells fell short and others exploded far over and beyond the American vessels. At length, as Dewey's ships with each circuit of attack drew nearer and nearer to the Spanish vessels, and received their fire as well as that from the shore batteries, feeling no hurt from either, until only fifteen hundred yards remained between the lines, the *Reina Cristina* steamed out courageously against the *Olympia*, and was mortally wounded with two tremendous shells, which struck her, exploded, and set the vessel on fire.

This was the beginning of the final *mêlée*. Dewey, after five circuits, ever nearing the Spanish ships, closed with his antagonists, and one by one the enemy's vessels were destroyed or driven ashore. Once during the engagement, between seven and eight o'clock, the American commander drew off to inform himself better than he could otherwise do of his injuries and losses—if any—and to refresh



SHELLS USED IN THE GUNS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY—ONE EIGHTH ACTUAL SIZE.

Reproduced by permission from lithography, copyright 1898, by the stereotyping Lithographing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

the sailors with their morning coffee. His conduct throughout was as cool and discerning as if the battle were a sham fight in friendly waters.

Not a vessel of Montojo's fleet was saved. The loss of life to the Spaniards was great, but on the American side not a single man was killed. Only the engineer of one ship fell down and expired from a nervous shock. The victory of the American fleet was complete and overwhelming. Even the land batteries of Cavite were silenced. Thus, in added glory to the American flag, was ended the first conflict of the war. The news reached the United States by way of Hong Kong and produced the greatest excitement and enthusiasm. Commodore Dewey sprang suddenly into fame, and he remained to the end, *par excellence* the hero of the war. In a characteristic dispatch, he announced the result as follows:

"MANILA, May 1st.—The squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy and destroyed the following Spanish vessels: *Reina Cristina, Castilla, Ulloa, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Del Duero, Correo, Velasco, Mindanao, Don Juan de Austria, Isla de Luzon*, one transport, and the water battery at Cavite. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men are slightly wounded. The only means of telegraphing is to the American consul at Hong Kong. I shall communicate with him. DEWEY."

The next event of the war, far less important than the battle of Manila, occurred at Cardenas on the Cuban coast, on the 11th of May. This place was defended by land batteries, and against these the armored cruiser *Wilmington*, the torpedo boat *Winslow*, and the gunboat *Hudson*, were directed. Several Spanish vessels were lying at the

docks at Cardenas. As soon as the American vessels came within range, they opened fire. The Spanish batteries replied, and there was a furious cannonade, resulting in the silencing of the Spanish guns.

Here was shed the first American blood of the war. A random shell struck the *Winslow* in the hull and destroyed her boiler.



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

COMMODORE GEORGE DEWEY, 1898.

The *Hudson* came to her relief, and threw out a line, but just at this juncture, while Ensign Bagley and six men were standing in a group to catch the line, a second shell exploded in their very faces. The ensign and four of the men were killed. The engagement was notable also for another circumstance, and that was for the first landing of Americans on Cuban soil. A short distance from Cardenas, at a place called Diana Cay, was a Spanish battery, which was



HARBOR AND DEFENCES OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.—From a Photograph.

attacked and silenced by a steel gunboat, the *Machias*. As soon as the firing ceased, Ensign Willard, with only three men, went ashore and raised the American flag over the wreck of the defences.

In the meantime, the land and naval forces of the United States under the command-in-chief of Major-General Nelson A. Miles, were despatched to several strategic points. On the 11th of May, the fleet under command of Rear-Admiral Sampson made a descent on Porto Rico, and on the following morning began a bombardment of San Juan. This place, the capital of the island, was defended by a castle named the Morro—for such is a favorite name which the Spaniards give to their principal fortresses or bastions. Sampson's fleet consisted of the powerful battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the armored cruisers *Detroit* and *New York*, and the monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*, together with the *Wampatuck* and other auxiliaries. The Spanish position was strong, but the artillery of El Morro was chiefly the 7-inch guns which the Spanish government had recently sent out, very unequal in caliber and range to the tremendous pieces of the American battleships.

The bombardment began in the early morning. The tropical heat was quite intolerable. The American sailors began to drop down from exhaustion, but the Spanish fire did little harm. After three or four hours of fighting, during which the American shells passing over the fortifications, and falling in the town of San Juan, wrought dreadful havoc with all manner of edifices and drove the inhabitants into the country, Sampson ordered the firing to cease, and steamed to the westward a distance of twenty miles, where the fleet came to anchor and the sailors were refreshed and rested. What the Spanish losses were could not then be ascertained, but the Americans escaped with little injury. The battleships were hit many times, but no men were killed. The event demonstrated the great difficulty of overcoming land fortifications without the coöperation of an army.

At this time it appeared that the war



By the courtesy of Scientific American.

TYPICAL MONITOR OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.—THE MONTEREY EN ROUTE FOR MANILA.

would assume first-class proportions. On the 25th of May, the President of the United States issued a call for 75,000 additional volunteers. On the same day, an advanced detachment of the army, under General Wesley Merritt, who had been appointed

coast of Asia, fully nine thousand miles from the shores of North America.

At the close of May, the chief interest of the war centered at Santiago de Cuba. There the Spanish fleet of Admiral Cervera had come on the 19th of the month and entered the harbor, and there it was blockaded. On the 31st of the month, the *Iowa*, the *Massachusetts*, and the *New Orleans* bombarded the Spanish fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, and the attack was kept up after Admiral Sampson took command in person.

It was at this juncture, namely, on the 3d of June, that the assistant naval constructor, Richmond P. Hobson, performed the daring exploit which so greatly aroused the enthusiasm of his countrymen. Under the direction of Admiral Sampson, Lieutenant Hobson, with a detachment of seven brave fellows like himself, took an old and heavy ship, the collier *Merrimac*, and steered the vessel under fire of the Spanish batteries and fleet into the narrow throat of the harbor, and by exploding torpedoes sunk the ship almost crosswise in the channel. The object was to plant an obstruction which should prevent an exit of Cervera's fleet. The fact that the undertaking was not quite effectual by no means marred the heroism of Hobson and his men, who, after their



NAVAL CONSTRUCTOR RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON.

military governor for the Philippines, was despatched from San Francisco for Manila. Other detachments, making an aggregate of about thirty thousand men, were sent forward to the same destination. All the transports and warships, including the monitor *Monterey*, arrived in safety in due course of time, thus presenting the spectacle of an American army and fleet far off the eastern

daring exposure to the Spanish shells coming down in a shower on the vessel and all around her, took to a boat, pushed off from the wreck, signaled to the Spanish officers, and were at length captured without the loss of one life. The name of Hobson suddenly appeared in eulogiums on all the newsboards in America.

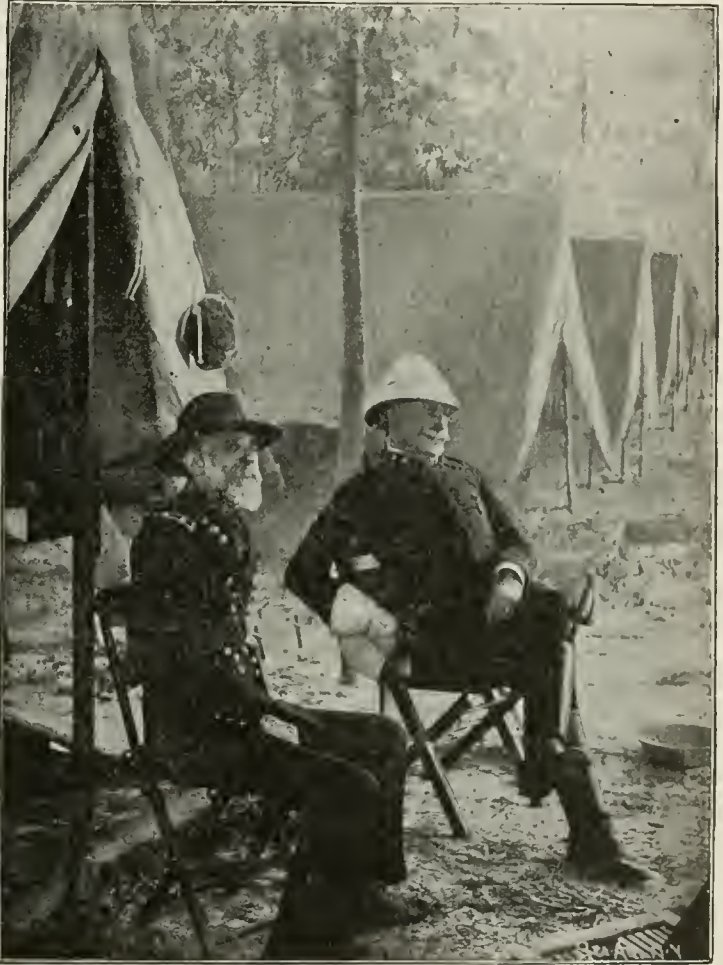
Seven days after Hobson's exploit, a military descent was made on the island, and six

hundred marines were landed at Caimanera, on Guantanamo Bay. The Spaniards resisted the movement, and fighting ensued in a desultory manner for several days. The skirmishing hardly rose to the dignity of battle, though the Spanish losses were considerable, and a few Americans were killed or wounded.

By this time the preparations for a formidable invasion of the West Indies were sufficiently forward to permit the departure of an expedition. A large army had been collected as the Fifth Corps at Tampa, Fla., from which place on the 12th of June, the soldiers, embarking on twenty-nine transports, were directed to Santiago de Cuba, under command of Brigadier-General William R. Shafter. It was intended that this force should cooperate with Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley in their reduction of Santiago. The expedition arrived at its destination on the 20th of June, and was debarked two days afterwards at Baiquiri and Siboney, two unimportant points on the coast a short distance from the old capital of the island. To this point, also, on the 26th of June, came three transports from Aserraderos carrying General Calixto Garcia's Cuban contingent of 3,000 men, which force cooperated thereafter with the army of invasion.

At this period of the war, the progress of events began to be distracted by cross-purposes among the military authorities. The question arose as to the relative authority of the Secretary of War and the Commander-in-chief of the army. Military reputations began to be made and unmade with-

out manifest reason therefor in either case. The methods adopted to raise a revenue sufficient for the expenditures of the Government were debated in Congress, and the influence of the moneyed interests began to be felt in shaping legislation, and in obtaining army contracts. The revenue bill, which



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN MAJOR-GENERALS MILES AND WHEELER.
HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY NEAR SANTIAGO.

was passed and signed by the President on the 13th of June, provided for stamp duties on many kinds of business paper, and for taxation on an extensive schedule of commodities. It also provided for the sale of \$200,000,000 of three-per-cent 10-20 coin bonds.



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN ARMY AND FLEET AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

From an Original Drawing.

These were designated as a *popular loan*, but in practice they were nearly all indirectly absorbed by the National banks as a means to the end of enlarging and perpetuating the circulation of their notes. The Secretary of the Treasury made haste to sell these bonds to the limit of his option, until, notwithstanding the large expenditures of the Government, the Treasury became engorged with money to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. This large sum, abstracted from the general means of exchange, created a stricture in the money market while the business was on, and still further reduced the price of commodities.

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, the war was waged with much enthusiasm. All political parties joined in support of the Government in the active prosecution of its military enterprises. Meanwhile, the remaining Spanish fleet, lying at Cadiz, was ordered by the military authorities of the kingdom to start for the Philippines, there to confront the squadron of Admiral Dewey. The Spanish armament, under command of Admiral Camara, steamed through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, but the Sagasta government became alarmed lest Camara's fleet should be sent to the bottom, like that of Admiral Montojo. An order was accordingly despatched for the return of the expedition, and Camara, arrested by the counter command at Suez, retraced his course. It was expected in the United States that the Spanish commander would continue his progress across the Atlantic, to aid in the liberation of Cervera's fleet at Santiago de Cuba, but this movement was not attempted.

The first fighting, after the landing of the American army on Cuban soil, was brought

on by the advance of a division of General Joseph Wheeler's cavalry forces under command of Brigadier-General Young, and in particular by the regiment of so-called Rough Riders, a body of troopers recruited from different parts of the country, but mostly composed of cowboys from the southwestern parts of the United States. This regiment was commanded by Colonel (afterwards Gen-



COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

eral) Leonard Wood, who became military governor of Cuba, and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned his place as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to take a command in the field, and who by the stress of his military popularity succeeded in the following fall in reaching the governorship of New York.

The troops of Young and the Rough Riders of Wood and Roosevelt advanced from the landing place at Siboney in a courageous but rather spectacular manner, and on the 24th of June, at a place called Las

Guasimas, encountered the enemy in a sort of ambush line in the high grass and tropical undergrowth, and here there was the first taste of serious battle. The ground was hotly contested, and the Spaniards were with difficulty driven back. Several of the Americans were killed, including Captain Capron, who led the advance troop of Wood's command.

The contest at Las Gnasimas, however, was only a preliminary to a much more serious battle which ensued a few days afterwards. In order to understand the situation, the reader must consider the topography of the coast and the country in which the American army now found itself. That army had been debarked on the southern coast of Cuba, some distance *beyond* Santiago; that is, on the coast *eastward* from the mouth of the harbor, a distance of about sixteen miles. As we have said, the principal landing was made at Baiquiri, but there was also an intermediate landing about halfway between that place and Santiago.

This intermediate place of debarkation was Siboney, and it was from that point that the advance had been made to Las Guasimas, where the engagement occurred. The time had now come for the army to make its way against Santiago itself. In doing so, a single road had to be followed, running first northward from Siboney, and then westward. On this route, a little to the left, there was a high, half-mountainous hill, called El Poso, from which the city of Santiago and its defences could be plainly seen with field glasses.

Almost due north from El Poso, at a distance of about three miles, was the little village of El Caney, held by a force of Spaniards. This was the outpost of Santiago on the northeast. Between El Poso and Santiago, the road was crossed almost at right angles by the two tributaries of the San Juan River. The valley of the San Juan thus lay between El Poso and Santiago. Where this valley rose on the west, it was bordered by a rather steep upland, called San Juan Hill. This lay nearly two miles from Santiago. The valley of the San Juan was covered with woods, bushes, tropical vines,

and, in the glades, high grass in which an army could almost hide itself, but could only progress with difficulty.

The Spaniards in order to defend Santiago, had taken possession of San Juan Hill, and established there a blockhouse with lines of entrenchment running to right and left. The road to Santiago lay directly over this hill, which must therefore be carried by assault, or outflanked by the Americans. In making the advance, the latter must traverse at right angles the San Juan valley, ford the two tributaries, and charge for about five hundred yards under the enemy's fire, before the crest could be reached. Meanwhile, General Lawton's division was sent off on the right to capture El Caney.

It was on the night of the last day of June that the order was given for the advance. General Shafter was confined to his tent by sickness and the overwhelming heat. General Wheeler was also ill, and the immediate command of the cavalry division was devolved on General Sumner. Colonel Wood of the Rough Riders had for like reasons to take the place of Brigadier-General Young. All of these subordinate commands were parts of the general command of Major-General Kent, whose infantry regiments were coming up from the rear.

The order was to break camp and advance at four o'clock on the morning of July 1st. About twelve thousand men were altogether involved in the movement; but the line of march was so narrow that only the advance columns could at first be brought to confront the enemy. Along the narrow road at sunrise of an intolerably hot, tropical day, the Americans made their way. The road was little more than a trail through the woods, across the valley and the two branches of the San Juan. A battery was established on El Poso, and the First and the Tenth dismounted cavalry were established near by in support.

From El Poso, the guns opened on the Spanish entrenchments of San Juan Hill. The infantry advance proceeded as well as possible along the road and through the high grass and bushes. Coming within range of

the guns of the Spaniards, the latter opened fire, mostly with smokeless powder. The American fire produced clouds of smoke, which soon enveloped the scene, and furnished a clear indication to the Spaniards as to the range at which they should direct their guns.

The battle of San Juan Hill thus began in the low woods, from which the American fire was directed as well as practicable up the slope, while the Spanish fire was directed somewhat downward, and with fatal precision. It had been intended that General Lawton, after taking El Caney, far on the right, should deploy against the left flank of the enemy on San Juan Hill, and thus contribute to the capture. But the event came out differently; for the Americans in the San Juan woods found themselves in an untenable position. They had either to go forward or to fall, as they were falling, by scores and hundreds.

It appears that the general command at this period was weak and uncertain, but the regimental officers, and some of the field officers of higher grade, such as General Chaffee, General Sumner, and others, were very courageous and successful. In the absence of the commanding general, they took the matter into their own hands. The First and Tenth dismounted cavalry, as well as the Sixth, the Third, and the Ninth, were at the fore and bore the brunt of the fire, which was hot and fatal. The Rough Riders, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, distinguished themselves by their valor. For a considerable time, however, the progress was slow and the American losses heavy. The soldiers, creeping forward in the hot grass and lying down at intervals, suffered greatly

from the heat, and the Spanish fire blazed overhead constantly, clipping the bushes, cutting lines through the grass, and inflicting wounds and death on the brave men who could scarcely return a like punishment on an entrenched enemy.

Gradually, however, the command of General Hawkins, who led Kent's division, and Colonel Roosevelt with the Rough Riders



GENERAL H. W. LAWTON.

got a freer swing, and an actual charge was begun. Soon after this, however, an incident occurred which made the further movement of the infantry and dismounted cavalry more easy, expeditious, and effective. The advance of the brigades of Hawkins and Wykoff, leading directly against the center of the ridge where the blockhouse stood, was made successfully about one half of the distance between the contending lines,

but at that point the Spanish fire became so galling that the American charge was arrested, and the men, for the most part, protected themselves by lying down in the grass and underbrush. In fact, between twelve and two o'clock, the battle had assumed an unpromising aspect, and at times the Americans were threatened with repulse.

A retreat, however, was out of the question; the Americans were in no mood for that, and, besides, the heavy columns of General Kent, pressing on from the rear, had

never been accepted or practically demonstrated on any field of battle.

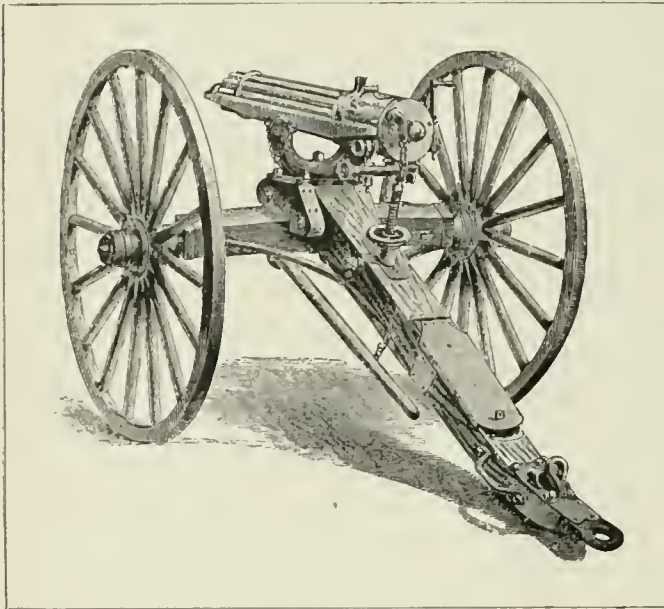
It is said indeed that Parker had been to some extent the butt of ridicule on the score of his one idea, namely, that no enemy could withstand his Gatling guns. Having his battery well in hand, he was ordered forward during the advance across the San Juan valley, and when the charge came to a standstill, he found himself occupying a point of advantage far in advance of some of the Americans who had lain down to protect

themselves from the Spanish fire. Having got his guns into position, he began at a signal from the commanding officer of the Thirteenth Infantry, and an engagement which was perhaps unprecedented in the history of warfare ensued. He let loose his Gatlings, and in the space of eight minutes, threw fully twenty thousand Krag-Jorgensen balls into the Spanish lines. He began at the right end of the trenches on San Juan, and deliberately swept them from right to left and back again. It was like a sickle cutting the grass. Nothing could withstand the remorseless chawing of the bullets as they swept the crest.

In fact, it was this blast of

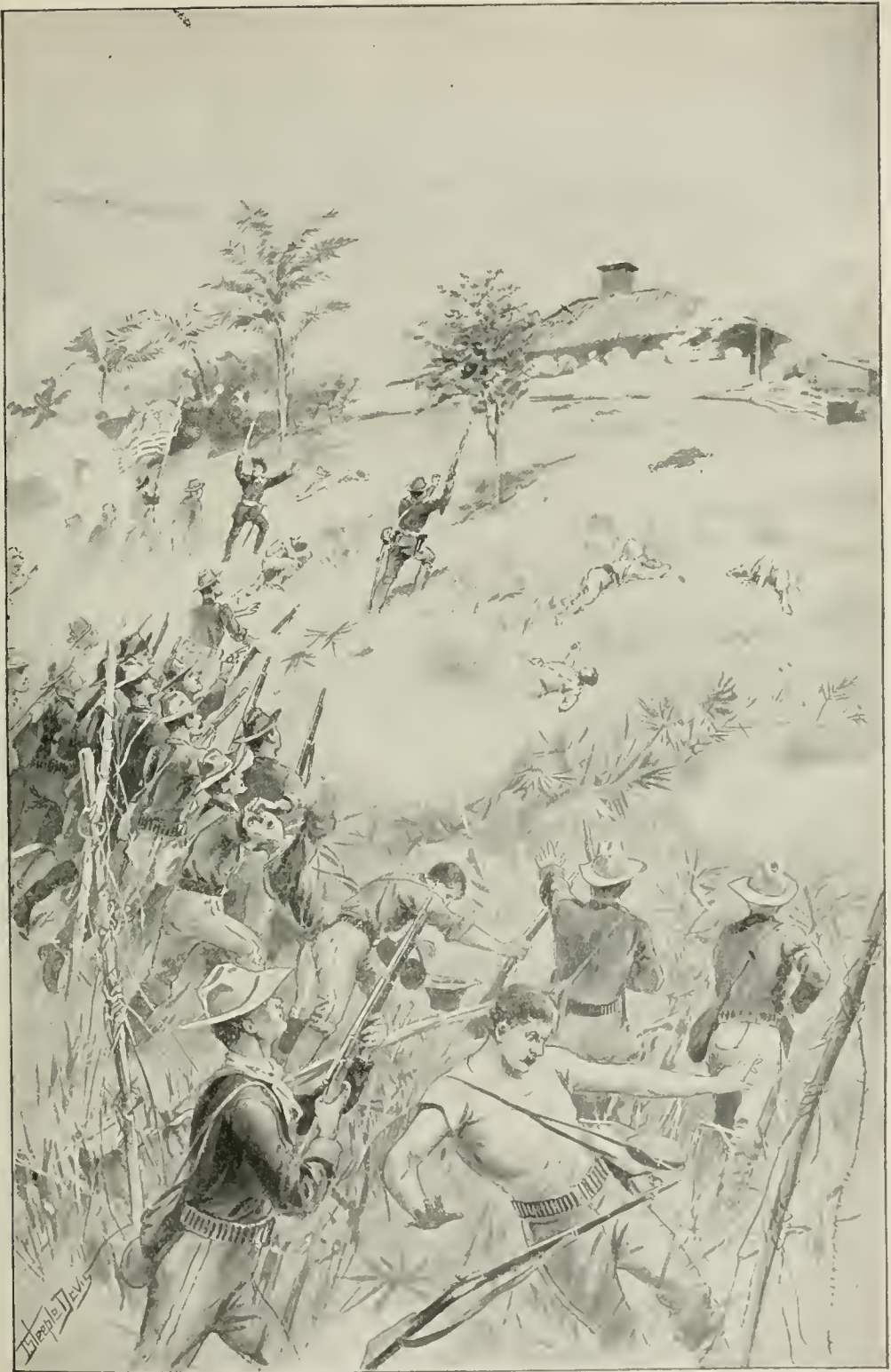
death that ended the business so far as Spanish resistance was concerned.

The American infantry now rising again from its protected positions, and following in the wake of Roosevelt's regiment of Rough Riders and a regiment of brave colored soldiers who had gone forward with them over some of the lines lying flat in the grass, renewed the charge and rushed on to the crest without further resistance. The soldiers found there indeed none to resist. The Spaniards who had escaped the besom of the Gatlings were seen straggling away in flight. Their comrades who had attempted to hold the trenches were either dead or fallen with wounds. It can perhaps never be known



GATLING GUN.

filled up the narrow road, so that the front brigades were pressed forward and held in place even if they had wavered. It was at this crisis in the fight that an episode occurred, generally overlooked in accounts of the battle, but nevertheless of a memorable character. This was the coming into action of a battery of Gatling guns, under command of Lieutenant John H. Parker. It is not certain, indeed, but that this fact was the turning point in the whole engagement. Parker had for a long time been an enthusiast as it respected the efficiency of machine guns. He was himself a graduate of West Point, but his peculiar views about the character of the battery with which he was entrusted had

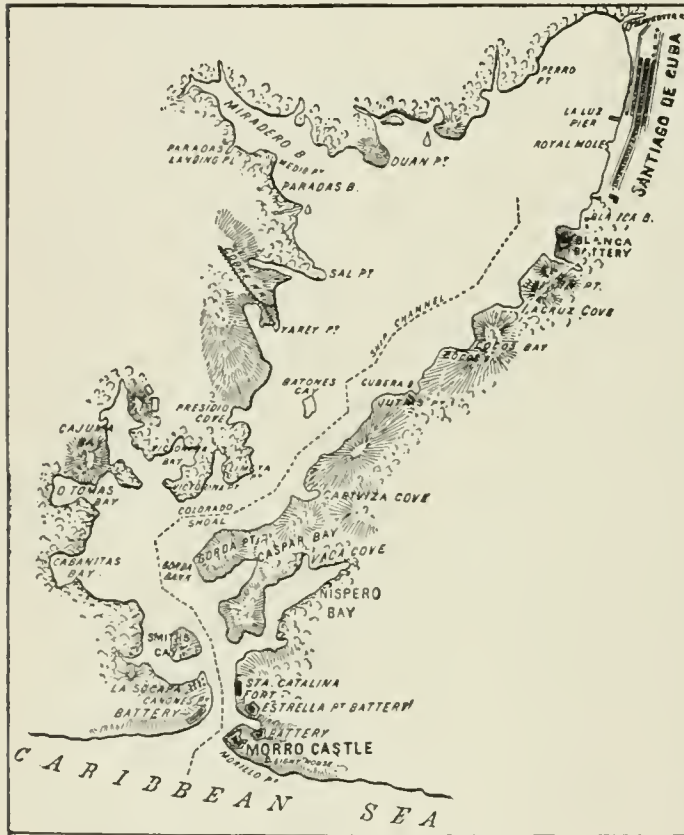


THE FINAL CHARGE AT SAN JUAN HILL.

precisely how much of the havoc was caused by the preceding infantry fire, and how much was the result of Parker's blast of Gatling balls. But it is certain that the latter ended the conflict and made the remaining charge and capture of the hill a duty which a few companies of militia could have performed as well as an army with banners.

won by battle. The contest was now on for the possession of Santiago.

The situation of affairs at the front was constantly reported by cable to the people of the United States, but the news was filtered through a censorship, which the Government had established as a necessary restraint on the unbridled American press. As was subsequently revealed, one marked result of the censorship was to make and unmake military reputations. It is one of the vices of such a situation, that its distance and inaccessibility make easy the misrepresentation of facts and the building up of invented and highly decorated heroes. Meanwhile, in all parts of our country, the excitement became extreme, and this was by no means allayed with the knowledge of the serious losses with which the victory of San Juan Hill had been clouded. On the American side, 231 men were killed, 1,364 wounded or missing. This sacrifice, including those who fell at Las Guasimas, embraced nearly the entire loss by violence of the Americans during the war; but the horrible losses by disease came swiftly after and swallowed up the insignificant loss by battle.



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

MAP OF THE HARBOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

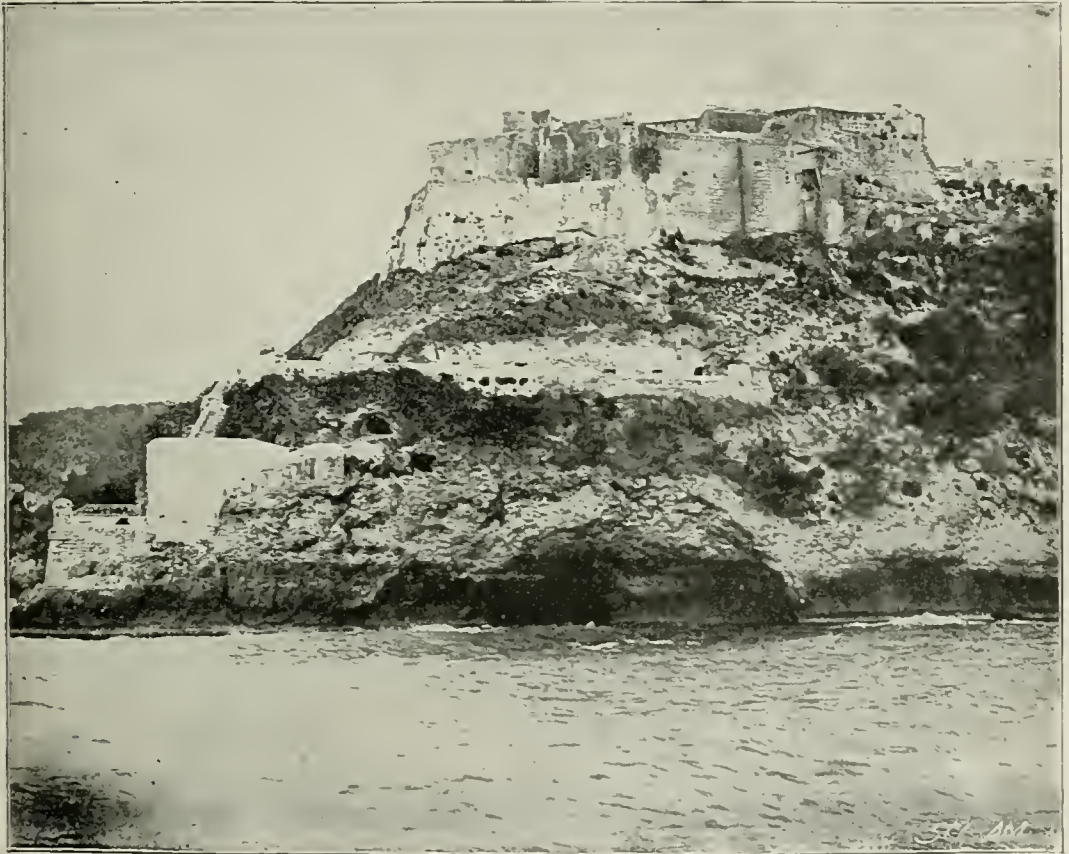
Once in possession of the trenches and blockhouse of the enemy, the Americans in some sense held the key to Santiago. That city was visible about a mile and a half away, but the immediate defences, including the Morro, were strong, and further battle seemed inevitable. In the first days of July, the Americans made themselves as comfortable as they might in the blazing heat which to them, unused to the tropical fire, seemed a furnace. They suffered greatly while holding the ground which they had

the ridges of San Juan, occurred the second critical conflict of the Spanish-American war. This was the great naval battle between the American fleet, under Sampson and Schley on the one side, and the Spanish fleet of Admiral Cervera on the other. The result was a second and, in this instance, complete and overwhelming victory for the Americans.

We have already noted the mistake of Admiral Cervera in permitting himself to be pent up (May 19th) in the harbor of Santiago. No doubt he was obliged to enter

that narrow water with its long channel like the neck of an ostrich; for his ships must have coal. But the Admiral remained in the, to him and his country, fatal enclosure for forty-five days, backed as it were against the land batteries and the Morro. True it is that Cervera acted under orders. The theory of the Spaniards was to hold Santiago with their army and fleet in coöperation.

ish authorities grew restless, and at length Captain-General Blanco, who had succeeded Weyler in the governorship of Cuba, ordered the unfortunate Cervera to get out of the harbor at all hazards. Unless this could be done, the end of the war was already in sight. It appears that Cervera doubted the expediency of getting out from his defensible position. To do so would mean a critical



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EL MORRO OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.—ENTRANCE TO HARBOR.

The flaw in the theory was that the situation enabled Sampson and Shafter to hold *them!* And the American grip was too strong for the throat of the enemy.

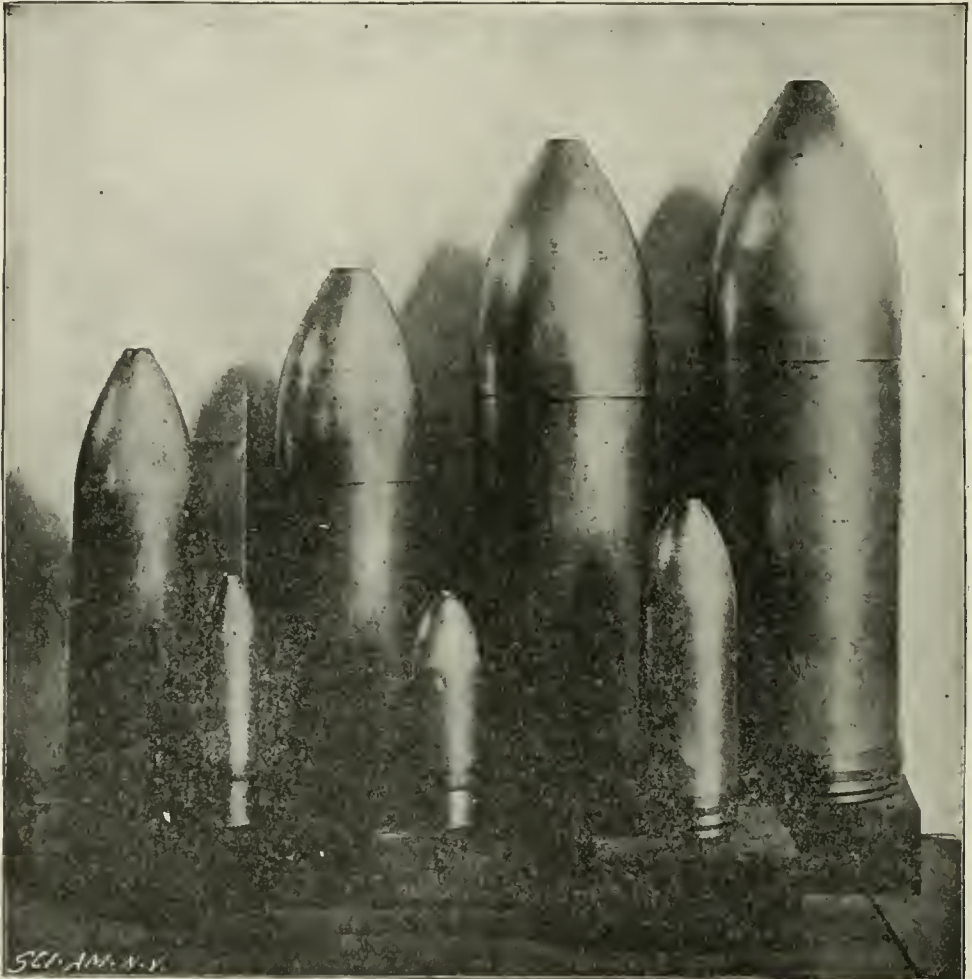
Gradually the situation of Cervera became intolerable. Admiral Camara did not arrive from the East to assist in the liberation of his colleague. Had he arrived, Sampson and Schley lay outside to confront him, and perhaps to destroy his fleet. The Span-

naval battle just outside the harbor with a probably fatal result and final catastrophe to the Spanish cause. But the order to the Admiral was peremptory, and he accordingly made the trial.

In the early morning of July 3d, the American officers on the warships discovered the Spanish vessels steaming through the channel. Up to this time the fleet lying outside, had consisted of the *Oregon*, the

Indiana, the *Iowa*, the *Texas*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Massachusetts*, Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*, the *Viven*, the *Marblehead*, the *Mayflower*, and the *Gloucester*; besides an armored vessel bearing the search-

of Santiago. When the smoke of Cervera's fleet was seen he instantly turned in his course. The Admiral ordered all the fires to be turned on, and the vessel was discharged at full speed towards the scene of action.



8-inch.

4-inch.

10-inch.

5-inch.

12-inch.

6-inch.

13-inch.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

GROUP OF SHELLS AT THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD.

light which stood immediately in front of the entrance to the harbor.

The morning of the exit was clear and fine. Cervera's sortie was not made at the hour expected. At that particular time, the situation was peculiar. Admiral Sampson, on board the *New York*, had gone eastward about nine o'clock, and was at a point between seven and eight miles from the Morro

Already, however, the American warships at the mouth of the harbor were cleared for action, and the battleship *Iowa*, under command of Captain Robley D. Evans, put across the bow of the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, thus beginning an engagement destined to be one of the most remarkable in naval warfare. Cervera's vessels came out of the harbor in the following order, namely,

the *Maria Teresa*, the *Vizcaya*, the *Cristobal Colon*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the torpedo-boat destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton* at the rear. The *Reina Mercedes*, as it subsequently appeared, remained in the harbor, where on the night of July 4th she was purposely sunk by the Spaniards in the channel near the Morro to escape the guns of the *Texas* and the *Massachusetts*.

The Spanish fleet on getting into clear water, made all haste to the west, as close to

as they passed out of the harbor. Certainly a single shot, successfully planted from one of the heavy Spanish guns would have sent the *Gloucester* to her final account, but she escaped unhurt.

The management of the squadron by Commodore Schley was admirable, and the captains of the big warships, each and several, distinguished themselves in the rush and fury of battle which ensued. The American fleet closed in rapidly on the flying Spanish ves-



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TYPICAL AMERICAN FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP, THE IOWA.

the coast as possible, with the manifest purpose of escaping, and of fighting to escape. The first American ships in the action were the *Iowa*, the *Texas*, and Commodore Schley's flagship, the *Brooklyn*; also the *Indiana*, the *Oregon*, and the little *Gloucester*, which made up courageously to the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, engaging them, and succeeding before the battle was over in sinking them both. It was a feat memorable in the battle of ships. Indeed the *Gloucester*, under command of the valiant Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, flew like a hornet at the big Spanish battleships, and fired upon them

sels. At first the *Iowa* led with the *Oregon* second and the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, and *Indiana*, nearly abreast. All of the Spanish vessels felt the fatal bolts from the American guns, and it was not long until the *Maria Teresa* was set on fire. In the third aspect of the battle, the *Cristobal Colon* had forged to the fore, closely followed by the *Vizcaya*, and then at a space of nearly a mile, the burning *Teresa*, and then the *Oquendo*. On the American side, the intrepid *Oregon* had gone ahead of her competitors. The *Iowa* came next, then the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, and the *Indiana*. Meanwhile, Admiral

Sampson's vessel, the *New York*, was coming on from the rear at the rate of over seventeen knots an hour. The *Brooklyn* was making thirteen two-tenths knots an hour, and the *Oregon* twelve nine-tenths knots.

As for the Spanish ships, they were perhaps handled as well as they might be in flight. They fired backwards with vigor and

went to the beach in flames. Then the *Oquendo* caught, and the *Vizcaya* was beaten to death. The fourth position of the battle showed the *Colon* flying with a prospect of escape down the coast, and but for the projection of the cape of Santa Cruz, Cervera's flagship might indeed have got away. But the cape beating out to sea compelled the

Spanish Admiral to turn out also to the south, thus exposing the left side of his ship, and losing much time.

In the meantime, the *Oregon* had forged forward until she had come opposite the burning *Teresa*, and was clearly making a death race with the *Colon*. After the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn* and the *Iowa* came next. At this juncture, the *Oquendo* and the *Teresa* went out of the fight by the gate of destruction. The *Colon* in the fifth aspect was far ahead, and the *Vizcaya* on fire still steamed feebly to the westward, but the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, and the *Iowa*, were hard in the wake, and the merciless shells with every discharge of the great guns did havoc to the flying vessels.

In the sixth aspect, the *Oregon* came abreast with the *Vizcaya*, as did also the *Brooklyn*. The *Iowa* and the *Texas* did the *Vizcaya* to death, and the *Oregon* and the *Brooklyn* followed the *Cris-*



COMMODORE WINFIELD S. SCHLEY.

courage, but their shots flew wide. The marvelous thing about the battle was the small injury done by the Spanish guns on the American vessels, and the destructive fatality of the American fire on the Spanish ships.

It can not be doubted that the spectacle was one of the sublimest and at the same time one of the cruelest ever witnessed. The Sunday-morning sea was covered with clouds of smoke. The *Teresa* took fire, and

tobal Colon to her fate. For nearly an hour after the principal fight was ended it was a race between the two American ships as to which should be first in at the death of the last of the Spaniards. The *Oregon* overtook the *Colon* first, and headed her for the shore, where she was beached, and where the engagement was ended with Cervera's surrender of his ship. The *Brooklyn* at this time had closed in on the last Spanish ship, and the *New*



DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH FLEET AT SANTIAGO.

York had also reached the scene with the *Texas* to participate in the finale. The *Vicen* also drew up, and the scene ended in about an hour and forty-five minutes from the time of the issuance of the Spanish fleet from the harbor. The *Massachusetts* had been sent to Guantanamo Bay for a supply of coal, and that vessel was thus prevented from participating in the battle.

A summary of the result showed the total



LIEUTENANT COMMANDER RICHARD WAINWRIGHT.

destruction of the Spanish fleet. Some of the men from the dying vessels got ashore, where they were confronted by a division of Cubans. All of the Spaniards were captured, some on shore, but mostly from the vessels. Scores were drowned, and many were burned to death. When the *Colon* was headed by the *Oregon*, she hauled down her flag, and made for the beach. Commodore Schley sent Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn* to receive

Cervera's surrender, which included the entire surviving force of 525 men. Before twelve o'clock, every Spanish vessel had been sunk, beached, knocked to pieces or burned by the merciless fire of the American gunners.

The victorious American battleships, though many times struck by the Spanish shells, were little injured, and the losses of life were trifling. Before the work was completed with the heavy Spanish vessels, the *Gloucester*, the *Indiana*, and the *Iowa*, had made way with the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, which ships succeeded in getting but a short distance from the mouth of the harbor. The little *Gloucester* had been aforesaid the pleasure yacht of Pierpont Morgan of New York, by whom the vessel was sold to the Government and converted into a diminutive iron-clad cruiser. Her commander so distinguished himself by his daring as to gain the rank of a hero.

The destruction of Cervera's fleet was virtually the end of the conflict in Cuba. On the same day of the engagement, General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago, and coincidentally, about the same hour, the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrões, was taken by the cruiser *Charleston* belonging to the Pacific Squadron.

On the 7th of July, a notable civil event was projected into the military calendar. The long-continued effort of those

interested to gain possession of the Hawaiian Islands was at last successful. Resolutions of annexation having been passed by Congress, the President of the United States, on the date referred to, signed the Congressional measure, and the steamer *Philadelphia* was despatched to raise the American flag at Honolulu. This was done amid the silent acquiescence of the Hawaiian population.

For two weeks after the destruction of the

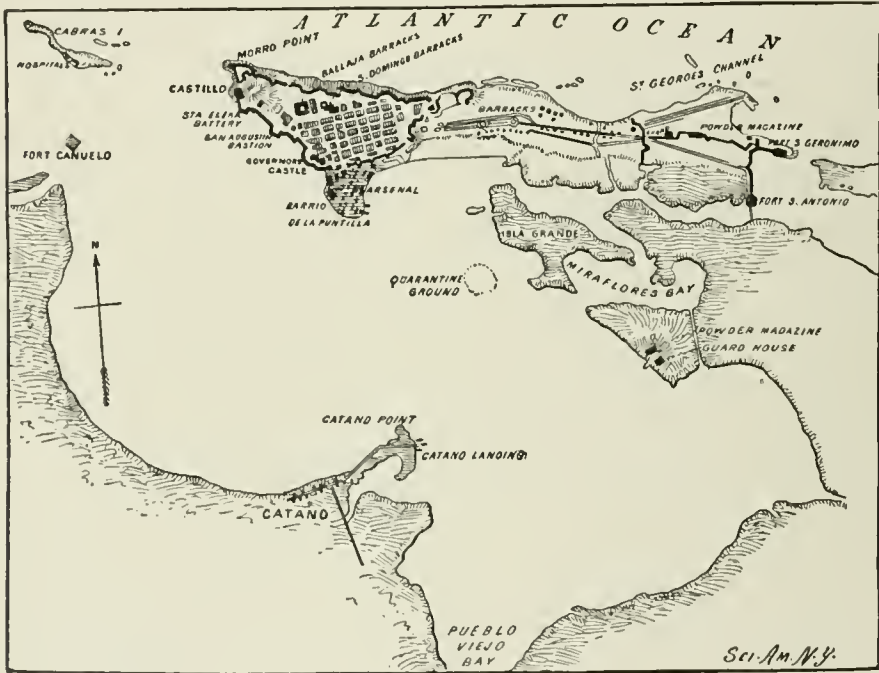


MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

Spanish fleet, the defences of Santiago held out against the pressure of the Americans. But at length, resistance was seen to be useless, and the besieged city capitulated. General Linares, the Spanish commandant, had been wounded during the siege, and it devolved upon his successor, General Toral, to surrender the city and its defenders to the Americans. General Shafter, after consultation with the authorities at Washington, and acting under direction of the commander-in-chief, dictated the terms of the capitulation,

from Tampa or Key West. At length he decided to be himself the leader of an expedition into the West Indies. He accordingly embarked for the scene of war and reached Cuba on the 11th of July. He was thus in time to determine the conditions on which the surrender of Santiago would be accepted. When this work was accomplished, he put himself at the head of a large division, set out from Guantanamo Bay, and debarked at Guanica, on the Porto Rican coast.

The city of San Juan had been bombarded



By the courtesy of Scientific American.

HARBOR AND FORTIFICATIONS OF SAN JUAN.

which included not only Santiago de Cuba, but the whole eastern portion of the province, with the total of about 20,000 prisoners of war. The office of military governor of Santiago was assigned to General Leonard R. Wood, formerly Colonel of the First Volunteer Cavalry of New York.

For a while after the fleet and armies began to operate in Cuba, and in the East, General Nelson A. Miles, Commander-in-chief of the American forces, remained at Washington, or directed the military and naval movements

by Admiral Sampson as early as the 12th of May, but the formal invasion of the island was not made until the 25th of July. Within three days, General Miles compelled the surrender of Ponce, by whose inhabitants he was received rather as a deliverer than as a conqueror. The other towns in the vicinity surrendered without serious resistance. The whole island was subjugated with little expenditure of treasure and with scarcely the loss of a single life. It was needful that General Miles, in order to participate person-

ally in the field, should expedite his movements as much as possible, for the end was already at hand.

Not only the results of the several conflicts, but also the pressure of international suggestions was now felt in producing a cessation of hostilities. The French Republic, friendly through many historical, social, and religious motives with the Spanish kingdom,

own government and to Spain—with the result that the terms were first informally, and then formally, accepted.

By the 9th of August the French ambassador was able to signify to the President the willingness of Spain to end the conflict on the conditions named. In the meantime, the troops of the United States, at the town of Malate, near Manila, in Luzon, had re-



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

VIEW IN PRINCIPAL STREET OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.

and influenced not a little by the solicitations of the French holders of Spanish bonds, sought assiduously to bring about a cessation of the war. M. Jules Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, exerted himself in interviews with the President and Secretary of State to incline them favorably to peace. He procured from President McKinley, on the 30th of July, a statement of the general conditions on which the United States would consent to peace. These conditions M. Cambon signified to his

pulsed the Spaniards who had attacked them and inflicted a slight loss on the enemy.

The preliminary agreement, called a protocol, which the President of the United States prescribed to Spain, was signed by Hon. William R. Day, Secretary of State, for the United States,¹ and by the French ambassa-

¹ At the beginning of the administration of McKinley the important office of Secretary of State was held by John Sherman, who had been induced to resign his position as Senior Senator of the United States for Ohio in order to receive the Cabinet appointment referred to.

avor, for Spain, on the 12th of August, 1898. The terms included the independence of Cuba and the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities from the island; the cession of Porto Rico to the United States—this as a result of the war; the cession of the island of Guam in the Ladrones Islands to the United States; the occupation of the harbor and city of Manila, pending the final disposition of the Philippines by the decision of the

The event moved forward speedily to a conclusion. The President appointed as Peace Commissioners on the part of the United States, ex-Secretary of State, William R. Day; Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; Senator William P. Frye, of Maine; Hon. Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish government also appointed five distinguished Commissioners headed by Señor Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate. The other members on the side of Spain were Señor Abarzuza, Señor Garnica, General Cerero, and Señor Villarrutia. The Commissioners met at Paris on the 1st of October, and proceeded at once to organize and to take up the important diplomatical matters submitted to them for final decision.

The war entailed upon the American people several most serious consequences. In the first place, it brought the all-important question of the proper disposition and management of the insular territories acquired by the treaty. Hitherto, all territorial acquisition by the United States had been made with the distinct purpose of peopling such territories with American citizens, organizing republican governments, and admitting the territories into the Union as equal States in the sisterhood. This method did not seem to suggest itself with respect to Hawaii or to the islands acquired by the war. These were inhabited, for the most part, by the descendants of the Latin races, by hybrid popula-

tions, and by Orientals, few of whom knew anything and most of whom knew nothing of republican institutions or self-government in any form.

accepted by the President, and Honorable William R. Day, who had been holding the office of Assistant Secretary of State, was promoted to fill the vacancy occasioned by the "resignation" of Sherman. The duty of conducting the department of State thus, during the greater part of the Spanish-American war, devolved upon an officer who had had no previous experience in public affairs, or any special preparation for the serious diplomatical duties which were placed upon him.



WILLIAM R. DAY.

Secretary of State, Administration of McKinley.

Commissioners, appointed by the two nations to meet in Paris before the 1st of October, to determine by permanent treaty the conditions of peace.

Sherman, however, was in many respects out of accord with the policy of the administration, and he was soon displaced from the Cabinet under the powerful pressure that was brought to bear upon him. A pretext was found for his removal on the score of the alleged failure of his mind. It was given out that he was parietic and half-insane, and this statement was repeated until the public mind was completely abused relative to the Secretary's condition. His resignation, when it was procured, was

The proposition to establish a colonial system for the acquired islands, in the manner of the British Colonial governments, seemed repugnant to all American traditions, if not positively contrary to the Constitution of the United States. A party sprang up, however, willing to take this risk—willing to introduce a sort of modified imperialism instead of the strictly republican and democratic theory of government. The movement, however, was opposed by an anti-imperialistic party; but the lines of division between the two did not coincide with the lines of the existing political cleavage. This question obtruded itself powerfully into the party contests of 1898.

The war brought in its train several other consequences that were hurtful to the Nation and a drawback to the progress of the age. The *spirit* of war was encouraged. The conflict, which had been undertaken generously, and with the sole professed design of securing the independence of the Cubans, was soon modified and deflected with the notion of territorial acquisition. Those who favor the maintenance in the United States of a great standing army and a prodigious navy were encouraged, and the recently prevailing sentiment in favor of arbitration received a backset from which recovery must needs be slow. The rampant partisans of the war soon began to flaunt their bravado against the very principles of peace, and openly to advocate the revival in America of the old war passions prevalent among the European nations.

Besides all this, abuses sprang up in the military management which reflected discredit upon the Department of War, and spread a feeling of distrust against those responsible for the welfare of the soldiers. The public provision for the support of the military movements was so inadequate to the actual requirements of the camp, the field, and the hospital, that private benefactions had to be added to alleviate the sufferings of the army. The naval administration was superb, but the land forces were frequently neglected, and were even deprived of the abundant provisions made by a generous

people for their comfort and preservation. These facts were brought out by the American press, and were directed with much bitterness against the administrative authorities in the party contests of 1898.

Perhaps the most salutary advantage gained by the American people, as a result of the conflict with Spain, was the complete effacement of the animosities and prejudices remaining from our great Civil War. It had been very difficult for the men of the South and the men of the North to become reconciled. Though a full generation had arisen and glided away, the deep-down recollections of the past in the hearts of millions of our people could hardly be removed to give place to other sentiments than those which had prevailed in the days of the great Rebellion. The pictures of that terrible time still stood in the silent chambers, and the effort to turn their faces to the wall was resented as an affront to the dead.

The war with Spain had the effect to obliterate the surviving antagonisms of our people. The men of the old Confederacy and their sons sprang forward with enthusiasm to the support of the national cause. Such men as General Fitzhugh Lee and the veteran General Joseph Wheeler were assigned to important commands, and both they and their soldiers, whether from the South or the North, showed a heroic devotion to the flag of the Republic. The soldiers of the two sections fraternized completely, and over the grave of the past the grass grew green in the summer of 1898.

While the issue of the war, so far as the American arms were concerned, was highly auspicious, many things followed in the train well calculated to spread grief and anxiety among the people. It had been foreseen that the climate of the West Indies would severely try the constitution of the American soldiers. The war broke out at the beginning of the dangerous season—dangerous as to both the torrid heat and the malignant diseases which prevail in the tropics. From this source much more was to be apprehended than from the armies of the enemy.

The event corresponded with the appre-

hension. No sooner had the American forces been debarked in Cuba than the fatal effects of climate and disease began to be felt in the invading camps. The season was less disastrous as to temperature than had been feared, and the diseases peculiar to the Cuban climate did not come in the most malignant form. Yellow fever appeared in only a sporadic manner. The worst affliction of the soldiers was typhoid fever and malarial affections of various kinds. Of such ailments a great many soldiers sickened and hundreds died. The losses from this source were far in excess of the losses from marching and battle.

The effects of the prevailing diseases were aggravated by the imperfect supply-system and the inadequate medical and surgical service. It was soon known that the army about Santiago was suffering greatly for provisions, medicines, and hospital accommodations. The percentage of the sick increased, and it was a fortunate circumstance that the fall of Santiago and the announcement of the protocol came at so early a period of the year. Provisions were soon made for the withdrawal of divisions of the army, and as soon as the sick soldiers could be distributed in camps, they were sent thereto, and in course of time, a better system of medical service and of supply was instituted.

The mustering out of the forces followed in the latter part of August, September, and October, though a sufficient army was retained to make certain that no advantage should be taken by Spain pending the negotiations at Paris.

In the course of a few months, the hostility to the management of the War Department was intensified by the discovery that some of the principal army supplies had been of an inferior quality and unwholesome. It appeared that the beef contractors had in particular sent to the West Indies large consignments of both fresh and prepared beef which was found to be worse than useless as food for the soldiers. A guaranty had been given by the beef trusts of Chicago that the whole beef, that is, beef in carcass, sent to the army should be refrigerated in a manner

to be preserved fresh for seventy-two hours after delivery from the ships. Instead of this, much of it was found to be putrid on delivery, or covered with mouldy exudations of a nauseous and poisonous character.

The principal army supply was so-called "canned roast beef." It transpired that this supply had been furnished from poor stock, and, as testified at the inquiry, had been treated with preservative chemicals. It was said, in the phraseology of the times, that the beef was "embalmed;" that is, treated as animal bodies are treated to preserve them against decay. The Court of Inquiry, however, appointed to investigate the charges held that they were not sustained.

The premonitions of this business were blown abroad about the time of the conclusion of hostilities. Subsequently, an investigation of the matter was ordered by the President. General Miles, the Commander-in-chief, went on record in verification of the charges. Other noted officers did the same. Hereupon, General Eagan, the Commissary General of the army, openly denounced General Miles as a liar. For this he was court-martialed and dismissed from the service. But the President of the United States, modified the verdict into a decree of suspension from office for six years, without suspension of his salary—a fact which led to much unfavorable criticism of the War Department, General Alger, the secretary of war, and the President, for his apparent support of his subordinates.

Meanwhile, when the regiments began to arrive from Cuba and their condition came to be known, the nation was shocked at the spectacle presented. The soldiers died by hundreds and thousands. In the home camps to which they were assigned, such as Camp Wikoff, at Montauk Point, on the eastern extremity of Long Island, the scenes of suffering continued until late in the year. Even then, when the regiments were disbanded and the soldiers returned to native town or country side, they appeared rather as spectres than as men.

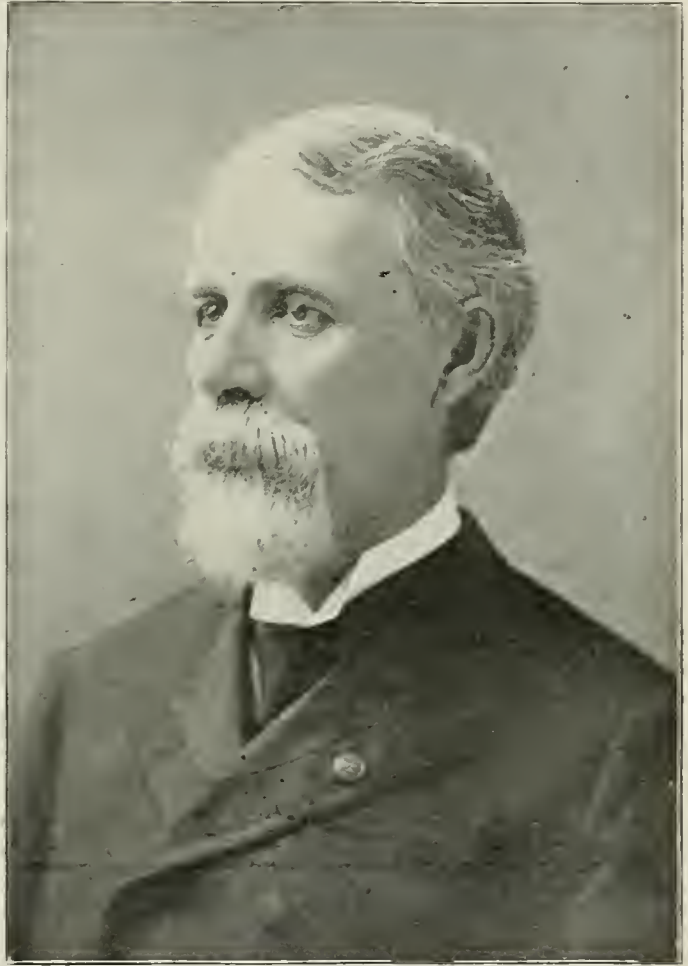
The summary of the total losses of the Americans during the war furnished ma-

terial for much reflection and comment. It appeared that the general character of war had changed. In the first place, the small loss of the Americans from the casualties of battle was a matter of astonishment. Only 329 men had been actually killed in action, and 125 others had died of their wounds, making a total loss by violence, *in the army*, of 454. But the record of loss by disease was appalling; for this amounted to 5,277, being nearly twelve times as great as the total loss in battle! Or again, the whole loss in the army, amounting to 5,731, was three hundred and eighteen times as great as that in the navy; and yet the war was essentially a naval war! On the battleships, only seventeen men were actually killed in action, and but one man died of his wounds, while not a single marine died of disease during the three and a half months of the conflict. The contrast was so astounding as to be pitiable. The fatal element as shown in these statistics was the enormous death list resulting from diseases and inadequate and unwholesome supplies in the army.

In the city of Paris the Commissioners of Peace began their work on the 1st of October. The American representatives had the advantage in all that ensued. Most of them, indeed all except Senator Gray, went to the Congress strongly predisposed to the policy of expansion, and to the conclusion of a treaty without much regard to the protests and arguments of the Spanish ambassadors. Meanwhile the whole force of the administration at Washington was turned to the policy of getting as much as possible out of the war. The sentiment grew in favor of holding the Philippines, and indeed every-

thing else which had been, however temporarily, under control of the Americans during the conflict.

A very specious form of argument was invented at this time to the effect that everything which had been covered by the flag of the Republic should be retained—as though



RUSSELL A. ALGER.

Secretary of War, McKinley's Administration.

the flag and they who carried it could do no wrong! Against this sentiment there was among the American people nothing to oppose except weakness and moral trepidation. It was in vain to point out the fact that when the protocol of peace was signed, not one foot of the Philippine territory was under the American flag. It was only *after* the

protocol was proclaimed that Commodore Dewey made his successful onset on Manila. At this time the flag was indeed raised over that city, and a reason was thus found, not only for holding the harbor and city of Manila, not only for taking possession of the island of Luzon, but for the retention of the whole Philippine archipelago!

The American representatives at Paris were borne on by the tide, and the Spanish

international considerations and rests wholly in the hope of securing their bonds and perpetuating them as an interest-bearing fund.

It became evident before the result of the negotiations was announced that the largest advantages (even though they might be disadvantages) would be taken by the Americans as the fruit of victory. As to Porto Rico, that island had already been conceded

by Spain to the United States at the conclusion of hostilities. As to Cuba, it had been agreed that the Spanish authority should be abrogated, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and independence secured to the people of the island. And herein lay a serious complication, for it had now been discovered that the Cuban republic, in behalf of which the war had been virtually undertaken, was an insubstantial fact, and that the Cuban army was rather an obstacle than an auxiliary. Still, the declarations of policy regarding Cuba were so distinct that controversy relative to the island could hardly break out at the Paris conference.

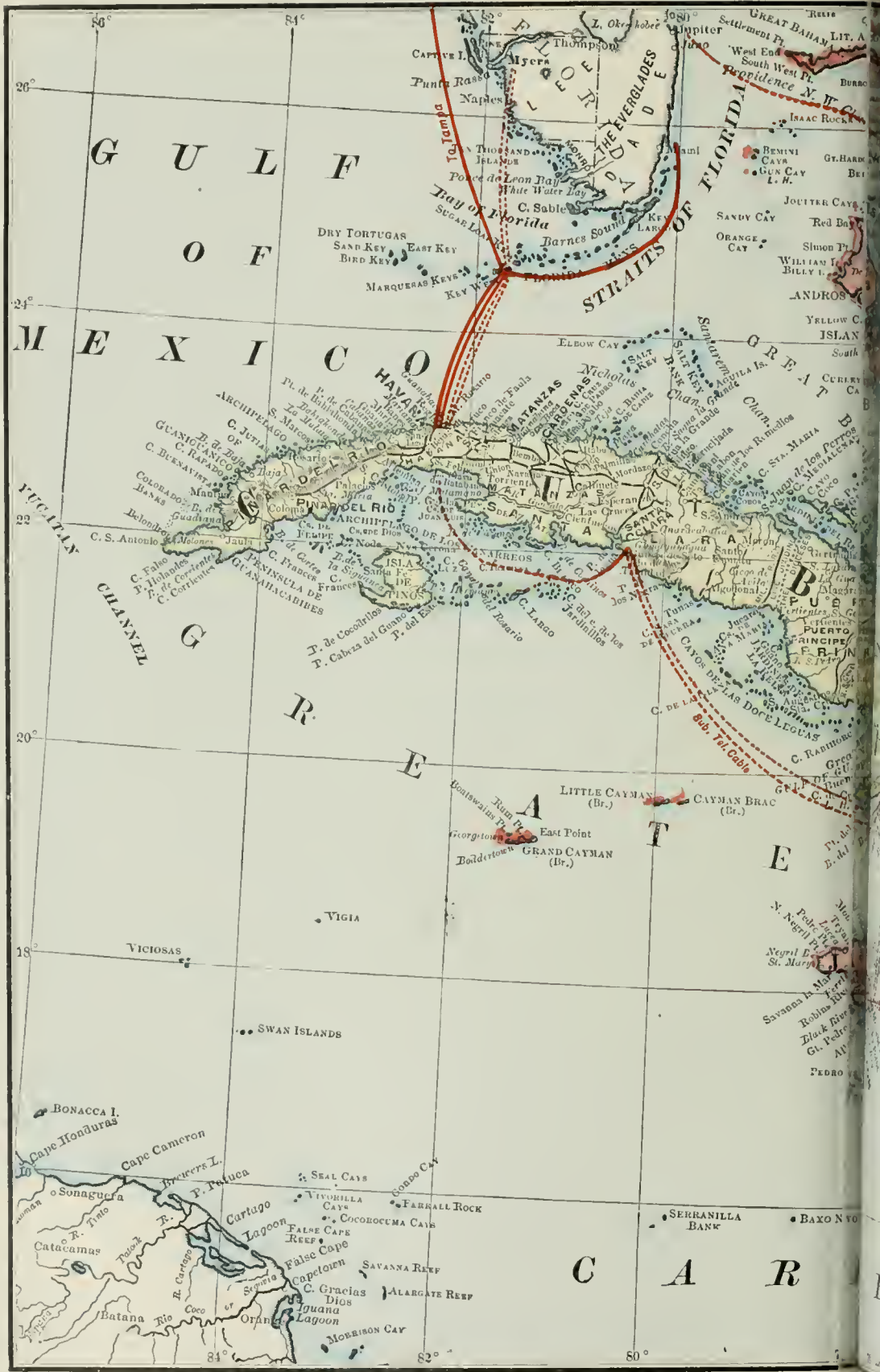
The same might be said of the island of Guan, that point of the Ladrones, or Marianas, which had been conceded to our Republic at the time of the protocol. But as to the Philippines, everything was controversial. The Spanish representatives, led by Señor Montero



SEÑOR EUGENIO MONTERO RIOS,
Chairman of the Spanish Members of The Peace Commission, Paris, 1898.

representatives were forced back under the pressure. The United States had all the while the powerful backing of England. Any favor which Spain might receive from France had meanwhile turned the other way; for the French holders of the Spanish bonds now saw a hope of payment in the conclusion of peace. They who hold the war debts of the world have one prevailing motive of conduct which rises above all national and

Rios, stoutly resisted the aggressive policy of the Americans, who soon hesitated not to claim the whole archipelago, and to shape the contention so that there could be no receding. Along this line, the members of the conference debated, adjourned, reassembled, modified unimportant details, but fixed their views more and more until the 18th day of December, when a result was finally reached in the form of a treaty to be sub-



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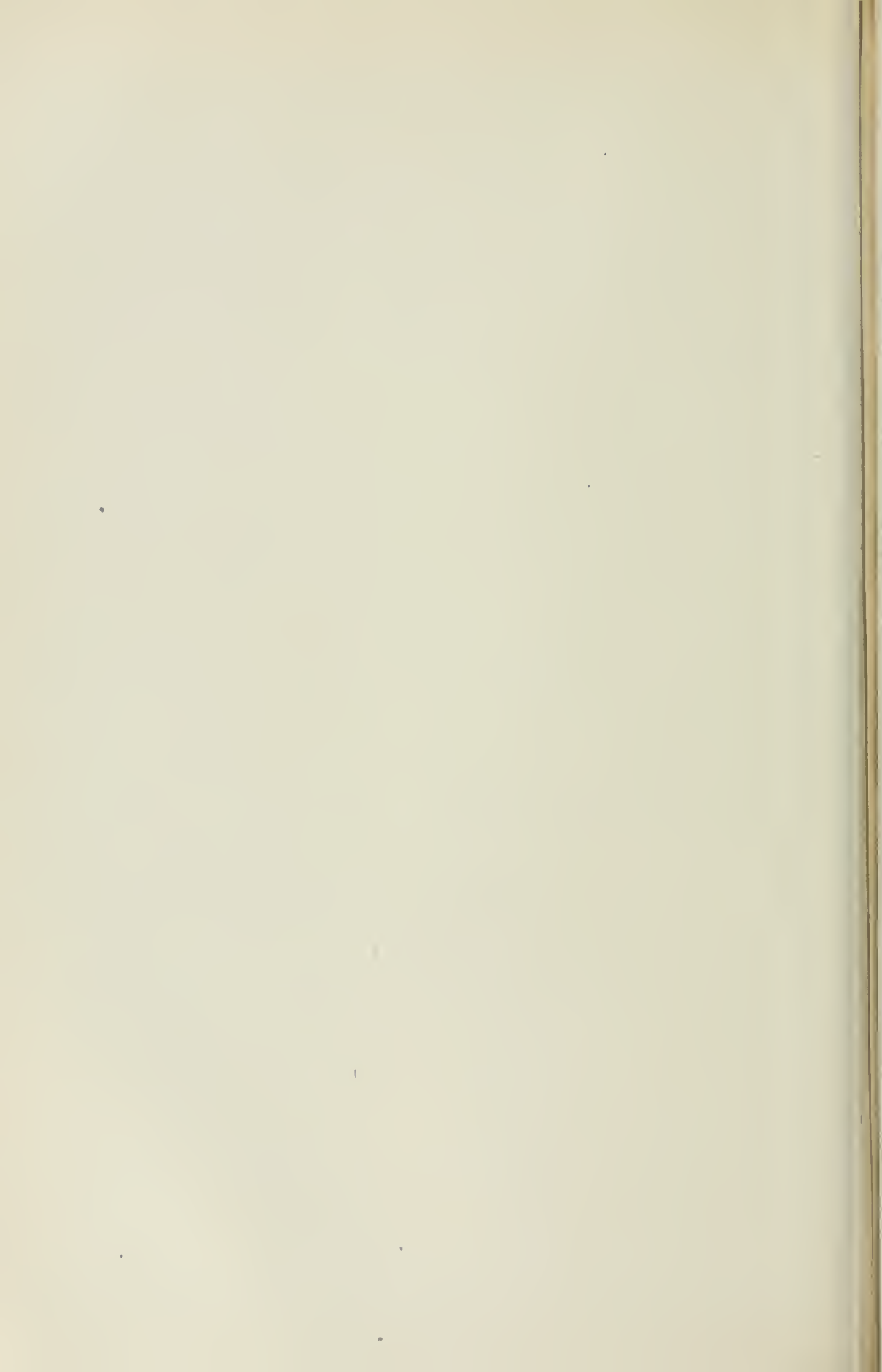
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mitted for approval to the treaty-making powers of Spain and the United States.

Near the close of the year 1898, this treaty of Paris was transmitted to the governments of the respective nations. As to the main point, the agreement reached included the cession of the whole Philippine group to the United States, and the payment by the latter to Spain of \$20,000,000. This sum was claimed by the Spanish representatives and was allowed by the American representatives on the score of the ousting of Spain from her forts, government buildings, and other material improvements in the Philippines, rather than as money paid for the islands themselves. These were claimed by the United States on the score of conquest and indemnity, and also on the ground that it had become the duty of our Government to secure for the Philippine Islands such civil and political institutions as might enable them to obtain and enjoy all the liberties to which mankind are entitled.

