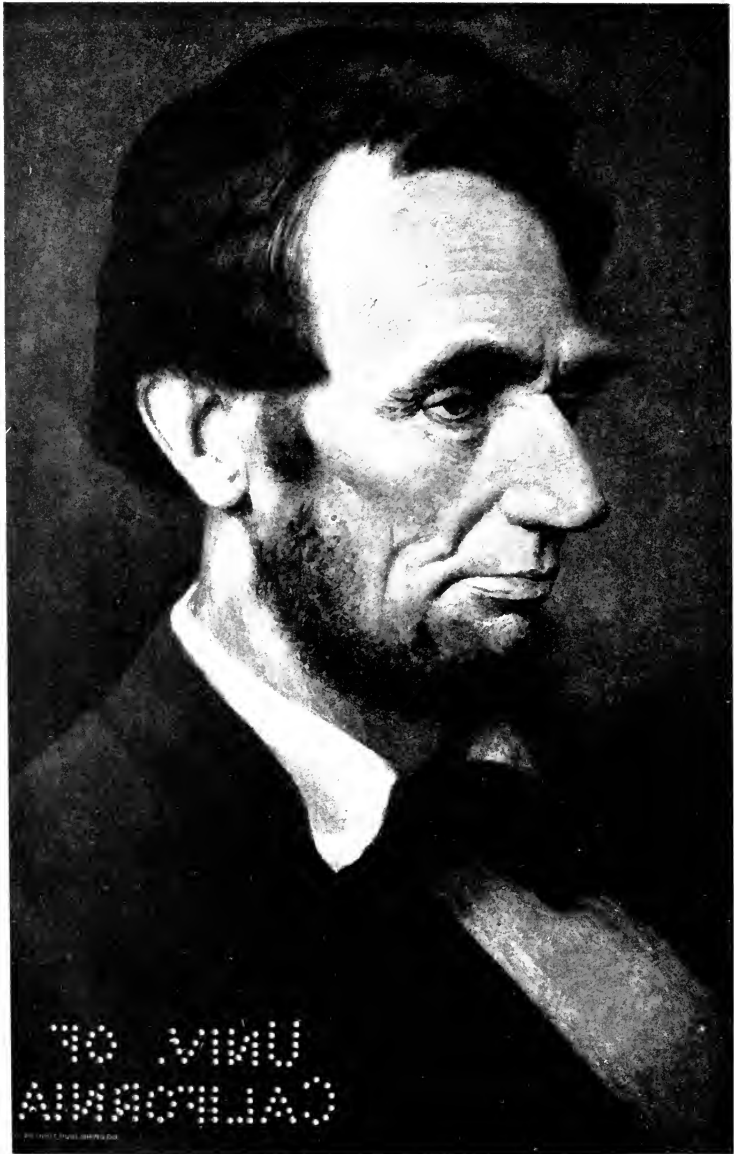




AMERICA AND ENGLAND

THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK



ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-1865).
Sixteenth President of U.S.A.

AMERICA AND ENGLAND

A Study of the United States ; its
Relations with Britain : its Part
in the Great War ; and its
Future Influence

BY

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

LONDON

DANIEL O'CONNOR

90 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.

1921

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE	7
I A PRELIMINARY GLANCE	9
II A GLIMPSE OF HISTORY : INDEPENDENCE TO THE CIVIL WAR	17
III A HISTORICAL GLIMPSE : THE CIVIL WAR TO THE GREAT WAR	37
IV THE STATES : NEW ENGLAND AND SOUTHWARDS—MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, VER- MONT, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE . . .	61
V THE STATES : PENNSYLVANIA SOUTHWARDS—PENN- SYLVANIA, MARYLAND, WASHINGTON—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, VIRGINIA, WEST VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA	87
VI THE STATES : TO THE MISSISSIPPI—ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY, OHIO, INDIANA, MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS, WISCONSIN	104
VII THE STATES : ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI—MINNESOTA, NORTH DACOTA, SOUTH DACOTA, IOWA, NEBRASKA, MISSOURI, KANSAS, ARKANSAS, OKLAHOMA, LOUISIANA	124
VIII THE STATES : TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—TEXAS, COLO- RADO, NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, UTAH	142
IX THE STATES : TO THE PACIFIC—WYOMING, IDAHO, MON- TANA, NEVADA, CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON . . .	162
X GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE . . .	180
XI THE AMERICANS AND THE ENGLISH : NATIONAL TRAITS, CHARACTER, AND INSTITUTIONS COMPARED	206
XII AMERICA, THE WAR, AND THE FUTURE	226
INDEX	257

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), sixteenth President of U.S.A.	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
		PAGE
The Ruins in Canyon de Chelly, called(' Casa Blanca '		15
Sulgrave Manor, Northamptonshire		27
The Lincoln Memorial		44
William Howard Taft, twenty-seventh President of U.S.A.		58
The First Railway Train in America		64
West Boston Bridge, Cambridge, Mass.		75
The Woolworth Building, New York		80
New York by night		83
The Delaware Water Gap		86
The Capitol, Washington		93
The White House, Washington		95
Hotel Royal Poinciana at Palm Beach, Florida		100
George Washington's Home, Mount Vernon, Virginia		103
The ' Bad Lands,' North Dakota		129
The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad climbing Marshall Pass, Colorado, 10,856 feet above sea-level		149
The Moki Town of Wolpi, Arizona, 700 feet above the valley		156
The Grotto Geyser, Yellowstone Park		163
Oil Field, Bakersfield, California		167
Looking down Post Street from Kearney Street, San Francisco		170
Magnolia Avenue, Riverside, California		175
General View of the Port of Seattle, Washington		178
Mount Rainier, or Tacoma, Washington		192
Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), twenty-sixth President of U.S.A.		201
The First Granite Gorge, Grand Canyon ; foot of Bright Angel Trail		211
Grand Canyon from Bright Angel Trail, looking east		221
Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of U.S.A. Elected 1912 ; second term 1916 ; retired 1921		237
W. G. Harding, twenty-ninth President of U.S.A. Elected November, 1920		248

PREFACE

IN the present work a threefold endeavour is made—to afford, first, a succinct (and it may be hoped interesting) description for the general reader of the topography, life and development of the United States, together with its history ; an account such as perhaps has not been readily accessible in this form ; next, to discuss with some frankness Anglo-American relations, whose better understanding is undoubtedly a present need ; and, finally, to arouse interest in a more constructive outlook on life on the part of America and England, which countries have been called to so prominent a place in the world's affairs.

The author is aware of omissions, but space forbids extension.

C. R. E.

FROXFIELD, HANTS, ENGLAND.
April, 1921.

CHAPTER I

A Preliminary Glance

OF America and the Americans, the United States and its people, it cannot be said that in England we have in general any very concise knowledge, or that the picture in our minds of the national character, life and surroundings—such as is presented by other nations—is here a very definite or clear-cut one. We have certain broad ideas about the Americans, and certain prejudices; whilst as to the enormous and diversified country which is their home, the untravelled imagination wanders rather vaguely over it, and is prone to fill in the details perhaps from the daily Press or the cinematograph—scarcely adequate guides; or in some cases from the old-fashioned notions of a past generation.

Possibly we think of the Americans as a sort of English, speaking our language and seeming to have other points in common; and from those who came over to make holiday or do business among us we form some opinion of their general character, in our British way, and perhaps say we like them, or do not like them, as the case may be. Some English travellers and tourists return from the United States with enthusiastic accounts of the folk and their institutions, whilst others declare that nothing would induce them to pay a second visit to America. The philosophy of this incoherent picture really lies in the fact that the Americans are still a people in the making, added to the circumstance that we do not understand them, as yet. On the other hand, the American probably has a more concise idea or opinion of England, clouded though it be at times by prejudice and lack of knowledge.

Of late years the feeling strongly arises that the two countries should better understand and appreciate each other: that relations should be more friendly; and that the rivalries of the past should be forgotten. Many well-meaning efforts to this end have been made and much eloquence and sentiment displayed, with frequent pilgrimages from one side of

the Atlantic to the other, of statesmen, poets, orators, and even business men, who have proclaimed—and the fact cannot be denied—that the relations between the great English-speaking peoples are of the utmost importance to the well-being of civilization. Undoubtedly some benefit results from such efforts and interchange. Yet it is necessary to beware of falling into the dangers of over-sentiment or even hypocrisy, or of inevitable reaction; and on the whole it would seem that the success attending these well-meaning efforts has been more than disappointing; and it may be said that between England and America still rolls the cold bulk of the Atlantic—figuratively, as physically.

There are, indeed, matters beyond the immediate purview of the Anglo-Saxon—or any other folk—which, in the present state of society, make for the separation of peoples. We do not yet realize what it is that keeps us—and humanity in general—apart and aloof from each other, and is likely long to do so. There must be a change of outlook and of method before any lasting world-friendships between nations can be built up; and so of the outlook of England upon America and America upon England, and of both upon the world in general, and of the world upon itself. A discussion of what this change must embody may be deferred to another chapter.

In the meantime, there ought to be a sufficient friendship and understanding between America and England such as at least would make the possibilities of estrangement or conflict excessively remote. We are constantly told that an armed conflict, a war between us, is 'unthinkable.'¹ The righteous wish is father to the thought, and must be nourished to the full extent—as long as it does not blind us to actualities; for, unfortunately, in the present state of the world, such a conflict is not 'unthinkable.' It might occur: it might readily occur: and indeed it might occur early. We may have a sort of friendship, or tacit agreement to respect each other's institutions, spheres of activity, susceptibilities, and so forth, but we are not yet freed of veiled jealousy, whilst causes of rivalry and animosity born of circumstances and events might break down the fabric of friendliness—partly sincere and partly insincere as it is—at very short notice. The only advice is to be prepared—not by armaments alone but by wisdom: by a newer intelligence.

The relationship between England and America is a peculiar

¹ These words were written early in 1920. A year later appeared almost identical terms, in the *Times*, taken from a New York magazine, and in a speech by Lord Grey of Falloden, in London.

one. England is the Mother land, and must always have that position, despite the vast range of nationalities which America assimilates ; for not only did she found the country, but she endowed it with her laws, literature, language, and general moral attributes, and in large part with the physical type. No other countries in the world offer similar relationship. The twenty Latin-American republics are offspring of Spain and Portugal, but in them the aborigines of America claim a half nationality. France, Italy, or Germany has no such descendants. America, in such a view, is a child of England which has grown up : England is a parent that never grows old—a relationship which could not exist in a family but may obtain among nations. There is a law of nature—and it is, too, a spiritual principle—that the progenitor, the parent, shall be honoured and borne with by the offspring to the utmost, whatever betide. They may have their differences, but the latter is bound to respect the former to the very end, in this system of natural ethics.

This simile of parenthood cannot, of course, be pushed too far. To depict England as a sort of Roman Mother, or an impeccable parent, to whom America must always and inevitably show respect, would be outlandish, and would not be likely to be accepted. The vast bulk of Americans, the huge 'raw material' of humanity between the Atlantic and the Pacific who know nothing of history or foreign affairs—and there is a corresponding bulk in Britain—would soon reject such an idealistic concept. But England has acquired much of the wisdom of the ages such as America has yet to learn ; she evolved ordered freedom through struggle against tyranny of every sort through the centuries ; she taught real freedom to the world, and—an important matter to-day for America—her folk are evolving industrial and economic freedom in a degree that the United States is not yet capable of. As a community, despite her monarchical form of government as against that of a republic, Britain is in reality far more truly democratic, with greater freedom for the individual, than America, and stands for a higher type of humanity. America might well teach her coming generations and the new material of nationality that constantly arrives on her shores the facts concerning England's work for freedom. In the past her policy has been the reverse ; she has represented England as an oppressor, which was a false teaching of history, an exaggeration of England's defects and omissions, as the dispassionate student of Anglo-American history is aware.

As to the outlook of England on America, in whatever this

may have been unfavourable or prejudiced it is not the outcome of any historical teaching, for America figures very little in such teaching in England, whether for good or ill. If the English folk have not generally liked the American it has been by reason of the American character, which earlier earned for itself—not only in England but in Europe generally—a reputation for irreverence and sharp dealing, not to use a harsher term, and this national reputation is but slowly lived down. If during the century of peace there has been an aggressive spirit it is mainly America that has displayed it, the aggressiveness of the younger and ruder towards the wiser and maturer. To-day the two peoples have much to learn from each other. England may be the home of true freedom, but she has to overcome her too conservative ways, to adopt more of the machinery of democracy such as America has, and, whilst conserving her culture, see that she does not jeopardize it by obstinacy and lack of imagination—which last Americans are more fully endowed with than Englishmen.

Nothing is more sobering than geographical considerations accompanied by history; the things which nature and man have done; which are accomplished and inevitable; and which we cannot by any artifice get away from; and such we shall now enter upon.

The United States is an enormous country compared with England. It contains forty-eight self-governing units or states, the average size of each of which is larger than England alone. But it is small when compared with the British Empire, though its population is double that of the white English-speaking folk of the Empire. Its area is over three million square miles; from the Atlantic to the Pacific it stretches for nearly three thousand miles, and from Canada to Mexico sixteen hundred miles. In addition there is Alaska, nearly a fifth of the above area in extent. It is not the greatest single political unit in the New World, for both Canada and Brazil are somewhat larger in point of area. The population of the Republic is given in round numbers as about one hundred and ten millions.

The United States has the good fortune to lie within the temperate zone, a belt of the most healthy and productive land on the earth's surface, and to this—and to the character of its folk—it owes its enormous wealth and increase. Again, fortunately, it lies much nearer to Europe than to Asia, and so has drawn its population from the advanced peoples of the world, rather than from the more backward. It might other-

wise have been over-run by barbaric hordes, and, as a matter of fact, its aborigines, the Red Indian, or brown race, were of Mongolian stock; and so it was not a worn-out land, for no ancient empire flourished here, such as would have exhausted the soil; as if Providence had in keeping a virgin continent against the needs of human development, whilst the old dynasties of Asia were working themselves out to decay. This native condition has both merits and defects.

Let us bear in mind the great features of the land, such as will add vastly to our interest in crossing it. They are not necessarily complicated. There is, first, the great strip of territory along the Atlantic coast, the older and more settled states. Going westward thence we cross the mountain barrier of the Appalachians (under various names) and thence descend into the enormous valley and plain of the Mississippi and its tributaries, a region a thousand to fifteen hundred miles across, when we reach the Rocky Mountains. Still west, we descend into and cross what was formerly the Great American Desert, for some five hundred miles, when we reach the Sierra Nevada Mountains, with California and the Pacific coast beyond. Needless to say, the climate varies greatly, as does the scenery, throughout this width of continent.

These great topographical features governed the settlement of the United States as population by degrees westwards took its way. The settlers from Europe clustered in the Atlantic coastal region, and this still holds its leading place by reason of its relation to Europe, without which there is little reason why it should predominate, for the richest portion of America is in the Mississippi interior—a fact which the protagonists of American isolation from Europe will do well to ponder. But for European intercourse, the natural capital of the United States should be Chicago or St. Louis, instead of New York, situated as they are in the centre of the continent and upon or adjacent to the more fertile and richest areas, whether vegetable or mineral, in that enormous basin between the mountain systems, and served by the vast Mississippi and the Great Lakes.

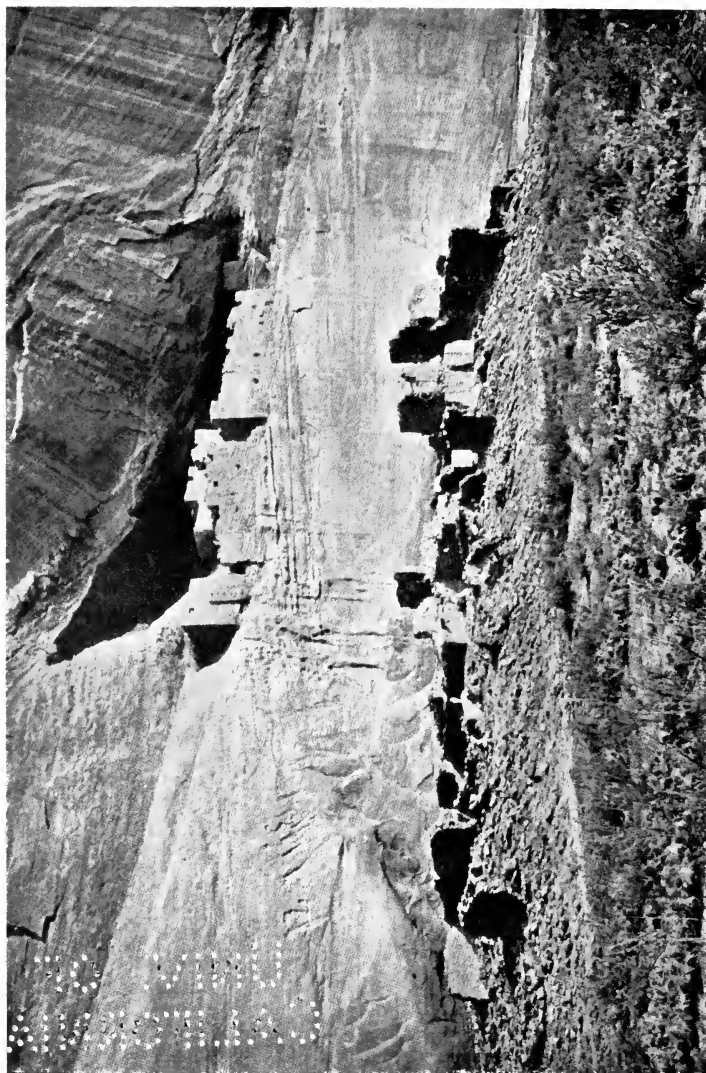
The Appalachian with its uplands and ridges was the "Backwoods" of a hundred years ago, and was a barrier to the march of the settler. It still remains thinly populated except where coal has drawn to itself an industrial population. Beyond it, the middle interior, the vast area of treeless plains, is rich with habitable land, and long ago was seen to be a land of great promise; and to-day, a network of railways, a mighty farm, an ocean of grain, a hive of industries, it is a land of perform-

ance, a centre and focus of wealth, power, industry, and progress, such as the Laurentian regions to the North and its other bounding areas cannot rival. Indeed this huge valley, drained by the Mississippi, is perhaps the most remarkable region on the earth's surface, by reason of its size and productivity, and here might dwell a self-centred nation, careless of all else outside, as far as material wants were concerned. It is in a sense remarkable that no ancient empire did occupy it, thousands of years ago, but it was not so ; no mouldering ruins protrude from its soil, except the few mysterious mounds of some bygone aboriginal folk.

The South, rich in native products, and picturesque topographically and historically, is characteristically self-defined. It is still affected by the results of negro slavery. The United States must long suffer from the consequence of one of the greatest crimes of history—the transporting of the black race for purposeful degradation across the seas to a new, clean continent.¹ British, Irish, French, Teuton, Scandinavian, Italian, Spaniard and all else have their parts equally in the Americanization of to-day, and blend in honourable life, but the negro stands apart in his legal and political rights, with inter-marriage impossible—except that there is a vast illegitimate mulatto offspring ; and thus slavery left a heavy burden upon a people among whom equal social rights should be paramount. This, however, is an unfruitful theme to pursue. Perhaps good will yet come out of evil, whenever the real regenerative and reconstructive period shall arise on this continent, as elsewhere.

West of the Mississippi, in the Middle latitudes, the semi-arid plains must long remain thinly peopled, and here was long the 'Frontier.' But American enterprise has crossed it with many railways, and in the comfort of the observation or Pullman car we are carried to the mountain regions of the 'Far West,' arid often, rugged, desolate, yet in their way beautiful and of promise, but in which humanity is still partly unstable, winning in mining camps and towns the minerals of the soil, yet with permanent cities in the more favoured spots. Here, too, enterprise harnesses the streams from the mountains in irrigating enormous tracts of land : the ancient science of irrigation has taken on a new lease of life in Western America, and all available water is employed, producing corn and wine and

¹ That dreadful track across the Atlantic from Africa to America where the slave ships ran must be paved with bones on the bottom of the sea, for it is recorded that but 50 per cent. of the negroes ever reached America alive.



THE RUINS IN CANYON DE CHELY, CALLED 'CASA BLANCA.'

Photograph by J. K. Hillers, U.S. Geol. Survey.

oil, and other things that make glad the heart of man. But large areas must probably remain as permanent desert. This last may even be a wise provision of nature, for the desert has its contrast values, and other values which we do not yet realize; and in the future we may have cause for congratulation that the whole face of the land has not been laid under immediate tribute to humanity or crowded with its habitations. A turn of the wheel of science and knowledge may disclose vast properties and benefices of the desert.

As we approach the farther ocean, crossing and descending the great Cordillera of North America, natural and climatic conditions change rapidly, and here, too, the population flourishes and multiplies. We have got away from the 'Far West' by going still farther west; for the folk of this zone, the people of California and Oregon (and British Columbia), do not love that designation and prefer to call their region the 'Pacific Slope.' However, the Californians do call it the 'Golden West.' Here we have some touch of the Orient and the outside world from across the Pacific. Asia has stamped its foot; the Chinese and Japanese are in evidence.

Magnificent expanses and natural features of extraordinary picturesqueness, and in many cases extraordinary form, lie before us in America, where Nature has worked on a stupendous scale. Mountain, river, plain and forest, natural garden and appalling desert, alternating colour and monotony—such are the changes in the scenery we encounter, and to the English traveller, accustomed to the quieter and more restful nature of his own landscape, perhaps something of an impression of an unfinished continent is conveyed. But they inevitably arouse our interest and admiration, although, in the interests of truth, it must be said that the scenery at times begins to pall and we cannot at first tell why. Reflection soon gives the reason. It is a certain lack of human colour and interest. For the ordinary traveller, not bent on any specialized mission, the interest of America seems forced to depend more upon its scenery than its folk. In a sense Nature is unsupported by the folk, and this, of course, comes from the relative newness of the latter upon the soil, the absence (except, of course, in a few spots) of an indigenous race and ancient culture, such as in the Old World draws millions of American travellers. But apart from such matters, the American character, it is not perhaps unkind to say, does not yet seem to lend itself to harmonize with Nature and the soil; unrestful, self-assertive and in a sense irreverent as it is. We shall certainly not indulge in the hackneyed reflection that America has no history,

but the absence of local, human colour is a condition we cannot fail to observe. On the fringes, as it were, of the country, we do, of course, encounter such colour, in the remains of the earlier French, Spanish, and, here and there, Indian element—to say nothing of the negroes, but it exists more or less on suffrance. Again, the United States is certainly not without picturesque and old-world elements, and quiet centres of what might have been almost mediaeval life, in the older districts. There are country towns and villages as reposeful as elsewhere, even if they are few in comparison. But its life, of course, belongs to the present and the future, and not to the past, and it is the social problems of the future which are of paramount interest on this soil.

CHAPTER II

A Glimpse of History

INDEPENDENCE TO THE CIVIL WAR

OF the history of the United States it may be said that the ordinary English man or woman knows comparatively little. Perhaps it cannot be said to be a markedly interesting theme ; its colours are subdued in comparison with the history of England, which it is, of course, little more than a commonplace to remark. It could scarcely be otherwise, for after the days of 'ocean-chivalry,' and the times of Elizabeth or the lore and attraction of the sixteenth century, which largely gave America birth, history entered upon a less interesting period. Moreover, the glamour of romance of the Spanish *Conquistadores* in the New World lay principally in the more southern regions, of Spanish America.

It would, however, be erroneous to say that the history of the United States is without colour and variety. It has had its measure of discovery and romance, of strife, race antagonism, oppression, bloodshed, of patriotism and enlightenment, leading to a chapter of solid human achievement and development. Here we cannot pretend to enter upon it at great or critical length, or to do more than furnish a guide—it may be imperfect—in considering the general development of the community, and the relations between America and England.

In the popular view, perhaps, America is a land that once belonged to England, and was lost, or tore itself away ; and Americans are people who might have been British. To America, in popular view, England is, as already remarked, or was, a kind of oppressor-nation, whose control brave Americans under George Washington threw off, who they think is a kind of aristocratic oppressor still, and with whom they think they could at any time measure their strength with advantage, if necessary ; and as has of late been frequently pointed out, American history books have teemed with adverse allusions to England. It may be said that a good deal of misrepresenta-

tion and jejune sentiment characterizes the national rendering of American history, from the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers onward.

In the time when America was discovered and first colonized it must be confessed that England was a laggard in the work of exploration and colonial conquest. The New World might have been hers perhaps, had she possessed more initiative. But she ignored Columbus, or at least had no imagination concerning him, and her sovereign of the time dismissed the great explorer, who sought his fortune and the aid he required elsewhere, and found it through a woman, the Queen of Spain. However, Henry VII 'graciously' permitted the voyage of John Cabot, in 1499, and to this England owes her oldest Colony of Newfoundland. Henry gave Cabot ten pounds as a reward!¹ Later, of course, Englishmen acquired vast areas of territory in North America.

The Scandinavian *sagas* tell of earlier discoveries of North America and Greenland, and doubtless the Chinese visited the Pacific coast in ages past, but we shall not here dwell on these interesting matters.

The American nation owes its origin to the activities in colonizing of the British, the Dutch, the Swedes, the French and the Spaniards, during the first two centuries of the modern era. British colonization was mainly the result of private initiative, although this obeyed some half-conscious general and imperial principles. The trend towards self-government was largely a result of the first motive, and this was in harmony with the English spirit. Imperial control was a method of the times, and a natural outcome of the development of the world. Both the English and the Spanish colonists in the New World flung off this imperial control, in part justifiably, partly with haste and bitterness unjustifiable, especially in the case of the New Englanders, who were subject to no cruel or arbitrary autocracy. However, the historical lesson taught to imperial colonizing countries by these events was valuable for the world. The methods of Colonial Administration, as exemplified in Canada and Australia, have since swung rather to the opposite extreme, when a few million inhabitants now control respectively a half and a whole continent and may exclude entry of those of the Mother Country to whom they may object.²

¹ Ten pounds was, of course, worth somewhat more at that time than to-day.

² To enter Canada the immigrant must now be possessed of \$250, and pass strict examinations of a bodily and mental character. England has insufficiently conserved her imperial rights in Canada. More-

From the 'Chartered Colonies,' as the American-British Settlements may be termed, under which the English King conveyed to the colonists a right to the soil which would be valid in English law, the United States originally arose. Of course, under the charter of discovery of the Cabots and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the setting up of feudal principalities was contemplated. The establishment of the Chartered Colonies, Virginia, Massachusetts and others, was attended by many vicissitudes, and their history is of much interest, although we cannot here follow it. These incipient Americans carried out prodigies of work and settlement, had many failures and many dissensions, also many religious differences—in which Puritans, having the upper hand, whipped Quakers (some women being flogged to death)—notwithstanding that they had left England in order that they 'might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience!'

It would be invidious, however, unduly to emphasize these matters, but, although America was put in the enjoyment of a virgin continent, replete with everything needful for man's happiness, she has so far been unable to banish the wrongs and sufferings transplanted from the Old World, as regards social and economic life. She has indeed in some respects added to them.

One of the main events of Anglo-American history which has always appealed most strongly to the imagination is the voyage of the little vessel the *Mayflower*, which bore the seeds of what was so considerably to influence humanity.

Perhaps the story of the Pilgrim Fathers has been over-idealized and has suffered from indiscriminate hero-worship. If these earnest emigrants were persecuted saints and pioneers of religious freedom, as in part they undoubtedly were, they were also the exponents of a narrow outlook and violent prejudices. Liberty was for themselves; for others they were far less careful. They went forth with impracticable communistic ideas, which could not long survive and were soon abandoned. After the Puritanical manner, God, in their view, was always on their side, and those who differed from them were of the devil; and they could see only 'bloody' and 'wicked' acts and motives in those who opposed them. They appear to have killed the Indians at times unnecessarily, and on one occasion hundreds of the red men were burned and stabbed in their stockade. 'The smell was horrible, but victory was a

over, Canadian land has been too greatly parcelled out among those European and American immigrants who had only a secondary right to it.

sweet sacrifice, and they praised God who had so wonderfully worked for them,' says their chronicler Bradford. However, whatever may have been the foibles of the Pilgrims, nothing can annul our admiration of their adventurous and resolute purpose, their determination to be rid of an oppressive old world, and it is safe to say that the halo which surrounds them will never be extinguished, as long as there are imaginative and generous spirits in the world.

The *Mayflower* sailed from Old Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1620 (o.s.) ; three hundred years ago. The vessel, which was of about 180 tons burden, put forth first with the *Speedwell*, from Southampton, on the 5th of August of the same year : the two ships having on board a total of 120 Pilgrims, men, women and children. But after two trials the *Speedwell* was found unseaworthy or unsuitable, and her passengers were transhipped to the sister vessel, which sailed alone across the Atlantic, with either 100 or 102 passengers, it does not appear to be known exactly which number. They made their permanent landing, after a tempestuous passage, on December 21st at Plymouth, in Plymouth Bay, in the State of Massachusetts, a harbour about thirty-two miles south-east of Boston : which, however, appears to have been given its name by John Smith, on his maps of 1614 and 1616.

It had been the purpose of the Pilgrims to make their landing further south, in Virginia, where the Virginia Company had granted them a patent, but stormy weather frustrated this design, and thus they—

' Moored their bark on a wild New England coast '

instead of that of the warmer southern state.¹

Certain difficult problems confronted the good folk here. They had no warrant for Settlement, and, moreover, disaffection showed itself among them. In view of this latter condition—probably they were servant men or folk of lesser sort, it has been said, who worked to part the company—a document of compact of government was drawn up ; the famous " Mayflower Compact " ; of a democratic character, and signed before landing ; some concessions having been made to indi-

¹ It will be recollected that the Pilgrim Fathers earlier thought of establishing themselves in Guiana, in the South American tropics, which became a British Colony. The Dutch contingent (of those who had earlier fled to Holland) sailed from Delftshaven in July.

In 1667 Surinam or Dutch Guiana was practically exchanged by Great Britain with Holland for New York. The Dutch thought it a good bargain.

viduals who had regarded themselves as not having been sufficiently considered. This document is looked upon as the earliest written constitution in history, and it was signed by forty-one of the Pilgrims. The first winter took heavy toll of these brave folk, when nearly one-half their number died from exposure, and the relations of the survivors with their partners of the London Company were unsatisfactory. Later the communal system under which the Pilgrims lived was abandoned. A grant was made from the New England Council of the tract of land the colony occupied, but all attempts to procure a royal charter were unsuccessful, and in 1691 the colony was annexed to that of Massachusetts.

On the harbour shore of Plymouth, where the Pilgrims landed, stood, and still stands, a granite boulder, the famous Plymouth Rock, and there the Pilgrims are said to have stepped ashore from the shallop of the *Mayflower*. It is now sheltered by a granite canopy. Behind arises Coles Hill, on whose summit they buried their dead in that first dreadful winter, levelling the soil above the graves and sowing corn upon it so as to conceal their losses from the Indians. Few places in America possess so many interesting landmarks as Plymouth, and in Pilgrim Hall, erected in 1820, many relics of the Pilgrims are preserved, including Bradford's Bible and Miles Standish's sword, and the only existing portrait of a *Mayflower* passenger that of Winslow.

Lineal descendants of these communistic separatists of the Church of England, the Pilgrim Fathers, passengers in the *Mayflower*, organized in 1894 a "General Society of *Mayflower* Descendants," with the object of preserving their memory and all facts relating to them and their posterity.

The American colonists in their development followed in a general way the organization and procedure of the English courts of law, and much of English law was adopted: the great statutes which guaranteed liberty. After 1690 the acts of their Assemblies were perforce sent to England, for approval by the King in Council.

The Colonial policy of England was determined more by the exigencies of trade than anything else. Social and political intercourse between the Colonies and the Mother Country was very imperfectly developed, and Colonial affairs were scarcely ever seriously debated in Parliament until the menace of the War of Independence, and were viewed with much indifference in England: a condition in part due to distance and the long time—three months—it took for a return dispatch between London and America; partly to apathy at home. Control

was mainly executive, and often weak and unintelligent. The colonists were controlled by the patentees or mesne lords : the King had no officials of his own in America and so was out of touch and sympathy with the colonists. The Trade Acts at the close of the seventeenth century required imports and exports to be carried in ships captained by Englishmen, and in the eighteenth century there were severe restrictive measures against the growth of Colonial manufacture. The Colonies, however, had not reached the stage of manufacture. There were compensations, such as that of the prohibition of tobacco-raising in England and Ireland, so that the colonists might have a monopoly of the market ; preferential duties on Colonial imports into England, and other matters.

The Treaty of Paris, in 1763, bringing to an end the war between England and France, added enormous stretches of territory to British America—the Floridas, Canada, and Louisiana as far west as the Mississippi. Under the advice of Pitt, Canada was retained and some West India Islands given back to France, for the idea of continental expansion was growing ; the tropics were valuable as part of a self-sufficing empire, and there was no idea so far of the need for Colonies to relieve pressure of population at home. But this pressure came with the industrial revolution ; the factory age was dawning ; that rather dreadful period which so enormously and suddenly increased Britain's population ; and oversea homes would be necessary, as well as mere founts of raw material. So the American colonists got rid of the French, which pleased them, and thus they were less dependent upon Great Britain for military protection. The Colonies had reaped the chief advantage of the war ; Britain was burdened with debt. There had been a large contraband trade by the colonists with the enemy.

And now we approach events which led to separation, of which certain enactments were the precursor. The Sugar Act was followed by the Stamp Act, which last involved an extension of the British systems of stamp duties to the Colonies, to draw therefrom direct revenue, and it was passed by Parliament—1765—with scarcely any debate or supposition that it would be resisted. Legally it was based on the unqualified sovereignty of Parliament as the representative of the whole Empire. Inferior men in the public service at this time were persistent blunders in the treatment of Colonial questions, and royal and government prestige was low. The Act was expected to yield about £100,000 per annum, which was thought a reasonable share, plus £45,000 from the Sugar Act, which the Colonies should bear of the cost of £300,000 of regular troops

in America, and the Stamp Act was a purely fiscal measure and seemed a simple method of raising revenue.

There was determined opposition however. Some of the Colonial Legislatures passed adverse resolutions, and a Congress was called at New York: mobs organized themselves under the name of 'Sons of Liberty': in the large seaports there was a movement against British goods and for the encouragement of home productions: the Press and pamphleteers became active: outbreaks of violence were directed against the stamp distributors. However, the colonists founded their opposition on a principle, seeking to draw their arguments from British precedents and their own history, viz., no taxation without representation, and the right to trial by jury. In the British Parliament Lord Mansfield upheld the absolute supremacy of that body over the Colonies, whilst Pitt and Camden drew the same distinction that the colonists had drawn, and denied the right of Parliament to tax them.

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, has been characterized as the first true English Imperialist, and the beginning of the Empire is associated with him. As to America, his words in the approval of the resistance of the colonists were so bold as none but himself would perhaps have dared to use with impunity at such a time, when debate was far from free in the Mother of Parliaments, and he warned England of her serious danger. He argued for the repeal of the Stamp Act. This was done, in the spring of 1766, but the Act was accompanied by an Act, the Declaratory Act, declaring that Britain had the right of authority over the Colonies 'in all cases whatsoever,' so that Pitt's principle was repudiated. The repeal was received in the Colonies with joyful demonstrations, but England's prestige suffered severely. However, a Colonial Mutiny Act was passed in Parliament, and certain new measures for Colonial taxation for the establishment of a board of customs in America. The Act for trade and revenue, under which duties should be collected in the Colonies on certain articles—including glass, lead, colours, paper and tea, and that the salaries of Colonial governors and judges should be paid therefrom, opened again the opposition to taxation. The duty on tea was to be threepence per pound.

There was a collision between the people and the troops in Boston in March, 1770, the troops having fired into a crowd that was baiting a sentry, and some citizens were killed and wounded; the incident being known as the 'Boston Massacre.' But the soldiers were removed and quiet restored, and for over a year it seemed that the controversy was wearing itself

out. But in 1772 the suppression by naval officers of illegal trade in Narragansett Bay brought disturbances, and it seemed that colonists might be taken to England for trial—a very sore point.

And now the East India Company sought relief in Parliament from their losses occasioned by the considerable transfer of their American trade so largely to the Dutch, and to meet this the Tea Act was passed, whereby the Company was authorized to import its teas into the Colonies, also providing that the English duties should be wholly drawn back on exportation, and that compensation need not be made to the Government for resulting loss of revenue ; and it was expected that this would enable the Company to overthrow Dutch competition.

But the Tea Act was defied, and now comes the incident when the Boston folk—after they had made every effort to have the tea ships returned to England—emptied the cargoes of the vessels, 340 chests of tea, into the harbour, the act being carried out by a party of citizens disguised as Indians. From this picturesque incident, in the popular mind, dates the American War of Independence. It was done on December 16th, 1773.

Great Britain replied with various penal resolutions and constructive measures, quartered troops in Boston, made Colonial juries and judges dependent on the royal officers, ordered capital offenders to be tried in Nova Scotia or England, and endeavoured to prohibit or control town-meetings, and finally closed the port of Boston, so that no craft of any description could move therein. For their part the folk compacted a boycott against British goods, and from near neighbours and distant colonies came encouragement and provisions. Then actual war reared its head, with Lexington and Bunker Hill as the opening scenes. The first blood was shed in a skirmish in the first-named village, not far from Boston, when a British force sent to destroy or remove stores was fired upon from behind fences and buildings, and might have been wiped out but for reinforcement and retreat to the warships at Boston : and the spark then kindled rapidly became a flame. Here and at Bunker Hill and elsewhere the Americans made the claim that they were but acting on the defensive, but it is readily seen by the historian that the claim only attempted to veil an intensely aggressive spirit and a resolve to appeal to arms. However, England herself was arrogant.

We cannot here pretend to follow the details of this portentous struggle, nor even to discuss at length its rights or prin-

ciples. There were losses and failures and gains—as well as barbarities—on both sides, and both British and colonist ineptitude.

It must be recollected that the American War of Independence was to a large extent in the nature of a civil war. Both Loyalists and Revolutionaries were arrayed against each other; not all the Colonies or their folk supporting the rebellion. In some States there was active sympathy with England; in others, indifference to both sides.

The colonists generally refused to be taxed to support the war which they themselves were fighting, and money was obtained by loans and from abroad. Some of the States refused even to provide money for the redemption of their own issues. Parts of the Colonist Army frequently mutinied, and only the influence of Washington prevented a general rebellion against the Civil Government and Congress. At the close the American Army was in large part deficient of its pay, due both to poverty and to bad faith. There was wholesale confiscation of property and the exile of tens of thousands of the best citizens of the Republic—the *émigrés* of the War of Independence, and this deeply affected the structure of American society; and features so repulsive were exhibited, say the chroniclers of the period of transition, as almost to cause the stoutest hearts to despair. The Americans gained their cause, monarchy was overthrown and republican principles ensued, but it took America long to win the respect of the world.

On the whole, looking back from to-day, the dispassionate reader sees in the revolution a train of affairs and incidents that were as much haphazard as being the result of any particular principle, and the great claims advanced for 'Liberty' grew up largely after the event rather than having motived it. Again, it is to be recollected that Independence had been directed not necessarily against monarchy as an institution, but against the particular British monarch and his advisers; in brief, against *the King* rather than *a King*. The English always insisted that they were not interfering with the colonists' privileges of self-government. The latter sought to justify their attitude, but the cry of "taxation without representation" was more an excuse than a cause, it is impartially seen. The Americans soon worked themselves into a state of anger and jealousy; they were always jealous of the English: (even the preference of Boston girls for English officers showed it, as historians have recorded). It was that peculiar jealousy of the colonist, who knows that he has

lost *caste*, and thinks that self-assertiveness will restore it. The American of to-day has generally a wrong perspective of the history and events of those times.

The war was brought to an end by the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19th, 1781. The general reason for the British failure may be said to have been in misconception at home of the spirit and strength of the colonists, who were mainly a people inheriting the English qualities; disbelief that the struggle would be so long and widespread; with failure to send sufficient troops; the good generalship of Washington; and, finally, the French alliance with the Americans, and other European combinations, under which England was without a friend on the continent. The average American, taking great pride for the part played by his own people in the War of Independence, had little idea of the extent to which Washington's success had been due to the assistance of French sea-power. The Revolution was really won by the support of France, whose aid was given, partly altruistically—as a result to some extent of Benjamin Franklin's picturesque efforts in Paris—partly because she hoped to weaken the British empire and regain her own supremacy.

Around George Washington, the outstanding figure of American history, time and romance have wrapped an atmosphere of veneration which appeals to the heart of every American, and indeed is shared to some extent by the English, notwithstanding that the hero was one of the principal instruments of the British overthrow in that part of America now the United States. It is not, however, by any means a veneration which has grown up in the mind of the American folk since Washington's death. The popular attitude towards him was rhetorically but truthfully delineated five days after he died—it was the last year of the eighteenth century—in a resolution passed by Congress, in the words, 'First in war, first in peace; first in the hearts of his countrymen'; and this epic pronouncement has been copied into every American school text-book, and must be familiar to every American schoolboy or girl.

It does not appear that Washington showed any very marked traits as a boy, and in fact little is known of his early life. The story of the hatchet and the cherry tree which is popularly nourished in America, in which the boy confessed he had mischievously cut down the tree and said 'he could not tell a lie,' is often regarded as imaginary, and it may have been a pleasing fable of an ingenious biographer, although



SULGRAVE MANOR, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

such stories in the lives of eminent men, which the more severe historian prefers to dismiss, are frequently founded on fact. Washington was largely self-taught, but acquired a dignified and effective command of language later on. He was born in Westmoreland County, in the state of Virginia, at Bridges Creek, in 1732. Genealogical researches have established, and at least the connexion is generally accepted, relationship with the Washingtons of Sulgrave and its old Manor House in England, in Northamptonshire, which ancient building has lately been acquired by the Anglo-American Society as a memorial; the Sulgrave Institution.

John and Laurence Washington appear in Virginia in 1658, where they took part in local life. Laurence married twice, and his sons Laurence and the famous George were half-brothers; the well-known Mount Vernon Estate belonging to the former, who was George's Guardian. Laurence served with William Fairfax—a neighbouring landed proprietor—at Cartagena, in the ill-starred British expedition of Admiral Edward Vernon to capture that Colombian city of the 'American Mediterranean'—upon whose sea-front the great wall, built to ward off Drake and others, still looks out upon the Spanish Main. Mount Vernon was named after the Admiral. Laurence became the son-in-law of Fairfax, and there is a story to the effect that a commission as a midshipman was obtained for George through the Admiral, but that the boy's mother opposed his going to sea. However, through the influence of Lord Fairfax, who had come to Virginia to live, Washington, when only sixteen, was appointed surveyor of the Fairfax property, and later he was a public surveyor, spending three years with rod and compass on the frontier. Later he became, after various journeys and some military service against the Indians, a typical Virginia planter, prosperous, a large slave holder, a member of the Episcopal Church, and a trusted man of affairs, but even now there was no indication that he was a man of uncommon endowments or impending greatness. It was at least remarkable that he had no repugnance to slavery—a mind that later was to take so leading a part in 'freedom.' He was exacting in his treatment of the slaves, it is recorded, although not necessarily harsh, and in this he was like many of his class.

We may not here follow the career of Washington in any detail. During his service in Congress he appears to have grasped the questions at issue with the Mother Country over the fatal matter of taxation, and expected that war would

come of it. His military ability soon became recognized. Although he expected war, it would appear that he did not join in the cry for Independence until he saw that no other course was possible. When Congress, after the engagements at Lexington and Concord decided to put the Colonies in a state of defence, Washington was unanimously selected as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United Colonies, which he accepted modestly, refusing any salary, as a duty, not believing himself the best person for the important post, and in June, 1775, he set out for Cambridge, Massachusetts, to take the field against the British garrison in Boston—the famous battle of Bunker Hill having already been fought, a victory for the British but with very heavy loss, but not a moral defeat for the ‘rebels.’

It may not have been a very great man who went thus to Cambridge, say the chroniclers, but it was a great man, general and statesman, who emerged from the trying time, in organizing forces, creating a military system among a people unaccustomed to and suspicious of it, lack of funds, exasperating criticism and annoyances, dissensions in Congress, selfishness and stupidity among even the most patriotic of his colleagues: the ‘times that try men’s souls,’ as Paine wrote at the beginning of 1776; a character formed and predominant which drove the British out of Boston in March, 1776. When the time came, the unanimous vote of the American electors made Washington the first President of the United States.

Despite the resolutions after Washington’s death, it is not to be supposed that, in office, he was without critics, or that he was uniformly respected. By some he was accused of drawing more than his salary, and of ‘aping monarchy,’ with hints of the need for a guillotine, and various malicious or scurrilous attacks of a not inconsiderable portion of the American Press, which it is said drove Washington into storms of passion, and caused him to declare at a Cabinet Meeting, in 1793, that ‘he would rather be in his grave than in his present position.’ Four years later he retired into private life at Mount Vernon, and here it appears that he now opposed slavery, and ‘wished from his soul’ that it could be abolished in Virginia. But the huge profits of the American cotton industry, dependent upon the slave labour, and the invention of the cotton gin, gave little hope of abolition, and Washington was now too old to attempt innovations. It has also been said that Washington would have preferred to seek re-union with Britain, but this is hotly denied on the

other hand. It is by no means impossible that it was true.¹

Washington was physically a tall, heavy man. In his prime, his height was given, in orders for his clothes made in London, as six feet three inches : he was fair and florid, his port and demeanour were dignified and impressive, his countenance generally of an expression—according to his painted portrait—calm and benign. He was childless ; he died the last of his race ; his people called him the ‘ father of his country.’ It is a heroic figure that stands out—and Americans had, and have, need of such in their tradition and life.

From the time of Independence—Declaration signed on July 4th, 1776—to the time of the Civil War, a period of eighty years, were embodied the struggle for National Government, the development of the democracy when it was formed, the problem of democracy and nationality, the growth of industrial development, and finally that sectional divergence which led to the war between North and South.

The quarrels and pretensions among the different States of the Union and their jealousy of a Central Authority made the establishing of the Constitution a long and difficult task, and it was long before all the States were admitted to the Union. Great Britain, in the Treaty of Peace, had recognized the individual independence of States, and had named them in order. Some States adopted protective commercial measures against each other ; parts of some revolted from their particular unit. Congress at one time seemed as if it would disappear. Indeed the marvel is that the Union held together at all, given the divergence of geographical, commercial and even racial conditions. Nine out of the thirteen States must vote in passing important measures, but Congress had to make repeated appeals even to secure a quorum to ratify the Peace Treaty with Britain, and, in 1784, it broke up in disgust, and the French Ambassador wrote to his Government that there was ‘ now no general Government in America ; neither Congress, President nor Head of Department.’ It seemed that the Union would fall to pieces.

However, a Convention was brought to being, and adopted the Constitution in 1787, and by degrees this was ratified by the State Legislatures. The first census was taken three years later, revealing four million inhabitants, including half a million negro slaves. The Constitution had described

¹ In the middle of 1920 an American lecturer, a prominent publisher, was howled down in New York for daring to discuss the idea !

a slave as 'a person held to service or labour'—the word 'slave' being avoided!

There were but five cities in the country at this time with more than 10,000 souls each—New York, 33,000; Philadelphia, 28,500; Boston, 18,000; Charleston, 16,000; and Baltimore, 13,000. To-day the population of the City of New York is greater than that of the entire thirteen States at that time—an indication of American growth. The roads and means of communication were extremely slow and difficult; slavery in the South was harsh; the country was exclusively agricultural; the people were isolated; schools, books and newspapers were few.

At the end of Washington's Administration there was a 'sort of war' with France, for which a popular desire had broken out, a result of the Jay Treaty with England.

In 1795 a treaty was made with Spain securing common navigation of the great Mississippi, for the Spaniards at New Orleans and at home claimed this river as their exclusive property, denying its use to American boats.

And here we ought to cast a glance at the story of Louisiana, whose earlier portions belong to the romance of American history. It may be that the mouth of the great river was discovered by the Spaniard Piñeda in 1519, and other *Conquistadores* entered it, but Spain did not set up her usual claim thereto; and when La Salle, the French explorer, came down the river in 1682, from the French northern possessions, the region of Louisiana was given its name after Louis XIV. New Orleans was founded in 1718. There were glowing accounts about the new land, which in reality was unhealthy and later had a dreadful reputation for yellow fever. But the town was made the Seat of Government.

By a secret treaty Louisiana was transferred from France to Spain in 1762, and other treaties between Spain, France, Portugal and Britain complicated the possession of the region, the eastern part of which went to Britain. Many troubled years passed over the colony, Spanish replaced French officially, and the Spaniards strove to govern wisely. In the War of Independence the Governors assisted the Americans. In 1794 the river was recognized by Spain as the Western boundary of the United States. In 1800 the region was receded to France, and in 1803 was ceded by Napoleon to the United States, by purchase, the sum for which finally totalled about twenty-seven million dollars—for a territory of a million square miles, an imperial domain, the richest agricultural region in the whole world, equal to

about four cents per acre! It was undoubtedly one of the greatest strokes of good fortune that ever befel any nation, for the transfer was the result neither of arms nor diplomacy but of circumstances, never fully revealed.

To return to the development of the American people: Historians think that after 1775, for some years, the American character had deteriorated considerably. But the condition of life was difficult for them.

In 1800 the capital was established at Washington: the idea of the 'West' now appears; there was a rush for settlement; the famous new cotton gin was invented, enormously increasing cotton output; with an adverse effect on slavery: and in 1807 the momentous invention or adaptation of Fulton of steam to navigation produced the steamboat, with all that it meant to America and the world. The Pacific Slope north of the Spanish possession of California, known as Oregon, was now explored, and the great Columbia river discovered.

From the period 1801 to 1809 the President of the United States was Thomas Jefferson, a distinguished and remarkable character whose career was full of interest.

What was England doing during the period? She was advancing and upholding the world's civilization and development. Her grand and wonderful empire had extended to the four quarters of the globe, generally to human benefit.

In 1806 there were further difficulties between England and America over restrictive principles of commerce, expatriation, nationalization of citizens, right of search of neutral vessels and impressment of sailors, etc. The *Chesapeake* incident aroused great anger in America—the vessel, an American frigate, was fired upon by a British ship, and in 1809 the Republic prohibited commercial intercourse with Britain; also with France. These matters lead on to the 'War of 1812' with England, which lasted two and a half years, greatly embittering the two nations against each other. The war was strongly opposed by New England against the rest of the Union, almost to the point of secession.

The Americans had taken advantage of Britain's life-and-death struggle with Napoleon to possess themselves of a large part of her carrying trade. The bombastic Americans scarcely knew that the war of 1812 was but an insignificant episode in a great struggle in which the fate of Europe's liberties depended—a struggle in which, as ever, England as the world's policeman was obliged to take a great and exhausting part. They had not the vision then, or afterwards, to see this.

The United States forces thought to attack Great Britain through Canada, but failed in this, in the main. The ocean, the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence, and the coast of the United States were the three scenes of operation. The raids of American privateers and acts by the American Navy gave some brilliant successes to the Republic, and a number of famous actions were fought, in which American audacity was often conspicuous. The capture of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*—American and British frigates respectively—counterbalanced some of the British disasters. The American ports, also, were efficiently blockaded by British ships. On the lakes and the Canadian frontier the Canadians, French and British, largely descendants of the Loyalists of the Rebellion, abhorred the Americans and did good service for Britain. In the coast operations Washington, the capital, was burned by the British—a lamentable occurrence—but in the Gulf the British were beaten off. After the first abdication of Napoleon in 1814 Britain—who had at the time enormous foreign difficulties and burdens—was able to turn her attention to America more earnestly. Peace was entered into in the beginning of 1815. The American Navy had established itself as a new power and from that time onwards could be expected to take care of itself. So ended the unfortunate war of 1812; since when Britain and America have drawn no weapon against each other.

The period following this war was a barren one in American history, and American politics fell to a very low standard. The New England Federalists had opposed the war and there had almost been a break, as before remarked. Tariff protection now appears. The British blockade had acted as a sort of 'protection,' and manufacture had sprung up in abundance under it, but as soon as peace was made, British manufacture soon drove the American out of business, and Tariff Reform came to being, with a consequent rise of manufacturing towns and development of mechanical arts, as contrasted with previous agricultural pursuits, and America soon became an industrial force to be reckoned with. Cotton and woollen goods and iron were protected.

The reconstructed Republican party was now in the ascendant, and under its auspices Monroe, who gave his name to the famous Doctrine, appears. The revenue from tariffs was to be devoted to the development of natural potentialities, especially means of communication, and the West was to be opened up. In the South the tariffs were very unpopular.

A very materialistic cast was now given to the American people by this industrial development, due in part to the struggle to overcome nature ; and art and literature had small place in social life and effort. However, in foreign affairs a strong but quiet policy was maintained. The Holy Alliance now raised its head, and it became evident that its purpose in addition to that of suppressing popular movements in Europe, was the somewhat sinister one of helping Spain to recover her lost colonies, the new Spanish-speaking republics of America ; for the colonists of Mexico and South America, stimulated by American Independence, had in their turn thrown off the yoke of their Mother Country.

Great Britain had been parting company with the Holy Alliance, and Canning, the new Secretary of State (1823), had introduced a much more broad-minded spirit into British politics, as contrasted with his predecessor, who had the name of supporting despotisms as part of Britain's foreign policy. His famous speech, in which he claimed the initiative in the recognition of the Spanish-American Republics, contained the passage : ' I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.' A hint had been given, in 1823, to the American Minister in London, and this was followed by a significant passage in President Monroe's annual message to Congress, which ran : ' We owe it, therefore, to candour and to amicable relations between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part (the Holy Alliance) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing or controlling them (the Spanish-American Republics) in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.' It was further added that the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Great Britain, thus, was in full agreement with this policy of Monroe. It might perhaps be cynically said that England then had within the Empire a vast land surface, all that she desired, and so could look with equanimity on the policy of no trespass in South America ; but that would be to do much less than justice to her. The pronouncements of Canning and Monroe form the famous Monroe Doctrine, and, added to Washington's earlier declaration against entangling alliances, or interference in, or wars in Europe, this Doctrine

has established American policy towards the Old World, and has kept the two hemispheres separate from each other, doubtless to their common advantage.¹ But for the Doctrine, it is impossible to say what, in late years, might not have taken place, especially in view of Germany's sudden rise and mad desire for a 'place in the Sun' and colonial possessions, with the tempting bait of a rich, sparsely inhabited continent of South America before it.

And now a vast flood of humanity had been pouring into the West. 'Go west, young man, go west!' said Horace Greeley. The movement went as far as the Mississippi. The first steamboat on the Great Lakes appeared in 1818, at Detroit, and the Erie Canal was opened in 1825. The public lands were mapped and divided. But the great tide of immigration from Europe did not begin to flow until 1847, so that they were mainly American settlers so far. If the steamboat had helped humanity here, the railway completely altered American life, and the Englishman Stephenson's invention of the locomotive caused Americans to take giant strides upon their continent—West and North.

In 1831 there were but twenty-three miles of railways in America, and five years later 1,100 miles; and thereafter the mileage increased enormously. To-day, less than a century after, the Continent is covered with a network of about 250,000 miles. The first train, like that in England, was a curious object, a string of stage-coaches on rails, with the same singular-appearing engine.

Other great matters followed in the mechanical world. Anthracite coal was found usable for engines and in iron-smelting, replacing wood fuel; steamers crossed the Atlantic in 1838; the Morse telegraph line was erected 1844. The period was an extraordinary one in material development. Cities grew by magic, or like mushrooms; the emigrant wagon was laid to rest; imprisonment for debt disappeared; pure drinking water supplies came into use. But in the west things were different, and society was still in its primitive elements, with gambling, swindling, duelling, and all kinds of vice rampant, and in some regions public law was a dead letter. Again, between 1830 and 1840, American literature arose—Whittier,

¹ It is, of course, to be recollected that the matter of America's entry into a League of Nations, or otherwise, in 1920, had a very fundamental bearing on the principle of the Monroe Doctrine. The Doctrine has never been more than an unwritten law, national or international, however. But if America joined a League of Nations, the Doctrine seemed to be called in question.

Longfellow, Hawthorne, Emerson, Bancroft, Holmes, Poe, Prescott, added their forces to Dana, Bryant, Irving, Cooper and others. Education advanced, newspapers took on a new form, and brought in much of good and much of evil, as the American—and indeed all newspapers have done. Foreign, especially English capital flowed in; loans of millions of dollars. Wild-cat banks sprang up everywhere; land speculation boomed similarly. And then—in 1837—there was a crash and a panic. Every one wanted to sell, and states were obliged to repudiate their obligations. Recovery took its time.

We now reach the period of wars with Mexico. The Anglo-American and the Spanish-American peoples, instead of living in peace and amity on the joint continent which Providence had provided as their home, coveted each other's territory, flew at each other's throats, and shed each other's blood. The United States had had some vague claim to the huge, rich, but unknown territory called Texas, until 1819; which claim was made over to Spain in exchange for Florida; and on the independence of Mexico it became part of that Republic. Mexico, to her credit, had forbidden slavery in Texas, but American slave-holders, and 'filibusters' in part, settled there. The Austins, American citizens, had, also, obtained permission from Mexico to establish a colony. Under such influence largely, Texas revolted from Mexico and set up its own Republican Government—the 'Lone Star' State. The next step was annexation by the United States, but the boundaries were ill-defined, and the occupation of disputed territory by American troops brought on the war. The first blood was shed at the battle of Palo Alto in May, 1846, and, following this, the Americans took possession of California and New Mexico.

The Spanish-American Republic of Mexico, torn by dissension at home, was in no position to offer a strong front, although the Mexicans fought heroically. Both sides committed barbarities, it is recorded. Mexico lost; the Americans occupying the capital in September, 1847. She gave up, under the peace treaty, a large part of what under her first ruler, Emperor Iturbide, was the third largest Empire in the world, ceding California, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico, in addition to the loss of Texas; the Americans paying her \$15,000,000. The Mexicans have generally characterized this as the 'Unjust War' and the ill-feeling resulting has never died out. From their special points of view Mexican and Americans regard each other with a bitter hatred, it is lamentable to record, and up to the present day the feeling has not disappeared.

In 1846 the settlement of a boundary dispute with England

averted what might have led to another war between America and England, over the 'Oregon question.' Two years earlier, 'Oregon fever,' the desire to migrate to that vast, unknown territory, having taken possession of American colonists, the question of the boundary with British Columbia became acute. The Americans, who had claimed up to the 49th parallel, advanced the demand to the latitude of $54^{\circ} 40'$, and thence arose the singular and bombastic 'war-cry' which accompanied the election of President Polk, of 'Fifty-four forty or fight!' under which the clamour was for war with England if she would not agree to that boundary. Britain, however, took little heed of it, although it seemed somewhat unfortunate she did not earlier agree on the 49th parallel, as might have been done. Under the more peaceable president Calhoun, however, this was mutually accepted, and it forms the frontier of British Columbia to-day, except in the Alaska Strip, which so inequitably cuts off that province from the sea.

In 1847, America gave a successful sewing-machine to the world, and in 1834 the reaping-machine—matters whose importance can scarcely be overstated.

And now—in 1847 and 1849—appear two romantic developments in the Americans West: the rise of the Mormons and the 'gold rush' to California, which are elsewhere described.

The time was propitious for the Mormons, for it was an era of new sects, and fantastic proposals, of transcendentalism in politics, religion and literature, and the Latter-Day Saints found ready foothold. The Americans have always been susceptible to a certain amount of superstition, and even in this century singular sects arise, and the craze of spiritualism abounds and flourishes.

From 1850, certain fatal tendencies to disunion began to arise in the American body politic, and these led on to the terrible struggle of the Civil War, which we must now consider. Also, there were filibustering expeditions against Cuba and some of the smaller Spanish-American states, with the purpose of arousing revolution, upon which it was hoped annexation to the American slave-holding states might result—matters scarcely redounding to the credit of America.

Indeed, this period of American history might be summed up as one of a settling or sifting of raw human forces, greed, pretension, and callousness run riot on a virgin continent of unbounded wealth and beauty; human material which the nations of the old world—not without some tinge of jealousy, however—were wont to dub the offscourings of Europe, but amid which were to be discerned forces of right and nobility.

CHAPTER III

A Historical Glimpse

THE CIVIL WAR TO THE GREAT WAR

THE Civil War, the greatest event of the history of America after Independence, was the mightiest armed struggle in the history of the world, or at least one of the mightiest, as regards the enormous number of men engaged, the extent of territory covered, and the tenacity with which it was waged, up to the time of the Great World War of 1914-1918.

It is a little difficult for the ordinary individual, and certainly for the English, to know quite what was the original cause and avowed object of this dreadful struggle. Vaguely we realize that it was brought about by the question of slavery *versus* non-slavery in the United States; but this was not the primary or original motive, although it was an influencing and final one. The 'North' at first took up arms simply to maintain the union of the Republic, against the secession of the 'South' whose States upheld stronger 'States rights' or the individual sovereignty of States as against what they regarded as the over-hegemony or power of the Constitution of the Federation or Union. The South struck the first blow.¹

But it was soon seen that the real issue was to be the continued existence or otherwise of slavery: its total abolition, or its partial or entire maintenance. Thus a line of cleavage appeared among a people who had flung off British 'oppression'; and men, even brothers, flew at each other's throats, laid waste their fair territory and exhausted themselves in a conflict which lasted four years—the opening being ushered in by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Charleston, by the Southerners in April, 1861, and the close brought about by the famous surrender of General Lee at Appomatox, in April, 1865. In December of that year slavery was for ever abolished and prohibited throughout the United States.

¹ Philosophically, perhaps the South had as much right to secede from the North as New England had to secede from Old England.

A word here in perspective as to negro slavery, now a thing of the past among English-speaking regions. The hunting of human beings to make them slaves, and to draw them out of Africa for the purpose, was greatly increased by the demand of the European colonies in America for labour, and the Spaniards and Portuguese were the earliest to inaugurate it. The first Englishman who engaged in the slave trade was Sir John Hawkins. English slave traders at first devoted their energies to supplying the Spaniards in America. In 1620 a Dutch ship took in a cargo of Africans to Jamestown, in Virginia, and sold them as slaves to the tobacco planters, and in 1790 Virginia contained 200,000 slaves. English companies were active in the work. Between 1700 and 1786 over 600,000 slaves were transported from Africa to Jamaica. The British, the French, the Dutch, the Spaniards, the Portuguese were all engaged in slavery. When the nature of the trade, with its shocking barbarism, became understood in England, all that was best was aroused against it, especially among the poets and thinkers. In 1772 it was legally decided (by Lord Mansfield) that as soon as a slave set foot on the soil of Britain he was a free man. The Quakers in England and America opposed the system. The great Wilberforce arose, as also the Anti-Slavery Society. In 1807 a Bill by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, sent to the Commons, was passed, providing for the abolition of the trade. However, the honour of first abolishing it belongs to Denmark, in 1792. The British example was gradually followed by other European countries and even by the Spanish-American republics. The United States, Cuba, and Brazil were the most persistent offenders. The best intellects in America—again the poets and thinkers—were against slavery. Washington, in his will, provided for the emancipation of his own slaves. Said Jefferson—third president of the United States and most conspicuous apostle of democracy in America, in regard to slavery: ‘I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.’ But the slave power in the United States had long and persistently increased its influence. The framers of the Constitution appear to have been against it, but several States insisted upon it as a condition of their joining. However, the word ‘slave’ was carefully excluded from the document, which recognized the condition of slavery but sought to evade saying so, as already remarked.

To return to the Civil War: Eleven Southern States seceded and joined the ‘Confederate States’ of America: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee. Thus the

United States divided, and the two countries it now embodied carried on their respective affairs for a space.

This, however, could not last. The action at Fort Sumter raised the war spirit; President Lincoln called out 75,000 men for the North, or rather for the nation; the conflict became one not of leaders but of a whole people; nearly the whole Union took definite sides; the army stood by the President, but many officers followed the lines taken by their respective homeland states; the navy also was national, and its officers—whom foreign experience had given perhaps a wider horizon—remained Unionist. The Federals or Northerners—as opposed to the Confederates or Southerners—called more and more for volunteers, until more than a million men were under arms. The Southerners were much weaker numerically. Conscription on both sides followed, and this caused, first, bitter antagonism and then led to revolts. The population of the Southern States was roughly half that of their opponents. Their statesmen were experienced and distinguished men, but were drawn from governance into the war. It was largely owing to their skill that the conflict lasted so long. The North, with its command of the navy, efficiently blockaded the South, cutting off foreign war supplies, and as the Southern resources were mainly agricultural, not manufacturing, the Confederates suffered proportionate disadvantage. A few ironworks and a few powder-mills did their best, but arms, ammunition and clothing went to an enormous premium. The famous blockade-runners could not help them very greatly. The fight between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* ironclads in Hampton Roads, and Farragut's exploits on the Mississippi were famous naval engagements. With the *Monitor* began mechanical science in naval warfare. Mines, submarines and torpedoes were all used.

Three distinct campaigns were in progress during the most critical period of the war; in the east Virginia, separating the two hostile capitals of Richmond and Washington, where the flower of the armies were engaged; the valleys of the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, in the centre; and the Mississippi and beyond it.

Irish brigades on both sides almost exterminated each other. The Germans, it is recorded, were of second-rate quality. Masses of emancipated negroes took part on the Northern side. The Confederates issued vast quantities of paper money, and their paper dollar fell to a value of six cents, and lower. The gold and silver soon left the country for Europe in payment of supplies, and the redundant paper caused an enormous rise

in the price of everything, and disorganized all business. Trading with the enemy, 'profiteering,' blockade-running in commodities non-essential to military operations, the policy of banks in encouraging speculation, were features of Southern activities. The production of food fell off as agriculturists had to sell at forced prices at a loss. The monopoly of cotton was regarded by the South as one of their valuable assets and buoyed up their hopes. The South strained every effort to secure recognition by foreign governments, and cotton bonds secured some revenue.

The number of engagements in this war—two thousand four hundred have been named—was extraordinary: brilliant, savage, foolish, clever, in turn, on both sides. The Southerners had an advantage in being born hunters, riders, and duellists; the Northerners were largely town-bred, but intelligent and earnest. Volunteer officers generally did poorly in high commands. But the struggle for the South became one against overwhelming odds; financial, industrial and military. The Northern attacks became irresistible. The South sacrificed everything, fought with the utmost bravery, but emerged a financial and industrial wreck. In the final campaign Lee's men lost heart—the heroic Lee—in the unequal struggle, and Grant and Sheridan—the famous Northern generals—pressed on. Practically starving, furiously pressed, surrender became inevitable, and with the rendition of the gallant remnant of the army of Northern Virginia at Appomatox the Confederacy came to an end.

The terms of surrender were the giving up of all material and the signing of a parole not to take up arms again. The victors refrained from manifestations of triumph, and the lot of the vanquished was softened as much as was possible; and, after a space, and a general amnesty, the armies, victors and defeated, merged once more into the mass of private citizens. The great war was over, except for the weeping of the women, and the inevitable rancour.

It has been said that the conflict was inevitable and had its seeds in the earlier history of the Union.

Great Britain, or rather the more aristocratic portion of her people, favoured the South, and the Americans even today have not forgotten this. But British democracy showed its sympathies with the North. The Lancashire cotton operatives were terribly hit by the lack of the raw material of their trade from America, but they showed deep sympathy with President Lincoln and Anti-Slavery.

The cost of the war to the Federal Government has been

placed at \$3,400,000,000, an amount which, fourteen years later, pensions, etc., nearly doubled. The loss of life in the four years' fighting was, for the Union forces, nearly 360,000, reaching 500,000 from the deaths following, and an almost similar estimate was made for the South.

It cannot be doubted that Lincoln held a strong view as regarded the Civil War. 'I hope to God the war will never end until its purpose is accomplished,' he exclaimed, adding, 'What I deal with is too vast for maliciousness,' so absolving himself of any vindictive spirit.

Abraham Lincoln is, and always must be, the outstanding figure in American history, greater perhaps than Washington. He appeals more to the imagination; there is something about his rise from humble conditions, his strong and rugged outlook, his native morality and humanity, and, at the same time, general balance that carries with it a sentiment of something approaching affection, even for the Englishman,¹ and his life might well be a favourite subject for the biographer and the scholar.

Like nearly all distinguished Americans—although we do not necessarily claim this heredity as the origin of all virtue—Lincoln was of British race. He was born in Kentucky, on Rock Spring Farm, in February, 1809. His birthday is a legal holiday in a majority of the States.

The British connexion was remote in time. Samuel Lincoln, born *circa* 1619, was, say the chroniclers, the son of Edward Lincoln, gentleman, of the little village of Hingham, in Norfolk, England, and he emigrated to Hingham, in Massachusetts, eighteen years afterwards, as apprentice to a weaver; and this was the first we hear of his line in America. A few years after Abraham's birth his family removed into Indiana—the Americans of this period were addicted to moving west; and his early surroundings were a wilderness, his environment a pioneer one, his home a log cabin, his tutors the dwellers of the backwoods. His father could not read or write before his marriage; his mother was of a higher social class. Perhaps in Lincoln we might seem to see a reversion to type, to the mind and culture of his English forbears of a better class, breaking out despite his surroundings, or we may simply see the growth of one of nature's gentlemen, according to our fancy. He read and re-read the Bible, Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, the life of Washington, Burns and Shakespeare,

¹ In 1920 a fine bronze statue of Lincoln was placed in Parliament Square, Westminster, the gift of an American. An excellent sketch of Lincoln's life and character appeared simultaneously in the *Times*, by Lord Charnwood, after his valuable work in America.

a history of the United States, and so forth. His early literary ability produced crude verse, rude, coarse satires, and essays on American Government, etc. He was of powerful, spare frame, and at seventeen was known as a wrestler, athlete, and strong man. Two years later he was a deck-hand on a Mississippi flatboat. He continued his own education, got hold of a copy of Blackstone, was a captain (in an Indian engagement), a postmaster, a surveyor by turns; the last-named profession (that in which Washington also was once engaged) in his own words 'procuring bread and keeping body and soul together,' in measuring farm-lines, roads, and town sites.

Politics and State legislation soon claimed Lincoln. The question of slavery was to the fore. Destined to bring about the abolition of slavery, he was not at first necessarily opposed to it, but rather the attitude was a compromise. He asserted among other things that 'the right of property in slaves is sacred to the slave-holding States under the Federal Constitution'; but, also, 'that the institution of slavery is founded both on injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends to increase rather than abate its evils'; also, 'that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.' Here we see one part of the rift in the machinery of America's written constitution which was to bring about disruption. At this time Lincoln had already been called to the Bar and was in full practice as a lawyer. He was an excellent cross-examiner, friendly to witnesses, often gaining much by his candour even from unwilling subjects.

It has been seen that Lincoln was not technically an abolitionist. His attitude has been regarded as a 'practical' one. He urged a plan of gradual, compensated emancipation, but events ordained otherwise. There is the anecdote about Lincoln and slavery which has been applied and is often applicable to other situations. It is said that a party of slaves waited on him—possibly influenced by their masters or others—to say that as slaves they preferred the condition; that 'they preferred to be slaves.' 'That,' said President Lincoln, 'is the very reason why you ought to be freed.'

Lincoln was inaugurated president in March, 1860; and the provisional government of the seceding States was already organized (under the name of the Confederate States of America) with Jefferson Davis as president; and forts and arsenals were seized thereby. Lincoln's inaugural address upheld the Union and proclaimed the secession void. He disclaimed the purpose of invading or subjugating these States. 'You can

have no conflict,' he said, 'without yourselves being the aggressors.' The Southerners, it would appear, chose a conflict, and began at Fort Sumter. Towards the close of the war, to put emancipation beyond all doubt, Lincoln supported a movement in Congress to abolish slavery by an amendment of the Constitution, but the necessary two-thirds vote was not obtained until somewhat later.

Lincoln's foreign policy was generally one of prudent moderation. The *Trent* affair—two Confederate envoys were proceeding to Europe in the British steamer of that name, and were arrested—seriously threatened relations with England, but although American public opinion supported the American action, Lincoln maintained that British rights had been violated, and, upon the demand of London, liberated the prisoners. As has been said, British feeling in higher circles favoured the Southerners—it is to be recorded with regret that England should have upheld the slave party; but probably the strong Anglo-Saxon ideas of property and habit of 'compromise' in moral questions when they affect property or business asserted itself. The fitting-out of Confederate privateers in British ports was another thorn in the side of America. Again, with regard to Mexico, Lincoln showed moderation, for at this time the ill-fated Maximilian of Austria, under the protection of French troops, was installed as emperor; a large Mexican party inviting and supporting the somewhat pathetic figure of this temporary monarch: and the American Government accepted the assurances of the French that it was not their intention to seek for territory, or violate the Monroe Doctrine, but to withdraw in due season.¹

Towards the close of Lincoln's first term of office the Democratic National Convention, in selecting a candidate for presidency, and influenced by the slow progress of the war, the severe sacrifice of life, the arbitrary arrests, and suspension of *habeas corpus* in connexion with conscription, and the huge accumulation of public debt—the Federal debt reached \$27,000,000,000—adopted a 'stop-the-war' resolution, declaring the war a failure and demanding a cessation of hostilities. But the country would have no other leader than Lincoln, who was elected for a second term. The Northern fortunes then brightened; Lee had suffered his historic defeat at Gettysburg. Upon this dreadful battlefield it was, later, that Lincoln, dedicating it as a soldier's cemetery, concluded his oration with the famous words:

'That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have

¹ *Vide* the Author's *Mexico*, fifth edition.

died in vain ; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom ; and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'

Alas for the end of this noble character ! Seated with his family and friends, in the theatre, a few days after the close of the war, Lincoln was shot by a crazy actor, by name Booth. This criminal, with others, had prepared a plot to assassinate various heads of the Government, and stealthily entering the box, he fired a pistol at Lincoln, who fell wounded to death, and he breathed his last on the following day.

Lincoln was but fifty-five years old at his death, and, as before remarked, he was of unusual stature, 6 feet 4 inches in height, with regular and prepossessing features, great, deep-set eyes, broad high forehead, dark bushy hair, prominent cheek-bones ; a generally rugged appearance. He was simple, direct and without affectation, sunny in temper but given to fits of introspective silence almost like a trance ; his patience was inexhaustible and he was almost as tender-hearted as a woman.

This self-taught son of labouring folk, finding himself in middle life a rather disillusioned patriot and disappointed politician, had turned to ask : ' where was America's greatness ; what had it accomplished ? ' And he saw that its greatness lay in a great progressive effort.

Such a character is needed again in America ; such a character is equally needed in England to-day, for although there is no slavery now to expunge, there is slavery of thought, and revolution seeks to abolish it, perhaps in both and all lands.

Much of American history throughout the period following on the Civil War cannot be said to offer great interest to the foreigner. It was made up of the development of the nation, with its purely domestic matters of trade growth, finance, politics—of the peculiar American kind, the acquisition of wealth, the spread of the people across the continent, the enormous augmenting of the population.

It was naturally a self-centred growth. England had her hand in all the affairs of the world, her voice was heard on every continent, she was a factor in the life of hundreds of millions of the world's races, her imperial spirit wrought more for good than any nation in the world has ever performed. Her flag was in every seaport, her merchandise in every market, her gold was developing the mines of all the Antipodes, her engineers were building railways in every continent and island, nay, upon her capital even the United States was building itself up, its railways and other elements, for it was



THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL.

1920 aid of English loans that the development of the states was largely carried out.

It would be tedious to endeavour to follow in any great detail the course of history over this period, but mention of a few particulars will afford an insight into the growth, disposition and character of the American people, as regards home and foreign

relations after the Civil War offered certain problems. In regard to Mexico, France withdrew her troops in 1867, and it was not necessary to vindicate the famous Monroe doctrine by force of arms on the part of the United States, as the country, fired by the new prestige of American arms, ardently desired; and with the execution of Maximilian the empire in Mexico and the picturesque, turbulent happenings of that period came to an end. At this time the United States made an extension of its territory by the purchase of Alaska from Russia. That country had shown its friendliness to the Republic during the war, and now offered it this vast territory, for Russia did not desire to be an American power; and she disposed of what was then a sterile property for a value equal to about a million and a half sterling—an insignificant sum in view of the wealth in gold and other resources later to be discovered; but many Americans, and a reluctant Congress, demurred to what they regarded as 'a useless acquisition and a waste of public money.' Alaska is, of course, entirely separated territorially from the United States.

The *Alabama* question also occupied attention now. This, indeed, almost brought about a rupture between the United States and Britain. The *Alabama*, a Confederate cruiser, built in England, was allowed, undoubtedly through the negligence or connivance of the British Government, to go to sea, and she and other privateers almost swept away the American merchant marine; a loss from which the United States never recovered. The passions of the two nations were aroused to the danger point. However, the settlement of the question showed the value of arbitration. The British government, in the early part of the war, had issued a proclamation of neutrality, by which the Confederates were recognized as belligerents, and France and other nations followed the same course. Blockade-running soon became active, as has been already noted. Instructions had been issued in England to seize the *Alabama* (built at Birkenhead in 1862), but by some accident were not acted upon, nor does it appear that serious attempt was made to detain her. She arrived at the Azores under a Confederate captain, and after a most destructive career was

engaged and sunk off Cherbourg by the *Kearsage*. The United States alleged two grievances against Britain; the recognition of the Southern States as belligerents, and a general manifestation of unfriendliness in other ways, and breaches of neutrality as to the *Alabama* and other vessels. After much discussion arbitration was agreed upon; the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, and the Emperor of Brazil being arbitrators. But serious difficulties followed, due to claims and counter-claims by both Powers. However, the affair was adjusted by a tribunal sitting at Geneva, which found that Great Britain was legally responsible for the depredations of the *Alabama* and some other vessels; and damages were fixed at \$15,500,000, and thus this *cause célèbre* in naval warfare came to an end.

By 1869 an enormous industrial expansion had taken place in the United States, in the production of manufactured goods by reason of increased demand and tariff protection, and the growth of the West, the opening of enterprise in the Pennsylvania and Ohio oil-fields, and the working of gold and silver mines of the Far West. Cotton mills, iron furnaces, coal and copper mines and so forth, multiplied. By 1869 the railway across the deserts was completed, thus linking New York and San Francisco. The slaughter of the bison or buffalo herds followed upon this railway extension; and upon the retreat of the Indians huge cattle lands were rendered available. The railways, moreover, sounded the death-knell of the Indians, who became confined to reservations; deprived of their happy hunting-grounds of the Rockies. Enormous mining 'rushes' took place in Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, and Montana; and, in brief, an industrial revolution took place in the Far West, as it did in the farming lands of the Middle West.

In 1873 occurred the Great Panic, due to excessive railway building and inflated credit and currency, and general over-development, and for over five years industry was prostrated. This was followed by financial and currency legislation and tariff readjustments, which matters have been such prime sources of American political differences.

In 1881 we hear of President Garfield, who was now elected. The life of Garfield is another of the American romances, beginning in a log cabin and leading to the White House. Garfield's early life was not unlike that of Lincoln and his end was as tragic. Born in 1831, he shared the lot of all poor farmers' sons, with scant education, out of which, however, he carved his way to fame. He did not love the farm: a book of stories set his mind on the sea—but a canal-boat was the only craft in which he voyaged, after leaving home while sixteen in search

of adventure and advancement. Fighting poverty, he educated himself, and rose to be, in 1856, professor of ancient languages and literature, and then president of the institution in which he taught. Politics then claimed him. He was an anti-slavery man. Admitted to the Bar, he later left the law for the field of battle against the Confederates, and was made a Major-General of volunteers for his gallantry. Entering Congress in the interest of the Republican Party, he denounced the 'tameness' of Lincoln. When President Grant's friends broke the unwritten law of the third term of office, Garfield was nominated with the cry of 'Anything to beat Grant!' and he was elected to the presidency. Serious charges were made against Garfield by his enemies, but were not generally credited.

His end came by the hand of an assassin, the infamous Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, who shot the president in a Washington railway station in September, 1881—an act of barbarism which again shocked the world, and showed that an elected president was, perhaps, less secure than the head which wears a crown.

During Garfield's presidency, in 1882, the Anti-Polygamy Act was levelled at the Mormons. Also, at the demand of American labour, which regarded the influx of Chinese into the Pacific states with aversion, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed. Earlier presidents had vetoed this measure as a violation of international agreements, but politicians, partly to win the Californian vote, now supported it, and the Supreme Court upheld it as constitutional. At this time tariffs were again raised on imported goods.

In 1884 Cleveland was elected president. He was a man who had already convinced the public of his sincerity and strength of character and independence of the political 'bosses'—those somewhat degrading elements of American political life; and he represented ideas that had grown up since the war, which appealed to a newer generation. Cleveland was of the Democratic Party; the campaign abounded in the most bitter personalities; his majority was small, and he felt the opposition at first of both Houses of Congress; but he made headway against the 'spoils' system of office.

The panic of 1873 had given way to a further burst of railway building; the 'Golden West' was 'boomed' and a cycle of abundant rains had caused Americans to think that the 'Great American Desert' was a myth, and rapid settlement took place in the states bordering on that area. But in 1886 nature asserted herself again; droughts, grasshoppers, and other natural forces ruined the crops, and the tide of western colonists was

largely turned back again for a decade. The great trunk lines had pressed on to the West and North-West, the Canadian Pacific, Northern Pacific, etc., while the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fé lines opened up the South-West. Texas developed its huge cattle-ranching industry, and the cattle-men fought desperately over possession of the great ranges, and water-supplies, with typical western lawlessness.

President Cleveland is principally recollected in England by his rude behaviour over the Venezuela incident, and he earned for America a lasting dislike among many Britishers. For, in 1895, the Venezuelan president, having persuaded the American president to take up the matter of the British Guiana boundary in alleged vindication of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, Cleveland sent a message to Congress to the effect that if Great Britain attempted to enforce her claim it would be regarded as a *casus belli* by the United States. However, Great Britain submitted the matter to arbitration, realizing that America was in one of her characteristic aggressive moods. As a result British claims, which were just, were conceded by the tribunal. It would appear that Cleveland would not have hesitated to bring on a war with England on this occasion, upon merely a matter of foreign policy, in which, after all, he was mainly in the wrong and was acting in what undoubtedly was a bombastic spirit, in which Americans largely shared. Such was, then, the temper of Anglo-American relations.

By 1890 the enormous development of the iron industry in the United States, consequent upon the opening of the new iron mines of the North-West and the astounding growth of commerce upon the Great Lakes, had doubled over that of 1880, and now surpassed that of Great Britain. The great wheat and timber industries of the same region similarly increased. The Southern States shared in the growth of American industrial life, and white labour in the cotton-fields showed what it could do; and the South developed its cotton manufactures. The Alabama iron-fields of the South also came into prominence, and indeed became one of the greatest centres of iron manufacture. The South lived again, its native resources enriched it, its ideas changed or developed, capital and protective tariffs flourished, but the negro problem remained.

At this time development took a turn in the way of a general concentration or centralization of industry, with fewer but larger plants, combinations, pools, trusts, greater capital and output; in brief, industrial hegemony asserted itself. The urban population of the East increased at the expense of the rural. In 1880 there were two thousand mills engaged in the

woollen industry ; in 1890 little over half that number ; but correspondingly swollen in size. Even more marked was centralization in the iron and steel mills. The anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania, one of America's greatest resources, fell into the possession of the great railway corporations, which themselves had been swallowing up the lesser railways. The general tendency was, indeed, to swallow up or 'freeze out' the smaller—a 'boa-constrictor' but apparently inevitable growth, not unknown in Britain. Much misuse was made of industrial power, and legislation against the trusts and 'pools' began to show itself. The Interstate Commerce Act, to prevent unjust discrimination by the railways in their charges against commodities, places, and persons was brought about, and strove to counter a serious evil.

Contemporaneously with these matters, and partly as a result of oppressive monopoly, self-seeking, and inordinate wealth-hunting, Labour now shows its disposition to combine and confront Capital here. Strikes increased enormously ; socialistic doctrines spread. However, anarchy did not appeal to the masses. State legislation provided machinery for labour disputes, and regulations, for factories and child labour, and other matters, from a national point of view. Immigration had vastly increased since 1880, and there were over four million Germans in the Middle West, whilst Scandinavians and Irish increased largely. One-third of the population of the United States was now of foreign parentage. Much of this was of a low calibre, and it was often shockingly exploited in the great mills and other industries, often with a heartless disregard of human life, accompanied by very brutalizing conditions. Development and turmoil were the order of the day ; and on the whole it is rather a dreadful picture that American industrial development presents here.

The political issues ran at this time on the question of the silver coinage and the tariffs, which latter Cleveland—Democratic—demanded should be reduced in order to reduce any Treasury surplus. The Republicans wished to revive the tariff, to check import from abroad of articles producible at home. The Mills Bill, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act were measures of the times. And now arises the famous McKinley Tariff, in which the Republican Party embodied their conceptions of protection to American industry. Agricultural products were to be further protected, sugar was to be put on the free list, with sugar bounties to planters, and duties were to be raised to a prohibitive point on many imported articles, such as could be produced at home.

Protection in America, indeed, grew to such a point after this period that incoming passengers in liners from Europe were subjected to rude and rigorous search for undeclared dutiable articles from abroad ; women were insulted by the behaviour of Customs House officers, by the method of bodily search ; and a growth of American aggressiveness and petty autocracy—often repellent characteristics of those vested with brief authority in the United States—was displayed. Great increases in prices and the cost of living immediately followed the Tariff, and as a result a political revolution, or 'land slide,' swept the Republicans from the House of Representatives, largely in the nature of a rural uprising.

However, the protection of American industries against imports from the outside was a sound economic measure, and Britain, with her one-sided Free Trade shibboleths, might have taken some wisdom therefrom ; and the McKinley Tariff was later to triumph.

The cost of government in the United States grew enormously now ; a gloomy picture was drawn by the People's Party, 1892, of the national life, whose tendency it was said was 'to breed tramps and millionaires' ; with a tale of corrupt officials, frustrated business, mortgaged farms, oppressed labour, Capitalist monopoly in land and industry, and a demand for the restoration of Government to the 'plain people.' A disastrous panic swept over the Republic in 1893, a result of unsound banking, reckless railway finance, and the matters above mentioned. Currency was at a premium, bank deposits shrank enormously, failures were common, railways fell under receiver-ships, construction ceased, and the iron and steel industry declined. The silver-mining States and the farmers were embittered. The bloody Homestead strike riots took place, in which the armed guards of the Capitalist element fired upon the mob which demanded higher wages to cope with the cost of living. Twenty-seven States were held up later by a colossal railway strike known as the Pullman Strike, and mobs of the worst element in Chicago—and that conveys a good deal—burned and looted cars. There was much financial juggling in high quarters.

Cleveland's second administration drew to its close with the Venezuela incident, in which international trouble was avoided by Great Britain's display of exceptional moderation and self-restraint. The incident was, of course, in part a 'twisting of the lion's tail' for political purposes, which had always been a popular measure for a class of Americans.

Bryan, 'the silver-tongued orator of the Platte,' now arose,

favouring the silver cause, and there was great political excitement, in which class appeals were a strong factor. But the folk generally believed that in McKinley lay their prosperity, under the gold standard and the tariffs; and, carrying the day, he was elected, in 1897; the Democrats being turned 'neck and crop' out of all Government Departments, after the American fashion of political spoils and displacement. The Dingley Protective Tariff was enacted, raising duties to their highest point; dubbed by the Democrats the 'Mother of Trusts.' The policy was facilitated by the prosperity which set in next year; the gold production from the mines doubled, and Alaska, too, 'boomed' in the connexion.

Agriculture was now more scientifically studied, and 'dry farming,' rotation, and so forth came in. Corn was fed to cattle and hogs, as a profitable branch of farming. 'To buy land to grow corn to feed hogs, to buy more land to grow more corn to feed more hogs, to buy still more land to grow still more corn to feed still more hogs' was a sort of popular saying. All kinds of farming flourished, and mortgages—the *bête noire* of the American farmer—were paid off. Land values rose, as did the price of products; prosperity and contentment replaced agitation; the wheat crop increased to 675,000,000 bushels. Many farmers found profit in selling their lands and going to the West and South-West, with a new colonizing movement.

And now, High Finance grew into a power whose magnitude had never been dreamed of before; trusts absorbed weaker rivals; small groups of 'Money Kings' exercised enormous influence on the business world; and in the whole history of mankind, no such domination by money power had ever come to being before. One man—Harriman—proposed to control the whole railway system of the United States in one big concern, and took steps to do it, but was pulled up. High finance aroused in many quarters a spirit of hatred, and has stimulated the national enmity between capital and labour. However, it was not always an unmixed evil. Labour to some extent shared in the prosperity, in higher wages and shorter hours.

At the beginning of this century, 1900, the United States had a population of 76,000,000 souls, as against 5,300,000 in 1800, and 2,300,000 at the beginning of the War of Independence. In 1910 it had risen to 90,000,000. The aggregate real and personal wealth was \$88,500,000,000, the public debt \$14.50, the money circulation, \$27.00, per capita: the value of the export trade was \$1,394,000,000, the production of pig iron 14,000,000 long tons.

Foreign Policy and action had been growing with this material wealth ; the United States, grown rich and powerful, was looking more beyond its borders ; the conquest of the wilderness accomplished, the Republic considered more its position as a world-power. The question of the Panama Canal had long been before the Americans ; their influence in Spanish America they had endeavoured to improve and consolidate ; and the Pan-American Congress came to being in 1890, whereby the United States sought general advancement for the twin continents in part, and in part hoped for some commercial and political hegemony—an attitude which, however, the meridional republics by no means accepted. In the same year the United States asserted rights to control the seal-fishing in Bering Sea—long a troublesome question, especially against Canada ; but arbitrators decided against them. The growing navy needed coal-stations in the Pacific, and in 1889 the United States secured part control in Samoa, and in 1898 annexed Hawaii, and poor Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned. The growing activity manifested itself against Spain, especially in her treatment of Cuba, and war resulted ; and in 1898, as a result of the Spanish-American War, Spain lost the remaining fragments of her Colonial empire—Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, which latter was ceded to America in return for \$20,000,000. The Cuban affair showed both the sense of humanity and the moderation of the United States. Whilst England naturally had some sympathy for Spain, there was no doubt of her wrongful policy in her colonies. In China, again, America strove to preserve the ‘ open door ’ and Chinese integrity, and helped towards the settlement of the Boxer rebellion, earning the gratitude of that empire.

The Spanish-American War gave the United States a position of increased importance and prestige among the nations. But cry or denouncement of ‘ imperialism ’ was now raised by the Democratic Party, who nominated Bryan for the presidency, again advocating free silver coinage and denouncing the Tariff as the ‘ mother of trusts.’ But the Republicans appealed to labour to support them and the prosperity which had brought them what was called ‘ A full dinner-pail ’—a reference to the receptacle in which American mechanics and labourers carry their midday meal to work, and McKinley was elected to a second term.

William McKinley was one of the foremost of American presidents, and was widely esteemed, both at home and in England, as a man of high calibre and principles. He displayed much wisdom in his choice of Cabinet officers, and in his

sympathetic dealing with men, parties, and matters, and the victory over the Spaniards added to his popularity, even among political opponents. But, like Cleveland, it has been said that he lacked imagination to deal with the gathering economic forces that were transforming American Society—a failing which, however, is not unknown among English and other public men, for statesmen in this century have everywhere shown insufficient capability to read the signs of the times. He was, indeed, of 'Victorian' type.

McKinley was the twenty-fifth president of the United States, and was born in 1843, in the State of Ohio. Like Washington, Lincoln, and some others, he was of original British extraction, his ancestors having been Scotch-Irish folk who lived in Antrim, Ireland; and his great-grandfather settled in Pennsylvania in about 1743. In youth he became a school teacher, and when the Civil War broke out enlisted as a private and was promoted as a result of his brave act of taking up hot coffee and provisions to the fighting line, and other services, when his regiment was losing heavily in Virginia. Like nearly all his predecessors, McKinley took to the law, which seems to have been the Mecca of the ambitious and politically inclined young Americans; and he was called to the Bar in 1867. He became known as a diligent student of economics and industrial questions. In foreign relations under his term of office the most marked event was the cordial understanding established with England, a noble work to which his secretary, the famous John Hay, one of the best types of Americans, largely contributed.

McKinley, alas! was to meet the tragic end of Lincoln and Garfield. At a great reception given in the president's honour, a young anarchist of Polish parentage, imbued with the doctrine of assassinations of rulers, fired a revolver at the president at close range, and the bullet struck him down. It was thought that McKinley would recover, but a week afterwards he died, his loftiness of personal character being shown by his utterances in the interval. Remarkable manifestations of public mourning were made at the time of his funeral, not only in the United States but in England and elsewhere, and in London a large gathering at the memorial service in St. Paul's Cathedral, of British and Americans, united in singing the eminent statesman's favourite hymn: 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.'

McKinley was fifty-eight when he died. He undoubtedly did much to draw England and America together, and his name is recollected with affection in this connexion.

And now the energetic and breezy Roosevelt appears upon

the American scene—a bold spirit ready to break new paths and set aside routine, and brush away the cobwebs of precedent. He was elected president in 1904, for the Republicans. There was much to do for him. There was, as regards foreign affairs, a conference to be brought about between Russia and Japan, who were at war, and by Roosevelt's good offices this was done at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and hostilities terminated in 1905. However, the Japanese were dissatisfied at the results obtained, as elsewhere described.

Secretary Hay's diplomacy had already had good effect. Roosevelt, though a fighting man, helped to make the Hague tribunal a somewhat more useful instrument in peace considerations generally. But the Hague never flourished. There was the boundary dispute between Canada and Alaska to be settled, involving control of valuable ports and important gold-fields, and this was decided by arbitration, in 1903, with results favourable to the Americans, by a tribunal of British and American jurists in London. The results were bitterly resented by the two Canadian Commissioners, and whatever the rights may have been, the award, at least on the map, looks unjust and unnatural, cutting off British Columbia from the sea for nearly six hundred miles of a coastal strip. There was also the Panama Canal affair to be settled, and the Canal to be dug, and this deserves more special mention.

Under the earlier Spaniards, the Isthmus of Panama became one of the greatest trade routes in the world, and had resounded for centuries with the tramp of mule-trains bearing the gold and silver of Peru; and Drake, Hawkins, Morgan and others of that romantic period are associated with it; and later, Patterson of the ill-fated Darien Scheme. The project of cutting a waterway through the Isthmus was raised as early as 1550. The Church, at the time of Philip II of Spain, considered that: 'If the Almighty had meant a waterway to exist there it would have been put there by nature.' The Nicaragua route, also, was early brought to notice, and the famous Admiral Nelson reported upon this, and was wounded in Nicaragua by the Spaniards. He described the region as: 'The Gibraltar of the New World,' by which the Spanish possessions might be severed. In 1868 Humbolt reported upon an Isthmus Canal. In the developing of California from 1849, crowds of pioneers went by the Isthmian route from the Eastern states of America and from Europe—a dreadful journey. The Panama Railroad followed, and in 1855 the first locomotive crossed the jungles from sea to sea. Great loss of life marked its construction, from fevers and other matters; Chinese, Irish, negroes, and

others perished in thousands. But the line declined, and, according to one American writer, became in 1860 'little more than a streak of rust.' After 1870 the project of a waterway came rapidly forward. America took little interest in it, however, except from time to time to complain that the Monroe Doctrine might be infringed upon in any European schemes to build a Canal! Under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 between the United States and Britain, and other agreements, an international status for a Canal was established. The Isthmus, of course, belonged to the Republic of Colombia, and there was a treaty of 1846 between the United States and that country, in which the first guaranteed the sovereignty of the second.

When the Americans desired to consider the building of a Canal, British rights had to be considered, but in 1880 a variety of reasons were adduced by the United States why they should, if they chose, repudiate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; a policy based on self-interest alone and quite indefensible in law and equity. This incident is a blot on American history. However, in the Hay-Pauncefot Treaty, Great Britain acting in a generous spirit gave her rights away, stipulating only that the Canal should be open to vessels of commerce of all nations without discrimination in respect of conditions of traffic charges, and that the Canal should never be blockaded, nor any hostile act committed within it. After the failure of the French under de Lesseps—who, however, performed valuable work—a treaty was entered into between the United States and Colombia, in 1903, but remained without ratification by the latter country, a course which exasperated the Americans; and the upshot was the high-handed methods of the United States, in sympathy with a revolutionary party in Panama which declared the Isthmus an independent republic, and entered into an Agreement with the United States, under consideration of a large payment. The moving spirit in the acquisition of the Canal zone and the building of the waterway was President Roosevelt, who acted at first without the authority of Congress; and the Colombians were deeply wounded at what they regarded as a spoliation of their natural heritage of the Isthmus by the United States; a matter they have never forgotten or forgiven. The decision of the type of Canal, whether sea-level or lock, and other preliminaries took time, and the American Press became impatient of the time when the contractors should 'make the dirt fly'—that is, the earth, in American parlance. It was found necessary to do the work as a national enterprise rather than by contract, and a Commission was established to

carry it out. The actual building of the waterway reads like a romance, including the 'Conquest of the Mosquito' and of yellow fever, and the battle against landslides, which at one time seemed to render the work hopeless; but in November, 1913, near the four-hundredth anniversary of Balboa's discovery of the Isthmus, the small French steamer *Louise*, which had conveyed de Lesseps to turn the first sod so long before, passed through the Canal on her own keel.