A population of fully 8,000,000, semi-barbarians and savages, was thus transferred to the sovereignty of the United States with the consequent necessity of establishing over the Filipinos some kind of colonial government such as that employed by Great Britain in the control and management of her insular and other foreign possessions. The full text of the treaty, agreed to and signed by the Commissioners of Spain and the United States, may not be profitably repeated; only the leading articles, with a summary of the less important parts, are here inserted as the logical conclusion of the story of the Spanish-American war.

“ARTICLE I.—Spain renounces all right of sovereignty over Cuba. Whereas said isle when evacuated by Spain is to be occupied by the United States, the United States, while the occupation continues, shall take upon themselves and fulfill the obligations which, by the fact of occupation, international law imposes on them for the protection of life and property.

“ARTICLE II.—Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and the other islands now under her sovereignty in the West

Indies and the Isle of Guam in the archipelago of Marianas or Ladrones.

“ARTICLE III.—Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, which comprise the islands situated between the following lines.”

The remainder of the article defines at length the ocean boundaries which inclose all of the islands of the Philippine archipelago.

“ARTICLE IV.—The United States shall, during the term of ten years, counting from the interchange of the ratifications of the treaty, admit to the ports of the Philippine Islands Spanish ships and merchandise under the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of the United States.”

The fifth article made it incumbent on the United States to transport to Spain all the Spanish prisoners of war; to concede to the captured soldiers their arms; to enjoin on Spain the evacuation of the Philippines and the Isle of Guam; to grant to Spain the retention of such of her flags and standards and arms as had not been taken in actual battle, except the heavy ordinance of permanent fortifications.

The sixth article required that Spain should set at liberty all prisoners, political and military, in Cuba and the Philippines, and that the United States should likewise liberate all persons who had been taken and imprisoned during the war.

“ARTICLE VII.—Spain and the United States mutually renounce by the present treaty all claim to National or private indemnity, of whatever kind, of one Government against the other, or of their subjects or citizens against the other Government, which may have arisen from the beginning of the last insurrection in Cuba, anterior to the interchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as also to all indemnity as regards costs occasioned by the war. The United States shall judge and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain, which she renounces in this article.

“ARTICLE VIII.—In fulfillment of Articles I, II, and III of this treaty, Spain renounces in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico and the other West Indian isles, in Guam and the

Philippine archipelago, all buildings, moles, barracks, fortresses, establishments, public roads, and other real property which by custom or right are of the public domain, and as such belong to the crown of Spain. Nevertheless, it is declared that this renoucement or cession, as the case may be, referred to in the previous paragraph, in no way lessens the property or rights which belong by custom or

the ceded territories, should have the right of passing under the future sovereignty of the places in which they dwelt, or of freely returning to Spain. In doing so all rights of property should be strictly observed.

“ARTICLE X.—The inhabitants of the territories whose sovereignty Spain renounces or cedes shall have assured to them the free exercise of their religion.

“ARTICLE XI. — Spaniards residing in the territories whose sovereignty Spain cedes or renounces shall be subject in civil and criminal matters to the tribunals of the country in which they reside, conformably with the common laws which regulate their competence, being enabled to appear before them in the same manner and to employ the same proceedings as the citizens of the country to which the tribunal belongs must observe.”

In Article XII the forms of judicial proceedings in the countries affected by the war were defined. The manner of carrying sentences into effect and the forms of criminal prosecutions were ascertained and declared.

“ARTICLE XIII.—Literary, artistic, and industrial rights of property acquired by Spaniards in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other territories ceded on the interchange of ratifications of this treaty shall

continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary, and artistic works which shall not be dangerous to public order in said territories shall continue entering therein with freedom from all customs duties for a period of ten years dating from the interchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

“ARTICLE XIV.—Spain may establish consular agents in the ports and places of the territories whose renunciation or cession are the object of this treaty.



GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER.

law to the peaceful possessor of goods of all kinds in the provinces and cities, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations, or whatever bodies have judicial personality to acquire and possess goods in the above-mentioned renounced or ceded territories, and those of private individuals, whatever be their nationality.”

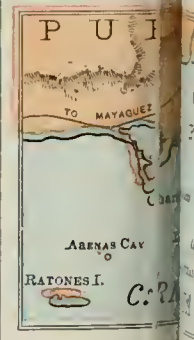
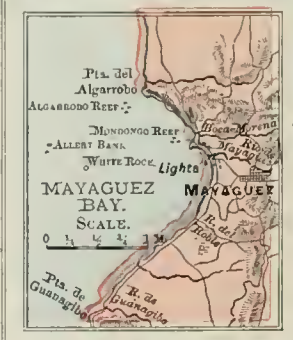
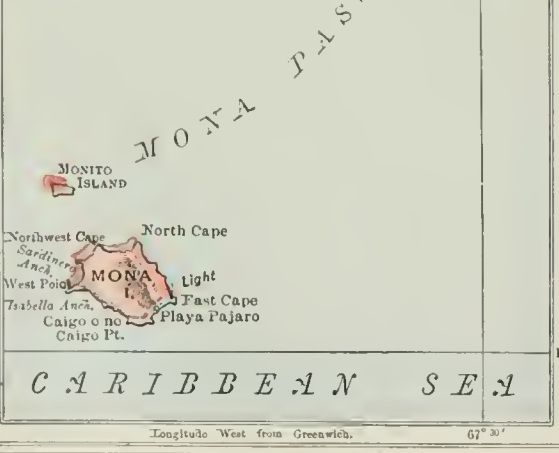
In the ninth article it was provided that all Spanish subjects, native or domiciled in



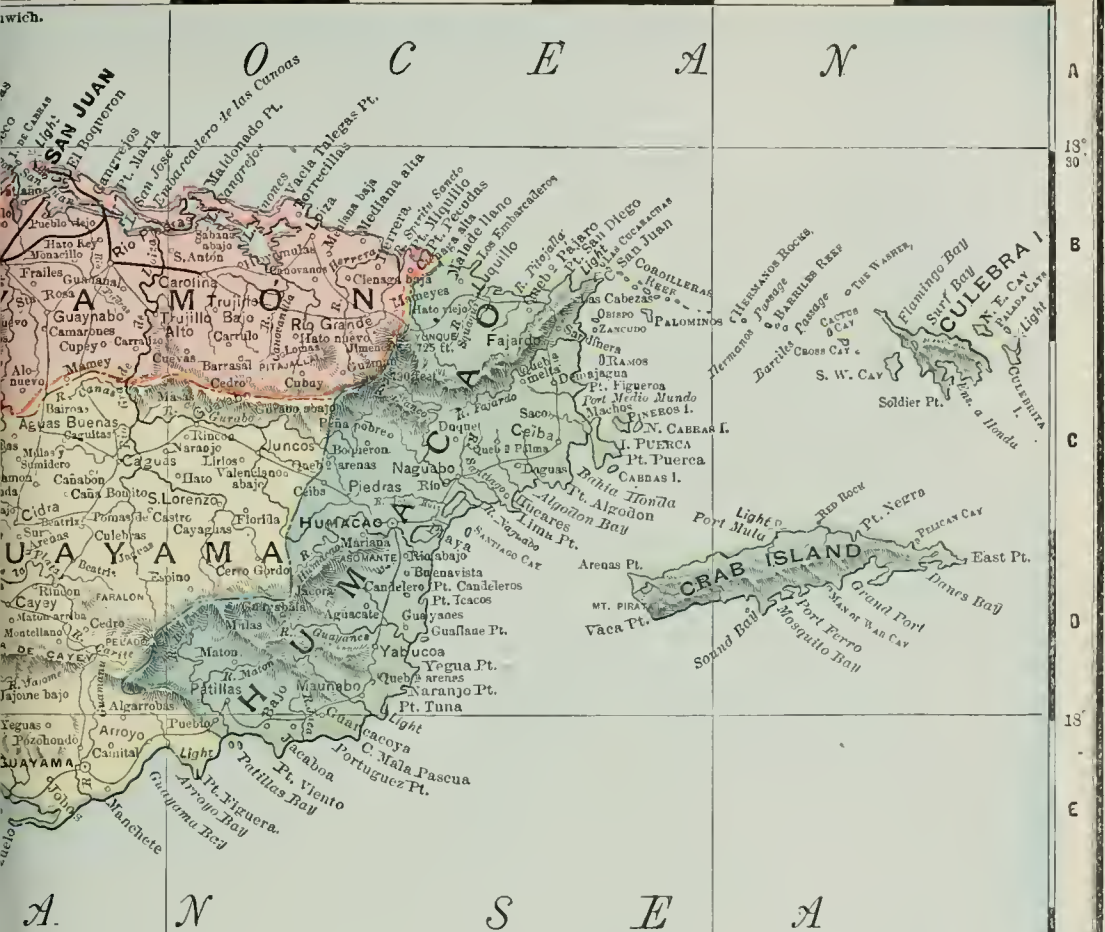
PUERTO RICO

ISLANDS WEST OF PUERTO RICO

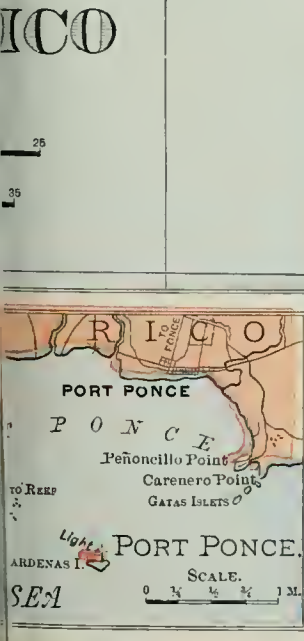
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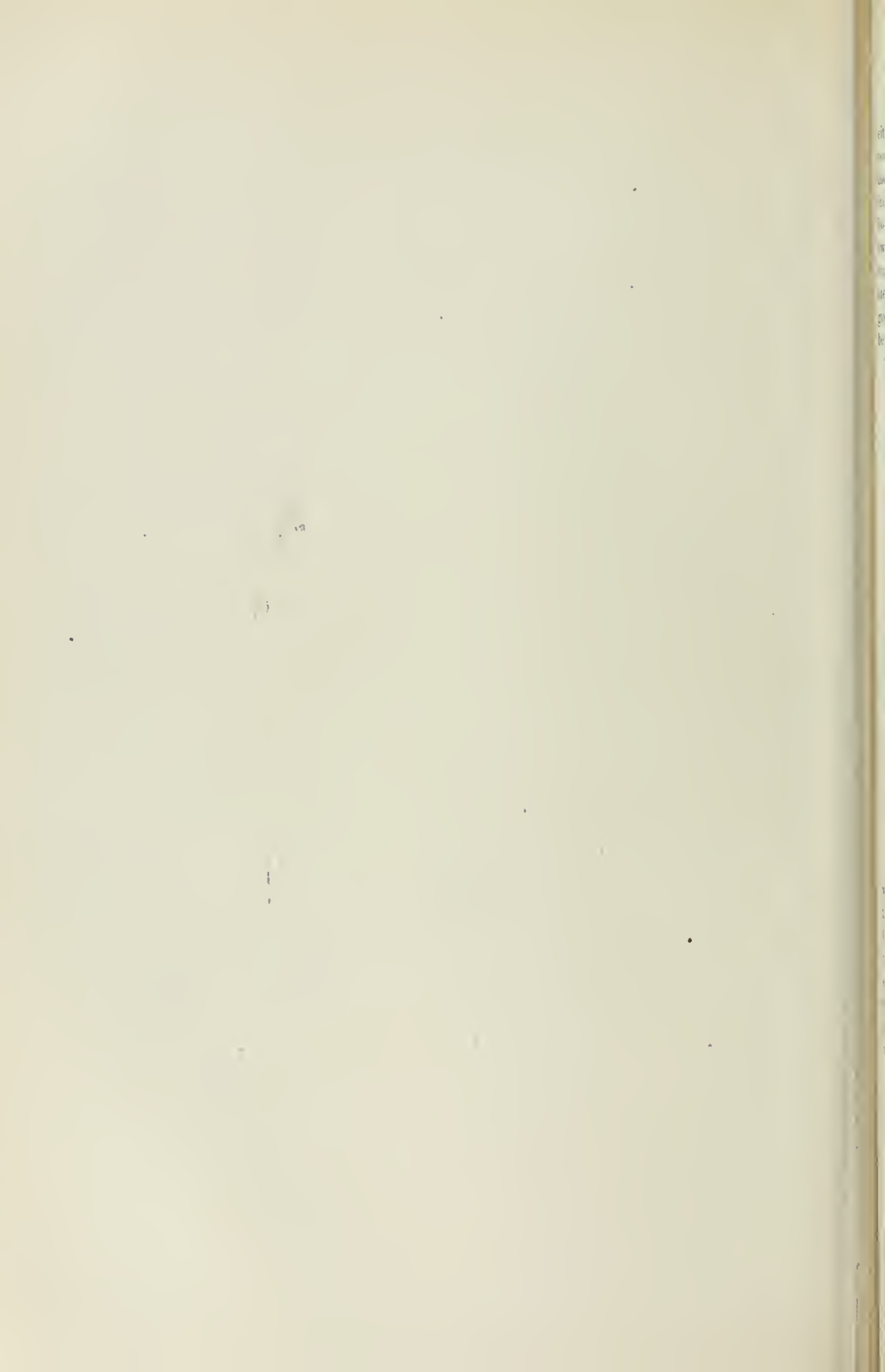


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EXPLANATION:
 Railroads ———
 Roads - - - - -





"ARTICLE XV.—The Government of either country shall concede for a term of ten years to the merchant ships of the other the same treatment as regards all port dues, including those of entry and departure, light-house and tonnage dues, as it concedes to its own merchant ships not employed in the coasting trade. This article may be repudiated at any time by either Government giving previous notice thereof six months beforehand.

"ARTICLE XVI.—Be it understood that

change in public opinion and purpose, with respect to some of the fundamental principles and constitutional forms of the United States, was first noticed. Republicanism as a form of government, and democracy as a theory of society, had never been completely and finally demonstrated in our country. True, republicanism as a form of government, and democracy as a motive force in society, had triumphed in the American Revolution, had given form to the Constitution of the United States, had been vindicated in the general



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whatever obligation is accepted under this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba is limited to the period their occupation of the island shall continue, but at the end of said occupation they will advise the Government that may be established in the island that it should accept the same obligations.

"ARTICLE XVII.—The present treaty shall be ratified by the Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States, in agreement and with the approval of the Senate, and ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington within a period of six months from this date or earlier if possible."

It was in the years 1897-98, that the great

history of the Union, and in the local organizations of nearly a half-hundred commonwealths. But the great bottom principles and practices of free popular government had never been universally accepted by the people of this country, and of late years, both republicanism in fact and democracy in theory had been seriously weakened.

It now appeared that a large part of the people had been infected with foreign sentiments. They had been undermined by an overdone commercialism which regards successful trade as superior to free citizenship. With this had come also an unspoken distrust of the republican form of government, and a subtle preference for European methods

in both State and society. The easy passage of the Atlantic, and the ever-increasing wealth of the upper classes in America, had aggravated this political degeneration, and had promoted a preference for the institutions and methods of monarchy.

The un-American tendency expressed itself in many tangible facts. Notwithstanding the declared purpose of our Government, as

took possession of the people of the Atlantic States and spread far into the interior.

Then came all of a sudden the ambition to acquire foreign territory. This, of course, could be done only by aggression, purchase, and conquest; but the desire grew until it became a passion. The European governments hold many foreign possessions, and to be like the European governments it was necessary that the United States should have foreign possessions also.

In the four hundred years succeeding the discovery of America, all the continents of the world and all the important islands of the sea had passed by acquisition, by purchase, or by conquest, under the dominion of the stronger races of mankind. Some of the races were native and to the manner born, but many were discoverers, aggressors, and conquerors. At the close of the nineteenth century, there was no additional territory, either insular or other, to be gained by the aggressive nations by means of discovery and occupation; but there still remained the methods of purchase and conquest. There also remained one other very effective method; that is, the method of a stronger nation's gaining a foothold on foreign territory, and then holding it as a point in national honor!

The colonial possessions of Great Britain had been mostly acquired by this method, and the time came when the method recommended itself to the United States. The advocates of territorial



JOHN HAY,

The New Secretary of State, 1898, McKinley's Administration.

interpreted by the fathers, the sentiment grew in favor of a large standing army. It grew, particularly, in the direction of the creation of a great fleet of warships. It grew in the direction of admiration for the institutions and methods of the British empire. Notwithstanding the fact that our only two serious foreign wars had been fought with Great Britain in order to break her authority over these States and to keep her at bay from our shores, an ill-conceived prejudice in favor of an Anglo-American alliance, as against the rest of the world,

acquisition defined their policy as "expansion." Hitherto the Territories of the Republic had greatly expanded, and for such expansion the Constitution provided. A provision was made in advance by the fathers to settle, occupy, and develop Territories with a *view to the admission of such Territories into the Union as independent States*. A large part of our history as a Nation had been involved with this process. By this means, the thirteen small States, with which the Union began, expanded to forty-five great States, with the

prospect, at the century's close, of five others. In 1867, the Republic gained a vast accession of territory in Alaska, but this acquisition also had respect to the creation of States. The intermediate stage in our process of State-making had always been the organization of a territorial government by the people of the Territory in question. Such a thing as a colonial government is unknown to our Constitution, and unprecedented in our history.

In spite of these undeniable facts and principles, however, the desire sprang up and became aggressive, particularly among the commercial classes and in the dominant political party, to enter upon a career of foreign territorial acquisition. This happened almost coincidentally with the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. It also happened that that conflict was directed on the American side almost wholly against the insular possessions of Spain. The most important of the possessions, the West Indian, lay contiguous to the American coast.

There was much which concurred at this juncture to inflame the rising sentiment of territorial aggrandizement. Excited citizens began to talk about the "Greater America." There seemed to be something romantic and great about the conquest of the insular territories of Spain. The map was scanned in order to discover her possessions in the ocean. Another circumstance, which seemed fortuitous, conduced to the same end. The Pacific division of the American fleet, at the outbreak of the war, lay within easy striking distance of the Philippine Islands belonging to Spain. These were second only in importance to Cuba and Porto Rico. The result was that while the war progressed, the island-getting sentiment rose in fervor. It became a settled purpose on the part of the Government and a large part of the people to take the island empire of Spain from her; and to do this, and as a justification of it, the reason was advanced that the conquest and transfer of the Spanish islands was just and necessary in order to civilize and Christianize the barbarian populations and as an indemnity to the United States for the outlay incurred by the war.

It was easily foreseen by the leaders of this transformation of public opinion and policy, that new methods of government and new principles of government, wholly different from those which had hitherto been accepted, must prevail, if the imperialistic plan should be carried out. It was foreseen that international relations and policies heretofore unknown must be adopted—that the United States should, in a word, be made an international, rather than a national, entity in the future history of mankind.

This new theory and proposed practice in government was known in the jargon of the times as *Imperialism*. Its supporters called it the Policy of Expansion. It found its center in the commercial cities of the seaboard, and had the American press for its chief means of propagation. There was something sensational and much that was spectacular in the utterances that were heard on every hand in the year 1898. In the first place, the traditions of the American Republic had to be put aside. Plainly, these traditions carried the doctrine of National independence. Washington and all the fathers of the Republic had taught this doctrine. They had declared the doctrine of no entangling alliances with foreign powers. They embodied the doctrine of a plain democracy and of an independent and separate nation in the Constitution and workings of the American Government.

The fathers had, moreover, been cautious and severe with respect to the very contingency which had now arisen. The whole political life of Washington was devoted to the principle of a *new, separate nationality*, based on principles diametrically opposed to those on which rest the governments of Europe. All of this had to be brushed aside by the new American imperialists. They had, in the first place, to obviate constitutional provisions by accepting the facts of conquest and adopting a system of colonial governments. In the next place, they had to attack the patriotic tradition of the fathers; and this they did unsparingly. Many leading American journals laughed to scorn such documents as Washington's Farewell Ad-

dress, and a few noted pulpitiere, some of them born in foreign lands, openly proposed that our old charters of liberty and independence should be hung away as mementoes of a bygone age!

This fermentation in public opinion, and this transformation of public thought and purpose, occurred mostly in the years 1898-99. But symptoms of the new faith and practice

in legislation was tolerated by the people. The party in the minority felt it expedient to concur with the majority, lest opposition might be construed into a failure to support the Government in time of war. It was this motive which prevailed when the Bond Bill of 1898 was passed with only a plausible pretext for such an act.

In some respects, however, the prevailing



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

NATIVE FILIPINOS WITH ABORIGINAL WEAPONS.

had appeared as far back as the closing years of the Harrison administration. It stands to the historical credit of President Cleveland that he resisted it; and the imperialistic party, nursing its purpose, was obliged to wait until after the inauguration of McKinley before it could accomplish its design with the annexation of Hawaii. That event was, as we have seen, swiftly accomplished, by a method of congressional indirection and undue haste, in the summer of 1898. The war was then on, and almost anything

ambition tended to produce better and more reasonable results. The question of constructing the proposed Nicaraguan Canal was revived, and was advocated with more energy than ever before. The opinion grew in the United States that the Government itself, rather than any private corporation, should prosecute the great enterprise. Many reasons were adduced to show the propriety of such a course. In the first place, the construction of the canal by way of Lake Nicaragua was now known to be practicable from

an engineering point of view. In the next place, it could not be doubted that the United States possessed the requisite capital. And in the third place, the two states principally concerned (Guatemala and Costa Rica) were at one with our government on the subject.

Moreover, the building of the canal under governmental patronage seemed to accord perfectly with the spirit and method of the dominant party in the United States. Such a work seemed to be a part and parcel of that "expansion" which infected the public mind to so great a degree at the conclusion of the Spanish-American war. The question got into Congress, and in the last days of the session of 1898-99, a bill to subsidize the canal to the extent of \$20,000,000 was passed by the Senate, but was blocked in the House of Representatives by Speaker Reed, whose great—almost unlimited—exercise of power in that body enabled him to force the measure over to the Fifty-Sixth Congress.

The spirit of imperialism in the United States thus began to flourish and expand with the closing years of the century. Each return of the National holidays brought forth a new stream of inconsiderate and generally unpatriotic—certainly un-American—oratory in favor of a factitious National glory at the expense of public patriotism and of the political independence of the Nation. To such an extent had this spirit proceeded when the Peace Commissioners assembled at Paris, that the American representatives were borne or pressed forward to demand the total expulsion of the Spaniards from the Philippine Islands and the gathering in of that whole archipelago with its millions of half-savage inhabitants as a trophy of the battle—this, too, in the face of the fact that at the time when the war was formally concluded by the protocol of August 12, 1898, the American flag did not float over a single square foot of the Philippine territory.

The alleged reason for these insular acquisitions, that the United States needed such islands for the establishment of coaling-stations, particularly for the establishment of naval coaling-stations, appears to be little

less than a piece of historical sarcasm; for by this argument the fleets were necessary in order to effect the conquests; the conquests were necessary in order to get the coaling-stations; and the coaling-stations were necessary for the fleets! On this poor circle of logical fallacy and historical unsoundness, the NEW IMPERIALISM of 1898 was made to rest!

History had reserved for the Spanish-American war a startling and lamentable sequel. As soon as the treaty of peace was concluded, the colonial dominion of Spain crumbled away. Her power in the West Indies melted like a mist, and like the shadow of a mist in the Philippines. The Spanish garrisons and field soldiery were withdrawn from both oceans and sorrowfully transported to Spain.

This movement left the Americans in possession of the late insular territories of the Spanish kingdom; but the possession was indefinite. As for Porto Rico, the transfer to the United States was immediate, absolute, and final. A government was at once organized, and the office of military governor was conferred on General John R. Brooke. In Cuba, the Spanish withdrawal was complete, but the American occupancy took for the time being the form of a protectorate, which was declared to be temporary until such time as a government might be organized by the Cubans themselves.

In the winter of 1898-99, some feeble movements were made for the institution of a Cuban republic, but at the same time, other forces began to work to create in the island a sentiment which might subsequently be represented as a cry for annexation to the United States. This kind of movement had already succeeded in the case of Hawaii. The Hawaiians had never called for annexation. Only a handful of natives, in sympathy with the government of President Dole, and his American coadjutors, had sought to secure the islands under the unsupported pretext that the Hawaiians wished to be incorporated with our Republic.

This policy, having succeeded in one case, was immediately adopted as an efficient

method of getting Cuba. It was noted under the American administration at Havana, that the Cuban patriots and military leaders were gradually influenced either to resign from their offices or to give forth premonitory expressions of favor to the annexation program. General Calixto Garcia died in Washington City, and General Gomez resigned from the headship of Cuban affairs. In fact, the real, but by no means the professed, tendency in this period of chaos was to bring about a condition of affairs out of which an expression from the Cubans could be obtained favorable to the absorption of the island by the American Republic.

Still more serious and complicated was the condition of affairs which supervened in the Philippines. In that far region there was a tremendous native population, numbering about eight millions, scattered over insular districts in different parts of the archipelago. The town of Manila was held by the Americans; for that had been conceded since the date of the protocol with Spain. The military occupation at Manila, however, was exceedingly distasteful to the Filipinos, who greatly desired independence. Long before this, they had found a capable leader in their chieftain, Emilio Aguinaldo, around whom they rallied in the winter of 1898-99 in an attempt to institute a native government. They took Malolos for their capital and instituted a native congress.

It was ostensibly to break and destroy the Spanish dominion over the Filipinos that the Americans had invaded the islands. The invasion by the American army brought that army into alliance with Aguinaldo, who

had already more than once led in a rebellion against Spain. The islanders believed that the success of the American invasion would be their success. When the Spanish war was concluded, Aguinaldo proceeded to create a political organization. He and his co-workers sent as their representative to



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN R. BROOKE.

Washington City their popular fellow-insurgent, Felipe Agoncillo, who sought to obtain recognition as the representative of a Philippine republic. But his seeking was in vain; for the temper and purpose of the administration to take possession of the whole Philippine archipelago and to hold it as a colonial

dependency were now revealed, and Agoncillo was unceremoniously turned away.

When this rejection of the native ambassador was known in the Philippines, Aguinaldo and his forces hemmed in the town of Manila, entrenched themselves according to



EMILIO AGUINALDO.

their rude skill, and began to press the American lines. Meanwhile orders had been sent from the war department at Washington to General Elwell S. Otis, in command of the United States troops at Manila, to dispatch a force to Iloilo, capital of the island of Panay, which had been besieged by the natives because the Spanish garrison had not been withdrawn. On the day before Christmas, however, the Spanish commandant withdrew, and Iloilo was taken by the Filipinos before the American contingent could arrive.

Three days afterwards, the President of the United States transmitted to General Otis a paper of policies for him to follow. On the 7th of January, Aguinaldo issued a counter proclamation protesting against the American occupation, and citing the well-known fact that the Americans had promised to secure independence for the native people.

The leader called upon his countrymen to continue the struggle for emancipation. On the 10th of the month, a conference was held by the American authorities, and another by Aguinaldo and his followers, to determine what policy each would henceforth pursue.

The result was actual hostilities. On the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipinos made a night attack on the American lines near Manila, but were repulsed with unknown losses. With the coming of daylight, Admiral Dewey opened from the fleet upon the Filipino position, and the battle was renewed with tremendous losses to the insurgents until, according to current rumor, 2,000 of their number were killed, and an equal number wounded. Report said that the Americans had taken 4,000 prisoners. The Americans in the engagement lost 49 killed and 148 wounded. In any event, the Filipinos were defeated, and on the 7th of the month, they retreated from the vicinity of Manila, in the direction of Malolos. The Americans advanced and established their lines nine miles beyond the city.

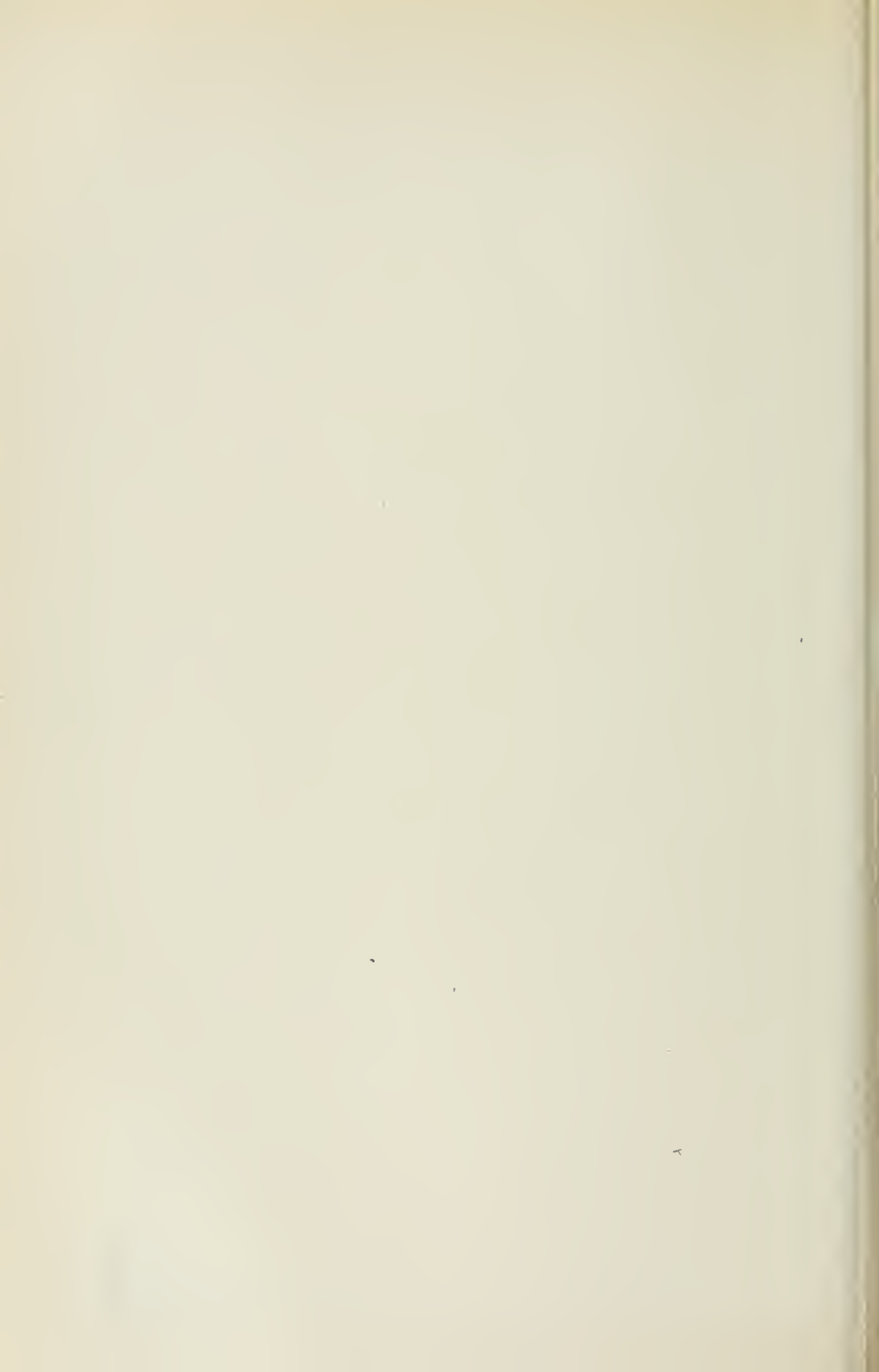
A detachment of Americans under General Miller which had been sent against Iloilo



FELIPE AGONCILLO.

came upon that place on the 11th of February, and captured it from the natives. On the day before this affair, the town of Caloocan, near Manila, was bombarded and captured





by the Americans. And on the same day of the capture of Iloilo, the insurgents north of Manila were assaulted in their position and driven into the interior. In this engagement, the American loss was 4 killed and 32 wounded.

After this, desultory fighting continued almost daily, until the 25th day of March, when a division of the Americans led by General MacArthur, advancing in the direction of Malolos, which was the capital town of Aguinaldo, was confronted by the Filipino army, a few miles distant at a place called Singulon. Here a battle was fought in which the Americans lost over 30 killed, while the Filipino list of dead and wounded extended to hundreds. The American advance was then continued to the capital, which was taken on the 31st of March, and Aguinaldo and his forces receded down the railroad into the interior, tearing up the rails as they retreated. The Filipino Congress and the government officials fled from Malolos with Aguinaldo's army, and the government building was fired. That structure and a great part of the town were consumed to ashes.—Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of April, 1899.

It could but be that the example of Chicago and the world-wide fame of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 would bring forth fruits meet for praise. So the event revealed itself in our country. Expositions of Arts and Industries rose to a higher and still higher plane. Several displays of National importance followed in divers parts of the republic, in the five-year interval between 1893 and 1898. First, in the city of San Francisco was held a Midwinter World's Fair from January to June of 1894. Many of the foreign exhibits displayed at the Chicago Exposition were transferred bodily to this exposition on the Pacific Coast. The Fair was very successful both from an artistic and a commercial point of view. On September 15th of the following year, the Cotton States and International Exposition was formally opened at Atlanta, Ga. This also proved to be an extensive and successful enterprise, more important indeed than the Midwinter Fair of

San Francisco. Hereupon the citizens of Nashville, Tenn., decided to commemorate the centennial of Statehood which was coming on apace, by the holding of an exposition in their capital city. The Tennessee Centennial Exposition was accordingly opened in May, 1897, in the city of Nashville, and continued for the space of six months with many interesting features. Then in the summer of 1898, followed, in the city of Omaha, Neb., an exhibition of the products, arts, industries, and general civilization of the States west of the Mississippi. These States had already become a vast democratic empire. In them all were the elements of an amazing progress and the seed-germs of a rare and expanding culture.

The development of the American Republic by carrying civilization first one thousand and then two thousand miles from the Atlantic seaboard had by stress of distance and diversity of industrial interests changed somewhat the sentiments and fraternal spirit of the two sections of the Union. The central West had continued to be completely American, while the impact of foreign populations upon the great cities of the East had tended to give them somewhat the cast of Europe. The importance of the Omaha Exposition lay in the fact that it tended to preserve and emphasize the homogeneity of the people as a whole—a fact already demonstrated at Chicago five years previously.

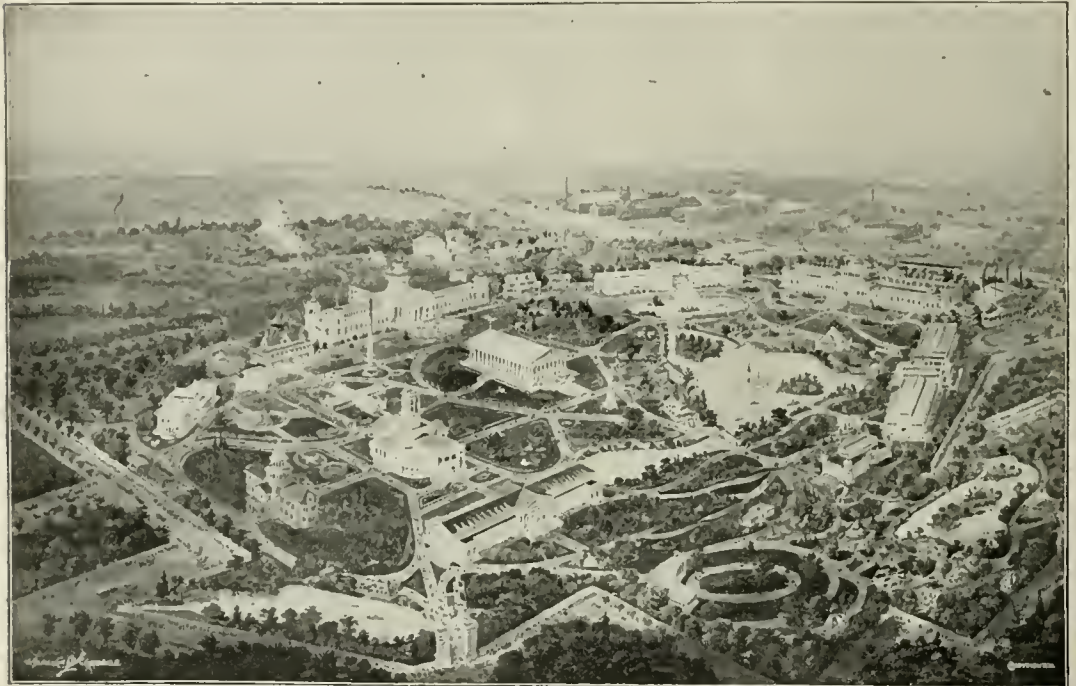
For it was into the West that the Eastern States of the Union had sent aforetime the best streams of their population. The new Western commonwealths were born out of the loins of the older commonwealths in the East, as also out of the older in the South. Kansas and Nebraska, in particular, had been colonized by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and in the final stage of their development were essentially detached territories of Massachusetts. But the great States of the Western part of the Union had been overlooked in the commercial and industrial processes and ambitions of the Eastern cities, while in the political evolution at the capital of the nation, the Senators and Representatives of the trans-Mississippi

States had in political controversy been disparaged and depreciated.

As if to show the fundamental identity of interests in the East and the West, the question of holding a great exposition in Omaha was first agitated. The idea took practical shape in the winter of 1895. An executive committee of six representatives was formed, and a preliminary subscription of nearly half a million dollars was made in a short period of time. Grounds were secured in a part of

trary it went forward to a complete and indeed glorious fulfillment.

The grounds included in the building area at Omaha had an extent of two hundred acres. Lines of communication were multiplied to the center of the city, which might be reached in a few minutes' travel. The situation was picturesque, and the landscape was artistically divided so that the principal buildings should be grouped around a Grand Court or central space. A Grand Canal was constructed,



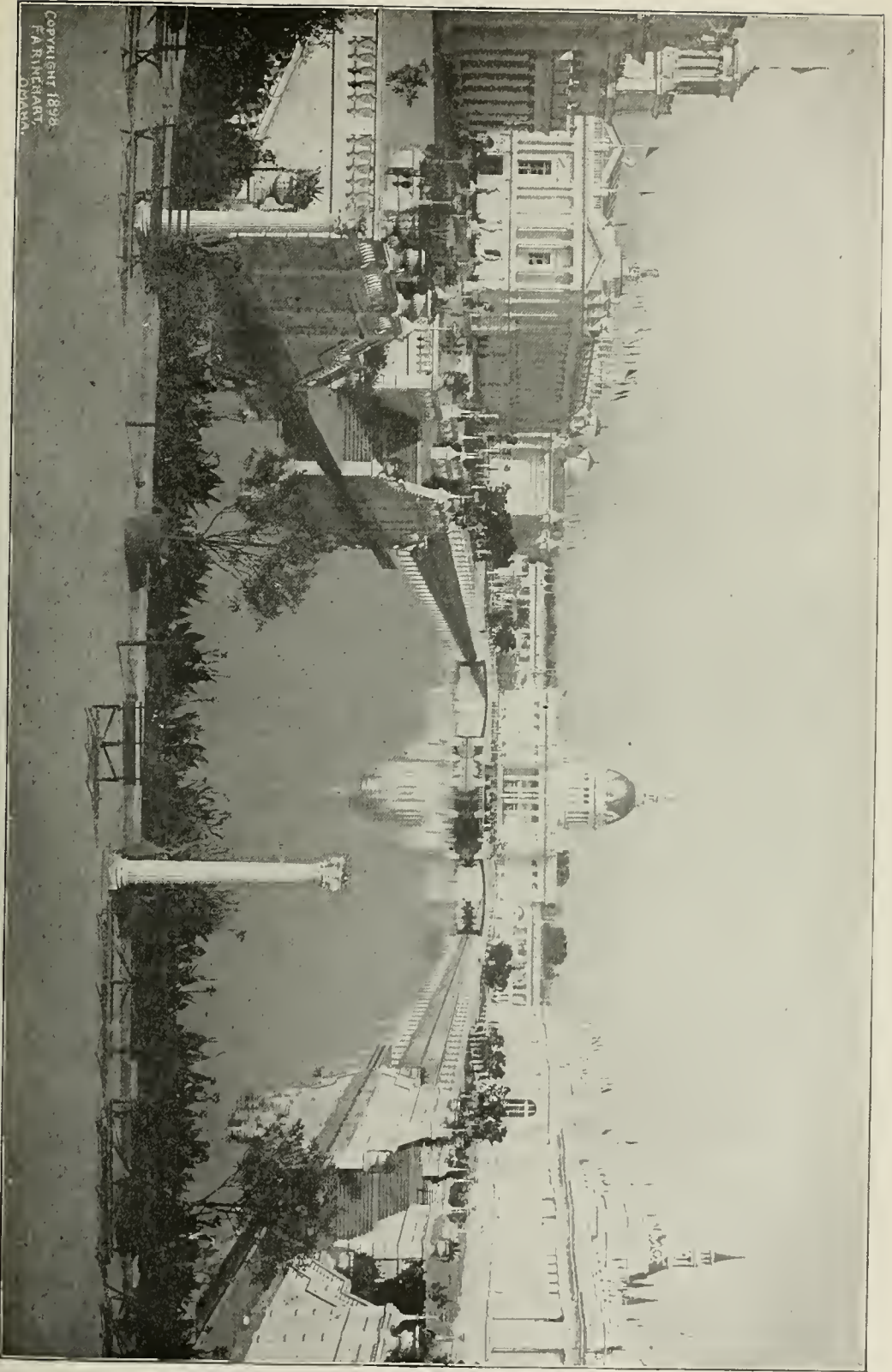
Courtesy of the Henderson Lithographing Co., Cincinnati, O.

TENNESSEE CENTENNIAL INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

the chosen city, and on the 22d of April, 1897, the corner-stone of the first building was laid.

The work of construction extended from this date until the opening of the exposition on June 1st, 1898. Meanwhile the Spanish-American war broke out; public attention was diverted from things civil and things industrial to things military. The condition of affairs in the early summer of 1898 might well have discouraged the management of the Exposition, or to have altogether postponed the enterprise. But the enterprise would by no means be arrested; on the con-

crossed at intervals with elegant bridges. Promenades, flanked with rows of columns and covered above with roofs from which vines depended, furnished an imitation of what has been found in the ruins of Pompeii. At the ends of the avenues were arches of beautiful structure, one of which, designed to be permanent, was called the Arch of the States, representing in as many courses of stone the twenty-four States and Territories concerned in the Exposition. The grounds were improved and ornamented in the manner already memorable from the work done



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FA RINEBART
OMAHA.

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION—GRAND COURT LOOKING TO THE WEST.—From a Photograph.

in Jackson Park for the Columbian display of 1893.

The Exposition began with imposing ceremonies on the 1st of June, and extended over a period of four months. From the beginning, the enterprise was successful in the highest degree. The visitors who thronged the grounds during the summer, many of whom were from the Eastern parts of the Union and from foreign lands, could but be im-

name became historically recorded as one of those municipalities which have contributed by such enterprises to the progress and enlightenment of the human race.

An important industrial and economic fact in the recent history of the United States was the discovery of the Klondike gold mines in the Yukon district of British Columbia. The region of the finds lies just over the eastern boundary of Alaska. The fields of



OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION AT OMAHA.

pressed with the striking revelations of the progress made by the enlightened communities of the Western States. In fact, the exhibition as a whole, following the types and methods already established by the experience of nations since the holding of the first display of the kind in 1851, compared favorably with the great international displays at Paris, London, Vienna, and Chicago. The city of Omaha, by the entertainment of the immense throngs entering her gates, won for herself the unstinted applause of many peoples; her

production belong to the valley of the Yukon from about the point at which that river cuts the international boundary, up the valley in a southeasterly direction, to the Chilkoot Pass, and almost as far as Teslin Lake. The region in question is just below the Arctic circle, and is almost inaccessible to the invasion of the civilized life.

The knowledge that gold exists in large quantities in the placer deposits of this part of the Yukon led, as in the case of California and Australia, to the inrushing of men and

miners. The proximity of Alaska to the new fields seemed to invite the adventure of great numbers of American miners and prospectors. These were held at bay only by the enormous distance of the mines from the open sea, and by the rigors of nature which were sufficiently extreme to appall the stoutest heart. The principal excitement occurred in 1897, when the northwestern parts of the United States were greatly agitated,

miners are able to get down to the frozen sand and gravel in which the particles of gold are distributed. The facts would seem to indicate that the Klondike deposits are among the richest in the world, but are at the same time almost inaccessible. The gold is of unknown extent and distribution, but is so encased under ten or fifteen feet of ice-layers that human beings can hardly work their way to the coveted gravel. The result



ARCH OF TRIUMPH IN MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK.

Erected in Honor of Admiral George Dewey, and to the Glory of the American Navy, September, 1899.

and thousands of men took up their ill-advised march for the Klondike.

Those who could reach the scene were rewarded, some of them richly, with findings of free gold in the placer sands. The supreme obstacle to success lay in the fact that the country is covered with thick layers of ice and snow. These have to be melted away or scattered with explosives before the

of the discovery was far less than the anticipation. Enthusiasts did not hesitate to predict that a yield of a hundred millions of dollars or more would presently be obtained from the Yukon mines, but this estimate was ridiculously greater than the actual yield in 1898 and 1899 would justify.

This chapter may be fittingly concluded with a brief notice of the progress of affairs

in the Philippine Islands. There the war of the United States with Spain transformed itself into a war with the Filipinos. In May of 1899, the wet season, which extends from May until October, set in, and military operations on the American side were virtually suspended. A period of uncertainties and disagreements among the land and naval officers ensued, and Admiral George Dewey asked to be relieved of the command of the Asiatic squadron. Commodore Watson was accordingly sent to take his place, and Dewey returned to the United States.

The Admiral was received with great enthusiasm. The city of New York, by its authorities, prepared for him the most brilliant reception ever extended to an American citizen. He was received on board of his flagship, the *Olympia*, by Mayor Van

Wyck and the official committee, and on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, was accorded a public ovation of unprecedented character. Perhaps a million people, besides the citizens of New York, joined in the triumphal pageant which was enacted in the streets of the city. The Admiral was placed at the head of the great procession, military and civil, and was greeted with shouts by the thousands who thronged the streets. In Madison Square a Dewey Arch with approaches of Victory columns had been erected, with a grand reviewing stand from which the Admiral and a great host of invited guests reviewed the procession. Afterwards, the Admiral departed for Washington City to consult with the Administration as to the best means of securing peace in the Philippines.

CHAPTER CLXI.—GREAT BRITAIN.



SO far as party polemics were concerned, the year 1889 in England was one of political stagnation; but the trend of events now began clearly to reveal new issues destined to recast the whole political machine. These new issues were caused by the interferences of organized labor and consolidated capital. With the revival of trade from its long inertness, the laborers, naturally, indulged in expectations of higher wages. These expectations became demands; the vast system of employees determined to insist that justice be done them. Their exactions were resisted by the employers. Then the wage-earners struck.

The first of the great strikes was that of the dock-laborers, in August. They asked for an increase of pay from five pence to six pence an hour and for the abolition of the contract system. Allied laborers—porters, stevedores, carmen, watermen, and the like—joined forces with the original strikers. Popular sympathy was with them,—partly

on account of the disfavor with which the Dock Company was regarded by the public. Mass-meetings were held in Hyde Park and elsewhere; subscriptions for the support of the strikers poured in. London was amazed; one hundred thousand men had gone out.

It was realized that here was a condition necessitating profound attention. Economists and humanitarians alike sought for means whereby to terminate the crisis; the sentiment of the nation ordered an equitable adjustment of the difficulty. The indiscretions of the more violent strikers weakened the general approval, yet the conscience of the people was at last aroused, and it remained aroused. As a result, a Commission was formed to investigate and settle the matters in dispute. The members of the Commission of Conciliation were the Lord Mayor of London, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of London. The amicable efforts of these men were successful, and in November the strikers returned to work, victorious.

This great strike was typical of all the lesser, sporadic ones, which occurred throughout the kingdom among bakers, tailors,

tramway and omnibus men, as well as among the more important departments of labor. In most instances the strikers were fairly successful, though the efforts of the gas-stokers in London and Manchester failed. The tendency of the strikes was to attract attention to the condition of the poor, and on this account a new impetus was given to the cause of social reform. In London,

poor and obscure. Among those who died of it were Mr. Bright, the greatest orator of the age, the poet Browning, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, the most learned of contemporary prelates, and Wilkie Collins, the novelist.

In Ireland the sufferings of the poor were rather less than for some time immediately preceding. The violence that had recently



THE VICTORIA DOCKS, LONDON—SCENE OF THE LABOR STRIKES.

especially, much was done; the law against owners of unsanitary tenements was enforced; large donations aided in the establishment of institutions for relieving the physically and mentally barren lives of the toilers; Sir Edward Guinness gave a quarter of a million pounds sterling to be used in the erection of dwellings for the poor in London and Dublin.

These charitable endeavors were also made needful through the ravages of a new disease, the influenza, which in this year swept like a pestilence over all the country. Nor was the disease limited in its attacks to the

been the expression of political animosity began to disappear, by reason of the better direction taken in the legislation concerning the relations between landlords and tenants, and by reason of the changing temper of the people. Agrarian outrages were discontinued to a great extent, and instances of boycotting grew fewer. The harvests of the year before had been insufficient, but now the products were plentiful; and this abundance, in conjunction with increased prices, aided in restoring comparative tranquillity to the island.

At the opening of 1890, then, we find Ireland almost resting for a moment. England, on the contrary, was peculiarly distraught, and a like uneasiness was apparent in Wales and Scotland, despite the fact that Scottish progress was splendidly illustrated in this year by the completion of the huge cantilever

legislation was attempted. Among the laborers socialistic agitations were persistent; the stock exchange securities fell; financial legislation in the United States, and stormy weather at harvesting-time, served to increase the discouragement and to prevent enterprise.

The alarm of the moment reached its climax when the old house of Baring Brothers was threatened with failure. The age and resources of this house had given to it such public prestige that the rumor of its difficulties appalled the financial world, and the general dismay was hardly alleviated when the Bank of England came to the rescue of the Barings. Consols fell nearly to ninety-three, and it was only by the bank's importation of large sums in gold from France and Russia that a panic was averted.

The weather continued to aid in making the period unusual and troublous; for the winter was the coldest known in many years, so that the sufferings of the poor were thereby much intensified. Thus there was a particular timeliness to the plea put forth by General Booth, of the Salvation Army, for the subscription of a million pounds to be used in relieving the submerged tenth in Darkest England, although his plan of work met with harsh criticism.

The labor question became even graver. At the Trade Union Congress, held at Liverpool, in September, the party



JOHN BURNS, M.P.

Labor Leader Prominent in the Great Strikes of 1889.

bridge over the Forth, near Edinburgh. The revival of industrial activity that began in 1889 soon ceased, to be succeeded by commercial apathy. All conditions conspired to cause disaster. The politicians were cautious; indeed, they did not know how to avoid the evils of the hour, and no remedial

of compulsion overcame the old Unionists. The significant spirit of this was displayed in the variety and extent of the strikes during the year. The dock-men in Liverpool, Cardiff, and Glasgow went out, though without much success. In the mining districts no fewer than two hundred thousand

men struck, and when the questions in dispute were compromised, it was estimated that the north of England had lost three hundred thousand pounds sterling. In fact, the spirit of the year was such that strikes occurred in almost all departments of labor. The employees in the post-office, the policemen, coroners' juries, soldiers, and sailors were numbered among the strikers. At the close of the year the railway men in Scotland stopped work, and traffic was at a standstill for six weeks, when the strike failed.

The general gloom was heightened by the many losses at sea, the chief of which was the sinking of the British torpedo cruiser, *Serpent*. In the foundering of this vessel off the coast of Spain, near Corunna, November 10, only three out of two hundred and seventy-six escaped. It is worthy of note that the dead bodies washed ashore were buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery by the Spanish priests, notwithstanding the fact that the corpses were those of Protestants.

Meantime, in Ireland, extensive disquiet

had been caused by anticipations of famine. Happily, not only were these fears not re-



WILKIE COLLINS.

alized, but they were productive of positive good, inasmuch as the Government, in order

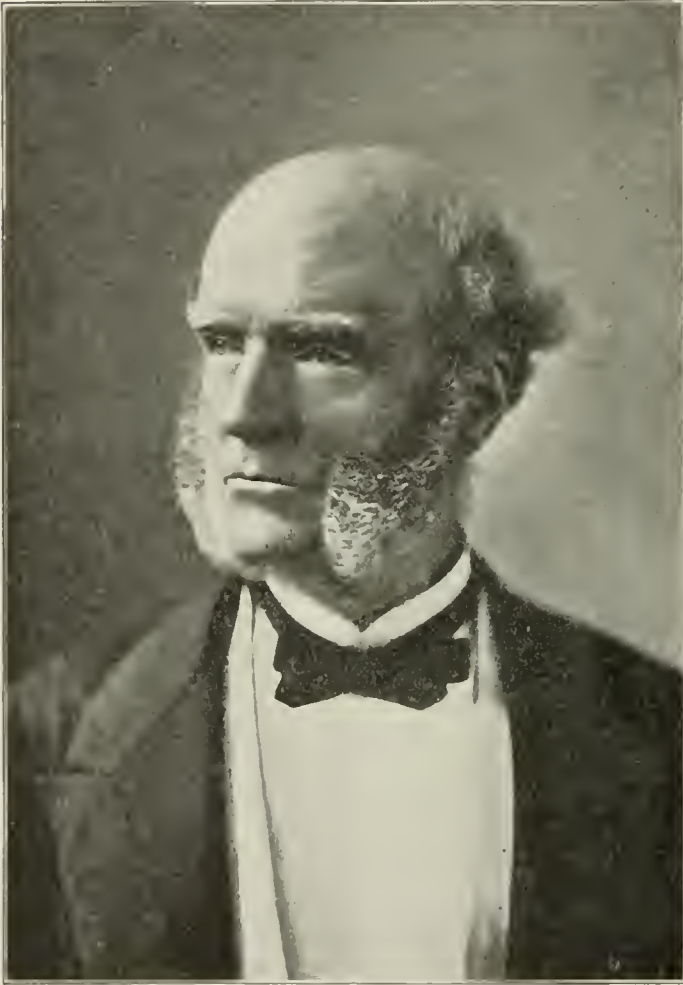


CANTILEVER BRIDGE OVER THE FRITH OF FORTH.

to guard the people from the expected horrors of want, advanced four hundred thousand pounds to an Irish company so that railways might be constructed in the rural districts. As a result, the poor were given

the report. In September, Tom P. Dillon and O'Brien, Parnellite members of Parliament, were arrested, charged with conspiracy and with advising tenants not to pay rents. The arrested men, having secured bail, chose

not to wait the issue of a trial, but fled to America. The Irish camp itself was fast becoming distraught with opposing factions when the antagonistic elements were roused to final bitterness by the decision in the O'Shea divorce case, whereby Parnell, named as the co-respondent, was found guilty as charged and taxed with all the costs. The day after the verdict a great meeting of the National League, in Dublin, unanimously voted that Parnell should retain the leadership, and the chief himself publicly announced his intention of remaining at the head of the party. The sentiment as to his personal conduct was, however, such that the English Home Rule party separated from him, while the Irish bishops somewhat later issued a manifesto against him, and a Conference of the Irish members of Parliament, held December 4, resulted in the election of Justin McCarthy in Parnell's stead. Forthwith a vehement campaign between the two factions was conducted in Ireland, in which Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites showed a superabundance of intrigue



THOMAS HUGHES.

sufficient employment and the country was permanently benefited.

In Parliament, Irish affairs were less satisfactory. In February the Commission appointed to investigate the Times-Pigott forgeries reported, exonerating Parnell as to the personal charges, but condemning him and his companions for combining to boycott. Much and bitter debate arose about

and belligerency, both verbal and physical, the most important results attained being a serious injury to the cause of Home Rule by displaying Irish turbulence and lack of restraint in the management of domestic affairs.

In ecclesiastical circles much interest attached to the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had been prosecuted for ritualistic

practices. The ruling, made in November, after two years of trial, was a distinct victory for the ritualistic prelate, and a severe blow to the Low Church party waging war against him, which promptly appealed to the Privy Council, where, in the following year, the judgment of the Archbishop was confirmed.

Earlier in the year the return of Henry M. Stanley, who landed at Dover, April 26, after his successful journey from the Congo to the Albert Nyanza, and thence to the east coast of Africa, was the occasion for great rejoicings among all classes, a rejoicing increased by his romantic marriage with Miss Tennant in Westminster Abbey, and only shadowed by the painful charges and countercharges as to the conduct of his rear column.

The most generally lamented deaths of the year were those of Cardinal Newman, August 11; of the Archbishop of York, William Thompson, D.D., December 25; and of Canon Liddon, the most eloquent divine of his generation, September 9.

The new year, 1891, brought no distinct signs of betterment. Trade continued stagnant; the general condition of health was bad—the grip raging. The cold weather that had marked the close of 1890 increased to such an extent, in the early months of 1891, that its severity was beyond anything in past years back to 1794. For more than a month the Thames, at Windsor, was frozen over, and the skating on Regent's Park Lake remained for forty-three days. The inclement weather intensified the sufferings of the poor, and incited the laborers to new efforts for better wages; but most of the strikes failed. A Royal Commission, with Lord Hartington as chairman, was appointed to investigate the difficulties in the relations between capital and labor; but its work, while marking an advance in the status of the subject, was of no direct benefit. Parliament attempted to remedy the existing state of affairs by legislation, and to that end the Factory Acts were amended; while an act to extend small holdings was introduced, and school fees were abolished.

The general discontent was strikingly shown in the platform promulgated by the National

Liberal Federation. This promised home rule, disestablishment in Wales and Scotland, parish councils, small holdings and allotments, the House of Lords to be amended or ended, land law reform, taxation of ground rents, free sale of land, popular veto on liquor, international arbitration, and the proper housing of the working classes.

The ravages of sickness and death were especially evident in the political realm. The influenza was virulent in the House of Commons through the summer, and Gladstone was completely prostrated by it and the shock of his eldest son's death. Just after the Newcastle meeting, W. H. Smith, the leader of the Unionist party, and Parnell died on the same day. Balfour, who as Irish secretary had distinguished himself in quieting the internal condition of the island, was chosen as the new head of the Unionists. Parnell's marriage with Mrs. O'Shea had finally divided the Irish forces, and his death even could not close the gap his folly had opened. Balfour, however, by active measures, including personal visits to the island, was able so to manage affairs that the condition of the people was practically ameliorated, despite the frays of the leaders. Especially, the measures of the Government for the purchase of their holdings by tenants marked a decided gain to the small agriculturists. Lord Granville, the leader of the Opposition Peers, died; also Lord Lytton, diplomatist, Indian viceroy, and man of letters. Among the most notable deaths outside of political circles were those of Kinglake, the historian of the Crimean War; Bradlaugh, the free-thinker; Professor Moseley, the biologist; Dr. Magee, the new Archbishop of York, whom Dr. Maclagan was appointed to succeed; and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the Russian philosopher, and founder of modern Theosophy.

The general consternation that was spread abroad through the country did not pass society by; for all aristocracy was shocked and alarmed by the Gordon-Cumming scandal, in which the Prince of Wales was involved. The matter transpired by reason of a slander suit brought by Sir William Gordon-Cum-

ming against those who had accused him of cheating at cards, and in the trial the Prince of Wales appeared as a witness. The plaintiff was defeated; but the evidence showed that gambling at baccarat had been the diversion of the prince and his party while visiting at Tranbycroft, and a storm of criticism was provoked. Not the least striking part of the whole affair was Sir William's mar-

of the nation. Typhoid fever raged in January, and in the second week of that month Duke Albert Victor of Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, and, after his father, heir to the throne, died of the disease at Sandringham. The whole nation really mourned the death of the youth who was only twenty-eight years of age. The sorrow was emphasized by its coming on the

heels of the rejoicing that had arisen on the announcement of his engagement to the daughter of the Duke of Teck and Princess Mary of Cambridge.

The gloom was yet apparent when formal court festivities celebrated the betrothal of Princess Marie of Edinburgh to the Crown Prince Ferdinand of Roumania, and the visit of the successful suitor, accompanied by his uncle, King Charles of Roumania, to Queen Victoria.

In Parliament, the approaching dissolution was in the air. Gladstone remained absent for his health's sake. The death of the Duke of Devonshire removed the Marquis of Hartington to the House of Lords, and made necessary the appointment of a new leader in his stead for the Liberal Unionist party in the Commons. To this position Mr. Chamberlain succeeded. As to the various measures that engaged the attention of the session, the most important and effective was the Irish Land Purchase Act, which



HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY.

riage of an American girl immediately after the verdict of the court against him. The distress caused to society by the noising abroad of such unwholesome secrets was, however, somewhat assuaged by a visit in the summer from the German Emperor, and one soon afterward from the Prince of Naples, heir to the Italian throne.

The opening months of the new year saw little abatement in the anxiety and trouble

was passed after having been discussed in a number of preceding sessions. This law was designed to benefit the Irish tenants, and to that end provided that the Government should advance money to tenants desiring to purchase their holdings. This money would be paid to the Government by the tenant in a series of payments, each so small that it would not exceed the annual rent charge. In addition, the title to the property would

pass at once to the purchaser, burdened only by the Government's mortgage.

Parliament was dissolved June 28, and the war of the electors began. Ten days before the dissolution the Protestants of Ulster sent twelve thousand representatives to Belfast to utter a formal protest against Home Rule, whether Gladstonian or Fenian. This action on the part of the Ulsterman played an important *role* in the campaign, Lord Salisbury, being without a special constituency to address, took the unprecedented step of issuing a manifesto to the electors of the United Kingdom. In this appeal he urged upon the voters that they should not abandon the Loyalists of Ireland, and particularly the Protestants of Ulster. In another direction, Balfour pointed out the more tranquil condition of affairs of Ireland, and insisted that the Gladstonian method of settlement meant real unsettlement. The one desire in Wales was for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, to which Gladstone stood pledged; so that the Welsh vote was counted for the Separatists, as was the new labor vote, owing to the fact that the Separatist leaders promised direct legislation in behalf of the working classes. The strength of the various forces thus united was such that, after a fight of three weeks, the polls revealed a majority of forty for the Separatists.

The session opened August 4, Mr. Peel being reelected speaker, and then Mr. Asquith, whose reputation in the Commons had been steadily growing for three years, moved "no confidence" to the Address. In the vote that followed, the Gladstonian party had a majority of forty against the Government, whereupon Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet resigned, and Gladstone became Prime Minis-

ter for the fourth time in his life, he then being within four months of his eighty-third birthday. Sir William Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the leader of the House in Gladstone's absence; John Morley went into the Irish Office, and Lord Rosebery was made Foreign Secretary again, while Asquith's abilities were



H. R. H. THE DUCHESS OF TECK.

recognized by his appointment to the Home Office.

Meantime the condition of the country in no wise improved. The prevalence of epidemic sickness was marked. The death-roll was headed by Tennyson, the leader of English literature, who died, on October 6, at his house at Aldworth, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Among the other more notable deaths were those of Professor Freeman, the historian; Cardinal Manning, the

most distinguished of Catholic prelates; and Spurgeon, the most popular of pulpit orators.

The dissatisfaction of the laboring class was plainly expressed by the number and sullen persistence of the strikes. The chief of these was that of the colliers in Durham,

smaller interests began to assert themselves. Little by little, these interests became important, and their advocates sought for their advancement before all else. To that end they worked for an alliance with others, by which mutual aid might be given. Thus the log-rolling system began. It grew surely until, in 1893, we find it dominating in Parliament. This evolution of the groups is demonstrated by an enumeration of the many factions definitely defined in this year. The Parliament was made up of so many different parties that exact statement is difficult; but the more important may be thus given: On the Government side—Nationalists, Parnellites, Anti-Parnellites, Official Liberals, Radicals, Welsh Radicals, Scotch Radicals, Liberal Socialists, and the Temperance group. In the Opposition ranks—Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. All of these were primarily devoted to their individual interests, and their frequent changes from Government to Opposition marked their freedom from the old party trammels. This same freedom made the task of the chief leaders one of great and increasing difficulty, and it explains much that would be otherwise inexplicable in the political history of the time.

On the thirteenth day of February, Gladstone introduced the promised Home

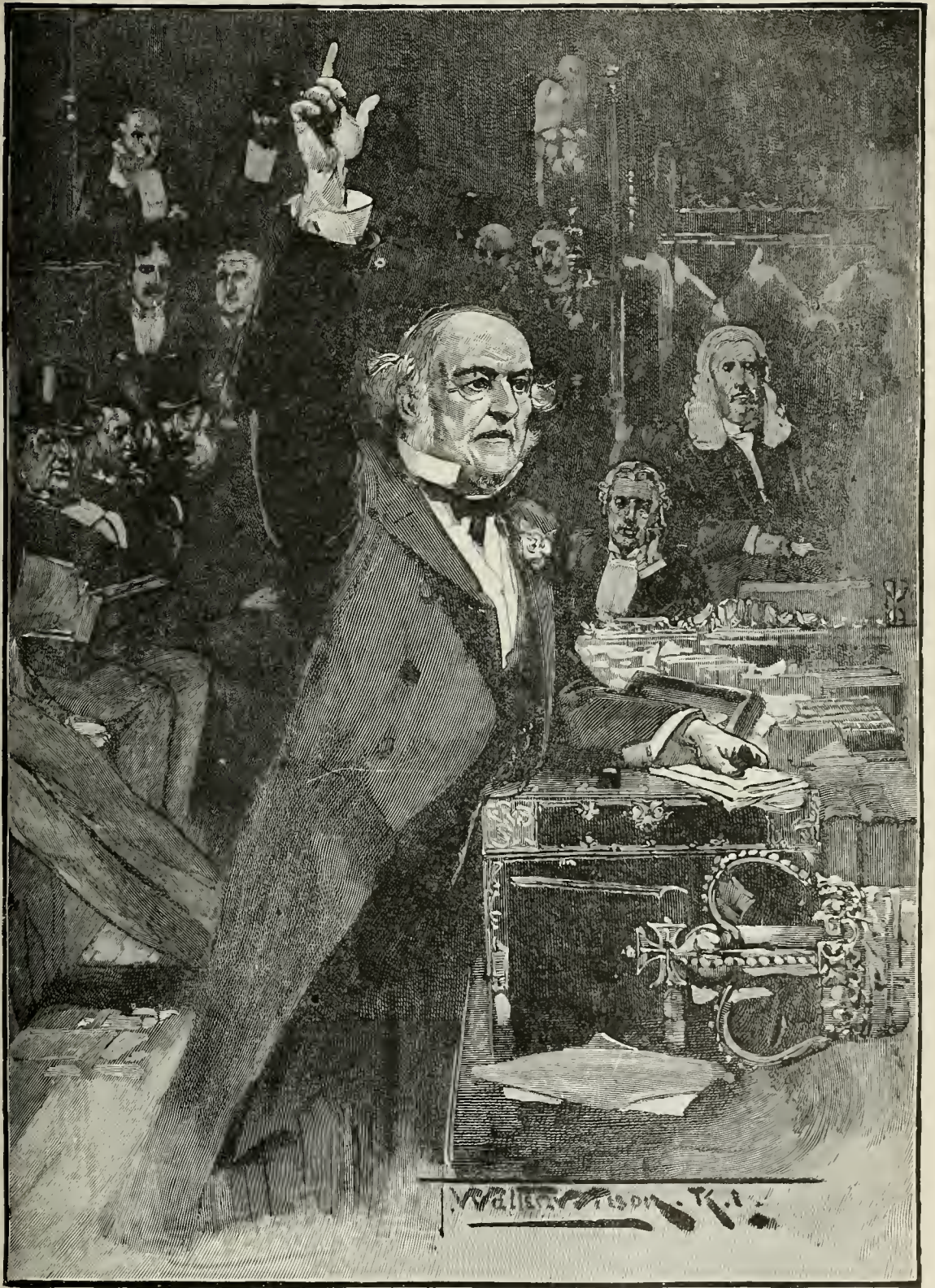
Rule Bill, which was characterized by Lord Randolph Churchill as a great betrayal of the Unionist cause, since it ignored the claims of Ulster, guaranteed no definite protection for the free education of Protestant children, jeopardized the Imperial control of the Irish military, and practically provided for the confiscation of the landlords' estates. Glad-



JOHN MORLEY, M.P.

who remained out for twelve weeks, from March to June, only to fail.

It is only by an appreciation of the growing needs of diverse classes that we come to understand the change now apparent in the whole political system. For years the fights in Parliament had been between the two great parties. As early as 1885, however,



HOME RULE BILL IN THE HOUSE, 1893—GLADSTONE'S PERORATION.

stone, however, ably defended his measures against all attacks.

The leading provision in the bill was for the establishment of an Irish Legislature, which should have authority in the determining of matters exclusively Irish, while in no way interfering with the general prerogatives of the Parliament. But the financial plan of the bill was found to be wholly unsatisfactory. Moreover, it was urged against the act that its provisions would give the Irish members of Parliament the balance of power in that body. In Ireland itself the bill provoked much bitter opposition, not only among the Protestants in Ulster, but also among many of the Catholics. Even the leaders of the Irish party were not strong in support of the measure. The bill was debated for eighty-two days in the Commons—one of the longest debates recorded of that body—then, finally, it was passed and sent on to the House of Lords, only to be rejected by the peers in a vote of four hundred and nineteen to forty-one. Throughout the whole of the contest the greatest bitterness prevailed, a bitterness that was sometimes so intense as to become hate. Twice the life of Gladstone was attempted, once in London, July 26, and once while he was journeying from London to Chester, May 18. On the other side the public utterances against the Lords when they refused to yield to the will of the Commons were rancorous, so that at one time the world would hardly have been astonished at a revolution in the island.