The construction of the Canal finished, the United States showed some disposition to impose unfair conditions as to dues, and the British Foreign Office put it plainly to the Washington Government that this was a direct contravention of the treaty between them. Part of the American Press spoke bitterly about the lax sense of American international honour, and the President—it was now Mr. Taft—was greatly blamed for his attitude in the matter, both at home and abroad. The subject affected not only England but all the maritime nations. The unpleasant situation was solved by the expiry of Mr. Taft's presidency and the accession of Dr. Woodrow Wilson, who, with a stronger sense of American honour and international equity, brought about an adjustment.

But to return to President Roosevelt: There were difficulties at home. As has been seen, the dominant tendencies at the beginning of the century in the United States were towards huge combinations of capital and labour and the passing into private possession and exploitation of the national resources of the country to the detriment of the people generally—dangerous matters which called for control. There was a 'promotion mania' in 1901; also a threatened war between the Standard Oil and the Carnegie groups; and the extraordinary Harriman railway hegemony has already been noted. The great Wall Street banking houses were controlled by large financial 'interests' for the purpose of speculative undertakings, and the directors of such banks loaned to themselves the money which flowed in from the interior, for their speculative purposes; and the great Trust and insurance companies went hand-in-glove with them, whilst rebates and discriminations were given by the railways to advantage the powerful shippers—all more or less iniquitous and anti-public forces and operations. On its side Labour was further combining, under the American Federation of Labour, and there were strikes and a coal famine. So menacing did the situation become that the president was obliged to call a conference of the contending parties, and, after arbitration, conditions were adjusted. Roosevelt legislated against the great combinations of capital with

some success. Two senators were convicted of land frauds, and the president had all these matters dragged relentlessly to light.

The United States had now suddenly become aware of the need for conserving its natural resources, and measures were taken to preserve the timber for the nation : the Reclamation Service was established to irrigate the arid lands of the Far West : and the National Conservation Commission was set up by the president. Roosevelt's popularity had been put to the test by his strenuous reforms, and he had many enemies, but he triumphed over all and won the election of 1904, for his second term, by a large majority. Now occurred the dreadful San Francisco earthquake, which devastated that city, with heavy loss of life. In California, also, the Japanese question had become acute, but was solved for a time largely by reason of Roosevelt's popularity. The United States Fleet was sent on a tour round the world, and was well received everywhere. Pure food Acts were passed, directed partly against the meat-factories and their methods, and other important domestic matters attended to. But in 1907 another of those characteristic American financial panics, some of which have been here recorded, took place, largely as a result of the behaviour of the great banking interests. This, however, was soon brought to an end. Roosevelt, perhaps, lost some of his prestige now, and, moreover, gave out that he would not stand for a third term, and his nominee—Mr. Taft—was elected.

Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-sixth president of the United States, was born in 1858, of a family which had been prominent in New York for generations, and was of Dutch origin. His mother came from a family of Scotch-Irish and Huguenot origin. The Dutch ancestor settled in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1649. At fourteen, Theodore went with his father a tour up the Nile, and brought back a collection of birds. He was of frail physique, but developed and built himself up into an athlete. He was educated at Harvard, then went mountaineering in Europe, and later studied the inevitable law of the American politically inclined youth, but did not qualify for the Bar. On the outbreak of war with Spain he raised his famous corps of 'Rough Riders' largely of Western Cowboys—he himself was intimate with cowboy and western life—but also of city and club men, which stormed San Juan Hill in Cuba; and in this many of the regiment were killed. On ceasing to be president, Roosevelt carried out a long-planned expedition to Africa, accompanied by naturalists, and afterwards took upon himself to advise the British in

Egypt 'to get on or get out!' ¹ In Europe he received almost royal attentions, and many honorary degrees. Later he made a famous journey through the wilds of South America, and 'brought home in his pocket an unknown river a thousand miles long,' as the president of the Royal Geographical Society put it, after the lecture given before that body.

Roosevelt's early experiences with the corrupt elements in New York, Tammany, the police, and so forth, in earlier years were of much value to himself and the nation. He had a passionate hatred of corruption and 'wrong-doing'—a word he frequently used. He largely destroyed the old American political theory of party government, first enunciated by Jackson, that 'to the victor belong the spoils,' and he fought the 'Malefactors of Great Wealth' too. He was often accused of violating that dreaded engine—the American constitution, and no doubt he did it when righteous occasion required. He was of great physical and mental vigour, and worked at high pressure, writing many books and making innumerable speeches. He was a fine character, but gave as his own opinion that his success was due not to genius, but to the development by persistence of ordinary qualities, which was probably too modest a view of his powers.

Roosevelt's name will always be remembered with esteem and even regard by Englishmen. He was an 'imperialist' in one of the best senses of that word: also an advocate of 'big things,' including large families, whose creation he regarded as a national duty, and also of the 'Big stick.' 'Go softly and carry a big stick—you will go far' is an aphorism attributed to him, and this did not necessarily contemplate that 'shirt-sleeve diplomacy' which Americans at times have indulged in.

Mr. William Howard Taft, a distinguished jurist and statesman, was Solicitor General under Harrison, and, later, Secretary for War. His most famous work was in his Governorship of the Philippines, under McKinley. In 1902 he interviewed the Pope in the interests of the native folk there. He visited Panama and Japan. His general policy at home antagonized Labour, but he was a wise tariff-reformer.

The election of Dr. Woodrow Wilson to the presidency marked the defeat of the Republican Party and the eclipse of what has been called 'Big Americanism,' as represented by the Theodore Roosevelt school.

Mr. Woodrow Wilson was born in December, 1856, in Staun-

¹ This was regarded in England as somewhat impertinent, but the events in Egypt following on the war seem to show that there was wisdom in the exhortation.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.
Twenty-seventh President of U.S.A.

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ton, Virginia—which state has produced so many prominent Americans. The origin of his family was Scottish and Presbyterian; his father was a Presbyterian minister and he himself was born in the Manse, and his early life, we are told, was influenced very largely by his surroundings. After the inevitable method of the American who looks forward to an intellectual future, he became a lawyer, but later preferred to teach rather than to practice the law. Having graduated at Princeton, he received the degree of Ph.D. at John Hopkins University, in 1886, and later became Professor of History and Political Economy in Bryn Mawr College, and at the Wesleyan University afterwards, and again Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton, in 1888 and afterwards. Then he was made president of Princeton, the first layman to hold the office—the ‘plum’ of the scholastic profession in America. He wrote various well-known books and a history of America.

But fate had a larger field in store for Dr. Wilson. He was a Democrat, and became governor of the State of New Jersey for the Democratic Party in 1910. The traditional Democratic policy is that of opposition to tariffs, but he did not indulge in ‘trust baiting,’ a policy which that political party at times is obliged to espouse, but followed a moderate course, associating himself rather with all reasonable reforms. He was elected president in 1912, and his first term was but half completed when the Great War plunged Europe into disorder. He was re-elected in 1916. The part played by the United States and by President Wilson in this great and terrible drama brings us up to the present day, and is set forth in the chapter devoted to America and the War, and the subsequent happenings.

In November, 1920, the elections again falling due, two, so far, little-known candidates were put forward as the choice for president, by the Electoral College (representing the nation), namely, Mr. Warren G. Harding, for the Republican Party, and Mr. James M. Cox; when the former was elected by 380 collegiate votes as against 138, representing a popular majority of perhaps ten millions, the largest of any modern candidature. The issue hung upon the national attitude to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and was described as ‘the most remarkable phenomena in the working of modern constitutional democracy.’ Nearly thirty million voters went to the poll, and there was a heavy vote of women, now first admitted to the suffrage on equal terms with men. In part, the ‘solid South’—it is ‘solid’ for the Democratic Party, for the negroes, who

are generally Republican, are prevented by the white Democrats from exercising their vote—was captured for Mr. Harding, whose party opposed the League as it concerned America, although he foreshadowed a League of his own devising ; and the debacle which overtook the Democrats, was ascribed to Mr. Wilson's general policy, and to the inevitable desire of the American citizen for a change of government.

Before entering upon these important matters, however, we must close this somewhat breathless survey of the book of history and open that of nature and geography. We must traverse and explore the great territory of the United States, journeying from sea to sea, so forming a true idea of its variety and interest.

CHAPTER IV

The States: New England and Southwards

MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, VERMONT, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE

THE crisp waves breaking on Sandy Hook bring the traveller to the realization that he is in the New World, with, beyond, standing upon its own tiny island, the great Statue of Liberty, presented by France to America, and endowed here with the pleasing fancy of 'enlightening the World'; and, still beyond, the white, cliff-like buildings of New York, whose harbour has, with much of truth, been called one of the best and most beautiful of the world's great havens.

Thus the first view of America, as represented by New York, —for to New York the generality of travellers to the United States perhaps first take their way—may be a pleasing one, and in the impression there seem to float, too colossal at first for detail, images of a great shipping, of the huge but not unattractive buildings—the 'skyscrapers'; of mighty bridges high up in the air, of streams of humanity along what by comparison seem narrow thoroughfares, with all the accompanying clangour of the great city.

Our description of New York, however, must come in its place, for we have set out to describe the Republic in geographical and historical sequence, and priority of place belongs to the New England States.

We shall soon remark the fact that the Americans are a nation of travellers. They are ever restlessly hurrying over the great area of their Continent; their myriad ponderous and expensive trains are packed with journeyers; their hotels are hives of passengers here to-day and gone to-morrow. Humanity, or a large part of it, is always in movement, and we shall at times be tempted to ask ourselves what they are doing, what is their individual purpose, and the object of this ceaseless activity. Travel and movement in England, in Europe, is but a languid stirring in comparison; our trains are

toys in comparison with theirs ; our hotels might be country houses with house-parties beside the activity of the American hostelries. North, south, east and west they hurry, day and night, winter and summer ; and it is borne upon us that upon this continent and in this century the quiescence of humanity throughout the ages in its ancient lands has burst into volcanic movement, an eruption in which we are carried perforce, for to tarry would be to stagnate ; for the environment is not for those who would tarry. It is a commonplace to liken busy humanity to ants ; but the Americans have peculiarly ant-like qualities, and to look upon their great city streets detachedly, in their busy hours, calls to mind an ant-hill whose inhabitants, disturbed, each seizes an egg and bears it hither and thither with the utmost seriousness and tenacity. This display of energy is, in part, due to the effects of the more mercurial climate. It does not necessarily mean that the American accomplishes more in the day than the Englishman with his somewhat slower pace. It is also due to the wider scope for enterprise, and present phase of human development.

Again, we shall soon remark in the United States an absence of that over-centralization which is characteristic of Britain. Great cities are scattered over the four quarters of the country, which, thus, is much less tributary to one metropolis than in a sense are the British Isles. The great lines of travel connect these places with each other by direct routes, and their business may be largely with themselves. In Britain the main lines of travel are from London, principally northwards. All roads lead to London, with its seven and a half million inhabitants. No other city in Britain numbers a million : Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, are centres of special activities, but they are all ' in the country ' in post office parlance, which seems to represent their national position ; whilst as to Edinburgh and Glasgow—this last second in point of population in the British Isles—they, although the capitals of a separate people, are in equal circumstance ; and always, it might be said, holds good the aphorism of Dr. Johnson, that the finest prospect in Scotland is the road to London. New York, with its nearly five million inhabitants, although the great Mecca and active metropolis of the American, does not dominate the land as does London. Chicago and Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston and Baltimore, Cleveland and Pittsburg, Detroit, Buffalo and San Francisco, all cities ranging from half a million to nearly two and a half million inhabitants, are the capitals of their respective regions in a far more marked sense than the British cities. This, of course, is due

largely to geographical and topographical conditions, size and distance, and even climate in some cases ; but it is also a result of the American character, which rejects the over-hegemony of a national capital. And again, it is due to the wide range of independence of each state in the Federation, with political control of its own destiny, with its future so largely in its own hands, contrasting so strongly with British towns and shires, tied by tradition (and, perhaps, lack of imagination) so considerably to the apron-strings of their Mother London.

There can be little doubt that this dependence upon London in things national and administrative, in Art, Science, Letters and Commerce (it is, of course, not entirely or rigidly so, but is true in the main), is, or will be in the future a cause of halting or decadence in English life, and in Scottish life—to say nothing, at the moment, of Ireland. There are signs of a questioning as to the wisdom and expediency of the condition, but we are a conservative folk.

The enormous daily movement of the train and hotel population of America is very scientifically organized, in a sense. Long-distance travel methods are minutely mapped out, and such travel is attended with very considerable comfort. The individual delivers himself or herself over to specialized officials, and if any human agency can do it, they will deliver him and his belongings to his desired destination. Railway travelling is a science and an art here. Everything is done for the material comfort and convenience of the passenger. It is scarcely too much to say that he could not lose his way if he tried to. It is a 'system-machine' into which passengers flow in their myriads and are automatically separated and discharged, as it were, through orifices, upon their respective routes—not quite automatically, perhaps, for there is a good deal of brusque, and sometimes offensive, shepherding here and there by uniformed officialdom. Perhaps we have, to some small extent, now Americanized our London Tube Railways in this respect, although it is doubtful if that particular Transatlantic or bureaucratic atmosphere can permanently flourish in Britain.

And here, although far be it from our purpose to preface a study of America with a note of disillusion, the traveller will be well advised not to wear his heart too much upon his sleeve, especially if he be accustomed to the older courtesy and ways of man to man (and master to servant) of Europe and the Old World in general, for the ordinary American official and petty employé of public services displays his Americanism often in a fashion which at first may not encourage us to regard him with any affection as an American institution.

This aggressiveness or self-assertion is, we shall in time realize, part of the American outlook, not necessarily arising always of purposeful rudeness—although it is so at times. It is his way of showing American quality and equality. We may have experienced it first on board our steamer, under the hands of the autocratic Custom House officials, in the signing of declaration as to dutiable goods or otherwise, which might be contained in the passengers' trunks, the inspections of doctors, and so forth; whilst, as to the unfortunate immigrant in the 'steerage,' his first experience of the New World must bring some serious disillusionment. Indeed the atmosphere which the traveller encounters is often such at first as will cause him or her to register a vow never to return.

Despite these matters, the Americans are, when taken in the way they like, a kind-hearted and good-natured folk. The foreign traveller—especially the Englishman—will do well to cast aside his starchiness and over-reserve if he wishes to enjoy himself here, and indulge his desire in observation and the acquisition of knowledge and experience. He should not pretend to know all about everything beforehand, or coldly stifle his interest, for your ordinary American will take a keen pleasure in revealing both himself and the things around to the foreigner on business or pleasure bent. There is little he will not do once the ice is broken—and the ice, as far as he is concerned, is a very thin covering. Thus the traveller should not be ashamed to throw himself on the hospitality, as it were, of those with whom he comes in contact. If he does not, but is disagreeable and contentious, he will but arouse similar qualities in the folk around him, and perhaps something more, for the American has not the long-suffering or patience of the European, which, indeed, he would regard as servility, and in this respect he stands much nearer to primitive man than does the inhabitant of the Old World. As averred elsewhere, he is extremely sensitive, especially to any suggestion of superiority.

We have entered our Pullman car, whose luxurious interior may be a veritable haven of rest after the ceaseless clanging and noise of the city and the railway station outside—for noise is an assiduous attendant of movement here. It might be the aisle of a church. If it be hot outside, it is cooler here; if it be piercingly cold, the temperature is at the gradation of comfort. The appointments of the car are pleasing, its solidity reassuring, its arrangements—undivided into compartments as in Britain—attractive, at least in its novelty over the English first-class carriage. The negro porter—a permanent fixture of the car—will have taken your hand-bag,



THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN AMERICA.

From the painting by E. L. Henry in Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington.

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or 'grip,' in the vernacular of America, and ushered you to your particular seat, and when evening falls you may remark the transformation scene, in which the car is converted into a curtained corridor between the sleeping berths—ingeniously and beautifully made fixtures, whose presence, unless you knew of them, you would scarcely have suspected.

Settled in your surroundings, if you are upon a several days' journey, say from New York westward to San Francisco, or even a day and a night's travel, you may here experience a veritable rest cure. You have nothing to do but read, sleep, eat—of dainties lavishly provided in the dining-car, and he would be a fastidious mortal who would not find fare here suited to his peculiar tastes—and watch the changing landscape, or converse with and study the varying passenger life. Again, he must be a fastidious mortal who can find nothing of interest in the human fare which chance provides. All cares and worries may be forgotten. There may be few or no changes of train over thousands of miles of your journey. You can wander up and down the aisle and speak to any one who takes your fancy—it will not be resented; you can pass through to other cars, half-a-dozen such, fore or aft, all similar, all parts of this moving world, with something of the atmosphere of a ship on the ocean, but without the monotony of a voyage.

The railway system of the United States is now so vastly developed—it is larger than that of all Europe combined, a total length of nearly 250,000 miles—that there is not a single town of any size that is not reached thereby. 'Railroading' and transportation—the word has nothing to do with convicts and takes the place of our term 'transport'—form one of the greatest and most characteristic industries of America. However, it is not to be supposed that study of the whole Republic can be made from the ease of the railway car and the hotel alone.

The original 'Thirteen States' of the Republic have now been augmented to reach forty-eight of these federated units—not counting Alaska. Each has its own individuality, although naturally, topographical conditions are not necessarily always distinct. However, geographers in America have grouped the States in a certain sequence, depending upon topographical and other conditions, and this we may well follow to some extent. To the ordinary English reader, or even to the student of American affairs, the numerous States, their position and individuality, are generally lost in number

and vagueness, and he or she would, indeed, be of an encyclopædic turn of mind who could recollect or place them all. The largest State is Texas, with an area of over 262,000 square miles, and the smallest Rhode Island, of 1,248 square miles. The average size of each State—though that does not convey much—would be about 63,000 square miles, or somewhat larger than that of England and Wales together. Or we may imagine, if it will assist us, say sixty Englands joined together in a compact mass.¹

Our general study of the States begins with New England, the starting point of American civilization, but a region which is probably very vaguely defined in the mind of the ordinary English person. Here the *Mayflower*, with the Pilgrim Fathers, established the colony of Plymouth, having sailed from Old Plymouth on September 6th, 1620. This romantic event, and all its circumstances, have always appealed to Anglo-Americans, and the tercentenary, in the year 1920, was marked with special ceremony—pageants, dinners, speech-making and much good aspiration. Perhaps the coast was visited by the Northmen from Scandinavia in the eleventh century, centuries before the time of Columbus, in the voyages of Eric the Red.

New England embodies the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, forming the north-east corner, as it were, of the Republic, great in fame but small in comparison with the whole vast bulk, and lies along the rocky coast from the Canadian boundary near the St. Lawrence; to New York. We remark how this region is dotted with towns bearing English names, among others. Fertile land in some districts, and an often pleasing, if at times extreme climate and healthy soil, in conjunction with good harbours, brought prosperity to the region. From the grand pine forests and the lakes of Maine to the tobacco-growing plains of Connecticut, we may see a wide range of products.

The State of Maine is thrust, like a wedge, into Canadian territory ; its frontier, in one place, comes within forty miles of Quebec ; and, indeed, the Northern boundary has long been a subject of dispute between America and England.

The picturesque, rocky coast, upon which the Atlantic surges beat, with its many islands, which abound with camping-grounds and summer resorts and cottages, attracts more holiday makers than the resorts of any other State : of folk who escape from the heat to revel in this cool, refreshing summer climate. The mountains and the beautiful lakes are a legacy

¹ Area of England alone, 50,851 square miles.

of the glacial age. The rivers seem made by Nature for the joys of canoeing and fishing, and the white, sandy beaches for the pastimes they offer. The game in the northern woods draws many sportsmen, as does the moose-hunting country, to which the picturesque Indian life adds colour and variety. The off-shore fishing is a very valuable industry.

The State of Maine, like other parts of the region, is of rolling uplands, and was earlier covered with forests of white pine and spruce ; also hemlock, tamarack and cedar, and with beech, oak and other trees ; and the timber industry is still important. In their particular haunts, bears and wolves are found, as well as beavers and other creatures characteristic of this part of North America.

The soil of the State in certain districts is very fertile, but the earlier cultivation of cereals has largely given place to market gardening and dairy farming ; a natural development we shall remark elsewhere, following upon the growth of population and the exhaustion, to some extent, of the soil by earlier methods of farming. The water-power of the State, a common resource, indeed, of New England in general, is invaluable in the absence of coal for the factories, which produce textiles of cotton and woollens. Among other manufactures, fish-canning, paper-making and shipbuilding are important.

The rock-bound coast of Maine contains for the Briton, as for all English-speaking folk, matters of interest beyond these things. It was the home of Longfellow, the immortal poet, whose ancestors went to New England from Yorkshire in 1676.

The poet's boyhood—he was born in 1807—was spent in Portland, whose beautiful surroundings he never ceased to love, and he wove the topography and scenery of the coast into his writings, and it may be that the character of this ' deep-hearted and modest gentleman, whose desire to be a perfect man was almost rewarded by the attainment,' as his biographers have said, was deeply influenced by his surroundings. The beautiful Casco Bay, studded with green islands, was a romantic scene for boyhood's dreams, and figured in an early poem dealing with the war of 1812, the wanton war between America and England, which made a deep impression on Longfellow :

' The sea-fight far away—
How it thundered o'er the tide,
And the dead captains as they lay
In their graves o'erlooking the tranquil bay—'

Longfellow spent some years in England. Perhaps his

poems are more appreciated there by the bulk of folk than those of any other American poet, and it might, indeed, be said, than of many an English poet—though perhaps the critic of academic outlook may not agree. It has been said of Longfellow that he gives utterance to ‘that strange feeling of awe without fear, and hope without form, with which every man of spotless life and upright intellect withdraws from the phenomena of time to the realities of eternity.’ But he also appeals to the simplest appreciation. At least, we shall imagine that the author of *A Psalm of Life*, who proclaimed that life was not an empty dream, has (with Hiawatha) found true his philosophies and aspirations in the deserved haven beyond the sunset, in—

‘The Islands of the Blessed,
The Land of the Hereafter.’

Portland, Maine, in conjunction with the town of the same name on the Pacific Coast, in the aphorism of ‘From Portland Maine to Portland Oregon,’ expresses for the American a traverse of the entire Republic from sea to sea.

West of Maine lies New Hampshire, touching the Canadian border on the north and sweeping southwards to the Atlantic, whereon it has a single harbour, that of Portsmouth.

In the nomenclature of its places, and in other respects, we may trace some resemblance between New Hampshire and Old Hampshire in Southern England; an analogy pleasing and not altogether fanciful. It was once covered with primæval forests, as was the Andredesweald of Saxon Hampshire, and in both, the birch, the beech, the oak and the bird cherry abound, with, in New Hampshire, white spruce, white cedar, sugar maple and hemlock. But these have largely disappeared now, although many abandoned farms have become afforested again with such trees. So, if the beech ‘hangers’ of Old Hampshire are beautiful, they are older than the forests of New Hampshire, in a sense. And in the American State, too, flourish the wild rose, the dogwood, laurel, holly, raspberry, blackberry, strawberry, anemone, and a wealth of violets, the wild clematis—such as binds our Hampshire ‘hangers’ together; gentians, orchids—such as grow in our chalky downs and thickets—golden-rod and so forth. But the wild pigeon is extinct now, and not, as in Old Hampshire, a robber of the farmer’s field, in flocks of hundreds. In both the wolf has gone. But trout, as in our chalk streams, are plentiful for the angler—though Izaak Walton knew not the streams of New England; and the rabbits and the squirrels are at home in both lands.

Again, New Hampshire was the first of the original thirteen

States under the Stars and Stripes to set up a government wholly independent of England. It came into operation on January 5th, 1776, though meant to be only temporary, for its 'Council of twelve chosen persons' set forth: 'That if the present unhappy dispute with Great Britain should continue longer than the present year,' the representatives should continue to be elected. Old Hampshire—'Hantescire'—was the first English county to be created, as mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle* of A.D. 755, when its boundaries were as they are to-day.

As to the analogy of place names, we find the following in New Hampshire: Winchester, Hampton, Andover, Chandler, Cobbett, as also Chichester, Amherst, Alstead and others. One might ask who were the folk who baptized these places and what were the circumstances of their early settlement; folk of the more ancient soil, and, of course, the story of the *Mayflower* furnishes some details. As for Portsmouth, it is the oldest settlement in the State. It has, too, some recent claim to historical fame, for here, in 1905, as elsewhere remarked, was negotiated the Treaty ending the war between Japan and Russia, in whose consummation the well-meaning Mr. Roosevelt was an active agent, but which left Japan with a sense of frustration of her rights of conquest, and a grudge against America for the intervention—a treaty which, however, was certainly a starting-point in the new relations of Asia with Europe and America.

The State of New Hampshire is large in comparison with Old Hampshire, having an area of 9,300 square miles, in comparison with that of the latter of 1,620. Depleted soil and old methods of husbandry were responsible for the abandoned farms of the New England State, which have been mentioned. However, many of these—in number over two thousand—were taken up by the wealthy as country estates; roads improved and game preserved, whilst vegetables, fruits, poultry and dairying largely took the place of the former wheat fields—a more intensive agricultural system. But hay is the principal crop—especially in the valley of the Merrimac, yielding slightly over a ton per acre, with some 640,000 acres.

The Merrimac, flowing hence through Massachusetts, is one of the greatest hydraulic power-yielding streams in the world; waterfalls resultant on the work of the Glacial Age upon the rock ledges; and cities have sprung up at such points where Nature has provided power for numerous industries. The Ice Age has been the cause of the romantic rock scenery in this State, as in Maine, and a famous example of such is the Profile

Mountain, described by Nathaniel Hawthorn. The curious 'Monadnock' hills—residual hills—have given their name to this type of elevation.

The traveller who approaches the United States at the port of Boston remarks the range of the Blue Hills—seen from the sea at some distance; that part of the Appalachian system in the State of Massachusetts. The topography and scenery of Massachusetts partakes in much of that of New Hampshire, to which it lies directly south, and the State is cut by the Connecticut River, which forms one boundary of New Hampshire, and which, crossing Connecticut State, falls into the sea at Long Island Sound. Nantucket Island reaches out into the Atlantic, with, at night, its welcoming lighthouse for the American who returns to his own shores after sojourning in the Old World, or the European who approaches New England.

If others of the New England States have adopted many of the English place names, Massachusetts would seem to be secondary to none in this respect. Its counties are: Berkshire, crowned by the Berkshire Hills, Hampshire, Worcester, with the important city of the same name, Essex, Middlesex—in which is Boston—Norfolk, Plymouth—with the port of the same name where the Pilgrim Fathers landed—Bristol, with the city of Taunton; Barnstable and Hampden, whilst a host of towns and villages perpetuate old country names.

Massachusetts is a part of that slanting upland, an uplifted peneplen of subaerial denudation—to describe it geologically—which includes all the southern part of New England, and the remarkably even sky-line is the characteristic contour of this highland, whilst the remnant-summits or 'Monadnocks' are characteristic features of the landscape. As for the Berkshire country, rolling highland, with long, forested hill ridges, cut by deep valleys, it is one of the most beautiful regions in the United States, and has been called the Lake Region of America, comparable for its scenic beauty with the English Lake Country—a view with which, however, Matthew Arnold did not entirely agree. The richest part of the State agriculturally, is the valley of the Connecticut—the river is navigable for small craft—which is quietly picturesque; but the most beautiful river is the Housatonic, although its waters are used in places for power and factories. Here, too, the Merrimac offers similar beauty and utility, and at the town of Lowell is an invaluable source of motive power. The curious Cape Cod is like a doubled human arm, and ragged, rocky coasts offer delightful scenery and summer resorts. It would, indeed, be impossible to do justice to the State in so brief a sketch.

The climate, however, is often trying, with rapid changes of heat and cold, although the summer is generally delightful. The rocks yield the finest kind of granite for building, also marbles and limestone, and a little gold has been found in Middlesex.

The manufactures of this State are remarkably important, especially in view of the limited natural resources ; the abundant water-power having made up the deficiency. In textiles the State leads, but in some other manufactures, such as boots and shoes, rubber goods, paper and so forth, it has no serious rival, whilst its foundry and machine-shop industry are of the first rank. Many industries here go far back into Colonial times, although the policy of the British Government towards Colonial industries was generally selfishly repressive ; a policy which defeated its own ends, for feeling against the import trade, before the War of Independence, caused Colonial home manufactures considerably to increase. The present variety of manufactured products almost exhausts the mercantile list. Only a small proportion of the great volume of manufactured goods for export is carried in American ships, although in earlier times, shipbuilding was extremely active on its coasts. Nantucket was the centre of the whalers and their trade, which formed one of the most romantic and arduous chapters in the history of American sea-going. A thousand ships were in service in the fisheries. Cod-fish was an important basis of commerce. The English Navigation Acts were evaded, and privateering, piracy and slave-trading vied with the more humdrum shipping occupation, and there was trade with China and India.

Boston was the first port of the Cunard steamships. Before 1840 a ship of 500 tons was deemed a large one, but dimensions increased to reach the mighty clipper of 4,555 tons, which in 'the days of gold' in California, made the passage from Boston around the Horn to San Francisco in seventy-five days, and from San Francisco to Cork in ninety-three days. But the doom of the wooden sailing ship was sounded by the Civil War.

Excepting Rhode Island, Massachusetts is the most densely populated of the States, with an average of about 400 people to the square mile. English, and Canadian-English, make up over a quarter of the foreign-born population. Menial work is done almost entirely by immigrants, including the work of domestic service. The multitude of labour here is in the aliens. A curious feature of rural life is in the many abandoned farms, such as is seen also in New Hampshire. Many hill towns

once thriving are now 'abandoned, desolate and almost inaccessible,' although, as in the Berkshire country, the increase of the wealthy resident and of the summer visitors in part remedies this. But socially and educationally the upland and some other districts have decayed, due to the opening of the West and the drift to the cities, and the demand of the poor for a wider horizon.

The city of Boston would occupy a chapter to itself, if any adequate description were to be entered upon, and, indeed, a whole volume would barely do it justice. As regards its general culture, the fame of Boston has reached far beyond the shores of Massachusetts, and until near the close of the nineteenth century, the city was the undisputed literary centre of America, representing the New England literary school; and it still retains much of its importance in this respect. Its Press speaks with authority: statesmen, writers, artists, orators, reformers, philanthropists, scholars—all are closely associated with Boston. Perhaps the high claim to culture at length brought about some bloodlessness, and even at times has invited a touch of ridicule for too high pretension. Of manufacturing we have already spoken, and Boston is an important centre therefor. The many beautiful or interesting public buildings, the innumerable institutions for public good, learning and science, the Hall, the Avenue, the museums, the squares, the roads, the railways, the subways, the water supply—costing ten years of labour in its excavated reservoir, the largest in the world, high up from the town—the park system, unique in America, and therefore, perhaps, in the world; the theatres, the monuments, the music centres, the industry, the commerce and the shipping—all of these we can do no more but mention by name. There are many hospitals, pauper and penal institutions and asylums, homes, refuges and other philanthropic centres, and missions of every kind, also gymnasiums, baths and all else, and finally the valuable Lowell Institute, endowed for learning and lecturing. So widespread are all these public activities that, if one may venture to say so, it seems remarkable that to so advanced, charitable and intelligent a community it has never yet occurred that what humanity now needs in its many social problems, is prevention rather than cure; that it needs a 'science of humanity.' But the same reflection may be made in regard to London, Oxford, or elsewhere, and is yet too advanced a one for humanity.

Boston became the capital of its State or colony in 1632. A feature of the time—the chief feature, perhaps—was the religious dissension, the Antinomian dissensions, when Baptists

and Quakers persecuted each other, when Quakers were whipped, when witches were hunted and executed—four of these poor folk being sacrificed. At the end of the seventeenth century the first successful printing-press was established ; Puritanism mellowed religious antagonism ; and soon after, the first newspaper in America—the *Boston News Letter*—was published. Bigotry so much decreased that religious principles gave way rather markedly to commercial prosperity and methods, and a critical English traveller, in 1699, exclaimed that, as to the folk, ‘ Money was their God, and Large Possessions the only Heaven they covet ! ’ Society and class distinction grew strong, and another traveller—Neal—in 1720, found Boston tradespeople ‘ as splendid and showy in their persons and homes as those of London.’ Boston became the most important name in the colonies. Then came the separation from England. In 1822 anti-slavery was strong. In the second quarter of the last century the ‘ transcendental movement ’ upheld Boston’s claims to philosophical and theological strength. A great fire in 1872 was followed by great material prosperity, but Boston lays its claims to prominence, and justly, not on such, but on its literary tradition, public and educational works, and, so, to be the chief centre of American culture.

Massachusetts is a very rich State, and Boston a very wealthy city. The long list of its illustrious names in all branches of thought and activity adds other wealth to it : its influence on American life has been vast. The State has more libraries and books than any other State, literary matters which may well bring us to a brief consideration of the famous town of Concord.

Concord, twenty miles from Boston, is a place of pilgrimage for the literary. Hawthorn, Emerson, Thoreau and the Alcotts lie buried at Sleepy Hollow, the beautiful Concord Cemetery. Under the pine trees here Hawthorn had been accustomed to stroll, and his ashes rest under a simple stone, simply inscribed with the name ‘ Hawthorn.’ English children, lovers of *Tanglewood Tales* and *The Wonder Book*, should not forget him. Some biographers ascribe to him, in his literary style, ‘ a grace, a charm, a perfection of language, which no other American writer possessed in the same degree, and which places him among the greatest masters in English prose.’ Hawthorn’s first public recognition came from England. Of himself this wandering boy said early, when prophetically speculating upon his coming life, that ‘ he did not want to be a doctor and live by men’s diseases, nor a minister to live by their sins, nor a lawyer to live by their quarrels,’ and he became an author. He

was of English extraction ; his forbears emigrating from Wiltshire in 1804, and part of his life was passed in England—a life of continual struggle against poverty ; the poverty wrought of the pursuit of literature. The 'Old Manse' here witnessed the writing of Hawthorn's *Mosses from an Old Manse* and Emerson's *Nature*. It was built in 1765 for Emerson's father, a clergyman.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the famous poet and essayist, born in 1803 in Boston, had as his forbears those sturdy and righteous ministers of New England churches who moulded the backbone of American character of the period, and Emerson inherited qualities of strenuous virtue, self-reliance, love of liberty, sincerity and loyalty to ideals ; ideals 'modified by the metamorphic glow of Transcendentalism,' which swept through Boston in the second quarter of last century. What was Transcendentalism ? The busy commercial age of to-day has forgotten. 'A man contains all that is needful to his government within himself. All real good or evil that can befall him must be from himself : there is a correspondence between the human soul and everything that exists in the world. Instead of studying things without, the principle of them may be penetrated into within him. The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint man with himself ; the highest revelation is that God is in every man.' Such are tenets of that intuitional philosophy known as Transcendentalism ; passages from Emerson's shipboard diary on his homeward voyage after exploring Europe. The strongest influences in his earlier development were the philosophies of Coleridge and the mysticism of Swedenborg, the poetry of Wordsworth, and chiefly, Carlyle and his essays ; for between Carlyle and Emerson there was the closest friendship. Emerson did not run off to the extravagances which other Transcendentalists brought about, freakish social reform, long hair for men and short hair for women, Utopian colonies, and so forth, being of too well-balanced a nature. Whilst his principles were democratic, his tastes were aristocratic. But, then, he did not have to pass through the struggles of poverty, as have so many of his calling.

On the slopes of the Concord hills, in 1755, the Revolutionists, who were everywhere rising, shot down the British soldiers and drove them on to Lexington. A granite monument marks the spot where these first British fell, erected where Emerson wrote his ode on the battle, the place where 'the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard around the world,' as he put it.

America owes a debt of gratitude to Concord, for from the

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WEST BOSTON BRIDGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

vine first cultivated here in 1853 came the beginning of the profitable commercial cultivation of the grape, which in some States has reached such great importance.

It would be difficult to exhaust description of the literary achievements of Massachusetts, and if we last think of James Russell Lowell, native of Cambridge in this State, we must recollect that Lowell was also inexhaustible in his resources and versatility. His ancestors, too, were British, at least on his mother's side, she firing his early inspiration from readings of the poetry and romance of Spencer and Scott. Like some other great American writers, Lowell would have nothing of the law, which he at first studied, and he followed letters. The satire of the 'Biglow Papers' brought him a wide fame. He was loaded with degrees—Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge and all else.

In New England flourish the two principal or oldest Universities of America—notwithstanding that the whole Republic is endowed with famous universities, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Cambridge, Massachusetts, is the home of Harvard, the oldest American educational centre, which it is interesting to recollect was of English foundation dating from 1636, with an uninterrupted history from 1640. Upon the College gates is carved an inscription revealing the spirit of its founders, as follows :—

' After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our homes, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient plases for God's worship, and settled the civil Government ; one of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to posterity,' etc.

Harvard to-day is a wealthy institution, with, it is stated, a yearly income of somewhat under two million dollars, and having between five and six thousand students.

Yale University, the third in point of age in the United States, is at New Haven, Connecticut ; and its founders, like those of Harvard, had in mind the establishment of a seat of learning which should be an essential part of a Christian State. Founded much earlier, its name was given it in 1718, from Elihu Yale, a wealthy Boston man who had made a great fortune in India as Governor of Madras for the East India Company, and who gave funds for the building of the University. Yale and Harvard both partook in Colonial times of old traditions and social prestige, but their present dispositions differ : Yale being described as conservative in temperament and Harvard as Radical and progressive.

Whether the ancient customs, privileges and atmosphere of Universities can always combine to flourish in a Republic and a democracy, remains to be seen. In this connexion it is interesting to note that certain American Republics, for example Brazil and Chile, have abolished them, and the doctorate, cap and gown have disappeared from these democracies; the Universities being now designated as professional schools.

The State of Connecticut offers much that is analogous with its sister States of New England, already described; its principal topographical feature being the river and valley of its name; and to treat of it in detail would be largely to repeat the description of those other states, as regards topography. The river Thames, with New London on its banks, is the main feature of the south-eastern portion, and the sea coast is broken by many bays with good harbours, facing towards Long Island.

This State is remarkable for its manufacturing industries. It is not an agricultural State; it was the home of 'Yankee ingenuity' in invention, and was known as the 'Land of Yankee notions,' a term derived from the ingenious domestic utensils and other articles made here by hand and peddled from town to town, 'from bread-toasters to head-rests for church pews.' Patents multiplied enormously. Here the sewing-machine was developed, the Colt revolver made, the Goodyear rubber process invented, the cotton gin thought of, famous clock makers made their clocks, and Waterbury gave its name to watches. Manufacture of all kinds increased enormously; textiles, hardware—and to-day, motor-cars. Centralization of industry overcame more individualistic handicraft. This prominence in manufacture comes from the excellent transport facilities, plentiful water power, easily procured labour from the large cities, and abundant local capital, also to the liberal Joint Stock Act of 1837 permitting the capitalization of small sums. This Act was copied in Great Britain. The world, thus, owes much to the great inventive American genius of Connecticut. At New Haven, the busy capital of the State, the first steamer, the *Fulton*, from New York on Long Island Sound, arrived, in 1815.

The little State of Rhode Island, the smallest in the Union—it is not an island and has an area of but 1,248 square miles—lies between Connecticut and Massachusetts, facing south on the Atlantic. It was an active centre in the War of Independence, and the iron ores from its rocks furnished cannon to fight the British. It is essentially a manufacturing state,

water-power being its main resource. The prohibition of export by England thereto of machinery, or drawings for such, hindered its development before the War of Independence. But in 1790 an industrial company at Providence, the capital, was formed, and Arkwright textile machinery was made, and here the first calico was printed in America. To-day the manufactures of this State are exceedingly varied and important. The colony was founded originally by refugees who went thither from Massachusetts in search of religious and political freedom, and it was one of the first communities in the world to achieve these. Providence is one of the leading centres of manufacture in New England. Newport is a fashionable summer resort, whose name and fame are widely known; its climate is notably equable and mild, and there are many splendid estates of the wealthy who pass the season here, and the harbour is a rendezvous for pleasure and racing yachts. Enormous fortunes were made in early times in what was known as the 'Triangular Trade'—the exchange of rum for slaves in Africa; of the slaves in Barbadoes for sugar and molasses; and the exchange in Newport of sugar and molasses for rum.

Vermont completes the tale of the New England States. The Green Mountain State, it took its name from the ever-green forests of its mountain slopes, trees of white pine—now exhausted—and others such as we have seen in New Hampshire, on whose western border the State lies, its northern boundary being with Canada. The topography partakes in much of that of New Hampshire, and there are clear, swift and sparkling rivers, gorges, falls and rapids, whilst on the west is the Great Lake Champlain, the home of the sturgeon, and the natural highway into Canada. These waters and rivers afford the best fishing in the country, and like its neighbour, Vermont is a land of pleasure resorts. There are many French place names to be seen in Vermont. The earliest explorer was the Frenchman Champlain, that adventurous voyager to Mexico and the West Indies in 1599, first French Governor of Canada. On the Great Lake Champlain the first battle between an English and an American fleet was fought, in the War of Independence. In the War of 1812 there was great shipbuilding activity on the Lake, by both sides, but the English lost in the subsequent operations.

The Vermont grasses form splendid pasture, and intensive dairy-farming has replaced the growing of cereals and furnishes wealth in place of the bygone timber industry; and there are the customary textile manufactures with the regional resource

of water-power. The capital of the State is Montpelier, called after the city of that name in France.

We leave New England with regret for the somewhat fragmentary survey of it we have made, but time and space prohibit greater detail of this region, to which America owes so much, and which contains so broad a field of interest for the English traveller.

Next to New England we enter the Eastern Central region—the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; bordered on the north-west by the Great Lakes Ontario and Erie, and cut by the Appalachian Mountain system, with the Catskills and the curious orographic system of the Adirondacks—the oldest geological part of the United States.

The Blue Ridge runs from New Hampshire to Northern Alabama, a thousand miles. The river valleys are fertile, the climate of the heights is very cold in winter, the lowlands mild and productive of much fruit and food. The primæval forests of pine, fir and hemlock of the once noble Appalachian woods have largely disappeared under the exigencies of settlement and commerce: the coal, petroleum and iron, the natural gas and other resources of Pennsylvania have produced vast wealth, and here are some of the most important national industries.

The outlet to the sea for this region is New York, the only first-class harbour it possesses, for the mouth of the Hudson is the last of the rock-ports of America towards the south, below which the sandy coast offers but second-class havens. Many folk peopled this part of America; the Dutch of New Amsterdam, now New York; Swedes in Delaware; Germans in Pennsylvania, and the English of Penn, and some Huguenots. Here indeed of last century entered a vast part of that enormous mass of immigrants from Central Europe which the United States strives to assimilate.

We shall not easily grasp the geography of New York and its environs without a glance at the map and more study than we can here enter upon. Geologically, we are within an area that, submerged to form a branching bay, Nature had prepared for man and his activities; navigable channels—the Hudson is an inlet rather than a river; a vast available water front, and the islands, Manhattan, Staten and Long Island, where this active and enormous population of New York and its suburbs has clustered. New York covers the great part of Manhattan Island. Here man could settle upon the very sea and have harbour for his ships, and here he could fortify his

community under great natural advantages. However, he had to exercise his ingenuity to make open harbour for big ships, for the sands swept by the sea along the coast obstructed the entrance, and have to be kept away by constant dredging. North River and East River, the mouth of the Hudson, are crossed from New York by bridges, tunnels and ferries which give access to Jersey City, Hoboken, Brooklyn, and other localities, and northwards from the Battery, the terminating point of Manhattan Island, the eagle beak, as it were, of New York (as seen on the map), the railways take their way, and the chequer-board pattern of the city begins to take form, in very marked symmetry.

The over-regularity of the streets, often a monotonous feature of American cities, is somewhat broken in New York by the great thoroughfare of Broadway, which crosses the streets and 'blocks' diagonally, whilst, nearer the Battery, the more winding system of the streets is due to the irregular water front and the ancient part of the city, with much of Dutch nomenclature of what was originally New Amsterdam.

We may not here enter very closely into the history of New York. The Englishman, Henry Hudson, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, seeking for that 'North-West Passage' which was one of the geographical obsessions of the time, entered New York Bay (first seen by Verrazano, the Italian, in 1524) in 1629, and ascended it for 150 miles, but found that it did not lead to China, Cathay or the South Seas, as he had hoped. Returning to Europe in his ship the *Half Moon*, he was arrested by the English at Dartmouth and bidden to serve his own country—his fate ultimately being to perish and find an unknown grave in the cold waters or on the desolate shores of Hudson's Bay, in the frigid North. We may remark—and the fact is no doubt of interest to the great American profession of 'Real Estate' Dealers—that in 1626, Peter Minuit, the Director-General of the province of New Netherland, bought the entire Island of Manhattan (from the Indians, the Iroquois) for the sum of sixty guilders, paid in goods, equal to about twenty-four dollars of American money, and began the erection of the settlement as a Transatlantic shipping station and seat of Government, with thirty bark-covered dwellings. Thus arose the nucleus of the great New York of to-day, from bark to steel and stone.

Growing in importance, New Amsterdam fell to England—it was in accordance with the destiny of many such places to fall to England—in 1604, when under the Duke of York an English fleet appeared in the bay, and being defenceless

the place fell, defenceless through internecine troubles and Stuyvesant's arbitrary rule, and became New York. But the Dutch had their revenge, for a Dutch fleet arrived in 1673 and surprised and captured New York, and again called it New Amsterdam; but, under the Treaty of Westminster in the same year, England again took possession. Before the close of the seventeenth century it had become a favourite haunt of pirates; leading merchants of the place assisting to fit out the buccaneers and sharing in the rich booty brought in by their ships, matters in which even Governors and public officials were implicated; and so were sown the seeds of the strenuous commerce of to-day. In the first year of the eighteenth century the famous—or infamous—William Kidd was sent forth, by the Governor, Earl of Bellemont, with a frigate, to capture pirates. But Kidd turned pirate himself. Then, in 1725, negro slavery began, and there are dreadful stories of the past here, of insurrections, burnings, massacres of white and black, and so forth.

In 1765 came the Stamp Act, and the scenes enacted by the 'Sons of Liberty'—a mob mainly of impoverished folk—on the arrival of the vessels with the stamps, the erection of 'Liberty Poles,' the cutting down of the same by the soldiers, the destroying of tea-chests—which latter arrived four months after the advent of the more famous Boston chests.

At the outbreak of the American Civil War, the Mayor and Common Council of New York proposed secession and the constitution of a 'Free City' of Manhattan, Long, and Staten Islands, but this fell through. There were, however, bloody riotings, burnings and hangings of negroes. The police were overcome, and hundreds of the lower element were shot down by the soldiers. The population was, in large part, of very low calibre, low-caste immigrants and native born. Long afterwards, the Tammany element which lifted its corrupt head to plunder New York City showed how this element perpetuated itself. Probably the reputation for brutality and corruption which the New York Police has earned is a natural reflex of these elements, as are the excessive statistics of criminality—shocking in comparison with London.

We can scarcely compare New York and London. The one is restricted to a narrow island, and perforce seeks extension upwards, hence the development of the 'sky-scraper'—a structure which is not without beauty; the other had the whole Thames Valley and adjacent heights for its growth. The one is mainly a modern growth; the other is founded on the blood and tears of the ages. New York reveals itself



THE WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

at a blow ; London is a volume that must be searched. In London, the temples to God and to Mammon are both served with some equality : in New York the towers of Mammon overtop the temples of faith, dwarfing them into insignificance. In London the liberties of mankind have struggled through the ages, and have gone forth over the world ; in New York Liberty gave herself a local habitation and a name, and we know not what of its accomplishments are upon the lap of the future. What we mean by this must be explained as we study the drift of American life and ideals.

It would not be possible to describe in much detail here the life and institutions of New York. The city displays immense wealth and activity ; also, in certain quarters, great poverty. In comparison with other great cities of the world we experience a certain feeling of restriction, and this is due, naturally, both to its comparatively modern age and to its geographical situation. Yet New York is the second largest city in the world, coming next to London, for of recent times it has reached out to enclose its suburbs, under the system of Greater New York. Moreover, what the Englishman might regard as restriction the New Yorker would doubtless call compactness.

Broadway, the great thoroughfare, unfortunately rather narrow, with its extraordinary stream of traffic on foot and vehicular, runs from Bowling Green, near the Battery, in a straight line for two-and-a-half miles north to 10th Street, when its diagonal course turns north-west, running for more than two-and-a-half miles to 58th Street, the corner of Central Park, and thence under other names onward to beyond 162nd Street, thus roughly intersecting longitudinally the Island of Manhattan. The cross streets are thus baptized with numbers, whilst those running in the converse direction, at right angles, are designated as avenues—First, Second, Third, etc., up to Twelfth Avenue, with, however, certain other names in addition.