The evils of political strife were not mitigated by domestic prosperity. On the contrary, the general discontent was heightened by the bad state of trade, which resulted in constant strikes. A strike of the cotton-workers in Lancashire was compromised. A dock strike in Hull began the first week in April, and continued until the middle of May, accompanied by such violence that troops were called in to maintain order. Despite every endeavor of the strikers, the company secured non-union men, and, in the end, won a complete, if expensive, victory. In August and September there was a vast strike among the coal-miners in the central part of England and

in Monmouthshire and Wales, with accompaniments of riot in Yorkshire and the Principality, restrained only by the presence of troops. In the Midland counties alone the strikers numbered five hundred thousand. At the end of August sixty thousand in South Wales resumed work, and soon after the strike was practically at an end. The terrific loss to the nation from a strike of such extent can best be estimated when it is borne in mind that the total number of operatives in various allied industries who were made idle during the term of the strike was more than one and a half millions. Yet, despite the involved loss, the strike was of profound value since it brought about a new relation between labor and capital and the State. That this relation was informal does not lessen its significance. The strike was settled by following a suggestion made by Gladstone. His proposal was that a joint conference should discuss the difficulty, the conference to sit under Lord Rosebery as chairman. The meeting was held in the Home Office, and there the courtesy and skill of the chairman gained the victory over all prejudice. He had no vote to cast; he displayed equal interest in both sides; suspicion was disarmed; reason prevailed; in a few hours the differences of months were reconciled, and the strike, that in its aggregate loss cost the country three and a half million pounds sterling, was ended.

In this same disastrous year occurred the worst calamity in the history of the navy. June 22, while the fleet was executing maneuvers near Tripoli, the flagship *Victoria* was run into and sunk by the *Camperdown*. Twenty-two officers and three hundred and thirty-six men perished with the ship. The horror of the casualty was made greater by the fact that the event was due wholly to the stupendous error of the Vice-Admiral, Sir George Tryon, who met his death with the rest as the result of the obedience his officers rendered to his mad commands.

We turn with satisfaction from events so unhappy to others of pleasant nature. The Queen opened the Imperial Institute on May 10, and September witnessed a meeting in

London of journalists from all parts of the world. More interesting to Americans was the unveiling, in November, of two stained-glass windows in Westminster Abbey, memorials of James Russell Lowell. In the direction of commercial improvement the most imposing event was the opening of the

since it commanded the easiest routes from Central Asia to India. The General British policy in Egypt was shown by the course of treatment adopted in reference to Abbas II. The youthful Khedive was so presumptuous as to dismiss his Cabinet of English sympathizers without consulting Lord Cromer,



THE SINKING OF THE VICTORIA BY THE CAMPERDOWN.

Manchester Ship Canal, which had been in process of construction for eight years.

Especially, Great Britain was successful in the operations of the Foreign Office. When the British East Africa Company formally withdrew from Uganda, what was virtually a British protectorate succeeded to the control. In Afghanistan a movement of advance was made successfully toward the northwest Indian frontier, a point of distinct advantage,

the British Consul-General. Lord Rosebery thereupon sent an ultimatum to the Egyptian monarch, to the effect that the consul-general's advice as to the formation of a new Cabinet must be followed, and that the temporary counselors selected by the Khedive himself must be dismissed within twenty-four hours. The King yielded, but the native population was much agitated, and the English troops were re-enforced, although the

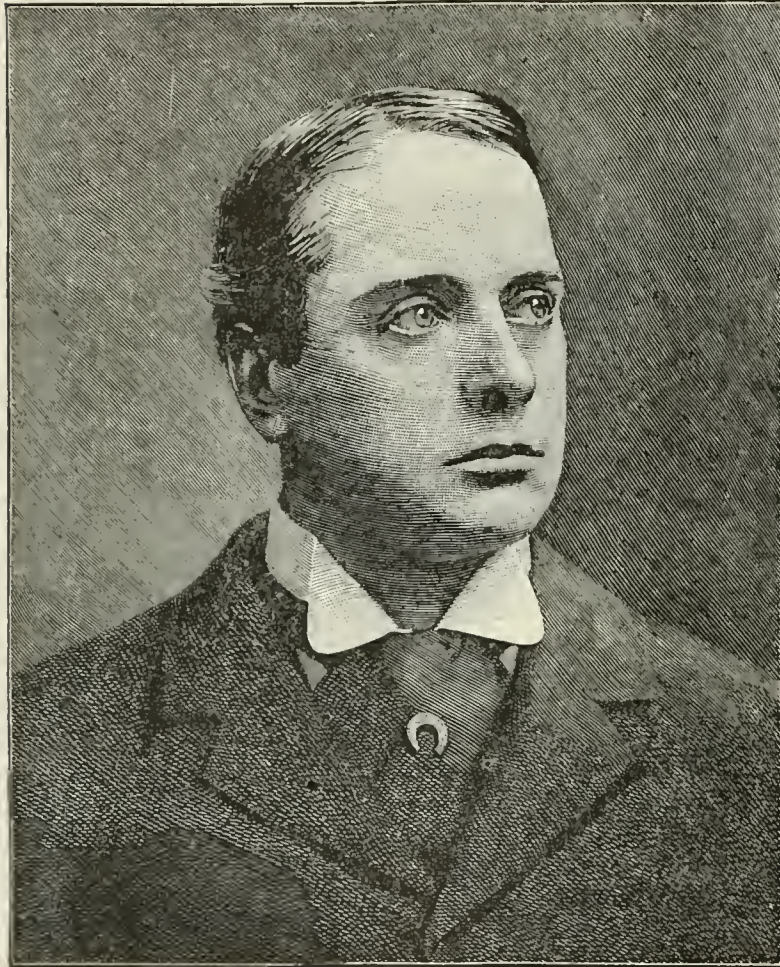
nineteen thousand native soldiers remained loyal to their English officers. Much criticism was current at the time as to the grasping tendency of the British occupation of Egypt, yet the condition of the country was so much improved, the advance in commerce so marked, the finances so excellent, that those

and every woman of full age, having resided in the parish for twelve months, are qualified to vote in the election of the parish council and are eligible to election as members of that council, or members of the district council that is elected by the parish council. In these parish councils all matters of local

government are decided, and the chairman of the district council is *ex-officio* a magistrate, and sits with the county board of justices of the peace.

This radical victory against conservatism is the more noticeable because the same year witnessed the defeat, for the fourteenth time, of a measure to legalize the marriage of a widower with the sister of his deceased wife.

The strain of years and party wranglings proved too much for Gladstone's strength, and he was forced repeatedly to absent himself from the sessions of the House, leaving the leadership at such times to Sir William Harcourt. It was, then, no surprise when, on March 3, he resigned. That Lord Rosebery was chosen as Gladstone's successor provoked more



ARCHIBALD PHILIP PRIMROSE, EARL OF ROSEBERY.

most interested in Egyptian affairs approved, rather than condemned, the British control.

By far the most important event in the Parliamentary sessions of 1894 was the passage of the Parish Councils Bill. This law forever ended the old rule of parson and squire, and gave instead a real local self-government. According to this act, every man

astonishment. This remarkable young man had achieved a success so marked in his political career that his fitness for the position could hardly be questioned, yet his comparative youth rendered his elevation conspicuous, while his own announced ambition to become Premier gave to this statesman a certain prophetic dignity in the public

eye. This effect was intensified by the fact that he had declared his intention not only of becoming Prime Minister, but also of marrying an heiress, and winning the Derby race; and he did marry an heiress, and he did win the Derby; indeed, as to the Derby, he won it twice, and won it while he was Premier, a performance quite unique in English history, but very English!

Another and more serious matter allied to politics was the International Bimetallic Conference, which met in London in March. During its sessions, Sir David Barbour, formerly Secretary of Finance in India, declared that the attempt to introduce a gold standard in India had disturbed trade, had increased the debt, had added to the expenditures, and had necessitated a more burdensome taxation. Like evidence in other directions was presented, yet the Conference failed to obtain any directly successful results.

Throughout the country the commercial depression continued. The effect of the persistent dullness in industrial concerns was plainly shown in the Budget, which displayed the necessity for economy. The effect of constant hard times was shown, too, even more powerfully, in the action taken by the Trades Union Congress, at Norwich, in September. There the Socialists were in the majority, and the revolt against existing conditions led to formal insistence on the most advanced doctrines of State control and collectiveness.

The most marked gain for this year was in the matter of health. The nation, as a whole, suffered less from epidemics than at any time before since the appearance of the influenza, while the death record was singularly free from great names. The most mourned loss of the year was that of Robert Louis Stevenson, the purest contemporary exponent of the romantic school in fiction, who died of consumption, in the island of Samoa, December 3.

The last session of the Parliament elected in July, 1892, began February 5, 1895, and in that session Wellesley Peel, who had been speaker of the House of Commons for eleven

years, resigned in April on account of bad health, and William Court Gully was chosen to succeed to the office.

The term was distinguished by the introduction, under the auspices of Mr. Asquith, of the long-urged bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, a measure for which practically all Wales had been contending for years, and a measure well justified by the fact that the four thousand Nonconformist congregations in the principality include about four-fifths of the entire population.

But the various and opposing interests conspired to defeat all legislation. The cohesion



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

of the groups became weakened through the failures of one after another to obtain a considerable victory, until, at last, a Government amendment to a bill for the reduction of the salary of the Secretary of War was defeated by a majority of seven. The Ministry promptly resigned, leaving the dissolution of Parliament to a new Ministry, whereupon Lord Salisbury was requested by the Queen to form a Cabinet. This Unionist Ministry was constituted June 25, with the Marquis of Salisbury as Prime Minister, the Duke of Devonshire as Lord President of the Council, Arthur James Balfour as First Lord of the Treasury, Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Michael Hicks-

Beach as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and George Joachim Goschen as First Lord of the Admiralty. Outside of the Cabinet the most important appointment was that of George N. Curzon, who was made Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

In the campaign that now ensued, the National Liberal Federation put forth a platform declaring in favor of Home Rule, Welsh dis-

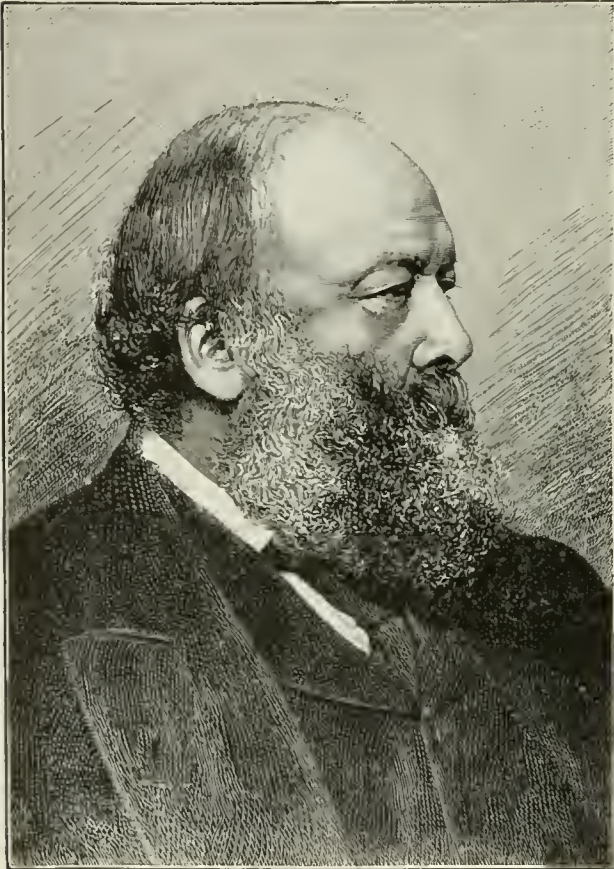
trictive powers, Home Rule, land-law reform, local option, the suppression of grants and pensions, international arbitration, taxation on land values, graduation of taxes according to ability to pay, recognition of the claims of the aged, the sick, and otherwise distressed, and the admission of the claims of labor to limitation of hours, to the right of combination, to compensation for injuries, and to direct representation in Parliament.

The Irish Nationalists renewed their allegiance to the Liberal party on the basis of the Liberal leaders' public pledges to place Home Rule at the front of the program. The Social Democratic Federation declared in support of an eight-hour law, the free maintenance of children, a minimum wage of thirty shillings weekly, wholesome dwellings, the ownership of railways, factories, mines, and land by the whole people, a single chamber of paid deputies, to be elected by universal suffrage, and the popular initiative and referendum.

The Unionists won in the battle over all the forces of their combined adversaries, the result of the elections showing four hundred and eleven Conservatives against two hundred and fifty-nine Home Rulers, making a Ministerial majority of one hundred and fifty-two.

This change in the political sentiment of the country was accompanied by a change of no less importance in the military government. The Duke of Cambridge, Field Marshal commanding the British army, was re-

tired despite his inclination to the contrary, and Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley succeeded to the chief place. This event was the more extraordinary in view of the fact that it was a victory for the Radical spirit of the times, although it occurred immediately after a great Conservative triumph. The reason for this apparent anomaly was that the opposition to the Duke of Cambridge, while it had been primarily confined to Radical



ROBERT ARTHUR CECIL, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

establishment, the Irish Land Bill, a suffrage principle of "one man one vote," the liquor veto by local option, and many more reforms, including the submission of the House of Lords to the will of the Commons. The National Reform Union favored the "one man one vote" principle, the payment of members of Parliament, local legislation by local bodies alone, a simpler method of Parliamentary procedure, the abolition of the Lords' legisla-

thought, had extended so far that his retirement was desired by most of those who were not utterly blinded by class prejudice. Not only was the incompetency of the duke becoming more generally recognized—more than that, the need of having the best leader possible at the head of the nation's defenses was made patent to all observers by the number of foreign complications in which Great Britain was concerned. War at any moment was a possibility; often, indeed, it seemed a probability. That the dangers of the situation were appreciated was shown in the movement toward naval increase made by the Parliament of 1894, notwithstanding the desirability of economy on account of the financial stringency. It was shown again by the action taken in reference to the Duke of Cambridge. This chief had always been exposed to Radical attacks, from the moment of his appointment in 1856 as the exponent of the royal prerogative, it being urged that he had failed to distinguish himself in the Crimean War; that, although he was wealthy, he received official payment to the extent of twelve thousand pounds annually, besides many emoluments; and that he was consistently opposed to all reforms in the service. It was this last charge against him that worked his downfall.

The general sentiment of the country, in both civil and military circles, was in favor of remodeling the service. The final evidence of this truth is found in the fact that Wolseley, who assumed command November 1, was the champion of reform.

One of the petty wars that served at this time to draw the general attention to army affairs was on the northwestern frontier of

India, in March. The origin of the trouble in Chitral was in the effort of a pretender to the throne of Kashmir to intercept Dr. Robertson, who had been sent to investigate the matter of the succession, and to recognize the rightful successor. Small as the difficulty was, it required the transportation of fourteen



FIELD MARCHAL THE VISCOUNT WOLSELEY.

thousand troops across two hundred miles of wild country, and it exhibited military valor most effectively, since Dr. Robertson and six hundred men though surrounded and besieged in a small fort by thousands of the native warriors, yet defended themselves against all assaults for more than a month, when reinforcements relieved them from their peril.

This year was marked in the political world by the death of Lord Randolph Churchill, who, although his closing days had been of mental torpor, had been for years a conspicuous figure in State matters. As a leader in Tory politics, he had been often a grievous thorn in the side of Gladstone. Once even, in December, 1886, his resignation from the

Austin were comparatively little known. He was born in Headingley, near Leeds, May 30, 1835, and had devoted himself to writing, although embracing the law as a profession.

In the scientific world, the chief event was the formal announcement of the discovery of a gas hitherto unknown—argon. At a meeting of the Royal Society, on January 31, an

account was given of the work of Professor Ramsay and Lord Rayleigh, which had resulted, near the end of 1894, in learning the existence, the nature, and the properties of argon. The gas is a constituent of the atmosphere, forming about one per cent. of the atmospheric nitrogen, giving perhaps two ounces of pressure in the fifteen pounds to the square inch. It is a colorless gas, with a density of nearly 19.9, using hydrogen as the unit of comparison, and it is remarkably inert. Professor Ramsay was the real discoverer of argon; but Lord Rayleigh deserves the sole credit for another discovery, that of helium, one of the lightest of known substances, hitherto supposed to be the sun's peculiar possession, its presence in the spectrum being shown by a yellow line. Lord Rayleigh found, quite by accident, that it is a constituent of the earth's crust.



SIR HENRY IRVING.

chancellorship of the Exchequer nearly brought about the resignation of Salisbury from the premiership.

In the literary and dramatic worlds there was much satisfaction at the honors of knighthood bestowed upon Walter Besant and Henry Irving. An event of much greater importance was the appointment of a poet laureate. Late in 1895, Alfred Austin was chosen to fill the place left vacant by the death of Tennyson in 1892. The selection was regarded with surprise, as the works of

The same general sentiment in favor of increased abilities in case of war, to which we have referred as marking the policy of Great Britain in 1895, found its culmination in 1896. It was generally believed that the nation was menaced by more alarming conditions abroad than at any other time in recent years. The English colonies, belting the world in the most far-extended confederation that history knows, are, nevertheless, the necessary cause of constant and profound anxiety, since their advance is always the loss of territory by

some State unwillingly yielding its possession, and always threatening the frontiers, while the greater Powers look askance at the British occupation, however beneficent the final result may be.

At the opening of 1896, Great Britain prudently yielded to Brazil in the dispute between the two countries as to the ownership of the island of Trinidad. The tone of the Parliament meeting in February was friendly to the United States in reference to the Republic's interference in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. This avoidance, when avoidance was possible, was rendered almost inevitable by the existence of dangers that offered little opportunity for escape. The raid into the Transvaal Republic, which was thought to be instigated by Cecil Rhodes, the British Governor of the Cape Colony, teemed with perils, not the least imposing of which was the possibility of speedy war with Germany, on account of the Kaiser's frank sympathy with the Boers of the Transvaal in their anger against the British trespassers on their soil. To these distractions were added the Matabele uprising and the Dongola expedition, both demanding money and men. It is, then, without astonishment that we find the Government turning toward its navy; for in its navy the chief strength of the British nation must rest, as it has rested in the past.

Early in March, Goschen introduced the Government's measure for naval defense, and this measure provided that during the coming year there should be devoted to this purpose a sum of almost twenty-two millions of pounds, of which more than four millions would fall due at once.

The most important measure of this session was one looking toward an increase in the amount of public money for Church schools, without giving a corresponding increase in control to the taxpayers. The Roman Catholics had joined with the Anglicans in opposition to the Nonconformists in pleading for sectarian Government schools. As a result, this bill appeared, it being a temporary expedient, a reactionary mixture of religion and politics. It provided that

the county council, not the nation, is to be the regulating authority, and that the board schools, formerly non-sectarian, must admit sectarian teaching, within the regular school-hours, upon the demand therefor of a reasonable number of parents.

The most interesting change in the *personnel* of Parliament was the resignation of Justin McCarthy from the leadership of the Anti-Parnellite wing of the Irish Nationalists,



ALFRED AUSTIN.

in February, on account of failing health. John Dillon was chosen to succeed him.

Educational conservatism was shown yet again at Oxford, where a demand that women be admitted to receive the degree of B. A. was defeated, in the sitting of March, by a vote of two hundred and fifteen to one hundred and forty.

The same month witnessed the decision of a case that had won the attention of the whole world, that of Kitson against Playfair. A verdict of two thousand pounds damages for the plaintiff established the principle that a physician has no right, save in most extreme cases and for great ends of special protection, to reveal his client's secrets, and that in these most exceptional instances he must prove his justification, his revelation being altogether at his own risk.

There were a number of illustrious deaths

during the year. Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, the husband of the Princess Beatrice of England, died of malarial fever, January 20, while on board the cruiser *Blonde*, on the journey from the Cape Coast to Madeira. When the Ashanti expedition

arts and letters were those of Lord Leighton, the painter, president of the Royal Academy, who died January 25, Sir J. E. Millais succeeding him in the presidency; and that of Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown's School-days" and "Tom Brown at Oxford."



CECIL RHODES,
Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

The episode of the invasion of the Transvaal Republic by British adventurers acting, as was believed, under the instigation of Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was perhaps the most unsuccessful and humiliating experience which befell any British enterprise in foreign lands since the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. All the circumstances of the Jameson raid seemed to add shame to the unsuccess of the business. President Krüger was easily able to overwhelm the aggressors, and to make hostages of the leaders. These became a kind of state prisoners. All four of the principals were included among those who were brought to book for their audacity. The open expressions of sympathy extended by the German Kaiser to President Krüger in repelling the raiders raised the incident to the plane of an international complication. The course taken by Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson was so flagrant that it could hardly be endorsed by the authorities of Cape Colony, to say nothing of the home government of Great Britain.

against King Prempeh, who afterwards submitted to a British protectorate, was sent out, the Prince asked permission to accompany it, and it was from the unhealthful exhalations of the African coast that he received his mortal illness.

The most regretted deaths in the fields of

For a while at the beginning of 1896, the Transvaal raiders were held by Krüger's orders, and the four principals were at first condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted to a fine of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars each and banishment from the Transvaal. The other leaders were

fined ten thousand dollars each. At length all of the prisoners were released; but the fines were not remitted, and the sentence of banishment remained in force. Even the brother of Cecil Rhodes was banished from the country. It was a spectacle to witness the severe, uncompromising attitude of President Krüger in administering justice to those who had so causelessly invaded the territories of the Republic. He could not be unaware that the sympathies of

quarter of a century, the great deliberative bodies in the civilized nations have by their own virtue and patriotism preserved the equipoise of right between the dominant party and the under party in the state. Parliamentarians of the majority were able to carry forward the measures of government without serious impediment, and members of the minority were able freely to discuss and oppose all important measures of pending legislation.* But in more recent times, the



PRESIDENT PAUL KRÜGER RECEIVING VISITORS AT THE PRESIDENCY, PRETORIA.

the European nations and those of the western hemisphere were with him in his work of upholding the little nationality over which he presided.

In the parliamentary history of this period, the same conflict which was witnessed in our country, in France, and in the German Empire, occurred between the minority in the House of Commons and the majority represented by the ministry, on the question of unlimited debate. Until within the last

disposition of the majority to override the opposition, and to carry measures of party expediency, however immoral they may be, has been witnessed as a leading fact in parliamentary history. On the other hand, the disposition of a recalcitrant and stubborn minority merely to obstruct the processes of legislation has become intensified to such a degree that nearly all the leading legislative bodies have been scandalized with ever-recurring deadlocks and animosities, having no

other principle than party advantage as their primary motive.

In the parliamentary session of 1896, an effort was made by the government of Lord Salisbury to enlarge and confirm the principle of closure, thus restricting the freedom of debate under the excuse that necessary legislation could not otherwise be attained. Two measures were at this time pending in the House of Commons, both of which encountered the most serious opposition of the minority. One of these was known as the Education Bill, and the other as the Rating Bill. The latter, being a proposition to change the tax schedule of the kingdom, roused up a fierce opposition, and at one time a continuous sitting of the House was held for the space of twenty-two and a half hours.

In this contest, Honorable A. J. Balfour sought to dragoon the house into support of the Rating Bill, while John Dillon, Lloyd George, and some other Radical members, contended for the postponement, until they were brought to the bar and suspended for their contumacy. The powerful majority with which the ministry was supported seemed to encourage the violation of precedents, and a form of tyranny not often witnessed in the British Parliament was exhibited. The debate on the Education Bill, in which the Nonconformists in general ranged themselves against the government, was almost equally acrimonious, and the measure could only be carried through to the second reading by the brute force of the majority.

Great Britain at this time was suffering not a little from the same industrial and commercial depression which had for several years wrought such havoc in the United States. Indeed, the same state of lethargy prevailed more or less throughout all civilized nations. One of the features of the epoch was the constant proclamation of a prosperity which was ever promised but did not appear. The summer of 1896 was noted in London by one of the hectic returns of commercial activity. It was called a revival. The spirit of speculation had asserted itself, and many new enterprises, most of them raised on small

financial foundations, were promoted. It was at this time that the bicycle industry was firmly established in London, and bicycle stocks were freely offered in speculation on the exchange. The use of horseless carriages began about the same time, and other artificial additions to the established industries gave warrant for the speculative tendencies which marked the year.

With the progress of legislation a remarkable decline was now witnessed in the force of the ministerial party. The majority which the government had been able to command, amounting to 267 on the Education Bill, waned in the summer of 1896, and within a twelvemonth sank so low that the bill referred to had actually to be abandoned. During the discussion of the measure, the Church party, in alliance with the Conservatives, had shown that its support of the proposed measure was wholly interested. It was seen that every church faction was striving to secure its own advantage from the passage of the bill—an advantage which was to consist of a fund drawn from the general public, but to be distributed to the educational support of the church schools in the way of a favor to a special interest. On the other side, the Nonconformists and the secular party in general formed a solid and growing phalanx before which the government was obliged to recede.

Like action had to be taken with the measure known as the Employers' Liabilities Bill. This measure also was brought into Parliament with what seemed to be an overwhelming support, but the support melted away, and the bill was abandoned. This discomfiture of the government was popularly accredited to the unemphatic and indecisive leadership of Mr. Balfour, and the case was complicated by the possible return of Joseph Chamberlain to the Liberal ranks. The defection of the latter from Mr. Gladstone, as will be remembered, was a critical circumstance in the contention for Home Rule. Chamberlain had become a leader of the anti-Gladstone minority by whose opposition the last great measure of the Liberals was brought to naught.

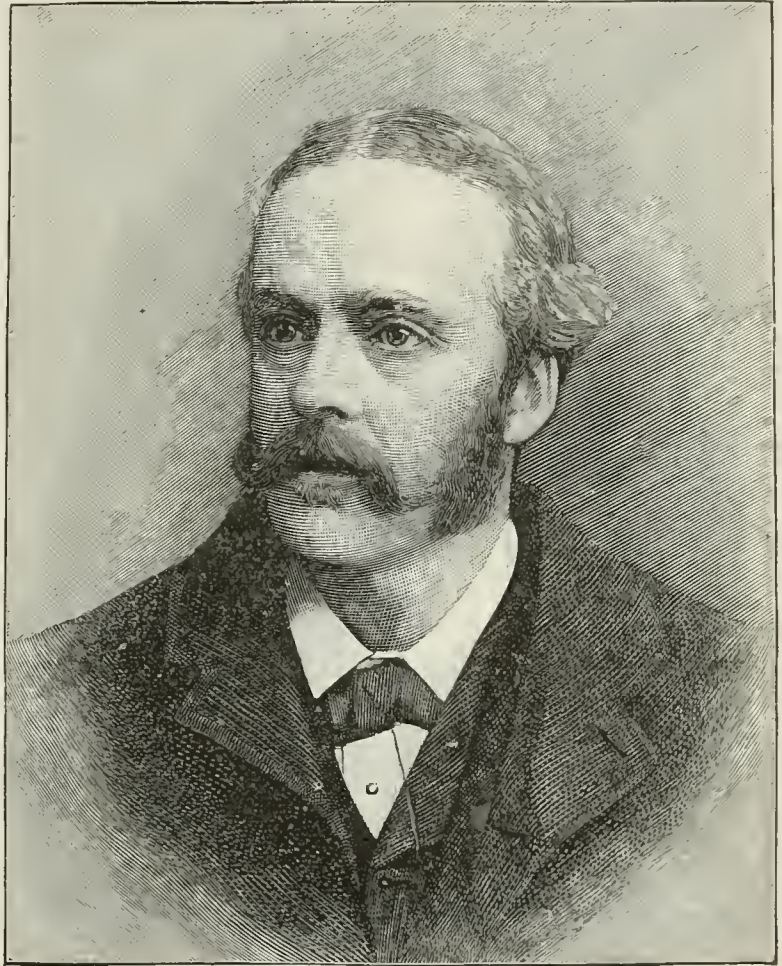
The late complication between Great Britain and the United States relative to Venezuela reached an important and significant stage in the summer of 1896. The necessity of arbitration as it related to that dispute carried further than had been anticipated by either nation.

The correspondence between Lord Salisbury and the American Secretary of State led along to the suggestion of a more general arrangement between the two countries for the settlement by international conference and concession of *all* questions that might arise likely to disturb the relations of the United States and England.

At this juncture, namely on the 18th of August, 1896, Lord Russell of Killowen, better known as Sir Charles Russell, who had been attorney-general under Gladstone, delivered before the American Bar Association at Saratoga, N. Y., a significant address, taking for his subject, "International Arbitration." It was this address which thrust before the American people in a larger sense than ever before, the great question of universal arbitration between the two leading divisions of the English-speaking race.

Near the conclusion of his oration, Sir Charles, summarizing the tremendous theme under discussion, said: "We boast of our advance and often look back with pitying contempt on the ways and manners of gener-

ations gone by. Are we ourselves without reproach? Has our civilization borne the true marks? Must it not be said, as has been said of Religion itself, that countless crimes have been committed in its name? Probably it was inevitable that the weaker



ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

aces should, in the end, succumb, but have we always treated them with consideration and with justice? Has not civilization too often been presented to them at the point of the bayonet, and the Bible by the hand of the Filibuster? And apart from races we deem barbarous, is not the passion for dominion and wealth and power accountable for the worst chapters of cruelty and oppression

written in the World's History? Few peoples—perhaps none—are free from this reproach. What indeed is true Civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great Literature and Education wide-

you and I represent to-day, and with one more reference to them I end.

“Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? But if this influence is to be fully felt, they must work together in

cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they have also great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them.

“Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self-respecting, each in honor upholding its own Flag, safeguarding its own Heritage of right and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the Progress and the Peace of the World.”

The movement for international arbitration as outlined in Sir Charles Russell's speech began in sentiment, but it came near ending in something much more substantial. It was



SIR CHARLES RUSSELL.

spread—good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men.

“Mr. President, I began by speaking of the two great divisions—American and British—of that English-speaking world which

proposed at length to establish for Great Britain and the United States a sort of international Supreme Court, to which all serious questions of dispute between the two nations should be referred. There should be two justices for each nation, and an arbiter making the fifth, and the decision of the tribunal should be final. The work

of the Court should begin with the actual dispute relative to the Venezuelan boundary, but the Court should be permanent, and by it all future questions should be decided.

On the line of these proposals, an arbitration treaty was drawn, and for a while it seemed that the movement was destined to be successful. In the United States, however, there was presently a reaction, based on the belief that the project had been so contrived as to leave a large margin of advantage on the side of Great Britain. This opinion gained ground, and was reflected into Congress to such an extent that when the arbitration treaty came before the Senate it was rejected by that body, and the movement was practically defeated. The sentiment on which it was based, however, had meanwhile diffused itself widely among the people of Great Britain and of the Eastern States of the American Republic. It was out of this new opinion and desire that the widespread notion of an Anglo-American alliance sprang in the years 1897-98, resulting, as we have seen on a former page, in the rise of imperialistic tendencies in the United States.¹

At no former period had the foreign relations of Great Britain been so widely extended as at the present. Indeed, in the whole previous history of mankind there had not been witnessed so wide a sweep of internationality as that displayed by the British empire in the closing years of the century. Nor was the spectacle of British dominion at this time wanting in majesty and grandeur. From the political centre in the narrow home islands, the sway of the Hanoverian sceptre had reached out to the remotest bounds of earth. The ability of Great Britain to colonize and to govern had never been equalled in the case of any other nation. In her own phraseology, she had become the civilizer of the world, the establisher of the *Pax Britannica* in every continent.

Deep down in the bottom of the policy of Great Britain was the principle of universal commercialism. It was the demand of commerce, and not the motive of civilizing the barbarous or half-savage nations of the East,

that had made the British empire to be what it had become. The needs of the home island required more and more; the demand for more was, when translated into language, more ships, more trade, more subordinate nations with which to trade, new wants, new manufactures, new fleets, new emporia, greater absolutism, and the confirmation of the commercial dominion of the British empire. To this had to be added more casuistry in the invention of excuses for the unending aggression of Great Britain on all the weaker powers of the world.

In the closing decennium of the century, Africa was the favorite field of British adventure and enterprise. Southern and Eastern Africa were the particular fields in which British invasion and conquest found the amplest opportunity. Vainly did the other European nations enter into competition with the Queen of the Seas. Such was the enormous wealth which Great Britain had accumulated, such was the financial power which reached out from London over the world, such was the skill of British statesmanship in discovering the strategic points in the East, and such the habitual aptitude of English adventure to rush into every vacuum that might be discovered in whatever continent or island,—that the whole world felt the impact and gave way before British progress.

It was the peculiarity of the situation in the afterpart of 1896 that a great stretch of the British frontier in Africa was disturbed with intrigue, insurrection, and war. All summer long the eastern coast of Africa, extending all the way from Cairo to Cape Colony, was in a state of unrest. That coast was referred to in the international jargon of the day as the "storm-band of Africa." For several months, the British advance in the direction of Dongola had been impeded by the low stage of the Nile. At length with the rise in that river, and with the construction of short railways, the progress of the British forces was renewed. Dongola was regarded as a stage in the route to Khartoum. This movement had an influence in the settlement of the difficulty between the Abyssinians and the Italians.

¹ See pages 135-138.

Meanwhile, a serious outbreak occurred in Zanzibar, and to this was added a period of anarchy in Madagascar. Further south in Matabeleland, the insurrection was reported to be suppressed, and this was effected in a manner to show how easy it is, when the desire exists, for civilized nations to deal with barbarians. It was found that the insurrec-

tion had been occasioned almost wholly by the starvation of the people. This in turn had been caused by the spread of a rinderpest among the cattle of the country. British enterprise had brought in its train the usual concomitants of disease and famine. At length, Colonel Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, went unarmed with a few companions into the Matabele

country, and in an interview with Chief Secombo succeeded in bringing about an understanding. The chief complained justly of the rapacity of a British official who had been sent to govern them; also of the police to which they had been subjected. Colonel Rhodes yielded to these representations, and the Chief for his part laid a gun and an asse-



RECLAIMING EGYPT—ONE ASPECT OF THE BRITISH ADVANCE ALONG THE NILE.

tion of the Matabele nation had been occasioned almost wholly by the starvation of the people. This in turn had been caused by the spread of a rinderpest among the cattle of the country. British enterprise had brought in its train the usual concomitants of disease and famine. At length, Colonel Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, went unarmed with a few companions into the Matabele

gai at the feet of the ambassador in token of the surrender of himself and his tribe.¹

¹ Not a little responsibility was entailed on the British authorities by the settlement between Colonel Rhodes and Chief Secombo. The compact involved the preservation of the Matabele tribes from starvation. Soon after peace was made, Lord Grey produced a report on the condition of affairs in Rhodesia, in which he spoke of the effort then making to induce the people of Matabeleland to adopt a regular system of industry.

Meanwhile, the Boers of the Transvaal Republic proceeded to strengthen themselves as if against the further aggression of the British in South Africa. It was easy for President Krüger and his administration to procure from France and Germany all the supplies and war material that were desired. Krüger was thus enabled to maintain an attitude of defiance, if not of positive hostility, toward his enemies. Great Britain in the interval found enough to do to hold her own through the long line of territory extending from Cape Town to the Red Sea.

In the domestic affairs of the empire, several facts may be noted as belonging to the year 1896. One matter of interest related to the important question of compulsory vaccination against smallpox. Ever and anon since the discovery of the prophylactic usefulness of the vaccine disease, sundry agitations had been raised against it by persons who either would not or could not understand the salutary character of Jenner's discovery. No other fact in the administration of human life has been more distinctly demonstrated than has been the avoidance of smallpox by means of vaccination. Indeed, the dreaded scourge has been virtually extinguished in every civilized nation where due attention has been given, under civil and social law, to the protective agency of the vaccine antidote.

It is true, however, that in many cases most serious results have followed from the misuse of vaccination. To employ this means of protection without due attention to the character of the vaccine used, is to expose the person vaccinated to dreadful diseases, a few of which are worse than smallpox itself. The fact of the danger referred to and the frequent dissemination of disease by vicious vaccination has enabled anti-vaccinationists to extend their views and to establish a propaganda against the vaccine method itself.

In the early part of 1896, a committee of

fifteen was appointed by Parliament to report on the working of the vaccination laws of Great Britain. The report of this committee, while it strongly supported vaccination as a preventive of smallpox and recommended the maintenance of the existing statutes, refused to endorse so much of the law as related to the imprisonment of parents who for conscientious reasons should refuse to have their children vaccinated. The report contained this clause: "When the law imposes a duty on parents, the performance of which they honestly, however erroneously, regard as seriously prejudicial to their children, the very attempt to compel obedience may defeat the object of the legislation." Thus much the royal commission conceded to the prejudice or misinformation of the anti-vaccinationists in society.

The gain of the anti-vaccinationists in this controversy by no means satisfied them, and the agitation was presently renewed with great vigor. The new law was liberally construed, and it was found that the concession to the conscientious scruples of parents was likely to take a wide range. Scruples were plentiful, and the act recently passed became in some parts almost an abolition of the vaccination laws. Nor might the danger to society from this relaxation of prudence readily appear; for in the meantime so great advances had been made in hygienic and sanitary science that the evils and horrors formerly to be apprehended from smallpox epidemics were less to be feared. Optimists were able to declare that the improvement in the condition of the world had remanded smallpox to the category of extinct diseases.

Another domestic matter of considerable importance related to the increase of lunacy in the United Kingdom. A report was made by the commissioners of lunacy which showed an alarming, even unprecedented, increase in insanity. The report, under date of January 1, 1896, showed a total of lunatics in England and Wales of 96,446, being an increase of 2,365 within a single year. The statistics also showed that within twenty years the lunatics reported had increased fifty-three per cent. It was contended, however, by

He showed that, owing to the ravages of the rinderpest, fully forty thousand of the natives had to be supplied with daily rations for a period of three months; and he pointed out the likelihood that the same method of gratuitous supply would have to be continued for the year to come.

experts who looked into the question that the apparent increase was largely attributable to the more complete system of registration, and to the fact that the friends of the insane, becoming more enlightened and more humane, were more willing than formerly to submit their afflicted kinspeople to the care of the public. But after allowance for this influence there still remained good reason for apprehensiveness on the score of the increasing number of people who, under the excitements and strain of civilization, lose their reason and become a public charge.

Still another fact to be noted in the social condition of Great Britain, was the attempted improvement in the workhouse system. Hitherto, the classes which had sought relief by entering the workhouses represented almost all the social conditions in the middle and under strata of the kingdom. It was observed that the most worthy poor sought to avoid the workhouses because of the heterogeneous and vicious elements gathered therein. In order to overcome this repugnance, the local government board issued a circular in the spring of 1896, directed to the guardians of the poor. In this circular, the effort was made to stimulate the current tendency to make the workhouse a more desirable refuge for respectable inmates.

Several provisions were accordingly suggested for the improvement of the system. One of these was the separation of the respectable from the vicious classes in the workhouses. The apartments were to be divided among men and women, on the score of sex and character. Inmates of good character might receive the visits of their friends on terms of greater freedom than hitherto. Inmates might visit outside the institutions and attend church on Sunday. No attempt was made to discriminate between the good and the bad on the score of food or uniform. Behind all these provisions and regulations, the great question still remained unsolved; for the real issue in every civilized state of Christendom is not the project of rendering the condition of the poor more tolerable (thereby making or tending to make the state of poverty permanent and

unending), but rather some measure for the total abolition of poverty and the removal of all pauper institutions from modern society.

A general summary of the measures adopted by Parliament during the year showed that but a meagre work had been accomplished. The ministry was not able to exhibit a legislative output reëssuring to government or people. This might easily be seen in the synopsis which the Prime Minister prepared as a part of her Majesty's speech enumerating the measures which had become statutory during the year. The Queen said: "I have given my consent with much pleasure to measures for completing the naval defences of my empire, for lightening the fiscal burdens which press upon the agricultural population, and for protecting the flocks and herds of these islands from the importation of disease. Important measures have also received my sanction for the settlement of trade disputes, for the prevention of explosions in mines, which have caused the loss of many valuable lives, for amending the Truck act, for the construction of light railways, for the amendment of the Irish land laws, and for facilitating the creation, by purchase, of a larger class of occupying freeholders in Ireland."

An interesting climax was reached in the Victorian reign in the autumn of 1896. On the 23d of September in that year, Queen Victoria passed the mark which distinguished her reign as the longest in English history. Henry III., who acceded to the throne at the age of nine years in 1216, reigned until his death in 1272, a period of fifty-six years and twenty-nine days. Edward III., who came to the throne in his fifteenth year in 1327, reigned for fifty years, four months, and twenty-six days. George III., whose reign dated from October 25, 1760, wore the crown until his death, January 29, 1820, a period of fifty-nine years, three months, and four days. It was this reign of her grandfather that Victoria distanced in September of 1896. The sixtieth year of her queenship was not completed until the following June.

To the English nation the event was not without its significance. On the whole, the

Victorian era had surpassed any like period in the history of the British Isles. The Queen had made for herself a royal record unequalled in the former annals of the empire. And the end was not yet. It could but be remarked that this unprecedented reign was the reign of a *woman*. It was remembered that the former reigns of the English queens had been conspicuous for their length and successful character. Meanwhile, the phraseology of the English people had become so long conformed to her Majesty's sex and character as almost to preclude from the public imagination the thought of a British king and his court. The loyalty of the nation to Victoria had ever been emphatic and persistent. The relations between her Majesty and her subjects had been as beautiful and salutary as may ever be expected to exist between ruler and subjects under a monarchical system of government.

The passage of the date at which the Queen's reign surpassed that of any preceding sovereign of England was soon followed with her Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary on the throne. This occurred on the 28th of June, 1897.

The entire week, beginning Sunday, June 20, was devoted to the celebration, elaborate fêtes being given in all parts of the Imperial Dominions, though the most splendid, and those of the greatest interest, were in Lon-

don, where the Queen left her customary seclusion to provoke and to receive the enthusiastic demonstrations of her subjects.

On Sunday of the holiday week the Queen and the royal family attended a private service in the morning at St. George's Chapel,



QUEEN VICTORIA AS SHE APPEARED AT HER DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1897.

Windsor, while other special services were held during the day for the Jubilee envoys, diplomats, judges, and princes at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the Lords at Westminster, and for the Commons at St. Margaret's Church. On Monday morning the Queen reached Paddington soon after twelve o'clock,

and her ride to Buckingham Palace was made the occasion of frantic cheers from the masses of men, women, and children who filled every available space along the route. On the forenoon of Tuesday there was a tremendous procession, the first section of it being "colonial," the second being emblematic of Great Britain's war strength, and the

poor on Thursday, and the week closed with a naval review, the most brilliant in history, the seven lines of the fleet inspected by the Prince of Wales being manned by forty-five thousand men. Everywhere throughout the empire similar scenes of jubilation were witnessed, and the event left a long trail of light as it passed from view.



QUEEN'S CARRIAGE IN THE ROYAL PROCESSION PASSING THE PARLIAMENT HOUSES, 1897.

third being the royal procession proper. On this day the Queen visited the law courts, and afterward went to St. Paul's, where the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction. On Wednesday the Lords and the Commons marched in state to the palace to deliver their address to the Queen, an event of very rare occurrence. The Princess of Wales fed three hundred thousand of the

The event, though joyous in the home islands, had a foreign background of the most dolorous character. For coincidentally with the anniversary had come an almost unprecedented famine in India. Many circumstances of the British dominion in that country had tended to bring on a crisis of starvation and despair. Multiplied millions of the people in Hindustan pass their lives

on a level scarcely above the line of famine. Such a thing as industrial and economic prosperity could never be predicated of the inhabitants of India. Any disturbance therefore of what may be regarded as the normal condition of the East Indian population must inevitably lead to the distress of many millions of the people.

Such disturbances had been, since the era of Warren Hastings, almost constant attendants of the British dominion in the East. In the tenth decade of the century, several policies had been adopted by the home government well calculated to bring in an epoch of distress. One of these was the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver. The currency in use among the masses of the Hindus, already inadequate, became more and more deficient, and prices were correspondingly depressed. Such a condition may be borne in a prosperous, sparsely peopled country, but not in an unprosperous, stagnant, and densely peopled region such as India. Besides, the crops in India were considerably deficient in 1896, and in some districts there was almost total failure to produce.

These conditions are chargeable with the horrible famine which prevailed in 1897. In this visitation, great regions of the country were reduced to the very extreme of suffering. One of the districts most afflicted was the province of Bombay. Nearly the whole of the region extending from Bansa and the frontier of Central India, reaching to Mysore on the south and Haidarabad on the

east, was smitten with the famine. Far to the north in the Punjab, on the borders of Kashmir, another district of large extent was reduced to want and suffering. Still a third famine was in the Punjab on the south. From this province nearly the whole of Oudh

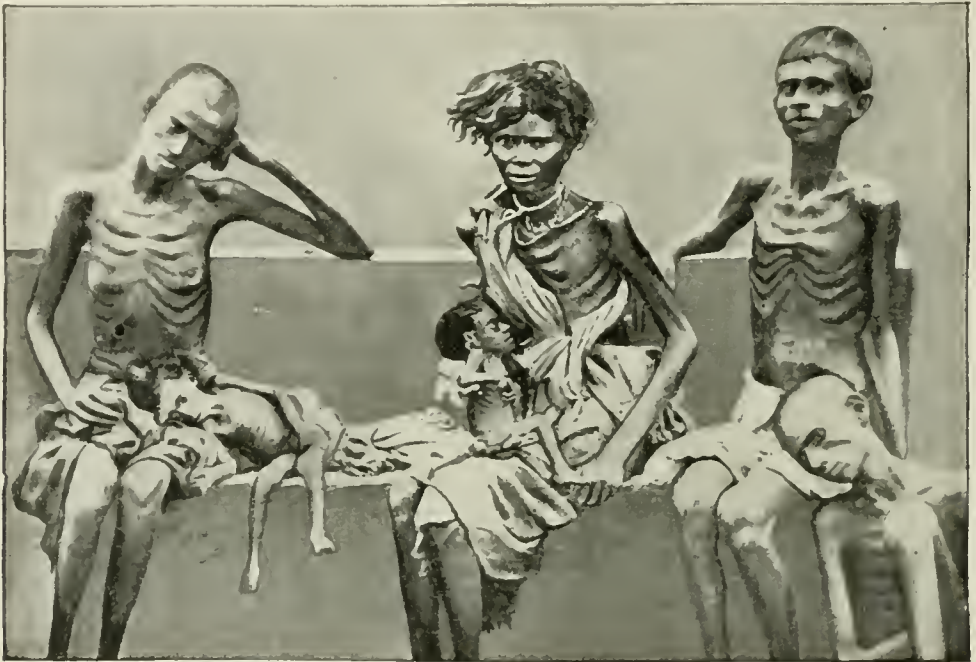


ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES.

as far eastward as Bengal was blackened with the ravages of death by starvation. On the borders of the Central provinces, reaching from Oudh to the Ganges, still another vast region was almost depopulated. Other portions of India quite as extensive as those already described were in part reduced to want.

The reports of the terrible suffering of the tens of millions of her subjects were at first disregarded by Great Britain, and for a considerable period no serious effort was made to relieve the distress. The famine increased to appalling dimensions. It became known throughout the world that districts inhabited by fully forty million people were prostrate under the incalculable horrors of starvation. By February of 1897 the alarm was taken by the sluggish govern-

anniversary of the sovereign's reign. They who were raised to knighthood and the peerage on the Queen's birthday might well hear above the call, "Arise, Sir Knight!" the distant moan of dying nations. Some of the leading American magazines published reports from India which sent a thrill of horror round the world. Julian Hawthorne, as the representative of the *Cosmopolitan*, forwarded from Bombay a narrative of the condition of affairs as witnessed by himself, and



VICTIMS OF THE HINDU FAMINE, 1897.—From a Photograph.

ment, and about two million persons were employed to give relief to the destitute. The spirit of the Hindus gave way before the prevailing conditions, and they huddled together in miserable groups as if awaiting their fate. Great Britain was at length aroused to extraordinary exertion. She was scourged by the public opinion of mankind to do as much as possible to alleviate the unspeakable griefs of her starving subjects.

In America, the awful condition of affairs in India could but be contrasted with the splendors which were witnessed here and there in the celebration of the sixtieth

this, illustrated with photographs of the miseries to be witnessed in India, emphasized the reproach with which the British empire in Hindustan is justly regarded.

One of the incidents of British life, in the spring of 1897, forcibly illustrated the prevailing and indeed immemorial temper of the race and nation. A movement was set on foot for the admission of women to degrees at the University of Cambridge. The gradual educational progress in Great Britain had at length opened some of the higher institutions of learning to women, so far as the benefits of study and of the lectures were concerned.

This is peculiarly an English feature of life. The English race permits things to be done so long as no one avows that they are done. But when anyone declares that a thing new or unprecedented is done, the conservative British spirit at once rises and declares that the thing is *not* done, and that it *shall not be done*. A large part of English history must be interpreted by this paradoxical principle of permitting reform to come, denying that it has come, and proving by reason and precedent that it ought not to come—and shall not come for generations or centuries.

At the University of Cambridge, women had been for a considerable period tacitly admitted to the educational advantages of the institution, but no degrees were granted to women, even when they had completed prescribed courses of study and had passed satisfactory examinations therein. This illogical condition led at length to the agitation of the question of degrees for women graduates of Cambridge. Hereupon—though Cambridge has been for two and a half centuries the pronounced seat of radicalism and aggressive progress in the upper circles of British thought and purpose—an outcry was raised against the monstrous proposition to recognize, under the sanction of degrees, the educational attainments of women. Such question must needs be decided by the voice of the University itself. It was arranged that the proposed innovation should be submitted to vote, and this was accordingly done on the 21st of May. The undergraduates of Cambridge, as well as the post-graduate authorities, rose in revolt against the proposition. Two thousand four hundred voters appeared on the scene, and of these one thousand seven hundred and thirteen voted against the measure and only six hundred and sixty-two in its favor. The old system of admitting women to the educational advantages while denying them the honors of the University was thus perpetuated.

It was at this time that the incident of the Jameson raid was finally concluded.¹ The

affair had become an international scandal—not of the greatest proportions, but a scandal nevertheless. It became an open secret that Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, and other public and semipublic characters connected with the Johannesburg plot, had involved themselves in a transaction which, had it been directed against a government of the



LORD ELGIN, VICEROY OF INDIA.

first or the second class, would have plunged Europe into war. The meanness of the raid, by reducing it to contempt rescued it from importance and heroism. Gradually, the affair, becoming known in England, pervaded somewhat the casuistical British conscience and led to an important, but ultimately ridiculous, parliamentary inquiry.

The investigation, which was conducted in the first half of 1897, was perhaps the most farcical of the many of its kind. The inquiry began seriously enough, but it soon degenerated under the influence of the accused, which ramified into every department of the public life of Great Britain, into an effort to obfuscate and conceal the facts. This effort was also discovered by the public,

¹ For the account of the Jameson raid, see page 170.

and half the world stood ready to inquire why the British Parliament, by its investigating committee, was subjecting itself to the sarcasm and contumelious reproach of the nations. It was observed that the commission of inquiry, whenever it was about to discover and reveal the very facts which it was appointed to find out and report, turned about with extraordinary facility to discharge its witnesses and to take up and to dwell upon the non-essentials of the subject. It became evident that the investigation had

notice. For some time previous to the Jameson raid, a series of speculative enterprises had been promoted to a remarkable extent in South Africa. The gold mines in that region, notably the Kimberley mines, and the diamond mines, including some fields almost as rich as those of India, became the basis of real industries, and also of speculative organizations, which, on the whole, overtopped anything of the kind hitherto known. Companies were organized and stocks were issued to a fabulous extent. The



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. OLD COURT OF TRINITY COLLEGE.—From a Photograph.

resolved itself into the question of how not to investigate the part of the South African officials in the Jameson Raid. The result was, notwithstanding the inconsequential report of the commission, that the public suspicion of governmental complicity and privity in the Johannesburg affair was deepened into a conviction which no factitious inquiry of Parliament itself was able to remove.

This investigation was nearly coincident in time, and somewhat related in fact, with a personal event so remarkable as to require

region invited adventure and provoked new schemes, the history of some of which is like a tale out of the *Arabian Nights*. The opportunity was too great to pass neglected by men with whom the faculty of acquisition is as strong as with the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons. The officials of South Africa eagerly fell in with the speculative movement and became as frenzied as any in the speedy accumulation of fortune.

It was at this juncture that a remarkable character appeared in the arena and soon became the thunderer of the scene. Barney

Barnato rose to sudden preëminence among the South African speculators, and such was his astonishing success in promoting the schemes with which his name was henceforth associated, that a whole army of other speculators followed in his wake. They watched his movements, invested fabulous sums in the enterprises with which he was connected, and promoted the great promoter until he might well consider himself the emperor of the realm.

Barney Barnato was himself of an obscure

environment in which he found himself. He soon made smuggling respectable by organizing a company to carry it on. This indeed is the method by which fraud and the other polite arts of the under side of human life get for themselves high-sounding names and presently strut in the streets.

Barnato quickly developed into an expert, outclassing all the other experts in the work to which he devoted himself. He virtually created that class of stocks which now became known in the exchange of London, and



PUBLIC SQUARE OF JOHANNESBURG.

and disreputable origin. His blood had in it the currents of Asia, Europe, America, and the islands of the seas. He was the son of a certain Isaacs, who was a dealer in old clothes in one of the eastern districts of London. Young Isaacs at the first thought to improve on his father's vocation by becoming a juggler. At length he took the name by which he was known, one half of which is Hibernian and the other Italian.

It was in his character of fakir that Barnato made his way to South Africa. His first degree above jugglery was taken when he became a diamond smuggler. In this profession, he acquired his first wealth while working in the Kimberley mine. But Barnato had undeveloped powers within him, and these reacted strongly under the envi-

ronment of the continent, as "Africans." Sometimes they were called "Kaffirs." The London speculators began to deal in "Kaffirs." That which was at first a little rotary centre of excitement became the roaring maelstrom which in the jargon of the stock exchanges was called the "Kaffir Circus." Whether it were circus or empire, one thing could not be doubted, and that was that Barnato was the king. He became immensely wealthy. Speculation in "Africans" ran higher. There was a time when as was alleged and believed Barnato, could he have realized on the stocks in his possession and under his control, would have been worth \$500,000,000. He came to be regarded as a prince, whose old wand of jugglery had transformed itself into a scerp-

tre by the touch of which the very earth seemed to be converted into fabulous heaps of gold and precious stones.

After the movement became defined throughout the Western nations to substitute the single standard of gold for all the other standards of ultimate redemption, Barnato's schemes became top-heavy, and he, more wise than many others, perceived an inevitable catastrophe. But against this he



BARNEY BARNATO.

hedged with more than a gambler's skill. He made himself immensely and solidly rich. He became a factor in the public life of the British Empire. His name was spoken with awe in the metropolis, and it was openly predicted that he would presently reach the House of Lords. Then came embarrassment, complication, and the breakage of prices among his stocks. The schemes which he had fathered for the most part went the way of all their predecessors; but Barnato was still a multimillionaire who could not be thrown from his pedestal. At this juncture, however, it was observed that his mind had become a storm centre, and his erratic conduct gave token of insanity. In this condition, he made a voyage from the Cape in the early summer of 1897, intending to reach London. Before getting out of the tropics, however, he brought his strange career to a sudden and tragical end, by jumping overboard. On the 14th of June, in the year just named, leaving only his coat and hat on deck, he took advantage of the early morning quiet and without observation buried himself in the sea.

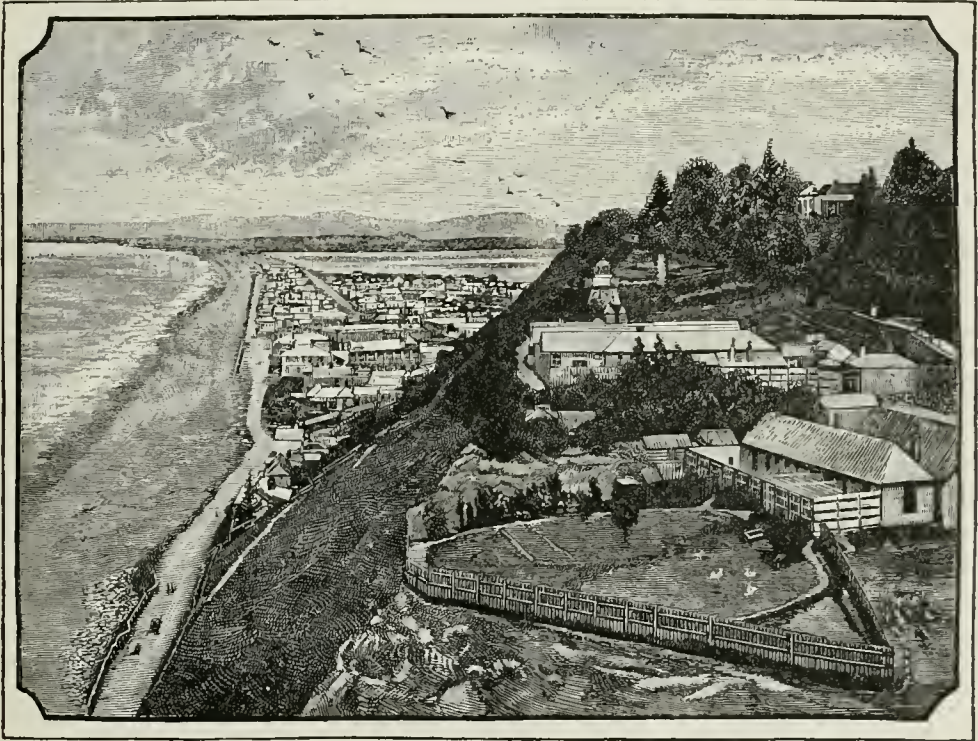
The period at which we have arrived in the history of Great Britain should be noted for the new and enlarged aspect which the empire presented. History could but take note of the fact of the completeness and vast outspreading dominion of British authority. Beginning with the nineteenth century we find the United Kingdom becoming the United Kingdom of Great Britain and *Ireland*. At the middle of the century, we note the confirmation of British ascendancy in India. Meanwhile the Australian settlements began to enlarge, and to present the aspect of states. After the discovery of gold, the colonies were rapidly developed. New Zealand entered upon the extraordinary career which she is now pursuing. Canada expanded. The states composing the British dominion in the New World were enlarged and other states were added until the Pacific was reached. The African colonies of the Empire also flourished.

There was in all the British outposts of civilization a peculiar vigor and rational evolution of enterprise and of institutions growing out of the sterling and cautious experiences of the English race. That which was experiment with the other nations was with Great Britain demonstration and success. The peculiarity of her colonial governments was—and is—that the newer are always better than the older. It is literally true that the last foreign plantation resulting from British enterprise will always prove on examination to be the best under the whole shelter of the empire; and at the same time, the central government—the government at Westminster, organized as it were around the very stem of the monarchy—is the worst of all. That is, the central government has been least able to eliminate the mediæval principles and practices which it inherited from the former line of kings. On the other hand, the new outlying states have shed the old principles and precedents and have organized on the basis of experience and political fitness. From this point of view, we may understand how it is that, eliminating the monarchical fiction and con-

sidering only the other political functions of the state, the government of New Zealand may be regarded as the freest and most rational in the world.

Such is the present aspect of the empire; but the question is, how shall Great Britain continue to rule the widely separated states which she has created, or has rather permitted to create themselves? The answer to this inquiry will bring the solution of one of

tach themselves from the crown, and enter into political union with other states. This solution has more rationality in the case of Canada than in the case of any other colony. The proximity of that country to the United States and the feasibility of annexation have long been remarked, and the question has been frequently agitated. The third solution is what may be called imperial federation. This implies the development of a complete



NAPIER, NEW ZEALAND.

the most important problems of modern civilization. Philosophically it would appear that one of three possible lines of development may be followed, and these three methods may be easily indicated. The first is independence; that is, the independence of the colonial parts of the British dominion. Canada, for example, may become independent of the British crown. Australia may become independent. So of the East Indian government. In the second place, the colonies of Great Britain may de-

velop local government in each of the dependencies, and the representation for imperial purposes of each colony in Parliament.

This principle and theory, it would seem, may be easily carried into effect, so far as the House of Commons is concerned. There is nothing insuperable, but everything befitting, in the proposition that the colonies should send their representatives to the House of Commons to participate in the legislation of the empire. It is only when the aristocratic element and the monar-

chical element in the British government are reached, that the difficulty of imperial federation is encountered. It may well be believed that a colonial aristocracy with its representatives in the House of Lords will never be created. To reach a result of this

in all probability be obviated by the government in the peculiar manner which that government has long followed, of yielding a little here, and modifying a little there—of conceding when concession is necessary, and refusing to concede when refusal seems most expedient—until a measure of homogeneity shall be reached throughout the empire.

The year 1897, toward its close, saw the military force of Great Britain thrown out in two directions. At this juncture, it was alleged that the emissaries of the Sultan endeavored to stir up a Mohammedan insurrection in India—as if to requite the government and people of Great Britain for their interference in the affairs of Armenia. The fanatics reasoned that the sympathy of the English nation for the insurgent Armenians ought to be balanced with the sympathy of the Turks for the rebel Hindus!

In this work, the Turkish representatives in the East had the hearty coöperation of Abdur-Rahman Khan, the Ameer of Afghanistan. The northwestern districts of British India lie adjacent to the Ameer's dominions. On account of a previous disturbance, a British garrison had been established at Chitral which was within the Afghan border. Lord Rosebery sought when the



ABDUR-RAHMAN KHAN, AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN.

character would be a manifest reversal of the tendencies of civilization. The probable future, however, of the colonies of Great Britain, now grown into prominent and promising states in several quarters of the world, is most likely to be on the line of federation. The difficulties which beset this system will

former difficulty was settled to have the outpost at Chitral withdrawn; but not so Lord Salisbury. On the contrary, when the second difficulty arose, it was decided to take possession of the Malakand Pass. Indeed, this important gateway had already been occupied, but reinforcements to the number

of several thousand were sent forward to strengthen the strategic point against the threatening movements of the hostile Afghan tribesmen.

The interest of the western nations, however, was chiefly centered on the British progress in the direction of Khartoum in Egypt. In no other part of the world was Great Britain so much concerned at this time as in getting possession of the city in which Gordon fell, and in reducing the Dervishes, who, under the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of El Mahdi, were in full tide of insurrection in the Soudan. Meanwhile the Anglo-Egyptian army had been thoroughly organized, disciplined, and equipped for the campaign, which was slowly waged, first to Abu Hamed, and then in the direction of Khartoum. The forces were under command of Sir Herbert Kitchener, whose name was now spoken with respect and confidence throughout the British dominions. The rebel army was commanded by Osman Digna, General of the Khalifa. A railroad was pushed forward from Wady Halfa to Abu Hamed, and when that point was reached, the navigation of the Nile lay open toward Khartoum. Step by step, the Anglo-Egyptian army made its way toward the upper Soudan, but the insurgent forces gave no sign of receding or giving up the contest.

It was in the last months of 1897, that the effort, made by the bimetallicists of the leading nations to gain the coöperation of Great Britain in restoring silver to the position which it formerly held in Europe and America, came to naught. The circumstances of the event were disgraceful to the government of Great Britain, and disappointing to that part of the American people who still believed in securing bimetallicism by international agreement. Representatives of the British government, qualified to speak by authority, had, in response to interrogatories from like representatives of the United States and France, given their assent to enter into negotiations with the American and French commissioners for the reopening of the mints to silver coinage. Senator Wolcott of Colorado had meanwhile been appointed at the head

of a commission to visit the European governments in the interest referred to. Associated with him were ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson and General Payne. There were superficial indications of a successful mission; but they who knew the temper and purpose of the great moneyed trusts of London were too shrewd to expect anything as the result of the movement.

After the English government had virtually promised coöperation, the great bankers of the metropolis, supported in the journalistic world by such doctrinaires as Sir Robert Giffen, compelled the British cabinet to change its position and to stand for monometallism. Two members of the ministry went over to a position contrary to that which they had previously occupied. Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary for India, changed front and marched the other way in a manner to excite the laughter of his opponents. The general result was that the Wolcott negotiations were futile. The embassy came to naught. The American commission returned at the close of the year without favor from either the bimetallicists or the monometallists of the United States; the former had never believed that Great Britain would join in the work of rehabilitating silver, even though the money famine among nearly three hundred million of her subject races should continue; the latter had ridiculed the Wolcott embassy as futile in both principle and policy.

The manner in which the European nations, actuated by competition and jealousy, oppose and thwart each other was once more illustrated in the first months of 1898, in their contest for ascendancy on the eastern confines of Asia. By this time, it had become apparent that the vast carcass of China was soon to be picked with the sharp beaks and talons of the western falcons. *Whose* beak should sink deepest into the huge Oriental prey, was the question of the hour. One great beak was that of the Russian eagle, but the British beak was thrust out for the prey. The bear and the lion glared at each other on the Chinese coast. Russia's policy of making her way down through Korea or China to the

open Pacific was resented and resisted by Great Britain with every obstacle which she could put in the way. As a part of this policy she sent a magnificent fleet under Admiral Seymour, who arrived in the Chinese waters in January of 1898. The squadron was concentrated at Chemulpo, near the coast of Korea. At the same time a smaller expedition was conducted into the same part of the world by Prince Henry of Prussia. German power was thus made in some sense to con-

Director of the Customs got control of the Treasury, and invested the funds according to the personal interests of himself and friends.

At this, the Russian representative bore down on the Korean government and procured Brown's dismissal. The latter, however, would not be discharged from the agreeable and profitable duties which he was performing. A Russian was nominally appointed in his stead. Diplomatic contro-



CAPITAL OF KOREA—THE OLD PALACE AT SEOUL.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

front the British power as the latter confronted the advance of Russia from the land side toward the Pacific waters.

The immediate occasion of this display of force was the culmination of an intrigue at the Korean capital. This intrigue began with the success of Great Britain, or rather with the success of a British financier in insinuating himself into Korea, and getting the appointment from the government of Minister of Customs. This was in all respects a transaction consonant with the British character. The Englishman in question was Mr. J. McLeavy Brown, who from being

very arose, and the discussion resulted in an agreement that *both* the foreigners should have charge of the Korean finances. Before this agreement was reached, however, the English fleet arrived on the scene, and Japan, taking sides with England, sent her contingent of ships to join Seymour's squadron. Russia thus found herself confronted with a force which prevented, for the time being, her further ascendancy in Korea.

At the outbreak of the war between the United States and Spain, the sympathies and moral support of the principal European nations were quite distinctly expressed as

between the parties to the contest. Great Britain took advantage of the occasion to lend her powerful voice to the United States. Her attitude was unequivocal. Every reason existed for her policy in favoring the American Republic and the American people. It was to her interest to do so, and where the interest of Great Britain is there will her heart be also.

In the first place the enormous investments which British capitalists had made in America, and their eagerness to secure the recognition of the British standard of values, that is, the single gold standard of money; the concern of the English people to have the Americans become a part of the international system of the world, to have colonial dependencies and trading interests around all seas and shores like herself; the hope of bringing the Americans to some such filial relations as those existing between Canada and Australia, on the one hand, and the mother empire on the other,—all these forces conspired to bring the strenuous support of Great Britain to the United States at the outbreak of the war.

But the other nations of western Europe were not so. France and Germany and Italy all expressed a measure of sympathy for Spain. The bonded debt of the last-named country was held in large part by French capitalists, who could not afford to have the credit of the Spanish government impaired. The ethnic tie, by which the Latin races are united somewhat in the internationality of the age, bound Spain not a little to the French, the Portuguese, and the Italians. Germany seems to have been actuated by a certain animosity long cherished in that country toward the American Republic. There had been little in common between the German Empire and the United States, and that little has been diminished since the accession of Wilhelm II., whose mediæval pretensions have awaked a smile of derision among the liberty-loving peoples of the world. In the present instance, however, it was the surly spirit of dislike between Germany and Great Britain which led the former to take sides with Spain—for the British sympathy had gone the other way.

The feelings and preferences of the European nations with respect to the contestants in the American war with Spain were greatly exaggerated and misrepresented by the journalism of the two continents. How could any truth issue from such a source? Nor had there ever been in past times an epoch in which the falsehood, misrepresentation, and manufactured intelligence, floating in the channels of journalism, rendered the streams of information so turbid and the atmosphere so lurid with sensation and violence as in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The newspapers of both Europe and America seemed eager to precipitate universal war. Every rumor was fanned to a flame, and the flame was reported as a conflagration.

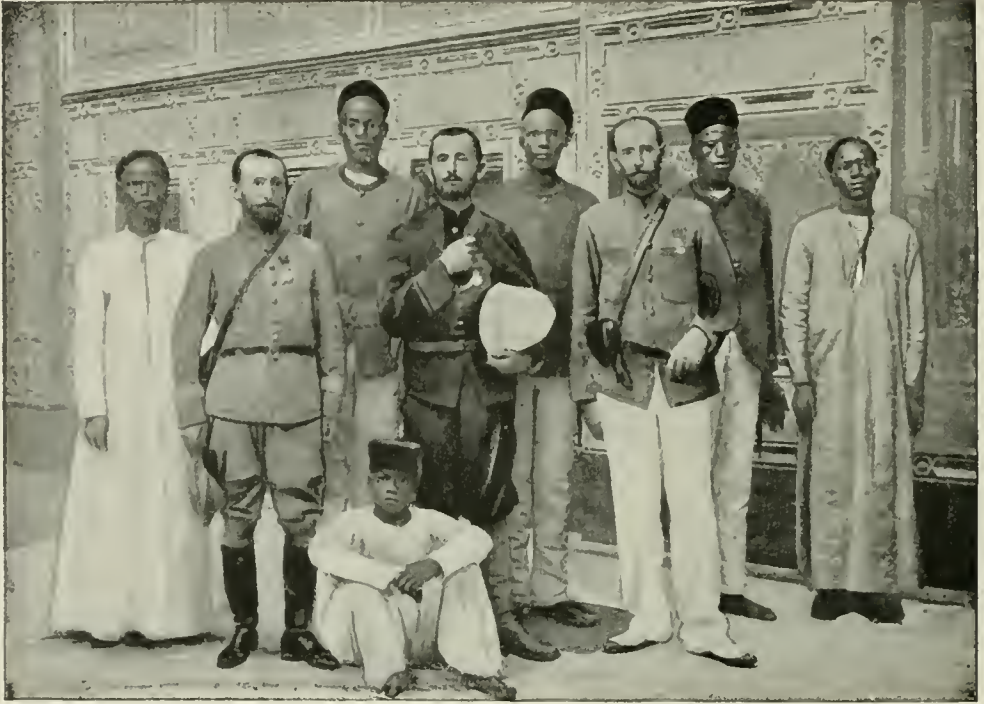
It was in this manner that the strained relations of England and France in the first half of 1898 were represented. It was declared and believed that England and France, taking sides the one with the United States and the other with Spain, would speedily come to battle. A cause and motive for war was discovered in the relations of France and England in Africa. In the western part of that continent there was a disputed boundary, the consideration of which was at the time in the hands of an Anglo-French commission.