The business quarter of the city, the lower end of the Island, is familiarly known as 'Down Town,' as contrasted with 'Up Town,' the upper part. The streets are further described as 'West' or 'East' according to their position in respect of their particular side of the Island. The western side is the better, the eastern side the poorer district. Both regions are teeming dwelling places in the Up Town portion ; rows upon rows of houses, apartment houses, flats and tenements. On the east side, a little above the approaches to Brooklyn Bridge, is one of the most crowded tenement districts in the

world ; an idea of whose monotony and squalor the Londoner may gather in some of his own streets. These rows of tenements strike on the mind of the sensitive traveller with something of dread, repellent weight. There is something hopeless about the aspect of this crowded humanity in its rectangular, labelled spaces, more so even than in the dreadful squalor of London slums, which at least have a more individualistic atmosphere. However, there are better types of more modern tenements in places. The Bowery, which has been a synonym for a certain picturesque criminal of vagrant element, is largely given over to Yiddish tenements.

The financial interests of the city centre mainly about the famous Wall Street, a little thoroughfare above the Battery, running east from Trinity Church, which temple is curiously dwarfed by the great 'skyscrapers' which cluster in this the Down Town district, enormous hives of offices. Some of these marvellous structures of steel and stone are over six hundred feet high, their foundations of steel piers going down nearly a hundred feet below the level of the pavement. Of such a nature, for example, is the colossal Singer's Sewing Machine Building.

The principal shopping districts are along Broadway from 17th Street to 34th Street, and on Sixth Avenue from 14th Street to 34th Street, etc. On Fifth Avenue—whose name has been synonymous with the wealth of the millionaire—are many fine residences, as also on the upper West Side, and Riverside Drive ; and indeed, the gulf between West and East, in the demarcation of Wealth and Poverty, is perhaps more striking here than in any city of the world. How far is America from any equality of mankind we realize here.

The parks of New York are in some cases remarkable for their size and beauty. Central Park is 840 acres in extent, and two-and-a-half miles long, half-wooded, with many native and exotic trees, and on Sundays in seasonable weather a vast concourse of people promenade its shady walks, or enjoy the music of the band. The numerous churches, temples and synagogues of the city shelter sects and denominations of every kind, of people of every race and creed. Some are structures of considerable beauty. Trinity Church, Protestant Episcopal, is enormously wealthy. As to the clubs of New York, they are more important elements in social life than in London, and their housing and appointments are often magnificent. The theatres, monuments, museums, homes of learned societies and of literature, art, science, music, education, charity, the Press and all else, together with the hotels, are, in general, of a style corresponding to the importance of the wonderful

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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NEW YORK BY NIGHT.
From a Photograph by Vander Weyde.

metropolis. Some of the palatial homes of the New York Press contrast strangely with the shabby little thoroughfare of Fleet Street, which houses the Press of England. The elevated railway—a typical New York means of transport which, fortunately, London has escaped—and the numerous electric street cars and various tube railways afford means of ‘rapid transit,’ as Americans term urban communication, about the wide extent of the city and suburbs. The lack of railway lines to the docks and steamer piers in New York is, however, a marked disadvantage, and the great termini are far less accessible than those of London.

New York is the most important centre in the New World for such businesses as the wholesale grocery trade and dry-goods. Also, it contains the great ‘Exchanges’—Stock, Cotton, Produce, etc., and the richest and most powerful moneyed interests, banks, trust companies, and so forth. Immigrant labour, this being the great port of entry, facilitates certain local manufacture, especially in clothing, whose value and output is enormous. Imports correspond with the great dock and shipping facilities ; both sides of the island forming continuous tiers of wharves in the sheltered haven of the rivers.

Of the cosmopolitan character of New York we have spoken elsewhere. There are more Germans in New York than in any German city except Berlin ; there are more Irish than in Dublin ; whilst the colonies of Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Russians, Armenians, Arabs and others are established in special quarters. There are vast numbers of Jews, and Jewish names are seen on every hand. Negroes are not particularly numerous. There are over thirty thousand English in the city, but this, of course, is a small contingent in comparison with other foreigners.

The State of New York has won for itself the name of the ‘Empire State’ and is the first in population and in wealth, although in area one of the smaller. It is a vast highway of commerce between the central part of the Republic and the Atlantic, and we may grasp the importance of the topography which is the cause of this by remarking the highway formed by the Mohawk River and Valley, cutting eastwards across the country from near Lake Ontario and falling into the Hudson River, and so to the sea. Along this natural gap across the Appalachian system, railway, road and water transport—the river and the Erie Canal—perform a large carrying trade. The traveller who passes up the Hudson and along the Mohawk Valley bursts suddenly through this natural gateway in the mountains, and before him lies a vast, flatter country extending

to the Great Lakes. This was a gateway to the west for early folk, and here was the place for a canal, later to turn the stream of traffic from the lakes to the Hudson, and this, the at first derided 'big ditch,' has proved a wonderful success.

On either hand of this passage rise the mountains: the Adirondacks to the north, a rugged, sparsely settled and thinly cultivated region, but of much natural beauty, full of lumbering and fishing resources, game, and a delightful summer resort; and to the south the famous Catskill mountains. Along the natural route from Buffalo on the Great Lakes to New York City, some four hundred miles, there is a chain of busy manufacturing centres using the raw materials of coal and iron brought in from the Lake region, added to those of the State itself.

New York State tapers down to the sea, with its outlet of New York harbour, as we have seen elsewhere—the natural and only outlet, and its ocean coast-line is short. On the other hand, the lake coast-line, with excellent harbours, and that of the St. Lawrence River, is a long one.

Such, then, is the natural economic-topographical scheme of the Empire State.

The Hudson River—it is in reality a fiord—has many points of interest. There are the famous Palisades—a columnar rock structure, and the generally remarkable scenery. In the highlands of the State there are thousands of lakes, and on the eastern border the beautiful Lake Champlain, which Vermont shares; also the lovely Lake George. A score of railway folders in our hotel offices will urge us to take our holidays in the Uplands with tent, boat, canoe, gun and fishing-rod, or in more commodious hostelry; dangling before us the charms of this or that resort, in language that has nothing of official coldness. Scores of picturesque glens allure us, a multitude of falls and rapids, where tributary streams, emerging from mysterious woods and remote islands, such as Fennimore Cooper might have described, tumble down the sides of lake valley where—if we are geologically interested—may be examined the action of that long past glacial erosion, which has thus varyingly carved out the face of the land, to gladden with its diverse beauty the heart of man and woman, escaping from the jaded atmosphere and turmoil of the dollar-getting cities and factories. Here, as you wish, you may go back to Nature and live the life of a Red Indian. Finally, there is Niagara Falls, which lies—as far as the United States is concerned, for Canada shares the great cascade—in this territory, forming, as every schoolboy knows, the lip whence Erie discharges into Ontario.

! In this varied land we find many of our English trees and wild flowers, as indeed we have done in New England—oak, beech, ash, elm, larch, elder, hazel, cherry, plum, walnut, blackberry, tansey, burdock, plantain, cowslip, violet, anemones, buttercups, golden rod and many ferns ; together with many species which are strange to the foreigner. This was all a woodland region when first the European came, but the best commercial timber trees have gone, the white pine and others, but the timber industry is still important. Maple sugar—and we ought to have given Vermont, too, its due in this—is largely produced. We shall hear or see in these beautiful American woodlands the robin, thrush, warblers, wrens, orioles, blue-bird, chicadee and others, and occasionally the bald eagle—emblem of the country we are in, and the golden eagle will be seen in its particular haunts, and we may fill our bag with ducks and geese in wide variety, also quail, grouse and woodcock. A few of the fur and game animals of the primaeval forest remain now, but the puma or panther is not extinct ; there are deer too, whilst the moose, the elk and the beaver are under official protection, lest they die out.

The climate is one of extremes, from the great heat of summer to the bitter cold of winter, but healthful and stimulating.

The people of this State are naturally congregated on the great routes and industrial centres, but all agricultural industries flourish. More vegetables are grown than in any other State, and fruit comes second only to California. Tobacco has long been cultivated. Iron ores are produced from the mines, and the fisheries are very important. As elsewhere in the East, there are numbers of abandoned farms ; thousands have been deserted and lie along the upland roads.

A population of five millions in 1880 in this State has more than doubled, with perhaps two hundred thousand English folk among them, and more than twice the number of Irish, together with solid quantities of every European nation, and some Orientals. The Indians dwell on their reservations, of which there are eight. Less than two per cent. of the population are negroes, or rather ' coloured folk ' as they are more amenablely designated. The rural population—as is the case almost everywhere in the United States—tends to decrease, and the urban to increase. Even in the wider spaces of America man leaves the farm for the factory, the land for the office, and the tide does not yet turn, but rather accompanies the depletion of natural resources. Also, bureaucracy grows and grows ; commissions, officials and delegates control their fellow folk on all hands, and the end is not yet—matters which pertain to the

whole Republic and are not foreign to England and other lands !

All roads—at least all railroads—lead to New York, it may be said, in this part of the North American continent, and all those which approach the city from the south and west come perforce through the neighbouring State of New Jersey ; which State is bathed on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, with the Hudson River, and washed on the West by the Delaware River, which has cut its way through the Appalachians in a stupendous gap. Thus the enormous railway traffic which thunders day and night from this the front door of America, passes over New Jersey, upon whose side of the Hudson, in Hoboken and Jersey City, are situated the great terminal railway stations, such stations as exist only in America, with their palatial architecture and extraordinary movement ; and from these passengers and freight are ferried across to New York or carried by the sub-river tunnels.

Like its neighbour, New Jersey is an important manufacturing State. A special industry is in the smelting and refining of copper ores brought from other States. A further speciality is that of market gardening for the supply of the large cities adjacent. New Jersey had a further speciality—as being the nominal headquarters of innumerable Joint Stock Companies, due to the ease or laxity of its laws concerning the formation of such, a condition which a few years ago was regarded as almost a national scandal.

Across the estuary of the Delaware River is the little State of Delaware, rivalling New Jersey in being the smallest in the Republic, and flat and low in general, washed by the Atlantic, it offers topographical conditions very different from those of its neighbours to the north. It is pre-eminently an agricultural State and produces fruit and vegetables for the large cities within its reach, and Sussex County is famed for its strawberries. However, there are sterner industries, in iron and steel and other manufactures, of which the capital, Wilmington, is the principal centre, some twenty-five miles below Philadelphia on the river ; Lewes is the principal port, in Sussex County. The forests of the State have been depleted, but the fisheries are valuable.

We remark the Sussex origin of Delaware, and this is derived from the barony of Roger de la Warr, or ' Delaware,' of Ishfield, Sussex, in the Old Country. In 1577, the Baron de la Warr, interested in American colonization, was a member of the Council of the Virginia Company, and later was Captain-General of Virginia ; and his rule was strict but just. His name is perpetuated in Delaware State and River.



THE DELAWARE WATER GAP.

CHAPTER V

The States : Pennsylvania Southwards

PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, WASHINGTON—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, VIRGINIA, WEST VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA

SOMEWHAT less than a hundred miles from New York, travelling over perhaps the finest railways in the world—the New York Central Railroad, whose swift and ponderous trains cover the thousand miles between New York and Chicago in a day—we reach Philadelphia. We are still but a hundred miles from the Atlantic, and could, if we wish, reach the city in a European steamer, for the Delaware River is rendered navigable by dredging, and its sea-borne commerce is inferior only to that of two or three American seaports.

Here in Pennsylvania the mind of the Englishman—and doubtless of many a travelled American—will take a momentary flight across the Atlantic to that sequestered little burial ground of 'Jordans,' in the pretty Chalfont country of leafy Buckinghamshire, where Penn has lain these two hundred years.¹

In the Charter granted to William Penn, signed by Charles II, Penn was to lay out 'a quantity of land or ground plat for a large city or town in the most convenient place upon the river for health and navigation.' The city of Philadelphia was thus laid out—though we do not know exactly where Penn entered it first. It became the most important city, commercially, politically and socially, in the Colonies. Quaker influence was strong up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. To-day it is the third city in point of population, and its wealth, learning, public institutions and all else render it famous.

The oldest and most famous academy of science in America,

¹ It is now shown that the ancient barn, forming part of the Friends' Meeting House of Jordans, is made from the timber of the *Mayflower*.

the American Philosophical Society, was instituted by Franklin here, as the consequence of a pamphlet entitled 'A proposal for promoting useful knowledge among the British Plantations in America,' in 1743.

An enormous building, one of the largest in the world, the City Hall, dominates Philadelphia, occupying $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground, rising 548 feet to the summit of a colossal bronze statue that crowns its tower. This is the statue of William Penn, looking out over the city he planned. Other great buildings surround this, such as the Masonic Temple, the stately Betz Building, the enormous depôt or station of the Pennsylvania Railway, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Oddfellows Temple, the Post Office, Mint, etc., and the Custom House, modelled after the Parthenon; various handsome churches, and other buildings too numerous to describe. The steel-framed 'skyscrapers' have multiplied of late years in Philadelphia.

Perhaps the most famous American historical monument is Independence Hall, and here Washington was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the Declaration of Independence was adopted—July 4th, 1776. On its walls are portraits of forty-five out of the fifty-six signers of this historical document; and at the head of the stairway is the famous Liberty Bell—cast in England, and re-cast in Philadelphia, with the inscription:

'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.'

On an adjacent street stands the house where the first United States Flag was made.

The streets of Philadelphia, running the one way, are designated by numbers, and the other way by the names of trees and the governors and counties of the State. Walnut and Chestnut Streets are prominent thoroughfares among these. There are many fine residences and beautiful villas, which attest the wealth and taste of the folk; and there are many congested and miserable tenements, where the poor Hebrews, Italians, negroes and others have their abode. The observer will also remark the numerous rows, street upon street, of distinctive red-brick dwellings with white marble steps and white or green shutters.

Of the parks, theatres, clubs, museums, houses of learned societies, libraries, schools, manufactories, and so forth, it would be impossible to speak in detail. They attest the great range of civic and intellectual activity of the city and its commercial enterprise. The numerous newspapers and maga-

zines published here are evidence of the decentralization of the Press, as contrasted with England, where nearly all publications are from London.

It is not to be supposed, however, that life in Philadelphia is always of an over-serious or too contemplative nature. The great wealth that has been created, the many millionaires of American Society, find outlet at times in curious ways. Rivalry between the wealthy or 'Society ladies' for predominance, or in the magnificence of their fêtes and entertainments, have often run to extremes. The freak entertainments of the plutocrat have often furnished matter for the lurid writings of the American Press, as have the scandals of private life, in marital and other matters, and it is seen that the earlier influences of the place have largely faded as concerns such circles. These things are not, of course, peculiar to Philadelphia, for the plutocrat element of all American cities has its frivolous outbursts, but such stand out, perhaps, in more marked contrast in the one-time Quaker city. The parade of riches made by this wealthy class is, apart from anything else, portentous, for the working or lower class takes full note of it, and will use it for its own purposes ; and there is little doubt that class-hatred or jealousy is being stimulated thereby : a growth of which has yet to reach a perhaps dreadful culmination in America, as elsewhere.

Looking at the map, or traversing the State, the traveller remarks the great, rugged belt of the mountains that cross it, the Appalachian and Alleghany plateau. Geology has endowed Pennsylvania with enormous mineral resources, and its wealth of coal, iron and petroleum has become proverbial. In its borders is contained practically all the important deposits of anthracite in the Republic, but this great source of wealth was almost unknown before the nineteenth century began. It also possesses the thickest bituminous coal seams. As for the beginnings of petroleum, the use of this oil was first made known to the white man by the Indians ; but not until the middle of the last century was its value for lighting known, and the first oil well was sunk in 1859. Yet to-day we speak of possible exhaustion !

But let us cast a glance at Pittsburg, that wonderful hive of industry in the manipulation of iron and steel. It is situated on the western border of the State, or where the Alleghany, Monongahela and Ohio Rivers meet, midway between New York and Chicago, in the midst of the most productive coalfields in the Republic, rich in petroleum and natural gas, the centre of a vast network of railways.

A strategic point, the site of this city owed its origin to the struggle between English and French for mastery of the Continent. In 1731, a few Frenchmen had settled, but were driven away by the Indians, and George Washington's first public service was his mission here—he was sent by the Government of Virginia to inquire of the French what this invasion of English territory meant, and conflicts followed, in which the English triumphed. Under Penn's survey it was the 'Manor of Pittsburg.' Picturesque rolling plateaux, high hills and bluffs, rise from the three rivers, but to-day the factories, which extend for miles along the banks of these waterways, have earned for Pittsburg the name of 'The Smoky City.' From the vast wealth extracted by the famous iron founders some valuable public institutions have been built and endowed. Here the famous Andrew Carnegie, among others, built up his enormous fortune, which, in later years, he strove in part to disperse in good works—possibly having in view its somewhat questionable foundations, and with a touch of the repentant motive of the 'robber baron' of old, who, to compound with Heaven, built churches in the neighbourhood of his predatory stronghold! Carnegie, however, built up libraries.

Andrew Carnegie, a remarkable personality, was born in 1837, in humble circumstances in Scotland, but his Chartist father emigrated to America, and the lad started as a bobbin-boy in a cotton factory at a small wage. By his ability, and later his capacity for profiting by the services of the workers, he rose, until, retiring from business in 1901, he sold out his numerous interests at a figure equivalent to a capital of £100,000,000, and took up his residence at Skibo Castle, in the land of his birth. Oil, Pullman cars, steel, railways and mines—these were among the principal sources of his fortune. He was a great benefactor in many respects. In his later ideas he was dominated by an intense belief in the future and the influence of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, especially in respect of democracy. He gave £10,000,000 for the 'Carnegie Libraries.' But whether his memory is more greatly revered or execrated it is difficult to say, for, in common with other 'Captains of Industry,' the systems by which he was enriched must have caused, along with its benefits, untold—for it never can be told—misery to human life, in the exploitation particularly of the iron and steel workers, which in Pittsburg and elsewhere in the United States has been, at times, almost cold-bloodedly sacrificial and extortionate, especially among the hordes of poor, low-caste immigrant workers from Central Europe, who made up so much of labour in the foundries. However, their

wages exceeded the pay of their own fatherland, even if their joys were less.

The city of Pittsburg has some fine public buildings and churches, and its manufactures and shipping are elements of great value.

Of the agriculture, the flora, the scenery of Pennsylvania, we need not speak much, as we should but duplicate in many respects our observations of the region already traversed in this north-eastern part of the Republic, where mountain, forest and fruitful valley alternate.

We ought not to venture further across the Alleghanies, or more nearly approach the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers until we have traversed the other States on the Atlantic slope, and the Southern States ; nor could there be any excuse, in such a survey, for deferring to pay our respects to Washington ; and so our way shall now lie into the Virginias, Maryland, the Carolinas, and the lands of the Gulf of Mexico.

Maryland is not a very easy State to find on a map of the United States. It hangs down like a fringe of territory from the straight boundary line drawn across the bottom of Pennsylvania, for nearly 200 miles, and on the east is blocked out from the Atlantic, except for about forty miles of coast, by another straight line, the frontier of Delaware. How addicted the delineators of these States were to lay a ruler across the map is evident here in the East, though less so than in the vast chequer-board pattern of the West. However, this was the famous 'Mason and Dixie' line, afterwards the division between freedom and slavery : North and South.

But the shape and relatively small area are no criteria of the importance and interest of 'Maryland, my Maryland !' as a native ditty terms it. Geographically, the State enjoys the great Chesapeake Bay and one bank of the Potomac River, and history is written on its face, in its place names—Queen Anne's, George, Charles, and so forth ; in its country nomenclature, perpetuating the names of bygone English monarchs, who trafficked with or oppressed it in the past ; and Dorchester, Somerset, Howard, Montgomery, Talbot, Cecil, Worcester, Carroll and other counties. Its history began in 1632, when Charles I granted a Charter to the first Lord Baltimore, giving him absolute territorial and governmental rights, and the title of Absolute Lord and Proprietor. But before the Great Seal was affixed his lordship died, the possessions going to his son Cecilius. The *Ark* and the *Dove*, two vessels with 200 colonists, sailed for this promised land, and friendly

relations were established with the Indians. Could they do less, arriving in craft under such designations ?

The Mason and Dixie Line was established by two English astronomers, owing to the encroachments of Penn southwards, giving rise to a dispute between the Penns and the Baltimores as to the fortieth degree of North latitude, which was to define it. Part of the line was marked with milestones brought from England, bearing the arms of the respective proprietors on either side. As a slave State line it dates from 1819. It was at Baltimore, in the War of 1812 with England, whose forces successfully attacked Baltimore by land and sea, that the 'Star-Spangled Banner' was composed by the American, Francis Scott Key, who had been detained on board a British vessel.

Great diversity of topography and scenery marks this State, from the Alleghany Mountains in the west to the Atlantic coastal plain ; from the serrated crests of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the broadly-rolling surface beneath ; and the climate varies correspondingly. In its region the grape grows wild : the soils bring forth very varied crops ; and there are many minerals—mainly high-grade coal and building stone.

Baltimore, the capital and seaport in the heart of Maryland, has direct steamer communication with Europe, the West Indies, and South America. There are some famous monuments in the city, and many fine institutions and public buildings. In the old town still remain eighteenth-century post-houses, where travellers took their way for the Middle West along the old Cumberland Road. To-day the great trunk railways which cover the country straight from Philadelphia, a hundred miles to the north-east, carry us on forty miles to Washington, the capital of the United States, standing in the Federal District of Columbia, a small parallelogram of territory on the Potomac, carved out of Maryland.

The city of Washington strikes upon the traveller with perhaps an air of fabricated symmetry, as is but natural in a capital city built for its purposes, rather than a growth of ages ; but spacious, majestic, splendidly proportioned. The Capitol is situated on the summit of a hill, a hundred feet above the river, a dignified landscape surrounding it. We stand before a central building of Virginia sandstone, painted white, with two wings of white Massachusetts marble, stretching for 750 feet, and in parts 325 feet wide. Its iron dome rises to a height of 268 feet, crowned by a Statue of Liberty 20 feet high, and, on the eastern side, a richly-sculptured portico with Corinthian columns leads to the rotunda under the dome, with

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THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

other Corinthian porticoes to the Senate Chamber and Hall of Representatives respectively. Eight historical paintings decorate the rotunda—'The Landing of Columbus,' 'De Soto Discovering the Mississippi,' 'The Baptism of Pocahontas,' 'Embarkation of the Pilgrims from Delft-Haven,' 'Signing the Declaration of Independence,' 'Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga,' 'Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown,' and 'Washington Resigning his Commission at Annapolis.' In the Hall of Statuary each State of the Union has the right to erect statues to 'two of her chosen sons.' The Capitol was built in 1793-1827; its architect was William Thornton, and the wings and dome were added in 1865. Connected by an esplanade is the 'White House' or Executive Mansion, the national home of the President, simple but dignified, of Virginia freestone. It was painted white to hide the marks of the fire in 1814, when the British, capturing the city, left nothing but the walls standing. Other buildings, massive or ornate, governmental or national, stand hard by, with libraries, institutions, Art galleries; whilst the monuments—among them that of Washington, erected at a cost of one-and-a-half million dollars—are many and important. To enumerate all the learned and other institutions here would occupy several pages.

The plan of the city, a masterpiece in landscape architecture, was drawn up under the supervision of Washington himself and Thomas Jefferson, and its streets, parks and squares are very noteworthy. The site was ceded by the State of Maryland; the position on the Potomac being favoured by Washington between the Eastern Branch and the Conococheague¹ River—a tributary. When the Government removed here, in 1800, the place was described as 'a backwoods settlement in the wilderness'; also, 'Wilderness City,' 'Capital of Miserable Huts,' 'City of Streets without Houses' and other uncomplimentary terms, and disgusted Senators frequently offered resolutions for the removal of the capital elsewhere. It was burned by the British—surely the historian should blush to record it—as was the White House, in the War of 1814. However, national lethargy vanished in the Civil War, when the Confederates swore they would occupy it, and later the problem of beautifying it was solved.

To compare the American and the British capitals and centres of government, Washington and Westminster, would be

¹ Whence the name?—doubtless Indian. In the Andes of Peru I found a locality named Conococha: *cocha* = lake in the native tongue there, and *agua* is Spanish for water.

unprofitable. London is the work of nature as well as man, the result of circumstance and history, part of the very soul of the folk of the islands. Of Washington it might not be unkind to say that, in a sense, it seems somewhat to stand aloof from the Republic and the folk it governs, a condition which doubtless it will lose when more centuries have elapsed, and when the truer phase of human life and government shall have come to being. This of course is a philosophy few could grasp, but a future culture will comprehend it. But it may be said for Washington that as a capital it has not that growth of 'civilization,' the labyrinth of dreadful streets and slums of Westminster, where, under the very shadow of the world's greatest administrative buildings, the 'Mother of Parliaments,' Westminster Abbey and so forth, the most miserable of people dwell.

The Potomac River at Washington is, like the Thames, navigable from the sea, and the tide ascends sixty miles above the Metropolis. Below the city, a few miles, the river broadens to its tidal estuary, two-and-a-half miles wide. Fifty miles or more above, at Harper's Ferry, where the waters of the Shenandoah enter, the river cuts through the Blue Mountains, a gorge whose beautiful scenery enchants the eye.

At this point we are in West Virginia; but the Atlantic State of Virginia first claims our attention. Why are there two Virginias? The Constitution of the United States forbids a State to divide itself, and these two were one originally. But Western Virginia lay beyond the mountains, the almost impassable Alleghany wall. Western Virginia had not been explored until long after the seaboard Virginia had been settled. It was a favourite Indian haunt before the Paleface came, and there are to-day many mounds of the prehistoric folk there, such as exist also in Ohio; and when settlers did arrive social conditions were entirely different from those of the eastern part of the State. The rugged nature of the country made slavery impossible, with all that that condition meant to social life. During the War of Independence there was already a movement for separation into two States; and later, grievances arose between the two parts, resulting, in 1861, in the formation of two Governments, one owing allegiance to the United States, the other to the Confederacy. In 1862, President Lincoln admitted the seceding State on the condition of abolition of slavery.

Virginia is of much interest historically to Englishmen, for it was the first permanent English settlement in North America.



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

Sir Walter Raleigh and others had attempted, from 1583 to 1588, to colonize the coast of what is now North Carolina, and this resulted in the naming of the country in honour of England's virgin Queen, Elizabeth. The early adventurers brought back glowing accounts of this promised land, and much interesting history follows on these matters, of colonization, of quarrels between eminent Englishmen, Governors, lords, commons, colonists; of Indian attacks, famines, and so forth. Virginia was neither Cavalier nor Roundhead, but a privileged class grew up, and the increasing mass of the white people were poor, although not 'poor whites' in the accepted sense; and they developed a deep hostility to the oligarchy, desiring free access to the land, protection against the Indians, who attacked the farmers whilst the governors looked on, and the right to choose and assemble their representatives. There was civil war, and Charles called the governors home; but even under William and Mary the fortunes of the colony were little bettered. However, tobacco-growing—the single vocation almost—enriched the planters, who could thus send their sons and daughters to England for their education, and negro slavery grew so rapidly that black soon outnumbered white on this virgin American soil. Along the banks of the sluggish river great, handsome homes multiplied, with retinues of slaves, but the distance between the planters on the one hand and the mass of colonists on the other was as great as that between noble and yeoman in Europe, with a further gulf between these and the negro.

But now—the middle of the eighteenth century—the 'West' first appears. Folk of all denominations came into Virginia, and the old order fell away. Then came the Revolution, which Virginia supported with zeal against England; then the Civil War, of which Virginia was the battle-ground, with great engagements on its soil, terminating in the surrender of the Confederate Army under Lee at Appomatox in April, 1865. Lastly, was the War of 1812 against England, which the State uniformly endorsed. Virginia, despite its interest, is a land of—

'Old, unhappy, far-off things,
Of battles long ago.'

in which, however, it approximates closely to its Motherland.

In Virginia we see typified very markedly the physiographical formation of Eastern America—the coastal plain with the 'drowned valleys' or branching bays affording harbours, such as the Potomac Mouth, Chesapeake Bay, Rappahannock and other rivers, after the manner of the Hudson at New York: then, inland, the 'fall-line' and Piedmont foothills; then the

parallel ridges and valleys of the Alleghanies—folded beds of limestones, sandstones and shales, with rivers running between them in curious north-east parallelism, and the great Potomac cutting across the ridges. The mountains rise to over 5,700 feet here and there. In the south-east is a vast area of swamp, including—

‘ The Dismal Swamp,
Where all night long by firefly lamp
He paddles his birch canoe ! ’

The great ‘ Dismal Swamp,’ of Cypress, covers 700 square miles. The coastal plains are covered with pine, merging into the hardwoods of the foothills.

There is a host of interesting and beautiful trees, shrubs and wild flowers and fruits here, many familiar to the English traveller. The climate is generally free from extremes ; we are here in the latitude of Madeira, Algeria and Palestine ; but in the hills there are killing frosts from October to the end of May at times. Much of the good timber has disappeared under the exigencies of trade, but it is still a product of value. The birds, the reptiles, the animals, the fishes are varied and interesting. Terrapin, trout and oysters, flying squirrels, foxes and beavers, chipmunks, opossums, blue herons, swans, geese, orioles, woodpeckers, turkey-buzzards, grouse, wild turkeys, bears and pumas, adders, rattlesnakes and many other winged, furred or four-footed creatures abound in their respective haunts ; but the bison and the elk that roamed the West are gone. As to the fisheries, the oysters are far the most valuable product, especially in Chesapeake Bay.

Tobacco is still the leading crop ; the State coming next to Kentucky in its production, and Indian corn and other cereals are important. Coal is the most valuable mineral. Healing mineral waters abound, with the customary health resorts around the springs. The value and activity of manufacture has tended to increase considerably.

Richmond, the beautiful capital of Virginia, on its seven hills—from which condition it has been termed the ‘ modern Rome ’—above the James River, was first marked by a cross placed by explorers in 1565. In the Civil War it was the Confederate capital, and was strongly defended, like Washington. To-day it is the leading manufacturing city of the State. Here is a noble equestrian statue to General Lee, and many other monuments of historic interest and artistic execution, including one of Washington—the most noteworthy—in Capitol Square. A fine granite City Hall with a tower 180 feet high leads the wide range of public buildings and other institutions, and there

is a Confederate Museum with a general library for the 'Solid South'; also the oldest Masons' Hall in the United States.

In St. John's Episcopal Church here Patrick Henry made his famous speech at the Virginia Convention, with the peroration: 'I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! Is life so dear or place so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chain and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!'—a speech familiar to the American schoolboy for generations. And again: 'Tarquin and Cæsar had each their Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third'—here he was interrupted by cries of 'Treason! Treason!' but continued: 'If this be treason, make the most of it!' Henry was earnestly urging the War of Independence, after the Stamp Act. He was the son of a Scotsman, but born in Virginia, and he struggled upwards through poverty—poor but not discouraged—to the Bar and high statesmanship, like so many prominent Americans.

Virginia and Maryland with their companion States to the south form what geographers term the Virginia region. We see that this region contains some of the most beautiful of scenery in the Republic, although not the most stupendous; that the historic names denote the British origin, and carry us to the famous old colonizing times. English, Scotch, and Irish, French, German, and many other folk have all been elements in the population. The negro is mainly confined to the coast; he does not love the colder uplands. The southern part of the region is warm, semi-tropical, with the palmetto and the orange, and the finest cotton flourishes over vast areas.

The glowing accounts of Raleigh's emissaries concerning the Caroline coasts, as we have seen, resulted in further expenditure and a colony; the settlers sailing from Plymouth in seven small vessels for Roanoake Island, but, threatened with famine and destruction by Indians, returned—June, 1586—in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. Another expedition was sent; among the adventurers being the father of Virginia Dare, famous as the first English child to be born in America; but this colony, too, melted away, leaving nothing but a name carved on a tree. In 1621, Charles I gave a grant to the Attorney-General, which was followed by a grant to Clarendon, Albemarle, and six other favourites of Charles II. From the first the territory tended to divide itself into two parts, North and South, and after many vicissitudes took on the respective names that the Carolinas now bear. The earlier settlers were not religious refugees, but came from economic reasons. The turbulent period was marked by the driving of many governors

from office, and by the dissensions of religious folk, despite the supposedly peaceful influence of the Quakers. In later years, the main points of difference between North and South Carolina were in the slavery conflict, the first holding back for compromise, whilst the second was the first State to secede. In 1868 the government of the State is described as having been tyrannical, corrupt, and inefficient, with 'carpet-baggers,' unscrupulous whites, and negroes in control; these whites being known as 'scalawags'—a contemptuous term still in vogue in America. The people of wealth and refinement were disfranchised. However, the better elements prevailed soon after. The State of North Carolina perpetuates the name of Raleigh in its capital to-day.

The traveller in these States remarks the great coastal plains—150 miles wide in places, and these are fringed by a dangerous shore, with often shallow and tideless bays, and extensive and gloomy swamps. South of Cape Fear are palmettos—South Carolina is known as the 'Palmetto State,' magnolias, and mock orange. But in the West the beautiful Blue Ridge Mountains and the foothills form another world, with sharp, rugged peaks and rounded domes, clothed at their base with oak, beech, birch, and many other trees, whilst on dome-like summits above the tree line great clusters of rhododendrons beautify the scenery, and there are innumerable flowering plants and shrubs, ferns and mosses, magnolias, azaleas, asters, jessamine, smilax and other things of beauty. Here, too, are the curious and rare 'Venus' Flytrap,' and carnivorous pitcher plants, and a variety of wild fruits and aromatic and medicinal herbs, as well as those creatures—semi-tropical and other—which in some degree we have already remarked in Virginia. Great quantities of merchantable timber still remain. As to the fisheries, these have been made the subject of scientific study by the government of the Republic.

The principal crops of this region are cotton, around which a whole literature has been built up, connected as it is with black labour; followed by maize and tobacco, and many other products. The rice-fields of South Carolina are surpassed now by those of Louisiana and Texas. Vegetables and fruits are grown in great bulk and variety for the earlier—and colder—markets of the North. With regard to the cotton, in both these States the rise of manufacture has been sudden and considerable, and has wrought a change in industrial life.

A brilliant colonial town in its time was Charleston, the seaport and principal town of South Carolina, and to-day its

streets are peculiarly picturesque, shaded with trees and ornamented with palmetto, with quaint specimens of colonial architecture, verandas and pillared porticoes, and flower gardens blazing with magnolias, camelias, jessamine, roses, azaleas, and other native flora. From the spire of the handsome Church of St. Philip, nearly 200 feet high, a beacon light shines out at night for the guidance of the sailor, far out to sea. Here, too, stands the famous Fort Sumter, where the first shot of the Civil War was fired, on a small island in the harbour, from which the spires and buildings of Charleston are seen as rising from the sea. Honour was paid to Charles II in the name of this city. In its history it has suffered from bombardment, hurricanes and epidemics, and among its notable memories is its capture by Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence. A last disaster that befell the place was the great earthquake of August, 1886, when a number of lives and much property were sacrificed. Charleston is not the capital of the State, that honour belonging to Columbia, in the interior. Here are some of the largest cotton mills in the world, and the city is the centre of great cotton plantations.

The greatest cotton-growing State in the Republic, however, with the exception of Texas, is Georgia, although the number and output of the cotton mills is less than in the Carolinas ; and Savannah, the famous cotton-spinning port, is the most important harbour south of Baltimore. 'Cotton was king,' in American parlance, in these States in earlier times, due to the enormous demand, but its production was overdone (nowadays the world's demand at times exceeds the supply). Savannah now ranks after Galveston as a cotton centre.

Georgia was founded as a bulwark against the Spanish and the French : it was the last of the English colonies to be established in America : it takes its name from King George II, and Savannah was its first settlement, as was natural from its position on the river. The Spaniards in Florida had to be kept off—they were close at hand on the seaboard : the French of Louisiana had to be kept back—they had no mountain range to cross, for the great Blue Ridge of the Appalachians, which cuts off the Carolinas and Virginia from the interior, dies out in Georgia, leaving the way open along the littoral of the Gulf of Mexico : and Georgia was established to protect the Carolina colonies. Its founder was James Edward Oglethorpe, who wished to form a refuge for the distressed of Europe, the poor and indigent classes, and for the persecuted Protestant sects. All honour to the name of this philanthropist and, later, General and Governor, son of Sir Theophilus of Godalming,

on the English Surrey Weald. Indeed, a granite seat marks the spot where first he pitched his tent, on the site of the now populous Savannah—the Forest City, now so-called by reason of its numerous shade-trees. Georgia became the most flourishing colony on the continent, but it did not succeed at first as an economic enterprise. Its people revolted against the Motherland out of sympathy with their fellow-Americans, rather than through any grievance of their own.

The Indians of this region, the Cherokees, endeavoured in 1823 to make a stand against the white man's encroachment on their land, and their chiefs, mostly half-breeds, declared that it was the 'fixed and unalterable determination of this nation never again to cede one foot more of land, or recognize the sovereignty of any State in their territory,' and they organized a representative government. But although, be it recorded, Presidents Monroe and Adams treated the Cherokees with courtesy, such as was due to a sovereign nation, they were later informed that they must submit or emigrate. They departed in 1838, driven out under General Winfield Scott, most of them to what is now Oklahoma, far beyond the Mississippi. In the Revolution they had sided with England, and in the Civil War with the South. Their later history of this once the largest Indian nation (except for the Navahoes) in the United States, was one of a hopeless struggle to maintain independence against the white man.

Georgia has been a prohibition State since 1907, but most of its counties were 'dry' before that date. The capital is Atlanta, a city in the bracing highlands of the interior, and an important commercial and educational centre. Here, in the Civil War, raged the 'Atlanta Campaign' of Sherman's invasion—

'When we were marching through Georgia'

as commemorated by the American popular song—the famous 'March to the Sea,' to Savannah, by Sherman with 60,000 picked men, he having wrested Atlanta from the Confederates.

In taking leave of Georgia and Savannah, let the grateful traveller recall that from Savannah sailed the steamship *Savannah*, the first to cross the Atlantic under steam and sail. She reached Liverpool in 25 days, across an ocean which we now cover in four or five.

We now enter Florida, a land whose form even the most cursory student of the map of North America must be acquainted with, projecting southwards from the corner of the United States to enclose the Gulf of Mexico.



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HOTEL ROYAL POINCIANA, AT PALM BEACH, FLORIDA.

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In 1513 the Spanish explorer, Ponce de Leon, who had been a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, and Governor of Porto Rico, believed that hereabouts existed an island containing a marvellous fountain of perpetual youth, or at least a spring whose waters would make old men young again—a somewhat persistent dream of the times; and having obtained a grant which the King of Spain kindly gave him so that he might discover the exact whereabouts of this delectable spot, he set sail, and on Easter Day sighted the coast of Florida. He did not find the spring, unfortunately, but as the coast at least was gay with many flowers he named it *Pascua Florida*, in mellifluous Spanish, or, the Flowery Easter. There follows a story of other expeditions, Spanish, French, and English, and of Indian warfare. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Florida was ceded to England in exchange for Havana; then again it went to Spain, and, in 1819, Spain ceded it to the United States.

The Indians of Florida had reached a high state of civilization before the white man appeared, as they had so done in the curious peninsula of Yucatan, which, geologically, is a land of the same nature, and also juts out to enclose the Gulf of Mexico. But alas! for the Indian culture, for by the middle of the eighteenth century they were conquered and nearly exterminated; most of the remainder being deported by the United States to other districts. However, there are still numbers of the Seminole Indians here.

Florida in general desired to remain faithful to Britain in the War of Independence. West Florida, in 1810, was annexed by the United States under a theory that it had been ceded by Spain to France as part of Louisiana, which the Americans had purchased in 1803. In 1812, during the war with England, the American forces violated East Florida, against the protest of Spain. The United States Government, fearing that the British would occupy and fortify it, made application to Spain to permit occupation by the American soldiers; but though they were refused, they did it, although they afterwards strove to repudiate the action. Here, it appears, was a touch of American 'Prussianism'!

The curious limestone formation of Florida—as in Yucatan—gives rise to subterranean channels, and there are a large number of lakes. The Everglades, that peculiar region of swamps and dark cypress thickets and half-submerged islands, over 8,000 square miles in area, the haunt of the alligator, the deer, the panther and the turtle, the home of the egret, and of orchids, wild rubber, wild orange, and many other strange

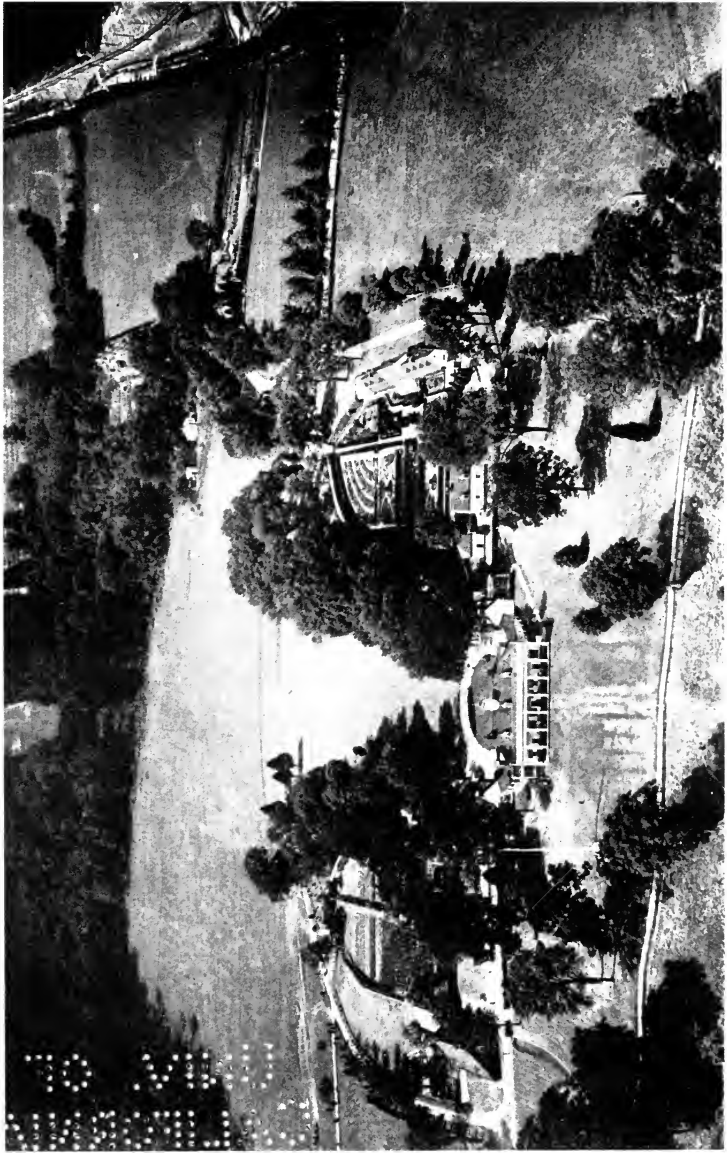
things not found elsewhere on the soil of the United States, is the chief feature of the southern portion of Florida. The first white man, a Spaniard, to enter it called it the *Laguna del Espiritu Santo* (Lake of the Holy Spirit)—a designation which would naturally come from an Iberian. From the extremity of the peninsula extends the inner line of keys—from the Spanish *cayos*—which run out towards Cuba, the Florida Keys, or islets.

Florida, however, is certainly not merely a land of swamps. It is a rich agricultural State, and a land of many pleasure resorts; among which Palm Beach draws the 'Smart Set' from the cold winter of the north.

The Florida fisheries are famous. Tarpon and the king fish yield much sport, and Spanish mackerel and others of the 600 species are of much economic value, as are the sponge and oyster beds. The discovery of the adaptability to orange-growing, in 1875, laid the basis of development, and more pineapples are grown here than in California, as well as a host of other delightful fruits, and tobacco, which also is famous. The sweet-potato and the pea-nut are largely grown on this fertile soil, and sea-island cotton flourishes. No metalliferous minerals are found, but the rock and pebble phosphate deposits are of great value, furnishing half the amount of that fertilizer produced in the United States: and lignite, gypsum and fuller's-earth are other products.

There are still many folk of Spanish race in Florida. Less than half the population are coloured. The principal city, Jacksonville, on the Atlantic coast, is handsome and attractive, with an excellent climate, and it has long since outgrown its yellow fever epidemics. The capital of the State bears the musical name of Tallahassee, a pleasing city on a hill in the west, 20 miles from the Mexican Gulf, and its Indian name, meaning the 'tribal land,' perpetuates the memory of the original owners of the soil, the dead or deported Seminoles.

Englishmen, or at least those who know comparatively little about the more remote parts of the enormous Empire they control—and the number of these good folk is considerable—may be reminded that the group of little islands of the Bahamas, off the Florida coast, and cut by the Tropic of Cancer, are British, and that one of them, Watling Island, was the landfall of Columbus, the first soil of the New World to be sighted. Columbus called it San Salvador, as well he might, for on that famous October 12th, 1492, it saved him and his men from despair. Spain scarcely deserved to have and to hold these coral islets. Columbus wrote to Ferdinand and



GEORGE WASHINGTON'S HOME, MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA.

Isabella that the country was of the loveliest—that the natives ‘were the sweetest and most lovable in the world, with ever smiling faces.’ But, later, the Spaniards, having in view the peculiar love of the natives for their dead, offered deceitfully to take the simple folk to the ‘heavenly shores’—*las islas de Paraiso*—where their loved ones had gone before. The simple folk joyfully acquiesced, and the Iberian exponents of ocean chivalry of the times, taking them on board, conveyed them, about 40,000 in number, not to heaven, but to Hispaniola, or Santo Domingo, where the taskmasters wanted labour in the mines ; and here the smiling children of the Bahamas perished miserably under the lash, as slaves in the gold-mines.

The Islands are a resort to-day for the gay and pleasure-loving folk of the United States and Canada.

CHAPTER VI

The States: To the Mississippi

ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY, OHIO,
INDIANA, MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS, WISCONSIN

A LONG the Gulf Coast extends the State of Alabama, followed by that of Mississippi, to the great river of that name. Alabama is largely cut off from the sea by the strip of Western Florida, which so considerably monopolizes the coastal region, and it has but one seaport, that of Mobile, at the mouth of the Alabama River. The undulating and picturesque northern part of the State gives place to the plains that slope to the coast, and there is a beautiful strip of country along the Tennessee River. The fertile 'Black Belt,' of soil from the limestone formation, is a rich cotton-growing region, and cotton has always been the principal source of wealth of this State. In 1860 the crop reached a million bales, but fell after the emancipation of the slaves, but again rose to the same point forty years after, and greatly surpassed it at the close of the century; and, indeed, the average yield of all crops has increased under free labour, it is interesting to note.

A marked feature of the industrial life of the State, since 1880, has been the growth of mining—iron and the coal; and the growth of manufacture has followed upon the mineral output. Nature has furnished this State with a valuable asset, in the existence together of coal, iron and limestone, so greatly facilitating the making of iron and steel that in 1895 it was demonstrated that Alabama pig-iron could be sold cheaper delivered in Liverpool than the English product itself. Thus Birmingham, Alabama, came to rank next to Middlesbrough and Glasgow in this connexion, by reason of this favourable provision of minerals in its hills; among them being the famous Red Mountain, a hill of hematite 25 miles long and 225 feet high, with three great coal-fields adjacent.

The Timber Belt embraces a vast area of long leaf pine,

and sawing timber and the making of turpentine are important industries, whilst the manufacture of cotton goods has rapidly developed, with many mills and factories. Nearly half the population of the State are negroes, who, however, are in general averse from factory life.

Mobile was named after a now extinct tribe of Indians, who were Christianized by the French. It has been French, British, Spanish, American in turn, having been seized by the United States in 1803 under the claim that it was part of Louisiana, sold to them by France. In the war between America and England, of 1812, there were direful events in connexion with the Indians here, under the great Shawnee Chief Tecumseh; the Indians taking the British side and massacring hundreds of settlers. Later, American political and economic administration embarked on a singularly discreditable period in this region, with the 'carpet-baggers,' negroes and disreputable whites in charge; matters then common to this part of America, including Mississippi State. The operations during the Civil War gave rise to many exciting incidents in Mobile harbour; the blockade-runners making it a centre of activity, their swift vessels eluding captivity; and here the famous Admiral Farragut with the Federal fleet, including four iron monitors, captured the formidable ironclad ram, *Tennessee*, of the Southerners, and the *Tecumseh*, Federal monitor, was torpedoed. Such are but a few incidents in the history of this interesting seaport, whose last infliction was in the terrific hurricane which, in 1906, caused great loss and damage.