In the eastern part of the continent there was an incident growing out of the dispute, which for the nonce was thought to threaten serious consequences. While the boundary commissioners were at work in the country west of Abyssinia and eastward from the French Congo, some of the French engineers struck out as if with a deliberate design to include a portion of territory with Fashoda, which they could only claim on the ground that a European nation in Africa is privileged to grab whatever it can find unoccupied.

The policy of Great Britain at this juncture was to control unequivocally the Nile region, from the delta of Egypt to the upper tributaries of the river, under or beyond the equator. The control was to be "unitary," that is, single, and this to the end that when Cecil Rhodes should make his way northward with

his railroad through more than nineteen hundred miles of territory to Cairo, he should encounter no such obstacle as a foreign possession. This rather facile French aggression in Fashoda aroused the ire of the lion, and he roared in his usual manner. Hereupon, the French drew back, and the incident

enjoying himself at Cannes. Lord Salisbury, who as Prime Minister was the visible head of the government, and as secretary of foreign affairs, was responsible for keeping the peace between Great Britain and the other nations, was sojourning at Beaulieu on the Riviera. This left only Mr. Balfour to take care of the



MAJOR MARCHAND AND THE FASHODA EXPEDITION.

ended with an outgiving to the effect that the French engineers who had attempted to spread France territorially toward Fashoda had been acting with their trial lines only in a private, and not in a public, capacity.

Thus at bottom the two governments were not seriously disturbed. It was one of the amusing incidents of the time, that at the very period when the newspapers and reviews, both European and American, were furnishing the public with the outlines of an imminent Franco-English war, nearly all the head representatives of the British monarchy were visiting in France and enjoying the hospitality of French society! The Queen at this time was at her favorite retreat of Cimiez in the south of France. The Prince of Wales was

home government at a period when, according to the organs of public information, Great Britain and France were on the eve of war.¹

¹ It was at this juncture that certain European correspondents made a rush for the office of M. Hanotaux, the French minister of foreign affairs. They would know of him whether a war with England was sure to come. They wished to inform a waiting world how soon hostilities would begin, and what preparation France was making for the conflict. M. Hanotaux rather laconically replied:

"As for our foreign relations, I can affirm that they are good with everybody. We have the best relations with all the powers. In certain foreign papers we are represented as having less cordial relations with England. Queen Victoria is at Nice, the object of our most respectful solicitude; the Prince of Wales is at Cannes, and Lord Salisbury arrives in France on Monday. That is my sole reply, and I hope this triple stay will be as prolonged and as agreeable as possible."

This preservation of the *entente cordiale* between the two powers was due to the comparatively easy and wholly amicable settlement in a diplomatical way of the Anglo-French boundary dispute in western Africa. For some time the two nations had gone on without a definite establishment of the line of demarkation between their possessions in the Dark Continent. The bound-

There had been an adjustment of the boundary line in the region indicated by a commission of inquiry in 1890, but that settlement was now set aside, and a new line established, running west from Lake Chad approximately along the fourteenth degree of north latitude, encroaching somewhat on the French territory, turning southward through the countries of the Upper Niger,



THE FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1898—LINE OF PROGRESS TOWARD FASHODA.

ary in dispute was principally that between French Dahomey and British Lagos. This line was reexplored by four commissioners whose work was submitted to the Anglo-French commission appointed by the two governments to decide the issue. The dispute related to a region of territory lying between the fourth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude, and the fourth degree west and the fourteenth degree east of longitude from Greenwich.

and again dividing the region between the longitude of Greenwich and the country of the Ivory coast. On the whole, the advantage of the readjustment remained with Great Britain, but the settlement was acceptable to France, and the incident of the dispute was at an end.

About the same time, Great Britain made another territorial advance by her acquisition of an important district of country on the mainland of China adjacent to the island of

Hong Kong. About two hundred square miles of terra firma were thus secured, having Mirs Bay on the one side and Deep Bay on the other. Great Britain thus gained a possession on the Chinese coast fully sufficient to form a basis for all her future operations in the vicinity of Hong Kong. She got the territory under a lease for ninety-nine years—but this is equivalent in her case

Wady Halfa, first to Abu Hamed, and afterward to Berber. The great army of fanatical Dervishes under command of the Khalifa opposed the progress of the British army, which numbered about twenty-five thousand men, mostly native Egyptians, whom the drillmasters and sergeants had converted from their degradation into the stature and discipline of British soldiers.



HARBOR AND CITY OF HONG KONG.

to a perpetual cession; for when in human history did Great Britain relinquish a lease, or any other title to a strategic point? The object of the government in procuring the new district was to erect fortifications and to create a military and naval base against which no power could prevail.

Most important of all was the continued and conspicuous success of the British arms in Egypt. In that country, as we have already seen, the Anglo-Egyptian army, under command of General Sir Herbert Kitchener, advanced slowly but firmly from

Gradually, General Kitchener made his way across the Nubian desert by the railway until he found himself in the immediate front of the Khalifa's army. Berber was at that time the terminus of the railway beginning at the first cataract of the Nile and including in its course the other cataracts. From Berber onward, the Nile might be used as the auxiliary of British progress. Khartoum is distant from Berber in a southwesterly direction, as the eagle flies, a hundred and ninety miles. The former town, having been the Khalifa's capital of Nubia, or the Soudan

(if we adopt the modern phraseology), was destroyed after the death of Gordon, in 1885, and the Khalifa reëstablished his capital more strategically on the left bank of the Nile opposite the confluence of the Blue Nile.

This new seat of power was named Omdurman, and it was against this that the Anglo-Egyptian army advanced in the early months of 1898. The movement was obscured by the distance of the scene, by the inaccessibility of the country, and (on our side of the Atlantic) by the absorption of public interest in the war which had just broken out between the United States and Spain. The slow but sure progress of General Kitchener up the river continued until the 8th of April, when he was confronted at Atbara by the army of Dervishes, the two divisions of which were commanded by Osman Digna and the Emir Mahmoud.

On September 2d, at Omdurman, a great battle ensued in which the Anglo-Egyptian army was completely victorious. The qualities of the new soldiery which British discipline had created out of the debased Egyptian materials came out in bold relief. The superiority of the equipment of General Kitchener's forces was manifested from the beginning of the battle. His machine guns were set in fatal operation against the Dervishes. About two thousand of the Khalifa's men were left dead on the field and in the retreat. The total estimated loss was hardly less than five thousand killed, with an unknown proportion of wounded. It is in the man-

ner of the Dervishes, when they are defeated, to recede into the desert whither no history can follow them. The losses of the Egyptian army were only sixty killed, with between three hundred and four hundred



GENERAL SIR HERBERT KITCHENER.

wounded. The victory was so overwhelming as to end the war, at least for the current year, though Osman Digna, escaping from the scene, was able to gather the wrecks of the Khalifa's forces, and to save them from extermination.

One certain result of the campaign was the opening of the way for the extension of

the Egyptian railway from Berber to Khartoum, and thence through Kordofan to the regions of the Upper Nile. It should not be forgotten that one of the primary motives in British policy was the construction of a through line of railway traversing the whole of Eastern Africa from Cairo to Cape Colony.

be doubted that this purpose of a railway, traversing the whole of the Dark Continent on the east, will be speedily consummated. What a spectacle to behold a modern railway train moving forward under its hood of smoke and whiff of cinders from the land of the Pharaohs through ancient Ethiopia,



BATTLE OF OMDURMAN—FIGHT FOR THE KHALIFA'S STANDARD.

It is in the light of this purpose that the thinly disguised movement of Cecil Rhodes, using Jameson's raiders as the cat's-paw of the enterprise, must be understood. It was the hope of Rhodes, moving northward, to approximate and finally meet the corresponding movement of the British in the Soudan making their way to the south. Nor can it

further and further, until the head waters of the Nile are passed, and until, descending through the region of the great Nyanzas and Kaffirland, it reaches its southernmost station at that Cape which was aforetime the Cape of Storms until Da Gama in the ever memorable year 1498 converted it into Good Hope!

It was the carrying forward of this railway policy that led, in 1897-98, to the rumor of impending hostilities between Great Britain and France. The country of the Upper Nile, just north of the convergence of those tributaries which issue from the immediate region of the equator, is an inviting part of Eastern Africa. To the east, lie Gallaland and Abyssinia; to the west, are Kordofan and Dar Nuba. Still further to the west is French Africa. Out of the latter region, in the direction of Fashoda, came that French exploring expedition,

which to the excitable imagination of the age appeared to foretoken a clash between the two great nations of western Europe. How should Great Britain witness with equanimity the cutting off of her coveted line of all-through railway from Cairo to Cape Town? How, on the other hand, should France be interdicted from carry-

BATTLE OF OMDURMAN—FINAL CHARGE OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN TROOPS ON THE LAST OF MAHMOUD'S ZEKARAS.



ing her enterprise through the upper Soudan in the direction of the Gulf of Aden? Nevertheless, as we have already seen,

previously remarked, without a ripple on the surface of history.

The passing of William E. Gladstone from the scene of his earthly activities produced a great impression on the British public and throughout the world. By far the greater number of aged statesmen make their *exerunt* from the stage with little observation; only a few are conspicuous unto the final day. Among these Gladstone was peculiarly exceptional. He held his powers and his influence over the public purpose with little weakening or decline to the very close of the scene.

With the completion of his eighty-eighth year, in December of 1897, it could but be noted that the veteran's sun was at the setting. His great vitality, however, bore him onward to the 19th of May in the following year. A painful cancerous affection of the face, having its center in the nasal bones, was the agency by which death came. The statesman passed away quietly at the Castle of Harwarden, from which his body was borne to the near-by church of Chester, where modest obsequies were held in the manner of the English Church. Subsequently the remains were conveyed to London, where, by Act of Parliament, they were interred in Westminster Abbey in the presence of a throng of the most distinguished men and women of the empire.

Historically, Gladstone stands not unmarked with honor in the group of politico-literary publicists beginning with Marcus Cato and ending with himself. The group includes, in his own country, Palmerston, Brougham, and Wellington, and in America, Jefferson and the elder



MAP SHOWING THE BRITISH OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN, 1822, 1898.

the course of the latter nation led no farther than an exploring expedition to which Great Britain could not object. The "Fashoda incident" passed, as has been

Adams. Of these, Brougham and Adams were nonagenarians. The youngest of the group, at the date of death, was Palmerston, who died at the age of eighty-one.

We have already noted on former pages¹ the rise, in the year 1898, of a strong sentiment of sympathy and common purpose between Great Britain and the United States. This feeling began rather from the British side. It was coincident with the beginning of the Spanish-American war. The decline and death of Gladstone called forth a great

Bright held the foremost place. Bright was thoroughly American in his opinions and thoroughly courageous in the expression of them. American writers began to note the greatness of the character of Cromwell, of many Whig statesmen of the eighteenth century, of Wilberforce, and of the British radical poets who have sung in their



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

deal of American eulogy. The sentiment of admiration extended to other great Englishmen, who, more than Gladstone, had in times past spoken and acted favorably to the American Republic. In the list of such, John

rough way the songs of freedom and progress.

The British writers of the period took up our favorite characters, and published panegyrics on Washington and Lincoln and Grant and Lee. Mutual admiration was fanned, and the bards broke out with their rhapso-

¹ See pages 173-175.

dies. William Watson, and Alfred Austin, the new poet laureate, were answered in America by Robert Underwood Johnson, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and other American poets of first rank, who strove to express the prevailing aspiration of Great Britain and the United States for a closer touch, and a more cordial fraternity.

Among these expressions of poetic enthusiasm rising into the realm of race affinities and international relations, we may select the following sonnet by Walter Malone, as a fitting conclusion to this brief section of the history of the British Empire.

“Beneath the arctic peaks of silent snow ;
Through tropic isles enwreathed with orange blooms ;
Where brown Gibraltar like a giant looms ;
Where furnaces of red Sabara glow ;
In spicy groves, where softest breezes blow ;
In tangled Hindu jungles’ deepest glooms ;
By mummied Pharaohs’ immemorial tombs,—
The Saxon legions conquer every foe.

So Alfred’s spear and Nelson’s sword shall be
Guards for the flag that Washington unfurled ;
With might of Cromwell, Lincoln, Blake, and Lee
Our gauntlet at invaders shall be hurled ;
Lords of the land and emperors of the sea,
The eagle and the lion face the world !”



INTERMENT OF GLADSTONE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER CLXII.—FRANCE.



THE opening of the year 1889 showed France afflicted with internal dissensions of a character so turbulent that the downfall of the Republic was threatened. The public discontent, made furious by partisan enmities, seemed about to bear General Boulanger to the chief power, so great was the effect of the feebleness of some of the Republic's leaders, so great the violence of others. The sentiment of the nation was significantly revealed in the elections in Paris, when the Plebiscitary candidate received two hundred and forty-five thousand votes to his Radical adversary's one hundred and sixty-two thousand. The result of the election was a real calamity to the alarmed Government, and the disastrous situation was intensified by the scandalous collapse of the Panama Canal Company, and the breakdown of important speculative efforts in other directions, so that the public credit was rudely shaken, and the sum of individual losses was enormous.

Floquet's Cabinet, however, attacked the pretensions of Boulanger, and soon an order for the prosecution of the turbulent officer was issued. General Boulanger refused to put the matter to the issue of a trial, and fled incontinently to Belgium, and thence to England. Yet the premier Floquet failed to obtain the confidence of the people, and was defeated on an issue of little importance. Thereupon, M. Tirard formed a Cabinet of a neutral sort, chiefly to preside over the Exhibition. When General Boulanger by his flight declared the weakness of his cause, the Departments of the Interior and of Justice dared to wage war against him and his aids, M. Rochefort and M. Dillon. Ultimately the Senate found all the accused men

guilty, and sentenced them, in their absence, to deportation.

Apart from the distractions of political broils, France had much cause for rejoicing; above all else, in the Exhibition. This opened in May. By the European monarchies it was regarded as an avowed demonstration against the monarchical system, and for that reason the only official allies of importance in the French effort were the United States and Switzerland. Nevertheless, the Exposition was a splendid success, many of its features winning extraordinary favor, pre-eminently the Eiffel Tower, although this marvel was the recipient of much aesthetic criticism. The Prince of Wales was among the visitors, as were the King of Greece, the Shah, and many other notables. The total of the visitors was six and one-half millions, and of this number fully one-fourth were from foreign countries.

In the September appeal to the constituencies, the Boulangists, the Bonapartists, and the Monarchists allied themselves in vain. The internal feuds of the Republicans were suppressed for the time being, and the polls showed plainly that France had had enough of turmoil and adventure. The Republicans in the new Chamber numbered three hundred and twenty-five, while all the Opposition counted only two hundred and forty-six, the Boulangists having dwindled to forty-one. The improving temper of the day was displayed in the first act of the Assembly, which was the rejecting of a proposal to revise the Constitution.

In foreign matters, France was more tranquil than at home, although the strained relations with Italy continued. As to Germany, there was no real deviation from the apparent peace policy.

The deaths of the year included those of General Faidherbe, who distinguished himself by his victories over the Germans in

1870 and 1871; Admiral Jaures; M. Chevreul, the centenarian chemist; M. Scherer, critic and senator; M. Felix Pyat, the politician; Dr. Ricord, the Nestor of French physicians; and M. Augier, the dramatist.

The new year saw the death of Boulangism, and its end caused a division in the Plebiscitary party, caused in part, too, by the publication of official corruption in the various departments. Early in the year a

Cardinal Lavigerie, to the effect that if the Republicans would cease their severe anti-clerical policy, all classes in the country could work harmoniously under the institutions as they then were. The truth of this was witnessed by the success of M. de Freycinet's ministry, which followed that of M. Tirard, in its moderate course. The financial condition was, however, most unsatisfactory, and the discussion of tariff legislation be-



EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1889—CENTRAL DOME WITH ELECTRICAL FOUNTAIN.

fleeting popularity was given to the Monarchical party by the imprisonment of the Comte de Paris's son and heir; but this was more than offset soon afterward by the evidences that showed Boulanger's popularity to have been won chiefly with money contributed by the Monarchists, and by the public statement, injudiciously made by the Comte de Paris, that he regarded as proper any means to weaken the Republic. The effect of his failure to deny the charges of bribery was apparent in the declaration of

came as important as it was in the United States.

The most conspicuous deaths of the year were those of Alphonse Karr, the author; Octave Feuillet, the romantic writer; Chatrian, Erekmann's collaborator; Gayarre, the singer; and Mademoiselle Samary, the actress.

In 1891, France went wild with enthusiasm over a Russian friendship, and thereby the rest of Europe was seriously dismayed. The French fleet was sent to Cronstadt,

where the Russian Government, laying aside its prejudice against a Republic, received the naval officers with splendid hospitality. This and other causes seemed to point to an alliance, both offensive and defensive, between the two nations, and the belief was a matter of rejoicing to the whole French people. The general confidence was hardly lessened when M. de Giers went out of his way to meet the Italian Prime Minister at Monza. In the status of the Chamber, the Government's policy was not without a strengthening effect.

In the meantime the suicide of General Boulanger, on his mistress's grave near Brussels, reduced his faction to a memory merely, and the Royalist party, led by Count d'Haussonville, suffered also by the withdrawal of the Clerical wing, although renewed Radical measures against the clergy soon drove the Catholics once more, toward the close of the year, to favor the Monarchists. The chief excellence of the Government was displayed by its firmness in defying the mobs that threatened with violence to prevent the performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin*, and in the restraint of anarchistic terrorism and political conspiracies. The necessity for firmness was well shown at the May-day celebrations, when the rioting was only checked by the efforts of the troops, and, at Fournies, not without bloodshed.

In the military department, M. de Freycinet's endeavors won for him admiration at home and abroad. Indeed, the condition of the country was better than before for some time. Trade was fairly prosperous, and while the financial condition was distressful, the panic was checked. The Radicals were,

however, discontented, and waged war against M. Constans for his prompt energy against the mobs and his removal of Marat's statue; and once or twice their attempts nearly succeeded in overturning the Ministry. It was certainly for their conciliation that the Archbishop of Aix was



GENERAL JEAN MARIE BOULANGER.

censured by the Government for his attitude of criticism concerning the stopping of pilgrimages to Rome. The Government issued a decree against such pilgrimages, in view of the attacks made on the French pilgrims by the Italian populace, who believed—rightly or wrongly—that the visitors had insulted the tomb of Victor Emmanuel in the Pantheon.

The chief calamity of the year came from the destructive floods of the autumn. The number and importance of the deaths were much beyond those of any other in recent years. Former President Grévy; the Pretender, Prince Napoleon, commonly known as "Plomplon;" the Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who drew a pension from the English Civil

ist outrages in the spring, the Chamaux strike in the autumn, and the Panama scandal. Freycinet's Cabinet fell in February, as the result of the Premier's efforts to rid himself of his powerful colleague, M. Constans, who aided his chief by engaging in a disgraceful scuffle with a Boulangist deputy, afterward a fugitive from the Panama investigations, but, unfortunately for Freycinet, he drew that statesman with him in his fall.

for Freycinet, he drew that statesman with him in his fall.

The new Premier was M. Loubet, a man of no particular political renown, but known as an intimate personal friend of President Carnot. His administration was, however, fairly successful until he was overwhelmed with his fellows in the Panama storms. The whole world was horrified by the series of dynamite outrages that occurred in the spring and warned Paris of the secret poison within its depths. The authorities promptly used every endeavor to intimidate the lawless by the trial and execution of Ravachol; but similar crimes were committed in the autumn, despite all the vigilance of the police. Yet the real danger to France was in the political corruption that the revelations of 1892 laid bare. The disclosures in connection with the Panama matter showed the fact that a group of senators, deputies, and ex-ministers was wholly dishonest, and worked only for



THE PANTHEON, PARIS.

List for his scientific labors: Bishop Freppel, the Clerical leader in the Chamber; Baron Haussman, the architect of modern Paris; Meissonier, the artist; Theodore de Banville, the poet; and Du Boisgobey, romancist, were among the illustrious who passed away.

Despite the fact that there were two changes of Government in 1892, the greatest excitement in France arose over the anarch-

their own gain at whatever cost to the state. The truth was so revolting that a vehement attack on Republican institutions resulted, and the general yearning toward securing honesty in office was signally displayed in the selection of M. Ribot for the post of Premier. He had been Foreign Minister in the last two Cabinets, and had shown able qualities in that position; vastly more, in



JEAN LOUIS ERNEST MEISSONIER.

view of the shocking disclosures, he had been unquestionably honest.

In 1892 occurred two deaths that were greatly mourned,—those of Cardinal Lavigerie, the greatest of France's contemporary prelates, and Ernest Rénan, the best of prose writers and the most brilliant of critics in the field of religious history.

Once more, in 1893, the Cabinet, under Ribot, was reconstructed in order to purge it of the Panama corruption. Something of the constant political turmoil in France may be understood by the fact that the new Cabinet was the twenty-eighth in less than twenty-three years of the Republic's history. In the Senate, in March, M. Ferry succeeded M. Le Royer, who resigned after eleven years of office, but Ferry's death, soon after, gave the place to M. Challemeil-Lacour. M. Casimir-Périer obtained the presidency of the Chamber. The new ministry failed on a constitutional question, and a Radical Cabinet was formed under M. Dupuy. An unfortunate incident in the election was a riot at Aignes Mortes, in which thirty Italians were killed. When the news reached Italy, there was rioting directed against French residents in Rome, and

diplomatic relations between the countries were much disturbed in consequence. In the outcome of the affair the mayor of Aignes Mortes and the prefect of Rome were both suspended from office. In September there was a strike in the department of the North in which the miners used every device, including dynamite, to insure success; but, after a conflict of forty-six days, the companies triumphed. A pleasant variation in the general trouble of the year was the visit of the Russian squadron to Toulon in October, and the fêtes that greeted the foreign officers. Every courtesy within the power of the French was extended to their guests. The President visited the vessels, and on the same day the Czar visited two French warships at Copenhagen. The whole affair was looked on by France, and indeed Europe generally, as demonstrating an alliance between the two nations.

The temper of the anarchists, however,



ERNEST RENAN.

was not improved by the fêtes, as was shown at the opening of the December session, when a bomb was thrown from the strangers' gallery, causing wild excitement, and injuring many in the gallery, including its thrower, who was taken and executed. Naturally, the legislative body multiplied enactments looking toward a suppression of such dangers. External affairs were more satisfactory. In the course of the year the French managed an ingenious series of intrigues against Siam,

raised the tariff on Russian imports at the same time that Germany was reducing it. A fact of far more importance, however, marked this year: for, in January, the Pope openly revealed his resolve to support the Republic, abandoning his ancient policy of working for the Royalist cause. Another matter of religious importance was the declaration of the Chamber supporting the Ministry in its decision for freedom of religious worship and observances. The mayor of St. Denis forbade the display of any religious emblem in funeral processions; but M. Spuller, the Minister of Public Worship, annulled the mayor's order, and in this ruling he was upheld. Severe measures were taken in the Legislature against the anarchist disturbers; but, in spite of all efforts, an explosion occurred near the St. Lazare railway station, and many were injured. The perpetrator was caught and executed, and the author of two other attempted outrages perished in the premature explosion of a bomb he was carrying. The close of the year was marked by an extraordinary political inversion; M. Casimir-Périer's Ministry was ousted by the Radicals, and M. Dupuy formed one in its place. Thereupon M. Casimir-Périer succeeded M. Dupuy as President of the



PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.

and by these, with a little intimidation, forced the reluctant King to cede to France all rights to his territory lying east of the Mekong River, including the islands in the river, and to pay a heavy indemnity.

The most conspicuous death of the year was that of Marshal McMahon, ex-President of the Republic, although the whole nation felt the loss of Taine, the author, of Jules Ferry, and of Gounod, the composer.

Curiously enough, in view of the cordial relations with Russia, the Chamber, in 1894,

Chamber of Deputies. An incident that attracted much attention was the prosecution of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was convicted of having sold State documents from the war office to Germany.

The calamity of 1894 is yet to be recorded, a calamity that plunged France in profound grief and horrified all the world. This was the assassination of President Sadi-Carnot. President Carnot paid a formal visit to the Exposition Coloniale at Lyons, and June 24, on his way from the Bourse de Commerce, where

he had attended a banquet, to the theater, where he was to be present at a gala performance, he was stabbed by a workman, Santo Caserio, an Italian anarchist. The wounded President died within three hours. The whole nation was frantic with rage and grief. In Lyons, on the night of the tragedy, mobs raged in the Italian quarter of the city, and for a time it was feared that international enmities might culminate as a result of the crime of Caserio. M. Casimir-Perier succeeded to the Presidency, Burdeau taking his place as President of the Chamber. The funeral of the murdered man occurred July 1, in Paris, and was one of the most striking pageants, of modern times.

Another remarkable death in France was that of M. William Henry Waddington, born in France, but the son of English parents. He was Prime Minister under President Grévy, and he was distinguished as being the only Englishman who ever held that office.

Other deaths that should be noticed were those of Maillet, the sculptor; Maxime du Camp, academician and author of the History of the Paris Commune; Leconte de Lisle, academician; the Comte de Paris; and Vicomte Ferdinand de Lesseps, made and marred by his canal schemes. It is gratifying to know that, in the last days of this man of energy, he was spared the shame that came upon his name. It was so contrived that no whisper of the ruin of all his hopes, and the ignominy attached to their failure, came to his ears.

In the following year the Cabinet of M. Bourgeois failed, and M. Ribot succeeded to the Premiership only to fail in his turn and to be succeeded by M. Bourgeois. This occurred under the Presidency of M. François Felix Faure, who was elected to be the Chief Executive of France on the resignation of M. Casimir-Périer, in January. Practically, all of the sessions were occupied with the investigation of scandals, chiefly the Panama and one concerning the Southern Railway. The only event of wholesome flavor was the adoption of plans for an Exposition in 1900, and the voting of a first appropriation. Many measures were undertaken against the anarchists; but the activities of the police did not

prevent the sending of a bomb, by post, to the Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, and its exploding disastrously in the hands of his secretary, who opened the evil parcel.

Among the famous who died in 1895 were Canrobert, last of the marshals of France; Pasteur, the bacteriologist; Dumas Fils, novelist and dramatist; and Bartholemy Saint-



M. CASIMIR-PÉRIER.

Hilaire, the statesman. These were followed in 1896 by M. Floquet, formerly Premier; Paul Verlaine, the genius of decadent poets; Arsène Houssaye, the writer; Jean Baptiste Léon Say, the statesman; and Jules Simon, the publicist. In this last year the most important political changes were the election of M. Loubet to the Presidency of the Senate, and the fall of the Bourgeois Ministry, M. Méline forming the new Cabinet.

The anti-Semitic movement in Europe manifested itself strongly in France in the first months of 1895. The real philosophy of this phase of half-political agitation in modern times is difficult to apprehend. Anti-Semitism, like the melancholy of Jacques, is a compound of many elements mixed in the most intricate manner. First

of all, it is a race antipathy pure and simple. The prejudice of the Middle Ages has flowed down with the blood of mankind and mingled with all the streams of modern thought. The races of the West dealt cruelly with the sons of Israel for several centuries. The

it has been exposed. Historical prejudice against the Jews has for a long time broken out periodically, and the anti-Semitic agitation in Russia and Austria, and finally in France in the year 1895, was only the last in the long series of spasmodic exhibitions of race prejudice.



VICOMTE FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

people of Jacob became a survival from the persecution, outrages, hatreds, and oppressions of centuries of time.

It is in this light that the peculiar qualities of the Hebrew people are to be interpreted and understood. Their ascendancy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century springs from a germ of power which has been nurtured by the very rigors to which

of time, the Hebrew has been making his way to the seats of power in the financial world. He has now arrived. His control of the money supply and distribution is hardly any longer disputed in any of the capitals of Europe or America. The ascendancy of the Jews in the money marts of the world was for a while resisted and resented. It is not any longer resisted—for that were useless—but

it is resented still. *And this is the secret of the modern situation.* Since the imminent failure of the Baring Brothers of London in 1890, there has not been a single financial institution in the world capable of disputing the money sovereignty of the Israelites. This is true not only in London and Amsterdam, but in Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris; it is true also in every commercial center of America.

The Hebrew has his monarchy. It is the kingdom of gold. While he controls that one commodity of the earth, and compels all nations to measure their values by it, he will continue to be what he is—the emperor of mankind. In that event, the subjects of the emperor will continue to cry out against him, as they did in 1895. At that time Paris, as much as Vienna, rang with the “Hep-hep” cry of contempt which had been raised in many influential parts of Europe against the Jews.

In the next place we may note the logic of this great movement. It may be said that all socialistic Europe and America has joined in the crusade. But why should socialism array itself against Hebraism? For the very reason already indicated. Socialism opposes itself to the monarchy of money. The monarchy of money is under the almost absolute dominion of the Jewish race. That race being without a country of its own and being diffused through all other important countries of the globe, has to reign (if at all) by peculiar agencies. It cannot reign territorially. It cannot reign politically—except by indirection. But having mastered the money craft of mankind, the Hebrew can reign by *that*.

The enterprise of making money to be the central fact in every civilized society of the world has proved successful. The success, however, has entailed on the successful the enmity of the human race outside of Israel. Thus in the year referred to, the rage of the Parisians against the Jewish race burned not a little because Paris is at heart the most socialistic metropolis in the world and because the money lender cannot be a socialist. He must be an imperialist. In this light the

whole agitation must be understood. This fact is the secret of the otherwise inexplicable animosity which the French people exhibited in the case of Captain Dreyfus.

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, was, in 1894, charged with selling secret information regarding the army to the representatives of foreign states, particularly to the secret agents of the German empire and the kingdom of Italy. The charge was sufficiently serious. The prosecutors and persecutors of Dreyfus may still urge this in justification, that the acts charged against the accused were, if justly charged, the profoundest and most virulent form of treason. Captain Dreyfus was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to transportation for life. Against him, the hatred of the Parisians was kindled to the point of conflagration, and for a while, it was virtually worth the life of any Frenchman to speak a word in favor of the condemned officer, or even in criticism of the process by which his conviction had been secured.

Dreyfus was sent to Cayenne, in French Guiana, and the report went abroad that he was confined in an iron cage! It might well seem that a personal incident of this kind would soon pass from observation and remark; but not so. The conditions were such as to make the question national and historical. For many years the French army had been the pride of the nation. To that army the people looked as the ultimate weapon with which to avenge themselves on Germany. The idea that there could be treason or disloyalty or anything less than deathless devotion in high army circles, seemed to the Parisians preposterous, odious, damnable! What therefore should they do when the integrity of the army was attacked or assailed—what but effervesce with sheer rage and fury?

For a while the incident seemed likely to end in silence; but the evidence on which Dreyfus was convicted was not made public. For the trial was secret and inquisitorial. At length M. Sheurer-Kestner, vice president of the Senate, a man of probity and

good sense, ventured to express his distrust and his condemnation of the method by which Dreyfus had been condemned. About the same time, namely in 1895, the finger of suspicion was somehow pointed at a culprit other than Alfred Dreyfus as the treacherous person in selling the secrets of the

face, now submerged for a moment, and again bubbling up in the journals until, in the early part of 1898, the accusers of Esterhazy (who were the friends of Dreyfus) succeeded in forcing an investigation of Colonel Esterhazy's conduct, but the investigation was held secretly, and when the Colonel was

exculpated, the rage broke out afresh. The scandal rose higher, and the administration became involved. At times there were symptoms of insurrection and revolution.

At this juncture, M. Émile Zola, the novelist, brought his wit and sarcasm into the cause, and taking up the plea of Scheurer-Kestner drove home against the government by publishing an attack on the whole proceeding, charging that there had been a conspiracy from the start. This startling communication, published in *L'Aurore*, was made in an open letter addressed to M. Felix Faure, President of the Republic. In the diatribe Zola attacked in particular General Bilot, Minister of War, whom he accused of having conspired to destroy Dreyfus in order to conceal the rotten condition of the French army.

On the publication of this charge, the uproar broke out anew. The anti-Semitic features of the controversy appeared in full force. The leading Hebrews of Paris had to be protected by a guard.



CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS.

army. This other was Colonel Esterhazy. But the imputation was hotly resented by the enraged powers under which Dreyfus had suffered. Efforts were made to suppress the "scandal"—as the whole business was now designated—but the affair would not down.

For more than two years the broil in French society kept muttering along the sur-

Count Esterhazy was visited by an interviewer of the press, and said in answer: "If Dreyfus were ever to set foot in France again, there would be one hundred thousand corpses of Jews on the soil. If Zola is acquitted, there will be a revolution in Paris. The people will put me at their head in a massacre of the Jews."

Whether these threats were true may not be known, but at any rate Emile Zola was arrested in the midst of the greatest excitement, was hastily and prejudicially tried, condemned to imprisonment for one year, and the payment of a fine of three thousand francs; but he could not be suppressed. He defended himself with great audacity, both before and after his condemnation. In defence of his course, and in explanation of the circumstances, he said: "I had to act as I have done, otherwise matters might have been allowed to drop, and that was what, as a firm believer in the innocence of Dreyfus, I could not allow. Later on people will say, 'The government meant to grant a fresh trial, and there was no need for Zola to be so violent.' That is what Louis XVI. said when the Revolution broke out—that there had been no need for violence, that he had intended all along to grant them the liberties they desired. If I had done nothing, people would have said, 'Now the affair is finished; Esterhazy has been acquitted. Let us say nothing more about it.' I had to keep the agitation going, because nobody with any sense of justice and of humanity can rest until this fearful error has been rectified. As to the consequences to myself, in the first place, *je m'en moque*, and, secondly, they cannot be very serious. With regard to the criminal prosecution, the penalties imposed by the law are not very heavy, and as to the other suits that are brought against me, I know that it is not the wish of the government to drive me to extremes. From a pecuniary point of view I am indifferent to consequences, and supposing that an attempt to ruin me were successful, which can hardly be, I have had offers of support from numerous friends, and did this week receive such an offer from a correspondent in Switzerland. I have no knowledge and no care what effect my act will have on the sale of my books. I have never in my books sought after any thing but the truth. My life shall be as my books, an ardent quest for truth and for justice."

The agitation produced by these events was so great that by the sheer stress of opinion

the Dreyfus case was reopened. The principal witness against him had in the meantime admitted that the letters which he had produced incriminating Captain Dreyfus were forgeries, and as if to attest his unspeakable offence against justice and truth, he had committed suicide! The tide turned, though the whole force of the French administration was against the turning. Zola was liberated on bail, and the Dreyfus case was referred for final decision to the Court of Cassation so called, which is the Court of Appeals in



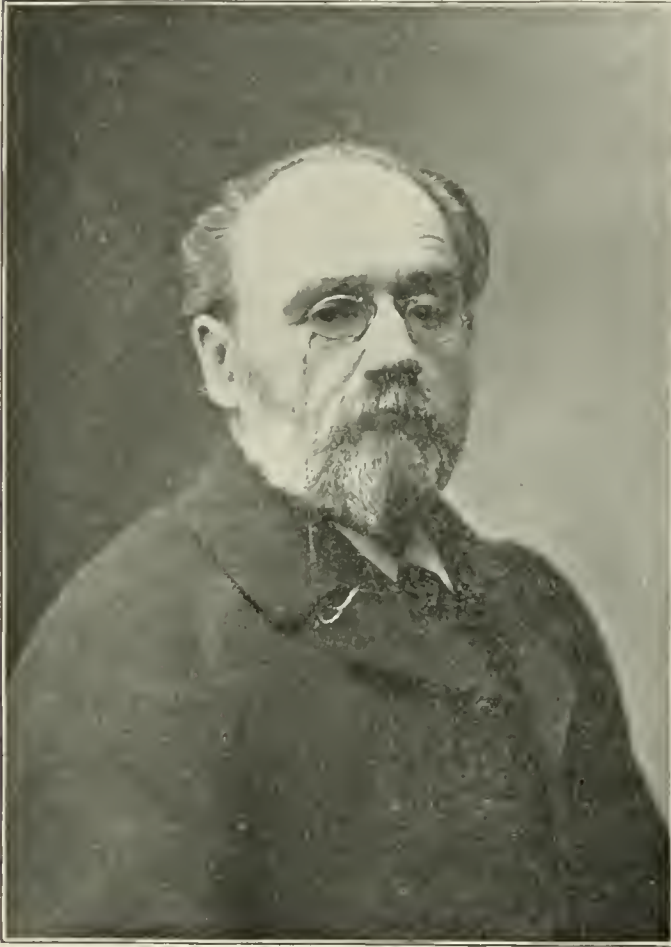
COLONEL FERDINAND WAL SIN ESTERHAZY.

France. The beginning of the year 1899 saw this strange and momentous cause still under consideration by the court, and at this time, as if to stay the current of counter opinion, the announcement was made that the favorable judgment which was expected for Dreyfus would have to be the result of unanimity on the part of the judges, such being the rule of the tribunal to which the question had gone. This was equivalent to saying that the last hope of the war department and its following lay in preventing the entire unanimity of the judges!

France, as well as Great Britain, had at this period the premonitions of difficulty relative to her boundary in South America.

The particular question which arose in 1895 was the determination of the disputed line between French Guiana and the United States of Brazil. This was the epoch in which the spirit of arbitration prevailed for a season among the leading nations. France shared the common sentiment, and an agreement was

Reference has been made to the opening in 1895 of the Kiel Canal in Holland, with the accompanying international naval pageant. The construction of the canal had been undertaken and completed for the double purpose of expediting the water commerce of Northern Europe, and for practically increasing the strategic power of the navy of the German Empire. France, as well as the other leading nations, was invited to participate in the ceremonies of the occasion. Her long suppressed animosity to Germany was only filmed over, but her politeness was shown in the acceptance of the invitation. Her admiral, however, was instructed to conduct his fleet of ironclad ships as ostentatiously as possible in the naval parade, but to avoid everything not strictly requiring him to participate in the festivities. It was remarked also that the *entente* of nations was strongly expressed in the fact that the French and Russian fleets sailed together in the pageant, as if to emphasize the opinion that France and Russia were at an understanding in international affairs. Nor will the reader fail to observe over all the event that thin veneering of hypocrisy and craft which characterizes the outer features of European policy. The smile on the face of modern history illy conceals the snarl in the heart.



ÉMILE ZOLA.

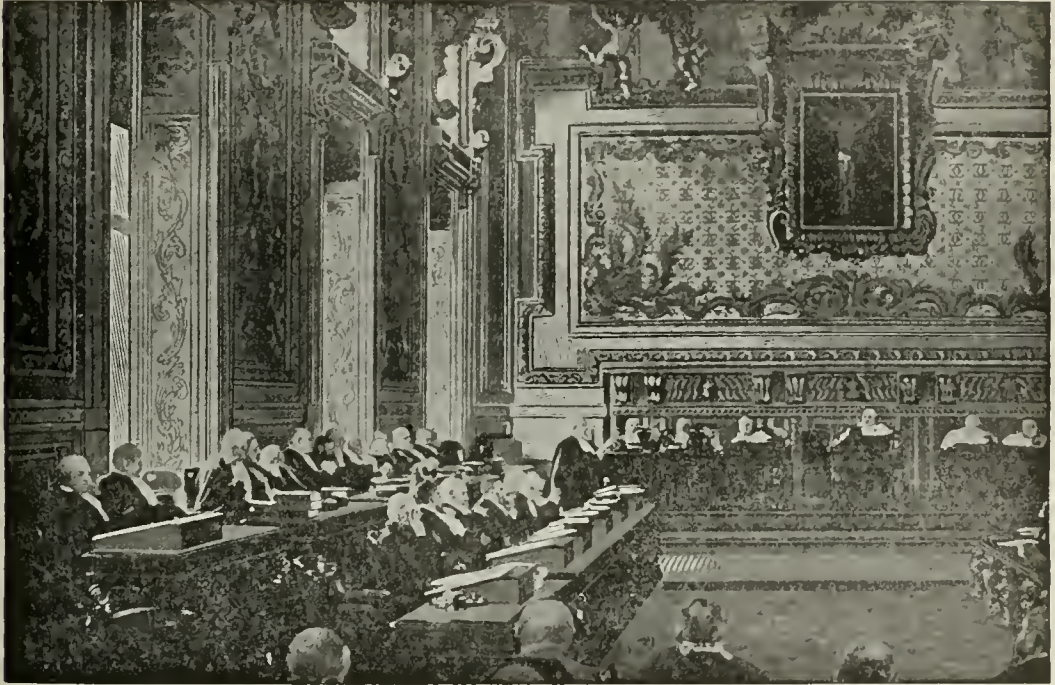
reached between M. Hanotaux and the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs to refer the disputed question to arbitration. In the interim pending the decision, the territory which was claimed by both countries was placed under the control of a dual commission composed of representatives equal in number from the two powers concerned in the dispute.

In the summer of 1895, the principal event which agitated the French was the war in Madagascar. Just after the seizure and imprisonment of the American Consul-General Waller for alleged participation in the insurrection of the Hovas against the French protectorate, it was found necessary to send an army of fifteen thousand men to Madagascar in order to reduce the Hovas and to

strengthen the French authority. The expedition was commanded by the French General Duchesne, whose force was well equipped and provisioned, but was ill prepared to meet the dreadful conditions of climate to which the army was exposed.

The campaign was waged from the coast in the direction of the capital, Antananarivo, where the Queen of Madagascar held her court. The native armies could not, in a military way, resist the invaders, but diseases

When the French Chamber of Deputies convened, in the latter part of 1895, the Cabinet, headed by M. Ribot, went speedily to pieces. The downfall of the ministry had been expected, but the manner of the dissolution was not foreseen. A certain Senator Magnier was convicted of receiving bribes for his influence in gaining legislative concessions to a railway. The Senator was a member of the Center, or governing party in the Chamber. It was alleged that his



THE DREYFUS TRIAL—COURT OF CASSATION IN SESSION.

broke out in the French camp, and about one half of the whole force was prostrated with deadly fever accompanied with a wild delirium amounting to insanity among the sufferers. At length, however, General Duchesne made a rush on the capital, captured the place, and completely re-established and extended the French protectorate. The news of his success, notwithstanding the dreadful disasters which had attended the expedition, was received with jubilee in Paris, and the commander and many of the subordinate officers were honored with decorations.

punishment was made lighter than justice demanded, as a means of procuring silence with respect to other members of the administration who were said to be involved.

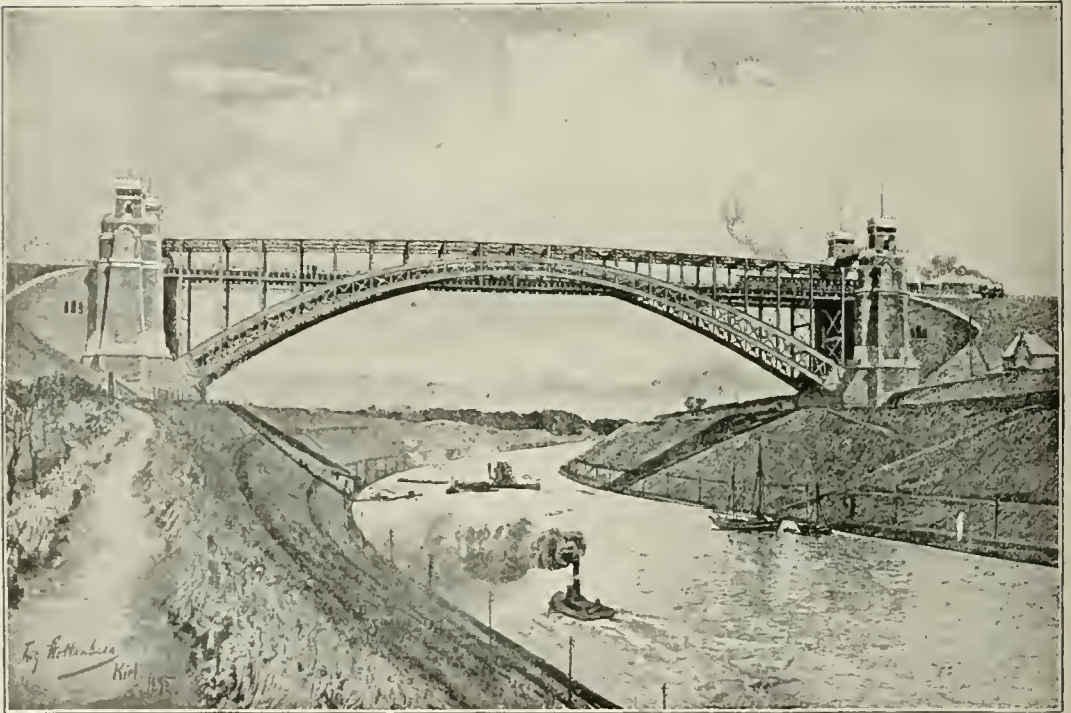
The contingency led to a union of the Right and the Left in a vote against the government. Thus the ministry was overthrown, and M. Bourgeois, a member of the Left, was chosen to reconstruct a Cabinet. The change was complete, not even M. Hanotaux, the popular minister for foreign affairs, retaining his portfolio. The sum total of the change signified the gravitation of the gov-

ernment somewhat toward the Radical party in politics. The reconstruction of the ministry was the thirty-third event of the kind which had taken place since the establishment of the Republic, twenty-six years previously.

Almost as soon as the new ministry was constituted, the policy of the government was announced by the Premier, who declared a program of procedure including a thorough investigation into the alleged recent corrup-

and industries to be held in Paris in the year 1900.

The Bourgeois Cabinet, however, was destined to speedy extinction. Before the beginning of summer, 1896, the administration passed away, and the government was reconstituted, having M. Felix Jules Meline at the head. It was noted at the time that the new Prime Minister was, on the great question of the legislative protection of industries, exactly in accord with William McKinley, who



THE KIEL SHIP CANAL—ELEVATED BRIDGE AT LEVENSAU.

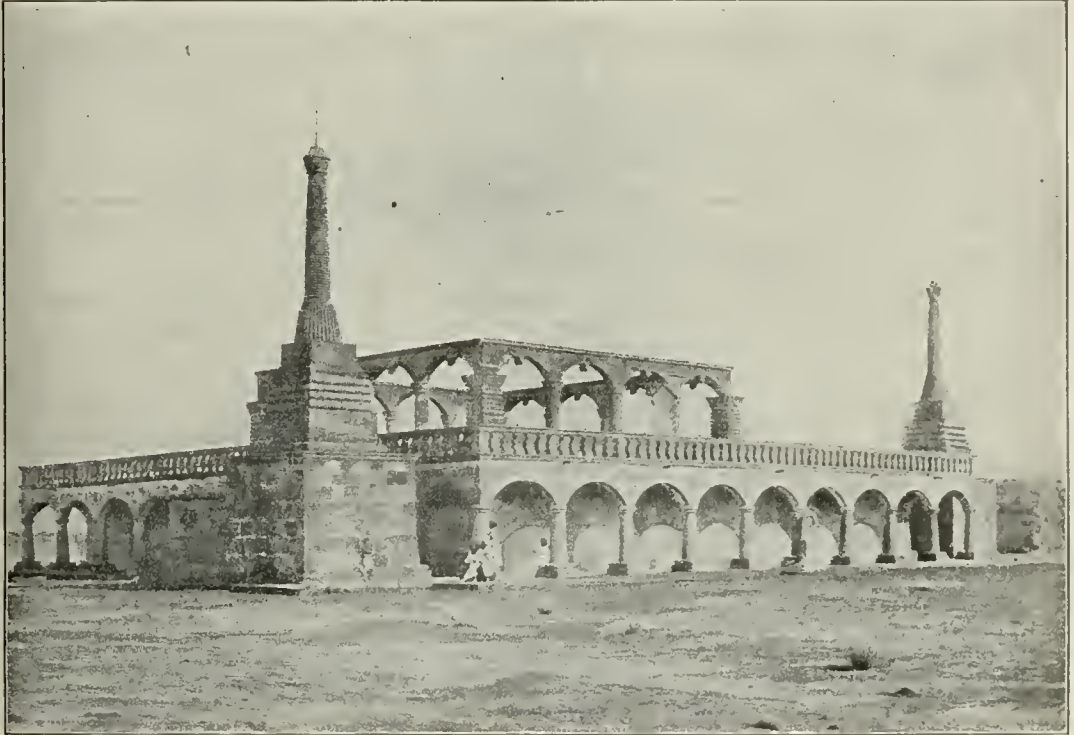
tion; a disqualification of all deputies to serve as directors of corporations in any manner connected with the administration; the speedy adoption of the public budget; a reform of the liquor law; a tax on incomes; pensions for the aged; subjection of the churches to the general laws governing associations; the establishment of a colonial army, and impartiality in all disputes between capital and labor. One of the first acts of the Chamber under the new government was the passage of a resolution providing for an international exhibition of arts

at that time became the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States. One of the circumstances which led to the reformation of the ministry was the desire to return to his office M. Gabriel Hanotaux, who had so ably fulfilled the function for foreign affairs in the Cabinet of Ribot. As to Hanotaux, his popularity depended largely upon the current opinion that he, better than any other, could promote and maintain the Franco-Russian combination against Germany.

One of the incidents of French history in

these days was the apparition of a prince in politics. Far in the past, over the ridge dividing the present possibilities from the overgone impossibilities of history, the old House of Bourbon might be seen peering into the arena of civilization. Its eyes were very dim, and its head bald. By close scrutiny the observer using his field glasses might note that a certain representative of that house, called the Duke of Orleans, and hav-

a candidate for an election under universal suffrage. The reply of the prince was the most notable thing of the whole proceeding. "If you think," said he, "that the French monarchy was constructed in the past and can be reconstructed in the future by the affectation of inert and expectant dignity standing motionless on distant shores because of the greatness of its traditions, and deeming itself too lofty to mix with men and



ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR—MAUSOLEUM OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER AND FAMILY.

From a Photograph.

ing for his royal tag the title of Philip VII., was trying to take part in the things that are. He resolved to accept the Republic and to participate in the proceedings. Accordingly, at the spring elections of 1896, he presented himself as a candidate for a seat in the Assembly of France. His candidature and campaign were made for a rural constituency. The Legitimist party was wholly scandalized by this proceeding. A committee of the Royalists called upon their renegade prince and objected stoutly to his being

things, we are not of one mind, and I remain the judge of the royal dignity."

In the summer of 1896 occurred the visit of the Czar Nicholas to the western powers. Into no other country did he enter with so much eclat as into France. In Germany and England, the autocrat was received with respect and deference. The Emperor of Germany accompanied Nicholas and passed many compliments in the phraseology of the Cæsars. The British Queen received and entertained the Czar at Balmoral, whence he

departed for his own dominions on the 3d of October. But in France, the Russian Emperor was received with enthusiasm and jubilee. He was preceded with acclamation, attended with fêtes, and dismissed with the booming of great guns.

To the French nation the coming of the Czar had great significance. It implied the strengthening of the Franco-Russian alliance. The event served also as the easy occasion for the "Party of Revenge," long nursing its animosity against the Germans, to recede in a more placable mood of mind from the attitude of belligerency. The Czar had already



FELIX JULES MÉLINE.

begun to pose as the man of peace. He wished to be called the Prince of the Peace of Europe. In reality, this policy was most agreeable to France. It was agreeable to nearly all the political factions. The fact of the support of the Czar made the French Republic strong enough, whenever it willed, to kick at the German Empire, but was, at the same time, the best of all excuses for kicking at that power no longer. After the Czar's visit, the cry of "revanche" was less frequently heard, and the Republic had greater peace.

It could but be noted as a part of the significance of the imperial visit that it brought together the farthest extremes of political and social life. The French people and the Russians stand at the two poles of modern civilization. The governments of the two nations also are antipodal. The one as a republic—third to bear that name since the great upheaval of 1789—and the other the grossest autocracy in the whole circle of modern Europe, would seem to have no common basis of sympathy and admiration; but these governments, moved by the double impulses of fear and ambition, unite in a league against the other powers of Europe, every one of which lies between the affiliated nations! The spectacle is not without its lesson to the student of human affairs.

The French Republic after surviving for more than a quarter of a century—a longer life than that of any other government which the nation had possessed since the great revolution—became to publicists and statesmen a theme of philosophical consideration.¹ Comparisons were instituted between the Third Republic and the United States. Other comparisons were instituted between the French governmental system and that of Great Britain. It might be noted that the French system is the most popular of any; that is, it answers most completely to the movings of the public purpose. The President of the Republic is constitutionally the executive force which the French Assembly employs in carrying out its purpose. The President does not, like the President of the United States, have a power and policy independent of the legislative branch, and frequently contrary thereto. The French chief magistrate neither reigns nor governs;

¹ Going back over French history for a century and a quarter, that is, to the reign of Louis XV., the Third Republic at the close of the century was able to mark with pride its own longevity. No other reign in the whole period referred to had survived as long as the existing order. The Republic had lived ten years longer than the reign of Louis XVI.; sixteen years longer than the reign of the great Napoleon; twenty-two years longer than the Restoration; nine years longer than the Orleans ascendancy; nine years longer than the Second Empire. The record might well suffice as an argument by which republicanism could justify itself.

the power to do either is denied him by the constitution.

The French ministry, as the practical organ of the administration, is so constructed as to respond to the public will even more freely and speedily than does the British ministry to the opinion of the people. This fact was illustrated in the closing years of the century in which the Republican cabinet was frequently reconstructed. By the middle of 1897, the government reached the thirty seventh cabinet which had been in power since the institution of the Republic in 1871. This made the average life of a French ministry to be scarcely more than eight months in duration. The same period showed that for the past twenty-eight years the British ministry had had an average of more than three years' duration. It might be urged that on the score of stability the comparison was most favorable to Great Britain; but against this view it might be justly claimed that the better government, and in the long run the more stable, is that which responds to every perturbation in public opinion, swaying in this direction or in that as do the planetary worlds when they are affected by extraneous influences, but nevertheless preserving forever the beauty and stability of the system.

On the 4th of May, 1897, occurred in Paris one of the greatest and most distressing calamities of recent times. In preparing the Exposition buildings and grounds for the great celebration of 1889, the authorities had constructed a certain annex to one of the principal structures, intending thereby to illustrate or reproduce in a wooden building

a fragment of the old Paris of the Middle Ages. In this annex, at the date referred to above, a fashionable bazaar was held to promote some of the religious charities of the metropolis. Among the managers and patrons of the enterprise were many of the



DUKE OF ORLEANS, CALLED PHILIP VII.

most eminent ladies of Paris, some of whom were representatives of the old aristocratic families, and as such had a peculiar pride in the edifice where the fair was held. On the day mentioned above, when the building was well filled with people, one of the lamps exploded, scattering the combustibles and giving rise instantly to a conflagration. The

people attempted to fly, but were trampled down, and the flames spread more rapidly than the human mass could make its exit. The greater number of those present were women, and their shrieks mingled with the roaring of the flames. More than a hundred persons were burned to death outright, and great numbers of others died from their injuries. Among those who lost their lives was the Duchess D'Alençon, sister of the

the King of Italy, though the explosion produced no disastrous results. The fanatic who did the deed was immediately arrested, sentenced, and punished. On the 13th of June, a similar attempt was made to assassinate President Faure, of France. The affair, however, was bungled by the maniac who undertook it, and but little notice was taken of the intended crime. It had now become the settled policy of the



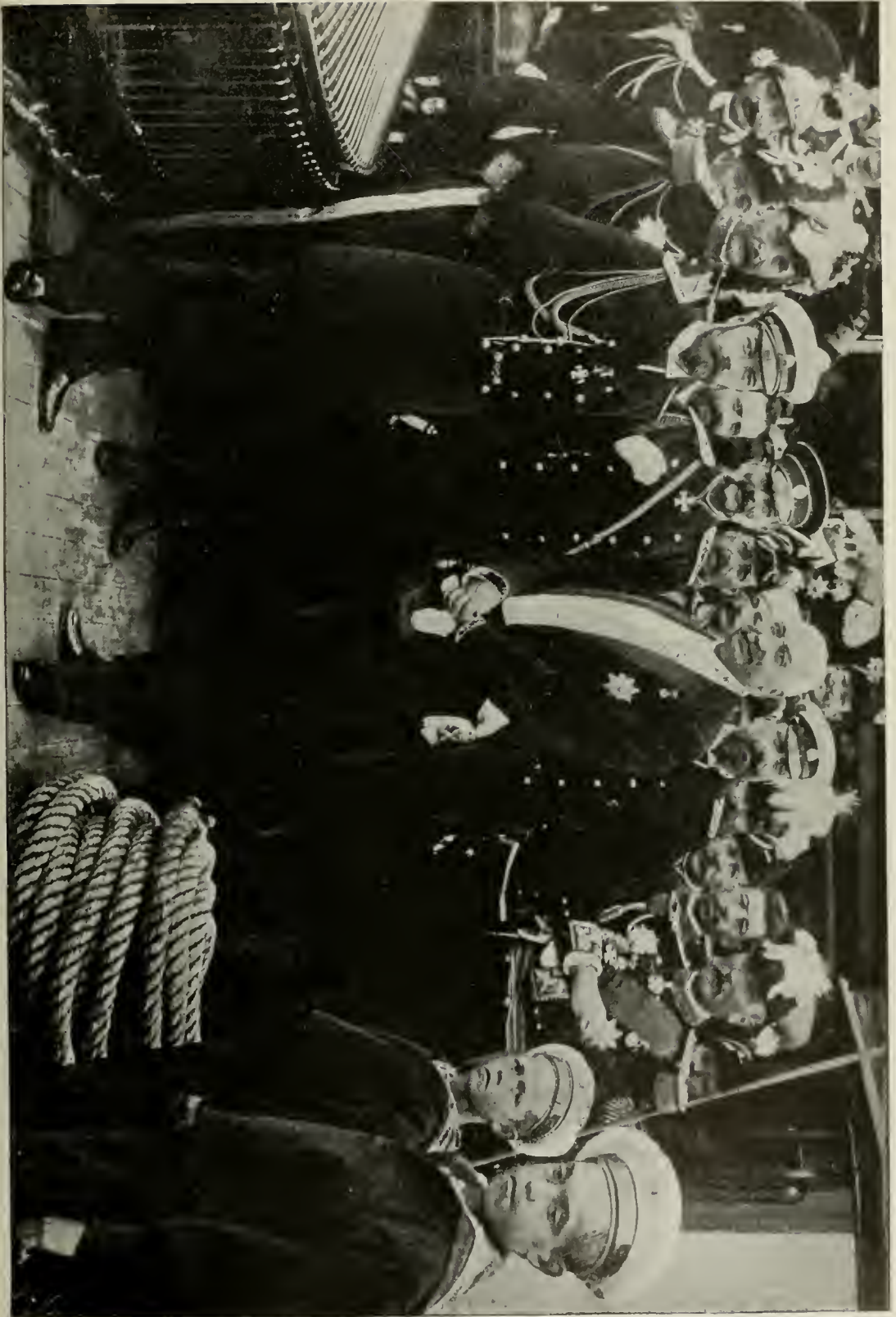
INDUSTRIAL PALACE IN PARIS (WHERE THE BODIES OF THE FIRE VICTIMS WERE LAID).

Empress of Austria. Numbers perished who had a strain of the old noble blood of pre-revolutionary France. Several distinguished men also met their doom in the flames.

In the early part of 1897, the disturbing elements in the civil society of Europe became especially active and aggressive. The socialists made gains and produced considerable agitation in the French Chamber of Deputies. Anarchism showed its force in both France and Italy. In May of this year, an anarchist bomb was thrown at

hereditary sovereigns of Europe to protect themselves with guards against the danger of assassination, but such methods were hardly applicable to the goings and comings of the President of France, who, like the President of the United States, must have and retain as his bodyguard the people as a whole, ready to strike in his defence.

As might be expected, President Faure returned the visit of the Czar. This he did in September of 1897. The cordiality between the Republic and the great Slavic empire



WITH GENERAL AND PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE. ON THE DECK OF THE ADMIRAL POTEMKIN.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

was emphasized by the event and much remarked among the nations. The President of the former went to Russia on the French man-of-war *Pothuan*, and the Czar received his guest on board the vessel at Kronstadt. There a banquet was given as if to accent the cordial feeling of the two rulers, and they then visited the capital in company. It was at this feast on board the *Pothuan* that the Czar openly proposed as his toast in French this sentiment: *Nos deux nations amies et alliées*. (Our two nations—friends and allies!)

It was in the afterpart of 1897 and the first months of 1898 that France by a freak of inapt enterprise gave offence to Great Britain in East Africa. The Anglo-French boundary commission, which had worked out satisfactorily the long international line in West Africa, came at last to the eastern extreme and next to Abyssinia in Fashoda. The French engineers, as the sequel showed, undertook to reach out somewhat into a region which Great Britain wished to reserve in the interest of her Rhodesian Cape-and-Cairo Railway. Out of this arose the so-called "Fashoda incident," of which an account has already been given in the preceding chapter.¹

A study of the condition of France at the close of the century revealed one fact of evil omen, and that was the relatively small increase in the population. The statistics during five years, from 1893 to 1898, showed a total increment of only one hundred and seventy-five thousand French-born people. During the same period there had been an increment of three million Germans. The rate of increase in Russia was still greater. It was found that even Italy was distinctly ahead of France in the native increase of her people. The calculations showed further that at the current rate of augmentation the population of Russia would be doubled in forty-five years; that of Germany in about sixty-five years; that of Austria-Hungary in seventy years; that of England in eighty years; that of Italy in one hundred and ten

years; while that of France would require eight hundred and sixty years before it would be multiplied by two!¹

This showing might, from one point of view, well alarm a French patriot. Relatively, that power which in the eighteenth century vaunted itself as the grand nation was clearly receding. There were, however, some philosophical grounds for looking at the facts with different and more hopeful sentiments. A great increase of population in an old and well-established country must needs imply a corresponding increase of territory. What will the rapidly increasing nations do with their doubling masses of inhabitants? Will they become China? Or will they attempt, like Great Britain, to find a vent in conquered islands and continents? The latter method might suffice if the earth were as large as Jupiter, but with its present limitations, the rapidly growing nations must presently come to blows and unending aggressions in order to wrest from each other the territory needed for expansion.

In America this problem is not yet vital. The vast uninhabited area possessed by our Republic may well suffice for centuries to come. We have only to reflect that in many of our American States not one acre in five of the arable lands has ever been turned with a plow, in order to discern our vast capacity for a future population. But in Europe it is not so. France, for example, has in her original territory only a small part of unoccupied and uncultivated grounds. The correlation between her population and her domain may be regarded as fixed, and the small increment of population may therefore be a blessing in disguise. The low rate of increase also removes the necessity for French immigration to other countries. It is for this reason, in part, that there are abroad among

¹ According to current statistics, France in the seventeenth century had 38 per cent. of the aggregate civilized population of Europe. In 1789, this relative preponderance among the great powers had sunk to 27 per cent. At the close of the Napoleonic wars there was a still further reduction to about 20 per cent. and at the close of the nineteenth century, the estimate stands at 13 per cent.—just about one-third relatively of the rank held by the country two hundred years ago.

¹ See pages 191-193, 196.

the nations fewer French stragglers than may be counted from the overplus of any other of the leading nations. Why should not stability, equanimity, and happiness flow from this condition rather than from that out of which the turbid waters of a swollen population are ever pouring?

On the 8th of May, 1898, the general elections were held in France with a result

ciary. But the French decided that, *on the whole*, the Government should be held in its present course. In the election of members to the new Chamber of Deputies, the Center, or moderate group of representatives, was strongly reinforced. The increment was gained from both the Left and the Right. On the Left, the strength of the Radicals was reduced, and on the Right, the mo-



THE BOURSE OF PARIS.

highly favorable to the moderate Republicans. The vote of the people was an endorsement of the administration of President Faure and of his two principal ministers, MM. Meline and Hanotaux. It had been feared by the Government, and anticipated abroad, that the result might be adverse to the existing order. There were grounds for such apprehension. The Dreyfus-Zola affair had borne hard on the dominant party. It had borne on the administration, on the department of war, and in particular on the judi-

narchical faction was weakened. It appeared that the hubbub relative to Dreyfus and Zola had not after all seriously affected the public opinion of France.

The situation in Paris, in the early part of 1898, brought to light a condition of affairs which gave rise to some reproach on the score of the poverty and want prevailing in certain quarters of the city. For a long time France has been conspicuous among the nations because of the modest plenty enjoyed by the mass of the people. While other

nations have been suffering from vagrancy and beggary, France has been virtually exempt from these afflictions. Nor are the reasons for this peculiar happiness of the country far to seek. France has been for centuries pre-eminently a country of production rather than of commercial activity. Her population has been distributed on small estates. The means of subsistence have been in like manner distributed. There has been but little waste, and only a few examples of engorged luxury.

Gradually, and in more recent years, the commercial spirit is gaining the ascendancy. Paris has become, to a considerable extent, a commercial metropolis. Trade has everywhere encroached on the producing industries. Pauperism is a disease of commercialism; it is a fungus that flourishes on the swollen trunk of the commercial life. France, from having been little infected with this disease, got the common poison near the close of the century, and the year 1898 witnessed actual starvation and the other horrors accompanying general want.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the attention of historians and reviewers was turned with peculiar interest to France, to the Third Republic, to the French people, to questions affecting the destiny of that brilliant and conspicuous nation. Many articles were published in the magazines of Europe and America devoted to a careful consideration of the great questions here stated. Ever since the Franco-Prussian war, for example, the expectation had been rife that France would seek opportunity at length to punish her enemy and regain her lost territory. The wound inflicted upon her in 1870 rankled, and she was thought to be only awaiting her opportunity.

This situation of affairs led to many inquiries respecting the strength and stability of France with regard to resources and institutions. It had been noted, for example, that an old political vice, belonging to the ancient regime, still existed in the feebleness of the local communities in the Republic, and the predominance of the central fact—Paris. The capillary force of French society was

not so strong as that which keeps warm and vital the extremities in every Teutonic nation. Financially considered, France was seen at this time to have her burdens and her limitations. Her war debt—that is, the whole public debt, of which the essential part was military—amounted to \$5,200,000,000. To add to this would be to crush Pelion under Ossa. Already the annual expenditure was as high as the state could bear; every year the treasury had to set aside \$250,000,000 for interest on the debt, which represented the capital lost and wasted in war.

Besides all this, the aggregate wealth of France was not by any means relatively so great as it had been in the eighteenth century. Statistical calculations made near the end of our period showed an aggregate of accumulated wealth for all Europe of about \$200,000,000,000. Of this sum about nine-tenths were set down as belonging to the six great powers; the remaining tenth, to the minor states. Of the great powers, the accumulated wealth of Great Britain, heading the list, was placed at \$50,000,000,000; that of France, at \$40,000,000,000; that of Germany, at \$34,000,000,000; that of Russia, at \$27,500,000,000; that of Austria, at \$20,000,000,000; and that of Italy, at \$12,000,000,000. Of all these states, however, France was most dreadfully handicapped with incumbrances and other financial limitations. In 1898, M. de Foville, the leading French authority on statistics, made a publication of estimates, in which he revealed to his countrymen the startling fact that the annual budget of national expenditure was equal to *one-fortieth* of the whole national wealth! He also showed that the Franco-German war and the Commune, which was its aftermath, had consumed about one-tenth of the whole resources of the nation.

The existing political order in France received a severe shock in February of 1899. On the 16th of that month, President Félix Faure died suddenly from an attack of apoplexy. His term of service, which had begun on the 17th of January, 1895, was thus suddenly ended by unanticipated death. The President had been in his usual health. He



PRESIDENT FÉLIX FAURE.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH, 1898.

had just passed his fifty-eighth birthday, and in both his personal and public affairs was sailing through smooth and auspicious seas. He had, during the day preceding his death, made preparations to attend a public recep-



ÉMILE LOUBET.

tion and ball. In the evening, only a short time before the hour set for his departure from the presidential residence, he made a social call having some connection with the

public event, and while on this visit he was suddenly and fatally prostrated.

On the whole, the administration of Faure had been highly successful. He was not strictly a party official, but was in a true sense the representative head of the French Republic. He had grown in reputation during his whole term of service, and was at the time of his death, more than ever before, a historical personage.

The French Constitution provides in case of the death or resignation of a President that a new executive shall be immediately chosen. In accordance with this provision, an election was held by the Assembly, on the 18th of February, and M. Émile Loubet, President of the Senate, was elected to succeed M. Faure in the presidency of the Republic. The disturbances connected with this event were insignificant, though there were in the press of Europe and America the usual outgivings of intended revolution by both the Radical Republicans of France and the Bonapartist faction. Within a few days after the death of Faure, the political elements settled to a calm, and the spring months found the Republic entering its twenty-ninth year of duration in undisturbed peace and good promise.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—GERMANY.



ERMANY, like France, was inclined toward practical friendliness during 1889, and for that reason refused to encourage the polemics of the French press against the Government

at the time of the Boulangist uproar. Especially, Germany was determined in this policy because of its preference for the continuance of the French Republic. The chief outbreak of the year followed an unwarranted rumor to the effect that the Italian king was to be present at the Strasburg review with the Emperor. The French newspapers broke their

restraint on this occasion, and the German replied; but the affair was in no wise serious.