Mobile is the largest city in the State, but the capital is Montgomery, on the Alabama River, the commercial emporium of the 'Cotton Belt,' with, also, the distinction of having once been the capital of the Confederate States—the 'Cradle of the Confederacy.' Here the women of Alabama erected a monument to the honoured memory of their dead menfolk, the soldiers who fought for the South, and fell in their thousands.

There is no natural division between Alabama and the State of Mississippi, which, to the west, is defined by the great winding, bending, tortuous river, but does not enjoy the territory at its mouth, being cut off therefrom by the encroaching eastern part of Louisiana. Portions of the geological—the Cretaceous—formation are specially interesting from the chalk hills and the large number of varied fossils encountered; and the ferruginous sandstones form fantastic shapes; whilst the silts contain many mastodon and other bones. Alligators haunt the river-bottoms in the south. Originally, the

State was covered with deciduous forest, and it still ranks high among the Southern States in its output of timber, mainly pine, oak, cotton-wood, red gum, and cypress. Beautiful live-oaks and magnolias grow in the south, and the holly, the pecan, sassafras, persimmon, mistletoe, ginger, peppermint, and Spanish moss are among its varied tree or plant life. The cultivation of cotton is the great agricultural industry; in every country of the State it flourishes; the largest cotton-producing region of the world lies within it. Sugar-cane is cultivated in the south, and orchards and vineyards are well distributed.

The capital of the State of Mississippi, the city of Jackson, has poignant memories of the Civil War, when it was burned by Sherman's army, which also devastated the surrounding country.

We now leave the lands of the Gulf of Mexico, with their semi-tropical belts, and take our way northwards through the series of States over the vast region bounded on the west by the Mississippi, extending to the Great Lakes.

In Tennessee we are in a land noted for its delightful climate; the average number of clear, fair or only partly cloudy days in the year being very high, whilst warm, moisture-bearing winds sweep freely from the south-west. It is a long and narrow State, 400 miles in length; originally covered with forests, and now wheat is the principal crop of its innumerable farms. But all the customary products familiar to this region are raised. There are vast coal measures, also considerable quantities of iron ore are mined, as well as copper; and the State has always been important for its iron and steel industry. The deposits of phosphate rock are a valuable source of that fertilizer.

The capital of Tennessee, the fine city of Nashville, on the Cumberland River, is one of the leading educational centres in the Southern States. It was founded in 1780, as 'the advance guard of Western civilization,' by a band of pioneers who had journeyed thence three hundred miles from the nearest settlement; and many of its early settlers were slain by the Indians. In 1852 the Federals and the Confederates made it a battleground, and in the Mount Olivet Cemetery nearly twenty thousand soldiers lie, under beautiful monuments. The University and other institutions reflect the munificence of the Vanderbilts, who endowed them, and the fine public buildings—among them the State House, a structure of pure Greek architecture on the hill-top, its tower rising over two hundred

feet—and handsome residences are evidences of civic prosperity.

The steamer and railway lines of the State are part of the great network of communication of the great Mississippi basin, and the Tennessee River, the largest tributary of the Ohio, flows through the Western part.

On the banks of the Ohio at the sharp bend stands the picturesque town of Chattanooga, above which Lookout Mountain, over two thousand feet high, commands a magnificent view, the hill being connected by fine driveways with the city. The wave of the Civil War swept heavily over Chattanooga, and here, as in so many Southern cities, is the inevitable cemetery where lie the remains of many thousand soldiers. The place was one of the most important strategic points in the Confederacy, and Mission Mountain and Lookout Mountain, grimly entrenched, witnessed two terrible battles between the Northern and Southern armies, one of them the fierce 'Battle above the clouds' on this high hill, fought between the forces of Hooker and Sherman.

Memphis, the largest city in Tennessee, stands upon the Mississippi, and its name was suggested by reason of a certain similarity of its site with that of the ancient Egyptian city on the Nile. Its position at the head of deep water navigation has conferred great commercial importance upon it, and it is, in fact, one of the leading centres of the Southern States of the Republic. In dealings in cotton, timber, mules, horses, etc., and in the manufacture of cotton-seed, oil, and cake, cigars, machine-shop products and much else, it is pre-eminent. The situation on Chickasaw Bluffs, with a broad levée above the river, is a pleasing one. In its history are such events as the yellow fever epidemic of 1873, with thousands of victims, and in 1879 many of the folk fled to escape the same devastating disease. Hard by, on the waters of the Mississippi, the fleets of the rival parties in the Civil War fought out a fierce engagement, in which the Southerners lost.

In England, during the War, the name of Tennessee became to some extent familiar by reason of a popular song of American soldiers. Indeed, the virile soldiery of many a Western—and Eastern—State of the Republic made their presence felt in Britain by their original ways and character, and folk and places remote as to their origin one from another were curiously and interestingly mingled at that time. Again, we remarked the name of Tennessee prominent in our London Press, when, at the close of the great Lambeth Conference in August, 1920, of two hundred and seventy Bishops from all over the Christian world, the Bishop of Tennessee was chosen to deliver the parting

sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral. This he did, in a stirring address devoted to world problems in relation to Christian ideals, drawing attention to the menace of the coloured races, the existence of vast bodies of poverty and ignorance even in our great cities, and denouncing the creed that the State was the only God. The Archbishop of Canterbury administered the Sacrament; the Archbishop of Sydney read the Epistle; the Archbishop of Armagh, Ireland, the Gospel; and the sun shone on the procession of brilliant vestments of the great gathering of priests, as to the sound of silver trombones they passed through the London streets. 'But,' said the Bishop of Tennessee, 'there is a singular distrust of the value and meaning of human life all over the world,' as well he might.

From Tennessee we pass imperceptibly into Kentucky, a land of many special elements of interest and romance. Kentucky is famous in song and story, from the time of Boone the backwoodsman onwards.

'I'll sing one song of my old Kentucky Home,
Of my old Kentucky home so far away,'

runs a haunting refrain among American songs, and there can be little doubt that the folk of this State regard their homeland with special affection. It is a fine land, and a fine folk, in many respects.

Let us first survey the famous 'Blue Grass' region, of which the city of Lexington is the centre. The landscape far around is like a beautiful park. It is geologically an ancient limestone plateau, nearly a thousand feet above sea-level, where the forces of Nature in the distant past have eroded the land into a gracefully undulating surface; rounded hills and dales, a change from the rugged cliffs and precipitous slopes of the East which we have crossed, and far from the swamps which alternate with these. This landscape has a peculiar bluish hue about the middle of June, for during spring, autumn and winter the grass¹ having spread a mat, thick, green, soft, over the face of the land, an unusually luxuriant vegetation, then takes on the blue which its seed-vessels give, a tint delightful and picturesque. Here the climate is mild, the soils are the best, limestone rich in organic matter and phosphorus, forming rich pasture, the finest horse-breeding region in America, and the home of thoroughbred shorthorn cattle and fine mules, whose fame has gone beyond its borders; and the tobacco it grows is also famed: its sweetness rendering it specially desirable

¹ *Poa compressa* and *Poa pretensis*.

for chewing—that fixed American habit. Such is the Blue Grass Region.

Into the pleasing plain of Kentucky poured the early settlers, some coming by the Ohio River, but the greater part penetrating by the Cumberland Gap, and the 'Wilderness Road.' This last, first blazed by Daniel Boone in 1775, is a trail running through the Gap, a gorge in the mountains where Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee meet, five hundred feet deep, with scarce room for a roadway, but which became historically famous as the main pathway to the West for the overflowing emigrants, and which, during the Civil War, was a valuable strategic point.

The Cumberland Mountains, and especially the Cumberland Valley have special claims to notice, and the whole range, the maze of ridges, the forest-filled valleys and rugged gorges are of surpassing beauty, and must have aroused the admiration even of the wearied trekkers to the West. The Virginians who discovered these mountains named them in honour of the victor of Culloden, William, Duke of Cumberland. Lexington, however, was called after the Massachusetts town of that name, by a party of hunters, who, camped on the site, received news of the first armed conflict there in the War of Independence, where first blood was shed between English and American.

The race-tracks at Lexington attract large crowds, and here famous trotting and running horses are to be seen, with important horse sales. Here, too, the well-known 'Bourbon' whisky is distilled. No whisky made from Indian corn, as is this, anywhere else, has been able to compete in quality with it, and probably this is due to the special lime-water and yeast germ of the locality. However, the mountaineers of the eastern part of the State have always been famous as whisky-makers, and the illicit stills for the making of 'Moonshine' whisky, as it was called, in these difficult fastnesses, and the antagonism displayed towards the Revenue Officers sent to suppress them, have furnished many themes for romantic stories. The liquor produced may not have been as good as the Bourbon. But we seem to recall the dictum of a certain Kentucky colonel with regard to whisky. 'Yes, suh,' he is alleged to have said. 'There is no such thing as bad whisky. Some whisky may be better than others—but whisky is whisky!'

These mountaineers are a curious folk. They are generally of English and Scotch-Irish descent, often with a trace of Huguenot, and though with much natural ability, are backward; their lives are primitive, their homes are of logs, their clothes of homespun, ham and corn their diet, horse-sleds and ox-carts their means of transport. They are warm-hearted to their

friends, but implacable and cruel in their vendettas, and in family feuds whole factions have been wiped out. However, time and education are working improvements upon this rugged folk, these men of tall physique who take the law into their own hands, and who preserve in their speech curious obsolete words from the land of their forefathers.

The mountains of Kentucky have other claims to fame, in their wondrous caves, cut in the beds of the limestone beneath the coal-bearing rocks by streams that sink beneath the surface, wherein it has been said there exist perhaps a hundred thousand miles of passages in the rocks, from great corridors to those only large enough to permit men to go through them. The Mammoth Cave is one of the wonders of the world, as many travellers know. We reach the entrance to this remarkable cave by steamer. Its mouth is in a forest ravine, two hundred feet above Green River, a tributary of the Ohio, and the natural arch has a span of seventy feet, with a cascade leaping sheer above and disappearing. The Main cave is three hundred feet wide in one place and as high as a hundred and thirty-five feet, and there are many other great vaults and subterranean domes, some of them containing remnants of prehistoric inhabitants. Four miles from the entrance the Main cave ends, but spacious galleries branch off, the whole cavern being about ten miles long, and the combined length of its galleries one hundred and fifty miles. In one place myriads of bats hang in clusters from the walls, making the cave their winter quarters, like swarms of bees. Vertical shafts, like those of a mine, pierce the system of 'streets' or galleries; the 'Gothic Avenue' is decorated with stalactites and stalagmites; the 'Chapel' has a double dome and a cascade; the 'Giant's coffin' leads to dreadful pits two hundred feet deep; from the 'Mammoth Dome' falls a cascade one hundred and fifty feet high, with walls draped, as it were, with stalactitic tapestry; the 'Egyptian Temple' has six massive columns, some of perfect symmetry eighty feet high and twenty-five feet thick; the 'Fairy Grotto' has a wealth of fantastic crystals, and there are sheaves of crystal cave flowers, spacious arches fifty feet wide, decorated with garlands; and in 'Mary's Vineyard' are thousands of clusters of mimic grapes, whilst elsewhere are chambers and 'innumerable corridors far withdrawn,' where drifts of snowy crystals of sulphate of magnesia fall like flakes of snow upon us if a blow be given to the walls. There are perils in the 'Bottomless Pit,' and in the narrow way of the 'Fat Man's Misery,' and crystalline gardens, where the incautious explorer

¹ One wonders how they regard the Prohibition Act!

might be immured, did not the narrow ' Corkscrew ' offer a means of escape ; whilst ' Walhalla ' may be entered, and the ' River Styx ' crossed. Some wingless grasshoppers and blind fish, and other creatures inhabit these labyrinths, whose wonders, however, must be seen to be appreciated.

Kentucky is mainly an agricultural State, but there are extensive forest areas east and west, and the saw-mills do important business. Manufactures are mainly those dependent upon native produce. Coal, petroleum, and iron, and other minerals abound. The ' Salt Licks ' were the rendezvous for great numbers of wild animals, even in prehistoric times, as the bones of the extinct mastodon show. The Salt springs are the result of confined sea-salt in the rocks, upraised from the ocean-bed perhaps a hundred million years ago, in the view of the geologist.

Louisville, the largest city of the State, surrounded by hills, extends for eight miles along the Ohio, which here expands into a beautiful sheet of quiet water, and it is a centre of life worthy of the State ; and, unlike most American cities, has no congested tenements of a poverty-stricken working class. The richness of the surrounding country has made the city an important commercial and manufacturing centre, and its leaf tobacco market is the largest in the world.

And now we cross the great Ohio River, which washes Kentucky's northern frontier ; with the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois forming the border.

The famous Ohio River is the principal eastern arm of the Mississippi and its greatest feeder in the volume of its water. It is a wayward river, rising very suddenly at times to fifty feet above its normal level, and damaging the works of man on either side, spreading out to ten or fifteen times its usual width. It is nearly a thousand miles long, and is the greatest highway of commerce of the whole system. From Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Louisville have been launched many a ship on its waters, and in earlier times it was the highway of the West, dotted with floating shops, vessels fitted with counters for the sale of goods, and even a floating lottery ; and merchandise of all kinds is borne upon its bosom. The first steamer to plough its waters was launched in 1811, but the special type of steamboat characteristic of the peculiar navigation was evolved some years later.

These things, however, are but as yesterday in the life of man upon its banks, for the Ohio has seen an ancient civilization ; that of the prehistoric inhabitants whom to-day are known as the Mound Builders. These dwellers of the Ohio

and Mississippi appear to have evolved a culture far in advance of that of the Red Indian. They have left in a number of places the remarkable Mounds, tumuli and fortified enclosures of varied form; round, conical and in the shape of animals, scattered over a vast tract of country, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Rockies. At one time it was supposed that these folk must have constituted a special race of highly civilized agriculturists, who were overpowered and exterminated by hordes of nomads from the North, but the view of ethnologists now is that they were the forbears of the Indians.

The most remarkable mound in Ohio is in Adam's County, sixty miles to the east of and up-stream from Cincinnati. Here, upon a narrow ridge where three streams unite, lies the 'Great Serpent,' a gigantic serpent made in earth. Across its wide-open jaws the monster measures seventy-five feet, its body is thirty feet thick and five feet high, and it curves along the ridge for 1,350 feet with a triple-coiled tail; and in front of it is an elliptical enclosure. Adam's County would seem to be appropriately named if this serpent had some mythological meaning: a Garden of Eden!

There are thousands of mounds in Ohio, of varying shapes—squares, circles, octagons, square and circle united, altar mounds with fire-baked basin centres, often containing ashes and curious objects. Others are in Wisconsin, Tennessee and West Virginia, the last at Moundville, near Wheeling, on the river. Their builders were men of the Stone Age, and many beautiful objects of stone, bone, shell and metal—beaten not smelted metal—have been found. Thus has this part of America a link with the distant past, as has Mexico and South America: the pathetic vestiges of man in the reaction from his environment, groping his way to culture, guarding his villages, with curious totemic religious objects, burying his bones in sepulchres which exist to-day, as the men of the Stone and Bronze Age did in England and elsewhere.

In Adam's County there is a town of Winchester, and over the border a Portsmouth, where the Scioto River enters the Ohio.

The Ohio Valley, George II had granted to the 'Ohio Company,' for English control of the district, in which Association were two brothers of Washington, and some wealthy London merchants (Hanbury among them); the State of Ohio was the pioneer State of the old North-West, with Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and part of Minnesota, which stretch along the Great Lakes. Before the paleface came,

it was a favourite battle-ground of contending Indian tribes. The Seven Years' War with France gave it to England. The Quebec Act of 1774, giving the region west of the Alleghanies to Quebec, as against the claim of the other colonies, was one of the factors in the War of Independence.

To-day this State ranks high in agriculture, with maize or Indian corn and other cereals as its main crops. Coal in the east is the geological legacy of the hills. But petroleum—that was a great source of fame to the State, although now its output falls away, drained by strenuous exploitation, and the forests of derricks above the oil-wells have been swept westwards to other States in great part. But, as in all these States, the manufactures are varied and abundant. Cleveland and Toledo on Lake Erie, Cincinnati on the Ohio, Columbia in the centre, are chief among its ports.

Cincinnati, the capital of the State, stands upon terraces and hills above the river, with magnificent views of the valley, overlooking the Kentucky shore, with which it communicates by a wire suspension bridge whose span is over 1,000 feet long. Its buildings display much architectural merit, and in the church tower of St. Francis—one of many fine churches—hangs the largest swinging bell in the world, cast in the city and weighing 15 tons; and the famous bronze monument in Fountain Square, made in Munich, is regarded as one of the finest pieces of monumental art in America. Germans are by far the most plentiful of the foreign element here, and they have made the city notable for its music. Its public institutions are of the same extreme and lavish character which we encounter in these American capital cities generally, and its industries are wide and important. In earlier years this was the greatest pig-slaughtering and pork-packing centre in the Republic until Chicago wrested such superiority from it, but it has a claim to fame in the beautiful Rookwood pottery here manufactured. Upon the city, from every point of the compass, converge great railway lines, and the river will carry us, do we wish it, *via* the Mississippi over a thousand miles to the sea at New Orleans. Cincinnati was an important station in slave days on the 'Underground Railway' of escape, and here Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe gathered much material for her book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But the interests of the city were not for abolition, and abolitionists were attacked by the mob. Yet sympathy was with the North in the war. Nearly a hundred years ago, when Cincinnati was in its cruder development, an English authoress who had sojourned there, aroused the keen resentment of its folk—she was Mrs. Trollope, the

mother of the author Anthony of that name—in her book *Manners of the Americans*. The city was named in honour of the Order of the Cincinnati.

Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have their frontier on the Great Lakes, as presently we shall see, but for the moment we must look to the West.

In Indiana we enter upon the region of what in earlier days was the treeless prairies, the trackless plains upon which the early adventurers embarked, with horse and wagon, rifle and axe to win their way westward to carve out homes in the wilderness. The true prairies, when the white man first crossed them, were covered with a rich growth of grass—blue grass in places—and annual flowering plants, but to-day they are covered with farms. The soil is wonderfully fertile, as it had never been exhausted by forest growth. Why these prairies were always treeless has not perhaps been fully explained, for trees do grow, as shown by the shady avenues of the many towns. Possibly it was due to the fineness of the soil, in which the grass flourished so vigorously as to prevent tree growth; possibly to prairie fires of Indian or spontaneous origin. Ohio, as we have seen, and Illinois partake in much of this prairie character. However, there were formerly important forests in the region. Anciently, the buffalo, the elk, deer, wolves, bear, lynx, puma, otter and so forth lived their lives here, but civilization has driven them out.

The buffalo, or rather bison, which formerly roamed over a third of America, has interested us since boyhood's days, when it figured so largely in backwoods and prairie stories, along with the Redskin; but to-day we should look for it in vain, for it is gone. In 1903 it was estimated that there were only thirty-four wild bison left in the United States.¹ Their death-knell was sounded by the building of the Union Pacific Railway, which strings its slender thread across the country of the prairie States, where the bison herds in countless numbers ranged. They were separated into two bands by the railway, a North and a South herd, and it is estimated that from 1870 to 1875 two and a half millions of them were destroyed each year. In 1880 an attack was made on the Northern herd in the completion of the Northern Pacific Railway; and in 1883 the Dakota Indians destroyed the last in their particular district.

However, the railways brought great prosperity to the human occupants of the land, and settlers poured in, as we have seen in the historical sketch of the United States in an earlier

¹ With several hundreds still in Canada.

chapter ; and there is a veritable network of lines in this part of America.

Indianapolis, the capital, is specially well served with railways, trunk and local. Built on a level plain, surrounded by gentle and beautifully-wooded hills, Indianapolis is one of the most attractive of the inland capitals of America ; whilst its streets, parks, public institutions, educational centres, monuments, and all else combine with the geographical position and proximity to great coal-fields—for the State is richly endowed with coal and petroleum—to make the city a centre of great importance. Among the monuments is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial of the Civil War, rising to nearly 300 feet, with a Statue of Victory 38 feet high, with two great stone groups of Peace and War ; whilst the fountains at the base are said to be the largest in the world, flowing at the rate of 20,000 gallons per minute. If North and South would fight, at least they gave good sepulture ! Indiana, as a whole, sprang to the call of Lincoln for volunteers in the Civil War, for anti-slavery was always strong in the State, and there were but a handful of slaves there at any time. Slavery was first introduced by the French.

Probably the portage from the head of the great Wabash River—a tributary of the Mississippi system—to Lake Michigan, upon which the State has a short but valuable coast-line, was known to the early French explorers, such as La Salle, so prominent here in early days of 1669, and others, and this became a trading route later. After the fall of Quebec, the British took possession here, for all Indiana was united with Canada by the Quebec Act of 1774, and England realized the necessity of ensuring possession of the Valley of the Mississippi as against the rebellious colonists. Here, indeed, was the Nile of America, and here its head-waters on the east. But they failed to hold it. As to the rightful owners of the soil, the Indians, the last great Indian War in the State was begun in 1810. The combined forces of the Indians were led by the great Tecumseh, but they were defeated by the United States soldiers at Tippecanoe. Thus their age perished, just as had, but by different means, that shadowy age of their forefathers, the prehistoric Mound builders, who, in Indiana, have left numerous vestiges of their time.

Agriculture is the staple industry of this, the 'Hoosier State.' Indian corn and all other farm produce, and stock-raising, are important. As for manufactures, these have increased in a remarkable way, due to the coal and gas fuel, and to excellent means of transport.

The border of Indiana, on the Lake, skirts the great city of Chicago, pride of the State of Illinois, and dominant centre of life here of mid-America. Have we journeyed from New York westward—then all across Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana the railway has brought us, through many places, large and small, over mountain and river and plain, to where Chicago rests on Michigan.

But before entering Chicago, we must explore the Great Lakes, that group of inland seas, for such they may be termed—the most remarkable hydrographic feature of the American map. In Ohio, in the cities of Toledo and of Cleveland, we were on the borders of Lake Erie. In 1837, Ohio and Michigan disputed possession of Toledo and its fertile strip, in a sort of border war, but boundaries have long since been settled. Those of Michigan sweep round the middle of the Great Lakes which wash her shores. The Lakes form a vast waterway, connected as they are by short rivers and artificial canals, with each other and the St. Lawrence River, and also with the Hudson: a system one of the most important in the world.

From the head of Lake Superior through Lake Huron to Buffalo, at the foot of Erie, is over a thousand miles; the course running through the River St. Mary, connecting Superior and Huron, or rather the Soult St. Marie Canal—known as the 'Soo'—whose locks, the largest in the world, are open to Canadian and American vessels alike, free from taxes or tolls. There is also a Canadian Ship Canal here. An idea of their use is shown by the statistics of ship tonnage passing through them, which from about 56,000 tons in the five years, 1855-9, grew to 52,000,000 in 1906 alone. The difference in the water-levels is 20 feet. The outlet of Michigan into Huron—Michigan is the only exclusively United States Lake of this group—is the Strait of Mackinac; and from Huron to Erie the lake and river St. Clair, past the great city of Detroit and the Canadian town of Windsor; and the enormous stream of lake traffic that passes this channel may be judged by its tonnage figures, aggregating 60,000,000 for the short season—greater than that of the Suez Canal. Erie is over 300 feet above Ontario, the water falling over Niagara; waters that in an earlier geological age found their way along the Mohawk Valley to the Hudson, and so past the site of New York, and not Quebec. The Erie Canal now affords the passage, from Erie to the Hudson. To circumvent Niagara, the Welland Canal was built by Canada, and from there the passage to Montreal, Quebec and the Atlantic is open.

The Great Lakes do not freeze over entirely, although their

harbours and connecting waterways are often impassable in winter; but the railway car ferries—the whole train is run aboard—cross Mackinaw and St. Clair, and the middle of Lakes Erie and Ontario through the winter. The Grand Trunk Railway tunnels beneath the St. Clair River. We may make a round trip from Buffalo to Chicago, 1,800 miles, or Buffalo and Duluth, 2,000 miles; or go from Chicago or elsewhere on the lakes by the fine passenger steamers. Some of the freighters are of over 12,000 tons burthen, unceasingly bearing iron ore, grain and other riches of raw material and food products, which deploy in the stream as we watch them, perhaps, from a Detroit office window. The Great Lakes are tideless, although their levels fluctuate somewhat, and at times the severe and persistent storms hinder navigation. They yield great quantities of the finest fish, some specimens attaining a weight of 70 lbs.—the very game maskinonge—and the salmon-trout in places from 10 to 15 lbs.

Before the white man came to Michigan the land was a boundless forest in which the Redskins had cleared a few prairies. Amongst the forest shrubs to-day we find our English varieties: hazel, alder, willow, maple, birch, hawthorn, dogwood, elderberry and laburnum, also yew and juniper, and the clematis and the honeysuckle often bind them together. Hardwoods, and oak, beech, ash, etc., there are, too, and in places the cedar and tamarisk, in swamps and untravelled forest fastnesses, extend for vast distances; bound together, obstructed by the fallen logs of the ages, dark and difficult of passage.

Or there are the famous Picture Rocks on the lake shore, a sandstone precipice miles in length near Green Bay, in curious diversity of form and kind, grey, blue, green and yellow; or the curious magnetic rocks, which deviate the surveyor's compass. There are thousands of small lakes with picturesque woodland shores. Game abounds in these wilder regions, and the bear until lately—and perhaps still—might come through the woods to sniff at the camp.¹ Michigan has thus many wild woodland scenes, alluring for the adventurous sportsman and camper.²

Iron and copper are amongst the greatest sources of Michigan's wealth, and at the beginning of the century the State led

¹ As once befel the Author's.

² In this connexion may be recalled an interesting communication received at the Great Jamboree, or Rally, of Boy Scouts in August, 1920, in London, by Sir R. Baden-Powell, from the Mayor of a little town—Alperia—in Michigan. 'Come to Thunder Bay for your next Rally,' it said. 'Every one here will do their utmost for you.' It was a truly international greeting from kind-hearted America.

in iron ore output, whilst the famous Calumet and Hecla Copper Mine is known to all interested in mines—probably the most profitable of its nature in the world, paying (up to 1909) 110 million dollars in dividends to its fortunate shareholders. The timber produce was once greater than in any other State; but the inevitable exhaustion has followed—a tale that is told so often here. Of manufactures there are many important ones, and the Ford Motor Cars establishment of Detroit has become famous all over the world, as have the generous methods of the proprietors of this colossal establishment with their employees.

From these varied regions of lake, forest and cultivated lands let us now enter Chicago—the clanging bell of the locomotive resounding as the train crosses the outlying streets of the place, amid the usual unlovely structures of manufacturing cities.

Chicago, the great Illinois city—the Americans pronounce the name ‘She-caw-go’—is one of those marvellous growths of population such as alone are found in America: a city of nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants which has come to being from an Indian village and later a frontier military settlement in the unknown West on the shore of the great Lake Michigan a hundred years ago. In 1820 it was a place of fourteen houses; the business centre of to-day was a pasture; in 1830 the village mail was deposited in a dry-goods box as a sufficient receptacle, and a few years later hogs were no longer permitted to roam the streets at will,¹ the ‘water-works’—a well—cost ninety-five dollars; the entire taxation amounted to fifty dollars. At a point now within the city the garrison and settlers of the frontier fort of Dearborn in 1812, retreating to safety, were attacked and massacred by the savages, a tragic baptism of what is now the fifth city in point of size in the world, the trade and social centre for a vast region, replete with all material institutions of progress conceivable to mankind.

Here we stand nearly 1,000 miles from New York in the East, the same distance from New Orleans in the south, and 2,400 miles from San Francisco in the West. As a lake and river port, the tonnage of Chicago’s yearly commerce exceeds that of the Suez Canal, and almost equals that of the foreign trade of the Thames or the Mersey. The city is the greatest railway centre in the United States; from every point of the compass great trunk lines enter, and the clanging of the characteristic American railroad locomotive bell never ceases. In some respects the city is inspiring; in others, dreadful or appalling. It is enormously wealthy, and at the same time one of the ‘wickedest’ places in the world. (*If Christ came to Chicago!*

¹ No sarcasm is here intended!

it will be recollected was the title of a book by the famous W. Stead.) Millionaires' residences line its suburbs, and its poor quarters shelter a notorious criminal element; whilst the smoke from the soft coal burnt in the factories has imparted a dingy colour to the buildings; and a depressing zone of miserable shanties, and factories surround the best business quarter. The site of Chicago does not lend itself to the picturesque, being low and flat; nor are the environs of any beauty except that the lake shore in the north rises to bluffs, and some pretty hills and plains may be reached. The greedy railways which cut off what amenities might at first have resulted from the enjoyment of the lake shore with their unsightly tracks on the one side have fortunately been restrained on the other; and it may be said to the credit of the place that it has, in this, preserved the beauty of its water-front. The plan of the city is the familiar and somewhat monotonous one of rectangular blocks and parallel streets, which are generally wide—often somewhat dreary looking from that cause, for all new and colonial lands tend to extreme in this respect. But some are too narrow. Of late years, freight subways relieve the congestion of the streets.

Chicago has been credited as the original home of the 'skyscraper,' notwithstanding that, due to its unstable soil and the depth of the rock, which is 50 to 100 feet below the glacial soil upon which it is built, extraordinary methods are required to secure firm foundations, which are of steel and concrete piles, and caissons and columns going far down, or 'floating' upon the clay. Some writers have poured scorn upon the city from its enormous business in the product of hogs, its wholesale slaughtering, meat-packing and lard industries, which have made many a millionaire. The stockyards have always been a notable institution, where the slaying, disposing, preparing, packing and so forth of animals and their products has been carried to scientific perfection. However, serious allegations have been made as regards the lack of cleanliness in this connexion; repugnant methods having been laid bare. Here the packing companies, until checked by the labour unions, exploited labour at their will, and 'speeding-up' was carried to its utmost possibility. Labour is here made up of all races of folk which have congregated in America, and they offer an interesting study in this particular and remarkable field.

The situation at the head of the string of the Great Lakes has given Chicago its importance in trade and industry, the traffic of the Middle West. It is the greatest railway centre, the greatest grain market, the greatest live-stock market and

meat packing centre, the greatest lumber (timber) market of the whole world, and has the largest steel-rolling mills and also the largest agricultural implement factory. Yet the first shipment of wheat was but 78 bushels, in 1838. The enormous grain elevators are among the world's wonders, and these and other structures break what would otherwise be a monotonous sky-line.

Chicago is dowered with handsome boulevards, as the people prefer to term their main thoroughfares, and numerous and, at times, beautiful parks, and indeed she claims, or has been accorded the name of the 'Garden City.' Social centres of an advanced kind have come to being with the awakening civic sense. In art, science, literature, education, and all else vast sums have been spent in the erection of handsome institutions, to enumerate which would here be impossible. In some cases, millionaires have given of their wealth in endowments. Nor can it be said that the spirit of humanity and philanthropy is neglected, for Chicago is not without wide reputation in this respect, although we cannot pretend to do any justice thereto in this brief outline.

The people of the city have a strong individual outlook, and there is often a clashing of civic and other public opinion and forces. In the past, Chicago has been a terrible storm centre of labour troubles, often of a spectacular character, of historic railway strikes, socialist outbursts, murder of policemen and by policemen, and anarchic terrors; matters which it is too much to expect have been stilled for ever, for in Chicago, as in some other cities, humanity is but a seething tide of development; bestial, noble, grasping, self-sacrificing, whose end no man can foresee, but whose methods are here particularly accentuated.

From Chicago, down to the South-West, we should traverse the State of Illinois for 250 miles to the Mississippi at St. Louis, where the great transcontinental lines cross the river. But St. Louis belongs to the State of Missouri, and Wisconsin next claims us.

Illinois is a prairie State; its soil is remarkably fertile; its climate is notable for extremes of temperature, for here we sweat in summer and freeze in winter; for the warm winds which sweep up the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico give place in their season to the Arctic winds which come from the North, across Canada and the Lakes, with no mountains to impede them in either direction. The water-transport of the Lake system and the Mississippi system are curiously connected by the Chicago river and canal, cutting across the low water-

parting—a canal whose making reversed the natural flow of the Chicago river ; and there are other developments of this connexion.

The Jesuit father Père Marquette, a Frenchman, was the first to explore the region in which Chicago stands, and he passed the portage on the water-parting ; and La Salle, too, sojourned here. In 1763, France ceded her claims to Britain, but Britain, fearing that the economic development of the region might react against the trade and industry of England—that singular selfish and short-sighted policy of colonial times, of Britain, France and Spain—adopted an unfavourable attitude, which, however, was later relaxed. But when the inhabitants asked for a form of colonial self-government, this was refused by the arrogant British statesmen of the times, with, as a result, the creation of sympathy for the rebellion and War of Independence. Again, unfortunately, history says the English authorities instigated the Indians to attack the American colonists here.

A vast economic development has taken place in Illinois, due to the fertile soil, the mineral wealth, and the facilities for transport, and, as to manufacture, this has been the most rapid and remarkable in the history of any part of the Republic. The most important industry is in the wholesale slaughtering and packing of meats ; and the great establishments, the packing-houses of Chicago and elsewhere, are famous. In the scientific butchery and methods, every single portion of every animal is used, from blood and bone to hair and entrails. Next, in rank, comes the iron and steel industry, the iron ore coming from the famous Lake Superior Mines, and the coal from the State itself, for the great central coalfield of North America extends into Illinois from Indiana. Agricultural implements are made in great extent and variety, and inventive ingenuity has followed on the demands of agriculture therefor. Clothing, and indeed all else is produced. As to the people of the State, as regards aliens, immigration from Britain has been second only to that from Germany. The State ranks third in point of population. Its towns and their innumerable fine residences show how remarkably wealth has been wrung from the soil in so comparatively short a space ; but, as we have seen, Chicago shelters part of a very miserable, criminal and poor population in its more sinister quarters.

The capital of the State is Springfield, in which city is the huge Grecian monument erected over the grave of the great Abraham Lincoln. Would he have approved it !

From Chicago we go northward eighty-five miles to Milwaukee,

in the State of Wisconsin, another great centre of life upon Lake Michigan, whose name is perhaps best known to the outside world in connexion with the particular brands of ales manufactured in this city of German preponderating elements—that is, German born or descended. No such city in the Republic has such a Teutonic tinge: no city, not only in the Republic but in the world, approaches it in the manufacture of malt liquors—or did so, until recent events. The numerous music centres are also an indication of German life. But apart from these matters, Milwaukee is one of the most important of the inland cities of America, with a wide commerce and manufacture. The 'Cream City,' as it is nicknamed, is so called by reason of the cream-coloured bricks so largely used in its buildings, made from local clay. Its public institutions are commensurate with its importance, and the largest lake steamers reach the wharves of this great port of Wisconsin State.

The State of Wisconsin is washed all along its eastern side by Lake Michigan, on its northern side by Superior; whilst on the west flows the great Mississippi. It has many rivers, and the work of the bygone Glacial Age has endowed these often with conditions affording water-power, of great value in the industrial development of the State. The Ice Age, again, gave rise to the numerous lakes—there are more than 2,500 such, some 30 miles long, with important manufacturing cities on their banks; others delightfully clear, with sandy shores and wooded margins, famous as health resorts.

This was a wonderful land in its time for birds, beasts and fishes, the home of nearly all the indigenous wild fowl and animals of this portion of America. The birds were especially numerous, with nearly 400 species, including every kind of sparrow, swallow, swift, ten kinds of fly-catcher, ten species of woodpecker, thirty warblers and numerous song birds—thrush, robin, blue-bird, lark, goldfinch, bobolink, etc., and eagles and other birds of prey, ducks and geese in wide variety. The region between the Lakes and the Mississippi, of which this is part, was so abundantly stocked with game that it was a favourite hunting-ground of the Indian from time immemorial: a veritable happy hunting-ground, and later the trapper found it a paradise for his catch of the fur-bearing animals. Bear, deer and lynx are still to be found, and the waters abound with fish. The forests that covered the northern part are largely depleted: but lumbering is nevertheless the most important industry, being second in value to any State in the Republic. Wisconsin also comes second in its production of

cheese, butter and condensed milk—evidence of the beneficence of the soil. Manufactures have rapidly increased, in many branches. The winters are long and severe : the summers warm : the air dry, rendering heat and cold less felt than would otherwise be the case : a characteristic we shall frequently remark in these regions of America. Tobacco is another valuable product. Lead mining has been an important industry, as is iron mining.

The history of Wisconsin is in general that of the neighbouring States ; a story of Indian life, of French and British rivalries, before the time of the Republic. The capital of this favoured State is Madison, a fine place on the beautiful Wisconsin lakes, so called after President Madison, who among other notable characteristics had that of being a vigorous upholder of American rights, especially against the British.

CHAPTER VII

The States : Across the Mississippi

MINNESOTA, NORTH DACOTA, SOUTH DACOTA, IOWA,
NEBRASKA, MISSOURI, KANSAS, ARKANSAS, OKLA-
HOMA, LOUISIANA

WE have again reached the Mississippi ; all those States we have visited lying to the east of the great river, occupying about a third of the area of the Republic. We here cross the river in its upper regions, which are bordered on the north by Canada.

The north-west or north-central part of the United States has its natural topographical and economic boundaries, and in reality it forms the geographical heart of the continent. It has many elements of interest and romance. Minnesota and its great centre of Minneapolis might seem to perpetuate in their names the sound of falling waters, reminiscent of the lyric of Hiawatha and ' Minne-ha ha, laughing waters,' whilst the Dacotas, parts of Montana, Iowa and Wisconsin, form with that State what has been termed the ' bread-basket ' of America, yielding those famous kinds of wheat from the prairie States which are an element of food throughout the world. Hiawatha went forth to seek in vain for food, and returning to his wigwam found only the spectre of famine and his dead bride ; but man and Nature here to-day produce richly and amply, and the city of Minneapolis is the greatest flour-producing centre in the world.

The numerous rivers and lakes, which latter exist over this part of America in thousands, were known to the early *voyageurs* of the Fur Companies. The names of the early French explorers, such as Joliet, Père Marquette and others, are perpetuated in the localities they traversed. At Sault St. Marie, in Michigan, where now runs the famous ' Soo ' Canal, the Sieur de St. Luson, in 1671, pronounced before the chiefs of fourteen Indian nations, including the Sioux or Dacotas, and the Ojibways or Chippewas—the last named the

Indians of the woods, the first the Indians of the rolling prairies—the French claim to all that mighty region of the Great Lakes ; and two years afterwards the upper course of the Mississippi was explored, and the arms of Louis XIV were planted in a Sioux village by the Sieur de Lhut, from whose name is derived that of Duluth, the important lake port.

Let us glance briefly at the history of the Red Man, here in one of his ancient haunts.

To the English, popularly, the North American Indian has always been a somewhat romantic figure. That a 'good Indian' was a 'dead Indian' was a less romantic and sometimes necessary concept of the American settlers in those dreadful struggles of the frontier. To the Indian indeed was largely due the successive 'frontiers' of America, for he naturally held back the white man's advance. Perhaps the colour given by Pope will long remain in our minds :

'Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, and hears Him in the wind,
And thinks, translated to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.'

although ethnologists have somewhat conspired to rob the Indian of his reputation for belief in a Supreme Deity, in the 'Great Spirit' and the 'Happy Hunting Ground,' and, indeed, such conclusions are frequently arrived at in opposing popular theories!

Statistics which have been compiled carefully during this century, appear to show that the Indians are not necessarily decreasing in the United States and Canada. In the former their numbers are estimated at about 380,000 (including Alaska). It is even stated that there is an increase. There has been much more amalgamation with the white than is generally supposed or admitted, and this accounts, in part, for 'disappearance.' There was never a population of the red—or rather brown—race in the United States and Canada nearly as numerous as the many millions in Mexico and South America. Many thousands of the United States Indians are now described as equal in intelligence, industry and wealth to the average white man, and there is considerable progress among some of the tribes.

America owes innumerable poetical place-names to the Indians, throughout both continents, and a great deal of fictional and true romance. Both in Canada and the United States there is a strain of Indian blood in the veins of prominent families, and it is to be recollected that some of the first families of Virginia prided themselves on their descent from the famous

princess Pocahontas of the Algonquins. The memorial to Pocahontas in Gravesend Church, in England, and the pulpit and window given by the ladies of Indiana and Virginia in her memory are doubtless familiar to many, as also the story of how she saved the life of Captain Smith (1607) by covering his head in her arms when, captured by the Indian subjects of the great chief her father, they would have beat out his brains ; even if some historians have cast doubts on the romance (as generally necessary in historical narratives on such subjects !).

The name 'Hiawatha' meant, in Indian language, 'he who makes rivers.' He was, according to modern anthropology, a legendary chief of the Onondaga tribe, and to him may be attributed the formation of a 'League of Nations': that is the League of Six Nations of the Iroquois. As a miraculous personage he was the incarnation of civilization and progress, and taught navigation, agriculture, medicine and the arts, and subdued the adverse powers of nature, having lived his life prior to about A.D. 1450. This League, formed about the close of the sixteenth century, was undoubtedly the most powerful confederation of Indians on the continent, and its home was in the Western part of New York State. Its tribes fought on England's side in the War of Independence. Longfellow's poem perpetuates the name of Hiawatha, but not as a localized one.

Minnesota and the Dacotahs were the scene of bloody massacres of settlers by the Indians in 1862, and there were desperate struggles with the United States troops, who finally overcame and destroyed them ; and then was advanced the frontier west of the Missouri, which river traverses the middle of North and South Dacota.

Geology and natural forces have done much for the State of Minnesota and the region generally. The complex mountain system of æons past was eroded : it is a worn-down mountain region in part, and the effects of the glacial denuding agency has been to create falls upon the rivers, furnishing magnificent sources of water-power, now immensely utilized in manufacture. Three great continental river systems traverse the State, with 3,000 miles of navigable water : the Red River, running north to Hudson Bay, the St. Lawrence system in part, and the St. Louis. The vast forest of the 'Big Woods,' of beautiful oak largely, crosses the State : a vast pine-belt runs from the head of Lake Superior to the confines of the Red River Valley, whilst in the north dark tamarack largely holds the field. With the Red River and lakes the Glacial Age played a curious prank. These drained

formerly, south, towards the tropics of the Mexican Gulf *via* the Mississippi, by reason of the ice-sheet which dammed them up, but which, melting, at length set free the current to find its outlet northwardly to the Arctic. The scoured-out lakes of the Ice Age are of great beauty. The beautiful natural 'park' regions contain thousands of lakes, and the State has wisely preserved wide tracts as national scenic property. The settlement of Minnesota drove the native fauna, the buffalo, deer, bear, wolf, moose and others over across the adjoining Canadian border, lying beyond the Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake.

A characteristic climate marks this region; long winters of excessive cold, which, however, the peculiar dryness of the atmosphere and the marked absence of fog greatly tempers. A mantle of snow envelops it through the winter, but the long, hot summer days of cloudless sun caress the land and the crops to a rapid growth and early maturity, and, as we have seen, benign Nature makes of the region a mighty granary for the needs of man. In the seasons the temperature may vary 100° F., to 30° below zero. In the west fierce blizzards and tornadoes sweep over the level land, at times destroying life and property.

The ice and snow of the ages has provided the fertile soil which produces these riches. The rocks, moreover, furnish enormous wealth in iron. Providence and Nature have placed here the most productive iron ranges in the world, the Vermilion, and the famous Mesabi, the latter yielding a beautiful red hematite in an almost pure state, and practically at the surface, calling for a minimum of labour for its winning and smelting, and the ore is scooped out by steam shovels and put into cars which run to the furnaces on the lake shore. Iron, corn, timber, water-power, dairy products, cattle, meat and flour, butter, cheese and milk, innumerable railway connexions, navigable rivers, a healthy climate—Minnesota and her folk might be expected to chant at all seasons the Canticle, *Benedicite Omnia opera*—'Ye waters, ye showers and dews, ye winter and summer, ye sun and frosts, ye ice and snow, ye mountains and hills, ye beasts and cattle, ye winds of God!' It is to be hoped that they do, or if they do not that a true science of life in years to come will teach them to do so.¹ At least the twin city of Minneapolis, St. Paul, the capital, has been religiously named.

¹ For this geographical-spiritual digression, kind reader, I shall make no apology. The 'economist' everywhere is still a 'fool'; he has much to learn.

In these States much attention has been given to scientific agriculture, and the Minnesota and Wisconsin professors in this branch of learning are not without fame beyond their own borders, whilst some of the finest flocks and herds in America are found within the region. It has been said that the foundation of society here, laid by New England pioneers and built upon by folk from Britain and Northern Europe, for of such were the immigrants largely, has been conducive to the stability of the Church whose principles are well sustained and active.¹ But socialism also is strong in this region. A polyglot population nourishes it. There is a marked heterogeneity of mankind here, largely around the iron mines, of Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, Galicians, Bohemians, Russians, Italians, Greeks, etc., with a heavy mass of Germans, also Swedes and Norwegians. Conscription during the war gathered all nationalities in, and all—save the Germans, and the Swedes who sympathized with the Huns to some extent—amenably played their part and submitted to war, to coercion, involving as it did fighting in Europe at times the forces of their own Fatherlands. Tens of thousands of these folk, under the conscription laws, went forth to smite their own kinsmen without protest, the kinsmen who had done wrong; went forth because America bid them, and they were now Americans.

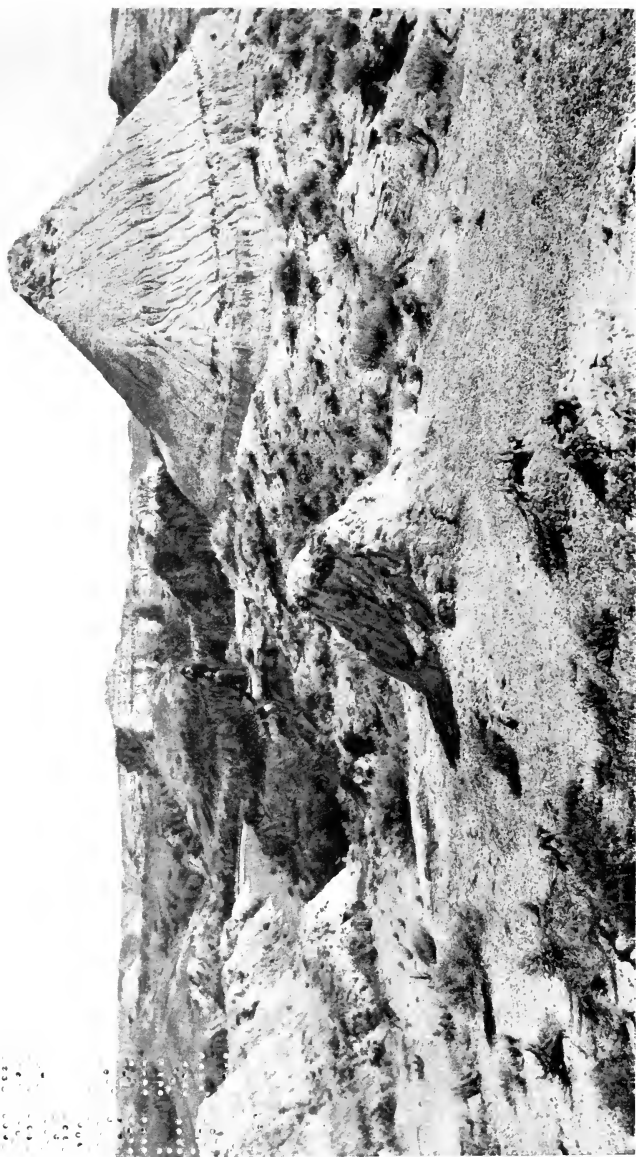
How far immigration will still flow here remains to be seen. It depends much upon the available land. The prairie land drew numbers, and now, fully occupied, has risen greatly in value and price. The forest land has largely been denuded, and it is now valuable enough to warrant cultivation even with the expense of stump-clearing. Millions of acres of such land await enterprising settlers, with sufficient capital under purchase from the Government or private owners,² when productive farms may be made. Thus something still offers for the harassed European here. But, for the unscientific destruction of the immense bodies of native pine of this region, Nature may yet demand recompense from wasteful man.

The city of St. Paul is attractively situated at the head of navigation on the Mississippi (over 2,100 miles from the mouth), on the lofty bluffs above the water, and Minneapolis stands immediately above, where the falls of St. Anthony furnish enormous water-power of over 40,000 h.p.; a factor in creating these important industrial and manufacturing

¹ It is doubtless not a case of 'Yes, I have got religion—got it down South. Pass the beans'—as has been said of certain American religious elements.

² £300 to £600 is given as the needful amount.

• 1990年12月，中共中央、国务院作出《关于实行“以公有制为主体、多种所有制经济共同发展的方针”的决定》，明确“以公有制为主体、多种所有制经济共同发展”为我国基本经济制度。



THE 'BAD LANDS,' NORTH DACOTA.

centres. The river here is 1,200 feet wide, crossed by nine roads and eight railway bridges, and, as has been seen, to the proximity of the rich wheatfields of the north-west is due the great flour industry. This and the saw-mill industry are the largest of their nature in the world. Here, in 1850, were nothing but a few Indian dwellers, where now wealth and innumerable institutions flourish.

In North Dakota the topography is very uniform, without mountain, forests or large bodies of water, and consequently the extremes in the climate are not moderated, whilst the native flora is of the semi-arid type. In early days it was a land of the buffalo. Here, too, stretch the 'Bad Lands'—*les terres mauvaises*, as the early French explorers termed these curious areas; carved into fantastic forms by the high winds, and at times by the seams of burning lignite, ignited by prairie fires or spontaneous combustion. We might think at first sight that volcanoes had been at work, but the peculiar sculpturing is the result of water, wind and fire; and added to the effect are the brilliant colours, of every shade of red, brown, and black, yellow, and grey, on the faces of the hills and ravines; as also the petrified forests—strange works of Nature. In some cases coal seams still burn at their will; wild cattle, it is said, congregate thereby at times to warm themselves, and the ranchman easily digs the lignite from the hills to heat his cabin. Myriads of tiny lakes dot the landscape, severe snow blizzards occur, but in general the snow is swept away by the wind as it falls. In the west irrigation is practised, but the season is too short for Indian corn. Wheat is the great crop, and the State has come first in the Republic; its output approaching 100 million bushels in a year, worth nearly as many dollars. There are great 'bonanza' farms in the Agassiz basin—wheatfields whose furrows are miles in length. In this wealth of wheat partakes the Canadian province of Manitoba, the northern neighbour, with Winnipeg but a hundred miles away. The largest city of the State has but 15,000 people, and Bismarck, the capital, on the Missouri, has but a third of that number.

South Dakota has the same curious eroded formation of the 'Bad Lands,' which lie west of the Missouri. The land in the district is carved into forms of infinite variety; at times we remark such features as slender columns of clay, supporting masses of sandstone, like gigantic mushrooms, and ridges and pinnacles, tinted cream, buff, green, grey and flesh-coloured. This region was once a plain, but streams and the weather have carved it out, and the numerous animal fossils found have

caused geologists to think that vast droves must at some ancient period have perished here in some cataclysm.

In the arid region of the State we remark the cactus and sage-brush, a sure sign that the dry deserts cannot be far away; and there is some irrigation. But it is not to be supposed that this is a barren land. It is well adapted for grazing, from its valuable areas of grass, and wheat and many other food products are largely grown. Oats yield well, especially in Minnehaha County, which leads in this respect. Many fruits are grown, and sheep, cattle and dairying industries flourish. Gold is found in the hills; also silver. The principal industrial centre is Sioux Falls, the capital, in Minnehaha County, on the great Sioux River, which furnishes good water-power for manufactures.

This region was the home of the Sioux Indians, who called themselves Dakotas, meaning 'Allies,' for they had seven tribes or council fires. It was not their original home, however. Dreadful massacre of Indian and white followed after 1851; thirty-nine of the Indian leaders were hanged from one scaffold by Government troops; but again in 1875 there was trouble, under Sitting Bull, the redoubtable chief of the red men in this district.

Still descending the Missouri, we go southwards through the States of Iowa and Nebraska, divided by this river; Iowa being washed upon its eastern side by the Mississippi and Nebraska traversed from west to east by the Platte, a great arm of the same system.

These two States are like their neighbours, in the prairie region, having vast areas of prairie grass, with a climate of marked heat and cold, and with areas of the 'Bad Lands,' where Nature has exhibited such curious effects in form and colour. Here we remark the buttes; bare, pyramidal, conical or flat-topped, often towering upwards like fantastic pinnacles; or in the sand-hill region strange tiers of what look like miniature mountains. But there is some more pleasing scenery, and many streams, in certain districts, beautify the landscape. The prairies roll on for seemingly endless stretches, but the hills break out inevitably. No farming country is richer in quiet charm than the eastern prairies of Nebraska. The wild flowers are brilliant: the common sunflower is the chief weed, springing up where the virgin prairie is broken. As for the Missouri, it is marked by its high bluffs, cut by ravines.

The Missouri is not navigated here, and except at Sioux City and Omaha serves little economic purpose, for irrigation is not needed in those regions it waters. The current is always

rapid, the water loaded with silt, the axis of the stream always changing, with the result that small portions of one State may suddenly be found forming part of another—such as has happened in Iowa and Nebraska. In the spring it is a magnificent stream: in summer shallow and sluggish.

The soil of Iowa is extremely fertile—perhaps no other State in the Republic is more so; being deep and porous. A greater proportion of the land is under cultivation than in any other State, and it stands prominently in the list of producers for the national food products, in every branch.

The name Iowa means, in the Indian language, 'Sleepy one,' but the inhabitants of the State would certainly resent, and justifiably, any aspersion upon their activity. Like all the American folk of the plains, they are, even if an agricultural folk in the main, sufficiently wide awake. But their young men yearn for the life of the towns, and as we pass we may note, as we shall in almost all parts of rural America (and Canada shares equally in the condition), the sons of the farmer leaning for a moment on their hoes as the train thunders past—when by good fortune their lands are on the line of railway—to contemplate it, vaguely wishing it might bear them away from the toil and monotony of the fields to the greater activity and scope of the cities. This wish is often translated into action, for the rural exodus is a marked feature. The earliest desire of many a lad as he watches the rushing train is at least to be a brakesman on the railway.

The capital of Iowa is Des Moines, a name reminiscent of the early French here, a corruption of the Indian designation of the place. It is an active and enterprising centre of life, with a State Fair held annually. The climate of Nebraska is very healthy; its air dry and pure; but the winds are said to conduce, at times, and in some folk, to nervousness. Autumn is, perhaps, the finest season; long, delightfully mild and beautiful. The very fertile and well-drained soil conduces both to salubrity and agricultural wealth. In some winters there are, as if to balance other and better gifts, dreadful blizzards, snow and wind, with death to cattle. Tornadoes, too, torment; hot winds rushing from the Gulf, shrivelling and ruining the crops and—

'Mingling the ravaged landscape with the skies!'

But these things are really of comparatively rare occurrence.

The people of Nebraska believe—perhaps the wish is father to the thought—that the rainfall of the State and the flow of its streams tend to increase with human occupation and

tillage. At least, it is true that tillage holds back the water, for the virgin sod sheds it at once ; and the intermittent streams tend to become permanent ; an interesting phase of human geography. Water for irrigation is valuable in the western districts, and in the butte regions reservoir sites are freely found ; and the lakes are valuable in the sand-hills. Many folk would indulge a hydrographic faith in large underground water supply, in the possibility of numerous artesian wells springing up into abundance to water a thirsty land, but alas ! this is a common act of faith in dry countries, not always borne out in practice. Even Hiawatha, ' the maker of rivers,' could not supply what was not there !

Nebraska wheat has splendid milling qualities, and meat-packing is a thriving industry at Omaha, which city, with Council Bluffs, stands upon the river. Nine great railway systems serve and pass through this point.

The capital is Lincoln, one of the most attractive residential towns of the Middle West. Lincoln is the home of an American statesman whose name has gone beyond the borders of the Republic—William Jennings Bryan, known at home as ' the silver-tongued orator of the Platte' ; a famous Democrat and advocate of ' Free Silver ' coinage, and champion of the cause of bimetallism as a needful social reform. ' You shall not press down upon the brow of labour this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold,' he said in a famous speech. Of great sincerity of character, he opposed ' Imperialism.' He was received on his visit to London, as a great American orator, with considerable interest and respect. But despite his various attempts to reach the White House, the American people would never elect Mr. Bryan as their president, and the ' free-silver ' theory seems now to have become obsolete.

In considering the civic life of the many State capitals of the American commonwealth we shall realize that they are far more distinctive and important seats of political government and social activity than are the capitals of our English shires. Each State has its own government which it jealously upholds, with two Chambers ; and it elects all its own officials, and controls its own policy ; except in those general matters which come under Federal jurisdiction. (These are somewhat increasing ; a recent example being in the matter of ' prohibition. ') It has also its State University, High Courts, and Bishop's See. A long list of able Governors of past years decorates the walls of each State Capital building, generally a handsome, often, it may be objected, pretentious, structure. Civic affairs are

thus extended and made more a part of the life of the common folk, who participate more considerably therein than is the case in the English shires, controlled as they are, from a distant Westminster, or by a more or less aloof County Council. This may be, perhaps, a somewhat extreme view of English shire government, but the fact remains that political centralization in Britain is a condition which the times demand should now be replaced by a more popular voice in affairs, such as America enjoys. The same applies also to the Courts, which should be more localized. This, however, is a digression, and we must proceed with our topography.

The States in the Mississippi Valley which we now enter are Missouri and Kansas, and at St. Louis we must contemplate the great river more closely.

The Mississippi, the 'Father of Waters' as the poetical Indian Algonkin name, fortunately preserved, meant, flows from its source in the far north for more than 2,500 miles to the Gulf of Mexico across the whole territory of the United States, and from its Rocky Mountain head-waters of the Missouri arm for over 4,200 miles—the longest river in the world ; and there is also the almost equally great Ohio, the eastern arm. The Mississippi and its affluents afford over 15,000 miles of navigable waterway ; providing a natural highway from the temperate to the tropical zone of America. But its navigation has always presented difficult problems, especially below the confluence of the Missouri.

St. Louis stands a little below this confluence, and is a great centre of life and industry, of railway travel and river traffic. It was settled as a trading port in 1764, by Frenchmen, who from the French crown had received a monopoly of the trade of the Missouri river country. French, Spaniards, and English have all held control of the region in their turn. In 1767 a village of log cabins with a few hundred folk marked the beginnings of the place ; mixed folk such as Canadian-French hunters, trappers, boatmen, Spaniards, Indians and half-breeds. In 1780 it was attacked by Indian allies of Britain. From 1830 began a colossal growth from river trade, and the first railway appeared in 1850.

It is interesting to recall that for a quarter of a century after this, St. Louis was the centre of 'an idealistic philosophical movement that has hardly had any counterpart in American culture except New England transcendentalism.' Its Philosophical Society published the first philosophical periodical in English. Those were the days of American idealism, which material wealth was soon to bury. To-day St.

Louis is only fourth in order of population in the Republic ; having over three-quarters of a million souls, drawn from all the races of Europe, and a negro contingent. The railways have largely replaced the river for traffic. Some of the residential streets of the city are accounted among the finest in the world ; broad parked avenues with ornamental gateways and large houses. There are magnificent parks, botanical gardens, perhaps the finest in America, statues to Columbus, Shakespeare, Humbolt, Schiller, Washington, Bates, Grant, Sherman and others, giving an indication of the mental horizon of the city fathers who erected them. Its other public institutions are numerous, progressive, and wealthy, and, in a word, St. Louis is regarded as one of the most substantial and at the same time conservative cities of the Union.

The rivalry of St. Louis with Chicago for civic pre-eminence from the middle towards the close of last century was a standing and often amusing feature of this great region, but Chicago maintained its own.

Below St Louis, some two hundred miles, the Ohio enters, itself an enormous waterway, as we have seen, coming from the east. At the confluence stands the town of Cairo, and still further down the Mississippi is Memphis, but the nilotic nomenclature gives place at the mouth of the mighty river to the French of New Orleans, more than 700 miles from St. Louis, upon the Mexican Gulf.

Westward we enter upon the plains of Missouri and Kansas. We shall traverse beautiful rolling country ; and flat corn-growing lands of boundless extent where a homestead or even a corn-crib is a welcome break in the level monotony of the landscape.

The State of Missouri is crossed midway from the west by the Missouri River. This stream varies greatly in its levels, undermines its banks, creates shoals, and the trees which fall into the current are carried down, and, locally known as ' snags, ' are a danger to navigation. The first steamer to ascend its waters was the *Independence*, in 1819. Steamer traffic was at its greatest development in 1858, after which it declined, as a result of the advent of the railway in the Mississippi Valley.

The prairie region of the State, north of the river, displays much beautiful rolling country, with many streams, whilst the south-east, in part, is swampy, with many lagoons, the river being excluded by levées in places. In the Ozark Mountains, in the limestone strata, are innumerable caves, some of them very remarkable in their form, among them the Marble Cave,

a natural hall 350 feet long and 125 feet wide, with blue-grey walls and an almost perfectly vaulted roof ; and at one end is the ' White Throne,' a huge formation of white and gold onyx, 200 feet around and 65 feet high ; whilst from its perfect acoustic properties the ' hall ' is called the Auditorium. Other caves contained skeletons and ancient implements, when first entered. In the north are woodland areas, valuable forests of merchantable timber.

The principal crop is maize, and the abundant grasses give to Missouri, as to the adjoining States, a rich field for live-stock. Tobacco, cotton and fruit are important products. The output of iron has fallen, but the production of coal is important, as is that of lead and zinc. The three main cities of the State, however, have their wealth based on manufacture.

Kansas City lies not only in Kansas, but partly in Missouri, at the point where the river crosses the border, with great railway bridges spanning it ; and a toll viaduct connects the two States. The meat-packing and other industries are important in these great centres of life of Missouri and Kansas. The capital is Jefferson, also on the river ; a city which takes its name from the famous third president of the Republic.

Kansas is familiarly known as the ' Sunflower State ' because that hardy and ubiquitous wild flower of the Mississippi valley has been adopted as its floral emblem. Like Missouri, the State has three main topographical regions : the Prairie plains, the Hilly region, and the Great Plain. However, the State is practically an undulating plain. It is crossed from the west by the Kansas River and its branches, upon which stands Topeka, the capital, with one of the finest of the State buildings as its Capitol.

A period of dreadful lawlessness and outrage marks the history of this State, with murder and mutilation, during the ' border war ' of the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions of 1856 ; a blot on the history of the region. In 1860 there was drought and famine, and after 1880 bloodshed in the struggle for the location of county seats ; bitter local political fights, such as occurred frequently in the Western States.

There are no native forests in Kansas, except occasionally some miserable cotton-wood, but the folk have beautifully shaded the streets of their cities with trees, after the customary American fashion, and there is some Government afforestation. The soil is very fertile, free from stones and easily cultivated, and the farmers derive their principal income from live-stock, hay and grain ; the wheat crop at times heading the list of all the States, almost all winter wheat, and this ranks in the flour-

market with the finest Minnesota, whilst maize is almost equally important. In the west, the rainfall is insufficient for Indian corn, but the drought-resisting Kafir corn has been rapidly and successfully adopted; and saccharine sorghum is largely grown now, also alfalfa. In the west, dairying is very important, and the enormous demand for beef in Kansas City has also to be met by the herds, feeding partly on the nutritious natural grasses which cover vast areas, where once enormous herds of buffalo roamed—now gone for ever. The jack-rabbit and the locust are prolific denizens of the Prairie, and the last, on occasion, has worked incalculable damage to the husbandman. Some small success has attended beet sugar production, but cane will not succeed. The pure atmosphere and bright climate are excellent for fruits.

Petroleum, natural gas, lead and zinc are important mineral products, and the Kansas smelters are well known.

Southwards still, we enter a somewhat distinctive region in the State of Arkansas, with Oklahoma on its western side.

Arkansas has a noteworthy river system, the river of the same name running across the State to join the Mississippi, which washes the eastern frontier; and there are other considerable streams. The surface of the State is the most diversified of any in the central part of the Mississippi Valley, consisting of highlands, lowlands, valleys, hills, and scanty prairies. Few regions are more beautiful than the country about Hot Springs, in the Ouachita mountains, with its lovely highlands, with also the highest peaks between the Alleghanies and the Rockies; and canyons cut down a thousand feet, along which hurtle great tortuous torrents. The Arkansas River rises in Colorado. There is little snow or cold, nor yet summer drought in the State; and in its sheltered valleys the spring crops come to fruition some weeks earlier than in Kansas. The fauna and flora are rich; there are great forest lands, valuable trees in a wide variety of one hundred and twenty-nine native species; the hardwood forests being scarcely surpassed anywhere for their variety and richness, and in their quantities of the finest oak, ash, hickory and walnut; whilst the holly, the Osage orange, and the pecan attain their greatest stature here. There is a rich diversity in agriculture, and the 'bottoms'—a familiar term in these regions—are very fertile. 'Cotton is King' to use the American expression; some of the most fertile of cotton lands in the South lying here on the famous Mississippi loams. Maize comes next, followed by the other customary crops and fruits. In manufacturing, the timber industry and the making of cotton-seed oil and cake are

important. The coalfields of the Arkansas River have greatly increased their output, but the lead, zinc and iron deposits have been less developed. There are other valuable sources of industry.

The rivers of Arkansas afford over 3,000 miles of navigation for light craft, which is more than any State in the Republic contains, and vast sums have been spent on their improvement. On the Arkansas stands the capital, Little Rock, on a site first visited by early French explorers, who had set forth in search of a legendary 'Emerald Mountain.' Here the railway crosses from St. Louis southwards.

The history of this region is not a particularly happy or distinguished one, and lawless 'backwoods' element stamped themselves upon it, nor have they yet been forgotten. Here in Arkansas was invented the deadly 'bowie-knife,' which figures so largely in the literature of earlier American life; and so considerably was this duelling propensity characteristic of the folk who peopled this part of America, that the sobriquet of the 'Tooth-pick State' came to be applied to Arkansas. When President Lincoln called for volunteers to put down the rebellion of the Civil War, the Governor of Arkansas sent a curt refusal; the Legislature passed an ordinance of secession and joined the Confederates, and most of the able-bodied young men went out to fight, as also to protect their own lives and farms against the depredations of the 'bush-whackers' or guerilla bands. Arkansas, in supporting slavery, was of course carrying out the policy of its neighbours, and certainly cannot incur any specially adverse comment in this connexion, and if low-class elements disturbed its serenity, that it had in common with all the South and West. To-day its laws show many advanced enactments, and the wealth of natural resource and the virility of its folk ensure the development of the community.

The earlier history of Oklahoma—the name in Indian tongue means 'red people'—is mainly the history of what was formerly known as 'Indian Territory,' and the life of Oklahoma as a State might be said to date from twelve o'clock noon on 22nd April, 1889. For, on that day, the region ceased to be an Indian reservation; it was proclaimed as being thrown open to white settlers, and at the hour mentioned, as the clock struck, the signal was given that would-be settlers might cross the line, until then vigilantly guarded by United States marshals and police. More than 20,000 people of the most miscellaneous types and occupations had collected, and they entered upon a wild race for homesteads and 'town lots'

—a spectacular race for new homes. Farmers, clerks, land agents, engineers, ne'er-do-weels, jobbers, robbers, thieves, gun-men, and all else, with many women, took part, and among these last was a 'schoolmarm' who, whipping up a lean horse in a crazy buggy, arrived first at the site of the staked-out town, and secured the best corner plot. Such was the romance of the last Indian Reservation to be thrown open.

The Indians who had occupied this district were tribes from various parts of the Republic; Cherokees, Seminoles, Choctaws and others, Comanches, Apaches and Pawnees, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and so forth, and these were at first permitted to make their own laws, whilst preserving tribal relations in their various allotted quarters of the territory. However, unscrupulous whites and fugitives from justice had mingled with them, subverting government, and the system came to an end. Other allotments were prepared for the Indians. But Statehood for Oklahoma was not officially granted by the United States Government until the year 1907.

The area of this State is about 70,000 square miles, and its topography partakes somewhat of that of Arkansas, with many curious geological features, but an absence of navigable rivers. Agriculture and stock-raising are the main occupation. Of late the State has become an important producer of petroleum, and the coalfields are valuable. The white population has increased rapidly, and Oklahoma City, the capital, and other centres have grown to importance. On the south the Red River separates the State from Texas.

There lies before us now the most interesting and historic of all these States of the Mississippi, that of Louisiana, with its famous seaport of New Orleans. From the typical Western and Southern American element and its farms and homes we enter something of an old world atmosphere, with relics and colour from the Latin civilization of the French, as opposed to the modern Anglo-Saxon.

The early history of Louisiana is part of the romance of America—the romance of the early Spaniards. But it is not necessary here to dwell upon what has already been outlined elsewhere. We recollect that a large part of the area of the United States was bought from the French Republic in 1803, under the 'Louisiana Purchase,' which event was conceded to be, after the Revolution and the Civil War, the greatest event in American history. France held an explorer's title to the territory, which at first included the whole Mississippi Valley, that enormous region whose States we have already

traversed. But Louisiana embraced only the portion west of the Mississippi and the island of New Orleans (and probably West Florida). France ceded this to Spain in 1762, England, preferring the Floridas, having refused it. In 1800 it was retroceded to France, and then ceded by Napoleon, in violation of his pledge to Spain that he would not alienate it, to the United States. A hundred years afterwards, in 1903, this wilderness, as it mainly was at first, contained 15 million inhabitants, whilst its taxable wealth alone was given as four hundred times the sum paid to Napoleon for its purchase.

The eastern and southern parts of Louisiana have been formed by the Mississippi, the silt carried down through the ages by the current and deposited here ; and we see how the land at the mouth juts out into the Gulf of Mexico, as laid down by the river. The prairies shade off into the coastal wooded swamps and sea marshes, traversed by the streams and bayous, and along the border of this swamp region most of the rice and a great deal of the sugar-cane are grown, in a soil such as these products love. A ' bayou ' is a secondary water-course ; some bayous might be called lakes, others rivers, and their currents are sluggish. The remaining half of the State consists of prairie, forest and upland. The climate of Louisiana is semi-tropical, but at times there is light snow in the north. The bayous contain those creatures familiar to the traveller in such zones, such as alligators, turtles, lizards, rattlesnakes, and horned toads. Frogs are of much commercial importance, as are the oyster beds. Water-lilies and hyacinths bloom in all their beauty, and even obstruct the streams, and the irises give colour to the bayous and their banks, whilst, notable among the native flora, are japonicas, roses, hibiscus, magnolias, jasmine, camellias, oleanders, chrysanthemums, geraniums, and many others, for flowers cover the bottom lands and uplands in great profusion. Louisiana is indeed famed for the beauty of its flowers, and their fragrance will be borne in mind by the traveller who has sojourned there.

The commercial value of the timber is great, apart from the beauty and variety. On the great cypresses of the swamps we remark the festoons of Spanish moss ; and the tulip-tree, sweet bay and others alternate with oak, beech, ash, hickory, and the splendid forests of pine. These forests are, perhaps, the finest and largest of their kind remaining to-day in the whole of the United States ; one of the gifts of Nature here upon which wasteful or greedy man has, for various reasons, not encroached upon unduly, so far.

The cotton-fields, with their pleasing flower and foliage,

cover nearly a million and three-quarter acres in this State, and cotton is the principal crop, the yield, in good seasons, approaching a bale per acre. There has been some reaction against the all-cotton farming system, especially among the smaller cotton farmers, who have been abused by the commission merchant—an old and universal story! Nearly all the sugarcane in the United States is grown here, and there is a scientific State laboratory. The prairie region, lending itself to irrigation, is largely given over to rice, forming practically a vast rice-field; and the grain is harvested by machinery, like the wheat of the other States, where formerly it was cut with the sickle.

Here in the rice-fields of the South black labour had its day, here, perhaps, lived and perished the typical slave whose story Longfellow has described in his expressive poem of 'The Slave's Dream':

' Beside the ungathered rice he lay,
His sickle in his hand.
Again in the mist and shadow of sleep
He saw his native land.

He did not feel the driver's whip,
Nor the burning heat of day.
For death had illumined the land of sleep,
And his lifeless body lay
Like a worn-out fetter, that the soul
Had broken, and cast away!'

In Louisiana the tendency of the rural folk is to go to the cities—that common condition of all modern lands, and labour is scarce. The negro, too, prefers the town. The coloured man, it may be mentioned, has been practically deprived of his vote here by the ingenious suffrage laws, though indirectly.

New Orleans, with its French quarter, in which the romance, poetry, and history of the city are united, with its foreign aspect and French and Spanish-named streets and Spanish colonial architectural touches, spreads over the flat land on the river's margin, and indeed some parts of it are below the line of the water, which is kept out by miles of heavy dykes—the levées, whose fame has gone out beyond the Mississippi. The palisaded and moated boundaries of early days now remain only as wide, grassy tree-planted avenues, and the old Place d'Armes is a public square; quaint, sunny and dusty, where earlier the centre of city life was, and where French or Spanish dignitaries, soldiers, fashionable folk, intriguers, pleasure-seekers, lovers, and others congregated, and is overlooked by the cathedral and other old structures. A bronze equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson is a reminder of Jackson's entry

into the city after the Battle of New Orleans, in 1815 ; and hard by Lafayette was lodged as the city's guest. A feature of the environs are the cemeteries, where the dead are buried, not in graves, for the soil is water-logged, but in often elegant and costly tombs of brick or marble, shaded by avenues of cedars and magnolias, impressively handsome. However, the poor—and their name is legion here, as, in all American cities—and the Jews bury their dead in the ground.

The climate of New Orleans is not marked by extremes of heat and cold. We are in the same latitude as Cairo. As to the folk of New Orleans, the pressure of Anglo-American civilization has amended the earlier colour and variety, but the Creole nevertheless has strongly stamped his influence upon it, a Latin impress, in cuisine, fashion, atmosphere, even speech. The famous Carnival attracts the 'Americain,' that is the Anglo-American, who appears to have added to the original simple masked revelry, more pretension ; and there are costly torch-lit processions and tableaux on immense cars, forming perhaps the most ornate and splendid carnival parade in the world. It culminates in the *Mardi Gras* on Shrove Tuesday, and attracts thousands of visitors from all parts of the Republic.

Before the Civil War, the well-equipped passenger boats on the Ohio and Mississippi were a notable feature, and have their own lore and literature. The Mississippi at New Orleans is in places 3,000 feet wide, and the rich lowlands of the State are protected against overflow by nearly 800 miles of levées, and thus across its great flood-plain the Mississippi winds, as it were, along a ridge of its own deposits. The first levée was begun in 1717, by a French engineer ; a bank a mile long, with the purpose of protecting the infant city. In 1820 the famous engineer, Captain Eads, took in hand the deepening of the channel. Enormous mattresses, woven like basket-work out of branches and small trees, were used in protecting the banks from erosion, and the whole protective work was, and ever must be, one of great difficulty, requiring constant vigilance and expense, both to combat the current and the floods brought down by the mighty river from those enormous regions of mountains, forest, and prairies, which we have already traversed.

CHAPTER VIII

The States : To the Rocky Mountains

TEXAS, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, UTAH

WE now leave the Mississippi, except in that its tributaries drain a large part of the huge State of Texas. This, the largest State in the Republic, is over 262,000 square miles in area ; and it might be an empire in itself, so full is it of countless natural resources and things of material wealth, which its virile and enterprising people have exploited for their advancement.

The State was at one period an independent community, in the days of the 'Lone Star State,' which from 1836 to 1845, having thrown off the dominion of Spain and Mexico, flourished as a Republic. The history of the region in earlier times was marked by the great struggle between England, Spain, and France for the possession of America. The earliest explorers were Spaniards, the first settlers French, but the Spaniards became the possessors, and the ruins of the stone-built Franciscan Missions near the city of San Antonio mark their religious activities.

During the Spanish period, 1690 to 1821, there were 24 Spanish Governors in succession ; eleven under the Mexicans, to 1836 ; and five under the independent Republic. The Spanish period left its stamp on the country, especially in the system of jurisprudence and in place-names. Texas has had a turbulent history, which has left its mark on the character of its folk to-day, and indeed the name has been synonymous often with matters of Mexican border feuds, private vendettas, the 'executive of the revolver,' the sheriff and his *posse*, the cowboy, the outlaw, the cattle-thief, the lynching of negroes and others ; and all those elements generally associated with the 'Wild West'—locally designated the 'Wild and Woolly West.' But there have been many elements of progress in this interesting region.

We encounter here a wide diversity in the character of the landscape, from the mountainous western side of the State,

to the enormous plains producing cereals, and also vast quantities of cotton : Texas having a larger area under this staple than any other State. The vast cattle-ranges have rendered the State famous in respect of cattle-ranching, an occupation and pastime which drew many, and created much wealth. The considerable coast-line, on the Gulf of Mexico, displays a succession of curious, long, narrow islands, lagoons and peninsulas.

Originally, vast herds of bison roamed over the plains of Texas ; and in the forests of long-leaved pine, wolves and bears were plentiful, but only a few of the larger fauna remain. There are alligators in the coastal rivers, and the rattlesnake is plentiful, as is also the deadly coral-snake, with other venomous reptiles ; whilst the tarantula and the scorpion are also uncomfortable creatures here. Being semi-tropical, the southern edge of the State has a varied fauna and flora, merging into that of Mexico, which lies across the Rio Grande and along the Gulf shores.

The southern boundary of Texas is of much interest as marking the frontier of the two dominant peoples of America ; the Anglo-Americans and the Spanish-Americans, which roll together but never mingle. These two peoples still fear and despise each other to an unfortunate degree, and there is a legacy of hatred from the turbulent past which constantly asserts itself. The American professes to regard the Mexican as a ' greaser,' a low-caste and ignorant folk, but this attitude, though it may be warranted as far as the lower class border Mexicans are concerned, cannot be substantiated when the Mexicans as a nation are considered, for the upper and governing classes of Mexico, and their capital cities and institutions possess a culture older and more refined than exists in Texas. The Mexicans, for their part, dislike the *Yanquis*—the Hispanicized form of Yankee—as, in their view, an overbearing and upstart people, rude and uncultured, who, they allege, robbed them of an empire, in what they call the ' unjust war ' of long ago. Both peoples, Mexicans and Texans, are brave and ruthless fighters, and have been guilty of excesses in the past. As for the Mexican guerilla leader and bandit, this type seems not to diminish, as the horrors of Mexican revolutionary warfare have proclaimed to the world for a number of years, since the fall of the redoubtable President Diaz and to the present time. The Americans have many just causes for complaint with regard to their lawless neighbours.

The traveller in Texas will retain recollections of the bitter ' norther ' or cold north winds. One moment he may be

perspiring in the heat of the sun ; the next chilled to the marrow by the suddenly uprising gale, often bringing with it choking dust-storms, which render life a burden to those out of doors, whilst they last. However, this must not be taken as typical of a climate which offers many advantages.

Texas was a slave State, and nearly a quarter of its 5,000,000 population are negroes or of negro descent, but the two races suffer from bitter antagonism, and dreadful occurrences are common as a result, in lynchings, burnings of negroes, attacks upon white women, and so forth, and the negro problem is one which must yet cause grave difficulties in this part of America.

We shall sojourn in San Antonio on our way from New York to the city of Mexico, if by chance our journey lies to the beautiful Mexican capital, a thousand miles beyond the Rio Grande along the great plateau. San Antonio is a pleasing city, with its river, its plazas, or public squares—in large part, a legacy of the Spanish and Mexican style of town-planning ; its old Mission buildings, and public buildings and institutions. It is the centre of a very extensive and productive farming and stock-raising region, with a correspondingly active population. The cathedral of San Fernando is the centre of the city, whose charter describes it as six miles square, its sides equidistant, three miles from the cupola. The traveller will be shown the chapel of the Alamo Mission, around which terrible memories dwell. ‘Remember the Alamo!’—such was a war-cry of the Texans against the Mexicans. For, in 1836, against the heroic defence of the Americans, the Mexicans under Santa Anna—they numbered 4,000 against 200—after a bombardment lasting two weeks, overpowered the place, slaughtered the garrison and bayoneted the few survivors in cold blood, sparing only three women, two children and a negro servant. This piece of Mexican savagery has never been forgotten in Texas, and whatever may have been the character of the earlier Texan filibusters they would not for their part have been capable of such a deed.

And now the Rocky Mountains arise upon our horizon. We approach what geographically is termed the Cordilleran region of the United States—a term borrowed from Spanish topography, as in the Cordillera of the Andes. It is a vast mountain area, with intermediate plains, beginning upon the western border of the prairies we have crossed.

For long the blue line of these mountains has appeared above the horizon, but less tantalizingly than it was revealed to the old-time immigrants, who in their slow wagons, with their

household goods and families, made their adventurous and painful way westward, often lacking water, often in fear of their lives from the attacks of the savage Indians.

The Rocky Mountains begin in Northern Mexico, and grow wider and higher in the United States, and in Canada become still more stupendous. It is probable that the traveller who is accustomed perhaps to the scenery of the Alps or similar mountains will be disappointed upon his first view of the Rockies. They have not the Alpine sharpness of peak and ridge, ice-sculptured and lofty; their tops are rounded and slanting rather than pronounced; they are wanting in glaciers, their erosion has been less marked, and the forests upon their slopes are scanty, partly by reason of forest fires; and due to the fact that we view them from the considerable elevation of 5,000 or 6,000 feet altitude of the plains from which they rise, their height does not so greatly impress itself upon the eye. However, the Rocky Mountains, in any case, are magnificent. Further north, in Canada, they have been described by enthusiastic writers as embodying 'Sixteen Switzerlands rolled into one.'

In Arizona and other States of the partly desert regions, upon which we now enter, there are many elements of marked beauty and curiosity. Among them are the remarkable rock-forms and the cactus vegetation, and, as regards this last, a special Department of National Botany, with a Desert Observatory and Laboratory, has of late years been established, to study and preserve this peculiar flora. This peculiar zone extends, of course, down into Mexico, where the desert vegetation, of weird cactus-forms, is perhaps the most marked feature of the landscape in certain districts. The atmosphere of this generally arid region of the United States is wonderfully clear and stimulating, the views superb, the natural colouring most attractive. We may perhaps awaken to it suddenly, as the train makes its way through the desert, and from the comfort of our Pullman car bed behold it without effort through the window of the berth; perhaps with the red ball of the sun arising from behind the cruel-looking ranges on the horizon, casting shadows athwart the plain from the gaunt cacti which stretch their skinny arms abroad, whilst the shadowy figure of the coyote vanishes before the coming day.

Again, all day long, dreary areas of 'sand and sage-brush' form the landscape, often without any vestiges of human habitations. Here the horrible Apache had his home—cruellest and most bloodthirsty of any native Americans or perhaps other race. 'Yes, sir,' perhaps says the train conductor

reflectively, as, his duties for the moment over, the train journeys steadily along to bring us to the land of Utah and the Mormons. 'Yes, siree'—still reflectively but authoritatively, as by one who would impart local information to the stranger, as in the comfort of the Pullman smoke-room we watch the changing landscape. 'Them Indians, the Apaches, were the worst of the lot. Many a white prospector or immigrant has been staked out alive by them on the plain, and after being mutilated left to die in the sun by inches, maybe on this very strip of desert we are passing.' The conductor of an American train is generally a good fellow, good with the amiability of the autocrat it may be, at times. In his leisure moments he has much interesting lore to impart, and other travellers joining in bring forward their quota of knowledge of men and affairs, and in such interesting converse the scenery may be lost for a time.

Texas, Arizona, Colorado and all other States around, on to California, were characterized, in the development of their social life, by those attributes peculiar to the times and the environment. The 'West' was for long a synonym for adventurous lawlessness, for a system under which men were a law unto themselves, with what may be termed the 'executive of the revolver,' with each for himself as far as others would permit his pretensions, the final arbiter generally being the quickness with which the revolver could be drawn from the traditional hip-pocket and the 'drop' obtained on an opponent. The revolver was an American invention; the rapidity and accuracy of the 'six-shooter' and its mechanism was a child of the American brain, a result of the sensitive, nervy, and independent or resentful character, itself largely a psychological reaction from or result of the electrified environment, so different from that of the more sluggish European *milieu*. What the rapier was to the affronted gallant of mediaeval or even later times, in the Old World, the revolver was—and is—to the American. How many Americans carry revolvers to-day, even amid peaceful scenes and avocations, it would be hard to say, even in the Eastern States, but judging by the frequency with which the weapon figures in the Press and the police courts they must still be exceedingly numerous. It may be that the custom is increasing rather than diminishing. Even in England one might almost suspect that the weapon is more in evidence than formerly. But where the Englishman might settle his differences with his fists, or simply call the police, the American will whip out his revolver, and this argues both a different character and a far less advanced civilization. The

American character, like the American weapon, blazes up and explodes with a touch, it might almost be said.

How many picturesque stories have there not been, based upon this region, from those of Bret Harte upwards; a literature indeed *sui generis*. There was hard life, especially in the gold-mining settlements of California and Oregon, or in Colorado or Nevada, or in the cattle regions, especially Texas: hard drinking and gambling, the aggregation of outcasts from all over the world, desperate men who strove to build up some small wealth in a community where no question as to antecedents would be asked. Here among the mixed community arose a peculiar type of lawless individual, peculiar to Western America, known generically as a 'Bad Man.' This individual was a person of iron nerve; the nerve of the wild beast added to the natural intelligence of the human, who made his will law, dominated the particular small community into which chance had cast him, overawing by his sinister personality and absolute disregard of human life and coolness as concerned the risk of losing his own, a dead shot, with many deaths perhaps to his record. The 'Bad Man' generally had but a short reign, however, in any given locality. Often he was 'wiped out' by another 'bad man' who, having arrived from some other place, was driven by ambition or necessity to contest the established authority of his predecessor, and being a fraction of a second quicker on 'the drop,' resolved the question of supremacy, perhaps before the audience of the local 'saloon' or drinking bar, which institution generally constituted the Parliament of the locality. Or he may have been met by or fallen foul of the 'marshal,' as the local head of police—himself a person of tried courage and resource—is termed in those communities. Perhaps the marshal had ridden fast and far to do his duty, accompanied by his *posse*, and a sort of pitched battle may have been fought, in which one or the other was destined to fall. The psychology of these things was not without interest, and the day of this picturesque desperado has come now to an end with more settled conditions, or practically so. He was a peculiarly American product; but—it is credibly recorded, that the 'Bad Man' of the West was very frequently born in the British Isles!

In the South-West, which we now enter upon, instead of woods and lakes, we have steely blue mountains and arid deserts. Yet these same deserts and hills are interspersed with the most fascinating and romantic valleys, the most productive places, watered by the art of man, who has turned his irrigating stream from the mountain torrent, far across the

wastes, to refresh what in reality are tracts of the most fertile soil, but which have lain fallow and abandoned until mankind, overflowing thereon from the East, found its uses.

In this distinctive region are the States of Arizona, Utah, Nevada, part of California, in the west, and part of New Mexico and Colorado, in the east and north respectively. It is the southern part of the great 'Cordilleran Region' to give it a wider nomenclature, in which, to the north, lie the States of Idaho and, in part, of Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, and Washington Territory.

The 'human geography' of this region of the South-West has been greatly influenced by the hydraulic work; the great reclamation works of irrigation, which have already been mentioned. Here the conquest of the desert has resulted upon this art, especially in Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and California. Men have cunningly built dams of cut stone or earthen banks across the gorges, enclosing great artificial lakes, which reflect the hillsides in their bosoms, where previously only the mirage lured the weary and thirsty traveller across the salty plain. There, where the cruel and bloodthirsty Indian roamed, or the luckless early settler strove to wring a living from the sun-baked earth, flourish groves of fruit trees with handsome foliage and showers of golden fruit, and where, in the dry ravine, the hopeless wayfarer or parched beast sought vainly for water-spring or pool, the sound of rippling water-courses now falls upon the ear. Perhaps in all the romance of engineering none is found to equal that of the ancient art of irrigation, which, practised in the earliest times and by semi-barbarous nations, from Chaldea to Egypt and India—nay, by the ancient aborigines of America before the white man came—has been perfected by the ingenious Anglo-American here, in the arid South-West of the United States.

The State of Colorado deserves special mention in any descriptions of America, not because of its size, for it is not one of the largest, but by reason of its physical and other characteristics. The traveller who sojourns there will not readily forget the environment, the curiously beautiful structure of the country, where geology and erosion have played so remarkable a part, the unique topographical features, the fine, benignant climate, the variety of products of the vegetable and mineral worlds, the numerous fruits, the pleasing homes of the fruit-growers, and all else. In many respects Colorado is unique, and the desert has 'blossomed like the rose' in the literal translation of that term.

This region, which lies midway in North America between

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THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE RAILROAD,
Climbing Marshall Pass, Colorado, 10,856 feet above sea-level.

the oceans, is the summit of the continent, and like a backbone the Rocky Mountains traverse it, a Cordillera from whose craggy apex five great river systems flow, north, south, east, and west. These are: the Colorado, a remarkable stream, as later described, the Rio Grande, the Arkansas, and the North and South Platte, all supplied by the melting snows which lie above the now fertile plains, on the peaks and ridges which intercept the clouds. Yet, far from the ocean, the sky is a generally cloudless one, and the clearness of the atmosphere and the coolness of the climate, despite the perennial sunshine, added to elevation, latitude and position combine to produce a very favourable environment.

The agricultural lands in this region lie at 4,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level, and the remarkable fertility of the soil is due to the peculiar local topography. The soil produced by the disintegration of the rocks, lies as it was made in past geological ages, unexhausted by reason of the lack of vegetation. In humid lands rain and the consequent vegetation has drawn off much of soil fertility, but here there was no such agency at work, and the plant-food has remained intact, the mineral constituents of the rocks, as separated and comminuted by the glacier-mills of ages past. The glaciers departed, in their epoch leaving the brown and dusty soil in the valleys immediately beneath the hills unwashed by rain, which does not fall here, and when, very recently, man came he grew giant apples, full of flavour, and potatoes of the choicest that ever the earth brought forth, which are packed like apples in boxes and sent East to satisfy the appetites of the wealthy; also peaches of a flavour and sugar-beet so rich, with pears, prunes, grapes, raspberries, strawberries, such as only these valleys, deep cut into the sheltering ribs of the eastern slope of the Rockies, with their meed of water and their sun, can produce. The absence of rain and the dryness of the climate help the orchardist to eliminate insect parasite, such as elsewhere work havoc, and the leaves and blossoms of the trees retain their protective poisons. Added to these conditions, the ingenuity of the Colorado orchardist has equipped his fruit groves with orchard heaters,¹ so that his fruit blossoms do not fall a victim to early frosts, whilst the sun puts full colour into the fruit.

¹ These orchard heaters are small furnaces burning coal or oil, placed at intervals along the rows of fruit trees, and are kindled when the temperature falls. The cost is given—fuel and labour—at \$5 per acre per annum. The value of the crop may be \$300 to \$1,000 per acre, net.

This climate, so favourable for fruit, is claimed as being ideal for the human organism, or at least so it is averred in Colorado. 'The climate that is best for an apple or a peach is best for man or woman: here it soothes, stimulates and energizes all at once; and consumption, malaria, rheumatism, asthma and many other ills that flesh is heir to will not abide here,' say the good folk of this region.

Naturally, the inhabitants are experts and enthusiasts in the matter of irrigation, which they assert is far superior to natural rainfall. Irrigation, they say, is 'the connecting link between the inexhaustible soil and the everlasting sunshine, reducing farming to a certainty, and giving a larger crop than rainfall can produce.' The value of lands here of course depends upon water-rights and supply. Enormous outlay has been made, both by the Government and by private owners, on dams, reservoirs, tunnels, and flumes or aqueducts, to bring the water on to the land, and the system of water-rights has been equitably established. The amount of water needful to give the most beneficial results has been carefully studied; and the scientific tendency is towards employing less water and greater cultivation. The Colorado irrigationists affirm, and their *dicta* hold good of course in the surrounding States of the South-West, and in California, that irrigation is not a mere expedient for getting the ground wet because it will not rain, but that irrigation farming is an improvement in every way on farming by rainfall. Of course this favourable view is one born largely of necessity, but at least it embodies a truth in which the compensating laws of nature are at work. The grower here states that he can regulate the colour and texture of his fruit and vegetables, can keep his crops growing until they have attained their maximum by putting on or off the water, can make the wheat berries fill out by watering when the grain is 'in milk,' can keep his potatoes evenly moist and so free from all growing defects, also his onions (a famous crop here), drying them off into perfect keeping qualities when the proper moment comes. With regard to irrigated wheat, official figures are given in support of the advantages of irrigated *versus* non-irrigated districts, viz., 19 bushels to the acre as an average throughout the United States for the former, against 12 bushels for the latter; and as to potatoes, 114 and 80 bushels respectively, and hay 2.16 tons against 1.16 tons per acre. With regard to wheat, the figures would not be conclusive when we consider the English average of 30 bushels to the acre, where irrigation is practically unknown.

Colorado's products include cattle, sheep and hogs, all

fattened on irrigated alfalfa and pasture. A ready market for many of these products exists in the numerous small towns adjacent to the cultivated land ; and thus we have the elements of self-supply.¹

Irrigation in Western America naturally exhausts the volume of the rivers. In Colorado, the Arkansas River—the valley is one of the most famous of the irrigated districts—dries up before crossing the State boundary, and thus the neighbouring State of Kansas is deprived of its benefits. Some years ago Kansas brought a suit against Colorado on this account, in the Supreme Court of the United States. Again, the exhaustion by irrigation of the Colorado River in Colorado has been a source of contention with Mexico, into which republic the river flows, first traversing part of Arizona and California. This exhaustion of rivers opens up curious questions of riparian rights, and might be a fruitful source of trouble, whether between the States of a republic or between neighbouring republics.

Of the grand scenery of Colorado and the adjacent States much is due to glaciation ; sharpened peaks and alpine ridges, valley and troughs, cirques, glacier lakes, moraines, beautiful cascades, and the remarkable orographical features known as the 'parks,' which are great plateaux beneath the surrounding barriers of the mountain summits. Magnificent views, pleasing valleys, the clearest skies and a tonic atmosphere characterize this land. The region is well stocked with game. The gorges and cañons of the rivers are often stupendous, but generally grand, and indeed are among the wonders of America, and description fails. The upturning of the rocks in this part of North America to form the Rocky Mountains at the margin of the great plains has developed an immensely interesting topography,

¹ In this connexion, however, it seems rather remarkable that effort is not made in England to apply irrigational methods. We frequently suffer disastrous periods of drought, during which an application of water to the ground should be very beneficial, whether to hay, roots, wheat, fruit or other. It is true that in England we suffer often from an excess rather than a scarcity of rain ; also that there is often an absence of any considerable volume of running water for irrigation, whilst irrigation works would be expensive. But, if the system were shown to be beneficial, as undoubtedly it would be in certain periods, these difficulties could be overcome ; rain water could be stored in underground field tanks or by other methods, and the art of irrigation developed locally. At present it is represented by a few ancient water-meadows. However, the exigencies of the future will certainly force investigation of these matters on the rather unscientific mind of the British Farmer and Official. On various occasions the Author has approached the Board of Agriculture with the proposal that investigation of the possibilities of irrigation in Britain should be made, but without more result than a stereotyped acknowledgment.

and the weathering of hard and soft strata has wrought curiously grotesque rock-forms and fantastic shapes, such as are exemplified in the famous Garden of the Gods at the base of Pike's Peak. Weary immigrants in the past set their eyes day by day on these mountains, which, blue and elusive in the distance, formed their horizon as they toiled in white-tilted wagons 'over the plains' before the railways traversed the wilderness. Now the locomotive scales the most inaccessible places, crossing the passes at over 10,000 feet, serpentine along the walls of profound cañons, forming 'loops' to gain elevation, and conducting us to the most airy places upon the roof, as it were, of Western America. Here indeed is vindicated the ingenuity of the American engineer.

A feature of the mountain landscape which we shall constantly observe is that of the curious heaps of rock which dot the slopes on every hand. They are the débris or dumps from innumerable mine-mouths, and look like gigantic ant-hills, whilst the openings seem like dormer windows on inaccessible precipices, opening out from the granite roof, thousands of feet above the track along which our Pullman car is being whirled. Colorado, indeed, like California, owes its colonization originally not to its soil, but to its minerals. There is enormous wealth of precious metals, of gold and silver, around which much romantic mining lore has gathered. There are precious stones, there is lead, copper and iron in great deposits, there are enormous fields of coal. This coal lies in the stratified rocks of the great plains, the 'Parks' and the Plateaux which have been mentioned, of upper Cretaceous age, and ranges from lignite to bituminous and anthracite. In 1864, 500 tons of coal were mined here, but now the output is many million tons per annum. Colorado is, for the west, what Pennsylvania is for the east, in this respect.

There is something peculiarly fascinating in this occurrence of great mining wealth in the desert, where, but two generations ago, we might picture only arid mountains dotted with sagebrush, the only living creature the coyote; trackless barren plains, and dry ravines. Then appears the figure of a solitary prospector, with his kit of humble appliances, chipping the rocks here and there, trying the soils, living on 'hard-tack' and the few things his limited pack will hold, hoping against hope, often poor and despised: and then comes the rich 'strike,' the generous lode of silver or gold-bearing ore, the feverish rush when the news, borne into the nearest camp, is known, the mushroom town that springs up, followed by the joint-stock Company and the ponderous mill—with which last

two items allelements of romance have fled! Also, the 'Magnate' enters, perhaps swallowing up individual genius and profits.