As to the German policy toward Russia, all the evidence showed that it was decidedly friendly. At one time the attack upon Sir Robert Morier, which was attributed to Count Herbert Bismarck, threatened to involve England and Germany in a quarrel; but the difficulty ended when Bismarck spoke with great cordiality of Great Britain in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag. There was, in addition, a slight diplomatic imbroglio with Switzerland concerning the expulsion of the police agent, Wohlgemuth, that, in the end, was amicably arranged.

Of more lasting importance was the singu-

lar activity of the young Emperor, wherewith he made his personality impressive at home and abroad. His restlessness was markedly displayed in the matter of the interchange of hospitalities. In the summer, he visited the Queen of England, the Emperor of Austria, and the kings of Italy, Sweden, and Denmark, and finally the Czar. In the autumn, he went first to Italy, and thence to Greece, where he was present at the marriage of his sister, the Princess Sophia, to the Duke of Sparta, the heir to the throne of Greece. Afterward he went to Constantinople, and was there entertained by the Sultan.

Little else in German affairs at this time is worthy of attention. The labor question was, as it was in England, accented with frequent strikes, especially among the miners, and with a warning appearance of organized Socialism. In another direction, the happening of most importance was the unwarranted assumption of authority in Samoa, in the early part of the spring. The United States uttered a strong protest against the German high-handedness, and the trouble was brought to an end at a conference in Berlin, where an agreement was made to the effect that the rights of all parties interested in the islands should be properly protected, and that King Malietoa, the chief whom the German authorities had arrested and deported, should be returned to his island.

The Queen Dowager of Bavaria died in 1889. Another death of international interest was that of Dr. Karl Peters, the leader of an African exploring expedition.

The year 1890 was destined to witness an event of the utmost importance to Germany, if not to all Europe—the separation between

the Emperor and the venerable Chancellor, Bismarck. For some time the friction between the two had been growing. Their views were not the same as to the army or as to the labor question. The Emperor wished to combine monarchical traditions with the most advanced views; Bismarck distrusted



COUNT GEORG LEO VON CAPRIVI.

the one and the other. The appointment of Emin Pasha as Governor-General in Africa was much opposed by Bismarck, and in many other matters the Emperor insisted on a course offensive to the sentiments or judgments of the Chancellor. Moreover, the Government party's defeat in the elections made a change necessary. On March 18, Bismarck resigned, and his resignation was accepted, he receiving the rank of Field

Marshal and declining a dukedom. General Georg Leo von Caprivi succeeded him.

In the year following, Germany displayed a new energy in the direction of colonial dominion, under the allied desires of the Emperor and Chancellor von Caprivi, which found its chief expression in the obtaining of Helgoland from Great Britain, and in the extension of the German sphere of influence in Africa.

In home politics, the National Liberals and their Conservative allies were beaten in the general elections to the Reichstag, while the Radicals and Social Democrats increased in power, as did the Clerical Center. The majority sentiment of the electors found its expression in the dropping of the anti-socialistic laws. These changes in the political temper were most significant, viewed in connection with the increase in the efforts of organized labor in behalf of definite socialist legislation.

The untroubled spirit of the Emperor again displayed itself in the number of his domestic trips—a visit to the Queen, his grandmother, at Osborne, and to the Czar at Narva, besides a meeting with the Austrian Emperor in Silesia, another with the Queen Regent of Holland at the Hague, and still another with the King of Saxony in Bavaria. The Emperor continued his extravagant activities, and got the nickname of *Der Reise Kaiser*.

Scientific and unscientific persons alike were aroused to keen interest by the announcement of Dr. Robert Koch's discovery—a lymph whereby consumption might be alleviated or cured. The experiments were received with extraordinary favor at first, but the sum of results was disappointing.

Two religious parties suffered severe loss by death in 1890, mourning the decease of Dr. Döllinger, eminent for piety as well as for scholarship, and of Professor Delitzsch, of similar renown. The royal caste lost the old Empress Augusta, wife of Wilhelm I.

The general satisfaction with the policy of Caprivi was recognized by his elevation to the rank of count, in 1891. On the other hand, the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck was hopelessly widened by the former Chancellor's freely published criti-

cisms on the imperial policy, and by the Prince's successful candidacy for the Reichstag as member for Geestemünde.

In June the people were gratified by the formal signing of the triple alliance treaties with Austria-Hungary and Italy, extending the agreements for another term of six years. At the same time the policy of strict protection was abandoned, and treaties were made on the basis of equivalent tariff reductions with the Parliaments of the nations within the alliance, and this policy was begun toward Belgium, Switzerland, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and even Holland and Spain. The wisdom of the Government was shown in the decrease in labor troubles, which were less violent than elsewhere in Europe, although trade continued dull, and the workmen were uneasy.

The death-roll of 1891 included the King of Württemberg, Count Hellmuth von Moltke, and Dr. Ludwig Windthorst, the Catholic leader in the Reichstag.

In 1892 the Government used every endeavor to pass a severe army bill, against the resistance of the Liberals and Center and the organs of Bismarck, who continued his policy of bitter criticism. The ex-Chancellor visited Vienna on the occasion of his son's marriage, and there and at Dresden and Munich great popular demonstrations were held in his honor; but the German embassy at Vienna was ordered not to extend any official recognition to him, and the courts likewise slighted him. These tactics angered the venerable statesman almost beyond endurance, so that he spoke with more emphasis than discretion in his public speeches and in his interviews with the representatives of the press. It was at one time rumored in official circles that he was to be prosecuted for his condemnatory strictures on the Government; but, happily, a scandal so unfortunate did not occur.

In the Reichstag the anti-Semitic war raged less furiously than usual, its chief feature being the issuing of a pamphlet, by Herman Ahlwardt, entitled "Jewish Rifles," in which he denounced the arms supplied to the German army by the famous Loewe Company. The Emperor, with characteristic boldness,

made a number of extraordinary speeches, particularly against those who opposed the Prussian Education Bill. The most momen-



HERMANN RECTOR AHLWARDT.

tous and most lamentable feature of the year, however, was the havoc wrought by the cholera, which, coming from Persia and Russia, visited Paris and Havre, and reached Hamburg and Antwerp, slaying thousands. The influenza, too, was prevalent, so that the death-roll of the year was enormous. The most conspicuous death was that of the Grand Duke of Hesse, the son-in-law of Queen Victoria.

The opening of 1893 witnessed an event unparalleled in the history of the German Reichstag, and one most significant of the changing temper of the times—a five days' debate on Socialism; and, although little immediate result was obtained, this sealed finally the accession of the laboring man to political dignity and power in the State. In the same session the anti-Semitic cause suffered a severe shock from the absolute failure of Herr Ahlwardt to substantiate

any of his violent charges of corruption in high places, for which failure he paid the penalty of incarceration. The Government's Army Bill failed to pass, and in consequence the Reichstag was dissolved. In the battle following, no less than twenty parties appeared in the field, and the result was a distinct victory for the bill, the Radicals losing heavily; although the Socialists gained, as did the Anti-Semites, despite Ahlwardt's fiasco. The Reichstag opened in July, and the bill was carried through in the same month.

The chief strike of this period was one of eight thousand miners in the Saar District; but it failed. Bismarck continued his customary policy of passing strictures on the Government; but when, in September, he fell seriously ill, the Emperor offered him a palace, and it is certain that, although the courtesy was declined, its effect was most



PRINCE OF HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGFÜRST.

soothing on the wounded feelings of the veteran statesman. Both the Emperor and Caprivi were made the objects of attacks by

sending them bombs, but without any injury to them. One event that was of some political importance was the death of Duke Ernest II., of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. His successor was the Duke of Edinburgh, a prince of the English royal house, and much discussion arose as to the propriety

if not more important—the formal reconciliation of the Emperor and Prince von Bismarck, when the ex-Chancellor, by special request, visited the Emperor in Berlin, and was received with every mark of respect, even of affection, William II. returning the visit February 19. Another

auspicious occasion was the marriage of the Duke of Hesse and the Princess Victoria Melita of Coburg, at Coburg, April 19, when the Emperor, the Prince of Wales, and the Czar-witch were the guests of honor in a splendid court ceremony.

The versatile zeal of the Emperor and his arbitrary will led him into displays of autocratic spirit that ultimately brought him to dispute with Caprivi, and in October the Chancellor resigned. The resignation was promptly accepted, and Count Eulenbarg, Prime Minister of Prussia, was also relieved of his post. The new Chancellor was Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, a Catholic, while Herr von Köller became Prime Minister of Prussia. A disgraceful scene occurred in the Reichstag in December, at the opening of the session, when six of the Socialist members remained seated when the House rose to give the customary three



PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK.

of a sovereign German prince's retaining his British allowance and the like; but in the end it was judged that the German dignity would not suffer seriously.

Early in 1894 a commercial treaty with Russia was consummated, despite the protests of the Agrarian League. January 26 was the date of an incident more pleasing,

cheers for the Emperor. On being rebuked for their conduct by the President, one of them, Herr Singer, stated that the measures about to be presented to them by the Emperor were so offensive that they could not join in the required demonstration consistently with their own consciences and honor. In this year died Hans von Bülow, the musician;

Professor Brugsch, the Egyptologist; Professor von Helmholtz, the biologist; and Dr. Hildebrand, the linguist.

On April 1, 1895, Bismarck celebrated his eightieth birthday, and there were rejoicings throughout the whole of Germany and in the German communities scattered through the world. The Emperor used every care to make the occasion one of remarkable dignity. Only one dissenting note caused discord, and that was the refusal of the Reichstag to send its congratulations by the President. Those who had opposed Bismarck in former years could not quite forget old enmities, and thus there was a majority against the proposition. The Emperor expressed his indignation in a telegram to the octogenarian, and the President and Vice President resigned. Another season of rejoicing was the anniversary of the victories over the French, especially the fall of Sedan, and great popular joy marked the time, despite the remonstrances of the Socialists, who declared that such delight was injurious to brother Socialists in France. The anger of the Socialists was so aroused by the lack of attention to their objections that they broke forth in violent criticisms of the present Government, and even extended their animadversions to William II. Their language became so offensive that eventually the leaders were prosecuted.

It was on the 30th of January in this year that the world was horrified by the loss of the North German Lloyd steamer, *Elbe*, which was sunk in a collision with the *Crathie*, off the Hook of Holland, three hundred and thirty-five passengers going down in the doomed ship, only twenty-two escaping. In glad contrast to this lamentable casualty was the opening of the Baltic Ship Canal, extending from Kiel to Brunsbützel, thus connecting the Baltic and the North Sea. The formal opening was on June 29, with an international pageant that was magnificent. In November the Princess Johanna Frederika von Bismarck died. Her death was followed, in 1896, by that of the eminent prelate, Cardinal Luigi Galimberti.

The latter year was enlivened by the ornate festivals and ceremonies that, after much

preparation, on January 19, commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Empire. The event showed that the German people had accepted the new order of civil society, though the acceptance was not universal or wholly cordial. There was much in the German nature to resist and resent the Imperial establishment. The colossal Government which had been procreated with Iron in the bosom of Violence, a quarter of a century before, was in reality a despotism which, though possessing many of the constitutional provisions of the British system, possessed also as its essential constituent the autocracy of the Russian Czar. Nevertheless, the fêtes of the jubilee year were brilliant and enthusiastic. The official classes and more generally the dominant elements of society shouted "*Hoch!*" with their best might, and the Kaiser found himself the center and impersonation of German unity and glory.

The other side of the national event was the growth and aggressiveness of Socialism. The Socialist party gained strength, and showed its hand in every important election. Against this agitation the Government opposed its front of bronze. No quarter was given to the propagandists of democracy. In the latter part of 1895, Professor Delbrück in a moderate magazine article offered strictures and criticism on the existing political order, and for this he was subjected to a legal prosecution. The editor of *Ethische Kultur* was arrested, prosecuted, and condemned to three months' imprisonment for an offence which, if human liberty be not a deception, was no offence at all.

Meanwhile orders were issued to the police of Berlin to shut up eleven socialistic democratic clubs, including six of those which exercised electoral functions in choosing members of the Reichstag. The repression extended itself to the committee of the Socialist press, and also to that of the Social Democratic party of Germany. The policy of a forceful suppression of the political agitators was openly avowed as a part of the Cæsarian method. The Emperor took a personal interest in such measures as his



EMPEROR WILLIAM II. DELIVERING HIS MESSAGE FROM THE WHITE HALL OF THE ROYAL PALACE, BERLIN.

partisans promoted for the extinction of Socialism. And, as in America, he sought to make it appear in Germany that the Socialist agitation was only another form of communism and anarchism. When a murder was committed by an anarchist in Alsace-Lorraine, the Emperor made it a text, crying out, "Another victim of the revolutionary agitation planned by the Socialists! If only the German nation would bestir itself!" To which unfinished hypothesis we may add, if only the German nation would bestir itself and stamp out by violence the Socialist faction, how happy the third Emperor of Germany would be! The Imperial policy, however—as are all such policies—was impracticable and futile, for how can the people of a nation be repressed? The ancient aphorism that you cannot bring an indictment against a whole people applies to the growth of Socialism in the German Empire.

In the latter part of 1896, an event came to light which revealed the method of intrigue long prevalent in the diplomacy of Europe. That method had prevailed from the days of Richelieu, who may be said to have invented it. It remained, however, for Prince Bismarck to perfect the method, and to exemplify it more strongly than any other continental statesman of modern times. After his retirement from the position of Chancellor of the Empire, he continued to comment on public affairs, and to interfere therewith by his powerful influence, and occasionally by revelations which disturbed the equanimity of the powers. He stood in the character of a deposed autocrat. He associated himself, by direction and indirection, with prominent journalists of the Imperial party. He had an organ in Hamburg, and his opinions were reflected in its pages. When the Franco-Russian alliance, in 1896, became a conceded fact, he permitted it to be given out that eight years previously, when he was the representative of the Empire, he had concluded with Russia a secret agreement, which was not known outside of the contracting parties. His understanding with the Czar

was to the effect that in case either should be attacked by any other power, the second party to the secret league would preserve a "benevolent neutrality," thus enabling the first party to defend itself without molestation from any save the belligerent. Bismarck's paper declared that the agreement had been kept under the rose at the special request of Russia. When the Chancellor, in 1890, was deposed, his successor, Count Caprivi, had overtures from the Czar for a continuation of the secret *entente*, but Caprivi had rejected the proposals, thus throwing Russia into the arms of France. Possibly, the metaphor were more appropriate to say that France was thrown into the arms of Russia!

At this epoch, the German Empire was perhaps the most pretentious Government in Europe. The Emperor assumed spectacular attitudes and did the most wonderful things. His sceptre was the most egotistic which had been seen on the continent since Waterloo. And his sceptre was hardly more vainglorious than his pencil! For he wielded a pencil as well as a sceptre. He had some skill in drawing, and amused himself with making cartoons on international affairs. These appeared at times in the German journals, to be copied into those of the English-speaking countries. One effort of this kind attracted not a little attention. The Kaiser drew a picture which was entitled "On guard before the temple of Peace." The portal of the temple was executed with the word *Pax* under the arch. In the vestibule were seen the Muses celebrating the peaceful arts. At the foot of the pillars, right and left, stood conventional lions. In the foreground, wallowing in a kind of inferno, were the fiends of war and devastation. They carried torches and spears, and some had horns and batlike wings. Between them and the entrance, the modest Emperor drew a warlike and panoplied figure, *said to be himself!* The warrior was accoutred for battle. He was German in his weaponry, form, and features. There he stood keeping back the fiends of war from the temple of Peace. The car-

toon might well be regarded as one of the most humorous and ironical of sketches. The idea of the German Kaiser's being the guardsman of the peace of the world may well be regarded as one of the finest examples of historical sarcasm. Wilhelm II. drew better than he knew! His work needed only a companion piece of equal merit done by the Czar of Russia! Another of the Kaiser's cartoons, quite famous for a

first Kaiser was erected, and dedicated in the midst of pageants and ceremonies almost unequalled for splendor and enthusiasm.

In the spring of 1897, an article was published in Germany by Baron Von Lüttwitz on German naval policy and strategy, in which the eminent writer set forth certain facts and principles of great international importance. His article was an exposition



KAISER WILHELM'S CARTOON—"NATIONS OF EUROPE, DEFEND YOUR FAITH."

day, was entitled, "Nations of Europe, defend your Faith and your Home."

The month of April, 1897, was in some sense, an era of monuments. In our own country, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of General U. S. Grant was celebrated with the dedication of the great mausoleum erected to his honor in Riverside Park, New York. On the third of the same month, the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emperor Wilhelm I., founder of the German Empire, was observed with a similar celebration in Berlin. In that city, a great monument in commemoration of the

of the reasons for the creation of a great German navy. The reasons were such as to create and propagate alarm in both hemispheres. One part of the publication was as follows: "Losing annually, as we do, a number of our surplus population, the acquisition of agricultural colonies in a favorable climate is a question of national life and death.

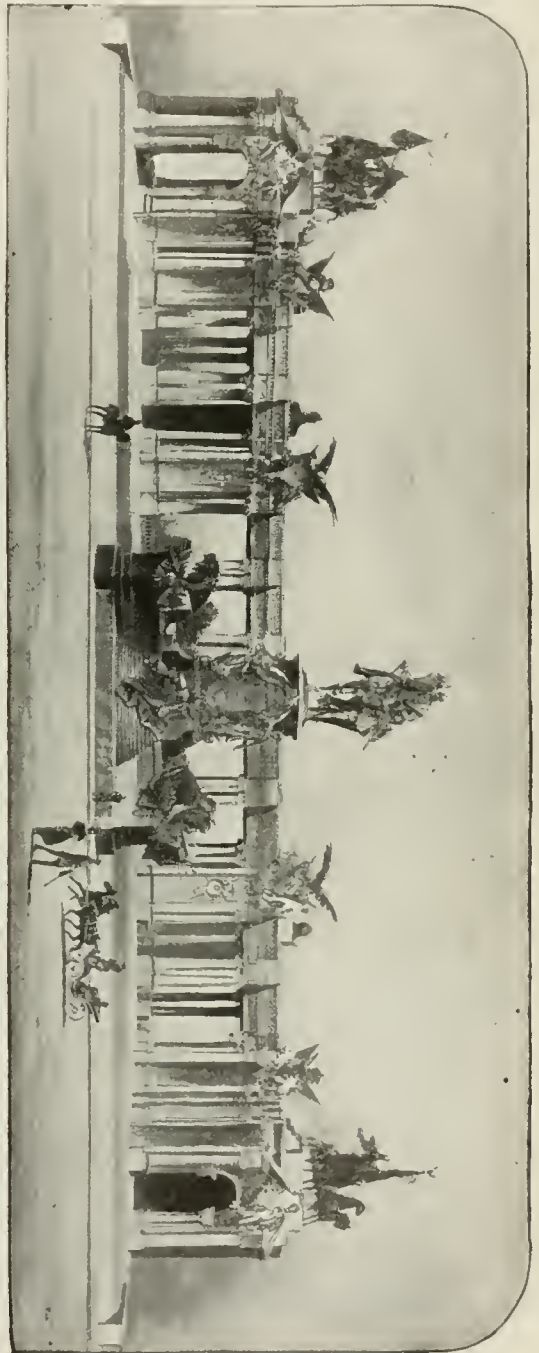
"In the last century we were too late to partake of the general partition. But a second partition is forthcoming. We need only to consider the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the isolation of China—that new

India of the far East—the unstable condition of many South American States, to see what rich opportunities await us. In order not to miss them this time we require a fleet. We must be so strong at sea that no nation which feels itself safe from our military power may dare to overlook us in partition negotiations, and there is no time to be lost. We cannot stir up a national war for every little piece of ground we want in distant countries, however important its acquisition may be to us.

“The armed strength and state of preparation of European powers being nearly equal, the second partition will probably be a peaceful one. But our right to more extended colonial empire is sure to be ignored, if we do not possess the naval strength by which eventually such colonies could be taken and held.”

This utterance of Baron Lüttwitz indicated clearly a purpose on the part of the German Empire (in so far as the writer was an authorized exponent of that purpose) to ignore, and if needs be violate, the traditional Monroe Doctrine as held by the Government of the United States. The Baron said, “The unstable condition of many South American States,” enables us, “to see what rich opportunities await us.” It was to preserve the South American republics from colonization by the European monarchies that the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated. The tenacity of the American people in support of their favorite tradition, would indicate that Baron Lüttwitz’s views would hardly be applicable in the present political condition of the world! Nevertheless, the German Emperor later in the year took up the question of a great naval expenditure, and endeavored to enforce his views upon the Reichstag and to get them enacted into law. The Germans have as much repugnance as do the English people, and a much greater repugnance than do the

Americans, to unwarranted expenditures and excessive taxation. The proposition to ex-



THE MONUMENT TO KAISER WILHELM I. BERLIN.

pend great sums for the increase of the German navy was for the time seriously opposed

in the Reichstag, and the Imperial Government was obliged to temporize with the question.

Meanwhile, however, the opposition encountered by the Kaiser excited his belligerent temper, and serious legislation was undertaken for the suppression of assemblies in opposition to the prevailing policy and party. A measure was introduced into the Prussian Diet called the "Law of Association Amendment Bill," in which it was proposed to give

German policy of increasing and improving the naval armament created distrust and tended to animosity among other nations. This was true in particular in Great Britain. To menace the naval ascendancy of the British Empire is to make a threat against the existing order of the world. It is certain that if the power of the British navy were broken, there would be a rapid and complete transformation in Europe and indeed in all the continents, for in that event, where



THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, BERLIN.

almost discretionary powers to the imperial police to suppress or disperse meetings and all manner of assemblies not congenial to the governmental régime. The serious proposal and discussion of a measure which if adopted would virtually annihilate freedom of speech and opinion could but show to the people of more experienced nations how slowly and ineffectively the political evolution was proceeding in the German Empire.

In the meantime, the announcement of the

would Egypt be? and where India? Where would Cape Colony and Australia and New Zealand stand? and where Canada? It were not far from the truth to allege that the present dominion of the world has for its support two facts; first, the Bank of England, and secondly, the British navy. The German method at the close of the century was directed against the ascendancy of the latter. This was resented by Great Britain, and the *entente* between the Kaiser's Government

and that of his illustrious grandmother was seriously disturbed.

It is in the manner of Great Britain to express her diplomatical resentment in a surly way which may be better witnessed than described. In the present case, she pursued her usual method. She continued to build and arm her ships and to plant colonies and to strengthen her dominion. The temper of Germany was ruffled by the equanimity of the greater power. She was quick to interfere in the question of the Transvaal, and she would fain have persuaded the Boers to throw off altogether the suzerainty of Great Britain. But nothing serious came of these agitations. The Kaiser's project of conferring on the police the power to break up public and political meetings failed, and the Social Democrats continued to attack the imperial policy.

Not able to have his own way in international affairs, the Emperor sought to hold his own in the concert by a display of extravagant activity. In the summer of 1897, he was seen everywhere and heard on every hand. The world could but take note of his flying about, and of his utterances. Late in August, he attended the naval display at the port of Dantzig. A few days later, he attended the unveiling of the monument which the people of Magdeburg had erected to the memory of his grandfather. On the 30th of the month, he delivered at Coblenz an important address on the occasion of the dedication of a public monument. Three days afterward, he witnessed the review of the army at Homburg, and there he had his interview with several of the crowned and crownable heads of Italy. Nor do we fail to remark on the fact that at this period no other sovereign of all Europe, or of the world, could have produced addresses of as great force and so significant as were those of Wilhelm II.

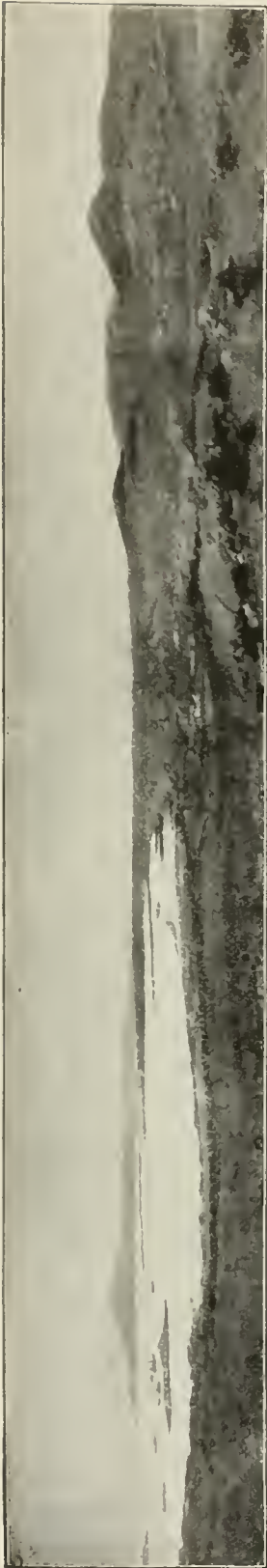
When it became known that the Franco-Russian alliance was not only a theory, but a condition as well, it became the policy of Germany to make light of the league as though it were not, or as though it signified little. The matter was construed in this way

—that Russia had taken in France, and that the Czar would attain his own ends and nothing more by fostering the alliance. At the same time, it was sought to exploit and strengthen the Triple Alliance, or *Dreibund* agreement, of the German Empire with Italy and Austria-Hungary. In this business, the Kaiser occupied himself constantly. He had the King and Queen of Italy with him at the Homburg fêtes, and presently afterward, he went in person to Totis in Hungary, where he had an amicable interview with the Emperor Francis Joseph. Thus with spectacle and manœuvre and intrigue, the great international game went on in the closing years of the century.

To all seeming, the disruption and partition of China by the aggression of the European powers is an event not far in the future. The years 1896-97 witnessed at least two of the entering wedges. The French made an advance toward the great carcass, by way of Tonquin and Cochín, and at the same time, Russia pushed forward successfully by way of Manchuria. The cordial relations between these powers ensured the noninterruption of the projects of either by the other. But this business could not be viewed with complacency by the German Kaiser. He cast wistful glances to the eastern coast of Asia, and in November of 1897, an event occurred which gave him the wished-for excuse.

In the province of Shan-Tung, two German missionaries were conveniently murdered by the natives. A fleet of warships was at once despatched by the Imperial Government to the port of Kiao-Chau, and arriving there debarked six hundred marines, and several pieces of artillery. The Chinese garrison fled from the fort, and the Germans, taking possession, hoisted the flag of the Empire. This summary method of procedure was justified on the score of the alleged delays always encountered by European diplomats in getting such matters attended to by the Chinese authorities at Peking.

This policy of fighting first and arguing afterward has become very popular with the powers of Europe, by whom it has been



THE PORT OF KIAO-CHAU, CHINA.

much used to excuse their conquests. It has been found to be more glorious as a national expedient to use force first and reason afterward. The method implies the hoisting of national flags where they have no right to be, and of then appealing to the national honor as a reason for not removing them. Germany learned this expedient from Great Britain. At Kiao-Chau she put up her flag, and then kept it up until she forced a concession of right from the Chinese Government. The port, and four hundred square miles of the surrounding territory were ceded to Germany, and thus she obtained her coveted foothold, in order to be ready for the spoil.

The statistics of the German Empire, prepared in the year 1895, and issued in 1897-98, showed many interesting facts

relative to the industrial progress of the people. The attempt was made by the statisticians to show the advance in population, production, and commerce, in a comparative way for about a quarter of a century; that is, from the founding of the Empire in 1871 to 1895. The tables revealed in the period indicated a total increment in population of 12,500,000 souls. Of this number, about one-fourth had emigrated (mostly to America), leaving a net increase of 9,500,000. This was a gain of about twenty-two and a half per cent. on the total given in the census of 1875. The movement of the population had the same significant drift city-ward, as has been shown in the recent censuses of the United States. In Germany, the twenty-year period gave an increase in the rural population of only thirteen per cent. while the gain in the municipal population was more than twice as great.

The statistics of the means of subsistence were likewise significant. One of the astonishing things in the tables was the footing which showed that the consumption of potatoes had reached almost four pounds daily for every inhabitant. It has generally been supposed that the potato is relatively a more important article of food in Ireland than in any other country; but the consumption in that country is not nearly as great as that in Germany. The statistics also showed a great reduction in the quantities of native meats consumed by the Germans, and the consequent necessity of foreign importations—a matter of much importance in relation with the meat production in the United States.

The fact was also significant as tending to show the gradual decline in the ability of the common people, even in the most powerful nations, to supply themselves with meat food. In the list of human supplies, fine meats stand at one end of the scale and rice at the other end. Just above rice in expensiveness is the potato. The gravitation of the masses of mankind toward the potato and the rice level is the sure index, wherever such a symptom is discovered, that the purchasing power of the people has been weakened and their resources consumed in

the wastefulness of bad government and the horrid luxury of war. The boast that the German Kaiser is the war lord of Europe is another way of saying that his subjects will eat potatoes instead of beef!

The considerations just referred to soon got a historical importance in the relations of Germany and the United States. The people of the former, as well as the people of the latter, must be fed, and the food equation was against the Germans. Their side of the balance went up, and the scale had to be restored by importation from America. The feeling between the United States and Germany had not been cordial for a quarter of a century. The reason is to be found in the deep-down antagonism of the two systems of government. Imperialism and democracy cannot finally coëxist in the world. The Kaiser and the supporters of his system cannot well brook the necessity of dependence on the great American democracy for an adequate supply of fruits and meats. Hence these tears! Ever and anon a canard is started in Germany about the vicious character of the American supplies. Then a proclamation of non-importation is issued, and then comes a protest from the American side. So the casuistical game goes on—and the Germans take to potatoes.

At this epoch, the same spirit relative to what is called "expansion" prevailed in Germany, as it began to prevail in the United States. In fact, nearly every one of the powers, seeing and envying the ascendancy of Great Britain, would be great by the same means which she had employed in achieving greatness. Each one of them adopted a method in which the leading principle was designated as the *forward* policy. Each one of them, unable to cope with the domestic questions with which all were afflicted, and each striving to reach over the near-by grief and agitation to something far-off and spectacular, sought to find in the policy of expansion a vent and diversion for the troubles at home.

Thus Germany began to say, as one of her leading reviewers said, "It is the Germans who are to be the great civilizing agency of

the future, the cement of new societies, because the German, of all men, is the most adaptable." So said they all. German ambition reached out at this epoch into Africa, and the far East. Germany sought to find or to make a market. She must be a great commercial power. Nor is it easy to discover the foundation of this infinite delusion which took possession of the nations, and expressed itself in the rush and struggle to gain foreign trade at the expense of domestic development and peace.

At the present time, not a single great state in the world, with the possible exceptions of Great Britain, France, and Holland, has even approximately developed the resources of its own soil; and yet they are all striving to gather resources, to amass wealth, and to make themselves impregnable by insane foreign ambitions, by expeditions and conquests in unknown regions, by the butchery and oppression of barbarian and half-civilized peoples, and by mutual robberies perpetrated on every inviting coast and prosperous island of the world. This lunacy Germany, dominated by the War Kaiser, caught in the closing years of the century. The Germans joined in the universal rush toward the coming cataclysm of world-wide insurrection and transformation.

The manifestation of this policy of expansion, of island-clutching and continental conquests on the part of the Imperial Government, was shown in the German interference with the affairs of Samoa. A petty crisis came in the years 1898-99. Ten years previously, at the treaty of Berlin, Germany, the United States, and Great Britain agreed to administer the affairs of Samoa by means of a triple protectorate. The native sovereign should be supported by the three powers named. This arrangement held until August of 1898, when old King Malietoa died. A successor to the throne was named, as the three powers had agreed, by the Chief Justice of the island. By him Malietoa, son of the late king, was selected as successor to the throne—whatever the "throne" might mean.

This selection of a king was distasteful to

the German faction in Samoa, and that faction was charged with instigating a revolution among the natives. The movement was successful to the extent, that another Samoan prince, named Mataafa, was chosen king. Civil war ensued among the natives, but the British and American consuls agreed to accept for the time the provisional government, having Mataafa as its figurehead.



KING MATAAFA OF SAMOA—UPHELD BY THE GERMAN FACTION.

Soon followed riots, ambushes, and killings in several places. In one *mêlée*, which occurred on January 1, 1899, not a few of the natives were slain and decapitated—for that is their manner in war.

Of the rival kings, Malietoa was supported by British and American influence, while Mataafa was upheld by the German officials. Bush fighting and guerilla warfare prevailed, and continued sporadically for several months. Finally a Peace Commission was

appointed by the three powers, and the three representative consuls were notified to issue a proclamation suspending hostilities. Hereupon, on the 27th of April, Mataafa sullenly receded from Apia into the interior. A truce was promulgated, to which Germany gave unwilling acquiescence; for she perceived that her influence in Samoan affairs was neutralized by the superior power of her two rivals.

Meanwhile the great actors in the imperial drama—they who had forged the Empire with the mingled violence of genius and iron—dropped one by one from the stage. The old first Emperor and his distinguished son, Frederick III., passed away. Von Moltke, the Grant of Germany, was no more. On the 30th of July, in his palace at Friedrichsruhe, died Prince Otto von Bismarck, whose part in the drama of modern Europe had doubtless been greater than the part of either the Kaiser or the head of the army.

It were not far from correct to regard Bismarck as the most conspicuous and striking figure of the last half of the nineteenth century. It may be that to the English-speaking peoples, Gladstone held a larger place. But in reality, it is not so, for Bismarck transformed the continent of Europe. Gladstone succeeded in the abolition of the Irish Church, but he failed to secure Home Rule for Ireland, and he was on

the whole borne forward by progressive forces and was not essentially a transformer of events.

Bismarck not only organized the German Empire, but through a period of fifteen years he prepared, with more than a statesman's skill, the antecedent conditions out of which came the political unification of the German states. The evidences and tokens of his life and work are so abundant in the preceding pages that no further sketch of the great

Chancellor will here be given. At the time of his death, he was eighty-three years three months and fifteen days of age. His decease produced a profound impression throughout the civilized world, and the ceremonies attending the funeral were such as befitted the conspicuous act which he had performed in the drama of modern history.

one of the youngest of his great contemporaries. He had shown himself to be no less a statesman than an organizer of armies and navies. When Bismarck was forced to retire from the Chancellorship, in March of 1890, Caprivi was named as his successor. In this relation, he obtained Helgoland from Great Britain by exchanging therefor the German



PALACE OF PRINCE BISMARCK, BERLIN.

The passing of Prince Bismarck from the stage was followed on the 6th of February, 1899, by the death of Baron Georg Leo von Caprivi, Chancellor of the Empire from 1890 to 1894. He, like his great predecessor, died in retirement rather under the disfavor of the Imperial Government. Caprivi was born on the 24th of February, 1831. He was thus

claims in Zanzibar and Witu. In the year following his accession, he secured and confirmed the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy. His death removed one of the last pillars and ornaments from the temple of the First Empire—the Empire created, as the logical sequel of the Franco-Prussian war, by William I. and his generals at Versailles.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—ITALY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY,
SPAIN, ETC.



IN Italy, the year 1889 saw Crispi more firmly established in power by reason of the change in his ministry, and the attempted assassination of him. He emphasized his belief in the necessity of Italy's retaining her place in the Triple Alliance by his attitude in the Chamber at Rome, and by his speech at a banquet in his



MARQUIS DI RUDINI.

honor at Palermo. There was a report current that a treaty between England and Italy had been formed, and, although the rumor was officially contradicted, it was the general belief that England would not permit any alteration of the position of affairs in the Mediterranean through the destruction of the Italian fleet.

Two deaths occurred during the year that must be mentioned; those of Signor Cairoli, formerly Premier, and of the Prince of Carignan, the King's uncle.

In the year following, the elections to Parliament gave an overwhelming majority to Crispi, the Irredentists failing to excite the national feeling, despite the fact that the financial condition continued one of gravest trouble, so that the increased armament was a grievous burden; but the Ministerial success was short-lived, and in 1891 it was reversed, the Marquis di Rudini forming a Cabinet. Yet the general policy was hardly disturbed by the change, the new Premier holding, like Crispi, to the Triple Alliance.

In her internal affairs Italy was much distressed, for the labor troubles that afflicted all Europe were strongly marked in the kingdom. The May-day demonstrations were riotous, with collisions between the mob and troops in Rome and Florence, while most unworthy street-fights occurred in Bologna, caused by the arrogant folly of the officers and the popular jealousy of the military. To these dissensions were added the irritating effect of general financial distress—a distress increased by the fact that the French markets were closed to Italian productions.

Nor were natural calamities wanting at this time to emphasize the hardship of the period, as floods in the autumn caused great loss of life and property. The feeling of dissatisfaction caused by the multiplication of ills expressed itself in 1892 by a change in the Government, the Moderate Left defeating the Moderate Right, and establishing Signor Giolitti in the place of Signor di Rudini. The prevailing discontent was expressed with much violence by the anarchists. A bomb was exploded at the residence of the United States Minister, but no one was

injured. Another was discovered in time to prevent the wrecking of the Palazzo Altieri, the headquarters of the papal guard. An explosion occurred also at the Marignoli Palace, but by a fortunate accident there was no loss of life.

Far more threatening to the State were the revelations that were now made in the Chamber as to the corruption of the Government officials. The storm came when it was proposed to extend the banking laws for a term of six years. Charges were openly made that the Banca Romana and other banks had been guilty of gigantic frauds, and that the silence of the Government officials had been secured by constant bribes. These charges were fully investigated, and they were proved to be true. Distrust was expressed as to the fullness of the investigation from the fact that no senator or deputy was named in the list of the accused.

When the parliamentary session opened in November it was found that the report of the Inquiry Commissioners stated that the bulk of the papers seized in the house of Signor Tanlogno, one of the senators, had been put out of sight. This caused a storm of indignation. Forthwith Signor Giolitti, the Premier, fell, because, knowing the guilt of Signor Tanlogno, he had retained that name on the list of senators. Signor Zanardelli followed in the Premiership; but within a few days the failure of the Credito Mobiliare caused such terror that Signor Crispi was summoned from Sicily again to assume control of the Government.

Meantime riots and outrages by the populace abounded. Sicily was in full revolt because of a proposal to relieve the financial situation by means of new taxes. The only breaks in the gloom were caused by the celebration, in March, of the Pope's Jubilee, it being the fiftieth anniversary of Leo's consecration as Archbishop of the titular diocese of Damietta. Fifty-five thousand gathered to the splendid service in St. Peter's, and among the countless visitors were special representatives from most of the reigning sovereigns of the world, while the gifts from these and lesser persons were almost fabulously valuable. The Pope crowned his Jubilee by the beatifi-

cation of Joan of Arc. A month later a second *fête* enlivened the capital, it being the celebration of the silver wedding of the King and Queen. Emperor William of Germany was welcomed, and won great favor in Rome by placing a wreath on the tomb of Victor Emmanuel.

In 1894 the internal affairs of Italy were at their worst, with popular uprisings everywhere and a state of siege proclaimed in Sicily. Crispi was unable to solve the difficulties of the time, and his popularity was only retained with an attempt to assassinate him by an anarchist named Lega. Even this halo of possible martyrdom was dissipated, however, when Signor Giolitti produced the missing papers in the Banca Romana inquiry, and it was found that the Premier was implicated in the prevalent corruption. His resignation was demanded; but he refused to resign, and the unique spectacle was presented of the Parliament dissolved while the Premier remained. The most important death in 1894 was that of the ex-King of Naples, Francis Maria Leopold of Bourbon.

In 1895, despite the taint of the financial scandals, the Government obtained a majority in the elections, this result being aided by the action of the Pope, who bade all Catholics absent themselves from the polls. The agitations in the legislative body and in the country at large were less, wearing out, it may be, from their own exhaustive violence. Sicily grew quiet, the occupation by troops being really to its great advantage by bringing some money into the island. A bomb exploded on the stairway of the French Consulate in Ancona, whereupon the customary anger flared up between the French and Italian Governments; but as a whole the country was beginning to desire rest from disastrous turbulence of all sorts. Crispi retained his Ministry into 1896, and then yielded to the Marquis di Rudini, not because of the corruptions laid to his charge in connection with the bank scandals, but because of the defeat of the Italian troops in Abyssinia.

The historical forces, back of the ministerial crisis just referred to, were far reaching. The Cabinet of Crispi went down



JUBILEE OF LEO XIII.

THE POPE SAYING MASS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE CONSISTORY IN THE VATICAN.

before a national reaction brought on by the news from the shores of the Red Sea. The course of events in that remote region had become complex in the last degree. In 1895, Great Britain, having completed the pacification of Lower Egypt, concluded for the time that the game in Upper Egypt was not worth the ammunition. Meanwhile, Italy had established a colonial station at Massowah, and with the assent of the other powers, she began to extend her authority

the Soudan in 1890. The Abyssinians being a progressive people, belonging to the Semitic race, though professing Christianity, mustered a large army, and from Russian sources obtained a sufficient supply of excellent arms and ammunition.

It appears, however, that the Italian forces on the frontier under command of General Baratieri were not awake to the strength and equipment of the Abyssinians, and the Italian commander did not hesitate



MENELEK OF ABYSSINIA RECEIVING FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.

over the surrounding territory reaching southward along the coast to the extremity of the Red Sea.

This country is designated as Erytræa. The region adjoins Abyssinia; and it was not long until the Italians on their southwestern frontier came into contact with the Abyssinians, who under their King Menelek had revived their power and influence, which had waned after the death of King John, who perished in a war with the Dervishes of

to risk a battle with his army of fewer than thirty thousand men. Indeed, the advanced division numbered only fifteen thousand. This advance took position at Adowah, on one of the tributaries of the Nile, about one hundred miles from the coast. Here, on the 1st of March, 1896, Baratieri was attacked, and was overwhelmingly defeated. More than three thousand of his men including a great number of officers were lost in the battle and the retreat. The rout was checked

by the Italian reinforcements under General Baldissera, commanding the reserve division, who did as much as he could to trammel up the consequences of the disaster.

It was the news of this shameful overthrow which wrought havoc with the existing political order in Italy. The ministry went down with a crash, and the throne itself was shaken. All the malcontent elements in the Kingdom rose suddenly to the surface, and it was as much as the royal Government could do to prevent a revolution.

Nor will the reader fail to discover in this situation the tremendous swirl of international forces in Eastern Africa. The Russian Czar made haste to grant a decoration to King Menelek. On the other hand, Germany and Austria, being members of the Dreibund, with Italy for the third, came to the support of that power in the recovery of her prestige and footing on the Red Sea. France, as the ally of Russia, must extend her sympathy to the Abyssinians. And hereupon Great Britain threw in *her* influence with the Dreibund! Out of this condition came the Gog and Magog of Eastern Africa in the closing years of the century.

At the first there was expectation of an Italian campaign on a large scale against Abyssinia. Nothing less than this seemed to satisfy the historical expectation in the after part of 1896. But the international complication operated the other way. One of the incidents of the Italian campaign was the dissemination of the rinderpest among the cattle of the country. The disease spread with great rapidity, and with the most fatal results. It became the order of the day to shoot down and to burn the carcasses of whole herds; and still the infection spread. The Italian cause got presently so bad a name that the King was induced by the new ministry to open negotiations with Menelek. Conferences were held with that sovereign, and a treaty was agreed to by which the Italians were to withdraw from the contested territory, and retain only their small province of Erytræa. The event gave peculiar emphasis to the fact that thereby Abyssinia was left as the only remaining in-

dependent native kingdom in the whole of Africa.

Though the Abyssinian complication was solved, or at least mitigated, the affairs in the home kingdom could not be reduced to a calm. During the whole of 1897, and the beginning of 1898, Italian society was rent with disturbances and feuds. The insurgent disposition was partly traceable to social and partly to political causes. There were also industrial causes like those operating in the United States. The Italians were overtaxed and underfed. There was a lack of employment and constant encroachment of corporate greed on the rights and welfare of the laboring masses. The Italians had not yet learned how to vote intelligently and patriotically. It was difficult at the elections to get a large vote deposited. Though universal suffrage prevailed, there was much religious and some social prejudice against it. In many instances, the ecclesiastical power had been exercised to prevent communicants from voting. On top of all was the lingering animosity and shame for the three thousand Italian soldiers sacrificed at Adowah.

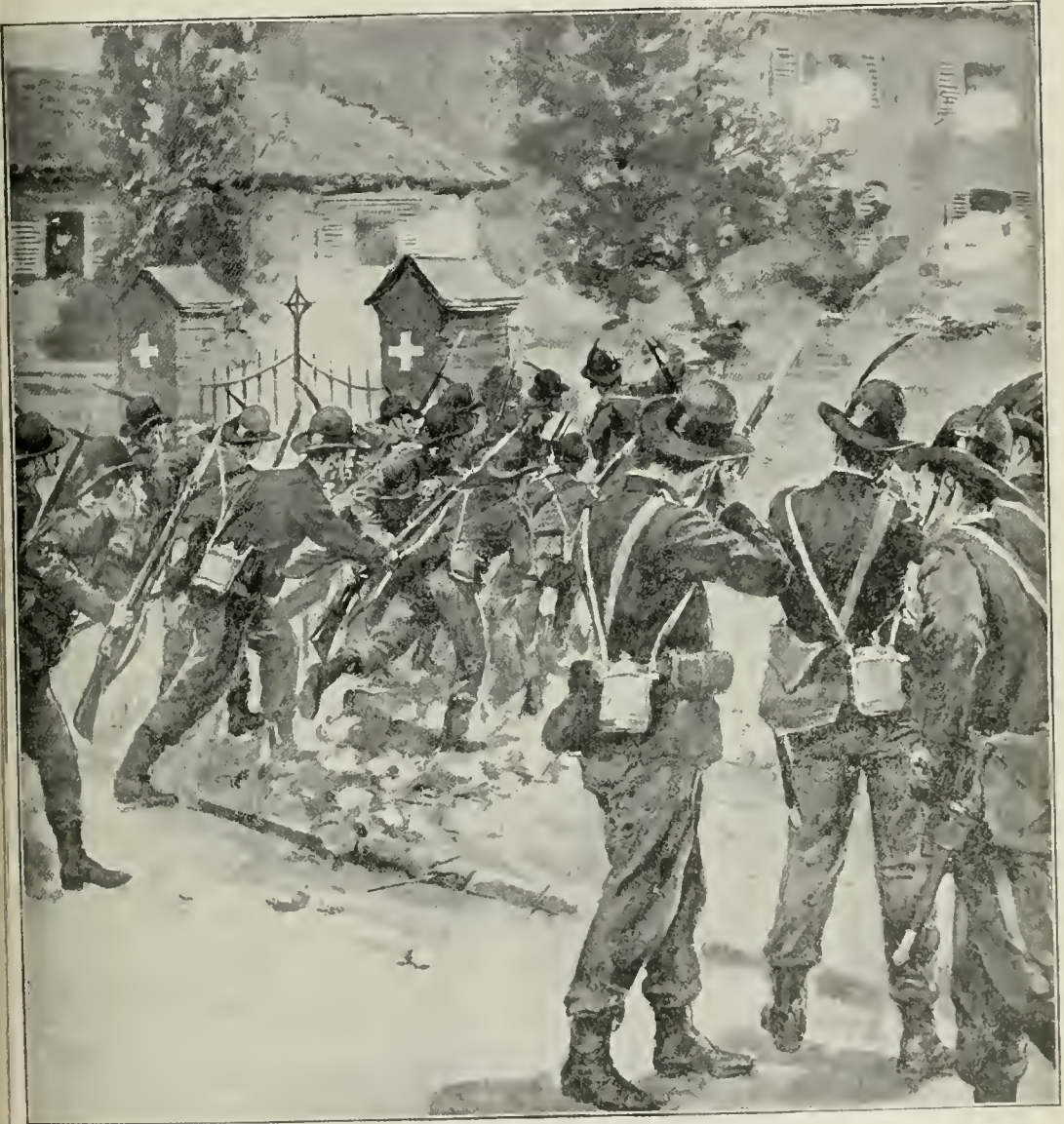
In the early summer of 1898, matters became alarming. On the day of the general election, riots broke out in many parts of the Kingdom. In Milan, the disturbance amounted to an insurrection. The rioters were confronted by the soldiers, and there was much firing, with serious loss of life. Three hundred persons were reported killed, and fully a thousand wounded in the *emeute*.

The result was a strong reaction against the ministry of Count Rudini. That statesman had found great difficulty in preserving his majority in the Chamber of Deputies. After the disastrous affair at Milan, he failed altogether to command the requisite backing. He and his fellow ministers accordingly resigned, in July of 1898, and a new government was organized with General Pelloux as Prime Minister. The whole Cabinet was strongly military in character. The office of Minister of Foreign Affairs was assigned to Admiral Canevaro. The new order assumed a conciliatory tone toward Parliament

and toward public opinion, with the result of a period of political quietude which prevailed in the after part of 1898 and the beginning of the following year.

The year 1889 was one of peculiar trial to

family is in reality the most effective tie that holds together subjects of diverse nationalities and various interests. As to the internal policy of the Emperor, much murmuring in Bohemia was caused by his resolute re-



SCENE DURING THE BREAD RIOTS IN MILAN.

Austria-Hungary, owing to the violent death, generally supposed to be by his own hand, of Rudolph, the Crown Prince. This disaster was most unfortunate, since it occurred where the personal influence of the reigning

family is in reality the most effective tie that holds together subjects of diverse nationalities and various interests. As to the internal policy of the Emperor, much murmuring in Bohemia was caused by his resolute re-

chief expression in the unpopularity of M. Tisza. In Austria the condition of the working classes was bad, and strikes were numerous, accompanied by mutterings of the socialistic storm of the same sound as that heard in Germany. The relations between the Empire and Russia continued to



RUDOLPH, CROWN PRINCE OF AUSTRIA.

display a strong spirit of rivalry as to influence in Eastern Europe, and the feeling between the two nations was embittered by Russian predominance in Serbia and the massing of troops on the Galician frontier, together with the sympathy of Austria-Hungary with Prince Ferdinand and the patriots of Bulgaria in their efforts to escape from external dictation and to win the recognition of the great powers.

The death of most importance to the world

was that of Count Karolyi, who had represented his Government at the Berlin Congress and in London, and this was followed in 1890 by that of Count Andrassy, who had attained great prominence in his term as Foreign Minister. Throughout 1890 Austria-Hungary was disturbed by the agitations in the Balkan States, and by riots and strikes, the discontent showing in the resignation of M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, and in the difficult position of Count Taaffe's Cisleithan ministry through the indiscretions of the Home Rule party in Bohemia. In 1891 affairs in Bohemia became even more disturbed. The Home Rulers obtained control, but Count Taaffe was undismayed, and, indeed, strengthened the German element in his Cabinet, despite all endeavors of the Radicals. Warring factions were, however, too much for his skill in 1893, and he resigned after twelve years of service.

Soon afterward the feeling in the Bohemian Legislature became so bitter that personal encounters occurred between members on the floor, and the Emperor thereupon closed the Diet. Anarchistic uprisings took place throughout the district, and an anti-dynastic movement was started, crowds in Prague and other places singing the Russian and the French national anthems. The presence of troops and in some instances bloodshed was necessary to subdue the factions. Matters were ultimately rendered tolerable to a certain extent by the selection of Prince Alfred Windischgrätz to be Premier, he being a Moderate Conservative, and at the same time a loved landlord in many different provinces.

A matter of better import to Austria was the marriage in Vienna of the Archduchess Margaret Sophia to the Duke of Württemberg. The riots continued and spread through all the Empire in 1894. The death of Kossuth the patriot, who died in exile in Italy, in March, aroused the Hungarian crowds to particular violence. The inability of the ministry to cope with affairs became apparent, and in May, M. Khuen Hedervary became Premier. In this year the most important act of legislation was the passing of

the Civil Marriage Bill, to the great chagrin of the Catholics, making the civil ceremony compulsory, though permitting a subsequent religious rite. In the following year, the general condition of the country was somewhat improved, although severe earthquakes in the south caused much suffering.

In 1894 military circles were much grieved on account of the death of the Archduke Albert Frederick Rudolf, Field Marshal and Inspector-General of the army. This was followed in 1896 by the death, in Hungary, of the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the philanthropist. The year 1896 was remarkable in Hungarian history since it witnessed an imposing celebration of the one thousandth anniversary of the nation's life. The occasion was adorned with the institution of public works throughout the kingdom, and an Exposition in the summer at Budapest, attended by many visitors from foreign countries.

A glance at the political and social affairs of Austria-Hungary in the year 1895 reveals a condition in which nearly all the forces of modern history were at work. There was a marked drawing asunder of the two divisions of the Empire; Austria went at this epoch strongly in the direction of conservatism, while Hungary veered off in the direction of liberalism. Meanwhile, in Vienna, the anti-Semitic crusade in Europe reached its climax. The hostility to the Jews became intense. As usual, there were both an ethnic and a financial or social reason for the antagonism. The Hebrews in Vienna had become, first an important, and then a dominant factor in the business life of the city. Having control of the

finances, they controlled the city government—for that happens in every city where the given condition exists. The Conservative and Catholic party became more and more hostile to the Jewish regime, and at length,



GENERAL LOUIS KOSSUTH.

in the election of 1895, they attacked it openly.

The city government passed into the hands of a new council in which the anti-Semitic combination had ninety-two seats, while the Liberals (who conceded much to the Jews and included them politically) obtained only forty-two seats. This result was grateful to the Government, but that Government had to conceal all symptoms of

jubilant, since it was under obligations to the Jewish bankers. The revolt, however, was sufficient to overthrow the ministry of Count Windischgrätz, and to insure the appointment of a Conservative. A new Premier was found in the person of Count Badeni, formerly Governor of Galicia, a strong Conservative and Catholic. Notwithstanding his religion and political principles, it was necessary for him to accept and continue the *Dreibund*, or Triple Alliance, of

trials. On the 16th of May in that year, the Archduke Charles Louis died. He was the heir presumptive to the imperial crown. His son Francis Ferdinand, next in order of the succession, had been already overtaken with an incurable malady. The third heir was the Archduke Otto, but there were reasons to anticipate his resignation in favor of his son Charles, still a youth. The friends of the imperial house felt an anxiety that Francis Joseph, who had now reached his sixty-sixth



PRAGUE, BOHEMIA.

Austria, Germany, and Italy. The new Minister of Finance was Herr von Bolinski, of Polish origin, a man known to some extent in the world of letters. The system of finances over which he was called to preside was very distasteful to the Hungarians, and he was obliged in his administration to temporize with the conflicting interests of the two sections of the Empire.

In the spring of 1896, the Hapsburg dynasty passed through another of its many

year, might remain on the throne for years to come. It was feared that should he suddenly depart, the youth of Prince Charles might invite the distracted and antagonistic factions in the Empire to rise against it, and perhaps succeed in a revolution.

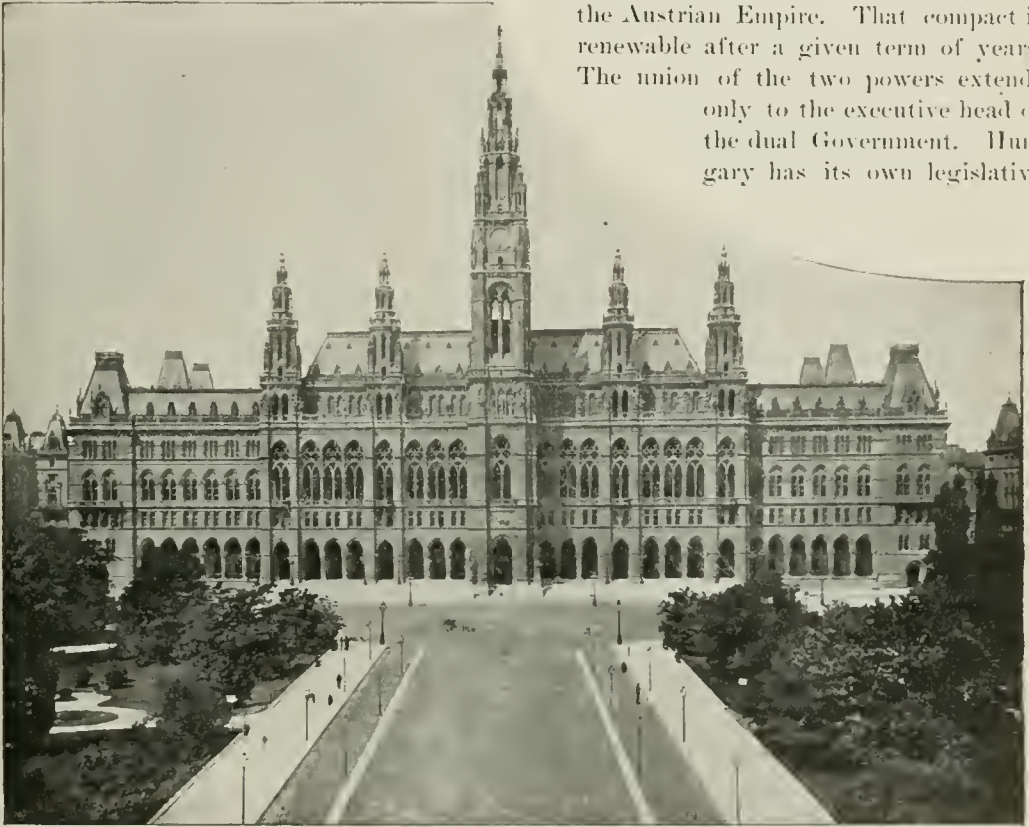
The startling results of the Austrian elections in 1896 were partly attributable to the new and extended franchise which had been granted to the people. Like all citizens unused to their tools, the Austrians failed to

gain from their new liberty all its value. One of its first consequences was a deadlock in the Reichsrath, in the session of 1897. The opposing parties knew nothing but to confront each other and stand their grounds.

The question about which the irreconcilable division occurred was that of teaching languages other than German in the public schools. In the Bohemian quarter of the Empire, the Czechs and the Poles constituted in

party and the Slav party confronted each other in the Reichsrath, and neither would yield to the other. No business could be transacted, and the session was barren of results.

Ordinarily, legislative entanglements of the kind here mentioned have little importance; but in the present instance, there was danger of serious historical results. It chanced that at this juncture, namely in 1897, the period expired of the union of Hungary with the Austrian Empire. That compact is renewable after a given term of years. The union of the two powers extends only to the executive head of the dual Government. Hungary has its own legislative



THE RATHHAUS, VIENNA.

some parts the great majority of the population. To these should be added the Moravians. The peoples of this region are not German in language or sentiments, but are Slavs. Desiring to have their own language recognized in the schools and courts of law, the Slavic communities appealed to the Government at Vienna and obtained the desired concession; but the German opposition to the innovation was extreme. The German

Assembly, or Diet, and its own home rule, except that the Austrian Kaiser is the elective King of Hungary.

While the deadlock in the Reichsrath was on, it was necessary to adopt the periodical resolution of reunion. The session was about to go by, and it was with extreme difficulty that the resolution which had been already adopted by the Hungarian Government was, on the 19th of November,

provisionally approved by the Reichsrath. Meanwhile, the illustrated newspaper at Stuttgart published a cartoon in which the Count Badeni was represented as straining every nerve in the attempt to draw the chariot of state. The chariot had *too many drivers*. In it were a priest, a Hebrew

like had never before been witnessed in the deliberative body of any civilized nation. The reason, however, was not far to seek. The diverse races represented, and the babel of languages heard, in the Reichsrath were inconsistent with any serious progressive legislation.¹ The cataclysm came at the close



CARLOS WOLF—LEADER OF THE RADICALS IN AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT.

money-changer, a landlord, and two or three Czechs. It was a Government beset with difficulties!

In course of time, the true inwardness of the situation in the Reichsrath appeared. The deadlock continued, and the contention becoming more boisterous broke into riot. The scenes which were witnessed in the after part of 1897 beggared description. The

of the year with the overthrow of the Badeni ministry. The Reichsrath unable to do anything except the torment of the ministry. The latter yielded and went down. Baron Gautschi von Frankenthurn, a pious schoolmaster, conservative and ancient, was chosen as Premier. Already he had had some experience in statecraft as well as in pedagogy. He had performed the duties of Minister of Public Instruction; had offended few, and inspired nobody. There was not much likelihood that Carlos Wolf, leader of the opposition, who had recently fought a duel with Count Badeni, would have occasion to challenge his successor!

There were not wanting, however, critics and reviewers who held that the unprecedented agitation in Austria-Hungary at this time was an indication not of disruption, but of reviving national life. Dr. Emil Riech, of Oxford, himself a Hungarian scholar and historian, took this view

of the affairs in his native Kingdom and its

¹ A striking sketch of the condition of affairs in Austria-Hungary at the middle of the last decennium of the century is cited by Samuel L. Clemens in his article *Stirring Times in Austria*, in "Harper's Magazine," for March, 1898. The citation is from Forrest Morgan, who made a study of the subject in 1895. Mr. Morgan says:

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is the patchwork quilt, the Midway Plaisance, the national chain-gang of

paramount Empire. In the Nineteenth Century for March, 1898, Dr. Reich argued with much eogeneity to the effect that the tumults in the Reichsrath should be regarded as evidences of the vigorous vitality of the Austro-Hungarian peoples. "Now," said the reviewer, "through the intensified life of each nationality there is prospect of an intellectual renaissance of peoples who have hitherto been slumbering on the pillows of sloth. The Czechs stung to the quick by their political antagonists will still more advance their national literature, which even now is considerable, *pace* Professor Mommsen. Already in music, the Czechs have embodied their national gifts in the very remarkable works of Dvorak. The Poles of Galicia are a gifted race, and great things may be expected from them both in science, literature, and art. Through the inevitable complication, the Germans of Austria will be induced to multiply their efforts at intellectual supremacy in Austria. The vast progress made by Hungary in all the departments of life, political and intellectual, in the last forty years, owing to the burning ambition of the Magyars, is a sure

guarantee of similar results among the nationalities of Cisleithania. It is incalculable how much commerce and trade and industry will be benefited by that revival of all the mental and moral energies of the Empire. Already the material progress of both halves of the monarchy during the last fifteen years has been very considerable. It will, aided by the immense natural wealth of the Empire,



EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH I OF AUSTRIA.

Europe: a state that is not a nation, but a collection of nations; some with national memories and aspirations, and others without; some occupying distinct provinces almost purely their own, and others mixed with alien races, but each with a different language, and each mostly holding the others foreigners as much as if the link of a common government did not exist. Only one of its races even now comprises so much as *one-fourth* of the whole, and not another as much as *one-sixth*; and each has remained for ages as unchanged in isolation, however mingled together in locality, as globules of oil in water. There is nothing else in the modern world that is nearly like it, though there have been plenty in past ages; it seems unreal and impossible even though we know it is true; it violates all our feelings as to what a country should be in order to have a right to exist; and it seems as though it was too ramshackle to go on holding together any length of time. Yet it has survived, much in its present shape, two centuries of storms that have swept perfectly unified countries from existence and others that have brought it to the verge of ruin, has survived formidable European coalitions to dismember it, and has steadily gained force after each; forever changing in its exact make-up, losing in the West, but gaining in the East, the changes leave the structure as firm as ever, like the dropping off and adding on of logs in a raft, its mechanical union of pieces showing all the vitality of genuine national life."

be increasing at a rate distancing that of all former periods. The enemy of a nation is not to be found in great civil disturbances and commotions. Woe to the nation that knows of no inner conflict."

In the closing years of the century, no other of the great powers of Europe seemed to depend so much on its ruler for a prudent administration as did Austria-Hungary. The Emperor Francis Joseph, on the 2d of December, 1898, completed the fiftieth year of his reign. Next to Victoria's, his was the oldest existing sovereignty in Europe. His influence throughout the Empire was very great. He had the confidence of the people. His many concessions to the nationalities within the Hungarian boundary had made him, even to the Czechs and Poles, a most acceptable King. His very merits, however,

increased the apprehension which was felt respecting the termination of his reign. Prince Francis Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, was, as we have said, afflicted with mental and bodily ailments which had become hereditary in the Hapsburg strain. After him, the Prince Otto may be said to

savor of the monarchy. As for himself, he had sorrow enough. If his responsibilities were great, his griefs were greater. Already he had been stripped until he stood like a desolate tree in the storm. In 1889, his Crown Prince Rudolph was taken from him by death. His brother, the ill-starred Maximilian of

Mexico, went down, in June of 1867, before the bullets of the Juarists. While the preparations were on for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his reign, an event occurred which might well destroy his remaining courage and hope. On the 10th of September, 1898, the Empress Elizabeth, who had been sojourning in Switzerland, was assailed by an Italian assassin named Luccheni and stabbed to death. The Empress was about to go on board of a steamboat at Geneva when the cruel villain, with a blunt file in his hand, sprang upon her, and plunged it into her breast.

There had been so great disparity of age between Francis Joseph and the Queen, and in particular so great a contrariety of tastes and dispositions, that the domestic life had virtually ceased some years previously. The Empress had not been seen at court, nor had she participated in public affairs for a considerable period, and her death, politically considered, was for



EMPERESS ELIZABETH OF AUSTRIA.

have enjoyed universal disrespect. The contingency of his succession looked, to the political prophets, like the end of all things.

The old Emperor was accordingly left during the period of tumult in the Reichsrath to conduct the Government as he would. His virtues were, for the time, the remaining

these reasons less significant than it would otherwise have been. Nor may we pass from this incident of crime without noting the fact that the Emperor had for some time previously suffered extremely from vague apprehensions of impending evil. The preterition had been so distinct as to

dispirit him and to destroy his interest in the approaching festivities in his honor.

The year 1889 found Spain in more than usual tranquillity. The ministry of Señor Sagasta maintained its supremacy, despite the efforts of the Canovist Conservatives and the Radicals and Republicans. The Queen Regent's direction of the Government of her infant son was regarded with much approbation by her subjects and by the statesmen of other nations, so that the visit paid to her at Biarritz by Queen Victoria, the most punctilious of sovereigns, was looked on as a deserved recognition of excellence in fulfilling the duties of a most critical position.

The most lamented death of the year was that of Marshal Quesada, a distinguished veteran of the Civil War. The King was attacked with a severe illness early in 1890, and the intrigues of parties thereby doubled, but he recovered. Señor Sagasta succeeded in passing a measure for universal suffrage; but his popularity waned, and he was forced to resign in the summer, Señor Canovas del Castillo forming a Conservative Cabinet. Throughout this period it was evident that the fall of the Brazilian Monarchy had created a profound impression on the political thought of Spain, as, indeed, was the case also in Portugal. Two deaths in 1890 were of political importance, those of the Duke of Aosta, formerly King Amadeo, and of the Duke of Montpensier, once an aspirant to the Spanish throne. The Conservative cause continued in the ascendant in 1891; but Radical efforts were spurred by the financial embarrassment, Spanish stocks falling seriously, while the industrial depression was increased by the devastating floods that swept over the lowlands in the autumn. These causes combined with the purely political to breed dissatisfaction, with the result that in 1892 the ministry was defeated and the familiar Radical, Sagasta, became Premier in the place of the no less familiar Conservative, Canovas.

The chief affairs of 1893 were religious riots between Protestants and Catholics, fomented to extremity by the anarchistic element. In 1894 the ministry resigned, but Señor Sagasta was able to re-form the Cabinet

and to continue in the premiership. Fortunately for the ministry in its struggles with the financial difficulties, it was successful in gaining a large indemnity from the Sultan of Morocco for assaults on the Spanish soldiery.

In 1895 the storm burst upon Spain. Ever since the revolution of 1868 to 1878 the party of rebellion in Cuba had been working insidiously to obtain the freedom of the island from Spanish dominion. To that end no less than one hundred and forty clubs were formed in America, the members of which were pledged to contribute at least one-tenth of their income, if necessary, to the cause of revolution. Arms, too, were collected, many of them stored secretly in the island itself. The men in control of these plots planned a general uprising to take place in the island February 24, 1895. On the appointed day there were revolts in three of the provinces, Santiago, Santa Clara, and Matanzas. At this time Captain-General Calleja, on whom the Spanish authority relied for its protection, had only nine thousand men; not enough to garrison the towns, even with the four thousand recruits soon sent to reënforce him.

Of the thirteen Spanish gunboats, only seven were available for the protection of five hundred leagues of coast-line, and they were slow. The rebellion under such circumstances could grow; and it did grow, especially since the insurgents pursued guerrilla tactics, escaping from the forces sent against them by retreating into the fastnesses of the mountains or the inaccessible depths of the swamps. Early in March, Spain voted unlimited credit for the putting down of the rebellion, and sent twenty thousand men to the island, and Field Marshal Martinez Campos, who brought the other revolution to an end in two years, was given command of the island. On March 25, José Martí and Maximo Gomez proclaimed, from Hayti, a declaration of Cuban independence, and on the 31st of that month Antonio Maceo arrived from Costa Rica with arms and officers, forthwith establishing a Provisional Government, with Dr. Tomas Estrada Palma as the Provisional President of the Republic, José Martí as Secretary, and Gen-

eral Gomez as Commander-in-Chief. A convention was held, May 18, in which Bartolome Masso was elected President of the Cuban Republic, Maximo Gomez Commander in Chief, and Antonio Maceo Commander in Chief of the Oriental Division.

On the following day, just after Marti had parted from Gomez, he was ambushed and slain by the Spaniards. The Provisional Government was formally constituted in the Valley of the Yara, and a Declaration of Independence issued on July 15. In August, officers were elected: President, Masso; Vice President and Minister of War, Gomez;

United States. Subsequently, he was potential alike in the revolutionary government and in the field. When Antonio Maceo was slain, Garcia became the chief reliance of the insurgents as a competent commander. When the war was at the crisis in the mid-summer of 1898, General Garcia commanded the only Cuban patriot army worthy of the name, and in that relation he coöperated successfully and honorably with General Shafter in the campaign which ended with the capture of Santiago and the collapse of the Spanish cause.

In the meantime the reinforcements sent



SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Gonzalo de Quesada; Commander-in-Chief, Antonio Maceo; Commander of the Oriental Division, José Maceo.