The prosperity of Denver—the 'Queen City of the Plains' as its admirers have termed it—is founded on the wealth of the rocks, the mining and smelting industries. Perhaps no town has had a more remarkable growth than this mining community, standing precisely a mile above the level of the sea, hard by the Rocky Mountains. Floods, strikes, outlawry, Indians, and all tribulations of the 'Wild West' have passed over it since the white man first set foot here in the middle of last century, when gold was discovered. To-day there are broad handsome streets, with some imposing buildings constructed of handsome stone of different colours which the local quarries furnish. The Auditorium, the Museums, and other public buildings are noteworthy, and the State Capitol is of native granite and marble. Schools, churches, theatres and so forth, with numerous manufactures, show what has been done in so relatively brief a space in the conquest of that once dreaded desert of the Far West.¹

In the Land of the Cliff Dwellers here is the romance of archæology. Amid very peculiar scenery are 20,000 caves, once occupied by a prehistoric people, with thousands of communal buildings, some of over 1,200 rooms, all now in ruins, below the frowning precipices which overlook them; the only vestiges of the life of what must have been a busy people being fragments of pottery and textiles, unearched from the tombs. Who were these ancient folk? From some remote source and unknown ancestry there grew up in the South-West of America, in ages past, a folk who had certain attributes of civilization and culture, who built stone buildings, practised various arts and irrigated the land by means of long canals. These bygone people, connected doubtless in some way with the ancient Toltecs and Aztecs of Mexico, had their being in the region where the boundaries of the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Arizona meet.

There are several groups of the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers, some of the most important of which are included in what is termed the Pajarito National Park, in New Mexico; the area having been made a public possession. There is also the Great Mesa Verde National Park, of the same character. The Mesa ruins are perhaps the most remarkable. The Mesa—the word is Spanish for 'tableland'—has been cut through during the ages by the Mancos River with a great cañon, in the cliffs or walls of which are huge open caves, and in these

¹ The Author has pleasing recollections of Colorado.

are ruined 'towns' and buildings, round and square towers, community-houses and fortresses, subterranean chambers and sanctuaries, a spectacle weird and remarkable, unique in the world's archæology. Of particularly striking appearance is the building known as the 'Cliff Palace.' The Pajarito Plateau is a *mesa* of great geological age, where the soft rock has been sculptured by time and the elements into masses of what may be termed geological islands in the desert, and on the nearly inaccessible tops of these tables are the remains of almost countless community-houses of the ancient folk, arranged in courts and quadrangles, and in terraces, to the height of several stories. The great Puyé House must have been four stories high, with perhaps 1,200 rooms. The whole of the Cliff Houses, if placed in line, would extend for over a hundred miles.

Why did these ancient folk cease to exist, and what became of them? Possibly changes of climate determined their extinction. Ancient irrigation conduits now in waterless tracts would seem to argue a drying-up process, and indeed there may be even now going on a cycle of increasing drought. It is the story over again of ancient folk in many lands; an exodus by reason of natural forces. The first white settlers of the South-West, fifty years ago, easily distinguished the borders of ancient fields and lines of conduits. Probably the Indians of the region, useful if often indolent labourers on farm and mine, are the descendants of what once was a more virile race here—a decadence we find throughout Mexico and Peru and in other parts of Spanish America. The Cliff Dwellers, like all these ancient folk, have certain common devices pictured on their pottery and textiles, amongst which we find that universal one—it exists from China to Peru, from Chaldea to Mexico—of the Swastika; a good specimen of which exists in the Denver Museum.

New Mexico and Arizona are lands of promise whose characteristic and natural resources resemble those described for Colorado, in varying degree. Their history dates from the same period. The Spanish explorer Coronado may have passed hither in 1540, after the conquest of Mexico. The stamp of Spain, in place names, is encountered everywhere in the region, and has been wisely preserved and even extended by the Anglo-Saxon Americans: names which fall musically upon the ear, and certainly give pleasing variety to the map. The semi-Spanish environment has undoubtedly some influence on the folk to-day, with its mediaeval touch, in the midst of all that is most modern. The admixture of names is curious. Here, for example, is a village called *Juanita*, and there is another called *Leeds*;

or *Huerfano*—Spanish for ‘orphan’—and another *Whitewater*, and so forth. The valleys of Northern New Mexico—which State is not to be confounded with the Spanish-speaking republic of Mexico, which however borders on the South—are not unlike similar favoured spots in Colorado, and are watered by the Rio Grande and its tributaries mainly. Here we may enter villages established by the first Mexican settlers, with their *adobe* houses, arrayed round a central square, after the Spanish-American fashion inherited from Spain and the Moors; whilst the old Mission Churches, with rich exteriors, reflect the piety of the Spanish people; buildings far older and better preserved than the Californian Missions of similar origin. Here are very ancient vineyards, with gnarled and knotted vines centuries old, but still bringing forth their luscious fruit-clusters, and old orchards and stone-walled grain fields that have yielded their crops for hundreds of years. The Indian inhabitants labour peaceably on their own small farms, or as workers on American farms, and their distinctive and picturesque dress adds to the local colour. Around the hot springs, of which there are a number, hotels have sprung up, for the use of those who take the waters—from whose benefits almost miraculous cures are claimed.

Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, has been a historical centre of some interest, and within the ancient church, worship had never ceased, we shall be told, from the time when its *adobe* walls were raised, over 300 years ago. It is a catholic shrine, with its sacred images, and afforded both spiritual and material protection, having fortress-like walls. But modern life flows around it, and the amenities and conveniences of to-day are not wanting in this interesting State Capital.

Santa Fé, and indeed New Mexico as a whole, owes its early exploration to an old-world myth, for, early in the sixteenth century, it was fabled in Europe that strange cities and creatures existed in the region, of which there had been rumours for centuries. The legendary ‘Seven Caves’ of the Indian stories were magnified by the imaginative white men of the Conquest of Mexico into the famous ‘Seven Cities,’ and the Mexican viceroys sent thither explorers: one of which pioneers, catching a glimpse of the terraced community-houses of Zuñi, of the Cave Dweller or Cliff Dweller folk, hastened back with the news that here indeed was an El Dorado, one of the ‘Seven Cities.’ Under the great Mexican Empire of Iturbide the region was a province, but in 1848 it fell to the United States, after the war with Mexico. To-day the numerous inhabitants of Spanish descent have not nearly become

assimilated with the Americans, whilst the Indians, the Pueblo Indians, remain still more apart. The terraced architecture of these Indian villages is remarkable.

In the eastern part of the State lies the Llano Estacado, or Staked Plain, a vast arid tableland where nothing breaks the monotony. Some of the valleys are the curious *bolsones*, as the Spaniards termed them; basins without hydrographic outlet, with white alkaline floors, where, in a strange protective coloration scheme, even the reptiles and insects are often perfectly white. However, the rivers redeem the State from its desert character, such as the Rio Grande—the Nile of New Mexico—and others, and in the many fertile districts the considerable modern population dwells in comfort and luxury. In some districts the newer agricultural development of ‘dry’ or scientific farming is carried out. This system of cultivation consists, as generally known, in the main in an intensive tillage of the soil with the purpose of conserving the moisture.

Arizona is a land of many curious natural objects, of high plateaux, superb cañons, bold buttes and picturesque *mesas*, dreary plains and stony hills, interspersed with verdant smiling valleys, owing their life to the inevitable irrigation channels. Carved out of the great plateau in the north-east of the State, is the famous Grand Cañon of the Colorado, in which, far below the plain, runs the Colorado River, bordered by the ‘Painted Desert,’ a giant’s natural palette of white, yellow, purple, blue, red, and brown; the colours of the shales and sandstones; and in this strange wilderness arises a petrified forest, trees of Mesozoic time, washed down now to the foot of the Mesas in which they were embedded; and blocks and logs of jasper, agate, chalcedony, opal and other silicate deposits, strewn about capriciously in hundreds. This stone forest of a bygone age is now preserved as a national property. On the Gila River is found the curious ‘Gila Monster’; and the tarantula, the scorpion, and other unpleasing creatures of the South-West have there home here, as in the adjoining States and in Mexico. Wild cats and mountain lions and an occasional jaguar are found, and curious birds; in fact, a fauna dwells within the border of Arizona representative of every life-zone except the humid tropics, and from the summit of the mountains down to the Painted Desert we may pass rapidly through all these life-zones. Remarkable, too, is the desert vegetation, the numerous forms of weird cacti, armed with formidable thorns, or yielding luscious fruit. Among these the giant, columnar *Chayyas* and the omnipresent *Opuntiac* stand up arrestingly against the forbidding landscape. This giant cactus may reach



THE MOKI TOWN OF WOLPI, ARIZONA.

700 feet above the valley.

From a Photograph by J. K. Hillers, U.S. Geol. Survey.

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a height of 40 feet or more, growing in groves, and it has exercised a deep influence on the culture, the faith, the arts and crafts of the Indians, from time immemorial. Valuable mines of gold, copper, and other minerals have enriched the hills; have brought wealth to inhabitant and shareholder.

An active and intelligent people are the folk of Arizona, following many industries, creating wealth and culture out of their varied environment. There is also a curiously mixed strata of folk of Chinese, Japanese-Mexican and Indians, in considerable numbers. Phoenix, the capital, is a popular winter and health resort, with a fine climate; lying on a great plain, surrounded by beautiful cultivated lands, gardens and orchards, irrigated from a great reservoir seventy miles away. Near by the government supports a boarding-school for 700 Indian pupils, sons of the ancient masters of the soil; and the desert laboratory, where desert flora is scientifically studied *in situ*, is another noteworthy institution of Arizona.

We must leave this interesting region, but let us follow the Colorado River through its mighty cañon before we go, and thence to the sea.

The Colorado River, rising in Wyoming, fed by the snows and rain of the Rocky Mountains, flows through Colorado and Arizona, and a strip of Mexico, for 2,000 miles to its mouth in the Gulf of California. For a thousand miles the river has carved its passage through a sequence of cañons, forming a region of its kind the most wonderful in the world. The Marble Cañon, 66 miles long, reaches a height of 5,000 feet, marvellous enough, but only serving as an entrance to the Grand Cañon, whose walls, in places 6,000 feet high, in successive terraces of splendidly coloured rocks, descend to the gloomy gorge in which the river flows below—'the most sublime of all earthly spectacles,' as has long since been said of this terrific gash in the earth's surface, with numerous gorges like those below Niagara and Yosemite. The average depth is 4,000 feet, and the width varies from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 miles from rim to rim, but the bottom channel is but 3,500 feet wide. The succession of rock strata cut through, such as early crystalline rocks, gneiss, slate, granite, quartzite, sandstones, limestones—often of beautiful marble, stained a brilliant red, contrasting with the other brilliant colours, thousands of feet high, pinnacles, towers, turrets, terraces, a façade of seven rock systems—so has the river eaten its way down through the ancient rocks, through deeply buried mountains of bygone geological ages, and we may read the pages of the book of stone here opened as nowhere else on the globe in such stupen-

dous diversity. A playground for superhuman beings might indeed have been the purpose of this tremendous gorge. A mountain 10,000 feet high of homogeneous rock gives little impression of its true height, but the Colorado Cañon, due to its vari-coloured banded structure, furnishes its own comparisons of height. The Cañon has a literature to itself.¹

The Colorado River flows onwards past the curious region of the Salton Sea, and it has been termed the Nile of America ; its overflow fertilizing the soil, carrying down millions of tons of fertilizing mud. The valley of the Salton Sea, anciently the head of the Gulf, which recedes seaward more than two miles each year, produces wonderful crops and fruits, and upon it have arisen many new villages, some of which are 265 feet below sea-level, for such is the topography of this curious depression.² Here, too, the prehistoric folk irrigated their lands and lived their life ; and their ruined aqueducts may still be seen.

Crossing the Colorado River to the west, at Yuma, we are in California. Before entering California, however, we must traverse the State of Utah, with its peculiar conditions, and the States to the north.

Probably the most lasting recollection of the traveller in Utah will be one of vast, arid landscapes and barren hills, and if it be summer, great heat reflected from the ground as the train pursues its way, whilst the desert dust, pungent and alkaline, filters in through the windows of the Pullman car, notwithstanding that they are double windows and close shut for the passage of those more particular dusty areas, which extend mainly in the neighbourhood of the Great Salt Lake : and the interior of the vehicle and the clothes of the individual are soon covered with an impalpable white powder. The seasoned traveller over this belt of country dons his long dust cloak or overall, brought for the purpose.

Mountains rise like islands from the sea in this the Great Basin region. Enormous lakes covered the region in glacial times. The principal of these ancient Pleistocene lacustrine beds is known geologically as Lake Bonneville, whose ancient water-lines, in well-defined wave-cut cliffs and terraces, are to be seen on the surrounding mountains, more than 600 feet above the present level of the water, and geologists point to what must have been curious cycles of ebb and flow in the past. The Great Salt Lake, which occupies the depression, is 75 miles long, and

¹ The most famous description is that of Powell in his book, 1875.

² See the Author's *The Great Pacific Coast*, Grant Richards, London.

its highly concentrated briny waters often fluctuate considerably, but there is a deep central trough 30 miles wide and 40 feet deep, which would seem to render the lake secure from permanent drying-up. The waters have no outlet, as it is a closed basin. The margin is of clear sand, and the folk have here a novel and popular bathing resort ; novel in that the bather cannot sink or even go beneath the surface fully, on account of the high specific gravity of the salt water—in which it is reminiscent for the Englishman, of Droitwich and elsewhere. Salt making is an important industry here.

We cross this singular lake for many miles by the railway, whose embankment cuts across a portion of the waters from Ogden westwards.

But the State of Utah is not composed mainly of briny waters and desert, for man has made beautiful his surroundings by the same methods we have seen in the adjoining States ; the art of irrigation and intensive farming. The tree-planted avenues of Salt Lake City, that famous home of the Mormons, and the verdant fields and ranches around, show the fertility of the soil, watered by the mountain streams.

The situation of this important city, which stands at an elevation of over 4,300 feet, is a striking one, with its mountain views and the broad waters of the lake stretching away on either horizon. Brigham Young laid its plans, in great blocks and wide streets—perhaps too wide for convenience, as is the case in many American and Colonial towns. The great Mormon Temple has granite walls six feet thick, and is 186 feet long, with six spires, one of which rises to the blue Utah sky for 220 feet, crowned with the copper statue of the Angel Moroni. The Tabernacle, elliptical-shaped, with its rounded turtle and shell-shaped roof, without columns, seats 10,000 people. There are other noteworthy buildings, many public institutions, and Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, and Presbyterian cathedrals and churches. The great city and county building, of rough grey Utah sandstone, has a dome crowned by a statue of Columbus, and there are figures of Commerce, Liberty, and Justice at its entrances ; whilst its interior is resplendent in Utah onyx. There are many hospitals and charities, a public library, university, and Public School systems, schools of arts and sciences, theatres, Young Men's Christian Association, Masonic Temple, and, in brief, all the institutions of modern and progressive life, with numerous manufactories.

The traveller may perhaps be surprised on entering this fine community to observe the range of activity, as against perhaps very different preconceived notions concerning the Mormon

Capital, which, in the popular imagination overseas, figures often as some semi-heathen place. The city lies 710 miles from Denver, and 930 from San Francisco. The population of Salt Lake City is about 70,000. In the year 1900, of about 13,000 foreigners nearly half were English. The early Mormon missionaries who came to Britain were quite successful in their proselytizing, and many leaders of the Mormon Church and other prominent citizens here have been of English birth. In the earlier years of the Church all converts were urged to leave their native countries and make their home in Utah, and glowing accounts were given by the Mormon missionaries of life under the régime. But after 1887 this policy was prohibited by the decrees of the United States Government. In the first decade of this century the total number of the Latter Day Saints—the common name given to this religious sect: the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints'—numbered about 350,000, mainly in Utah and the south-western part of the United States. For a frontier community, the moral character of the Mormon appears to have been high, for there was neither gambling nor drunkenness, when these vices were prevalent all around, as matters indeed synonymous with the 'Wild West.'

We may here cast a glance at the curious doctrines of the Mormons. On an earlier form of the creed a system of polytheism has been implanted, with varying grades of deities in the cosmology; the supreme ruler being the primeval Adam of the Book of Genesis, with Christ, Mahomet, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young partaking in divinity. To people human bodies begotten on earth with souls, so propagating souls, is the purpose of these 'deities,' and polygamy is the method of sexual propagation; the number of the wives and children of the man, the 'saint' who dies, being his glory in the next world. Marriage is 'sealing,' under the Mormon ceremony, for eternity; a man may be 'sealed' to any number of women, but no woman to more than one man. This system of polygamy and salvation presupposes the existence of thousands of spirits awaiting bodies, or incarnation; also, in the 'celestial' marriage, women are, thus, only saved through their husbands. There is belief in the Bible as supplemented by the *Book of Mormon*, and in the gift of prophecy, casting out devils, miracles, and in the inevitable approach of the end of the world, with other matters. Whence came this creed? It is to be recollected that America has always been the home of curious religious doctrine, a sort of *Ultima Thule* of fantastic spirits who went there from Europe, and found, and still find,

congenial soil among a vast population in the melting-pot of life, where new ferments are at work, and none to say them nay; and to-day the astonishing vogue of spiritualism, clairvoyance, and so forth, from New York to San Francisco, cannot fail to be remarked by the observant traveller, even if only in the newspaper advertisements devoted thereto.

In 1805, in the State of Vermont, was born one Joseph Smith, of parents and grandparents described as seers of visions and believers in miraculous cures, in heavenly voices and direct revelations. The boy's father was a seeker for hidden treasure and a user of the divining-rod for water-finding, and the son became a crystal-gazer, etc. According to his story there appeared to him, three times on a September night in 1823, the Angel Moroni, telling him that the Bible of the Western Continent, a supplement to the New Testament, was buried in the Hill of Cumorah, and he dug up, he said, a stone box containing a volume made of thin gold plates, 8 inches by 7 inches, covered with writing in characters, said to be the reformed Egyptian tongue. This was the *Book of the Mormon*, of which, translated, an edition of 5,000 copies was printed. It professes to give the history of America from the time of a 'colony of Jaredites' from the dispersal at the Tower of Babel. The book, however, prohibited polygamy. It was a time peculiarly favourable for a new religious sect, due to religious unrest and the peculiar American receptivity. The subsequent curious history of this creed has a considerable literature of its own. There was a 'Reformation' of the Church in 1856 with certain dreadful tenets—among them an apparent inspiration by the Church of assassination of any suspected of hostility thereto, or of an intention to escape from Utah and the control of Young—Brigham Young was the second president of the Church: also the doctrine of blood atonement. Later there was suppression, and conflict between the Mormons and the United States troops.

Whatever may be said of the Mormons, there is the fact that they colonized the wilderness, created a remarkable social system, in which every member was provided for, and looked after and educated their women and children, so that none was in want or ignorance; conditions which, unfortunately, cannot be said to obtain in ordinary Christian communities, whether in New York or London, whose 'slums,' with their poverty-stricken folk, are a reproach to modern civilization, and are yet likely to bring some direct consequences or punishment upon communities which permit their continued existence, be it in America or England.

CHAPTER IX

The States : To the Pacific

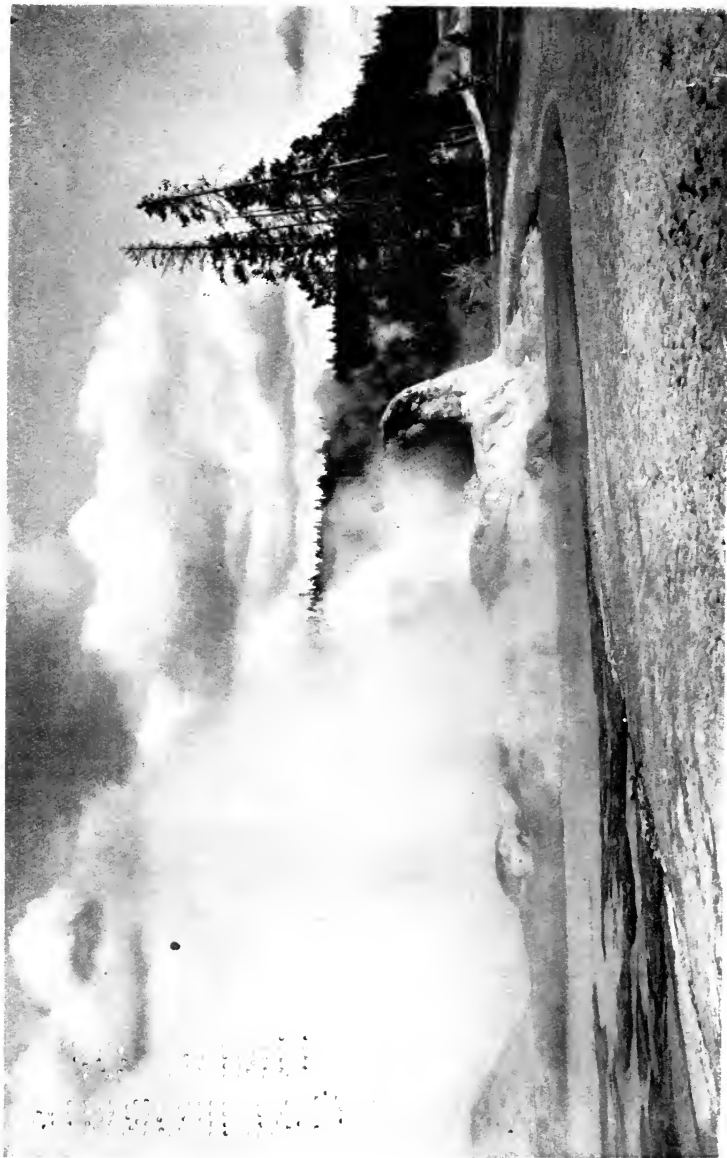
WYOMING, IDAHO, MONTANA, NEVADA, CALIFORNIA,
OREGON, WASHINGTON

NORTHWARDS from Utah lie the States of Wyoming, Idaho and Montana, occupying an enormous territory of great interest, traversed by the Rocky Mountains, and bounded by Canada.

A large part of Wyoming and Montana lies upon the Great Plains, which we have already traversed in the Dakotas and Nebraska, crossed by the affluents of the Upper Mississippi, or rather Missouri River ; the plains where formerly the bison roamed, and across which the early settlers came. The general conditions as regards soil, climate, and so forth are those of a nature already described, in some degree. In the mountainous part the scenery is of that magnificent character such as we have seen in Colorado.

In Wyoming one of the wonder-places of the continent awaits the traveller, in the famous Yellowstone National Park, a reservation over 60 miles long, extending into Montana. The strange natural phenomena of this region were known to the Indian before the white man came ; the remarkable geysers and hot springs, and other matters ; but the accounts of the first explorers were received with incredulity until as late as 1870, when a semi-official expedition corroborated the tales of the gold-seekers and others. To Cretaceous upheavals and Tertiary volcanoes are due the wonderful scenic effects, and the boiling and spouting fountains which rise from this strange wilderness. The largest geyser is known as Excelsior, with a crater 300 feet long, but it has been quiescent since 1890. Others throw up intermittent columns of water for over 200 feet, some at intervals of a day or so ; eruptions lasting from a few minutes to an hour or more. There are perhaps 4,000 hot springs, and the water as it cools deposits a gleaming white sinter, which, covering many square miles of hill and valley,

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THE GROTTO GEYSER, YELLOWSTONE PARK.

contrasts curiously with the dark green of the forests. In places the white sheets are stained with brilliant colours, and the water of the pools is tinted in hues of matchless beauty, whilst, elsewhere, broad concentric terraces of beautiful form and hundreds of feet high have been built up, over whose edges falls a cascade of transparent blue.

The Yellowstone River, with its Grand Cañon, almost surpasses description, as do the beautiful lakes and cascades. The hues of the cañon walls are such as we shall have seen on the Colorado. The snowy peaks of the Rockies, for this remarkable 'park' lies upon them, rise higher and higher, culminating in Mount Sheridan, more than 10,000 feet, from which a magnificent view of the whole range is obtained. Dense forests of black pine cover much of the region, but the gooseberries, blackberries, black and red currants, buttercups, daisies, forget-me-nots, and other wild fruits and flowers here, along the streams and in the glades, show that nature does not provide the stupendous and neglect the more familiar and lowly; the flowers which bloom close to the melting snow-banks in August. The volcanic outbursts of the past have overwhelmed forest after forest, turning them into the fossil trees which we see embedded in the rocks; forests which, undaunted, sprang up again, to shelter the simple and fragrant flowers.

This wild region shelters its wild animal life. Black, brown and grizzly bears emerge, and feed upon the garbage of the hotels; mountain sheep—the wonderful Big Horns, antelope, deer, bison, beavers, porcupines, and other creatures live here, as do robins, blackbirds and wrens, woodpeckers, meadow larks and others, in company with the golden eagle, and others of his kind. Such then is one of the playgrounds of the fortunate American people, wisely preserved as a national property for all time.

Wyoming belongs to the arid States, and irrigation is necessary for cultivation; and the large areas of unimproved land await such, as far as it may be possible to utilize water therefor. Meantime the nutritive grasses support large flocks of sheep. Cereal crops, mainly wheat, have increased enormously, also maize. The area of irrigable land is estimated at six million acres or more, and vast reservoirs are contemplated or under construction, whilst some already exist. Further railways are also required in this rather remote region, when the great mineral wealth would be more widely utilized; in iron, coal, copper and petroleum; matters which already yield in considerable degree.

Large areas of the State are kept apart as Indian reservations.

The Indian Wars of last century were very severe, following upon the discovery of gold in 1867 and the inrush of gold-seekers upon the Red man's territory. Earlier still, the Indians viewed with alarm the encroachment of the white man on their hunting-grounds, and ambushed parties of settlers and attacked the trains; incidents of romantic if bloody memory here. Again, there were disordered scenes upon the laying out of the first towns, in the rush for 'town lots,' the scramble for which, and the goldfields, brought in many desperate characters.

Cheyenne, the capital, was the scene of such developments as these. It takes its name from the Indian tribe of the region; Indians of a powerful and athletic build, superior in mentality to the aboriginal generally, and their whole history has been one of war against both red and white. Cheyenne sprang to life when the Union Pacific railway reached the spot in 1867, and it is now an important centre of industry. The name of Fremont, the 'Path-finder,' and Kit Carson, both famous frontiersmen, were prominent here in early times.

In Montana 'dry' farming, which, as before said, is the intensive tillage of the ground such as conserves its moisture where irrigation is impossible, has been very successful, as well as irrigation; wheat being largely grown; but great Federal irrigation projects have been formed, with vast reservoirs and canals. Extensive areas of oats, wheat and maize are grown, where, before, the desert stretched uncompromisingly: sugar-beet is also a staple; cattle, horses, and sheep flourish where only the deer and coyote formerly lived. Here great 'national' forests have been set apart.

But the leading industry of the State is Mining, with the largest copper-producing district in the world, yielding the leading output of the red metal for any State except Arizona—ores rich in silver and gold. The great Anaconda Copper Mines and smelters are famous wherever mining men congregate, with their huge installations and output, worked by electric power, brought by transmitting cables from the river 110 miles away, at 70,000 voltage. Only Butte rivals this. Seeking gold, in 1882, a solitary prospector found the ledge of copper, and tremendous wealth accrued to the magnates of the 'copper interests' of the Amalgamated Copper Company, who acquired control. The coalfields are also of great importance.

Helena, the capital of this State, is beautifully situated, and from its streets we raise our eyes to Mount Helena, near at hand, or look over the rich, rolling agricultural country around, and the rolling hills and lofty mountains that fence it in. Across the city runs the Last Chance Gulch, in whose rocks nature

had deposited vast wealth ; more than forty millions in gold, yielded up to the pick and bar ; and Helena is the richest city in the Republic in proportion to its population, having sprung from a placer mining camp in the wilderness, in 1864. It lies at 4,000 feet above sea-level. The natural hot water supply, with hot swimming baths, is an interesting feature. Nor are its folk neglected intellectually, for there is a cathedral, and three valuable libraries with over 100,000 books, and other public institutions befitting a capital city.

A broken, picturesque, often stupendous, and game-stocked country is Western Montana, where rivers are born, such as the Missouri and the Yellowstone, which take their way at last right down the continent. Here, on the boundary with Idaho, we are on a roof ridge of the world, the water-parting of the continent, for from this winding border line which follows the jagged summit of the Bitter Root Mountains, with its Alpine scenery, cirques, lakes, and cascades, fall the streams on the one hand that go east and south to find their way to the tropic Gulf of Mexico, and, on the other, west into the Snake River, the upper tributary of the mighty Columbia River, whose outlet is into the colder waters of the North Pacific Ocean.

There is always something inspiring about such a watershed, the *divortia aquarum* of a continent, even if it is but a geographical conception and so *caviare* to the general. The streamlet on our right may flow to an ocean separated thousands of miles from that in which the rivulet on our left loses itself ultimately. Their waters indeed, we might say, 'take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea.' The condition is very marked in the American mountains, the great backbone of the Rockies, and in South America, the Andes.

Here in Idaho this geographical condition was borne upon the explorers Lewis and Clarke, sent out in 1803 by the kindly President Jefferson, with a mandate to ascend the Missouri River and see what communication it might yield over the unknown region of the north-west with the Pacific. They were to take care of themselves, said the president ; and not let exploring zeal jeopardize their safety. From St. Louis—at the moment of the hoisting of the Stars and Stripes there, in place of the French tricolour—they took their way, passing the last outpost of the white man, the home of the famous Daniel Boone, and beyond the land of the fur traders, British and French, with whom they exchanged friendly greetings. They strove with Indians, grizzly bears and buffaloes, with

overturned boats in dreadful rapids, fatigue and hunger ; and at last, reaching the ridge of the continent, saw that a broad stream was flowing *to the west*. It was the headwaters of the Snake River, descending towards the far-off Pacific. They descended this waterway, battling against all the forces of nature ; rocks, forests, icy waters, snow, sleet, heat and fever, building frail canoes, until, a thousand miles beyond, they beheld the blue waters and the long-drawn surf of the Pacific, at the mouth of the mighty Columbia River. Thus did these young Americans first open a highway across this part of America ; and their names are perpetuated in various localities, like those of Fremont and others.

Parts of Idaho produce the famous *durum* wheat, on the fertile soil. Great irrigation projects have been brought forward here as elsewhere, and vast sums have been spent on the work ; grapes and other fruit yield well, and stock-raising is widely carried on. However, the immense value of the gold and silver deposits originally led to the settlement of the State ; first placer mining, then the ores. Thunder Mountain called the prospectors with pick and pan, as did the rich silver of the famous Cœur d'Alene, and Owyhee beckoned the lead miners, whilst copper and zinc were other sources of wealth. Later, there was bloodshed in the strikes at Cœur d'Alene, when the magnate-owners thought to over-regulate wages, and, after the customary American mine-union method of argument in such situations, the mines were blown up here and there ; and Federal troops, taking charge, shut up the wayward strike leaders in a 'Bull-pen' stockade. However, these things passed, doubtless to recur again in one form or another.

Boise City, the capital, in its fruitful valley, a centre for mining, agriculture and wool, was established on a Hudson's Bay Fur Company's outpost. Its hot springs yield the housewife and the local swimming-baths a natural supply of never-failing hot water, somewhat as in Helena ; a beneficial natural service.

Westwards from Idaho lie Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific Slope. But our first view of the Pacific ought to be from California, reached by the railway from Salt Lake City to the west, through Nevada.

From Utah we pass imperceptibly into the State of Nevada, with its Spanish name, derived from the snow-capped Sierras. But we are still in the Great Basin, the one-time 'Great American Desert,' and many of the Nevada rivers do not reach the sea, but are lost in the 'Sinks' and desert sands, or fall into lakes that have no outlet, some of which hold their waters for

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OIL FIELD, BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA.

centuries, others evaporating in a summer, leaving alkali flats of dazzling whiteness. Such a river is the Humboldt, dying out into the Humboldt Lake and Carson Sink, after flowing for 300 miles to the west.

The deserts are not without some vegetation, but the hills have been largely denuded of their coniferous timber, for the mines. We remark the dull, greyish colour of the landscape, due to the prevalent sage-brush, a low, stunted shrub growing everywhere ; amid which the shadowy coyote glides, with an occasional antelope, whilst the horned toad and the rattlesnake are other denizens. On the slopes of the mountains the grizzly bear still has his home, but is getting scarce. Bright-coloured phlox and lupins decorate the foothills, and the bunch grass affords food for cattle, but in the south even the sage-brush disappears, giving place to the cactus and the yucca, and in place the mesquite. The desert soil when reclaimed is fertile under irrigation ; and where hydraulic works have been carried out, such as on the Humboldt, Truckee and other rivers, forage, crops, cereals, and fruit ranches flourish, and great cattle ranches are an important economic resource of the State. The average yield of wheat and potatoes per acre is a high one.

But, had it not been for the mineral wealth of the soil, Nevada might have remained a barren waste. Gold and silver have made it famous, for here lies one of the richest mineral belts in the world, the famous Comstock Lode, which, discovered in 1859, has yielded immense masses of ores of gold and silver of a value of hundreds of millions of dollars ; and this natural wealth brought to being Virginia City, a prosperous community on a barren mountain side, where otherwise assuredly no human being would ever have made his habitation. Here the Great Bonanza mine excited the whole world of mining men. Mining for gold, the ignorant miners for long threw away what they considered worthless ' black stuff ' as they termed a variety of ore whose value in silver was later discovered to be four times greater than the gold. Here, too, is the famous Sutro Tunnel, an enormous mining tunnel driven for six miles into the bowels of the hills beneath the Comstock ; one of the wonders of modern mining. The town of Tonopah is another mining marvel, of a town springing up suddenly on mineral wealth.

Nevada is the most thinly populated of any State in the Union. The capital is Carson City.

The Great Basin is, geographically, very interesting ; and is in reality a tableland, over 4,000 feet above sea-level, rugged, with no hydrographic outlet ; extending from north to south nearly 1,000 miles from the water-parting of the Columbia

River, to the Colorado River, and hundreds of miles wide from the Rockies to the Sierras. The last-named mountains keep off the moist winds from the Pacific, and to this condition is due the sterility of this vast region. In its southern portion are such regions as the Mojave Desert, Death Valley, and Lost Valley. The last-named record the tale of a band of unfortunate 'Forty-niners,' of adventurous gold- and fortune-seekers among those who came over the dreadful plains in that classic period known as—

' The days of old,
The days of gold,
The days of "Forty-nine."'

and who, losing their way, perished here, far from human help or habitation, of thirst, starvation and exposure. The days of forty-nine, it may be explained, refer to that period when, in 1848-9, gold was first discovered in Oregon and California, followed by the rush of prospectors thereto, a romantic period known to every schoolboy reader of adventurous story. Death Valley exceeds in point of heat and aridity any place in the world where records are regularly obtainable.

But we shall not enter California through Death Valley; the more natural and comfortable way being in a Pullman car on the Union Pacific Railway.

The name of California carries with it a colour and interest greater perhaps than any other of the States. There is an element of romance and remoteness about it: its fantastic name falls pleasingly on the ear; a name of unknown origin, though tradition ascribes it either to the Latin of *Calida Formax*, or 'hot furnace,' a doubtful etymology, or to that of an old Spanish romance, in which it occurs, which described the region as 'very near the terrestrial paradise.'

As regards its topography and physical structure, California is one of the most remarkable of the States, whilst its history and social development and economic attributes are also unique. In the field of its products and industrial life it is one of the most independent, and under any other régime than that of the Anglo-American it might have been an independent empire, monarchy, or republic. Indeed, should decentralization and sectionalism ever grow to being in the United States—which, as elsewhere remarked, is far from being one of the political impossibilities of the future—California might become an independent State.

Here is a land somewhat under 800 miles long, with nearly half that in maximum width, the second in point of size in the Union, shut off from the rest of the continent to the east

by a great mountain range—the Sierras, and bordered on the west by the sea—the boundless Pacific ; whilst the extremities of the State are also closed by the convergence of the maritime range and the Sierras. Outside this topographical entity, on the land side, a great area of barren arid lands extends, as we have seen, somewhat precariously crossed by a few railway lines, which struggle over the dividing deserts. The eastern slope of the mountains is very precipitous ; the rocky wall frowning over the sun-baked deserts of the Great Basin in Nevada, dropping down for thousands of feet ; and as we ascend this wall in the groaning, climbing train, along dizzy ridges and round the abrupt shoulders of mountain buttresses, and plunging through tunnels or crossing vibrating and swaying viaducts far above the beds of raging torrents, we may have held our breath in admiration. Unfortunately, however, much of the best scenery on the summit is lost by reason of the forty miles of snowsheds, into which the train plunges, built to protect the line from avalanches, which pass harmlessly over the ponderous wooden roof.

The western slope is somewhat more gradual, but precipitous gorges and profound cañons open to the view, especially in the north, and away in the haze below we catch glimpses of verdant valleys, to which brimming irrigation canals, sparkling around the hills, bring the necessary vital fluid of water from the torrents of the melting snows, down to the golden orange-groves, peach-orchards and vineyards which are California's pride.

Again we remark the sculpturing power of the bygone glaciers in this stupendous mountain scenery of the Far West. The ruggedness and beauty is largely due to the erosive action of the ice that once covered the higher summits, and, vanished now, has left as its work valleys and amphitheatres with towering walls, polished rock faces, glacier-lakes—the ' eyes of the landscape '—and glacier-meadows. On beautiful Mount Shasta some glaciers, though shrunk and withered, still remain. There are thousands of glacier-lakes, an upper and a lower line of them ; the finest of all being beautiful Tahoe, 6,500 feet above the sea, a lake whose wonderfully pure and crystal waters are 1,500 feet deep. Fire as well as ice has fashioned this mountain scenery. Shasta is a volcanic cone rising to over 14,400 feet above the sea, of very imposing aspect, visible for hundreds of miles around, and its snow-cap at times seems to float upon a haze of mystic vapour. It gives birth to one of California's greatest rivers, the Sacramento, which flows down the great Central Valley for several hundreds of miles into the Bay of San Francisco, carrying life in its waters for myriad fields and

orchards, towns, hamlets and ranches, together with the San Joaquin River, coming from the opposite direction.

Crossing this valley, winding and descending, the train brings us to Oakland and is ferried to San Francisco, built upon its hills where the magnificent Bay opens out to the Pacific, beyond whose entrance of the Golden Gate the fiery ball of the sun seems to descend into the ocean. The city draws us to it with peculiar interest. Here we are, as it were, upon the edge of two worlds—America and the Orient; just as, in New York, we were on the edge of America and Europe.

However, it cannot be said that the folk of San Francisco have a specially world-wide temperament. They guard their position and privileges with a strong hand; they are intensely individualistic, and economically are largely independent of the outside, in a sense. These things arise in part from past history. In early days the society of San Francisco was peculiar: an extreme democracy with no tempering aristocracy or ruler; and nowhere else in the history of the Republic have such conditions prevailed. The early self-government was corrupt, inefficient and dishonest, crime was rampant, almost uncontrolled, homicides were of unparalleled frequency, and juries would not punish delinquents, or not until the Vigilance Committees were formed by loyal and outraged citizens, when the brazen criminality began to decline. Gambling, drink, and extravagance were by-words. City officers took office—after the methods of Tammany, transplanted across the continent—for what they could place in their own pockets out of the spoils of public service and public works; a condition which prevailed until late: the great and costly City Hall of San Francisco being an example of public building spoiled by the corrupt practices of its builders, in its bad construction.

But to-day these sinister elements, if they have not entirely disappeared, are not more marked than elsewhere in the Republic, and a race of able, well-meaning and enterprising folk have taken their place. Perhaps the dreadful visitation of the earthquake has read some lesson, although prior to this 'civic righteousness had sprouted'—as a Chicago newspaper commenting in neighbourly fashion, put it.

San Francisco, in 1835, was a little Spanish *presidio* or military post, named Yerba Buena, meaning 'good herb,' referring to the wild mint that grew upon its hills then, and still flourishes in places. A space of dreary sand-dunes separated it from the sea; where it had lived sleepily since, in 1776, the Franciscan Mission established itself there. Francis Drake on his famous voyage in 1579 passed the entrance to the magnificent



LOOKING DOWN POST STREET FROM KEARNEY STREET, SAN FRANCISCO.

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harbour, where the world's navies might swing at anchor, but without seeing it. Perhaps it was shrouded in fog, that dense, cold sea-fog which is San Francisco's scourge at times.

The Mission period in California—there were more than twenty Missions in the territory—was a somewhat romantic and important one, and something of its atmosphere still remains; and the name of its pious and zealous leading spirit, Father Junipero Serra, lives in the pages of its history. Time went on, Spain and Mexico separated, and California was a distant and neglected province of Mexico, which, under the Emperor Iturbide, was the third largest empire in the world. When he fell there were opera-bouffe wars, for the Franciscan folk did not love Mexico, or a republic. In 1842, an American Commodore, thinking war had broken out between the United States and Mexico, and incidentally hearing that a British force was arriving with designs on California, made haste to hoist the Stars and Stripes at Monterey, on the coast, but seeing his error, apologized, and lowered the flag again. However, this operation showed how easily the land could be taken. A few years later the American, Captain Fremont, carried out somewhat similar filibustering operations, with analogous motives, in violation of international amenities, but, it is said, against his government's instructions. He prompted American settlers to take control. Six years later, after complications and disorders, California was ceded by Mexico to the United States, and so befell it that which happened to Texas.

In 1848-9 came the 'gold rush,' with all that that extraordinary period entailed, the deserting of the town for the gold-fields, the scramble across the plains and the isthmus of Panama, when thousands flocked to enrich themselves; some winning; thousands returning in rags, many perishing. In the Civil War and the question of slavery the attitude of San Francisco was somewhat uncertain. There was even an idea of a Pacific coast republic. The finest figure of the period was a Unitarian Minister, the famous Thomas Star King. Then came the 'Silver era,' rivalling the gold excitement, and in 1869 the railway reached the coast, a momentous happening, the line having made its way across the continent, so linking California with the rest of the Republic.

In the 'seventies the agitation against Chinese immigration began, and the feeling found vent in such remarkable measures as that which was passed requiring all Chinamen to cut off their queues or pigtails—a deadly affront then, to an Oriental. But the Federal law protected the Celestials. Still to-day the Chinese and Japanese question agitates Californians, and perhaps

it may be asked, why the people of California so bitterly object to the presence of these Orientals. They assert that the Chinaman is anti-social among them, that he undersells labour, that he is immoral, that he is a great gambler and opium smoker, establishing his dens in the city, that, as he never brings a wife with him, he seeks to inter-marry with or even to debauch the white woman, that he sends all his savings—they are hard-earned—back to China and so does not benefit the community. Even when he dies the Chinaman leaves the country, for his body is sent home for burial in the land of his ancestors. Yet the Chinese in many ways have been useful members of the community, being hard-working, extracting benefits from the soil where the American would not or could not, and getting gold from the poorest creeks and river bars. Further, he washes, in his peculiar laundries, the American's clothes. But, 'The Chinese must go,' has been an insistent cry. 'Melican Man' will not have him.

The problem of the Japanese in California and the United States generally, is even more difficult than that of the Chinese, and perhaps fraught with greater international gravity. For Japan is now a powerful and alert nation, very jealous of her rights. The objections to their entry into the United States, such as applied to the Chinese, do not apply to nearly the same extent, for the Japanese bring their wives with them, and appear to wish to take up permanent residence, and the question seems rather to be one of race-prejudice on the part of the Americans. However, they undercut American labour, and labour is strongly against them. Now that both Japanese and Chinese have dispensed with the queue, and dress often in American garb, they can scarcely be distinguished from each other. But the Japanese do not acknowledge any race inferiority nor understand why their children should be excluded from American schools, and the decision not to admit any more of their folk exasperates them. The conqueror of formerly powerful Russia, and of China, and the ally of England, regards itself as the equal of any, and thinks itself capable of measuring its strength even with the United States; and indeed here is the great menace of the Pacific.

We shall recollect that the same problem also obtains in the British Empire, in British Columbia and Australia.

San Francisco grew to much importance and splendour. Vessels put forth from its loaded wharves to, or arrived from, every harbour of the world. Magnificent steel-built sailing vessels from England came via the Horn, bringing coal and taking back produce; huge schooners brought sugar from

Hawaii ; lines of steamers ran across the Pacific to Asia. Society became very wealthy, and great residences multiplied, whilst across the Bay beautiful health resorts were thronged with pleasure-loving folk. Great steel skyscrapers lined its business streets ; hives of business men. Then came the terrific earthquake of 1906, throwing down the buildings, and followed by a fire lasting three days, when over 500 persons perished and damage amounting to 500 million dollars was done : a calamity which might unfortunately at any time be repeated. However, the enterprising and undaunted folk built up the city again even more elaborately, and to-day it is the greatest and most advanced centre of life on the whole of that vast Pacific seaboard which stretches from Bering Strait to Cape Horn, for twelve thousand miles.

We shall remark all over California the Spanish place-names, a feature of æsthetic value. In the south—the beautiful land of Southern California—Los Angeles has been a city of extraordinarily rapid growth, having created great wealth, fine surroundings and delightful pleasure resorts upon the coast. This is the land of the Orange, whose scientific cultivation is a remarkable development of the orchardist here, born of the peculiar soil, the climate, and the irrigating streams from the snowy Sierras. Its allurements have often been held out to the Englishman—who has sometimes taken too much for granted concerning the benefits obtainable in the industry of fruit-growing.

As to the products of the State, its history might be written successively in the words grass, gold, grain, fruits ; for from stock-ranches to mining and thence to wheat-growing enterprise came largely to fruit production. The vineyards cover great areas, and the grapes are shipped to the Eastern States in refrigerator cars, or used in wine-making—although this last-named industry is now subject to the prohibition laws. Horticulture is a principal industry of the State, with no rival, excepting in Florida in some respects. As we travel through the fruit-growing districts we remark, in the drying season, the orchards floored with wooden trays upon which vast quantities of peaches, prunes, figs, raisins, and so forth are drying ; and the rows of fruit trees on the well-tilled soil, with their supplying irrigation conduits or ditches, extend on every hand, pressing up to the very base of the rocky hills in places. The weedy or moss-grown orchards, such as are a common feature of certain fruit-growing districts in England, are not seen ; all is cultivated and scientifically tended. At the beginning of this century there were over a quarter of a million acres of vineyards, of

all varieties. The making and export of prunes and other dried fruit is a very important and pleasing industry. The traveller's mouth may well water as he contemplates the variety of luscious fruits, and in England we might ask why, with such abundance, is this dried and other fruit so scantily and expensively placed upon the English market, almost out of reach of the great bulk of poorer housewives and children.

The list of fruits includes pineapples, limes, olives, lemons, apricots, pomegranates, pears, apples, plums, almonds, walnuts, and others. The famous Seedless Orange of Southern California, known as the 'Washington navel,' of great size, is familiar in England to those who can afford it. However, it is perhaps not more expensive than the luscious pears and other fruit from the oversea lands of the British Empire; such as the Cape—imperial pears indeed, at fourpence or sixpence apiece! Orange culture at one time in California became almost a fever, like gold-seeking, but the golden fruit was more permanent and valuable than the golden mineral.

But the older industrial lore of the State is bound up with gold-mining, of the old days of the 'pan,' the 'rocker,' the 'tom,' the 'flume,' and all the other appliances of the lonely creek and gulch, where men of all sorts and conditions strove to enrich themselves from the gravels of the river beds, which has furnished much material of romance and tragedy. Then were developed the 'hydraulic' methods of gold-getting, in which streams of water under pressure, brought in long pipe lines, are directed against the great banks of gravel of the 'dead' rivers or Tertiary deposits, in which gold is contained, bringing down millions of tons of earth, which is directed into sluices, and washed; the débris escaping into the streams. After a period, legislation was brought about against this, for the detritus filled up and spoiled the streams and rivers, which overflowed on to the land, and as a result there was bitter complaint between farmer and miner for years. Simultaneously, the more legitimate and stable mining of ores, in the veins and lodes which abound in the hills, was developed, and heavy machinery installed, and this is the class of mining that enriches California to-day. A little quicksilver is produced in the State; the metal being found scarcely anywhere in the Republic except on the Pacific Slope.