To this list of leading spirits must be added the name of General Calixto Garcia, who, as the event showed, was one of the most powerful of the Cuban leaders. To him the revolutionists were greatly indebted on the score of his success in the delicate work of procuring arms and supplies from the

by Spain had been so many that there were fully sixty thousand effective men in the service; but as one-half of these were necessary for the safe garrison of the towns, the number was not fatal to the insurgents, who now had nearly thirty thousand soldiers. These continued a war that showed the extreme of bitterness on each side, until the whole island was one scene of desolation, and all commerce and industry were ruined. The courage of the Revolutionists continued with

the prolonging of the war, the exhausted condition of Spain's finances, and the burden of a serious revolt in the Philippine Islands, leading them to believe that their enemy must yield to the multiplication of ills unless the Government could be promptly restored.

On September 23, the Revolutionists adopted a constitution at Anton de Puerto Principe, and elected Salvador Cisneros President. No decisive point was reached at the end of 1896, the sending of General Valeriano Weyler to take the place of General Campos having served only to make the work of the soldiers in Cuba vastly more brutal, without accomplishing any apparent progress toward Spain's final victory.

The period in Spanish history, from the middle of the last decennium to the close of the century, was an epoch of gradual decline of power and retraction of territorial dominion. The retrograde movement had for its conclusion the virtual restriction of the dominion of Spain to the peninsula which constitutes her remaining center of undisputed sway. The beginning of the extension of power by conquest and discovery was coincident with the first years of the sixteenth century. For a while at the middle of that century it appeared that the Spanish Empire would be and remain almost as wide as that of Great Britain in the present age. But the outspreading of the realms of Spain was delusive and transitory. Already, in the time of Philip II. the extremities of the kingdom began to fall away. At intervals there would be a stationary period, but always, after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tendency to retrogression was seen.

This fatal trend of affairs, however, was

hidden under Spanish pride. No loss was sufficient to darken the disc of national vanity. When the Cuban imbroglio came on, and in 1895 rose to the crisis of revolution, the authorities at Madrid treated the event with their wonted haughtiness. Nor did the protests of other nations much avail to turn



GENERAL CALIXTO GARCIA.

the Government from its predestined course. It should be said, however, that Maria Christina, the Regent of the Kingdom, was a good and not incapable ruler—according to the royal standard for the estimate of rulers, and according to the conditions under which she was placed. Her boy, Alfonso XIII., grew apace, and in 1896, began to be ten years old. The Regent and her Government looked with anxiety on the progress of affairs in Cuba, but to them it seemed that but one policy could be pursued—the repression of the

insurrection and the reëstablishment of order by absolutism.

Before the close of the administration of Cleveland, he sent to Congress a rather elaborate, and, on the whole, conservative message, which, if the Spanish Government had taken heed thereto, might have led the way to peace by reconstruction. But the national spirit would brook no overture. We may assume that the Crown and ministry of Spain were moreover informed of the covert disposition in the United States to encourage the rebellion against the home kingdom with the



ANTONIO MACEO.

ulterior design of securing, under the semblance of independence, the actuality of annexation. The schemes that were on in our own country were well calculated to provoke the ire of Spain, and to make an amicable settlement impossible. One such scheme, which was fomented at the beginning of 1896, was to get a large issue of Cuban bonds and to have them guaranteed by the Government of the United States with the consequent privilege or right of appointing American revenue officers for the Cuban ports—this to the end that the proceeds necessary for the payment of the interest on the factitious bonds might be diverted from commerce into the pockets of the managers.

During the whole of the year 1896, the policy of cruelty and persecution against the

Revolutionary party in Cuba was pursued. General Valeriano Weyler, who had succeeded Captain-General Martinez Campos, visited not only the rebels, but those who were vaguely suspected of rebellion, with fire and sword. It was at this juncture that the genius of Antonio Maceo was displayed as a formidable leader of the Revolutionists. To him more than to any other the Cubans looked hopefully as to one able to cope with the Spanish soldiery. Maceo continued in command until the 8th of December of the year just named, when he was ambushed and slain. Nor was the suspicion wanting that treachery was used against him.

Spain redoubled her efforts in the beginning of 1897 to suppress the Cuban rebellion and to save the remnants of her insular Empire. The war in Cuba was waged with great ferocity. General Weyler adopted the policy of forcing the non-combatant element in the insurgent districts into the towns, where he pent up both the evil and the good. By this means he was enabled, with small contingents of soldiers posted here and there in Pinar del Rio, to hold the starving reconcentrados in their keeps until they should perish, or at least satisfy him by their sufferings that they had become loyal to authority.

This business continued until it began to work its own cure. The tone of the American press toward the Spanish management in Cuba became threatening. The rumble of international thunder was heard in the horizon. At length, General Weyler was recalled, and the position of Commander-in-Chief was assigned by the Spanish War Department to General Ramon Blanco.

By this time, the energies of the Spanish administration at Madrid were almost wholly absorbed in the Cuban complication. The impoverished condition of the treasury prevented the speedy and extensive enlargement of the Spanish armies and fleets; but these were augmented as much as possible. Spain had sunk to the rank of a second-class or third-class power, but as such she armed and equipped herself to a measure of efficiency, though she could hardly expect to hold her own in the case of war with the United

States. The population of the latter outnumbered that of the former in the ratio of four to one, and the resources of the American Republic were overwhelmingly preponderant. Though Spain prepared for war as well as she might, actual hostilities were hardly anticipated. Not until the winter of 1897-98 had worn away, did an event occur which seemed to justify the expectation of an outbreak. At that time, however, a perfidious thing was done which suddenly aroused the American people to an almost uncontrollable fever of animosity.

From the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace by the American Senate on February 6th, 1899, the history of the Spanish-American war in all of its leading movements and results has already been recited in the narrative of our own national affairs, and to that narrative the reader is here referred.¹ In this connection it only remains to note the vicissitudes of the home affairs in the Spanish Kingdom while the war was on. The outbreak of hostilities gave opportunity for all of the elements in opposition to the Crown and the dynasty to come suddenly forth. Such elements were by no means wanting. The Spanish Republicans, aforesaid followers of Emilio Castellar, showed their disposition in movements and agitations looking to the abolition of the monarchy; but this part of the domestic turbulence was not formidable.

In the next place, the Carlists, partisans of the pretender Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII., made a show of strength. The original Don Carlos had now been succeeded by his nephew of the same name. The latter, however, had not, since the death of Alfonso XII., seriously prosecuted his claims to the throne. Moreover, prudence and foresight on the part of the claimant led him to see that advantage to himself and his followers lay at this juncture in the policy of upholding rather than revolutionizing the Government. Patriotism as well as good political sense inspired Don Carlos to

shout, "To the battle!" He accordingly became a strong supporter of the war, limiting himself to criticism of the war policy of the administration, and awaiting the opportunity to take advantage of any revulsion that might come in favor of his pretensions.

The Queen Regent, meanwhile, had several advantages in her contest with her adversaries. Her son, now in his thirteenth year



CAPTAIN-GENERAL RAMON BLANCO.

and already titular King of Spain, might be shown by the mother to both the Cortes and the people. He was her living appeal. He was to her interests almost as much of an argument as the infant Joseph had been in the arms of Maria Theresa just one hundred and fifty-seven years earlier. The fact that she, a woman, was charged in these dreadful days with the responsibilities of a monarchy added to her influence and her security.

The Spaniards really prosecuted the war with enthusiasm. The people at large were embittered to the last degree against the Americans. Spanish soldiers had a more rational opinion of the affair on their hands. They were well disciplined, well armed, and

¹ See pages 85-152.

Numancia.

Cisneros.

Isla de Luzon.
Ensenada.

Carlos V.

Alfonso XII.

María Teresa.



Furol.

Terror.

Osarlo.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

FIGHTING LINE OF THE SPANISH NAVY.

well instructed in the code of war. They fought well, and observed the rules of courtesy. Those who were taken prisoners were found to be soldiers of good character. Some of the captive officers traversed parts of the United States and were received in a manner befitting their rank and behavior.

On the other hand, the qualities of the Spanish soldiery were soon discovered by the Americans in the field, and the swift moving war was not half over until a certain sympathy with the enemy, even against the patriot insurgents for whom the Americans had interfered, sprang up and prevailed. The motley character of the rebels in Cuba did not appeal to the Americans. The Cuban patriots were found to be of a kind who do not pass current among the Teutonic peoples. There was a gradual change of sentiment in the United States with respect to those for whom the war had been undertaken, and the same thing, but more acute and illogical, occurred in the Philippines, where the conflict was actually turned against the Filipinos.

Outside of the amenities of the field, however, and a certain respectful speech and tone in the Spanish ministry, the feeling toward the Americans was bitter to the last degree. A whole vocabulary of epithets was invented to express the common rage. The Americans were monsters. They were robbers, assassins, beasts, *pigs*—the last term being the supreme expression of Spanish hatred and contempt. The reader of history must be reminded by the phraseology so abundant in the Spanish publications of 1898, of the like expressions in the news-

papers of Matamoras, Vera Cruz, and Mexico at the outbreak of hostilities in 1846.

The prosecution of such a war as that in which Spain was engaged must needs bring a severe strain upon the ministry. During



QUEEN REGENT MARIA CRISTINA AND ALFONSO XIII OF SPAIN.

the antecedent period of the crisis, Señor Antonio Canovas del Castillo was Prime Minister. He was a Conservative statesman of the first rank, and had previously been Premier of the Government. At this time, the Liberal party was under the leadership

of Señor Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, whose name and activities had been interwoven with public affairs ever since the insurrections of 1856 and 1866.

In the beginning of 1897, the Liberal party still upheld the Conservative Government in its Cuban policy of repression by force. At length, however, after several

that he was obliged to resign, and the whole Cabinet resigned with him.

It appeared for the nonce that Señor Sagasta and the Liberal party would come into power; but the Queen Regent preferred to retain Canovas. His associates also, including Tetuan, came back, and the Government went on as before. When the summer

recess came, the Prime Minister went for a season to Santa Agueda, a watering place, where on the 8th of August, he was shot and killed by an obscure anarchist of Italian origin, named Angiolillo. It did not appear that the deed had resulted from a conspiracy, or that the blow was delivered with political intent. It seemed rather that the assassin was inspired against the statesman because the latter was thought to have visited severe punishments against anarchist disturbers at Barcelona, where they abounded. The event deprived Spain, or rather the existing dynasty, of its strongest pillar of support, and made almost certain the passing of the political scepter to the Liberal party. Meanwhile, the duties of Prime Minister were assigned for the time to the Spanish Minister of War.

After the summer recess of the Cortes, the difficulties impending over Spain thickened daily. The provisional ministry which had been organized after

miscarriages in Cuba, the Liberal policy was changed into one of criticism and opposition. In the summer of 1897, an event occurred which threatened the ministry with sudden overthrow. In the course of the debates, the Duke of Tetuan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an assault upon an aged statesman, one of the professors of law in the university of Madrid. Public opinion rose against the assailant to such a degree

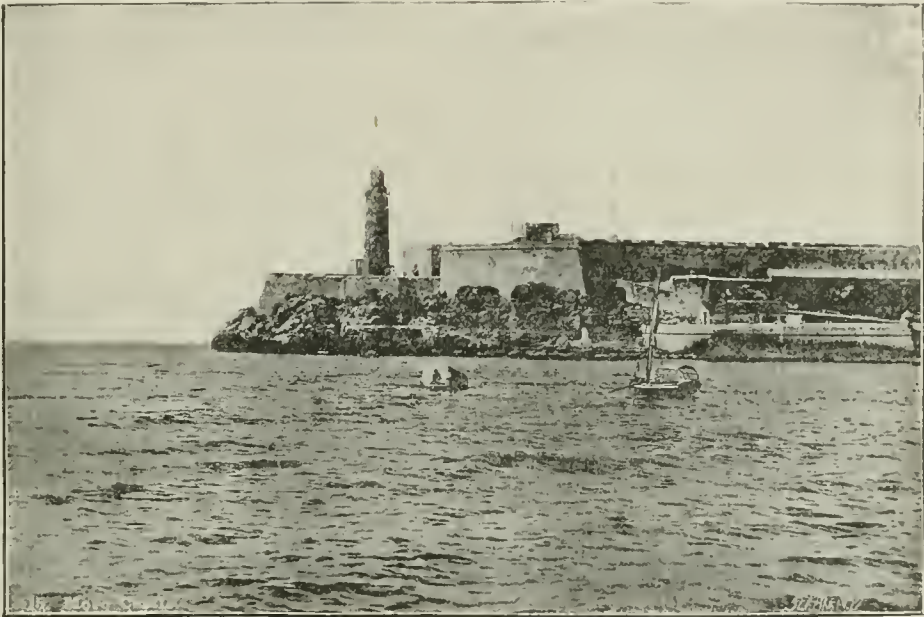
the assassination of Canovas went to pieces in October. Public sentiment, as expressed in the election, went more and more against the Conservative Government. At length, the majority turned to the Liberals, and Sagasta was again charged with the duty of constructing a Cabinet. It was a duty of the performance of which few statesmen would have been ambitious. In one respect, the new administration was even



SEÑOR ANTONIO CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO.

as the old. It did not dare to change policy as it respected the Cuban rebellion. Indeed, the complaint of the Liberals had been that the war against the insurgents had not been waged with sufficient energy. Weyler had been criticised for being at once impolitic and inefficient. The Liberals must therefore go on and insure efficiency and the speedy suppression of the rebellion. It was at this particular juncture that General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco sent to Cuba in his stead. The latter, entering upon his duty

Correspondents were sent by yacht and railway train into the disturbed parts of the world for the purpose of gathering sensational information and of making exaggerated reports of such facts as might tend to inflame the passions of readers and create a demand for more. By this means it was imagined that the volcanoes that were opening in almost every part of the world might be smothered by other agitations created in their stead through the agency of journalism. Spain, following this method, constantly



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

THE MORRO OF HAVANA.

on the 20th of October, declared his purpose to press the war with the greatest energy.

With the beginning of the year 1898, the most important aspect of Spanish history was the growth of the revolt in the Philippine islands. It was the policy of Spain to minimize her colonial difficulties. It was the policy in the United States to magnify them. This course was pursued by both Governments with respect to the prevailing conditions in the West Indies and also in the Philippines. There came to pass at this time, a new method of journalistic agitation to which the civilized countries had never before been subject.

published for her own people false reports of the disturbed and insurrectionary conditions in her colonies. She sought at the same time to quiet or divert the attention of her own revolutionary elements to the embarrassments and troubles of foreign states. And thus also did the United States. Having her own financial, economic, and industrial questions yawning under her feet, she would fain have the organs of public information distract the attention of the people with the publication of lurid accounts about the insurrections and brawls of barbarians and savages in distant islands. She must needs foster the opinion

that the great Republic ought, in morals and in fact, to undertake, in the British manner, the rectification of everything in the world except her own character.

At the period referred to, the rebellion of the Filipinos became formidable. At the very time when the *Maine* was destroyed in the harbor of Havana, the rebellion of the oriental subjects of Spanish authority threatened its extinction in the East. It was this antecedent condition that enabled the United States, in expectation of the outbreak of hostilities, to have one fleet in the East and two fleets in the West, ready when the crisis came to strike before dawn and be victorious with the rising sun.

paid by the United States for Alaska. The sum is one and a third times as great as our third President gave to Napoleon for the empire of Louisiana, and it bears a like relation to the amount conceded by our Government to Mexico for the imperial dominions which we wrested from her in 1848.

The fact that the powerful United States granted such a compensation for the relinquishment of the buildings and fortifications which Spain had established in the Philippines was to her and her people a salve for many wounds. Nor should we fail to note that the extinction of the colonial governments of the Spanish Kingdom must have been, as it is and remains, a measure of relief



PALACE OF THE QUEEN REGENT, MADRID.

At the conclusion of hostilities in August of 1898, the Spanish Government put itself in a conciliatory attitude. The Queen Regent, the Sagasta ministry, the Cortes, and the leading publicists of the Kingdom were willing to have peace on the most available terms. The protocol was readily accepted. The Spanish representatives at the peace conference, which sat at Paris in the autumn and early winter of the year, were men of ability and character. They contended as well as they might for advantageous terms. They yielded only as they must. They secured an indemnity or compensation of \$20,000,000—a sum not to be despised when we remember that it is nearly three times as great as the price

to a nation which was afflicted with outlying troubles and scandals to an extent hardly compensated by the revenues and robberies which the colonial governments constantly inflicted on the subject insular populations.

This species of political farming has never been successfully practiced but by two great nations, and these two were (*one was* and the other *is*), Rome and Great Britain. Such a method flourishes only under a scepter of iron, wielded with an iron hand and supported with iron guns. It is the hard method which blind and fatal history employs for the extermination of the weak and innocent savages who seem to impede a little the ambition and lusts of the mighty.

The ratification of the treaty was not easily effected on either side. There were great and serious reasons for the hesitation. The right of the American Senate to discuss and reject a treaty is absolute. In the present case, the results of the war had been as portentous as they were gratifying to American pride. The conflict brought in a large category of the most doubtful advantages. The payment of twenty millions of dollars, as if to make good a conquest already accomplished, seemed to be an extraordinary waste of resources. The acquisition of considerable territory, distant by nearly half the circumference of the globe from the nearest continental port of the United States, was an alarming gain. The whole West Indian complication was involved as a part of the sequel. These matters must needs arouse the fears of many statesmen and lead to a long discussion in the Senate.

On the Spanish side, there were also the most serious reasons for holding back a ratification by the Cortes and the confirmation by the Queen. The result had been humiliating to the monarchy. The reigning dynasty had much to fear and everything to imagine. The loss of prestige might well anger the opposition and give great advantage in the debate. The collapse of the whole insular Empire of Spain might well excite the profoundest passion. The event corresponded to the expectation. The Ministry of Sagasta was shaken like a reed in the winds and counter-currents of public clamor. The debate in the Cortes was long continued and acrimonious, but a ratification was at last obtained. The Queen hesitated, but at length yielded to the inevitable. On the 16th of March, 1899, she signed the treaty, which was at once forwarded to M. Jules Cambon at Washington, for the usual exchange for that copy of the treaty which had been signed by President McKinley.—Such was the official ending and final extinction of the fires of war.

Portugal peaceably managed, in 1889, that most difficult of all tasks for a kingdom, the

calm succession of the heir to the throne, the occasion being the death of King Luis. Despite this change in rulers—and, too, despite the excitement of the foreign activities—Portuguese home affairs were unusually serene. The same could not be said of the next year; for then the hesitating policy of the ministry in its attempted defiance of England in African concerns, aroused the anger of the Anti-English party to such an extent that the Cabinet twice fled in dismay from the mobs in Lisbon.



CARLOS I., KING OF PORTUGAL.

The year 1891 was marked by an abortive effort at military revolution in Oporto that only succeeded in causing financial troubles, to which were added a fall in Portuguese securities by reason of an over-issue of depreciated paper currency. In the same year the ministry fell, and a coalition Cabinet was formed, with General Chrysostomo at its head, by which, ultimately, the long-delayed settlement of English and Portuguese broils in Africa was accomplished. In 1893 a most curious policy was followed by the opposition against the ministry, it being no less

than a strike, whereby no quorum could be obtained, and the ministry was forced to resign.

The new Cabinet was formed by Señor Hintze-Ribeiro, and proceeded to embroil itself with France by permitting the cashing of French money orders at even rates, in spite of the fact that the depreciation of the Portuguese money made such transactions much like robbery. The excuse of the ministry amounted simply to this: That the state of the finances in the country was so bad that anything was justifiable, even theft. The matter was ultimately amicably adjusted. Little has been done in the years following toward establishing a sound financial system.

In the recent history of the Kingdom, little of importance has occurred, with the exception of the visit made, in November of 1895, by the King, Carlos I., to Great Britain. His Majesty had expressed the purpose of visiting Rome, where he might call upon his kinsman Humbert. But such was the peculiar complication of affairs that the Holy Father thought it worth while to forbid his faithful Carlos from coming to the Italian Court.

For Leo, cherishing his resentment against the "Cis-Alpine Usurper," was not willing that so good a Catholic as the King of Portugal should pay him respect. But in the matter of the intended visit to the *British* Court there was little objection, as well there might be not; for how could the Vatican afford or presume to slight the majesty of an empire whose established church he soon hoped to lead back to the altar and communion of St. Peter!

So Carlos made his journey to London and St. James and Windsor, in each of which places he was received with flattering attention. Indeed, the narrative of the thing done, said that "he was loaded with honors by the Queen." Politically, and internationally, the event signified that the traditional good will of England and Portugal would be maintained and strengthened. For a long time, the British administration has considered friendliness at Lisbon equivalent to several regiments at Gibraltar.

Switzerland, in 1890, was disturbed by a miniature civil war at Bellinzona, where the Radicals revolted, and by force of arms overturned the Conservative Government of Canton Ticino, one of the members being shot. The Swiss demanded the extradition of the murderer; but the English authorities, to whom he appealed for protection, decided that the disturbance approached to civil war, and that therefore the offender was a refugee for political reasons, thus being exempted under the extradition treaty. At Ticino, matters were eventually compromised, but not until the Federal troops had been called to the scene. This unpleasantness, however, in no wise interfered to prevent an imposing celebration, in 1891, of the six hundredth anniversary of the first establishment of the Bund.

A Congress of Socialists was held in Switzerland in 1893, with four hundred delegates from all parts of Europe in attendance. After the first meeting the anarchistic element was excluded, and the transactions of the body were remarkably dignified and admirable. The same year witnessed a curious result of the referendum, when the vote of the people decreed that Jewish butchers should not kill their cattle in the manner prescribed by the Israelitish law! Another and far more important evidence of the referendum's power was given in the following year, when a constitutional amendment was proposed to the effect that every citizen should be guaranteed sufficiently remunerative employment. The amendment was rejected by a large majority, despite all the exhortations of the strong Socialist party.

In the recent history of Switzerland, by far the most important feature is the growth of state socialism. The Republic furnishes the extraordinary example of a nation, small though it be, in process of solving the great problem of modern times. But the evolution is slow and almost silent. The progress of the state in the direction of industrial socialism has taken the wind out of the sails of the professional Socialists, and at times their vocation, like that of the abolitionists in the

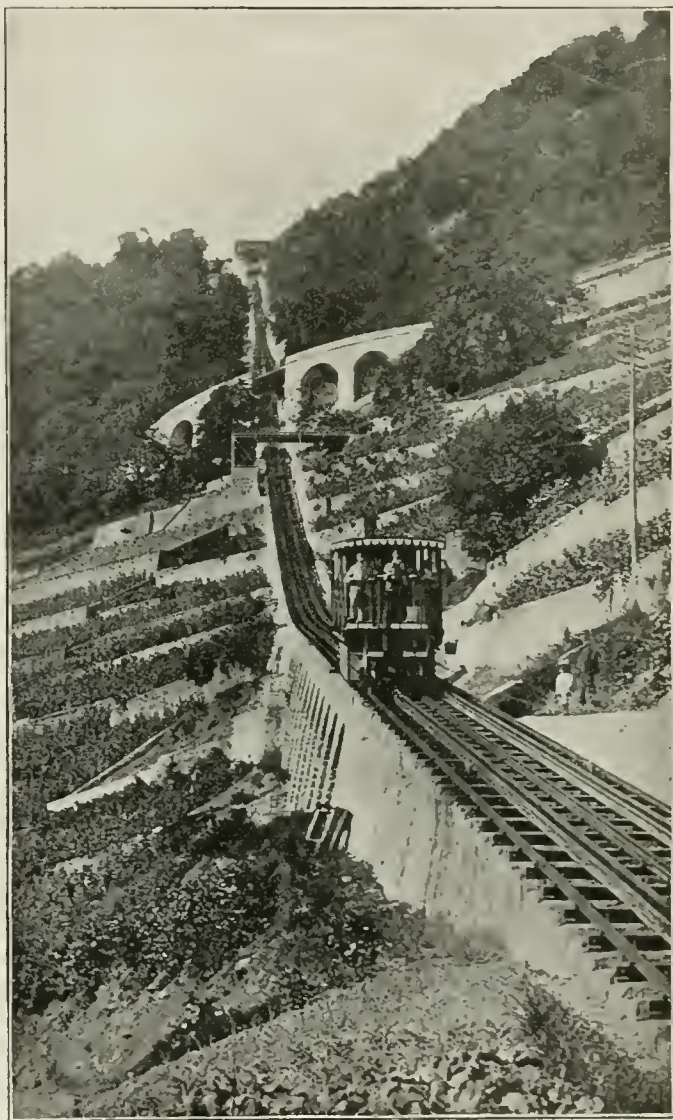
United States in 1863, seems to be almost gone.

There is no other state in the civilized world in which the assumptions of corporate and industrial functions has been so easy and natural as among the Swiss. Measures have been adopted which in any English-speaking country would provoke widespread discussion and fierce opposition from the money powers of society—this with scarcely a ripple of agitation or disturbance.

The socialistic movement among the Swiss has appeared not only in the municipalities, not only in the different cantons as such, but in the general actions of the Republic. In recent years one enterprise after another has fallen under the control of the state, as if by the most natural process of development. The condition of moneyed ascendancy prevailing in almost all other countries over the rights and prerogatives of society is well-nigh reversed in Switzerland. And yet Switzerland is one of the most highly industrial countries in Europe. The state is a hive, and the people are the bees. When they have found, as they have found, that public enterprises and franchises can be better controlled and determined by the community as a whole than by companies, corporations, and trusts, they have quietly assumed the control to the immense economic advantage of the community at large.

One of the first acts of this kind on the part of the Government was the adoption of a government telegraph. This was done before the usefulness and necessity of the telephone were demonstrated. Afterward

the telephone also was nationalized; so that the people at large were admitted to its benefits at an expenditure of about nine dollars for each citizen annually. The next measure was the establishment of a parcels post,



TERRITET RAILWAY, MONTREUX ON LAKE GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

corresponding in its function to the domineering express companies in the United States. By this means, the cost of sending parcels in Switzerland has been reduced to about one-fiftieth of the express charges in our country.

In the same direction lies the effort of the Swiss to take possession in the public interest of all the railway lines.

Nor is it the public franchises only that are thus sought for by the practical socialism of Switzerland. Many manufactures and many agencies for the general promotion of industries have likewise been quietly taken from the hands of the corporation and transferred to the hands of the community. Such, for example, is the manufacture of matches, which has become a social industry. The

the transaction of their business a money supply sufficient therefor without the servitude and loss usually entailed on borrowers at the bank counters of a state.

Meanwhile, the cantons and the principal municipalities have gone forward successfully on the same lines of development. Geneva owns its own plant for lighting the city. The municipal government has also assumed control of the tremendous water power of the river Rhone, which pours out of the lake with a force second only to our Niagara.



GENEVA, SWITZERLAND—RUE DE MONT BLANC.

Government has likewise claimed the monopoly of the sale of alcoholic drinks, with the result incidentally of a great reduction in drunkenness; the moral advantage has appeared more distinctly in this case than has the industrial consequence.

For some time the question has been agitated of establishing a national bank—this in a sense as different as can be from the so-called national banks of the United States. The Swiss idea is to assume complete control by the Government of the money function and of its subordinate financial operations—to the end that the people may have for

The river has been made not only to furnish the power for illumination and for a hundred local industries, but also to pump itself up as a water supply for the city! Geneva holds the cup to her own lips and washes her features with the gratuitous spray and dew of her lake. For four miles down the river the control of the stream by the city is absolute. The great dam was built at the public charge. The price of power thus produced may be purchased by individuals and local companies at about one-half of the rate charged in other cities which are in the grasp of companies owning the franchises. In

1896-97, the municipal government branched out into the construction of tenement houses; insomuch that, as we have said, the cry of the professional Socialist that the poor as well as the rich should share in the blessings of the home seemed to be answered affirmatively, and as if by common consent.

During the year 1889 the King of Holland was so near death that his decease was regarded as certain speedily to occur, whereupon all arrangements were made for the cutting off of Luxemburg from the Netherlands. The crisis was postponed by an unexpected improvement in the health of the King, only to come again in 1890, when his death occurred.

In Holland the succession of the Princess Wilhelmina had been decreed by law, and Queen Emma was made Regent. According to the treaties, Luxemburg separated from the Dutch Crown to become an independent neutral State, under the nearest agnate, the Duke of Nassau. At the same time, Holland caused much trouble by objecting to the levying of imports in the Congo State, suggested by the Berlin Congress in its plans to abolish the slave-trade. Eventually, Holland yielded to the expressed wish of the Powers, and has ever since been singularly free from external difficulties and from civil strife, although, like all Europe, suffering from much industrial depression and the tumults of the anarchistic element. The most important death, since that of the King, was that of Prince Baldwin of Flanders.

In the later annals of Holland, the most important event has been the assumption of regal power by the young Queen Wilhelmina. The law of the Kingdom is that the heir ap-

parent reaches the legal age of sovereignty at eighteen years. The Princess Wilhelmina thus gained her majority on the last day of August, 1898. Her royal father had been dead nearly eight years, and her mother in the interim had held the office of Regent for her daughter.

The event of the accession of a new sover-



WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS.

ign had been anticipated by the Dutch with as much interest as that stoical people can feel for any civil event. For a long time the monarchy which had survived the shock of the Napoleonic wars had been mildly tolerated by the citizens of the Netherlands, who looked upon it as a necessary relic of the past. The management under the regency made



due preparations for the accession of the young Queen, and the 5th of September in the year named was appointed for the ceremonies of coronation.

The event was marked with elaborate formalities in which the religious element was conspicuous. The young Queen went through her part of the pageant encouraged by the applause and greetings of her subjects. Gossip about a possible marriage for the beautiful Majesty ran through the throngs and

world was so much injured by the malignant restraints of artificial currencies, that statesmen and bankers, and those sharing their interest in financial and industrial concerns, hoped to contrive a remedy by a consultation of representative men. Thus it was that the meeting in Brussels was held; yet the result was of no practical worth, unless to show that the troubles were beyond the reach of accepted political measures.

In Belgium, the year 1894 marked the first



BRUSSELS, BELGIUM—BOULEVARDE ANSPACH.

was repeated in the journals of the day. To her credit, however, be it said, that she concerned herself more about the honor and welfare of her mother, who now assumed the title of Queen Dowager, than she did about the choice of a prince for a husband.

Belgium, in 1892, was the scene of an earnest effort to solve some of the perplexing evils of the time through the medium of an International Monetary Conference at Brussels. The silver crisis was so far-reaching in its influence and so disastrous in its effects, and the condition of trade throughout the

trial of the constitutional amendment to universal suffrage. The results were, that the Catholics obtained a crushing majority, while the Liberals were reduced to an insignificant minority. The polls showed, however, that the strength of the Socialists had become an important factor in the political affairs of the State, and one that must be recognized.

The overthrow of the Liberal party in the election just referred to, and the return of a Clerical majority of one hundred and four in the legislative chamber, resulted, however, not so directly from the system of *universal*

suffrage as from the adoption of plural voting, which privilege had been granted to all electors having certain qualifications. In the first place, the new law gave to every citizen of the age of twenty-five, who was not otherwise disqualified, one vote; but if he were a married man, or a widower of the age of

educational certificates, or if he belonged to a learned profession, he should have an additional vote. If he were a voter and possessed *two* of the additional qualifications, he should have *three votes*. But three was the maximum number conceded to any elector.

It transpired that the foregoing provisions

of the law fell to the advantage of those who needed it least. Those citizens who were already fortified with the powers of additional voting were mostly the wealthy classes and those who were in close touch with the Church. The result was the overwhelming victory of conservatism over democracy as the first outcome of the new system. Property and tradition as usual joined their issues and gained the day.

Recent years in Sweden and Norway have offered little of general interest, save in the matter of exploration, and in that particular their fame is written in the records of other nations. The most important and lasting feature in the internal political history has been the straining of the bonds of the union by reason of Norway's individual jealousy. In 1894 there was a celebration marking the opening of the last section of the North Trunk Railway, extending as far as Boden. This is the completion of an elaborate system of railways, covering all parts of the king-



GUSTAF—CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

thirty-five with legitimate children, occupying a house for which he paid five francs rental, he should have two votes. Or, if he were a voter and possessed real estate valued at two thousand francs, or had an income from any State investment of one hundred francs, he should have an additional vote. Or, if he were a voter possessing certain edu-

dom, which are of great worth for the development of Swedish industries, and at the same time are of particular value strategically in the event of war.

In the recent history of the kingdom, the most notable event has been the brief resignation of the crown by King Oscar, who, on the 21st of January, 1899, abdicated the

throne. The King had just reached the seventieth anniversary of his birth. For two or three years he had been feeble in health, and more recently had been warned by the Court physicians to relinquish the cares of State.

The Prince, in whose favor the resignation was made, was the Crown Prince Gustaf, who at once took up the duty of directing the executive authority. He was said to be, in most respects, the opposite of his father. He was accredited with possessing an iron will, and to be less afflicted with personal sensibilities and humane sentiments than his father had been. The Prince had completed his fortieth year. It was predicted in the gossip of the day, that on assuming the royal functions he would quell the seditious spirit which had long prevailed among the Norwegian portion of his subjects.

It was anticipated that King Oscar, old and enfeebled, would never resume his royal powers; but the event proved otherwise. After a brief vacation of scarcely a month, he returned to his place at the head of the

kingdom, and affairs flowed on in their wonted channel.



OSCAR II., OF SWEDEN.

CHAPTER CLXV.—RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN STATES.



THE history of Russia in 1889 is essentially that of its foreign relations. The Czar voiced his distrust of the attitudes assumed by his neighbors by saying that Montenegro was Rus-

sia's only friend; yet during the year Serbia and, perhaps, Roumania were added to the list of his adherents. The Pro-Russian party dominated in the Servian Assembly, and in the early part of the year, King Milan abdicated, and his son, thirteen years old, succeeded to the throne, under a Council of Regents, in which Russian sympathies were clearly apparent, and a policy of demonstrative hostility toward Austria was evenly pursued.

In Bulgaria, Prince Ferdinand maintained his power, with Stambouloff at the head of affairs, urging opposition to Russia in the face of all discouragements. The Prince made a tour through Austria, Bavaria, and France, and in its course succeeded in negotiating an important railway loan of a million pounds in Vienna.

Affairs were less orderly in Roumania, where M. Bratiano and the Cabinet were overturned, and M. Catargi, the new director of the Government, figured as the friend of Russia. He in his turn, was removed from office; but the trend of Roumanian desire toward Russia was unquestionable in the history of the year, the influence of Germany and Austria obviously waning.

The most important deaths in Russia in 1889 were those of Count Peter Schouvaloff,

at one time Ambassador to Great Britain, and of Count Dmitri Tolstoi, of the Ministry of the Interior. Outside of Russia the most distinguished death was that of Prince Charles of Monaco.

Throughout the Balkan Peninsula the usual Russian policy was cleverly pursued in 1890, with the result that a general uneasiness pervaded the political atmosphere. In Servia, Russia's endeavors were aided by

tion; and the cordiality of the French in the matter of money, as in other ways, evidently made a strong impression on the Czar. In internal affairs the persecution of the Jews continued, despite the protests of the civilized world, and the impression of a Russian character on Finland progressed rapidly. In Servia, Russian influence was injured by the forcible expulsion of Natalie, but in Bulgaria the growing unpopularity of Stambouloff was helpful to Russian desires.

The Premier showed great harshness in his measures, especially toward persons suspected of disloyalty; nor is this a cause for wonder, inasmuch as it was only the ignorance of the assassin that saved his life, M. Beltcheff being shot in his presence in his stead by mistake. So bitter did Stambouloff become that he caused the expulsion of a French journalist, Chaudourne; an act thought by the French to be contrary to the capitulations, and by them resented to the extent of withdrawing their agent from Sofia, and sending a notification and protest to the Porte as the Suzerain of Bulgaria. In Roumania there were no important developments, notwithstanding the death of M. Bratiano.

In 1892 Russia continued to expel the Jews and to hoard gold, in preparation for a future war, while the ravages of cholera removed two hundred and fifty thousand persons, and the influenza aided the more virulent disease in its work of disaster. In addition, the failure of crops in many parts of the Empire brought great masses of the people perilously near to starvation. The natural result of such conditions was to make the Nihilists rampant in their destructive work, while all the people felt more severely than



ALEXANDER, THE YOUNG KING OF SERVIA.

the claims of Natalie that her divorce should be set aside, and that she be established in her natural authority over the young King, her son. Prince Ferdinand's position in Bulgaria continued as it was in 1889, and Stambouloff's power remained in the ascendant.

In 1891 there was a slight straining over Russian relations with Germany, on account of the failure of a proposed loan negotia-

ever the baneful effects of official corruption and exaction.

An instance of the extreme bitterness was manifested when, in March of 1893, the mayor of Moscow, M. Alexejeff, was assassinated by a workman, who hated the official because of the manner in which the poor were plundered. The Government, however, relieved the distress of many by pushing work on the construction of the great Transcontinental Railway, which now showed evident signs of future realization. In foreign relations the usual policy was pursued by the absorption of the khanate of Bokhara, thus bringing Russia to the Afghanistan frontier in India, and into direct contact with Great Britain. In European relations the policy seemed to lean toward alliance with Austria-Hungary, while the cordiality displayed in a visit of the Czarewitch to Berlin delighted the Germans and alarmed the French and English.

The precise part played by Russia in Servian affairs in 1893 is a matter much in doubt, but events there were of a decisive character. Early in the year there was a public reconciliation of the ex-King and his divorced wife, and soon after, on April 13, the young King Alexander executed a remarkable *coup d'Etat*. The ministry obtained a very uncertain majority in the March elections, whereupon the Cabinet so arranged the session as to exclude their adversaries to such an extent as to insure a majority. Thereupon the King summoned a meeting in the palace of the ministry, of his regents and household, and late in the evening notified them of his intention of assuming directly the reins of government, emphasizing his declaration by placing them under arrest for the night. He then proceeded to the barracks and received the oath of allegiance from the soldiers, and on the following day word to exact the oath was sent to all the headquarters of the troops in the kingdom. The whole matter was managed without any hitch, and the youth gained possession of his authority with the general approval of his subjects. Dr. Dokitch, his old tutor, was Prime Minister, although the Premier's ill-

ness in October gave the influential post to General Gruitch.

In Bulgaria and Roumania the most important of political happenings were nuptial. Ferdinand strengthened his position by his marriage to the Princess Marie Louise, of the House of Bourbon, she being the daughter of the Duke of Parma; and the Roumanian Ferdinand, Heir Apparent to the throne, delighted his subjects by espousing the Princess Marie of Edinburgh, the child of the marriage of Prince Alfred of Great Britain to the only daughter of Alexander II. of Russia. The most lamented event of this year in Bulgaria was the death of Prince Alexander. This was followed in 1894 by a death of vast importance in Russia, that of the Czar Alexander III., who died October 31, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. The accession of the new ruler was hailed with anticipations of milder sway, hopes well justified on the occasion of his marriage, November 27, to the Princess Alix of Hesse, when he challenged the loyalty of his subjects by omitting, for the first time in years, the barriers of soldiers between Czar and people.

Another matter of importance that distinguished 1894 was the discovery of a northeast passage by an English sailor, Captain Wiggins, who had been searching for it for years. He passed around the north coast of Norway, through the narrow Yugor Strait, traversed the Kara Sea and Arctic Ocean, entered into the Yenisei River, and thus completed a passage to Siberia, that, he declared, was available and safe during all the summer months, and opened to the world all the vast and rich tracts of Siberia.

Affairs were satisfactory to Russian interests in Bulgaria, inasmuch as M. Stambouloff resigned on account of the Russian sympathies of Ferdinand, and was succeeded by M. Stoiloff. The former Premier was so violent in his attacks on his Prince that he was arrested, and, when bailed, had difficulty in escaping the violence of an angry mob. In Servia, too, affairs were unstable, Alexander executing another successful midnight *coup d'Etat*, and changing, in January, M. Simitch's premiership for that of M. Nikolaievich.

The divorce of the royal parents was declared void; but a class of agitators refused to yield to the charm of domestic harmony now dominant in the kingdom, whereupon Alexander executed, on May 21, yet a third *coup d'état* at his favorite nocturnal hour, abolishing the Constitution and restoring the more autocratic instrument of 1869.

The following year was one of consternation in Bulgaria, though one of triumph for

and force of its bitterest antagonist. Meantime, in Russia, conditions were peculiarly distressful. The Nihilists, on August 19, blew up the barracks at Taola, killing three hundred persons. The police redoubled their endeavors against this sort of crime, and on September 6 nine hundred persons were arrested on suspicion in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The terrorism of the agitators was again displayed in Poland, where an incendiary fire at Przytyk left four thousand citizens homeless.

The Cabinet suffered in 1895 by the death of M. de Giers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and again, in 1896, by the death of Prince Lobanoff-Rostovsky, who succeeded to the Foreign Ministry. In the same year died the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Church in all Russia, Isaac Elehonon.

In 1896, Russia was credited with having obtained an understanding with the Sultan, whereby she gained a free passage of the Dardanelles, control of the Black Sea, and actual suzerainty over European Turkey. This success was increased by the betrothal of the Princess Hélène of Montenegro to King Alexander, by which the alliance of Russia and Servia was confirmed, and by England's consenting to a Russian lease for twenty years of a Chinese port at the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

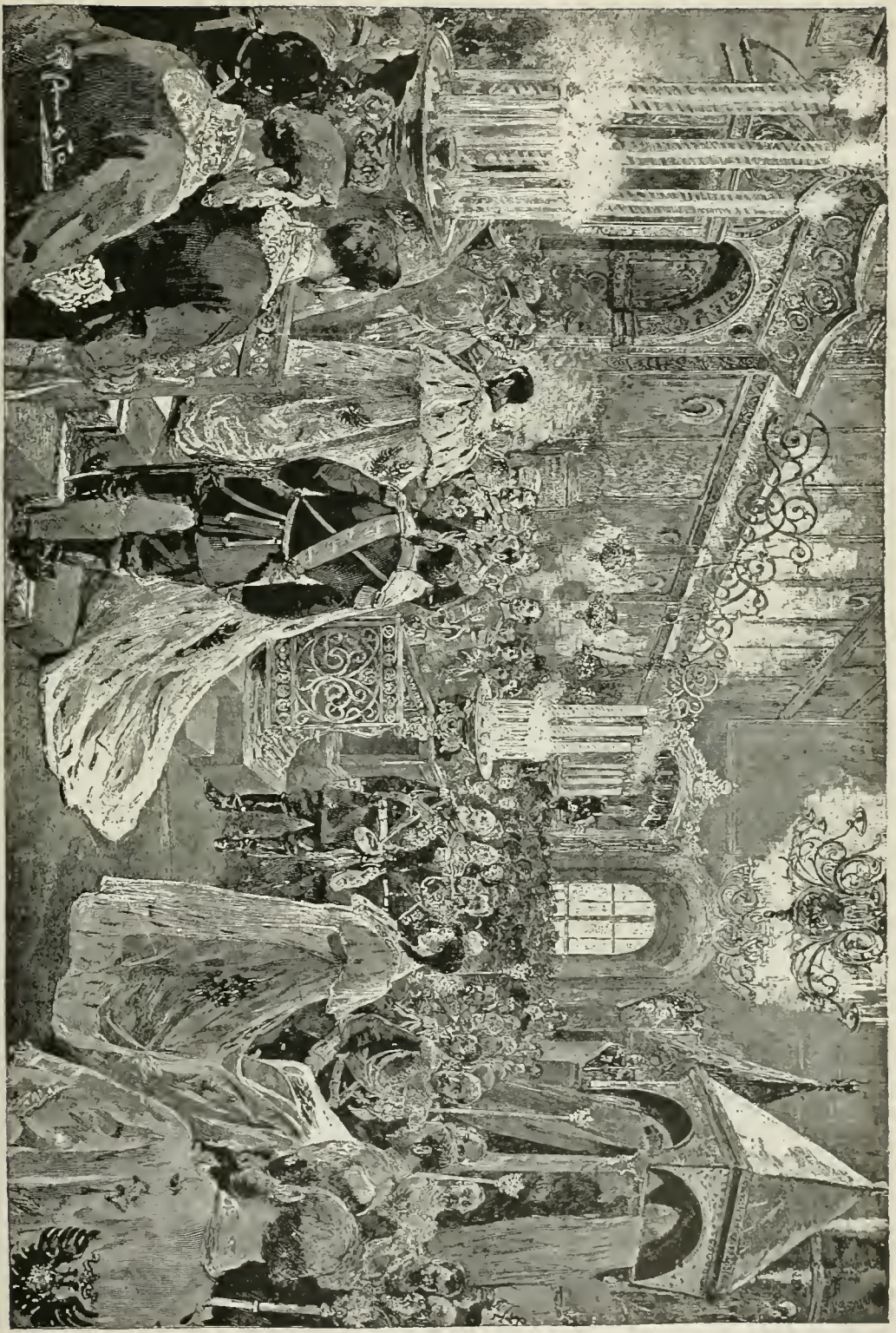


CZAR NICHOLAS II.

Russian interests, since, on July 15, M. Stambouloff, the ex-Premier, was shot and stabbed in the streets of Sofia, dying of his wounds three days later. The event shocked Europe, and much suspicion of Russia was provoked by the tragedy; for it was thought that the assassination was deliberately conceived by the Muscovite government. Nothing occurred, however, to confirm the suspicion, only the Russian influence in Bulgaria was now unhampered by the intelligence

The glory and the horror of the year came in the coronation of the Czar; the glory, because May witnessed the most imposing fêtes in Russian history; the horror, for the same month witnessed the destruction at those fêtes of more than a thousand human lives. Nicholas II. was crowned at Moscow, May 26, with the most splendid ceremonies of modern times. On May 30, in a panic of the crowds in the people's fête on the plains around Moscow, one thousand five hundred persons were trampled to death. The dismay, caused by a casualty so fearful,

CORONATION OF CZAR NICHOLAS II.—METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG ANOINTING THE CZAR IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ASCENSION, AT MOSCOW.



can hardly be conceived. It cast a gloom over all the world, while it filled Russia with lamentations, little lessened by the bounty of the Autoerat, who gave one thousand roubles to each family sustaining a loss, besides paying for the burial of the dead. The event was one of those for which it is impossible

scene of such calamity, in August, for at our through Europe, including in their itinerary Austria, Germany, Denmark, Great Britain, and France.

After this episode, the Czar returned to his northern capital and began to be Emperor of all the Russias. Two years previously, he had taken for his spouse the Princess Alix of Hesse, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Meanwhile, partly in virtue of the situation, and partly in virtue of his humane disposition, and partly because of the traditional aptitude of the Czars each to reverse the policy of his predecessor, Nicholas decided as one of the first acts of his reign to abate the persecutions which had long been prevalent. These were directed against two general classes of his subjects. First, the malcontent—mostly Polish and Lithuanian—part of the population which had contributed in past years so many of its representatives to the Siberian snows; and secondly, the Jews.

One half of the persecution had political insurgency as its motive; the other half had religious animosity as its basis. There was a suggestion that the happy Czar, rejoicing in the birth of an heir to the throne, would fain emphasize his boreal ecstasy by relaxing somewhat the rigors which had been laid upon the unhappy. Accordingly, in the early part of 1896,

the Procurator General of the Holy Synod transmitted to the Minister of the Interior a ukase in which the more complete assimilation of the frontier population with what was designated as "the heart and core of Russia" was declared to be the imperial policy.

The document also alleged that extraordinary measures of repression by the authori-



THE CZARINA.

to fix the particular blame; but it was at least an evidence of a disastrous social condition when the poverty, the ignorance, and the hunger of the masses were such as to make them, in their frantic desire of gifts, rush over one another in such mad fury as to tread under their feet and destroy hundreds of their fellows. It was with something of relief that the Czar and Czarina left the

ties need no longer be taken, and that the Minister of the Interior should, in a word, refrain from further persecution. This edict was directed to the Minister Pobedonostzeff, who had for some time acted as persecutor-in-chief of the Russians. That the young Czar should venture to reverse the policy of such an official was a clear indication of the purpose of the former to distinguish his reign as that of the Emperor of Peace.

The middle of the year 1896 may be noted as the time of the revival or growth of Russian interest in the countries of Eastern Africa. This interest centered in Abyssinia. It cannot be doubted that the bottom motive of Russian adventure into this quarter of the globe was the desire to establish a bond between the Greek Catholic Church and the Christian Churches of Abyssinia. There were many reasons for creating and cultivating such a tie. If Russia could succeed in winning over the Christians of Abyssinia to her own faith, she might then with a show of reason assume toward the country the same attitude which she held toward Montenegro and the other protected states of the Danube and the Balkans. Indeed, she began to do this. It was a process worthy of her craft.

At length, when King Menelek won his victory over the Italians, the event was hailed at St. Petersburg as though it had been a triumph of Russian arms. The Czar made haste to confer on his favorite foreign prince the decoration of the Russian cross. And in this sentiment the French participated, for the Franco-Russian Alliance grew in strength and tenacity. One great drawback upon the establishment of a powerful Russian interest on the Red Sea coast, and still further south, was the relative weakness of the Russian navy, and the fact that Abyssinia is an inland nation without ports and seaboard.

Meanwhile, the labor question in Russia continued to be as rife and as fruitful of results as in any other country of the world. Russia, like the United States, is an agricultural country. Unlike the United States, she has not been threatened as yet with the absorption of her population in great municipalities. The land question, therefore, con-

tinues to be the paramount interest under discussion. The epoch which we here consider showed several results of an attempt under encouragement from the Government to establish and extend peasant proprietorship to the public lands.

As far back as 1883, an institution called the Peasant Bank was established, having in view the furnishing of facilities to the common people for getting possession of the lands. The law was to the effect that any intending proprietor or purchaser of land as a home for himself could do so by providing in money one fourth of the value of the land



KING MENELEK OF ABYSSINIA.

to be bought. The other three fourths of the purchase money should be furnished by the State. In the course of about ten years, it was found that more than two hundred thousand peasant families had availed themselves of the advantages thus offered. Two million three hundred thousand acres of freehold had been acquired, and this generally on the outskirts of the settled districts where the lands were cheapest. The sparsely inhabited parts were thus furnished with a population so that the movement of the people was *away from* rather than *toward* the towns and cities.

Seeing the success of the Peasant Bank,

and the beneficial results to the State, the Russian nobility established another financial institution of like character for their own advantage; but the strange thing about these trial schemes was that while the enterprise of the peasants was successful, that of the nobility proved to be abortive. By the middle of the last decennium, it was found that the nobles had not in fact increased their landholding to any appreciable extent. More than this, it was found that they had placed mortgages on from sixty to seventy per cent. of the land which they possessed before their banking institution was created and tried!

In the latter part of

the keep of the Japanese; to hurry them out and admit the vanguard of the Czar's railway builders would seem to be an affront to the late conquerors of China. The pacific and commercially disposed Czar would not by preference give offense to any; so the point selected for his exit to the Pacific was a harbor near the mouth of the Yalu River. Not indifferently did Great Britain and the other Western powers look on while this business was under negotiation.

Ever and anon in the period under consideration, the religious interests in the larger sense were obtruded into the affairs of nations. This was shown in the effort of Russia



CITY AND HARBOR OF PORT ARTHUR.

1896, the rumor was revived of a secret treaty between Russia and China, whereby the former should gain by the concession of the latter a seaport free from ice which should be the eastern terminus of the proposed Siberian Railway. On the occasion of the journey of Li Hung Chang around the world, he paused at Moscow, where he had extensive conferences with the Czar, but the results reached were not authoritatively promulgated. It was, however, given out that the concession of a port to Russia did not look to Port Arthur, though that point might well appear to be the most eligible terminus for the Siberian line. Port Arthur remained for the time being in

to gain for the Greek Church a complete ascendancy in Bulgaria. That country has long constituted a part of the religious water-shed between Rome and Moscow. The Bulgarian Church, as such, belongs to the dominion of the Czar and his metropolitans, but the Roman Catholic Church is prevalent in many parts of the country. Prince Ferdinand himself belonged to this communion, and the religious division between him and the Czar had a tendency to prevent Bulgaria from a complete assimilation with the Empire. Russian influence prevailed, however, to the extent of having the child Prince Boris, heir of Ferdinand and therefore in expectancy of

the Bulgarian throne, baptized into the fellowship and communion of the Greek Church. So far as Ferdinand was concerned the change was one of polity and politics, rather than of conviction and religious preference. In the spring of 1896, it thus came to pass that the heir apparent to the throne of the Bulgarian principality became a Greek Catholic, with the expectation of the managers that in time to come he would be a faithful subordinate of the Czar.

It was at this period that the international understanding became emphatic between Russia and France. Notwithstanding the diversity of temper and contradiction of institutions in the two countries—notwithstanding the paradox which from a historical point of view appeared in the very phrase, Franco-Russian alliance—that fact became recognized as a fact, and as such came to be the basis of other facts in various quarters of Europe. The arch of internationality, standing like a sunbow, one foot in the snows of Russia and the other in the vineyards of France, overspanned the German Empire and several other intermediate powers.

With the appearance of this phenomenon, Great Britain became first curious and then interested. All the other powers from Norway to Portugal, from Finisterre to Greece, looked on with wonder while the miracle was accomplished. What did it signify? It signified that the old balance of power in Europe, though as vital as ever, was distrusted by all the principal parties thereto. It was a partnership which could not be dissolved without the ruin of the firm; but in the meantime, partners A and C secretly leagued in order to keep partners B and D from combining against either! All the while partners E, F, and G beat around the heavy members of the firm to find hiding places and points of vantage for the preservation of their respective fortunes. For this reason the German Empire hugged Austria and Italy, one in either arm, and called them brothers of the Dreibund.

Meanwhile, however, the Czar began to prepare his proclamation of peace. Soon after the beginning of his reign, he made

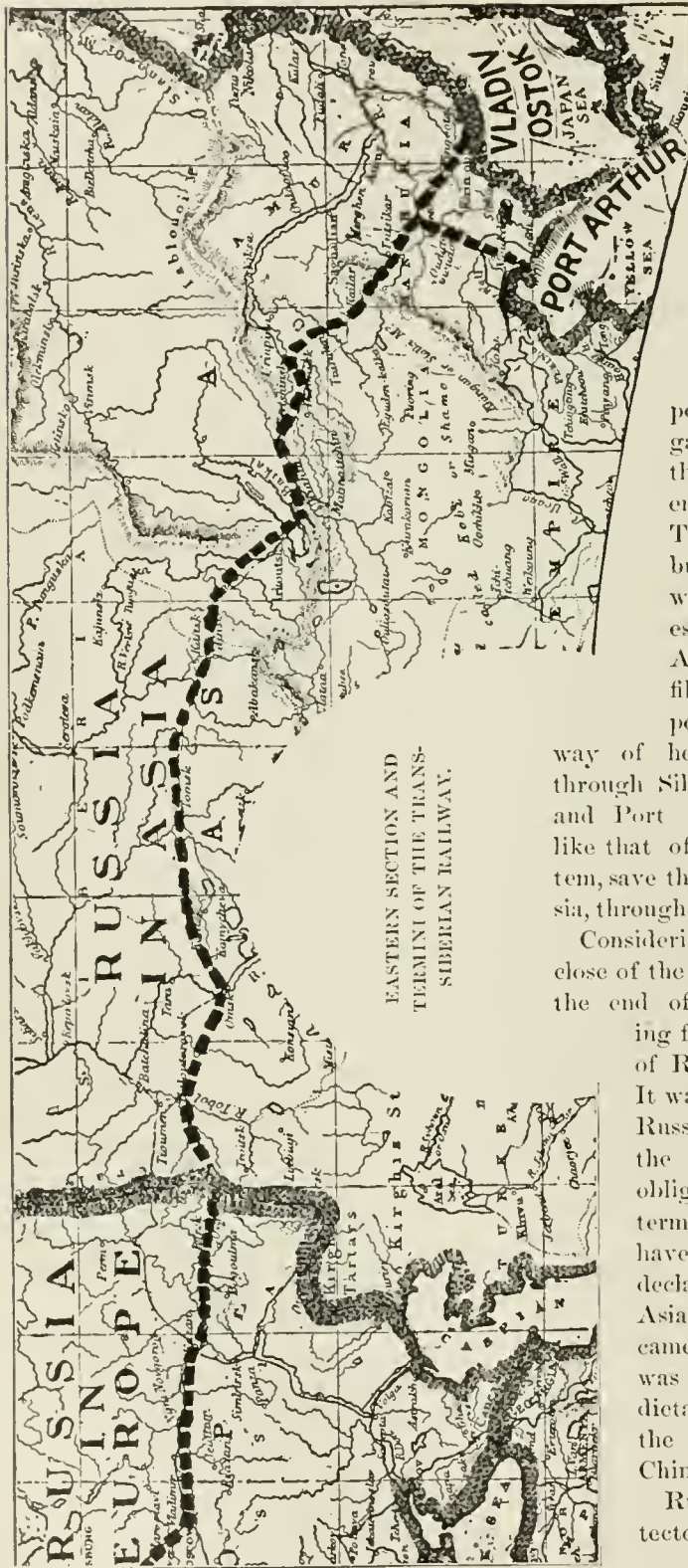
that tour of the Western states to which we have frequently referred. He visited all the principal capitals, and conferred both socially and politically with the heads of governments in every important quarter of Europe. To what extent he, at this early period of his career, gave out the doctrines of peace with which his name was subsequently associated, is not known. But on the whole, his tour of Europe tended to amity and conservatism.

In the last month of 1896, international busybodies were stirred up, first with the publication, then with the contradiction, and finally with the reaffirmation of the fact of a Russo-Chinese secret treaty, involving the concession by China to Russia of a right of way and sea-coast terminal for the Siberian Railway. There could be no doubt that the Czar was reaching out for influence in the direction of the Chinese coast. The report went abroad of a project to establish Russian schools in Peking. The policy was to press the Russian ascendancy as much as it would bear without awakening the antagonism of the Western nations.

In the early part of 1897, the line of the Siberian railway was provisionally determined from Blagoveshchensk in a southerly direction through Manchuria, and thence in an easterly course to the sea at Vladivostock, at the mouth of the Ussuri River. A provisional line was at the same time surveyed in a southwesterly course from Kirin, in the heart of Manchuria, to Talién-wan and Port Arthur. It was thus that the foundation was laid for that extreme jealousy which the German Empire soon exhibited toward Russia—a jealousy which led, as we have already seen, to the conquest and colonization of Kiao-Chau, with the acquisition of four hundred square miles of territory.¹

In course of time, a fuller knowledge was gained of the almost alarming extent of the concessions recently made by the Chinese Empire to the Czar. The concessions amounted to a virtual protectorate of the greater part of northern China. Russia was permitted to send into this territory such

¹ See page 235.



forces as she might choose to send, and to raise and equip Chinese levies. She might also develop the mines and, by implication, the agricultural resources of the country over which her influence prevailed. She might, in certain contingencies, fortify Port Arthur and Talien-wan. China bound herself not to cede the strategical points referred to, to any other

power. And Russia, for her part, gave a counter pledge to defend the vantage points against the encroachment of any foreign force. The great importance of the whole business, however, lay in the railway communication which was established under the compact. As soon as the same should be fulfilled, Russia would control and possess an all-through line of rail-

way of her own gauge from Moscow through Siberia and Manchuria to Peking and Port Arthur! The enterprise was like that of our own Pacific railway system, save that it extended, in the case of Russia, through great reaches of foreign territory.

Considering the whole period, from the close of the war between China and Japan to the end of the century, the one prevailing fact is the imminent ascendancy of Russia in both Europe and Asia. It was the threatening aspect of the Russian naval power which stayed the conquering hand of Japan, and obliged her to concede to China terms which she would not otherwise have granted. As soon as peace was declared, the Russian evolution in Asia proceeded evenly. Russia became the paramount power, and she was henceforth able in a measure to dictate the antecedent conditions of the coming dismantlement of the Chinese Empire.

Russia became virtually the protector of both China and Korea.

Just in proportion as this power was established she became the enemy of Japan. Nor could it be said that in this aggrandizement and vast increment of power Russia had broken any of her treaty stipulations. She had simply advanced until, by the year 1898, the shadow of her hand lay over all the landscape of the East.

have an actual living faith which seizes the life and character and dominates all actions. They believe what they profess; that is the peculiarity of the Slavic race and its religion. That profound apathy and undeveloped hypocrisy which mark the Christian profession in the states of the West are not seen among the Russians. They are as sincere in their



ON THE LINE OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY—ROCK-CUT THROUGH THE URALS.

Meanwhile, in the heart of the Empire, two facts might be noted as peculiarly significant. One of these was the continued mastery of a religious faith over the minds of the people. At the close of the nineteenth century, Russia was by far the most religious country in the world. This is said of the heart of the matter. There were other countries in which the Roman Catholic pageant was more universal and more splendid; but the Russians

religion as in their business, and this cannot be said of any other civilized people.

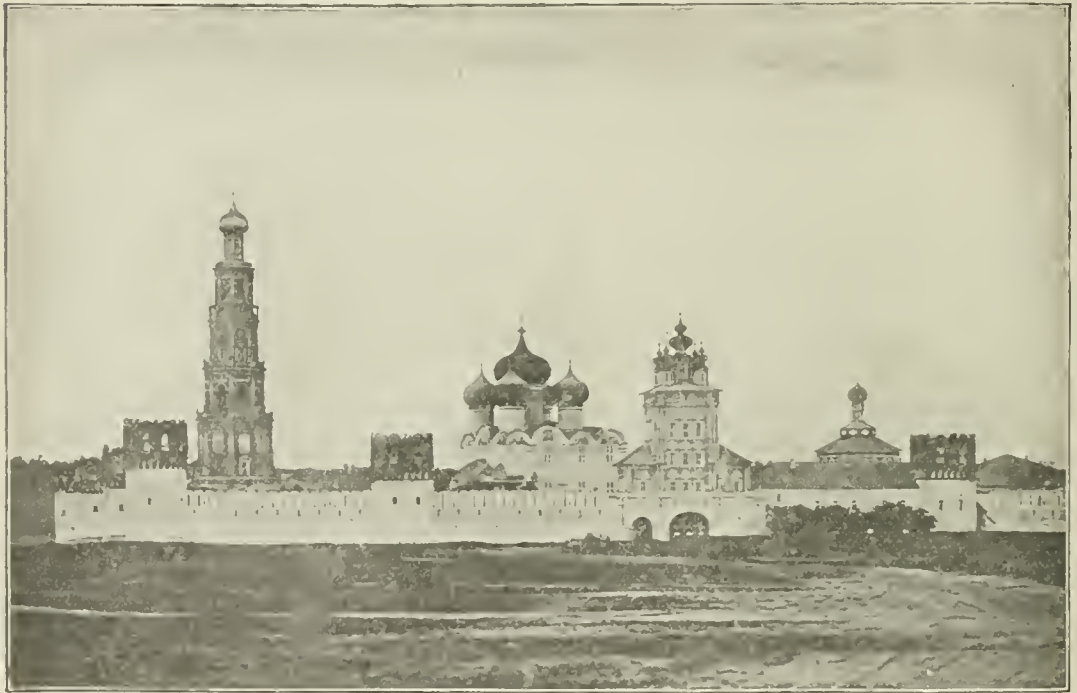
The other fact referred to is the deep foundation and powerful growth of socialism. This aspect of Russian life and practice is closely blended with the religious disposition. The social communities are as a rule powerfully religious. If Moscow may be described as the one holy city still remaining in Europe, it may also be described as the

native haunt of socialism. The industrial life has here taken on an aspect which has been called monastic. The manufacturing establishments are generally conducted on the religio-socialistic basis. The workmen employed are both lodged and fed from a common supply and by a common authority. The dormitories and refectories of the great manufactories are provided for all in common.

Thus a large silk manufactory, employing five thousand hands, will have connected

establishment constitutes a kind of industrial monastery, which if the end of man be freedom can but be regarded as one of the most formidable nests of oppression in the world; while if the end of man be subjection and servitude, the workman monastery must be regarded as one of the ultimate institutions of mankind.

We have already mentioned the effort of Bulgaria to come to an understanding with Russia, and to gain the support of that great power by the initiation of Prince Ferdinand



DVITCHY CONVENT IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

with it fifteen or twenty dormitories, each of which furnishes sleeping accommodations for from two hundred to three hundred persons. The internal arrangement is similar to that of a hospital. The men's dormitories are separated from those of the women. A given number of the lodgers are assigned to one table, and on that table the apparatus for making tea, and indeed, all the supplying sources of food, are arranged. At the head of every bed are hung sacred images, and the atmosphere of the place is religious rather than secular. The whole

and his heir Boris into the Greek Catholic communion. The results, however, hardly seemed to answer to the expectation. On the outbreak of the war between Greece and Turkey, the Prince of Bulgaria again sought to take advantage of the schism of Europe, and to get for himself recognition as an independent sovereign. He would fain take rank with the rulers of Servia, Roumania, and Greece. He accordingly set out with his Prime Minister Stoiloff to visit several of the western capitals. He imagined that the rulers of the powers would

now be willing, while the Turk was grappling with the Greek, to grant him a crown.

But they all temporized with the Prince, awaiting the issue of the Græco-Turkish war. That conflict proved to be on the side of the Greeks a miserable fiasco. The Turkish army rushed on to complete and overwhelming success. This changed the aspect of affairs, and Prince Ferdinand, taking counsel of prudence rather than consistency, hastened to Constantinople and made his peace with Sultan Abdul to the best possible advantage. The *Kladderatsch* caricatured the event in a cartoon, in which Prince Ferdinand, bending loyally forward, takes the hand of the Sultan, and to this is added the legend, "A crown is worth a kiss of the hand."

One feature in the general history of this period was the better understanding which the nations obtained of the bottom policy of the Russian Government and of the true character of the Russian people. It was seen that there was much of the conservative temper in the method and purpose of the Czar and his Government. The publicists of Europe and America began to examine critically the various measures which Russia had taken in the last decennium, and there could be found but few if any causes of complaint. It appeared, on the whole, that the internal industrial and social condition was the thing to which the imperial policy looked most of all. It was development *within*, which constituted the motive in nearly all that had been done. The foreign outreachings seemed to be contributory to internal strength. The Russian Government at this period was to a less

degree than any other power under the dominion of that insidious plutocracy which has established itself throughout Western Europe and America.

Another fact of no less importance came out as a result of better information, and that was the superior character of the Russians



PRINCE FERDINAND OF BULGARIA.

as a people. This character was made known by international travel, by correspondence, by reviews in the great periodicals of Europe and America. In April of 1898, an article appeared in the "Contemporary Review" under the title of "Russia and the Balance of Power," in which the critic passing from political and international questions speaks thus eulogistically of the Russian people:

"I found that the Russians by temperament were without exception the gentlest, most easygoing, and humane nation in Europe—and I have seen them all. Their defects are many, but the leading feature in the Russian character, high and low, which stands above faults of which they have their

selves. The Russians are not so fond of fair play, not so truthful, not so energetic, not so manly as we are; but, on the other hand, they are less hypocritical, more truly modest, gentler, more tender, more truly religious, more humane, and less brutal and violent in every way. This being so, I decline to believe that the

Russian nation as a body, or the Russian Government as its representative—which shares the virtues and vices of that body—would ever lend itself heart and soul to an aggressive general war for mere purposes of spite and plunder; and in this matter, far inferior though the Russians are to their new allies in intelligence, wit, vivacity, and many other noble qualities, they are infinitely superior to the French. They are a juster race, with less venom."

For a certain time after the accession of Nicholas II. not much was known in the world at large about the character and purpose of the new autocrat. He was destined, in the summer of 1898, to make a revelation of himself in a manner as marvellous as it was unexpected. On



COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.
Most Famous of Modern Russian writers.

full share, is an enthusiastic, generous humanity, easily moved to sadness and tears; full of expansive gratitude for kindness; free from meanness, pettiness, and cunning greed. In short, it struck me, the more I contemplated the Russian character, that they were the only people in Europe who possessed several of the better characteristics of our-

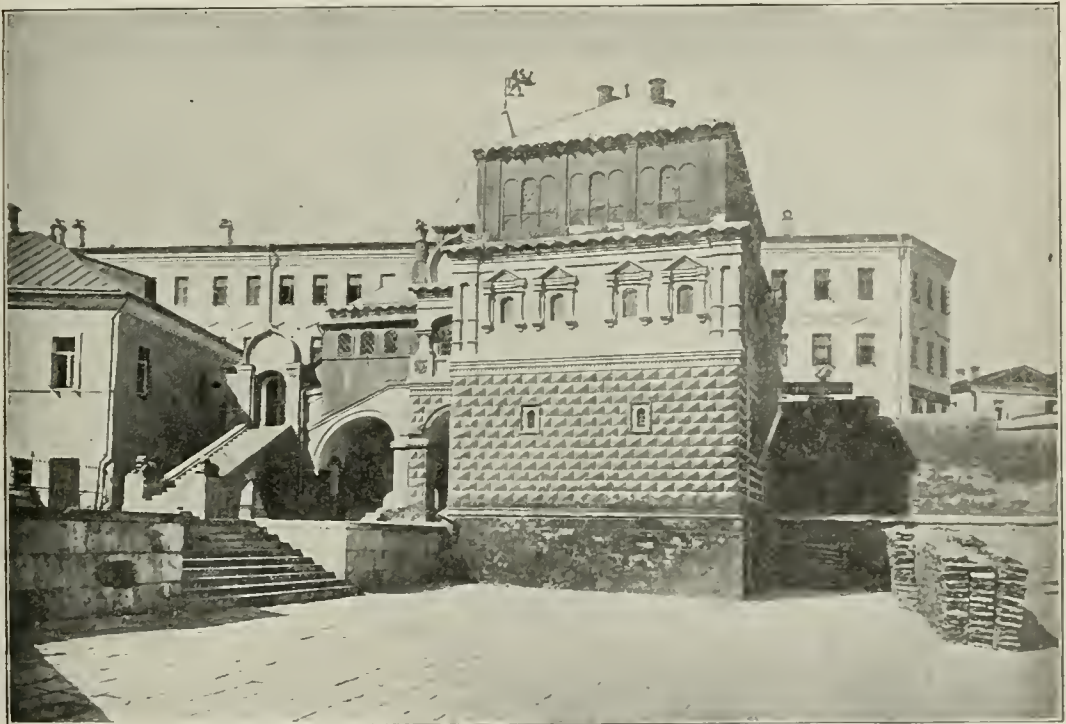
the 28th of August in the year just referred to, the splendid monument to the memory of Alexander II. was dedicated at Moscow. Czar Nicholas was present in person to participate in the ceremonies commemorative of the life and work of his grandfather. For some time, the event had been in preparation, and it is likely that

Nicholas more than ever before had looked into the tendency and bottom facts in the history of his Empire. At any rate, he had made up his mind and prepared a *coup*.

Just before setting out from St. Petersburg to Moscow, the Czar called together the ambassadors from the principal states of Christendom, and made to them a manifesto which was of the most startling character. It was on the 24th of August that he handed to the representatives of

the intolerable burden of taxation and the ravages of war. Nicholas suggested a great conference of the powers by their representatives at which the tremendous question which he proposed should be considered and decided.

There has not been in modern times a more striking lesson than was shown in the sequel. The Czar's proposal was received with a ripple of hollow approval in every capital of Europe and America. Then each



OLD RESIDENCE OF THE ROMANOFF CZARS, MOSCOW.

the great powers, the paper which he had prepared, perhaps without consultation with anyone except his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Muravieff, whose ascendancy began at this time to be felt in the diplomacy of Europe. The Czar, in his paper, proposed that there should be a universal disarmament, and a permanent peace throughout the world. He gave assurance that the Russian Empire would coöperate with the other great nations in disbanding their enormous armies, thus relieving the producers of all countries from

of the powers waited to see what the others would do. Each waited to consider how a measure of disarmament would affect the prospects of the political parties which were in control of the several governments. Each expressed its favor in a manner to make practical endorsement possible if the tide should turn in that direction, and to make a way of escape if the measure should fail.

But there was no substantial and practical endorsement of the Czar's overture. He left it with the ambassadors to be transmitted to

their respective governments. On the 29th of August, the manifesto was published in the United States. Our country was at that time in a war grapple with Spain. A protocol, however, had been agreed to, and peace was imminent. None the less, the delights and advantages of war, the splendor of military pageantry, the supposed power of armies and fleets, were too great to permit even the American Republic to aid the Czar in filling up the bloody abyss of the ages. It seems to be one of the marvels of the nineteenth century that the greatest autocrat of all should have made an overture of peace which was held off and coldly considered as a merely academic proposition by the newest and best republics.

The proposition of the Czar was nominally accepted, as it must needs be, by all the leading powers, but it was really approved by none. The Hague was selected as the place for the holding of the international peace congress, and the 22d of May, 1899, was named as the date for the beginning of the discussions. The President of the United States appointed as American representatives Andrew D. White, late minister of our Republic to Russia; Stanford Newell, minister of the United States to the Netherlands; Captain Alfred T. Mahan of

the American navy, and President Seth Low of Columbia College.

By the time of the beginning of the conference any belief which may have existed in the efficacy of the movement had, in large measure, given place to incredulity. Already each nation had fixed its attention on the problem of advantage, and it was said that in the Czar's own country all hope of a successful issue had been abandoned. With the opening of the congress, the first report given out was to the effect that the project of disarmament was no longer seriously considered, but that Great Britain and the United States would jointly offer a substitute for the proposal of the Czar in the form of a paper for the establishment of a court of international arbitration as a means of settling important questions arising among the powers. The apprehended negative result, so far as disarmament was concerned, was clearly to be found in the fact that the so-called Christian nations of the world are still so profoundly immersed in the passions, so subordinated by the methods, and so given over to the brutalities of the Middle Ages, that they PREFER to retain war as the principal function for the display of political strength and the increase of national glory.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—TURKEY, GREECE, AND AFRICA.



TURKEY suffered, in 1889, from the disturbances in Crete, caused by misrule and feuds between the Christian and Moslem inhabitants. Chakir Pasha, the Governor appointed by the Porte, armed the Mussulmans in the towns, and acts of violence followed. In order to quiet the island, the appointing of a Christian Governor was agreed upon; but the agreement was violated. In Armenia, affairs were vastly worse. The Turks wholly failed to adhere to the promised reforms, and were unwilling, if

not unable, to prevent atrocious assaults by the Kurds upon the Christian population and the perpetration of frightful massacres. The Porte's real attitude toward the violence was shown in the permitted escape of Moussa Bey, the chief offender in the massacres.

The Powers of Europe quite failed to take any measures effectually to prevent, even to limit, the outrages, and they continued, hardly checked in any way, through 1890 and 1891. In 1891 died Musurus Pasha, famed as the Turkish Minister to England, and for his translation of Dante's "Divine Comedy" into Greek. All of the years since have shown a continuation of the horrors of

persecution in Armenia, with intermittent imitations in other parts of the Sultan's domains. The atrocities in 1895 reached such a point that the Powers made a naval demonstration before Constantinople on December 12, yet the other nations of the world have done practically little to relieve the peril of the-Christian Armenians.

The massacres in Armenia, extending from October 1st of 1895 to January, 1896, were among the greatest atrocities of modern times. What were the causes? The Turkish official reports glozed the matter over. It became necessary for the Sultan's Government to do as much as it might to exaggerate the causes and excuses for the persecution, and at the same time to minify the persecutions themselves.

The investigations of foreign travellers showed that in September of 1895 some young Armenian patriots, though warned by the patriarch and the police not to attempt such an act, undertook to bear a modest petition to the Grand Vizier. For such a step, they could plead precedent and custom. But in the present temper their action could not be tolerated; it was constructive insurrection. It also appeared that the mountaineers of Zitun had expelled a Turkish garrison from its district, but they had not behaved with inhumanity nor had they used more force or pressure against the soldiers than was necessary to drive them forth.

It was found out likewise by impartial investigation that certain individual Armenians, driven to desperation by the abuses to which they had been subjected, had counseled the people to correct the abuses of the administration by violent measures. But beyond these minor offences and occasional individual crimes, the Turks could not allege

any valid reasons for the atrocities which they inflicted.

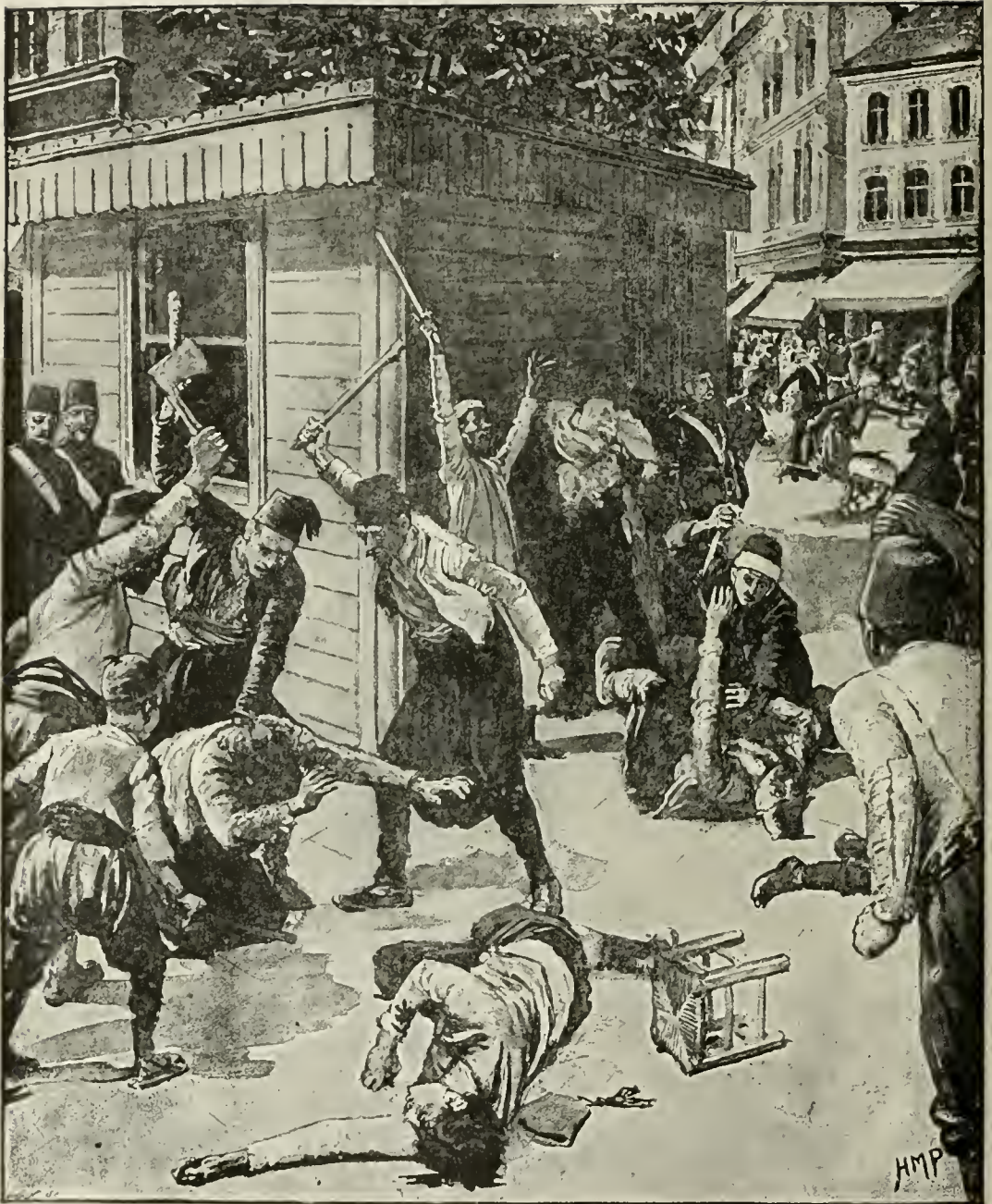
There were six provinces in Armenia in which the outrages were perpetrated. In these, massacre became the order of the day. A band of about two thousand Kurdish and Circassian raiders were loosed upon the Armenian population. Only the Armenians were robbed and butchered. The Greeks



CHAKIR PASHA.

and other alien peoples were carefully spared. The victims offered little resistance. When there was resistance, the massacre was only the more outrageous. In such cases, the dead were mangled beyond recognition. The massacre was accompanied with almost universal robbery. The Kurds came down on hundreds of villages, shooting, and swinging swords, clubs, and pickaxes, killing at random.

The persecution was directed most of all against the upper caste in Armenian society. The aim was to destroy all men of business,



MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS IN THE STREETS OF GALATHA.

whose capacity and intelligence might qualify them for leadership. Beyond the six provinces that were ravaged, the cities of Trebizond, Marash, Intab, Cesarea, were visited and pillaged by the raiders, who killed and robbed at will. It was estimated that in three months fully fifty thousand people, mostly well-to-do citizens and their families, were butchered. About three hundred and fifty thousand were rendered homeless or reduced to starvation. The property plundered or destroyed was estimated at forty million dollars.

The result of the outrages of the Turks in Armenia was the production of a feeling of extreme resentment and animosity throughout the nations. There was an expectation of interference with the Sultan and his provincial administration. In Great Britain, the national feeling flamed up to the point of combustion. The newspapers of all Christendom raised a howl, and the poets of Europe and America broke out in their usual cheap manner for and against the Sultan.

There was, however, no serious movement on the part of any power to interfere with the Porte. The reason was not far to seek. The European nations had their concert. The support of the status in quo was a part of the league which was tacitly, almost openly, agreed to in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin. The Liberal party in Great Britain urged on the Government to interfere on behalf of the Armenians. That was because the Liberal party was not in power, and because in this manner the national prejudice might be turned against Lord Salisbury and his administration.

In the United States, the rising imperialists urged our Government to precipitate itself into Asia Minor; to demand indemnity for buildings and property said to have been destroyed in Harpoot; to establish consulates at that place, and at Erzeroum; to increase the navy, and to send a squadron into Turkish waters—all this with a view, not of punishing the Turk, but of getting our Government still further entangled in the affairs of the Old World. At this time, the administration of Cleveland had not ex-

pired. That chief magistrate gave no encouragement to the schemes which were hatched for embroiling our country in the affairs of the East, and the Ministry of Salisbury held on in its course of remonstrating with the Sultan, but of refusing to interfere in a more forceful manner.

The outrages in Armenia had a strange sequel in Constantinople. In August of 1896, a company of twenty Armenians, anxious to protest with their lives against the existing order, and to make their exit from the Sultan's dominions, armed themselves with revolvers and quietly entered the Imperial Ottoman bank at Constantinople. Once within, they began firing, and to complete the terror exploded a bomb. The clerks quailed before the intruders; some fled, and forty were imprisoned. Two of the directors were caught and held as hostages. Then a dynamite charge was placed in the basement. The leaders appeared at the windows and swore that they would blow the bank and themselves out of existence if the outside powers did not treat with them and agree to their demands. For several hours they held the authorities at bay. Troops gathered and shattered the windows with shot. But the desperadoes held their ground until the authorities were obliged to promise them safe conduct out of Turkey. A compact was made to this effect, and the bank was given up. The dynamite was taken out of the basement, and the Armenians were escorted to the yacht of Sir Edgar Vincent.

Hereupon the Turkish rage broke out beyond control. The people began to attack and kill the Armenians without respect to whether or not they had participated in the act of violence. The onset grew into a fury, and the fury spouted blood. The foreign ambassadors in Constantinople sought to appease and stay the mob. After the rage was over, they furnished an estimate of the slain Armenians at five thousand.

The desperate condition of affairs throughout the Sultan's dominions provoked at this epoch a renewal of the suggestion to divide Turkey among the powers, and thus reform what could not otherwise be amended. It

was a delicate business, for the Sultan himself could never assent, and he had the pledge of the Powers, not only to let him alone, but to support him. Besides, though not a European himself, he knew enough of European diplomacy and intrigue to understand that mutual jealousies would keep the nations from attempting his own dismemberment. Nevertheless the busybodies went ahead to discuss the break-up and partition

Salamanca. Albania was to be given to Italy. Asia Minor should go to Russia. France should have Syria, and England should have Egypt. In this manner, the Sultan was to be dispossessed—only the thing was not done or attempted.

When the McKinley administration was instituted at Washington, a new corps of diplomats was named as the representatives of the United States at foreign courts



ARMENIAN QUARTER IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

of the Ottoman Empire. This power was to receive so much; another power should receive thus much, and so on until the Turk should be despoiled.

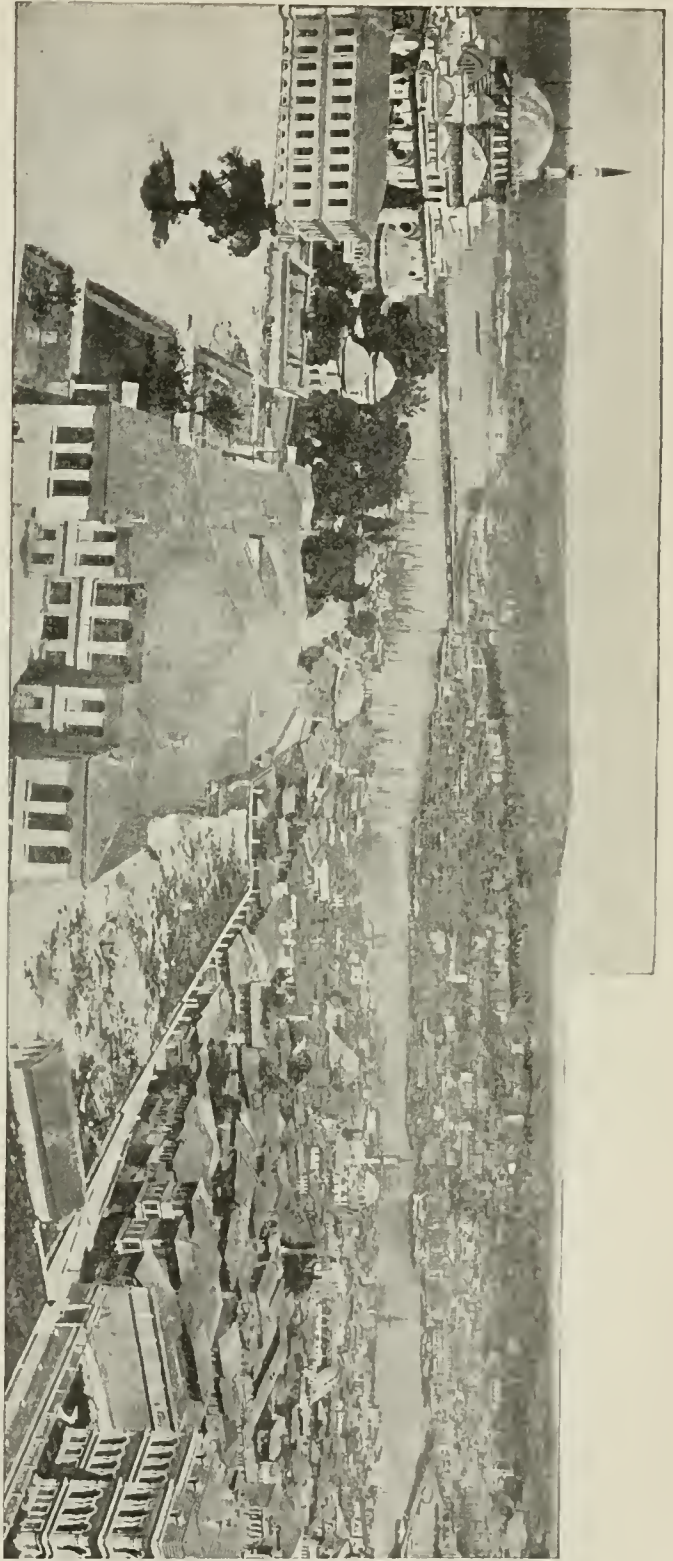
When the Grand Duke Nicholas, soon to become Czar of Russia, visited Vienna, in the latter part of 1896, the rumor was busily circulated that he and the Emperor of Austria were engaged in arranging the schedule of dismemberment. According to the scheme, Austria was to be permitted to spread out to

Among the ambassadors so appointed, was President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, who was nominated and confirmed as the American representative at Constantinople. At that capital the question was raised as to whether Dr. Angell's religious views were such as to be acceptable at the court of the Vicegerent of the Prophet. The gravamen of Angell's offending was that he was a member of the Congregational communion in the United States!

The alien character of Turkish civilization and the jar of Turkish institutions on the institutions of Christendom led publicists at this period to examine somewhat critically the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire. One branch of inquiry looked to the discovery of such privileges and immunities as the Sultan's Government gave to citizens of other countries including our own. It was found that the concession of right to foreigners was more considerable and satisfactory than had been expected. According to the rules and principles prevailing in the last years of the century, the subjects or citizens of other nations might freely enter Turkish territory and travel there, whether for trade or the gratification of personal tastes. The same privilege was extended as to the navigation of Turkish waters. Not only so, but the citizens of other states might follow the customs (including the religious rites) and the performance of duties in the manner prescribed by their own country and their own church. Sojourners were exempt from taxation and tribute, except those customs duties which, like the rain and the dew, fall alike upon the evil and the good.

In the matter of civil and criminal action arising with a fellow countryman every foreigner might be judged by the ambassador of the nation to which he belonged, and the local authorities might be

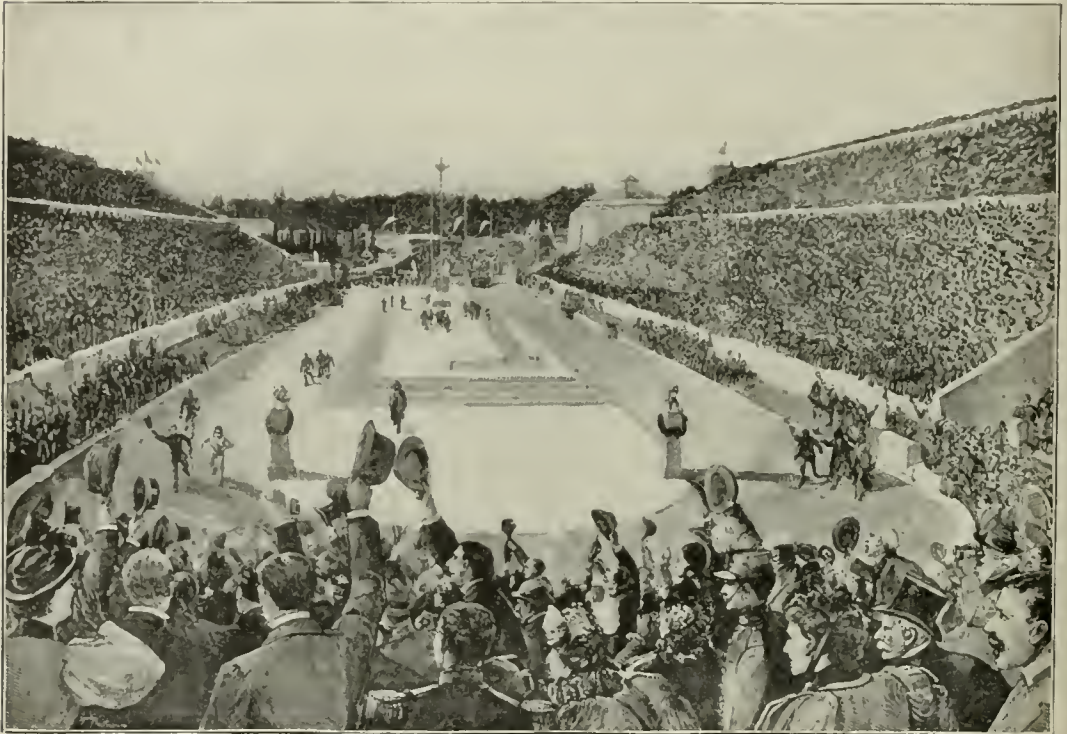
CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPHORUS.



called upon to assist in enforcing the judgment. In general the duties and prerogatives of consuls were the same as those of like officers in the Christian states. The foreigner's domicile was inviolable. Bequests and the administration of intestate estates might be made under the consular seal. Nor might foreign visitants in the Sultan's dominions rightfully complain of any unjust or unnecessary restrictions.

Facts like these tended to emphasize the con-

Almost every modern monarchy rests on a volcano. But the explosion is hindered and postponed by finding crevices deep down in the subterranean structure through which the lava of hatred and discontent may relieve itself by spurting its fire and smoke and scoria into the precincts of some other nation afar. The great historical question of our age is how long this game of deception and profound hypocrisy can be kept up. How long will the peoples of the world continue to



REVIVAL OF THE OLD OLYMPIC GAMES. CELEBRATION OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH OLYMPIAD.

tradictory opinions which have prevailed respecting the Turks in modern times. The abuses of the administration in the outlying provinces of the Empire gave occasion for constant and bitter criticism. Many of these had their beginning in the abuses themselves, and many more had their origin in the disposition which the modern political nations have all discovered to distract the attention of their subjects by attending to each other's business instead of their own. This is a universal rule which they have all adopted.

be appeased with the story of distant outrages, while the story of black wrong and injustice and cruelty issuing from the hovel near by is unheard, unheeded, or cried down the wind?

These considerations apply in particular to the Ottoman Empire. In many particulars, the Turks have held their own, and have even made great progress in the last quarter of our century. This was shown in particular by a comparison of the Turkish army, as the same emerged in the Greek war in 1897,

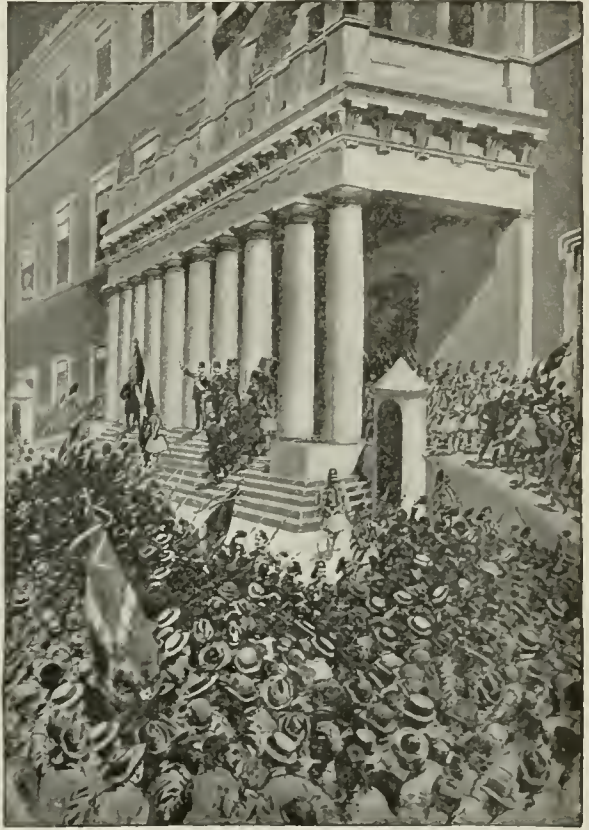
and the army as it was in the Turco-Russian war twenty years previously. It was found that at the later period the army had become, chiefly through the efforts of Osman and Ibrahim Pashas, one of the best equipped and best disciplined in Europe. All the modern appliances and concomitants of intelligent warfare had been found and utilized. The telegraph had been brought into requisition. The countries of Eastern Europe had been studied as to their topography, and war maps produced as accurate, if not as complete, as those of the Prussians. Sanitary regulations had been adopted for the preservation of health, outposts established, and watering places marked out for men and horses, so that the Greek campaign was conducted with a fatal precision and success withal not hitherto known in the history of the Turkish power.

The fall of M. Tricoupis, in 1890, gave the premiership of Greece to Delyannis, who remained at the head of affairs until 1892, when Tricoupis was restored by the general elections. This was brought about by the number of petty difficulties in which the rather bold policy of Greece had involved the country. The apparent character of Tricoupis was one of prudence. He palpably admitted his nation's weakness, and for its strengthening sought the good-will of Europe. The people felt that—for a time, at least—the policy of caution was the wiser, and therefore Delyannis fell. Unfortunately for Greece, the prudent Tricoupis was not in power when Greece, in 1896, began clamoring for war against the Turks, demanding the annexation of Crete, where the Christian inhabitants had risen in revolt against the misrule of the Turkish Governor, declaring that six thousand of their number had been butchered within a few months.

The disaster to the country entailed by the war with Turkey seems closer to the people of the United States, coming as it came soon after the revival of the old Olympic games,

the seven hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad having been celebrated with great success at Athens from April 6 to 15, 1896.

To the year 1897 belongs the brief story of the Turco-Grecian war. This conflict, the history of which extends from February to May inclusive of the year just named, brought once more into strong relief the complicated and almost incomprehensible political state of



DEMONSTRATION BEFORE THE ROYAL PALACE
AT ATHENS.

Eastern Europe. The visible difficulty originated, as has been stated, in the island of Crete, but it had for its remoter origins the concert of Europe and a large section of modern history.

In the first place, Crete was a dependency of the Turkish Empire. There had been a rather strenuous rebellion of the people of the island, as far back as 1867, but the insurrection was suppressed. Eleven years after-

ward, at the Congress of Berlin, there had been a feeble contention that Crete should be united with the Greek monarchy—this on the basis of ethnic and institutional affinities. Crete was essentially a Greek country. It was Greek geographically, in population, and in religion. The Government was Turkish, and to that extent Mohammedan.

When the Greek monarchy was instituted, a number of outlying Hellenic parts, with a population of perhaps six million souls of the

powers that were over them. In Crete, the Christians who were Greek, and who constituted a great majority, desired to extinguish the Ottoman rule, and to get their island annexed to the Kingdom of the Hellenes. In February of 1897, there was a popular uprising against the Turks, who were accused of oppression and outrages. The Ottoman authorities, on the other hand, charged home upon the rebels that their insurrection was causeless, except in their determination to over-



FLEET OF THE ALLIED POWERS IN THE HARBOR OF CANEA, CRETE.

Greek stock were omitted from the Kingdom; that is, they were left as fragments of the Ottoman power. Such territories were Chalcis, the *Ægean* coast of Thrace, the European side of the Sea of Marmora, Smyrna, the western coast of Asia Minor, and the islands of Samothrace, Rhodes, etc., all of which were essentially Greek, though under Turkish dominion.

This gave rise to perpetual broils between the population of such countries and the

throw the Government and secure annexation to Greece.

This condition of affairs gave rise to the Cretan war. The Greek Government espoused the cause of the rebels, and sent an army, or a division of an army, under Colonel Vassos to their support. The insurrection gathered head, and the Turkish authorities were confined to garrisons and seacoast towns. Hereupon there was an appeal to the great Powers. Foreign fleets were already

in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ægean. Certainly the Ottoman army would soon in turn attack the Greeks. The latter declared their willingness to undertake the government of Crete, but the Sultan had no notion of losing his hold on that island.

In this situation, the Powers made a manifesto *against* the rebellion; but the Cretans went on with their work. With this, the foreign fleets bore down on Crete and blockaded the island. Then a contingent from several of the foreign armies was sent into Crete as if to keep the peace, until the questions involved could be decided. The Ottoman Government by this time, however, was thoroughly aroused. An army was concentrated on the northern frontier of the Greek Kingdom, and an invasion of the country was undertaken on the side of Thessaly. This country was already claimed by the Greeks on the ground

that it had been conceded to them by the Powers in conference at Berlin in 1878; and this was true. But the Turks had never sur-



THE PASS OF KASTRAKI, THESSALY.

rendered Thessaly, and that classical country now became the scene of war.

The Turks advanced from the north under



LARISSA—HEADQUARTERS OF THE GREEK ARMY IN THESSALY.

command of Edhem Pasha. On the 17th of April, this commander was authorized to

Athens were withdrawn. Invasion was begun in the direction of Larissa, and the Greeks were not able to stand against their assailants. One division of the Greeks made headway into Epirus, but the rising there was not sufficient to support the movement. In fact, the war in every part of the field went in favor of the Turks.

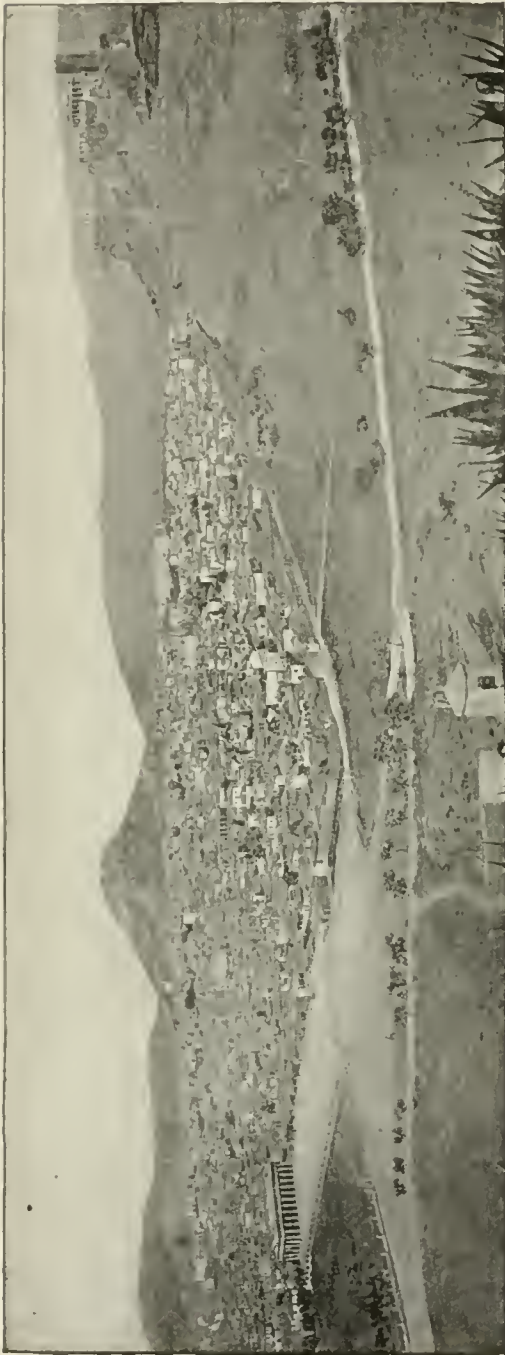
In less than a month disaster fell thick and fast on the Greek army in Thessaly. The Turks were greatly superior in numbers and discipline. Before long, it was seen that there was a want of union, concentration, and command on the Greek side. The scene of hostilities was in Athens itself, which was only a storm center for the complications of European diplomacy. When disaster came, a counter revolution broke out in the Greek Government. The ministry of Delyannis went to pieces, and the leader of the political revolt, named Ralli, was appointed in his stead; but no successful stand could be made against the Turks.

The Milma passes which the Greeks had hoped to hold were soon carried by Edhem Pasha, who also gained possession of Vaestino and Volo. This broke the Greek base of supplies. At Pharsalia the Greek army made its stand, and a severe battle occurred in which the Turks were completely victorious. The vanquished fell back to Domokos, where on the 17th of May, the decisive battle of the war was fought. The Turks, about fifty thousand strong, stormed the fortified position of the Greeks, drove out the defenders, routed them, and sent them in confusion toward Lamia and Thermopylæ.

In the meanwhile, all kinds of counter complications were pulling at the throne. The Grand Duke Constantine, Commander of the army and Crown Prince of the Kingdom, was denounced as incompetent. The King himself was driven, as well he might be, by all the winds of diplomacy.

proseute hostilities at his discretion. The Greek Minister was ordered from Constantinople, and the Turkish representatives at

He was in such relations with the royal courts and families of Europe, that he could not command even himself—to say nothing of



CITY OF ATHENS.

the kingdom over which the Powers had set him. He had for his father and mother the King and Queen of Denmark. His uncle was the Russian Czar. His sister was the Dowager Empress of Russia. Another sister was the Princess of Wales. His wife was daughter of the Russian Grand Duke. His son Constantine, heir apparent to the Crown, had for his wife a sister of the wife of the Emperor Wilhelm of Germany!

With all these relatives, King George

that in fact the general concert demanded that the war should end.

Accordingly there was an armistice, to which the beaten Greeks readily assented. The Turks at first made exorbitant demands, but the Powers interfered, and the status quo was reestablished. The insurrection in Crete was quieted, and the island was restored to the Sultan. On the whole, the war cast a glimmer of glory over the settling obscurity that was falling on the Ottoman Empire.



MUTINY OF EMIN PASHA'S MEN, 1888.

would fain be on terms of amity and good fellowship. For in case he should be overthrown, he must fall into their arms; therefore, being in war with the unspeakable Turk, he must be advised by them each after his kind, and he must try to please them all. So the Greek cause went to pieces. After the battle of Domokos, the Czar put out his hand, saying that the war had gone far enough. The Sultan was admonished that if he should march on Athens, the Bulgarian army would issue against him, and

Egypt is ostensibly a province of the Ottoman Empire, yet it is in reality a most important factor in the great African puzzle, toward the solution of which the Powers give more attention than to any specific detail of European territory. The British administration in Egypt had, in 1889, proved its worth by the improved financial condition of the country, and the need of its continuance was shown by the spirit of the fierce fanatics of the South, who were waiting with savage impatience for an opportunity to overwhelm the new civiliza-

tion with the devastations of their barbaric fury. Again and again the British forces stationed on the frontier were engaged in sharp contests with the raging natives, and again and again the Dervishes were driven back, until they were subdued for a time by the great victory over them in a battle in August, at Toski, where the English soldiers were led by Sir Francis Grenfell, and where the native chief, Wad el Njumi, was killed.

The concentration of Mahdist power in Khartoum caused disaster beyond the borders of Egypt itself; for in the spring the Abyssinians were defeated by the followers of the Mahdi, and the Negus, King John, was slain. Still further to the south the agitations of the natives finally destroyed the last vestiges of the work accomplished by the victories of Baker, Gordon, and their fellows. Slave-trade and the worst forms of aboriginal lawlessness reigned, too, in all the Soudan; Emin Pasha's equatorial province, after the mutiny of his forces, in 1888, lost every trace of the order instituted by its founder. Indeed, the slave-trade was rampant on the Congo side, and on the Zanzibar side as well; so that there was need of the hope caused by Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade against the evil, and by the resulting Anti-slavery Congress at Brussels.

The constant turmoils of the time did not involve the English alone. The Germans had severe fighting within their sphere of influence, wherein Major Weissman won much renown for the skill and courage he displayed in conducting a successful campaign. Despite victories, however, the whole region remained a prey to contentious sentiments, so that all commercial operations were hazardous and uncertain, and the work of missionaries on the East Coast became fraught with gravest peril.

Portugal at this time showed a disposition to develop into an African power, and to that end began operations that threatened injury to the English interests along the Zambezi and Shiré Rivers. Portugal seized the Delagoa Bay Railway, which an English company was constructing, and gave the continuance of the work to a Portuguese company, supported by German and Dutch

capital. This movement indicated an intention to monopolize all the traffic between the Transvaal and the sea. These measures were taken in the early part of the year, and in the autumn they were followed by the establishment of a new Portuguese province inland, on the two banks of the Zambezi, by which other ingress to the interior was barred.

This step portended an early extension of the Portuguese sovereignty over all the territory between the two coasts, and the English Cabinet promptly protested. Diplomatic arguments followed between London and Lisbon, and while these were unfinished, word came of Major Serpa Pinto's attack on the Makololo—British allies—and of his intention to conquer the whole region, even to Lake Nyassa. These announcements fired Lord Salisbury with indignation, and warships were ordered to Delagoa Bay; while Portugal added to the trouble by bringing charges against the British consul and the missionaries.

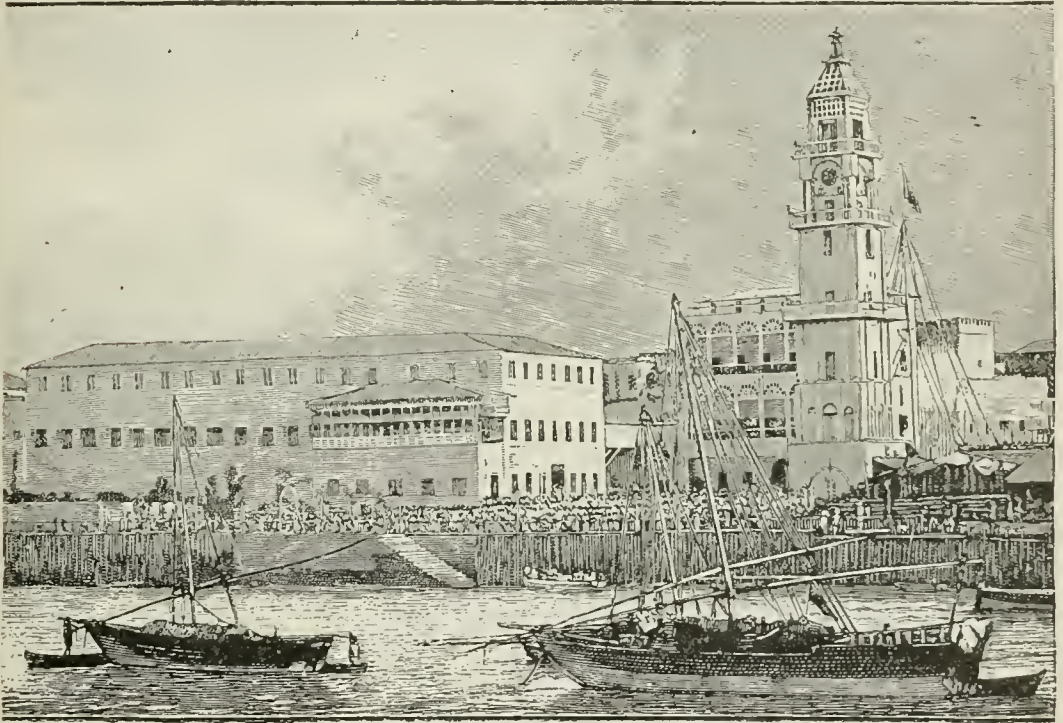
During the same period, British interests were advancing in South Africa, and became important even in the Transvaal, though denied political expression at the hands of the Boers. At the Cape, the Afriander movement was encouraged by the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, in opposition to the views of his Government; hence he was succeeded by Sir H. B. Loch, who had been Governor of Victoria, the governorship in Australia being given to Lord Hopetoun.

Financial affairs in Egypt were so satisfactory in 1890 that England repeated to France the request, refused in 1889, for a conversion of the debt, and France agreed to a three and one-half per cent. stock. Yet England's matters in Egypt were not wholly untroubled. The movements of the Dervishes above Wady Halfa and near Suakin were the source of much alarm, although there was no serious outbreak. The filibustering Portuguese, too, continued to exasperate the British authorities until they were at last recalled by their Government.

The most important event at this time was the Anglo-German agreement, by the terms

of which Germany surrendered Vitu and the region north of the British East African Company's territory and received a recognition of rights over the coast southwest from the Uмба River to the Mozambique border. In the Hinterland, to Lake Tanganyika and the Congo State, the German influence was recognized within that vast territory bounded by a line through Victoria Nyanza and the Stevenson Road from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Nyassa. The British influence ex-

footing, France gaining a sphere of influence in the Sahara, from the southern borders of Algeria to the upper Niger and Lake Tchad. After long diplomatic controversies, an adjustment with Portugal was reached, by which the Portuguese received all the territory on which they had actually entered; while Great Britain was permitted to colonize the central region to Congo State and the Stevenson Road, with authority over the Shiré Highlands and freedom



PALACE OF THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, BEFORE DESTRUCTION BY ENGLISH BOMBARDMENT.

tended north from its former limit to the equatorial province and the head-waters of the Nile. England also received the right to open the country beyond her South African possessions toward Zambezi, with Ngamiland; while Germany was given access to the upper waters of the Nile by her acquisitions on the West Coast. France raised objections to the British protectorate in Zanzibar, whose Sultan died in 1890; but it was arranged that the English situation in Zanzibar and the French situation should be on the same

on the lower Zambezi. When, however, this arrangement came before the Cortes in Lisbon for final consideration, it was defeated, and the ministry offering it was forced to resign.

In South Africa, the event that was afterward to be found most important was the appointment of Cecil Rhodes, the head of the British South African Company, to be Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

In 1891 some uprisings were caused by the Dervishes; but the native troops, under

British officers, vanquished their opponents, capturing Tokar, and forcing the Sheiks to submission. The British protectorate was formally established, and an Anglo-Portuguese convention completed the distribution of the spheres of influence. In East Africa the British Company defeated the rebels of Uganda, while a war was waged in the

a rapid development of the gold-fields in the Transvaal and the diamond-mines in Kimberley, while the operations in Mashonaland and reports from the Zambezi and Nyassaland were encouraging. The most serious troubles were in Uganda, where the British East Africa Company found itself unable to control the natives. In addition,

there were feuds and bloodshed between rival factions, which the French journals declared to be caused by English enemies of Catholics and French, and these difficulties continued throughout the following year.

English affairs in Egypt were satisfactory in 1894. Abbas II. yielded readily, though most unwillingly, to the checks on his conduct imposed by the British authorities. In January of this year the French occupied Timbuctoo, thus making another stride toward the accomplishment of their desire for an empire in Africa inclosing the Sahara, Timbuctoo being the chief trade and religious center of the territory.

At the end of December, 1893, a French detachment of troops was destroyed by Tuareg Arabs at Kabara, near Timbuctoo. A French column, under Colonel Bonnier, commander of the French forces on the upper Niger, forthwith marched to Timbuctoo, and seized the city, January 10. Two days later, Colonel Bonnier, leaving Captain Phillippe at Timbuctoo, started

to follow the Arabs. On the fifteenth he was surprised, and his force destroyed. Thereupon, M. Casimir-Périer, in Paris, declared that, for the prestige of France, Timbuctoo must be retained, and thus it came about that the most mysterious of cities yielded to the dominion of modern civilization.

England added another stronghold of barbarism, the last on the South African coast, Pondoland, to her Cape Colony. In



KHEDIVE TEWFIK.

Shiré Highlands against the slave-dealers. The disturbances were not limited to the territory under British control; for the Germans had trouble within their regions, and the French had similar conflicts on the West Coast.

The prosperity of Egypt continued in 1892, when the Khedive Tewfik was succeeded by his son Abbas, a boy of eighteen. In South Africa the same year witnessed

the same year, France and Germany finally adjusted their disputed boundaries in the Hinterland of the Cameroons. A matter of general satisfaction was the ending of the long war with the Matabeles, the fugitive King Lobengula dying January 23. A tragic incident marked the close of the conflict, when Captain Wilson and his company were surrounded and killed by the natives. The scene of the soldiers' death was described by a native as appalling and mag-

steadily increased, as was inevitable, being advanced rather than retarded by the development of the Dervish troubles into a war of some magnitude, that caused sharp fighting, and the transport of troops from England to reinforce the native soldiery.

The Italian campaign in Abyssinia resulted in repeated disasters, until Great Britain sent an expedition into the Soudan, whereby Italy was delighted and France was much displeased. The worst catastrophe to the



KIMBERLY DIAMOND MINE—THE DE BEERS MINE.

nificent. The remnant of warriors fought with dauntless bravery to the last, and when the moment of death was almost come, they bared their heads and sang "God Save the Queen!" Then they fell, one by one, under the assagais of the enemy—fell as soldiers should fall, fighting bravely to the end; but the echoes of their song abide.

The years 1896-97 in Egypt were full of incident, yet little was changed in the general condition of the country. English power

Italian arms in this campaign was that defeat on the mountains near Massowah, when, as already narrated, three thousand men of the Italian army were lost, and two hundred and seven officers out of two hundred and forty-seven. The attitude of Russia in this conflict was shown by the Czar's conferring on King Menelek the Grand Cordon of St. George, the highest military decoration in his gift, and the raising of popular subscriptions in Russia for the relief of Abyssinian soldiers.



PRESIDENT KRUGER.

was brought to England, tried and found guilty, and sentenced to punishment. The residents of the Transvaal who were implicated in the plot were tried in the Republic, found guilty, and sentenced—the leaders to death. President Krüger, however, commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life; the others to terms of imprisonment, the inferior offenders being pardoned. Many troubles grew out of the affair, not the least of which was a threatening strain of relations between England and Germany when the Emperor telegraphed congratulations to President Krüger. Cecil Rhodes came to England, and underwent an examination before a Parliamentary committee; but

A matter of more lasting moment and of more immediate political significance than either the Dervish or Abyssinian war was the filibustering expedition in 1896 that Doctor Jameson, director of the British South African Company, led into the Transvaal. In the light of later developments, it was found that the action of the raider had been under the sanction of Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony. The excuse for it was the persistent refusal of the Boer Republic to permit to foreigners any participation in the Government, despite the fact that they were of prime importance in the region, numerically and industrially.

British craft was never better illustrated than in this effort of Rhodes and Jameson to gain the upper hand of the Dutch.

The leader of the expedition



QUEEN OF ABYSSINIA WITH HER ATTENDANTS.

public sentiment in England inclined to favor his course. In fact, he rose in favor and continued to rise. His influence in Cape Colony became paramount, and History might easily discern between the lines that the Imperial arm was around him. Nor was it long until the whole scheme was out. Rhodes had conceived the purpose of building a railway from Cape Town to Cairo, thus traversing the whole of Eastern Africa—and the Transvaal Republic lay in the path of his ambition. The bluff, honest Krüger might well be astounded at the impudence of an aggression which to him could appear only as a piece of insanity, while to the British brain it seemed no more than an incident in "the spread of Christian Civilization!"

Another of the Persian monarchs died in the way usual to Persian monarchs when, on May 1, the Shah, Nasr-ed-Deen, was assassinated by a fanatic at a shrine in Teheran. He was succeeded by his second son, Muzaffer-ed-Deen, a man of strong Russian sympathies, who, by his autoeracy, was able to detach the political influence of his empire from its Turkish and East-Indian affiliations.



SHAH NASR-ED-DEEN.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE ORIENT.



THE year 1889 was a successful one in Lord Lansdowne's Viceregal administration in India. The budget submitted by Sir D. Barbour was the most satisfactory in many years, so that a visit made by Prince Albert Victor to the eastern dependencies of Great Britain occurred at an auspicious time. Although the affairs of the native States caused a great amount of discussion and some anxiety, the only incident worth commemorating was the misrule of the Maharajah of Cashmere, which was so scandalous that the British authorities

removed him from active power and vested his functions in a council under the British Resident.

The following year was a prosperous one, the price of silver rising a little, though not so much as had been hoped; and this year, like 1889, was made memorable by a royal visit, that of the Czarewicz. In 1891, however, there was much trouble with the natives, caused, according to British suspicions, by Russian workers, who in the guise of explorers penetrated as far as Chitral. In Gilgit, beyond the Cashmere frontier, the risings were extensive, but the victories of Colonel Durand were decisive. In Manipur, Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of An-

nam, was attacked and killed, together with the Resident, Mr. Grimwood, and some officers; but the rashness of the Commissioner, and the blunders of the officers were alone responsible for the massacre. There was, undoubtedly, a feeling of disaffection throughout the land, and to a great extent it found its cause in the sweeping decree of the British authorities against child-marriage and the fixing of an age of consent. This measure, opposed to native institutions, was bitterly denounced by the Hindus, and the vernacular press was filled with violent stormings against the iconoclastic edict. The country was more tranquil in the year following, although there were grave threatenings in Afghanistan, so grave, indeed, that the British attempted to arrange a meeting between Lord Roberts and the Ameer.

The country at this period was most oppressed by the decline in silver. This fall in value of the rupee affected the salaries of all the Anglo-Indian departments, whereupon an association was formed to work for a gold standard, and soon after a committee was appointed in London, with Lord Herschel as chairman, to investigate the whole question of the Indian currency, and to suggest some adequate relief.

Not the least interesting event of the year was the exploring of the Himalayas, by a party under Mr. Conway, who reached altitudes beyond any recorded hitherto. The report of the committee, with Lord Brassey as chairman, to investigate the matter of opium in India, was prepared in 1893, and showed conclusively that the drug served "an excellent purpose as a prophylactic against malaria and fevers, and that its suppression would work a real injury!" In the same year there were serious feuds and some bloodshed between the Hindus and Mohammedans growing out of religious disputes, which were continued with much local bitterness in the following year. In 1893 Lord Elgin was appointed viceroy to succeed Lord Lansdowne. In 1894 a good *entente* was reached with Afghanistan, as the result of an English mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, and the harmonized relations were aided by the oc-

currence of Russian aggressions. Troubles that had long disturbed the internal peace of Baluchistan were at length adjusted. The chief misfortune of the period came about in the delimitation of Waziristan, when severe fighting was necessary in order to complete the work. More recently the prosperity of the country continued, despite the evils of the financial situation, until 1896, when the horror of famine came upon the land and ravaged it, though every means of succor at home and abroad was put in use to lessen the evils.

The condition of finances in India was so bad that it is difficult to state the cause in detail; but the one great evil was undoubtedly the action of the British Government in 1893, when the free coinage of silver was stopped at the mints, though the mints were kept open for the coinage of rupees by the Government in exchange for gold at a provisional ratio of one shilling and fourpence. Silver was, however, constantly coined in vast quantities in the native States, and imported, and this, with other things, caused disastrous depreciation in the silver currency. Great Britain has found the experiment of stoppage to be of immense expense; but the Government has declared its intention of carrying out the effort to fix a gold standard, whatever the cost, in the belief that the final issue will justify its course.

Of all the questions affecting the welfare of India during the last years of the century, this of the coinage has held the paramount place of importance. From time immemorial, the trade of India had been conducted on a basis of silver, the rupee of that metal being the standard unit of value. To obviate this system and to supplant it has, for about twenty years, been the determined and obstinate policy of the British Government. That Government, knowing no law but its own, has sought every opportunity to insinuate the English system of money in place of the Indian system, though the population of India numbers more than eight to one of the home population of the United Kingdom.

One great stage in this purpose to establish the gold standard of value in India was,

as we have seen, the closing of the mints, in 1893, to the free coinage of silver. With the accomplishment of this design, conditions of hardship began to supervene throughout the great eastern division of the British Empire. Hitherto, the reserve wealth of the Hindus had for generations been held in the form of silver. It was the custom of the people to melt down their overplus of silver coin, and to convert the same into articles of personal adornment, such as bangles, armlets, bracelets, and the like; and these were held as money capital. On the other hand, in times of distress or need, these ornaments would be received by the owners into process, and be used as money.

The ease with which the two processes of conversion and reconversion were effected, led to the use of the ornaments themselves as a basis of exchange. It was only necessary to weigh them in order to know their purchasing power as well as their exchangeable value. The closing of the Indian mints stopped this process, and at the same time precipitated a catastrophe by reducing the bullion value of silver from more than forty pence per ounce to about twenty-four pence as measured by gold.

The whole people thus suffered a loss of two-fifths of their money. Even this enormous loss was aggravated by other conditions, bringing up the total to about fifty per cent. of the entire savings of the people. The rate of exchange also fell so low that the Indian Government lost a hundred and thirty million rupees annually on this score. Still another loss of ten million rupees a year was entailed by changing the pay-roll of seventy-two thousand troops in India from the silver basis to that of gold. The like

change in the case of the civil list, brought with it a loss of about eleven million rupees annually.

The disastrous forces here indicated worked havoc with East Indian interests from 1893 to 1898, when a great rally was made to secure the re-opening of the Indian mints.



LORD HERSCHEL.

This movement took place coincidentally with the sending abroad by the United States of the Wolcott Bimetallic Commission. That Commission, though unsupported by the American Government, found on the continent of Europe the premonitions of success. A state of circumstances had supervened in India which would have made the re-opening of the mints imperative in the case of any

other government than that of Great Britain. For, a year before, the great famine had occurred, and vast districts of the East Indian Empire were wasted with hunger and death. This calamity aggravated the economic disaster, and the two together wrought havoc. While the movement for the re-opening of the mints was on, the various steps to be taken in order to secure the desired rehabilitation of silver as one of the money metals of mankind, were discussed in all the three continents interested in the question, and the following conditions were formulated and laid before the Government of Great Britain :

1. Such legislation should be enacted as would create facilities for a greater use of silver in the British isles:

2. The re-opening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver should be ordered.

The first of these steps, it was claimed, could be accomplished by four subordinate measures:

(a) Extending the legal-tender of silver in all parts of the Empire from forty shillings to sixty shillings or eighty shillings;

(b) Providing that silver should be an alternative basis for bank notes, and if it should be found necessary by lowering the minimum value of bank notes from five pounds sterling to three pounds, or even one pound;

(c) By compelling the Bank of England to hold at least one-fifth of its reserve in silver, according to the existing law which had fallen into desuetude;

(d) By withdrawing from circulation the gold half-sovereign and letting its place be taken with silver coins.

The reasonableness of these provisions, however, did not appeal to the British administration, and the Government held on its predetermined course. The famine in India was relieved by special efforts and by the better crops of 1898. There were rumors that the Indian Government, or rather the Committee on Currency, would report in favor of re-opening the mints, but such a report was withheld; and the money famine throughout the East prevailed as before.

Nor can it be denied that the oppression, exaction, and cruelties, to which the three hundred millions of East Indians are subjected by that great power—which at the best can be said only to be engaged in the work of civilizing them by force—furnish one of the most appalling and indeed melancholy spectacles to be found in the modern history of mankind.

The world was interested in 1889 by a report that officially emanated from China to the effect that conservative prejudice had so far yielded as to permit the Government's contemplation of a scheme to build a railway under native auspices. No active measures, however, were taken toward a realization of the project. Hardly any rumor of it was heard in 1890, or indeed of anything noteworthy, save the death of the Marquis Tseng, who was the best known and the best esteemed diplomatist ever sent from China to Europe.

That China was not really advancing very rapidly toward liberal abandonment of old prejudices was, in fact, demonstrated in 1891, when outbreaks against foreigners were of frequent occurrence, and were unchecked. The outrages on missionaries were so gross that diplomatic protests were many; but the perpetrators were punished little if at all, and the evidences pointed at the possibilities of a general uprising that the Government did not dare to provoke by any harshness against native offenders. The difference between the spirit of the people in China and Japan became daily more marked and more to the credit of the latter. The real strength of the two nations was soon to be put to the test.

After the disastrous war with Japan, the Chinese Empire seemed to fall prostrate before the aggressions of other powers. Now it was that the great nations of the West, more than ever before, began to interfere in the affairs of China and to encroach upon her territory. In the movements which were now made by England, Russia, France, and Germany, having as an end the gaining of footholds and vantage grounds within the Chinese field, justice and right were never consulted, but policy and diplomacy only.

We have already seen how the German Empire secured its footing at Kiao-Chau; also how Great Britain made herself secure at Wai-Hei-Wai, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

Each of the competing powers seemed, in this great contingency, anxious to gain an advantage over the others. In the United

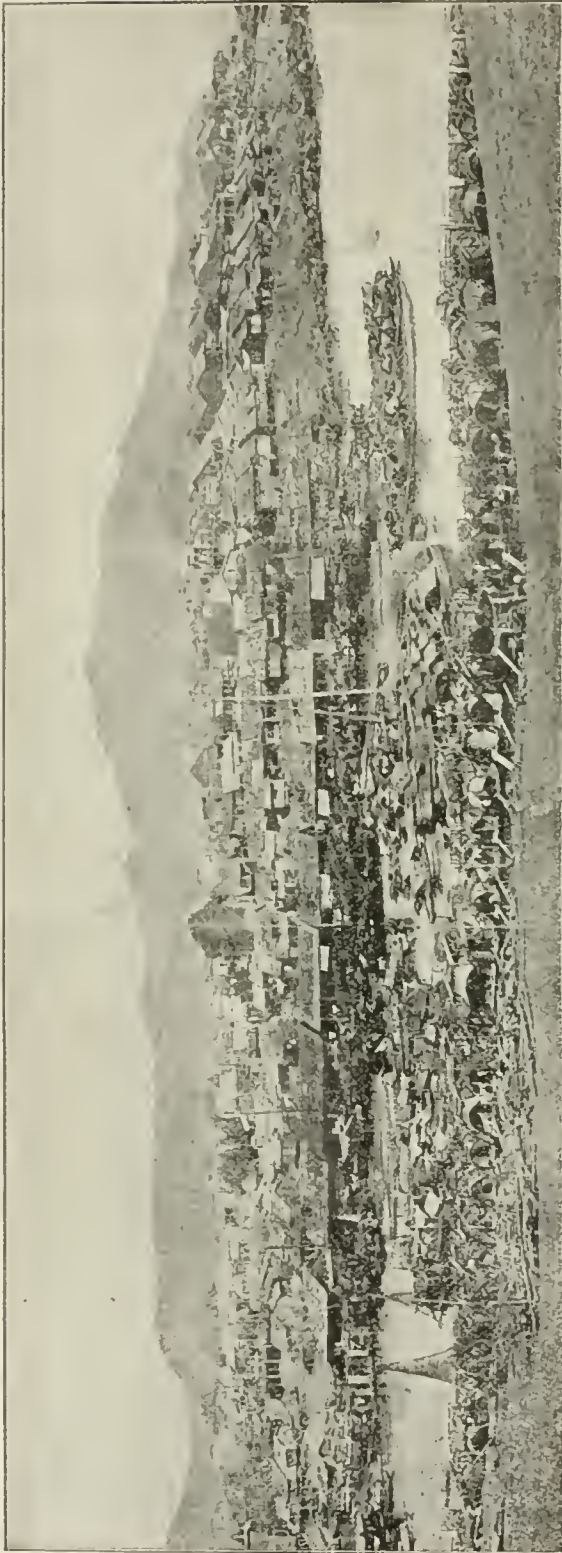
and take its part of the spoils. In March of 1899, Lord Beresford came to the United States and spoke much of the importance of having an American foothold in the Orient. His lordship was greatly concerned. In an address at New York city, he discussed the importance of our trade with China, and in



MAP SHOWING CHINESE PORTS SEIZED BY FOREIGN POWERS.

States, the imperialist party strove to press forward our Government into the m \acute{e} l \acute{e} “ in order to secure the interests of American trade.” English travelers in the United States sought to inculcate the opinion that the welfare of the Republic required our fleet to precipitate itself upon the Chinese coast,

the course of his remarks declared that a single Chinese province was worth more from a commercial point of view than the whole of Africa. The hint of conquest was thrown down without the slightest compunction as to whether or not one nation has a right without cause to despoil another! “ American



VIEW OF CANTON, CHINA—OLDEST OF THE TREATY PORTS.

trade in China," said Lord Beresford, "is advancing at a great rate. It will soon become a most important consideration for Americans." The hint thrown out by his lordship was fuel to the rising flame of imperialism.

At this same juncture, came the news that Italy had made an attempt to be in at the disruption of China, and had precipitated herself into San Mun bay, to the great alarm of the Government at Peking. A request amounting to a demand was made by the Italian minister at Peking that the Government should concede to Italy a coaling station at San Mun bay. It should be remarked in this connection that the oceanic and transoceanic conquests which the great Powers undertook and accomplished at the close of the century were always undertaken with the specious plea that the given nation required a coaling station on this coast or on that; "the interests of commerce demanded it," etc. When the coaling station was secured, then a certain amount of adjacent territory was necessary for the protection of the station; then the station ought to be regarded as a port of entry; then the demands of trade required lines of communication into the interior; then the unreasonableness of the invaded Government in trying to maintain its independence and the integrity of its territory was a thing most offensive, which ought to be punished with a manifestation of force. The interests of commerce then required a fleet and an army to back up the invasion, and a war was ever kept in reserve for a failure to comply with the demand of "civilization."

In the present instance, the Empress Dowager of China and her Court had the hardihood to refuse at first the demand of the Italian

Government. The minister of the latter was therefore notified to say to the Chinese authorities that their refusal was regarded as an insult. Then the Empress and her Tsung-li-Yamen, finding themselves hectored, hedged against the consequences by apologizing, not indeed for the refusal to give up a port, but for the independent language in which the refusal was expressed.

At the same time China sent an appeal to the United States asking that the influence of the Republic should be used to stay the grasping spirit of the European powers, and in particular to prevent Italy from carrying out her purpose. The American department of State declined to interfere, but did so with a reservation that the time might come when the United States might feel called upon to take part in the proceedings of the European nations on the eastern coast of Asia.

Meanwhile, the Government of China, which was little more than the imperial Court, weakened, almost collapsed, under the pressure of increasing responsibilities, emphasized by the recent humiliation at the hands of Japan. In as far as the administration could discern anything, it dimly discovered (while at the same time it dreaded) progress as a necessity of the future. It seemed necessary that there should be immediately at least two manifestations of the progressive spirit; first, the construction of railway communications, and secondly, the institution of an enlightened system of internal taxation.

Incidentally there was need of an immediate reform of all the administrative methods, for they were all hideously corrupt. The offices of the Chinese Government had for a long time been farmed out in a manner as shocking as that employed by

British and American politicians in the distribution of patronage. In China, bribery was the notorious rule in obtaining the offices at the disposal of Government. In 1897, Li Hing Chang, acting Viceroy, brother of the distinguished Li Hung Chang, most noted of the Chinese statesmen of the epoch, actually made and published a schedule of prices to be paid for every office in



THE YOUNG EMPRESS OF CHINA.

the provinces of Qwang-si and Qwang-tung! All the while, the Western nations were looking on and encouraging rather than staying the universal degradation, to the end that the dissolution might come speedily, and the vultures gather for the feast.

The bottom fact in modern civilization is commercialism in its relation to the political management of the nations. It has come to be believed that the so-called trade of the

world is the one thing to be attained by a state in order that it may prosper. This is the secret of that great fact called the "world system" of nationality. It is also the secret of that appalling fact, the destruction of independence. Nor has any other period in human annals furnished so marvellous an example of a world-wide fact, as that which the closing years of the century have witnessed in the rush of the Western powers to be in at the death and dissolution of the Chinese Empire.

It is foreseen that about four hundred million of human beings in that part of the world are to be fed and supplied—fed and supplied not according to the wants and desires which are natural to the great masses of the East, but fed and supplied according to the artificial wants which the Western nations desire to disseminate in the East for the specific purpose of supplying them after they are created.

A study of the statistical trade-reports of the Chinese Government for the years 1897-98 showed conclusively that the processes to which we have referred were already powerfully at work. In a single year, the total value of the foreign trade of China gave an increase of more than \$15,000,000—this, too, when the same report showed that the export trade of the Chinese had declined more than \$9,000,000. The statistics thus demonstrated that within a twelvemonth, the value of foreign goods thrown into the Chinese ports had increased by \$25,000,000! This sum indicated better than any political bulletin, better than any historical essay, the complete oncoming ascendancy of the Western nations in an Empire having a larger population than any five of them combined. And all this is traceable finally to the gain which the commercial life of mankind is making on the producing industries of the world. This fact may, in its turn, be traced to the belief that commercialism is easier, more expeditious, more profitable, more honorable, than the life of production; it is the triumph of the mart over the field.

On the terra firma of China, the great

change just described was shown in the extension of foreign railway systems. In the north, great trunk lines of intercommunication were building by the Russians. In 1897, the construction of another system was undertaken by a Belgian company which had been recently chartered. At this period, the French Government completed its arrangements for the extension of its system of lines, reaching out of Cochin China and Tonquin into the adjacent provinces of the Empire. Meanwhile from the west, the trans-Caspian railways were approaching the boundary, while the British Government with its immemorial energy was prosecuting the work of carrying lines from the Malay peninsula northward towards the common center. The approach to Chinese territory of railways from all directions save only from the east was one of the most significant historical signs of the age.

It was out of these conditions that the warlike rumors at the beginning of 1898 were created. In Great Britain, a deep-seated agitation and alarm were produced by the apprehension that British interests on the Chinese coast might suffer. The leaders of the dominant party made warlike speeches, in which they declared their determination to keep open markets in China at whatever hazard. When, however, the British Parliament again came to session, Lord Salisbury allayed the excitement by declaring in the House of Lords that there was no misunderstanding with any of the powers with respect to the Chinese question. Great Britain should have her way. Russia should go on with her railroad. Germany also should keep her footing. The speaker made it appear that the recent alarm about a coalition of the powers against Great Britain in the East had no foundation in fact. These utterances enabled the organs of the Government to resume their proclamations to the effect that commerce and the necessities of its extension had made impossible the idea of a further resort to war by the great nations of Christendom.

All of these changing relations were reflected in the serious embarrassment of the

imperial Government at Peking. In the court at Peking, the usual contest was on between the young Emperor and the Dowager Empress, who according to the imperial precedents has great power in the direction of affairs and great influence with the people. At the present juncture the young Emperor, influenced by Li Hung Chang and other "progressive" statesmen, yielded to the tendencies of the age and became a reform sovereign. To him, the representatives of the foreign interests began to look as the wedge which should split wide open the ancient conservatism of the East, and let in the floods of business.

But the Dowager Empress who represented the reactionary party stood stoutly for the ancient order. Between the two, in 1898, there was a struggle for the direction of affairs. For a while the Dowager Empress was forced into retirement. The obscurity which hangs like a curtain around the Chinese court gave opportunity to the journalism of the world to draw powerfully on its imagination, and to make up a schedule of facts according to the demands of the age. Only thus much was known, namely, that in the latter part of the year referred to, the Dowager Empress regained her station, and it was reported that the young Emperor had conveniently "died." The theory of assassination was promulgated by the representatives of the European governments, until it was found out that the Emperor had *not* died. Nothing more serious had occurred than the repression of the sovereign by the Dowager Empress.

Hereupon, the armed guards at Peking, representing the Western Governments, were increased, and the prospect of a general European interference was promoted. Meanwhile the London *Punch* expressed the situa-

tion in a cartoon entitled the "Artful Dowager." That sublime personage tears from the hand of the Son of Heaven a scroll entitled "reform," and says to him as she thrusts him back with as much temper as an Oriental may be supposed to possess, "Reform, indeed! I'll reform you. Go and stand in the corner till I tell you to come out!"



TSAIT' IEN HWANGTI, THE EMPRESS OF CHINA.

In Japan the increasing imitation of European institutions was marked, although the attempt, in 1889, to assassinate Count Okuma, who was Prime Minister until the change of Government in that year, revealed the fact that the advance of thought was not free from bitter antagonisms. In 1891 there was a parliamentary and ministerial crisis that smacked of the European manner; but there was no appearance of change in the liberal

policy, nor was there any political meaning in the attempt of a fanatic to kill the Czar-wich, who visited Japan in this year, after traveling through India and China. The general condition of the country was prosperous, though enormous loss of life and great suffering were occasioned in the autumn by earthquake shocks on the coast.

The advance of Japan continued uninterruptedly until 1894, when she was drawn upon to the full extent of her powers by a conflict with conservative China.

The *casus belli* was found in Korea, an old

China had continued to inflict outrages on foreigners, with only a desultory system of punishing offenders when the Powers insisted on it; but she was in no wise ready for a war. On Sunday, September 16, the Japanese attacked Ping Yang, and, in a great battle, killed or captured seven thousand of the Chinese. Two days later, in a naval battle at the mouth of the Yalu, the Japanese, in five hours, sank four of the Chinese vessels and damaged others of the fleet. This catastrophe caused the degradation of the Prime Minister, Li Hung Chang. A second Japa-



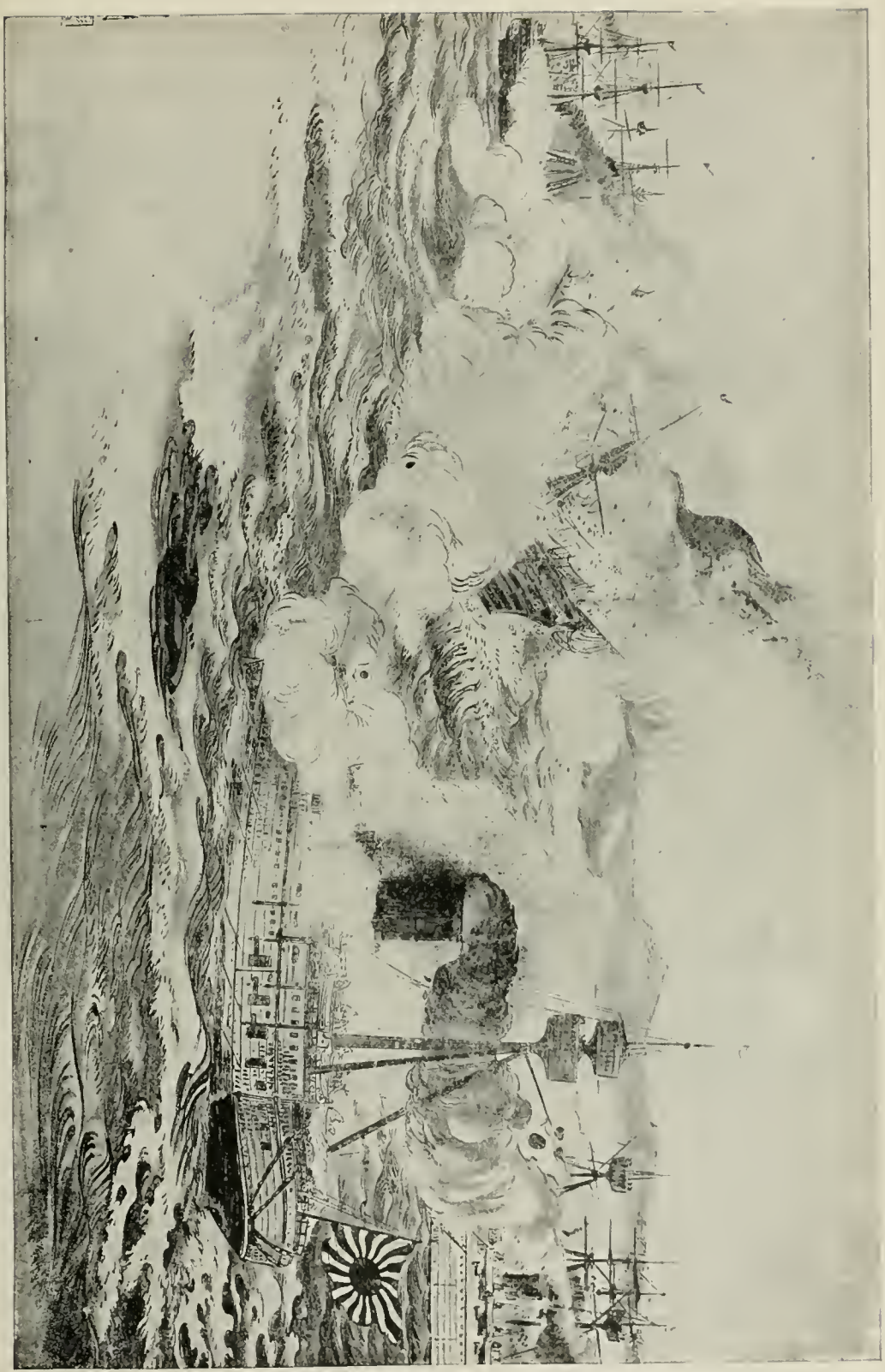
THE WALLS OF KOREA.

subject of rivalry between the two principal nations. In March, at Shanghai, there was much uproar over the assassination of Kim-ok-Kuin, by order of the King. Kim was the Japanese Minister to Korea. In 1894 he made an attempt to become dictator, and in this effort he was supported by Japanese troops. He then fled to Japan, but was thence lured into China. Immediately upon Kim's death the Japanese began moving soldiers into Korea, and as there were other grounds of offense, Japan formally declared war in August, 1894.

nese army, under Marshal Oyama, landed and captured Port Arthur, November 21, after sharp fighting and much loss.

The Japanese army next advanced into Manchuria. After crossing the Yalu in October, it separated into two divisions of twelve thousand and five hundred men each, the right wing going north, along the Mukden Road, to the Fen-Shai-Ling Pass; the left wing going to the west, in order to establish communication with a second army of twenty-two thousand, sent by sea, under Marshal Oyama, to Peking.

THE JAPANESE BATTLESHIP AKITSUSHIMA CAPTURING THE CHINESE BATTLESHIP YANG-KIANG—From Painting by Japanese Artist.



The line of advance was pursued, with constant defeats of the Chinese, until, in December, Hai-Tcheng was reached, and the communication with Oyama was accomplished at Foochow by extending the line south to Kiao-Chau. At this time the united armies had opposed to them sixty thousand Chinese,

January, 1895, fourteen thousand soldiers were sent to attack the Japanese at Hai-Tcheng.

Again and again, with repeated reënforcements, the baffled Chinese vainly returned to the attack; in every instance they were repulsed. Early in February, other twenty-

five thousand Japanese landed on the Shap-Tung Peninsula, and after a series of engagements succeeded in seizing Wai-Hei-Wai, the nine thousand Chinese troops fleeing, though the fleet in the harbor continued the fight for a number of days.

On February 16, the fleet surrendered, Admiral Ting, Commodore Liu, and General Chong of the garrison, all committing suicide. On March 1, the Japanese armies captured Niuchuang, and on March 6, Ying-Kow, thus joining all their forces.

General Nodzu, now appointed a field marshal, pursued the retreating troops, and finally scattered and destroyed them at Thien-Chuiang-Thai, burning the



LI HUNG CHANG.

guarding the roads to China proper. The Japanese, after severe fighting, captured Kaiphing, and there remained. The delay gave new courage to the Chinese. The Premier, Prince Kung, taking counsel with the disgraced Li Hung Chang, placed Liu-Kun-Yih in command of all the forces; and in

city to the ground, March 9. This calamity was put wholly on Li Hung Chang, who was deprived of every honor he had ever possessed save the vicerealty of Chili. It soon appeared, however, that some one must be sent to negotiate terms of peace with Japan; whereupon Li was restored to sufficient dig-

nity to be intrusted with this most delicate task, which he discharged with the best grace possible, his mission made striking by the wound inflicted upon him by a Japanese fanatic named Koyama.

According to the terms of peace, signed April 17, and for which Li was once again disgraced, Korea was to be independent, the south part of the Feng Tien territory was to belong to Japan, together with part of the country between the Yalu and the Liao, with the island of Formosa and the Pescadore group, together with an indemnity of two hundred million *kuping taels*. Unfortunately for Japan, Russia, Germany, and France objected to the ceding of the Liao Tung Peninsula, and Japan was constrained to accept, in lieu of the region, an additional indemnity of thirty million taels. Japan did not find her way clear in all other respects. In Formosa there was much fighting on the part of the natives when they heard that the island had been yielded to the Japanese; but order was at last obtained.

China, too, had additional troubles of her own. The result of the war only served to intensify the usual hatred of foreigners, and this expressed itself against aliens who chanced to be at hand, especially against the Christian missionaries. In July, 1895, eight of the English missionary force at Whasang, near Kucheng, were slain by members of a secret order, the Vegetarians. Great Britain protested with such force that all the officers implicated were degraded, and twenty-four of the natives were put to death. The most creditable part in China's history since that time was the restoration of honors to Li Hung Chang, and the sending of him on a tour about the world with a special mission.

Japan had one more bout at arms in 1896, when a brief struggle with the Koreans took place in March. The Koreans were repulsed, after several days' fighting, near Fusan, the Korean King seeking the protection of the Russian legation at Seoul. In this year, Japan lost thousands of inhabitants by violent earthquake shocks at the end of August.

One of the most important actions taken by the Japanese Government at the close of

her war with China, was the adoption of the gold standard of money and account. This was done in the early part of 1897, but the act was made to go into effect on the first of the following October. The adoption of the new policy led to a wide discussion in the United States and Europe; for the controversy between silver and gold was on, and the significance of the course taken by Japan was carefully inquired into. The advocates of the gold standard said that the Japanese financiers had discovered the inevitable trend of affairs and had accepted the inevitable ere the evil day should come. But the advocates of silver currency ascribed the change to the imitativeness of the Japanese character.

Nor could it be denied that one of the prevailing influences in the case was the desire of the Japanese authorities to flatter—by adopting—the policy of Great Britain. The maintenance of the silver standard in Japan had secured a high range of prices. But it was believed by the Japanese that the alleged increasing supply of gold would lead very soon to a future era of high prices like that enjoyed in the United States, between the years 1850 and 1870, as a result of the great gold discoveries in California and Australia. Oddly enough, the Japanese financiers ascribed as the principal reason for the change the desire to secure and maintain a *high range of prices*—this in the face of the fact that prices in America and Europe were suffering a great and long continued depression as a result of the substitution of the monometallic gold standard for the bimetallic standard which had hitherto prevailed.

The modernization of Japan at this period gave opportunity for a closer observation of her social and economic condition. There was in this period a strong disposition of Japanese publicists and writers to make the systems and civilization of their country known to the world. Industry was in particular examined and discussed. It was found that the condition of the Japanese masses was hard and precarious. The rule among them was not abundance, but penury. There was strong competition for employ-

ment, and the working people were found to be, for the most part, ignorant and near to the doors of want.

This, however, was more true in the great cities than in the outside districts. The population of Tokio had now reached a million and a half of souls. The manufacturing industries absorbed the energies of the greater number. It was found that one

sation. These trades absorbed the energies of about twenty thousand laborers in Tokio. The period of apprenticeship, however, was ten years in the case of builders, six years for printing, and for shoemaking five years. Of course such a discipline afforded few opportunities for the education of the young people of the laboring classes.

Another incident in Japanese history which



STREET SCENE IN TOKIO—MITSUI BANK.—From a Photograph.

of the principal hardships of the industrial life was the long hours of day labor. Thus, for example, the cotton mills ran twenty-two hours out of twenty-four, and each operative was compelled to work eleven hours daily besides taking his turn at night work.

Generally the operatives were under contract for a period of from three to five years. Most of them were boarded in lodging houses connected with the mills. Child labor was largely employed. The building trades had less hardship and better compen-

immediately succeeded the war with China was the adoption and promulgation of a new civil code. For a long time the progressive party in Japan had striven to secure a code more in conformity with the jurisprudence of Europe and America. After the abolition of the fudal system in 1869, the Japanese statesmen, with more than the usual alertness of their kind, perceived the necessity of recodifying the laws of the Empire. In undertaking such a work, they must needs look abroad for models of jurisprudence.

In 1872, Yeto Shimpei, the Minister of Justice, called to his aid several eminent French jurists—since he had a preference for the civil code of France. He also instituted in Tokio a new law school, in which Henry T. Terry, a graduate of Yale University, was one of the instructors. By him, a book on jurisprudence, entitled "Leading Principles of Anglo-American Law," was published, and this became a kind of Japanese Blackstone. About the same time, the new code of the German Empire attracted the attention of the lawyers of Japan, and became a factor in their new system.

A committee was appointed in 1870 to prepare a draft of a code for the Empire. The committee reported in 1890, and the report, with amendments and much debating, was adopted as the fundamental civil law, of which the first three divisions are analagous to those of Blackstone, while parts IV and V are devoted to family law and the law of succession, both of which divisions were carried over, so to speak, from the old order of society which prevailed before the revolution.

It was soon after the final acceptance of the new code in 1896, that a serious complication arose between Japan and the United States relative to the Hawaiian annexation. When the question of getting Hawaii became a policy with the dominant political party, Japan suddenly laid down the treaty which existed between her and the islands, holding that her compact with them was of a kind to place a limitation upon the national sovereignty of Hawaii. Besides, her intercourse with the islands had carried to them not only a large amount of trade products, but also more than thirty thousand people holding allegiance to the Empire. Japan, therefore,

forbade the bans, claiming a guarantee for her subjects and for her trade the same as that which had been agreed to by the Hawaiians themselves. However, the friendliness between Japan and the United States soon led to a peaceable adjustment of the difficulty; but the terms of settlement were virtually dictated by the might of the stronger.

From this time forth, Japan was regarded as one of the great powers of the world.



COUNT ITO,
Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This was shown in the after part of 1897 by the invitation which was extended to the Japanese Government to participate on terms of equality with Russia and the United States in the negotiations that were then on relative to the seal-fisheries in the north-western waters. In the International Sealing Conference of the year referred to, two Japanese representatives, Shiro Fujika and Kakichi Matsukiri, ably represented the Imperial Government and were not disparaged by the eminent men who composed the majority of that body.

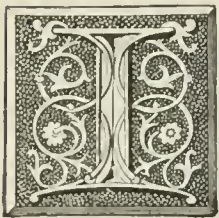
Soon after this episode, the question was raised of an international alliance between Japan and Great Britain. It was at this time that the relations of Great Britain and Russia were, according to the international busybodies, somewhat strained. The danger of a conflict between Japan and Russia was also recognized; for it was Russia who compelled Japan to stay her hand in the exactions which she was making of China at the end of the war. There was therefore reason why Japan and Great Britain should be at one.

Count Ito, the famous Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to England and had a conference of six hours' duration with Lord Salisbury; and it was alleged that they agreed as to what should be done in case of an outbreak between Great Britain and Russia. But the worst never came, and the alliance, if alliance it was, was therefore of small importance. Strangely enough, at this very period, there were those among the

leaders of the Radical party in Great Britain, who held it to be the true policy to have a quarrel and an outbreak with Japan, to the end that the war fleet of that country might be destroyed before it should become a menace to the universal dominion of Great Britain.

In the meanwhile, the progressive ambition of Russia in Northern China, and the alleged project of the Czar to annex Korea, aroused the alarm of Japan; but when the trans-Siberian railway was deflected and it was understood that Talien-wan would be made a free port, Japan became somewhat reconciled. Besides, she was hardly as yet in a condition of emergence and power to administer a menace to so mighty a State as Russia. It was her policy rather to promote the peaceable development of her industries, to extend her trade, to enlarge her navy, and secure countenance from all the great nations as a member of the group.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—AUSTRALIA.



N Australia, federation, both imperial and internal, was much discussed in 1889; but its practical development was greatly hindered by the political rivalry between Victoria and New South

Wales. In 1890, however, it had so far progressed that a conference of all the colonies was held in Melbourne in the spring, and a resolution was passed favoring the formation of a union under one Legislature and one Executive.

In this Federal Conference, West Australia was represented, it having been granted a responsible government and full control over a territory of vast extent. The same year was marked by political events of particular importance in Victoria. There was a change in the ministry, hurried to a culmination by the labor representatives because support had been refused to the large ship-

ping strike. The other and graver causes that conspired to make a Cabinet change rested in the generally unsatisfactory policy of the ministers. A number of opposing factions looked with distrust on the construction of numerous lines of railways, on which money was lavishly expended, while the returns failed to show any profit, and it was believed that the roads were built for purposes mainly political.

The strike, which furnished the final ground of complaint to the representatives of labor, was an endeavor to shut out non-union men, and it spread throughout all the colonies, being fermented and aided by the organization in England. The owners, nevertheless, persisted in a firm denial of all demands, and the strike ultimately failed, chiefly owing to the fact that public sympathy was alienated by the sweeping policy of the strikers, whose restrictions on various interests caused general disturbance.

In April, 1891, a convention at Sydney

adopted a Federal Constitution of the Commonwealth, designed to be ratified by the Legislatures of the colonies, and then to be submitted for sanction to the Imperial Parliament. The same year, in New South Wales, witnessed the defeat of Sir Henry Parkes in an appeal to the constituencies, and he was driven from office by the combined attacks of the organized Labor party and his Protectionist enemies, Mr. Dibbs

condition of the country was regarded with mistrust. This was justified in 1892 by the failure of some of the building societies and banks in Melbourne. The panic was partially averted by the forming of an alliance of the banks, whereby they were pledged to mutual support. In labor circles the unrest was manifested chiefly in a great strike at the Broken Hill mines, which failed.

In February, 1892, the Parliament of



SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA.

forming a Protectionist Ministry. At the same time, the condition was one of much uncertainty in Victoria, although the Labor party had suffered much from the defeat of the shipping and dock strike. In Queensland the strikers resorted to violence, and were reduced to order only by the presence of troops.

The general effect of these severe labor agitations and the extravagance of governmental expenditures was to injure the credit of all the colonies, and the financial

Queensland passed an act to allow the importation of Kanaka laborers, to continue for a period of ten years. This measure was bitterly opposed, on the ground that the condition of these Polynesian islanders on the plantations was really one of slavery, and on the ground that such importation of workers was prejudicial to the interests of the white laborers. The success of the measure was due to the fact that no white man could be found willing or able to endure the sun's heat on the sugar tracts; so that

without the Kanaka natives the plantations must be abandoned, to the great injury of Queensland's commercial importance.

In 1892 the Earl of Glasgow was made Governor of New Zealand, and in 1893 the Earl of Jersey resigned the governorship of New South Wales, being succeeded by Sir R. W. Duff, with Sir George R. Dibbs as Premier. In the latter year the Shields Ministry was overthrown in Victoria, and a new Cabinet formed, with Mr. J. B. Patterson as Premier. In Queensland Sir Samuel Griffith

Federation. In order to prosecute the work of union along other lines an Australasian Federation League was formed in Victoria and New South Wales. The results of this action appeared in 1894, when a programme was issued. According to the published propositions, the Victorian branch of the League suggested that the Federal Constitution should be drafted by a popular convention, and then be submitted to the direct vote of the people.

This scheme with some important alterations in details, was accepted by the branch of the League in New South Wales. Early in the following year there was a meeting of the premiers of all the colonies at Hobart, where the Federal Council was holding its sessions at the same time. The Victoria plan was then submitted and fully discussed. In spite of much objection to some of its features, it was finally approved. It was decided that a convention should be held, to which ten representatives of each colony should be chosen directly by the people. This conven-



VIEW IN DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.

took the chief justiceship of the colony, and Sir Thomas Mellwraith became Premier.

The year 1894 showed a remarkable success for woman suffrage in New Zealand, the first elections under the new law having eighty per cent. voting from the total of women on the rolls. In New South Wales, Mr. George Houston Reid became Premier. In March there was a conference of the colonies in Wellington, New Zealand, that made arrangements for the securing of a cable system. By far the most important action of the year grew out of the delay of the Legislatures to ratify the proposed Constitution of

tion should frame a constitution, and this constitution should be submitted directly to the people for the action of the electors without any intermediates. In the event of the acceptance of this constitution by three or more of the colonies, it should be forthwith sent to the Queen, accompanied by an address from the Parliaments of the colonies asking for the necessary legislative enactment on the part of the Imperial Government. Meantime a bill should be submitted to each of the colonial Legislatures looking toward indorsing and making efficacious the whole scheme.

South Australia displayed a spirit more advanced than that of New Zealand; for in 1895 it not only gave to women the right of suffrage, but also made them eligible to sit as members of the legislative body. In South Australia the Earl of Kintore ended the period of his governorship, while in Queensland a change placed Mr. H. M. Nelson in the premiership. The discoveries of gold continued to be made, the immigrants,

mand. Now, however, the condition of the agricultural and the industrial activities was excellent, and the prompt and judicious aid rendered the banks by the Government gave to those institutions a stability they had formerly lacked.

The Federal Enabling Act, devised at Hobart in 1895, was passed in the Parliaments of New South Wales, of Victoria, of South Australia, and of Tasmania, in 1896. The



VIEW OF HOBART, TASMANIA.

in May, numbering five hundred weekly. The export of gold for the year ending June 30, 1895, was two hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred and ninety-four ounces.

The year 1895 found the Australian colonies much relieved from the financial crisis that, beginning in 1892, had culminated in 1893, and had burdened the country with distress and alarm through 1894. The floods in 1893 had aided the panic occasioned by the folly of the banks in loaning their whole capital to debtors unable to make payment on de-

general sentiment grew much stronger in favor of federation in this year, from the fact that the foreign complications of Great Britain made war threatening, and the Imperial Government directed special investigations in Australia as to the colonial system of defences. In the examination of these defences it was made clearly apparent that only by federation could the colonies hope to utilize to the best all their powers in military operations.

The question, however, of carrying the federal scheme into complete success still

remained to be decided by a subsequent convention. The second session of the constitution-makers was held in Sydney in September, 1897, and the scheme was still further matured. A petition from Queensland to be admitted into the federation was received and then an adjournment was taken until January of 1898—this, in order to enable the voters of Queensland to choose their federal delegate.

Thus the scheme was carried forward by successive stages until March of 1898, when the convention, which had been in session for two months in Melbourne, completed its work under the title of a Commonwealth Bill, the object being the creation of an Australian Union. The instrument thus prepared had to be again submitted to the people for ratification. The condition was almost completely analagous to that present in the Old Thirteen Colonies of North America after the formation, but before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The Australian Union, which was provided for, was well nigh identical in character with our American Union, save only that the executive power was derived from the British Crown instead of being constituted by the decision of the people. The Australian instrument provided that as soon as three of the colonies should ratify the federation, the same should go into effect—but this provision contemplated, of course, the ultimate acceptance of the constitution by all the colonies.

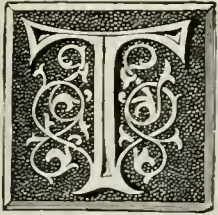
Meanwhile, the stress of European affairs in the Pacific and the oncoming contest for the ascendancy in China made it more and more desirable that the Australian Union should become effective as a barrier against the possible encroachments and disruptive influence of other nations.

It was at this period in Australian history, that the voting reform was carried to a high measure of completeness and success. No sooner had the "Australian system" been adopted, than it began to be praised and

imitated. The merits of it were discovered in the United States, and in no other country was there greater need. The new method of determining the choice of the electors, of protecting that choice, and of casting a ballot uninfluenced by corrupt machinations was adopted by many states in the Union, but never completely. The jealousy of American political parties prevented them from conceding at once and fully the absolute right of the voters to independence of choice and individual responsibility in making it.

The result was that in none of the countries into which the Australian system made its way was the reform carried out as it was in Australia. In that country, the elections were simplified and made so easy that it was not considered necessary or desirable to convert election days into holidays. A few of the features by which the reform was effected may here be noticed as they distinguish the election system in Australia from that in other countries.

The first great point of distinction is that in an Australian election, no two issues are ever mixed together and submitted for decision on a single ballot. Neither are any candidates for diverse functions presented as if the one were a rider on the influence of the other. A roll of candidates without party names or emblems, is presented to the intending voter, and it is his business simply to erase from the lists the names of all persons for whom he does not wish to vote. The whole matter is simplified. The privacy of the ballot is completely preserved, and the intelligence required is only such as every competent elector may be supposed and should be presumed to possess. The extension of such a system completely and finally through all the countries in which democratic principles survive, must needs bring about one of the greatest improvements ever witnessed in the civil society of modern times.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—CANADA, MEXICO, AND THE
MINOR AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

THE Conservatives managed at the end of the ninth decennium to hold their majority in Canada, aided thereto by the disputes with the United States as to fishing rights in Behring

Sea and on the Atlantic seaboard, which caused a reaction against the Radical policy. In 1891, however, the Conservatives received a severe shock, though not disastrous, by the revelation of administrative corruption, and Sir Hector Langevin, a member of the Cabinet, was forced to resign, although not suspected of personal malversation. The Radicals could not boast much of the affair, nevertheless, inasmuch as a like scandal implicated Mr. Mercier, the Radical premier of the Provincial Government of Quebec.

A loss that was felt by Conservatives and Radicals alike was the death, on the 6th of June, 1891, of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime Minister of the Dominion. A calamity of another sort came in 1892, when the greater part of St. John's, Newfoundland, was destroyed by fire. In 1893 the Earl of Aberdeen succeeded Lord Stanley, of Preston—who had inherited the earldom of Derby and retired—in the governor-generalship of the Dominion. The official visit of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen to Ottawa and Montreal was the occasion of general festivals throughout the country.

Political circles were profoundly shocked in 1894 by the death of Sir John Thompson, the Premier, who died, December 12, at Windsor, just after he had taken the oath as member of the Queen's Privy Council. The new Cabinet was formed by the Honorable Mackenzie Bowell. The next year witnessed a remarkable turn in the strength of parties. For the first time since confederation, the Liberals won in the Canadian elections, the

chief issue being Home Rule. The Honorable Wilfrid Laurier's majority in Quebec was thirty-four, and in all Canada, twenty-four.

It was at this juncture that the long delayed census of Canada, her people and resources, was published. The work had been undertaken as far back as 1881, that being the date of the completion of the last census. The new enumeration was completed in 1891, but the results were long under consideration and arrangement before they could be published. When at last the work was done, the outcome was exceedingly disappointing.

During the decennium, the population of the Dominion had increased by only five hundred and eight thousand souls. This was less than twelve per cent. The census of 1881 had shown for the preceding ten years an increase of more than seventeen per cent. One of the strange symptoms of the age was shown in the fact that Canada, during the period covered by the last census, had received more than eight hundred and fifty thousand immigrants. It was estimated that in the same period about seven hundred and fifty thousand native Canadians had been born. The deduction was inevitable that more than a million of the Canadians had been lost by emigration, and this outgoing stream had flowed almost exclusively into the United States.

Financially, the census showed that Canada was plodding her way in the wake of her greater sisters in the matter of expenditure and debt. The report of June 30, 1895, placed the net federal debt at the figure of \$253,074,927, nearly one-half of which had been incurred since 1878. Already the annual interest and sinking fund charges against the treasury amounted to \$12,750,000. This was more than one-third of the entire revenue. The annual expenditure for

the fiscal year, 1895, was more than \$38,000,000. The debt per capita was \$50, being a little over three times as much as that in the United States at the same period, and \$34 less than the corresponding charge in Great Britain. It was claimed by the leaders of the dominant party that the great increase of indebtedness was attributable to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway,

United States in 1893-94 carried havoc into the financial circles of the Dominion. There ensued a great depression of business. Both the Liberal and the Conservative party declared themselves in favor of a revival of prosperity. This, according to the political prescription of the time, was to be brought about by "Unrestricted Reciprocity"—that is, free trade with the United States.



ON THE LINE OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY—THE SELKIRK RANGE.—From a Photograph.

but it was noted by the opposition that the completion of the railway and of other public works did not lessen the rate of increase in the burdens which the financial management continued to impose the same as before.

The intimate relations between Canada and the United States were shown at this period by the conformity of the business fluctuation of the former with that of the latter. The panic which occurred in the

But a large class of influential leaders held to the policy of revival by a protective system. The situation of the Canadians, with a sparse population and a limitless territory, strongly suggested the laying of protective duties on the articles manufactured or produced within the country; but the influence of the home empire with its restricted area, its vast accumulations of capital and its limitless resources of labor, was constantly

exerted to keep the people of the Dominion in line with the old-world policy of free trade. Thus the Canadians were beaten between two forces, but were constantly pressed in the direction of the commercial policy of Great Britain.

At this epoch, several important questions, industrial, economic, and international, confronted the statesmen of Canada. One was the school question. The Legislature of Manitoba in creating a system of public in-

this situation was found the germs of a long-continued and not yet (1899) wholly decided controversy as to the Manitoban system of education.

Another question of much importance was the establishment and improvement of waterways. The grain-growers of the West demanded facilities for transportation from the head of Lake Superior to the Atlantic seaboard. This involved large additional expenditures on the Welland and St. Lawrence



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MONTREAL. — From a Photograph.

struction, abandoned the parochial or separate schools and instituted a purely secular system—this in the year 1890. Hereupon a pressure was brought to bear upon the province by the Dominion Government to induce a restoration of the parochial schools. The Catholics claimed to be greatly aggrieved because they were taxed for the support of the common schools, at the same time that they felt constrained to patronize and support their own church schools. In

canals; also for the completion of a new canal at Sault Ste. Marie. To consider and promote these enterprises, a great convention was held at Toronto in the summer of 1894, and this was followed by a like convention in Cleveland, and still a third in Detroit, in 1896. The discussions were directed to the construction of such waterways between Buffalo and Montreal or New York as would permit the passage of vessels drawing twenty feet of water—just as such ways

had already been secured either naturally or artificially from Duluth to Chicago and from Chicago to Buffalo.

A third question of importance was the improvement of the ocean-mail service. To this end an annual subsidy of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars was granted by the Canadian Government to supplement a subsidy five times as great which had been granted by the Imperial Government. It was thought by this means to add four steamships of first-class construction and equipment, able to make twenty knots an hour, to the existing fleet of vessels between the mother country and the Dominion ports. A Pacific telegraph cable was also projected; for this was necessary to complete the girdle of the world by supplying a line from Victoria to the ports and footings of Great Britain in Eastern Asia.

Still other questions were those relating to the admission of Newfoundland into the Canadian Dominion; the settlement of the Alaskan boundary; the completion of the organization of the so-called Territories in the vast Northwest, with their area of more than nine hundred thousand square miles; the perfecting of a Canadian copyright; and the maintenance of cordial relations with the United States.

When near the close of the administration of President Cleveland the peace of the United States and Great Britain seemed to be threatened on the score of the Venezuelan complication, the reflex effects of the controversy were strongly felt in Canada. The attitude of the Dominion at that juncture was sufficient to dispel all illusion as to Canadian preferences for our country. As matter of fact, Canada stood stoutly and with virtual unanimity for Great Britain. Her publicists and writers voiced the opinion of the people, and it is likely that the victorious outcome of the American contention produced a feeling of greater humiliation and regret in Canada than anywhere else.

It had been hinted that the crisis would be a good opportunity to promote annexation, but the proposal met with no favor. On the contrary, one of the leading

writers of Canada set forth, in a reply to Mr. Goldwin Smith, the true sentiments of his countrymen. "Last Christmas," said he, "when Mr. Cleveland's message threatened invasion in connection with the Venezuela dispute, doubtless we could have arranged by negotiation for peace with the States, and have kept entirely out of the quarrel. The thought did occur to one man, and he was quietly ignored. I know of only two newspapers, among our thousands, which advocated separation. The tone of those two was as stout and calm as that of all the others. Like the Scots round their King at Flodden, no one failed the Old Mother. Every man and woman accepted the necessity, and without a word of complaint began to prepare for war. Homes in England were safe and ours in peril. What of that! Britain had been threatened, and therefore we, as part of the British Empire, accepted our responsibilities. Already the scare has cost us three millions of dollars, and no one has uttered a murmur against the expenditure."¹

The loyalty of the Canadian Government and people to the imperial crown was still further shown in 1897, when the mother country undertook to relieve the sufferers from the famine in India. From Canada came liberal subscriptions to what was called the "Mansion House Fund" in London. In all matters, the Dominion Government made common cause with the Empire.

In the year just named, a profound interest was felt in Canada in the course of the tariff legislation at Washington City. At that time, the Dingley tariff scheme was before the House of Representatives, and the Canadians were anxious that the proposed legislation should be reciprocal so far as Canadian trade was concerned. At the same time, the Government under conduct of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was disturbed by an agitation for the adoption of a prohibitory liquor law. The issue was obviated by the usual shift of politicians, namely, an agreement to submit the question to a popular vote of the

¹Principal Grant in the "National Review" for August, 1896.

whole Dominion. This was done, and the proposition to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors was negatived by a tremendous majority.

Prime Minister Laurier was still more seriously embarrassed, in 1897, by the necessity of deciding the school controversy in Manitoba. This, he at length did by directing the legislation in favor of the Protestant contention; that is, the attitude of the Manitobans in favor of free secular schools supported by public taxation. Hereupon the Catholic Bishops in Quebec bitterly attacked the policy of the Government, and did not spare Mr. Laurier or his supporters. It was given out that Archbishop Merry del Val would be sent as ablegate by the Pope to investigate the whole question at issue, and to report to Rome. At the same juncture, the Canadians were greatly excited by that part of Senator Lodge's bill known as the Restricted Immigration Bill which would prevent the workingmen of Canada from passing and repassing the international line on business of employment. To this the opposition was so great as to induce a threat of retaliation.

When the Government of Laurier went fairly into operation, it did so under what was known as the "Ottawa Programme." This was the platform of principles on which the Liberals had come into power in 1896. The scheme included a demand for the abolition of the Dominion electoral franchise which had been in operation since 1887. This involved a return to the old system of provincial franchises, even in the case of general elections. The next item was the demand for a tariff for revenue only; also for closer trade relations with Great Britain and the

United States; also a reform of the Canadian Senate; a plebiscite on the question of prohibition; the settlement of the Manitoba school question, etc. The Liberals found themselves with a good working majority, amounting to thirty-four over all, in the House of Commons, but in the Senate, which consisted of seventy-eight members, the Government, after appointing the Speaker—as it



SIR WILFRID LAURIER, PRIME MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

was authorized to do—could muster only sixteen votes. There was thus at the outset, constant danger of a deadlock in legislation.

When it came to amending the tariff, the Liberal Minister was as much embarrassed as if he had been an American Congressman in carrying out his programme. The Canadian manufacturers demanded more and more. Hitherto, they had insisted that they should

be "protected" against the manufacturers of Great Britain as much as against the goods of other countries. All that the new scheme now proposed was to remove a part of the customs duties on English made goods; that is, a discrimination in favor of the mother country. One-eighth of the duties chargeable on the general list was accordingly struck off from the goods of Great Britain imported into the Dominion.

At the outset, it was proposed in the Parliament of 1897 to retaliate against the United States on account of the Lodge Restricted Immigration Bill. A measure was accordingly prepared which was a duplicate of the Lodge law—a measure manifestly dictated by justice and by the self-respect of the Canadians. But as soon as the bill was brought forward, it was so amended as to change its character, and to make it finally much less aggressive and retaliatory than the original measure.

The legislation of 1897 bearing on the great question of transportation was most important of all. Four schemes were carried through Parliament. One of these was the extension of the intercolonial railway to Montreal. This measure, however, was finally stranded by an adverse vote in the Senate. The second measure provided for the establishment of a line of fast-going steamers between the Canadian ports and Liverpool. The third bill provided for a line to transport Canadian perishable products in cold storage to Great Britain. While the fourth measure provided for the construction of a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Crow's Nest Pass to Nelson in British Columbia, a distance of three hundred and thirty miles. And this line was subsidized by the Government to the extent of \$11,000 per mile.

In the latter part of 1897, Prime Minister Laurier, and his colleague, Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marine, visited the capital of the United States with a view to securing better conditions of trade between the two countries. Many commodities of the greatest commercial importance were involved in the discussion of the question. First of all, there was the sealing trade. Then there was the trade

in lumber, barley, hay, potatoes, eggs, and dairy products. On the side of the United States there was the desire to export into Canada farming implements, mining machinery, leather goods, fruits, and textile fabrics.

In general, Sir Wilfrid wished to promote reciprocity, but when he sought to gain the privilege of exporting Canadian lumber duty free into the United States, and when the United States sought correlative advantage in sending farm machinery and textile fabrics duty free into Canada, then the Canadian manufacturers cried out that Sir Wilfrid would break down the "infant industries" of his own country. It was the same old complication revived.

Nor may we pass from this attempt to establish reciprocal freedom in trade between the Dominion and the United States without remarking upon the essential and ineradicable vice in the whole question. Commerce is a process of getting an advantage. Trade is waged on both sides with this end in view. Trade is not philanthropy, but gain. Trade does not go abroad to scatter blessings, but to gather sheaves. Little difference does it make about the interests of those who produce the sheaves, and yet it is the cant of commerce that it is engaged in scattering benefits. Its forerunners declare in whatever region they penetrate that they have come to benefit the people of that region—to make them great and wealthy.

To penetrate this thin pretense is easy, for any one who is not willfully blind. Nations trade with each other to get the advantage. Competition is accepted as the law of exchange, and competition means to get everything that may be got at the smallest cost that may be incurred. The attitude of the Canadian and American Governments in the year 1897 fully illustrated the impossibility of two nations, under the prevailing system of economics, coming to an equitable and concessive arrangement for international commerce.

The questions at issue affecting the mutual interests of Canada and our Republic remained for the time undetermined, but at

T. Jefferson Cookidge.

John A. Kusson.

George Gray.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Sir Louis Davies.

Sir James Winter.



John W. Foster.

Nelson Dingley.

Charles W. Fairbanks.

Lord Herschell, *Chairman*.

Sir Richard Cartwright.

John Charlton.

JOINT HIGH AMERICAN-CANADIAN COMMISSION, 1898.

length it was decided by the two Governments to constitute a Canadian-American Commission to convene at Quebec in August of 1898 and pass upon all matters which were at issue. On the part of the Canadian Government, the commissioners appointed were: Baron Herschel, Lord High Chancellor, as representative of Great Britain; Sir Wilfrid Laurier and two members of his Cabinet, namely, Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Commerce, and Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marine; also Mr. John Charlton, one of the leaders of the Canadian Parliament. On the side of the United States were appointed Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana, Senator Gray of Delaware, Hon. Nelson Dingley of Maine, Hon. John W. Foster, Hon. John A. Casson, and Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge.

The questions to be considered by the conference were: first, the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia; the conclusion of the controversy about pelagic sealing; the transshipment in bond from the one country to the other; the relation of Canadian railroads to the American interstate commerce law; and finally, the question of a reciprocal tariff arrangement between the two nations. These issues, however, were of so great importance and the outbreak of the Spanish-American war so much distracted the attention of the American people that slow progress was made by the commission in its work.

In Mexico little of permanent interest has occurred. The decline in the price of silver as measured by gold at first plunged the country into distress; but the final effect has not been wholly injurious, since it forced business enterprise to seek and to establish some new forms of industrial activity, so that the development of business is now far beyond anything Mexico has known in past years.

The history of the Republic in this period furnishes a striking contrast to that of any other Spanish-American State. The contrast seems to have been effected by the appearance of statesmanship in the conduct of public affairs. The change from revolutionary

Mexico to the Mexico of Republican steadfastness began as far back as the time when Benito Pablo Juarez became President, in 1861. There was a period of confused struggle extending as far as the death of Juarez, in 1872. Four years afterward, the tendency to settled and statesmanlike habits in the Republic was accentuated by the election of General Porfirio Diaz to the presidency.

General Diaz first served one term in the presidency, and Mexican prosperity came with him. According to the existing order, he was ineligible to reelection in 1880, but four years later he was again chosen, and when his term expired, the statutes were altered in his favor, and he was chosen for a third term, and this became a fourth term in 1892, and a fifth in 1896. Nor did it appear that this unprecedented term of service was coupled with any growth of monarchism or any loss of popular liberties among the Mexicans.

Industrial prosperity prevailed during the whole period under consideration. The threatened failure of the Baring Brothers did not affect Mexico, and the panic of 1893, which prostrated the industries of the United States, went by without harm beyond the Rio Grande. The Government was administered with steady common sense and patriotism which redeemed the reputation of the Republic from the charge of faction and instability.

Two or three times during the long administration of Diaz, the constitution of the Republic had to be amended as if in his favor; but this was done with the overwhelming consent and purpose of the people. The opposition party, however, was not suppressed or persecuted. There was an element of broadmindedness and justice in the President's policy that disarmed the criticism of the minority. The opposition leaders were able to complain that General Diaz had overthrown constitutional liberty and had put down a free press. But these charges were not justified by the facts. The truth was that Mexico in this period became a more respectable and equal nation than ever before in her history.

In the year 1897, one of the remedies sug-

gested for the deplorable state of affairs in Cuba was a proposed annexation of that island to Mexico. It was said that the Cubans and the Mexicans are of a common race and a common religion. The constitution of the Mexican Republic made it possible for semi-autonomous States to be joined therewith territorially and politically. It was urged that should a course such as this be taken in the case of Cuba, the States of Central America would perhaps follow the example. The scheme contemplated nothing less than the creation of a single great Republic stretching from the Rio Grande to the Isthmus of Darien. Such projects, however, rarely indicate the actual course of events. The latter are determined by causes that are in themselves, and not by the invented plan of publicists and statesmen.

Among the peaceable enterprises of this period was the more definite determination of the international boundary between Mexico and the United States. The work was prosecuted by an international commission appointed by the two Governments. Not able to complete its work in 1897, the commission was continued into the following year. Meanwhile the boundary dispute with Guatemala was satisfactorily settled.

Mexico having decided to make her national development from within and to follow lines of strict independence in her economic and political career, avoiding all complications with foreign Powers, found herself in the closing years of the century in a better condition as to peace and prosperity than did any other nation of the earth. Not another State of the New World or the Old, all of which were attempting to increase the international en-

tanglement and each concerning itself with the other's business more than its own,—was equally peaceable within or equally flattered with the hope of perpetuity. More particularly should it be said of Mexico that the end of the century found her more advanced, more prosperous, more comfortable in the



GENERAL PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO.

essentials of the civilized life, than was any other State or Kingdom controlled by the Latin races.

Central America has continued in the closing years of the century its fame as the most turbulent country in the whole world. In March, 1893, a revolution broke out in Honduras, at Choluteca, the troops of Presi-

dent Leiva being dispersed by rebels under General Borilla. General Vasquez ultimately defeated General Borilla, and was elected in the place of Leiva. Another revolution was undertaken in Costa Rica, but it failed completely. In San Salvador there was a revolution in July of the same year, but President Ezeta conquered his enemies. Nicaragua also had a small unsuccessful revolution at about the same time. In 1894 the fickle temper of the people was displayed in an unsuccessful attempt to kill President Iglesias, of Costa Rica, and another equally fruitless effort to overcome the President in Guatemala. In Honduras the presidency was obtained by force, and the customary revolution in San Salvador ensued.

In the Mosquito Territory serious troubles arose in 1894, growing out of Nicaragua's claim to sovereignty and British demands. In August, General Ortiz, of Nicaragua, and three hundred men defeated the natives, and occupied the heights commanding Bluefields. A party of marines was landed from the British war vessel to protect British property and lives, and another party was sent on shore from a United States ship. In November the United States recognized the sovereignty of Nicaragua. The matter did not, however, end here. The fact that the British Vice-Consul Hatch and nine other British traders had been excluded from the country because of their unsuccessful effort to restore Chief Clarence in the Mosquito Reserve, was made the ground of a demand for indemnity from Nicaragua to Great Britain. Nicaragua resisted the demand, whereupon the British Government issued an ultimatum, and followed it by occupying the Port of Corinto for the avowed purpose of collecting the customs to the amount asked for the indemnity. President Zelama ordered the port closed and declared all goods delivered there to be contraband. San Salvador, however, guaranteed the payment of the indemnity, and the affair was thus ended.

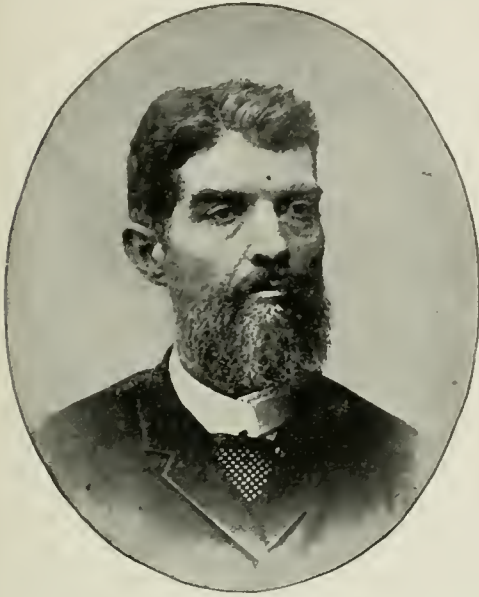
The ground of the British claims was that there had been no trial of the alleged offenders, and that, therefore, the dignity

of the English people had been injured unwarrantably. In this view Great Britain seemed to have the countenance of the best thought as to international courtesy. A settlement was reached in 1895. Its immediate effect was the formation in the same year of the Central American Union, a confederation of five of the Central American States. A conference was called in June, by President Guttierrez, of San Salvador, and the Presidents of Nicaragua and Honduras met with him. A compact for permanent peace was signed. By this arrangement the nations were to retain their internal independence, but were to act as one nation in all concerns of external political and commercial relations. The Republics that originally joined in the confederation were to be known as the Greater Republic of Central America. The incoming of Guatemala and Costa Rica were to change this name to the Republic of Central America.

In South America the years contained much that was of particular moment in the time and place, little of permanent interest, except the success of the revolution in Brazil and the Venezuela boundary dispute, which continued in shifting phases until 1896, when Venezuela, through the good offices of the United States, at last paid the damages done to British property by Venezuelan officials when they were asserting their supposed territorial rights. This incident involved the United States, and the attitude of the Washington Government was so dignified, and yet so positive, that its course gave new prestige to America both at home and abroad.

Despite the bloodlessness of Brazil's metamorphosis into a Republic, there was much internal strife there for the first years under the new Government. A naval revolt occurred in 1890, with a financial panic, the result of redundant paper money. President Marshal Fonseca, in 1891, quarreled with the Congress, and autocratically rid himself of his adversaries by the aid of the army. His dictatorship was, however, challenged by several of the provinces, and a disintegration of the country seemed inevitable.

This was avoided by a counter-insurrection originating in the navy, which restored



JOSÉ DA MORAES, PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL.

the Congress almost without a blow, and put Peixoto in Fonseca's place. Fonseca died in the following year, a few months after the death of the ex-emperor. In July, 1893, there was another and most surprising revolution. Admiral Woldenkolk, with one hundred armed passengers, seized the merchantman *Jupiter*, after leaving the port of Buenos Ayres, and sailed to the port of Rio Grande, where the usual revolutionary and suppositiously patriotic manifesto was issued against the alleged tyrant Peixoto. The admiral was, however, promptly captured and court-martialed by the Government.

Another military episode, more lengthy and yet more curious, was the naval revolt led by Rear-Admiral Custodio de Mello, who, with a fleet of one iron-clad cruiser, two torpedo boats, and some mer-

chant vessels, seized the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. This war continued until the election in March of the following year, and all that time the naval force was unable to land, as it was repeatedly driven back by the Government troops on shore. No more could it escape from the harbor; for the passage was raked by Government guns. On the other hand, the naval force was impregnable in its position, owing to the fact that there was no navy ready to oppose it. The Government was obliged, therefore, to set about getting a navy; and when it had accomplished that task, early in 1894, the naval revolution of 1893 was immediately at an end. The cessation of hostilities was very soon followed by the election in March of José da Moraes to the presidency of the Republic. His administration marked the beginning of an era of more peaceful conditions in the political life of Brazil.

The year 1890 was a revolutionary one in the Argentine Confederation. The war was not very serious as far as slaughter was concerned, but it was vastly disastrous to the



GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, BUENOS AYRES.

public credit. The President, Dr. Celman, was accused of misuse of the Government revenues, and a military revolt was the result. Then there was civil war in Buenos Ayres, and the nation's credit went tottering. The President at first triumphed over his enemies; but soon even his fellow-officials abandoned him, and he was forced to resign. This restored tranquillity; but the recouping from the financial loss was a matter not so easily accomplished. The importance of the whole affair is better appreciated when we reflect that the London panic of 1890 found in this strife one proximate cause. The history of Argentina in the years since reveals little accomplished toward establishing a system of sound finances.

Chile retained as a souvenir of the Peruvian war the curse of militarism. By means of the military power, President Balmaceda, in 1891, assumed despotic authority, and expelled a hostile majority from the Congress, and packed a new body with his own adherents. The Congressionals revolted, and drew with them the better class of citizens and the larger part of the navy. These revolting forces fought the dictator; but the issue was long doubtful, especially as Balmaceda controlled most of the points whence news of the conflicts could be transmitted. The naval engagements that occurred were of much liveliness; but at last the dictator was defeated in a great battle near Valparaiso, and immediately afterward shot himself.

Then followed the disturbance with the United States, brought out by the attack of the populace on some sailors from one of the United States warships. The cause of this was, that the United States minister at the time, who was Patrick Egan, throughout the civil struggle, seemed to espouse the cause of the dictator, and thereby gave to the opponents of Balmaceda the impression that the United States desired the President's success.

A petty state was added to the great system of Republics in the West by the Hawaiian revolution in 1893. The insurrection was brought about by the follies of the Queen Liliuokalani, the widow of John O. Dominis, an American, who came to the

throne in 1891. She developed into a political tyrant, and her Cabinet, at a crisis forced by her, was compelled to resign in January, 1893.

A new Cabinet was formed, and this, too, refused to obey the Queen's unconstitutional requirements. On January 14 an attempt was made to introduce a new constitution, favoring the natives; but the Cabinet refused to sanction the measure, and fomented a bloodless revolt instead. The rebellion was effected on January 16, the Queen was deposed, and an Executive Council formed, consisting of Judge S. B. Dole, president; J. A. King, P. C. Jones, and W. O. Smith,—all Americans. A volunteer force was organized, and the Government entered on a supposedly temporary discharge of State functions, looking toward annexation to the United States, although the outcome of events decreed that the protection of the larger country was to be for a time only informally extended, the Government becoming established July 4, 1894.

There was much suspicion that the ex-Queen hoped for a restoration of her powers, and these suspicions were confirmed by a royalist revolt in December, 1894. The revolt was quite harmless to the Republic, but most injurious to the Queen; for she was arrested in January, 1895, tried, and found guilty of high treason. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of five thousand dollars. She made a formal abandonment of her claims and an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and her sentence was afterward suspended.

The course taken by the Venezuelan question was surprising in the last degree. Just at the close of his administration, President Cleveland took a stand of unequivocal firmness with respect to the Monroe doctrine, demanding that the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain should be submitted to arbitration. Great Britain was little disposed to arbitrate.

The question became so large that the interests of Venezuela in maintaining her boundary line was wholly overlooked in the international complication. At one time,

hostility seemed to be threatened between the United States and Great Britain. Then came the proposition to arbitrate, and then followed the still larger scheme of universal arbitration between the American Republic and Great Britain. To this effect a treaty between the two nations was negotiated; but when it came to the rub, the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the treaty.

Meanwhile an American commission had been appointed to determine for the benefit

to sink into the earth, while the international waltz whirled on to exhaust itself in conflicts and war.

In March of 1897, Great Britain resumed her diplomatical relations with Venezuela. The suspension of intercourse had lasted for ten years. Hereupon, Señor Pietri who had been the Venezuelan Minister at Berlin was transferred to London and nothing further was heard of the Schomburgk line.

In the meantime a measure of interest



THE ROYAL PALACE AT HONOLULU, NOW THE CAPITOL BUILDING.

of the administration the actual facts respecting the Schomburgk line. But before the commission could accomplish its work, the Spanish complication came into the landscape, and it was suddenly discovered that Great Britain, instead of being the traditional enemy of the American Republic, was according to appearances the best of all friends! Therefore the Monroe doctrine must give way to an Anglo-American alliance. Therefore the Venezuelan question was no question at all. The whole matter was allowed

was excited in the affairs of Bolivia. That country, about 1880, had, as a result of her war with Chili, lost her sea coast, which had gone to the conqueror as an indemnity. She now began to assert her claims. The general map of South America showed at this period that only Bolivia and Paraguay were excluded territorially from the sea coast. The former accordingly reasserted her rights, but not successfully; for Chili had, in the meantime, become the most aggressive and warlike of all the South American states. Her

Government had also become regular and effective. The general elections in March of 1897, resulted favorably to the administration, and it was conducted in a manner so legal and correct as to indicate the order and permanence of institutions.

In Central America at this period, two signs of a better order might be noted and remarked upon. The first of these was the constantly recurring effort of the states to form a federal union. The other was emphasized, in March of 1897, by the holding in the city of Guatemala of an exhibition of arts and industries—a fact which could but signify the improving condition of Central America in respect to the industrial and economic welfare of the people. It was anticipated that a successful exposition of the kind would tend powerfully to allay the revolutionary spirit which had become chronic throughout the country. And it was at this time that the Central Americans more seriously than ever before took up the question of the interoceanic waterway, which had long been advocated in the United States.

Another matter of historical importance belonging to this period was the extension and confirmation of British financial influence in several of the South American Republics. Great Britain had never been satisfied with her failure to secure, in the first place, a better footing in the Equatorial and South Temperate regions of our hemisphere. She had never been content with the Spanish ascendancy in two of the three Americas. Accordingly, after dominating the seas and falling upon the coast of nearly all other regions, with a display of force and conquering aggression, she sought in the after half of the nineteenth century to accomplish the rest by means of her accumulated cap-

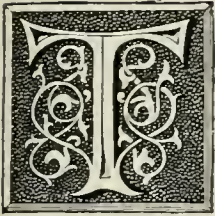
ital. In the last decade of the century, she threw out her resources, first, into the Argentine Republic, where she invested in railways and lands about \$1,000,000,000.

To a limited extent, a British population followed the line of this development; but the sequel showed that the subjects of her Majesty's Empire were not greatly disposed to venture among a population overwhelmingly Latin and Catholic. The same policy was pursued in Chili. In this country, the gold mines of the Rainless Coast, attracted the cupidity of the dominant race, and there was a considerable immigration. Other enterprises also, such as railways, harbors, lands, and factories, attracted the capital of Great Britain, and little nests of foreign industry were established in many places.

Viewing the South American Republics as a whole, their character at the close of the century had greatly improved. The holding of Presidential elections in these countries was no longer regarded as a signal for revolution. The elections began to pass by in a quiet and orderly way, and the minority generally acquiesced. Thus it was in Venezuela, where in 1898, Señor Ignacio Andrade was elected to the presidency.

In Honduras at this period, a company of New York capitalists got a footing and induced the Republic to grant them full control of the banking business and customs revenues of the country. In some parts, however, adverse conditions and the ancient methods still prevailed. Thus in Uruguay, in August of 1897, when the people were celebrating their Independence Day, the President, Señor Idiarte Borda, was shot and instantly killed. In Guatemala about the same time, the brother of President Barrios was assassinated.

CHAPTER CLXX.—REFLECTIONS.



HE concluding paragraphs of a historical work may well be brief and simple. It is not permitted to the writer of history to moralize at length upon the events which are

sketched by his pen. He is forbidden to conjecture, to imagine, to dream. He has learned, albeit against his will, to moderate his enthusiasm, to curb his fancy, to be humble in the presence of facts. To him the scenery on the shore of the stream that bears him onward—tall trees and giant rocks—must pass but half observed, and for him the sun and the south wind strive in vain to make enticing pictures on the playful eddies of human progress.

None the less, the writer of history may occasionally pause to reflect; he may ever and anon throw out an honest deduction drawn from the events upon which his attention has been fixed. Particularly is this true when he has come to the end. All of a sudden he anchors in the bay of the present, and realizes that his voyage is done. In such a moment there is a natural reversion of thought from its long and devious track across the fields, valleys, and wastes of the past, and a strong disposition to educe *some lesson* from the events which he has recorded.

The first and most general truth in history is that *men ought to be free*. If happiness is the end of the human race, then freedom is its condition. And this freedom is not to be a kind of half-escape from thralldom and tyranny, but ample and absolute. The emancipation in order to be emancipation at all, must be complete. To the historian it must ever appear strange that men have been so distrustful of this central principle in the philosophy of human history. It is an astonishing fact that the major part of the energies of mankind have been expended

in precisely the opposite way—in the enslavement rather than the liberation of the race. Every generation has sat like a stupid image of Buddha on the breast of its own aspirations, and they who have struggled to break their own and the fetters of their fellow-men have been regarded and treated as the common enemies of human peace and happiness. On the contrary, they have been saviors and benefactors of whom the world has not been worthy. The greatest fallacy with which the human intellect has ever been beguiled is, that the present—whatever age may be called the present—has conceded to men all the freedom which they are fit to enjoy. On the contrary, no age has done so. Every age has been a Czar, and every reformer is threatened with Siberia.

Nevertheless, in the face of all this baleful opposition and fierce hostility to the forward and freedom-seeking movement of the race, the fact remains that to be free is the prime condition of all the greatness, wisdom, and happiness in the world. Whatever force, therefore, contributes to widen the limits which timid fear or selfish despotism has set as the *thus-far* of freedom, is a civilizing force, and deserves to be augmented by the individual will and personal endeavor of every lover of mankind; and, on the other hand, every force which tends to fix around the teeming brains and restless activities of men one of the so-called "necessary barriers" to their progress and ambition, is a force of barbarism and cruelty, meriting the relentless antagonism of every well-wisher of his kind.

Let it be remembered, then, that the battle is not yet ended, the victory not yet won. The present is relatively—not absolutely, thanks to the great warriors of humanity—as much the victim of the enslaving forces as was the past; and it is the duty of the philanthropist, the sage, the statesman, to give the best of his life and genius to the work of

breaking down, and not imposing, those bulwarks and barriers which superstition and conservatism have reared as the ramparts of civilization, and for which an enlightened people have no more need than for a Chinese wall.

One of the greatest enemies of freedom, and therefore of the progress and happiness of our race, is *over-organization*. Mankind have been organized to death. The social, political, and ecclesiastical forms which have been instituted have become so hard and cold and obdurate that the life, the emotion, the soul within, has been well-nigh extinguished. Among all the civil, political, and churchly institutions of the world, it would be difficult to-day to select that one which is not in a large measure conducted in the interest of the official management. The Organization has become the principal thing, and the Man only a secondary consideration. *It* must be served and obeyed. *He* may be despised and neglected. *It* must be consulted, honored, feared; crowned with flowers, starred and studded with gold. *He* may be left a starving pauper, homeless, friendless, childless, shivering in mildewed tatters—a scavenger, and beggar at the doorway of the court.

All this must presently be reversed. Organization is *not* the principal thing; man himself is better. The institution, the party, the creed, the government,—that does not serve *him*; does not conduce to *his* interests, progress, and enlightenment; is not only a piece of superfluous rubbish on the stage of modern civilization, but is a real stumbling-block, a positive clog and detriment to the welfare and best hopes of mankind.

Closely allied with this overwrought organization of society is the pernicious *theory of paternalism*—that delusive, mediæval doctrine, which proposes to effect the social and individual elevation of man by “protecting,” and therefore subduing, him. The theory is that man is a sort of half-infant, half-imbecile—a hybrid of child and devil—who must be led along and guarded as one would lead and guard a foolish and impertinent barbarian. It is believed and taught that men seek not their own best interests; that

they are the natural enemies and destroyers of their own peace; that human energy, when liberated and no longer guided by the factitious machinery of society and the State, either slides rapidly backward into barbarism, or rushes forward only to stumble and fall headlong by its own audacity. Therefore, society must be a good mistress, a garrulous old nurse to her children! She must take care of them; teach them what to do; lead them by the swaddling bands; coax them into some feeble and well-regulated activity; feed them on her insipid porridge with the antiquated spoons of her superstition. The State must govern and repress. The State must strengthen her apparatus, improve her machine. She must put her subjects down; she must keep them down. She must teach them to be tame and tractable; to go at her will; to rise, to halt, to sit, to sleep, to wake at her bidding; to be humble and meek. And all this with the belief that men so subordinated and put down can be, should be, ought to be, great and happy! They are so well cared for, so happily governed.

On the contrary, if history has proved—does prove—any one thing, it is this: Man when least governed is greatest. When his heart, his brain, his limbs are unbound, he straightway begins to flourish, to triumph, to be glorious. Then, indeed, he sends up the green and blossoming trees of his ambition. Then, indeed, he flings out both hands to grasp the skyland and the stars. Then, indeed, he feels no longer a need for the mastery of society; no longer a want of some guardian and intermeddling State to inspire and direct his energies. He grows in freedom. His philanthropy expands; his nature rises to a noble stature; he springs forward to grasp the grand substance, the shadow of which he has seen in his dreams. He is happy. He feels himself released from the domination of an artificial scheme which has been used for long ages for the subjection of his fathers and himself. What men want, what they need, what they hunger for, what they will one day have the courage to demand and take, is less organic govern-

ment—not more; a freer manhood and fewer shackles; a more cordial liberty; a lighter fetter of form, and a more spontaneous virtue.

Of all things that are incidentally needed to usher in the promised democracy and brotherhood of man—the coming new era of enlightenment and peace—one of the most essential is *toleration*. It is a thing which the world has never yet enjoyed—is just now beginning to enjoy. Almost every page of the ancient and mediæval history of mankind has been made bloody with some form of intolerance. Until the present day the baleful shadow of this sin against humanity has been upon the world. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Ages have flowed down with the blood of the race, and tainted the life that now is with a suspicion and distrust of Freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired free thought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the present to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart.

Proscription has no part nor lot in the modern government of the world. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, swords, and pillory, have no place among the machinery of civilization. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties, beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the *right to differ*, and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good-will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech to all men, everywhere, is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and the sea.

A second auxiliary in the forward movement of our age will be found in the *emancipation of woman*. There are two stations to

which woman may be logically assigned. One is the harem of the Turk; the other is the high dais of perfect equality with man. The Middle Ages gave her the former place. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought to fix her in a station *between* the two extremes. The present, having discovered that human rights are not deducible from physiological distinctions, seeks to make her as free as man. The tyranny and selfishness of political parties will for a while retard what they cannot prevent, and then, by an attempted falsification of history, will seek to make it appear that *they* have been the champions of the cause by which one-half of the human race are to be enfranchised—removed from the state of political and domestic serfdom to become a great and salutary agency in the social and political reforms of the age.

It follows naturally to add that the creation of a *universal citizenship by means of universal education* is a third force, which is to bring in and glorify the future of all lands. Just in proportion as the democratic principle encroaches upon absolutism in the domain of Government, will the necessity for enlightening the masses become more and more imperative. The development of a high degree of intelligence is, in all free Governments, a *sine qua non* of their strength and perpetuity. Without it such Governments fall easy victims to ignorant military captains and civil demagogues of high or low repute.

Whether, indeed, the republican form of government be better than monarchy turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. Where this is wanting, the king appears, and the people find in him a refuge from the ills of anarchy; but when the antecedent condition of public intelligence exists—where every man, by the discipline of virtuous schools, has been in his youth rooted and grounded in the fruitful soil of knowledge, the salutary principles and practices of self-restraint, and the generous ways of freedom—there indeed has neither the military leader with his sword, the political demagogue with his fallacy, nor the king with his crown and

Dei gratia, any longer a place or vocation among the people.

Gradually—as we devoutly hope—the New Order of Humanity is coming into the world. Long and hard has been the struggle of its coming. The life of man, beginning in savagery, has not issued into the empire of promise all at once, or in a brief period of endeavor. On the contrary, our race has risen by ages of toil and sorrowful evolution. But the movement from darkness to dawn has been always discernible. When the clouds have rested most darkly on the human landscape they have parted, and through

the rift have ever been seen patches of the blue sky and glintings of the eternal stars.

May the morning soon dawn when every land, from Orient to Occident, from pole to pole, from mountain to shore, and from shore to the farthest island of the sounding sea, shall feel the glad sunshine of freedom in its breast! May the day soon come when the people of all climes, arising at last from the heavy slumbers and barbarous dreams which have so long haunted the benighted minds of men, shall join in glad acclaim to usher in the Golden Era of Humanity and the universal Monarchy of Man!



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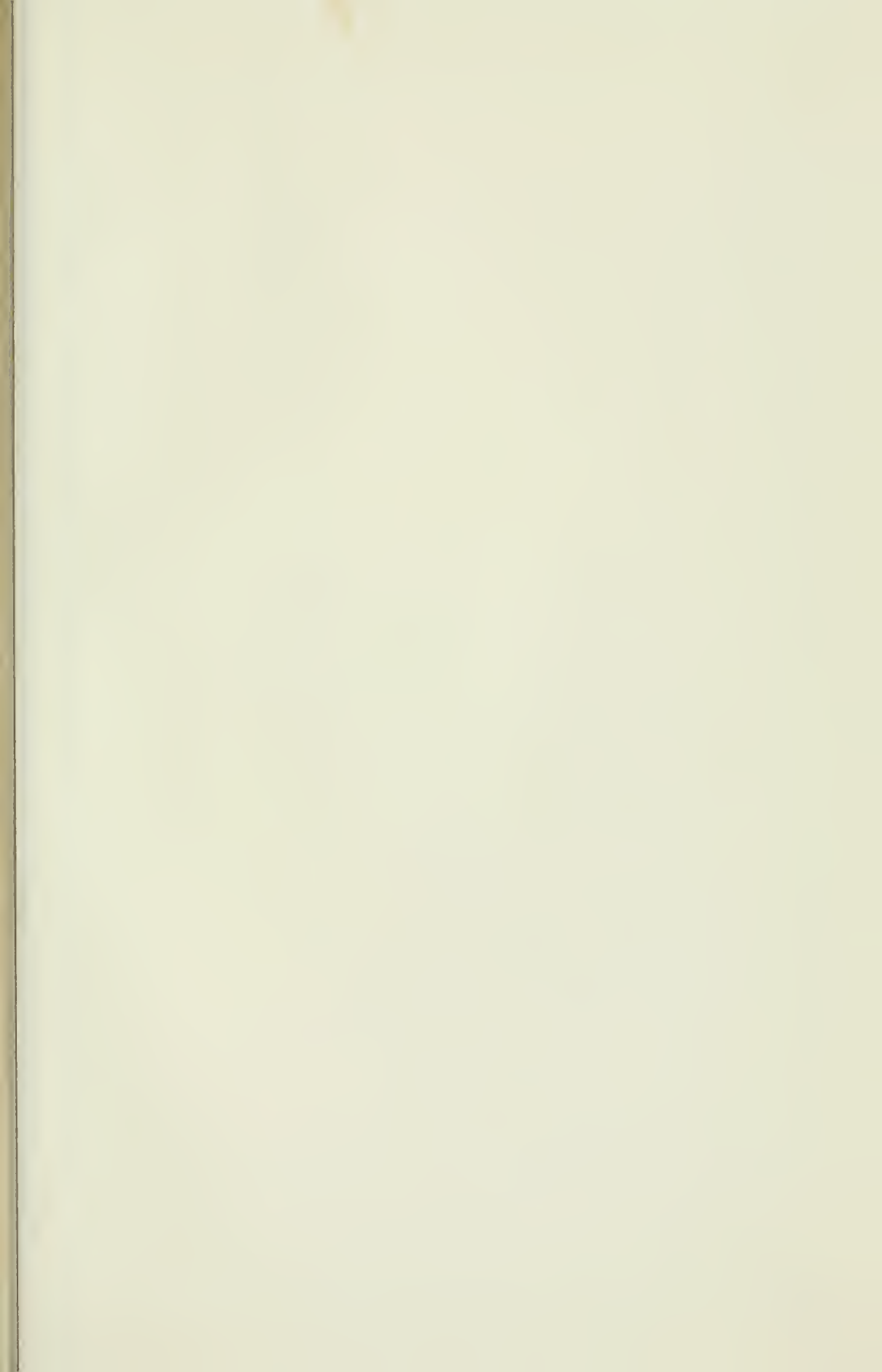
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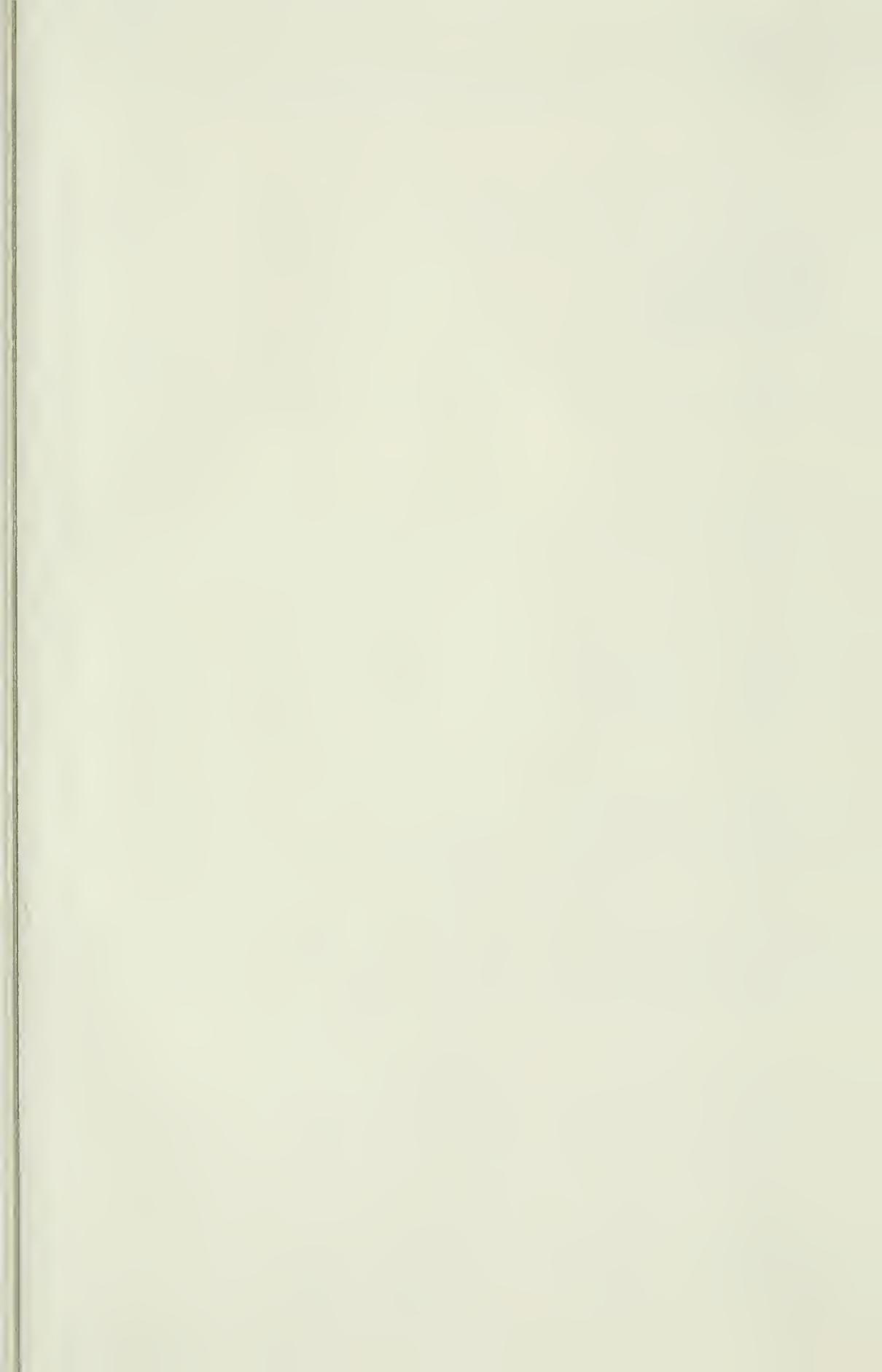
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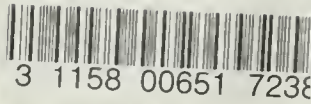
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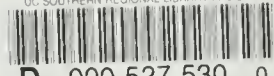
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