The forest scenery of California, on the slopes of the mountains, is of the most beautiful. The timber or lumbering industry is one of the most important, but the valuable Redwood is in process of exhaustion. Indeed, the forests of California, Oregon, and Washington—and in part of British Columbia—

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MAGNOLIA AVENUE, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA.

are the most magnificent in the world. The enormous and beautiful Sequoias and giant Redwoods are found nowhere in the world save in California. The Redwoods grow only on a strip of the coastal mountains, a region of heavy rains and fogs, and they are a remnant of an earlier arboreal age when the tree must have existed in other parts of the globe, but has now become extinct except for this Pacific habitat. Some of the trees reach 350 feet in height, with a butt diameter of 20 feet, a clear column rising 200 feet to the first branch ; and a single specimen has cut as high as 100,000 feet of timber. The tree will grow up again from its stump, more than once, hence its name of *S. Sempervirens*, and in thirty years may reach a height of 80 feet and a trunk diameter of 16 inches. Another noble tree, also a Sequoia, is the Big Tree, *S. Gigantea* ; and some of this class have trunks 25 feet in girth, with one giant of over 35 feet diameter, four feet from the ground, and 325 feet tall. But their size is not more remarkable than their age, for some specimens of the Redwoods are 2,500 years old probably, and it is supposed would live to be 5,000 years old. Some of the best groves of these trees are preserved as national property, but elsewhere they are being exhausted. Rivals of these giants are the great pines and Douglas Firs ; and fully to describe these arboreal wonders and the forests of California generally would alone require a volume.¹

The Big Trees are naturally one of the points of interest to the tourist in California ; from which he will doubtless pass to the Yosemite. This famous cañon, or rather valley, has sheer granite walls 3,300 feet high in places, carved out by glaciers in the ages past. Cascades leap over its precipices ; giant pines, 200 feet high, arise from its floor ; and, at the foot or on the terraces, the modest violet blooms, with the lily, the wild-rose, the azalea, and other species, in gorgeous masses, some flowering all the year round. This enchanted valley slumbered until the year 1851, when a body of soldiers who were pursuing some robber Indians suddenly discovered it. Now, Yosemite is a national park, a home of the Californian camper-out, to which pastime the climate lends itself admirably.

Few lands vary more in their climate than California, and the traveller may choose what temperature he prefers, according to locality. In the south he may enjoy a region of eternal spring ; in the land of the magnolia and the orange. Los Angeles has a high reputation in this connexion, and its pleasing homes show that energy, business, and wealth may flourish, in America, in the most pleasing, almost sub-tropical

¹ The standard book on the subject is that of John Muir.

environment. The city stands between the mountains and the sea, and its business buildings, its 'skyscrapers,' and institutions generally are evidence of its importance. Here still stands the old Franciscan Mission of San Gabriel, founded in 1781; its adobe walls lasting well in the dry climate. The picturesque old Mission style of architecture has been largely adopted in the houses of many splendid estates; and surrounded by flowers and fruits, oranges, giant geraniums, magnolias, pepper trees, and other semi-tropical flora, these places would seem to approach the 'earthly paradise,' even if the voice of the Angelus is drowned in the roar of the city.

Southern California has become the home of cinematograph film production, a great industry which has sprung up largely as a result of the climate and scenery; and here the famous 'Stars' of the film perform those singular antics which characterize the many trashy American moving pictures familiar to the British public. However, there are, of course, excellent productions too, some of them of unparalleled value, proceeding from this centre. In Southern California the Spanish, or rather Mexican element is still strong, and equally picturesque.

Leaving California we approach the colder and sterner regions of the north, of Oregon and beyond, to which either the train or steamer service of the Pacific coast gives access.

The coast of Oregon forms long, sandy beaches, alternately with bold rocky headlands, but without notable harbours, except the mouth of the Columbia River, which great stream divides it from the State of Washington. This last-named State is not to be confounded with the Federal District, on the Atlantic Slope.

The Columbia River, rising in the Rocky Mountains and in British Columbia, is nearly 1,000 miles long, breaking through the Cascade Mountains—the northern continuation of the Sierra Nevadas, traversing magnificent gorges, forming the famous Dalles Cascades, and threading the deep forests; those—

'Continuous woods where rolls the Oregon,
And hears no sound save its own dashings,'

as Bryant, an early American poet, a great lover and por-trayer of Nature, wrote of it.

Bryant was the descendant of a *Mayflower* Pilgrim, a poet of great beauty, serenity, and power, and he wrote of the river in 1817, giving it its poetical name. It has been said of Bryant that he was 'a seer of large and noble contemplation, in whose writings of earth and sky, the presence and

care of the Divine mind and the tender and beautiful relation of the Creator to man were melodiously depicted,' and he ranks among American master poets, the first of them historically.

Vancouver and Captain Cook both failed to discover the Columbia River, in their voyages, and to the American, Gray, belonged the honour of its discovery. The Columbia is navigable for some hundreds of miles, and forms a very important harbour, with the cities of Portland, Astoria and others on its banks. It is the greatest salmon stream in the world, and has indeed been so considerably fished that the salmon at one time were in danger of exhaustion, when hatcheries were established by the United States Government, in the interests of the canning industry. The name of the river is familiar to the British housewife from the label of the salmon tins that find their way into her larder.

The early rivalries of the powerful fur-trading Companies of the North-West, the Hudson Bay Company and others, have largely composed the history of this region, and the disputes between Briton and American over possession of the river valley in part gave rise to the bitter 'Oregon question,' with the American war-cry of 'Fifty-four-forty or fight,' as we have seen elsewhere. Earlier was the period of 'Oregon fever,' a great migration, before California was known, of Americans to the North-West, when settlers flocked in; but the territory was grievously neglected by the American Government and the settlers were left to privation and Indian attacks. The United States Government, at that period, certainly did not deserve to hold Oregon.

Oregon was the scene of the gold discoveries, at a place known as Sutter's Mill, on which followed the gold rush to Oregon and California: making history and leading to civilization in these then unknown regions. To-day, quartz gold-mining, coal, copper and other minerals are important sources of wealth in the State.

The Klamath Lakes of Oregon are noted for their beauty; and Oregon is the home of the great Douglas Fir, commonly called Oregon pine, the forests of which are magnificent and of great commercial value. The soil of the State in places is of the most fertile in the Republic, and the fruit produced is known far beyond its borders. Irrigation is largely practised in the interior plains. The wide, natural resources of Oregon, and its coalfields and water-power are the basis of growing manufacturing industries. Such fine cities as Portland—which was named after Portland, Maine, by two of its founders, Astoria and others, show the growth of the State, of which

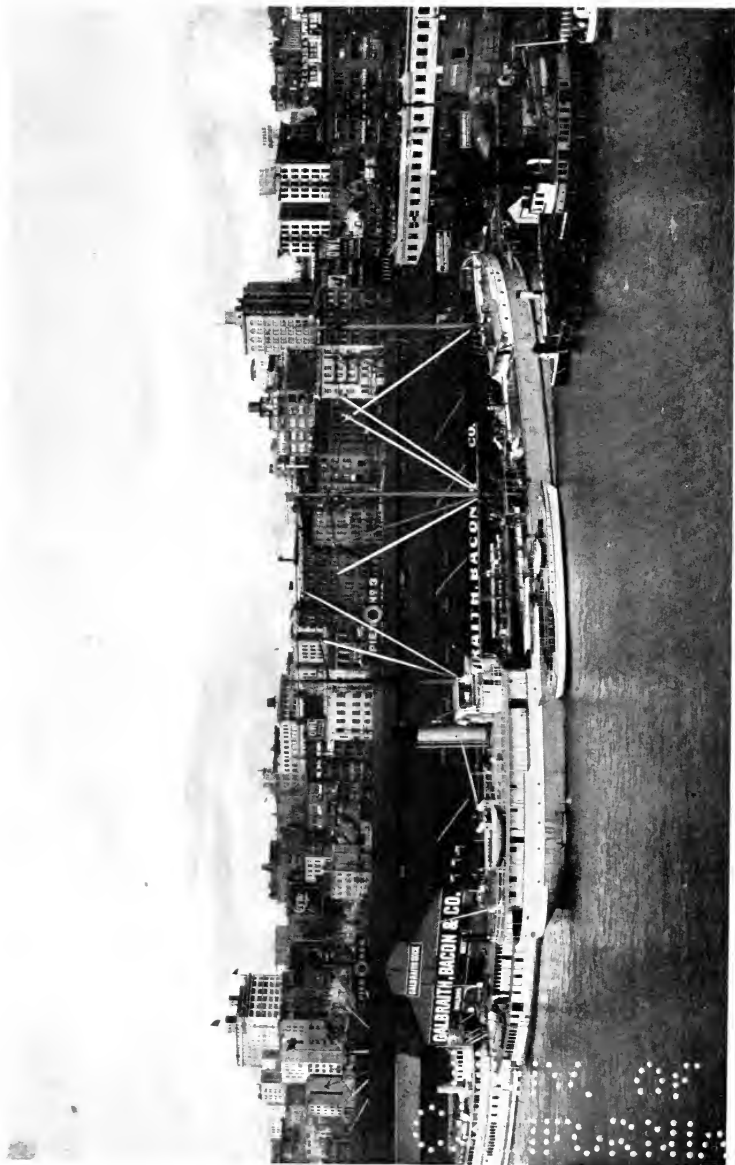
Salem is the capital, the centre of rich fruit and farming lands of the Willamette Valley.

In the adjoining State of Washington we find many conditions similar to that of Oregon, and indeed to those of British Columbia, which bounds it on the north. Washington might have been named 'Columbia'—there is, curiously, no State of that name in the United States—but Congress, when the region was separated from Oregon, vetoed the proposal which was made so to designate it.

The principal feature of this part of the American coast is the famous Puget Sound, whose sea-entrance is the common property of Britain and America; the Straits of Juan de Fuca, named after the Greek Mariner who first entered it. Bathing the shores of Vancouver Island, this great inlet marks the beginning of the fiord-like coast, which, to the north, is in such strong contrast with the more uniform shore-line of the United States southwards. Seattle, Tacoma, and Olympia, on the Sound, are remarkable examples of city-growth here, as are Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster on the Canadian side; and they are the termini of the huge trans-continental railways, and centres of commerce and sea-borne traffic. The Sound and its region must inevitably play an important part in the future development of the Pacific coast of America. Its products and potentialities are great and varied: its climate, influenced by the Japan current, which in fact performs here what the Gulf Stream does for the British Isles, in the same latitude, adds to the favourable conditions. From these ports great steamer lines run to Chinese and Japanese ports, to which the distance is less by hundreds of miles than from San Francisco. These northern cities may be to the Pacific coast what New York and Boston are to the Atlantic.

In this connexion is the favourite theme of some economists and geographers that the Pacific must take the place of the Atlantic in importance in future world-development, in the same way that the Atlantic superseded the Mediterranean. But only the future can say if this doubtful theory is a true one. For, even if the world has shrunk with the growth of communication, as is commonly said, nevertheless its future may be towards a greater self-centring of the nations, the necessary consumption of their own products, with a consequent stationary position of sea-borne commerce; and the Pacific, under such circumstances, is not likely to become the centre of the world's sea-borne trade, as some have averred.

The State of Washington enjoys the only important coal-



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PORT OF SEATTLE, WASHINGTON.

fields on the Pacific coast of the United States, and these are, naturally, a valuable source of industry and commerce. Gold, silver, copper, and lead are other minerals here. The timber industry is a promising one ; perhaps, with that of Oregon, the foremost in the Republic ; and great shipments of pine timber are made. Flour-milling and meat-packing are important manufacturing elements. The many waterways yield a wealth of fish, and agriculture in many branches is a great basis of livelihood. Hop-picking gives employment in its season to numbers of the Indian population. We remark that all the North-Western States have a number of Indian reservations, embodying many millions of acres of territory. On Puget Sound we shall remark the numerous Indian lodges, and the red man retains much of his primitive character, spending a good deal of time perhaps lying upon his back, dreaming or thinking such thoughts as Indians think, whilst his squaw hews the wood and draws the water.

A great landmark of Washington is the beautiful Mount Rainier, or Tacoma, which, from the steamer's deck in Puget Sound, or from the railway, at times presents its snow-capped cone as if floating upon a sea of mist ; a common attribute of such mountains. It is visible for 150 miles away. The first white man to sight it, and Mount Hood, was Vancouver, and he called the peaks after two British noblemen ; a nomenclature to which some patriotic Americans have taken objection. Tacoma rises to nearly 14,500 feet, displaying its glaciers as seen from the sea ; the mountain gaining in height from its proximity thereto. Indeed, a marked feature of the North-Western region of the United States, from Shasta to Tacoma, is the beauty of its mountains, where, often, snowy peaks reflect the colour of the sky, as the sun sinks into the broad bosom of the Pacific.

CHAPTER X

Government, Politics, Social and Industrial Life

WE must now turn our attention, though briefly, to considering the governmental system: the lines of the political parties, and the social and industrial life of America.

The Government of the United States is founded on very logical or scientific principles, more naturally scientific indeed than its founders were aware of or than is generally realized. It is a Federation, an aggregate of unit States, each of which exercises its own independent powers whilst conforming to the general functions of the whole. It was not planned as a scientific system, but was originally born of the forces of compromise and necessity. Its Constitution has appealed so strongly to the newer nations of the world, such as Switzerland, Australia, Canada, and the twenty Latin American republics of Central and South America—that is, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and so forth—that these have largely modelled their administrative systems upon it.

The Federal system was, substantially, a compromise effected between the claimants for a centralized government and those who desired wide power for the component States, whilst at the same time being, as a written Constitution, expressive of the will of the people—the ‘sovereign people,’ which term is much to the fore in all American republics. The Federation and its Constitution are in reality derived from the individual State, and thus the whole was modelled from a component unit; for the States existed before the Federation. Further, as the individual State was a Colony, originally, and as, before the Declaration of Independence in 1775, each of the North American Colonies enjoyed a system of self-government under charter from the British Crown, which embodied a governor and other executive officers, a legislature and a judiciary, and managed its own affairs and made its own laws, the system was of British origin. It is, of course, true that the British Parliament and Crown retained power over these Colonies;

still, in practice, the people were accustomed to and experienced in exercising their own administrative powers. Thus it is true to say that the American people owe the principles of their government to the Mother Country; the main differing feature being that America has a written Constitution, documentary, rigid, which has defined and maintains the power of every authority of Government, which cannot be changed; whilst in Great Britain the Parliament, the supreme power, with no written Constitution, can change any of the laws of the land at any time. But, with a Constitution of the American model, it is to be recollected that the legislative body, the Government, has far scantier powers than in England, and in some other European countries. On the other hand, the American President has powers far greater than those in practice the King of England possesses. It may be said with truth that England's old-fashioned and unwritten Constitution is more truly democratic than the modern governmental code of the United States, with all the advantages the latter presents. The superiority of the American Federation is in the decentralization of government and social activity, as contrasted with the administrative hegemony of the United Kingdom, as later discussed: whilst members of Congress are probably more directly representative of the people, and more in contact with them.

A sketch of the American Government system must here be brief. At the period—1787—when its Constitution was drawn up finally, there prevailed the axiom in political science of government divided into three departments: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary; detached and independent as far as possible from each other. As in England and elsewhere, Congress, or Parliament, is bicameral. In America, one house, the Senate, contains the representatives of each State, each of which sends two members, whilst the House of Representatives is (1921) of 435 members, elected on a basis of population. There is of course no hereditary representation, as in the House of Lords. The members of this second chamber are chosen for two years, elections taking place in November of the years of even dates, and all terms expire simultaneously. The rules are complicated, debate is limited to a set time, and partly due to the size of the great hall, and to the system of legislation by committees there is, it is generally considered, little good debating, as in the English or European sense. Every Bill is first referred to some committee, and then considered by the House on the report of that body; and an hour's discussion may decide its fate, death occurring to perhaps

over ninety per cent. of such Bills. The Speaker always belongs to the party which commands the majority in the House, and in some respects he resembles the English Prime Minister; and he is second only to the President in political standing. He appoints all the committee members, their chairmen, and arranges their business. He is elected by the House on a party vote.

What is practically manhood suffrage—except in some respects as regards the negroes, who, in the South, are largely denied their vote—prevails, but in some States paupers, criminals and illiterates may not vote. As to woman suffrage, this did not develop as rapidly as in England. The women of America have been far less active or ardent over the matter of the vote, and only in August, 1920, was legislation secured to give general voting power to women. The alien or foreign vote is an important and uncertain element.¹ Among these the Irish, with their enormous numbers, are generally Democrats.

The Senators are elected by their State Legislatures, for six years: two from each State, great or small, and thus, for example, New York State, with a population of about eight millions, has the same representation as, for example, Nevada, with about 50,000. One-third of the members retire every two years, and by this arrangement the old members always predominate. In the committee system, that also prevails here, the chairmen are chosen by ballot of the Senate, and there is no limitation of debate. In some classes of business secret sessions are held, but information generally leaks out to the Press and public—a condition not unknown at Westminster. The Vice-President of the Republic is *ex-officio* presiding officer of the Senate; his only actual function. The operations of this House are legislative, executive, and judicial, the first-named being analogous with that of the Representatives, except as regards Bills for raising revenue, which proceed from the popular Assembly. Executively it approves or disapproves of the President's nominations of Federal Officers, Judges, Ministers of State and Ambassadors, and treaties submitted by the President must be approved by a two-thirds majority; and in this respect the Senate has general control over foreign policy. However, the so-called 'veto power' of the President permits him to send back to Congress any Bill which he does

¹ This was doubly so in 1920, as a result partly of the war, and there was revealed a less assimilative element in Americanism than had been hoped for.

not approve of, and this, unless again passed by both Houses with a two-thirds majority, does not become law.

These last-named operations have taken an important place in the recent matters connected with the League of Nations, when there were stormy disagreements between President and Congress.

Complaint is sometimes made by foreign governments of the powers of the American Senate, as these may at times prevent them from relying upon arrangements made with the executive; but it is readily to be seen that there would be strong objection in a democratic government to giving the President uncontrolled treaty-making power, as he cannot be removed—except by impeachment, which was borrowed from English methods.

The judicial function of the Senate is in its sitting as a high court for the trial of persons impeached by the House of Representatives. Both Presidents and Federal judges have been so impeached on occasion, in the history of the Republic.

As to the Bills, when a proposed measure has passed one chamber it goes to the other and is referred to an appropriate committee. It is discussed, amended, or compromise made, or absolute disagreement found. If it passes both chambers it goes to the President, who approves or otherwise.

The President, in whom the executive power of the nation is vested, holds office for four years, and he may be re-elected any number of times, except that tradition, from the time of Washington, has established an unwritten bar to more than two continuous terms of office. President and Vice-President are chosen by the system of the 'Electoral College,' as a kind of double election, which, however, has been described as in practice being only a roundabout way of obtaining the judgment of the people as to who shall be President. Each State, under this system, chooses a number of 'presidential electors' equal to the number of their Congressional representatives, and the votes of these are given in writing and opened and counted in Session by the President of the Senate, before both Houses. It is theoretically supposed that the choice of President is thus secured by the best citizens of each State, tranquilly and deliberately, but, in fact, the electors themselves are chosen by party methods, by a strict party vote, at the huge party meetings known as National Conventions, which they must obey. It is virtually an election by States, the struggle predominating in the larger States, and thus it may be that the chosen President has received only a minority of the popular

vote cast. The President must be a native-born citizen, over thirty-five. He receives a salary of \$75,000 per annum, with \$25,000 for travelling expenses and the tenure of the Executive Mansion, or 'White House.'

As is seen, the position of the President markedly differs from that of the British sovereign, to whom nearly all important measures are brought for signature by his ministers, and, nominally, under his instructions; whilst the President of America cannot introduce Bills through his ministers, although he may recommend measures, by written messages to Congress. Federal administration is so regulated by statute that there is little latitude for the President. He may choose his 'Cabinet' ministers, etc., but the power of making other appointments would give him too much influence. The Senatorial members of the President's party require a share in the bestowing of offices as a price for their co-operation with him, and under the so-called 'spoils system' this distribution is an important function of his, and to his patronage his influence over Congress is largely due. The President is Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and when internal disorder occurs, or foreign hostilities threaten, his responsibilities enormously increase. The power to declare war is vested in Congress, but the President on his sole authority may virtually engage the Army in hostilities.

In ordinary times the President's work might perhaps be likened to that of the managing clerk of a limited liability company, selecting subordinates but subject as to policy to the Directors. Yet at times he may have more authority—but without that dignity of place—than a foreign sovereign; his powers are narrower than those of a Prime Minister, but nevertheless do not depend upon a parliamentary majority, and although elected as a party candidate he generally enjoys the loyalty and deference of the whole community, and wields very considerable influence, even outside his legal powers. There is no such thing as a Cabinet, as understood in England or France, but the term is used to denote the council of ministers; and, like the British Cabinet, this council is not formally recognized by law, though accepted as a permanent adjunct of Government. The members are excluded from Congress and independent of it, and so have little to do with parliamentary tactics, in bills, and foreign policy.

The Federal judicial system is independent of the legislature and executive, and consists of a Supreme Court, created by the Constitution, and other courts; the judges of the first being nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate

and, holding office securely—except by impeachment—have a more stable tenure than English judges. The other Federal Courts have been created by Congress. The Judiciary of America is of high importance, because it is the arbiter of the will of the sovereign people as expressed in the Constitution. The powers of the Federal Courts extend only to such matters as may be affected by Federal law, and all else is left to the State Courts, from which there is no appeal, except in points which concern the Federal powers.

The object of those who formed the Constitution was to obviate friction between the Federal and the State Governments. They desired to keep the two sets of mechanism, as it were, as distinct and independent of each other as possible. However, it is a fundamental principle of American Government that the National Government has direct authority over every citizen, irrespective of such citizen's allegiance to his own State, and if needful it may act upon such citizen not through the State, but by its own officers, the Federal Authority. Each State has its own separate Government, which embodies a Legislature of two Houses—a Senate and a House of Representatives, after the manner of the Federal Government of Congress at Washington. At the head is a Governor directly elected by the people of the State. This machinery was largely inherited from the old Colonial system and the British example, whilst the Governor is also an institution of the older time. Americans think, with Britain, that an upper and a lower House are necessary against over-partisan or tyrannical government. The Constitution of each State—for each has such—was passed and is enacted without Federal interference (there are certain Federal reservations, however), and derives its power from the folk of its particular region.

The individual State is, as we have already seen, the oldest political institution in America : it is the indestructible unit of the American system of Government, and jealously preserves its rights against any Federal encroachment thereon. But to-day it is considered that the individual State has not so strong a hold upon the affection or patriotism of its people as it had earlier, up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Various causes have wrought this change, such as the growth of the party system in politics, which tends to merge political opinion and operation more into national fields ; the enormous development of railways and other means of communication, and the growth of manufacturing industry and inter-State trading, which, everywhere, tends to banish local landmarks (we see this in England) ; and partly as a result of the Civil War

of 1861-5, which of course suppressed any undue State activity and put down secession.

It might be asked how far this loss of State individuality is likely to go. It is a favourite theme of some economic writers to-day that 'economic solidarity' has been the result of the great growth of industry, and that the decline of local patriotism and industry is the national gain. A turn of the wheel of human affairs may show that it is rather the flowering which precedes the inevitable running to seed, and that a new cutting-down and new growth from the root may yet result, in America, England and other lands, with a return to a system of natural decentralization as a remedy.

The individual States are divided into counties, and these into townships, with differences in some States, depending somewhat upon matters of earlier colonization. Looking at the map of an American State we remark the innumerable divisions into which it is carved up, often of rectangular blocks, like a chess-board; often with more natural boundaries, as of streams, etc. West of the Alleghanies a township has an area of six square miles. Each township, or town, in New England, is governed by an assembly of officials elected annually by a town meeting. In the small rural communities the attendance, debates, and administration are generally excellent, but in the larger places less satisfactory. The assemblies are known as 'select men,' who receive no salary, and the paid officials. In other States conditions vary somewhat. As for the county, its government is vested in a board of elected commissioners, with corresponding powers. Rural administration in America is regarded as in general fairly cheap and efficient, whilst its value as a training for civic duties is considerable. Local affairs, however, do not evoke as much public interest and spirit as formerly—a further result of over-centralization.

A glance now at the method of the American elections, which have become something of a by-word in England.

The American elections occupy far more time and thought, and keep the community disturbed for a longer period, than is the case in England. They are held, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, every four years. The voting takes place on the first Tuesday in November of the election year: that is, for the presidential election and for Congress; and most of the States elect their Legislative Governors and other officials at the same time. The struggle for the elections begins many months before the actual day, however, and the canvass for the autumn decision may be in

full swing in March ; and although definitely elected in November the President does not take office until the following March. This sometimes leads to perfunctory administration in these intervening months. In reality it is the members of the Electoral College who are elected in November, and as their choice is known, the name of the successful candidate is known—although this was not originally meant to be. The Conventions—Republican or Democrat—are held each in some chosen city, and great movement and excitement obtains. The delegates from each State who attend these Conventions are pledged to this or that candidate for the presidency, who tries to capture as many delegates as possible, to secure his nomination, or if he feels his chance is poor he does the same for the nomination of a friend who aspires to the presidency ; and here intervenes a good deal of bargaining, for delegates are not required to keep to their instructions if the outlook for their original candidate seems hopeless. The Conventions over, there is a period of comparative peace. Party leaders combine for the campaign, and declarations of political faith are put forward, with all the ‘ planks ’ in the respective ‘ platforms.’ In September the battle becomes brisk : campaign funds have already been solicited : candidates tour the Republic in special trains, making speeches from the back platform of the cars as they cross the Continent, from East to West and North to South : there are torchlight processions in the streets by supporters ; buttons, badges, and literature are scattered everywhere ; nothing is heard of but politics, until, on polling day, business is stopped—even on the Stock Exchange, and wild excitement takes possession of all : the newspaper offices are thronged by crowds outside, and forecasts are flashed upon the expectant folk. The result is known a few hours after the poll, for counting machines are used, and the Press itself busily tabulates the returns. Sometimes a mistake is made in these forecasts, however.

The difference between the two principal American political parties is a somewhat difficult one for the Englishman to grasp at first. Republican and Democrat—the terms one would think at first were synonymous—correspond in large degree to the English Unionist or Conservative, and Liberal and Radical parties, respectively. The Republicans mainly represent a class of society which thinks in terms of American prestige, as our Unionist party does of British prestige and imperialism, whilst the Democrats are in closer touch, or claim to be, as our Liberals do, with the everyday folk and their requirements and demands. The Democratic party carries

the banner of 'Social Reform,' of peace abroad, of avoidance of entangling alliances, and opposes any American imperialism. It corresponds also to the Free Trade party, in opposing 'protection' and tariffs. The emblem of the Republicans is an elephant: that of the Democrats a donkey: and these appear upon the electoral 'tickets.'

In no country are party methods so well organized or does the spirit of party so completely dominate the folk as in the United States. Party spirit, however, is not necessarily more bitter than in Britain, or in France. In some respects it is less so, but it goes deeper. Again, in America, parties select their candidates, rather than recognizing candidates who may put themselves forward. The purposes of party action, as is of course the same in some degree elsewhere, are to influence governmental policy, to mould public opinion, and to obtain paid appointments for party workers. The last is a very strong and peculiarly American motive. It has sprung up since the time of President Jackson—1829-37, with the axiom 'to the victors belong the spoils.' Those who have served the party, in however humble a capacity, must hope to secure place.

Whilst this is much less so in England, it is to be recollected that the enormous list of 'Honours,' and 'Birthday lists' of innumerable new knights, viscounts, and others are to a large extent the spoils of political activity and the reward of giving of money to party funds by the wealthy, who by this means raise themselves in the social scale—a system that of late has been sharply denounced.

An idea may be obtained of the wide sweep of an American election by imagining the political parties in England going to the polls on a single day to elect the House of Commons, the Prime Minister, one-third of the House of Lords, County Councils, Rural and Parish Councils, Lord-Lieutenants, Mayors, Municipalities, and indeed almost all State officials. The electors have to choose one or the other party 'tickets.'

The observer and student of affairs will certainly not altogether condemn the frequent American changes and elections, or method of subjecting officials to the general choice. As a system it gives an opportunity for new men to come forward, it prevents the growth and hold on office of those who think they are indispensable and who may end by becoming autocrats—such autocrats as we should have in far greater profusion in English Government were it not for a certain natural sense of fair play, and the force of public opinion, even apart from the polls. In America there may be little-known, obscure,

but ambitious spirits wandering and working among their kind over the huge continent, when a turn of fortune brings them forward, and the great automatic machinery of politics may raise them to office, and even to the presidential chair. In England we cannot do this. Men cannot rise to serve their country in office as readily as do the Americans. We may point to the fact that even Prime Ministers and other high officials of State have risen from the poorest (for example, from a barefooted boy in a Welsh valley-cottage), but this is the exception that proves the rule. Position and opportunity in England, despite our broad-minded methods, belong largely to an oligarchy, into which only those either with influence or money can penetrate. The individual talent of the country may run to waste: it may break its heart: but it cannot fill its desires. The—generally—able body of the British ruling clique is a natural Toryism, whether it be Radical or Conservative. This should be altered: it is dangerous: it is a severe loss: it leads to smouldering anger, to antagonistic Trades Unionism which demands political power; to an impotent middle class; and may lead to a fall. In America, on the contrary, there is more of an outlet, more of the machinery of democracy at work. Of course, in America, rich men supply the party with huge sums of money, and the 'big interests' at times exert a shamefully corrupt influence. But there are, nevertheless, many independent elements which sway politics, with often unexpected results.

In America the abuse of the power of selfish corporations, and of money, with consequent lack of faith in legislatures, whether state or city, which are or may be influenced by such corruption, has—amongst other causes—given rise to an interesting and remarkable extension of direct popular government, in what is called the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. In the first, some of the State constitutions have provisions under which a certain proportion of the voters may put forward a proposition for approval, which, if carried, becomes law. Thus a law or ordinance which has been passed by a municipal authority may be submitted to all the voters for approval or rejection, constituting a Referendum. A special election may be held, on demand of such proportion of voters, for a mayor or other member of council, at which such official may be displaced, and this is the Recall. These matters are being followed with interest in their development, offering, as they are said to do, a more direct expression of the popular will.

Leaving these important matters of the function of govern-

ment—matters which in the future will have more and more to engage the attention of the citizen in every land, if he expects to dwell in serenity, we come now to consider the elements of the population.

The assimilation by the United States of the enormous foreign element of folk has been one of the most striking conditions of its growth. Before the war the flow of immigrants amounted to a million souls yearly, and relatively few of them spoke English. In New York only half the inhabitants are given as native born, and we may hear almost every European language spoken there in the street, perhaps within a mile walk, and remark newsboys selling papers in all languages. As is well known, the Irish and the German element increased very greatly, but there are thousands of English in every State, and probably in few towns or villages of the myriads scattered all over the Republic are not found some sons of Albion. The statistics of population in America, and the deduction to be drawn therefrom, are of deep interest to students of humanity.

As to the great problem of the negro and coloured man in America, various suggestions have been made from time to time. Some would keep them down and backward, hewers of wood and drawers of water, both from reasons of expediency and also from the view—real or pretended—that Providence has meant these folk to be servile or serfs. Others would draw them on, by education and kindness, to a much higher status, in which they might carry out a worthier citizenship. Again, extremists in this field, negrophiles and ultra-humanitarians, profess to see absolute equality for the negro with the white man. There exists, further, the idea that the negroes might be conveyed bodily back to Africa, which might seem, if physically possible, a stupendous method of solution. It would have its dangers: great numbers of the American Negroes are, both through their long association with the white man and from natural ability, an exceedingly alert folk; and in Africa, if they consented to go there, they would not be likely to content themselves with the overlordship of the white man, who has taken possession of their ancient home of the Dark Continent, and might dispute its occupation with him; and there are possibilities about such a condition that might be appalling. Indeed, in any case, the African negroes may begin to dispute white predominance in Africa, and this may become one of the world's most difficult questions. Black Bolshevism might arise; and there are premonitory symptoms of such unrest already. There remains the question of the gradual assimilation by inter-marriage with the whites, but

that would seem impossible in North America ; although in some degree it has taken place in Brazil.

To turn to the subject of religion in the United States. The number of sects and organizations is seen to be very large. We shall realize the fact that America is in very considerable degree a Roman Catholic country when we remark that out of a total church membership, given at about thirty-four millions, thirty-seven per cent. are such, with sixty-one per cent. Protestants ; figures which, however, are regarded as very approximate or even misleading. In every State of the formerly Puritan New England, Roman Catholics predominate over the Protestant and other churches ; a condition due to the immigration of Irish and French Canadians. It would appear that the membership of the Romish Church increases much more rapidly than that of the various Protestant sects, and this condition is not explainable by the matter of immigration alone. However, the latter are more evenly distributed. With regard to the Jews, they are much in evidence, whether rich or poor, and whilst there is a large and often very miserable low-class element, often alien, Jews in the United States have been identified with the highest American civilization.

We know the Americans are a people capable of very deep religious feeling and spiritual endeavour. Their divines contribute very considerably to the literature of the Church : often they display an intensity of feeling stronger, it would appear, than in England. Often, however, it lacks balance. But it is more than possible that, if some powerful and stirring influence or development arose in the world of Christian religion, it might have its point of origin in America. The English Church, with all its magnificent work, traditions, and power, would seem to have become somewhat stereotyped and fettered, and apparently awaits fresh inspiration and a more constructive outlook. Of itself it has said that it must either grow or decline.

A glance now at the general philosophy of industry in the United States. The chief and most characteristic industry of the American people is agriculture, notwithstanding their great manufacturing ability. Indeed it has been well said that the chief manufacture of the United States has been the manufacture of the nearly six million farms which the Republic contained by the beginning of this century, covering somewhat under 850 million acres of land. Why were the Americans so markedly successful in agriculture ? Because, primarily, of the popular tenure of the soil, as against the semi-feudalism and peasant systems of older lands ; and, secondly, their

exceptional inventive genius, which they have adapted to the soil, added of course to the gifts of nature. Finding themselves on a continent with a boundless extent of good land, but with lack of labour, they sought out mechanical help in engineering arts. It is true they cultivated very wastefully in extracting the first-fruits of a virgin soil, but it may also be said that the wealth extracted was applied, not to personal consumption, but to national improvements, which in their turn produced more wealth. Land, labour, and capital, in a sense, went hand in hand in this development. The towns are the gift of agriculture: the myriad towns from East to West. The granary of the Republic moved westwards across the continent, from New York to the Ohio and to the Mississippi, a wave of cultivation in whose wake followed a more intensive and general cultivation—and which has yet to be followed, as in all countries, by a still more accentuated cultivation, both of the land and the towns.

In this study of American geography and history—imperfect it may be—we are enabled to gather a general view of circumstances and tendencies of the American civilization.

We see how remarkably each State, except in certain instances perhaps, is endowed with a wide range of almost everything necessary for life, industry, and prosperity. Many States have their own coalfields, timber, petroleum, agricultural products; each, or at any rate the great majority of the eastern and middle States, has its natural means of transport by water, whether the sea, the Great Lakes, or the enormous river systems. Each State has its mountains and plains, with all that a diversified topography embodies; each its pleasing scenery and resorts. In fact, each State is a *Multum in parvo* of the gifts of Providence and Nature.

As regards the human element, we see that by the natural American system men arose to high office, and that prominent characters were evolved, not through a highly-educated and privileged class, but rather through the fires of poverty and adversity, or at least from a seed-bed of humble conditions. Some of the greatest figures of American history and statesmanship might have said with the psalmist: 'It is well for me that I have known adversity, for it has taught me Thy statutes.' The farm boy, reading the great books of English literature, learning snatched in difficulty, worked his way upwards, perhaps to the Bar or to the Army, to the Senate Chamber or to the Presidential chair: or the great captains of industry and the millionaires rose from the struggling wage-earner.

There would seem now to be evidence of some change in these



MOUNT RAINIER, OR TACOMA, WASHINGTON.

matters : a change towards centralization and privilege. The handling of natural resources and industry arising therefrom, the position of men in relation to their fellows, are more and more becoming subject to what may be termed centralized privilege. A State should be as far as possible a natural entity, but the movement and absorption of natural products is away from such a condition. When we come to consider the social industrial conditions in America we seem to feel that we are not on ground that is permanent ; a feeling which, however, we may, if in less degree, experience also in England, for social-economic changes seem to be imminent everywhere.

In every-day life, it might be said that the pulse of America beats rapidly, almost feverishly, far more so than does the pulse of English life, and the symptoms are very marked at present, largely as a result of the after-effects of the war, of wealth and activity accruing from war and post-war conditions ; but partly as a sort of culmination of life generally.

One of these symptoms is in the high cost of living. If life in England and indeed everywhere is lived under great stress and expense, in America this stress is often exceeded manifold. It has always cost much more to be housed, clothed, fed, and transported from place to place, or to be instructed or amused in America than in England, but the difference has now vastly increased, and the English traveller, arriving in the States, may be appalled at the price of the necessaries and luxuries of life. His purse must be well filled if he is to live as he is accustomed to live in his own land. The earnings of the people, from proprietor to employee and common labourer, are in accordance with this extravagant cost, and indeed the wage-earner in many cases may become a proprietor with an ease that would astonish the quieter and less ambitious employee of Britain. On the other hand, the very poor are unable to live, and the conditions generally in this respect have become—as indeed they are in England—of much gravity.¹

The strike weapon for higher pay is employed in America with far less reserve than in England, and like all attendant circumstances of economic unrest here runs to extremes. In general, the employer has to concede what is demanded. His remedy is to pass on the increased cost to the public, to his

¹ In 1920 some typical prices were : An ordinary suit of men's clothes, £20 to £30 ; room and bath in hotel for a day, £2 ; a luncheon of beefsteak and vegetables, cheese, bread, small cup of coffee, etc., £1 ; a pair of boots, £3 ; a shirt, £2 ; a modest house in the suburbs, £450 per annum ; whilst housekeepers and cooks received from £12 to £16 per month.

customers. As for the employees in public or governmental services, such as policemen, post-office workers, firemen, school teachers, and so forth, they have not hesitated to strike, or make menace of so doing, to obtain their demands. No feeling of loyalty to public service is likely to restrain them, for in America 'the powers that be' command much less reverence than in Britain. The strikes of public employees, however, have caused much indignation on the part of the public, which proclaims that strikes against the Government, or any of its departments, are socially unjustifiable. This protest, whilst it is as well founded in America as in England, is frequently made by those classes of folk who themselves are quite prepared to strike to secure their own demands in their particular field. As to the Civil Services, the conditions of their employment, rate of pay and hours of work, etc., are often inadequate, having been fixed by legislation under different conditions.

A phase of the feverish life of America is seen in the extraordinary and rapid growth of the motor-car. Statistics show that there is a car to every dozen persons or less; perhaps nine million cars throughout the States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thus a town in America of about 6,000 inhabitants—and their name is legion—would have in such proportion, 500 cars. Such a town in England would show but a fraction of such a number. In some parts of the States the average is much higher, with a motor vehicle to each family, and this is the case more frequently in the Middle West. Indeed the traveller from England might be tempted to think that there were more motor-cars than people in some places! Thus it is that employees and even factory hands often go to their daily work in their own cars.¹ This ownership of cars by all grades of folk is not without some advantages, and there seems no reason why the worker should not command his independent means of locomotion. On the other hand, the growth of the motor leads to enormous consumption and waste of petrol, which is already a diminishing quantity. Again, the motor-car in America has become, as regards accidents, as dangerous as the railway has always been in that country, and the number of deaths therefrom has become very serious.

¹ In 1920, a credible account says, we might see cars in rows waiting at the kerbstones, in their scores, until it is impossible to cross streets, cars in special factory compounds awaiting the blowing of the whistle to release their owners, cars along country lanes everywhere, owned by the farmers, strings of cars going across the continent, being delivered from factory to purchasers on their own wheels, rather than by rail.

In the realm of foreign trade, American activity would now appear desirous of displaying itself in greatly increased scope. The Americans have always been traders, and before the exigencies of home expansion absorbed the bulk of their energies, and other matters intervened, their merchant flag flew more abundantly in the world's seaports. If they earned a name for enterprise it was sometimes coupled with that of sharp practice, and the term 'Yankee goods' was once a term of reproach. American goods have not yet entirely lost this name, but, in some respects, Americans have earned a reputation for the value of their goods. They are learning what England taught—to make everything and make it well. The more vigorous policy of foreign trading follows on the effects of the war, in considerable measure, but is also a natural outcome of the age of production and profit-making—in which it might be said in parenthesis that mankind is resolved to draw upon the natural resources of the globe as fully as possible until such time as their depletion shall call a halt, confusing 'output' with civilization.

During the war American goods perforce found their way into many foreign markets, and a certain momentum has been acquired. American traders and manufacturers are not blind to the difficulties attending the building up of a great foreign trade, and they have come to see that the dominating position of England in this respect has resulted upon some special genius and character, and other circumstances, such as British investments abroad, world-wide banking institutions which facilitated the flow of British capital and commercial operations all over the world, the British mercantile marine, the courage and enterprise of British traders, and the good name for commercial integrity which England enjoys. These things are not built up in a day. Americans have never been a people who understood or were attracted by oversea investments; they have few banking connexions in foreign lands; their mercantile marine is comparatively insignificant—although that factor is being overcome; and they have not the name either for capacity or rectitude that Britain enjoys abroad. Their courage and enterprise may be unstinted, but all the other accompanying and needful machinery has to be developed. It will indeed prove a matter of considerable interest to see if in the future the American desire for a vast overseas trade can materialize. Philosophically speaking, it may be that it has come too late. It is very doubtful if the world will witness a further great impetus of foreign trade: a view which, however, is not one which is yet realized.

But if America is resolved to carry out her desired policy of commercial expansion overseas, she will no doubt make a strong attempt. Her producers and statesmen point to its 'economic necessity,' to the surplus production of American goods, which methods of highly organized and 'mass production' have brought about: also to the rapid growth of the mercantile marine as a result of the war: ships which must otherwise rust in harbour. They state that the standard of living throughout the world will be raised by a greater distribution of manufactured goods: that the market is an ever-increasing one; and that America must send out such in order to secure raw materials of a nature which she lacks. They also point to the—alleged—economic fact that foreign trade stabilizes home trade, in offsetting lean years, and so is a great benefit. In this last argument is the danger of a policy of 'dumping'—that is, casting surplus production upon outside markets in order to keep home mills active, and such has been a common trade process, of America and other nations, especially Germany.

What is termed 'mass production' or quantitative production is a new term or feature of industry, originating in America, involving the science of organization, the scientific movement and operation of the mechanic and workman, whose motions have been studied as that of a machine.¹

The sudden growth of the American merchant marine, largely an effect of the war, involves the national pride. America's flag ought to fly the equal of that of any nation, and why, it is asked, should imports be brought in in foreign ships, as was the case before the war? But, again, the cost of maintaining and manning ships in the United States is higher than elsewhere; the American sailor demands and obtains a much higher wage and status than the British sailor—the conditions

¹ The scientific observation and correlating of human movement in any given work and function work has been, in this system, to bring about least possible waste and greatest possible capacity: human effort under the system is employed to the least possible expenditure of time and energy; machinery and yet more machinery replaces arms, legs, muscle and brains; it is the policy of 'speeding up.' By mass production American employers say that they can produce in such quantities as to make the actual cost of labour relatively unimportant. Mills may go on day and night, week after week, month after month without stopping, producing bars, plates, rails of steel, all accelerating the rate and quantity of production and the lowering of cost. Standardization of parts and wholes further facilitate the operation. It might be described as a sort of *tarantella*, an endless mechanical dance of fire and billet, furnace, fuel, and wheels.

of whose life are often extremely poor. But American ship-owners point out that wages and maintenance of seamen are but a small part of the total cost of operating ships, as compared with the cost of fuel, repairs, delays and so forth.

The Americans have long cherished the idea of a great mercantile marine, and it seemed that their merchant service, the war being over, might overshadow the English; but, in the middle of 1920, it was seen that the construction of British vessels far outweighed the American again. As for British predominance in this field, it arises largely from the need for imports of food and raw material, a commerce in which she employs her own seafaring folk and largely pays for the work of her own exports, whilst the United States can well employ her own people in her vast, rich interior, and her capital in her own development. Shipbuilding and navigation are arts and necessities laid down for England by geography and nature, but not so for the United States, and natural causes must always predominate in the long run as against mere mercantile ambitions and national pride in predominance, such as in large part would actuate a great mercantile marine in America. The Island-nation must be a shipbuilding nation: the Continent-nation need not be so, to such an extent.

The making-over by sale of the many ships which were constructed under Government auspices in the American ship-yards during the war marked a phase of national ownership and operation of public services. Some parties desired that the Government should retain and operate these vessels, but the decision went against it. The American Government would not, as an intelligent whole, entertain the belief in government ownership as a practical policy. How far the bulk of the workers were with them it is, of course, impossible to say, but, in effect, government ownership was held to have resulted in dismal failure.

What, it may be asked, will be the bearing of foreign trade expansion upon the relations between England and the United States? It will involve, of course, increased competition between the two peoples. The better class of Americans recognize England's high commercial qualities, and pay tribute to the English spirit of fairness, and even to the element of sportsmanship displayed. They think, or at times well-meaningly profess to think, that competition can be carried on without friction; further, that there can be a certain amount of co-operation, and that, the extension of commerce being synonymous—in such a view—with the extension of civilization, peace and prosperity, a positive duty to humanity

will be done in trade expansion. How far these comfortable assurances are philosophically true, it will remain for the future to disclose. It is, of course, to the advantage of manufacturers and traders, American and British, to say that there is room for the activities of both nations, that the pursuit of trade by the one nation will not injure the other; and in 'after dinner' Anglo-Americanism this pleasing view is generally upheld. But the dispassionate observer knows that if America builds up her trade it must be largely at the expense of Britain and other nations, for both countries produce and export the same things, and to the same markets. There may be, of course, mollifying circumstances in some cases, but it is direct rivalry, and may lead, sooner or later, to friction and conflict.

The business spirit of England, of Britain, has manifested itself in an adventurous way such as America is almost a stranger to. There are whole streets in the City of London lined with offices which are the headquarters of enterprises in every quarter of the globe, from China to Peru, from Persia to the South Seas; railways, mines, plantations, waterworks, forests, irrigation works, manufactures, native products—their name is legion. Their Boards of Directors must surely embody most of the prominent business men—and many titled men (both honorary and expert); their combined capital must be equal to a national debt, and so vast a system has never been seen in history, and certainly never can be seen again, for it must have reached its apogee. The threads which run out from these offices go to the uttermost parts of the sea, to the sweltering tropics and the frigid north, to the Himalayas and the Andes, to the Euphrates and the Amazon and the Nile, to the heart of Africa and Malay and South America, to Australia, to the United States itself,—which country indeed originally built itself up on British gold. An island without any gold in its soil, England has sent forth a stream of gold from its shores which has nourished every country under the sun.

Yet despite all this magnificent enterprise, English capital is often over-timid and conservative. The American capitalist will plunge into a new project, take risks, and often reap rewards, where the slower Briton hesitates. America, on occasion, is perhaps more vigorous and courageous in this respect. A British Public (inveigled by expert company-promoters) will hasten perhaps to finance a 'wild-cat' scheme when it will not finance the poor inventor, or experiment in something that does not offer immediate possibilities. American money, on the contrary, is more easily accessible in such fields.

We have already touched on the conditions of Labour in the United States. There are grave troubles in its attitude towards capital. There are sudden and constant strikes, higher demands, not only for pay, but for conditions of life generally, and voice in management, and demands are likely to extend into the whole field of politics, life and government. We have seen in England how these matters are coming forward. They are probably inevitable everywhere, as problems to be solved. But American employers believe, or affect to believe, that labour will never gain control of industry in a way seriously to affect or hamper their operations. The giant, they think, must always be somewhat stupid. Their own power, they believe, will always suffice to carry out their mandates.

This outlook towards labour in America follows not unnaturally on what has gone before. Human life as labour in the United States has been cheap, owing to the vast immigration of poor labour from Europe. For ten years before the war it came in at the average rate of a million souls each year, and industry and capital were enabled to work their will upon this mass of human raw material, the conditions of whose employment was often heartlessly callous. However, it became to a large extent Americanized and earned a wage far larger than that in its own lands. But in five years after the outbreak of the war, 1914—19, the total immigration scarcely reached a million souls. The Labour party would now restrict immigration, in its own interests, whilst the employers are partial to what affords them a supply of cheap labour, and the issue will doubtless become more accentuated.

During the war, notwithstanding the enormous number of strikes—over 12,000 separate strikes were recorded for the year 1918 alone—American labour worked very hard and creditably, and earned considerable wealth, but the inevitable reaction comes afterwards, with a decreased efficiency, it was stated, of perhaps fifty per cent. ; a condition also experienced in England. Also, there, as here, the middle classes grew indignant at the high earnings of the manual worker and the great economic benefits reaped thereby, in contrast with their own, and with the endless and prolonged strikes, which caused them grave loss and inconvenience ; and this attitude of the 'black-coated' folk is one of the factors upon which the employer relies in his stand against labour demands. Here might possibly be, both in America and England, the beginning of what might be termed 'faction strife,' which perhaps is to be a phase of economic and social life of the near future.

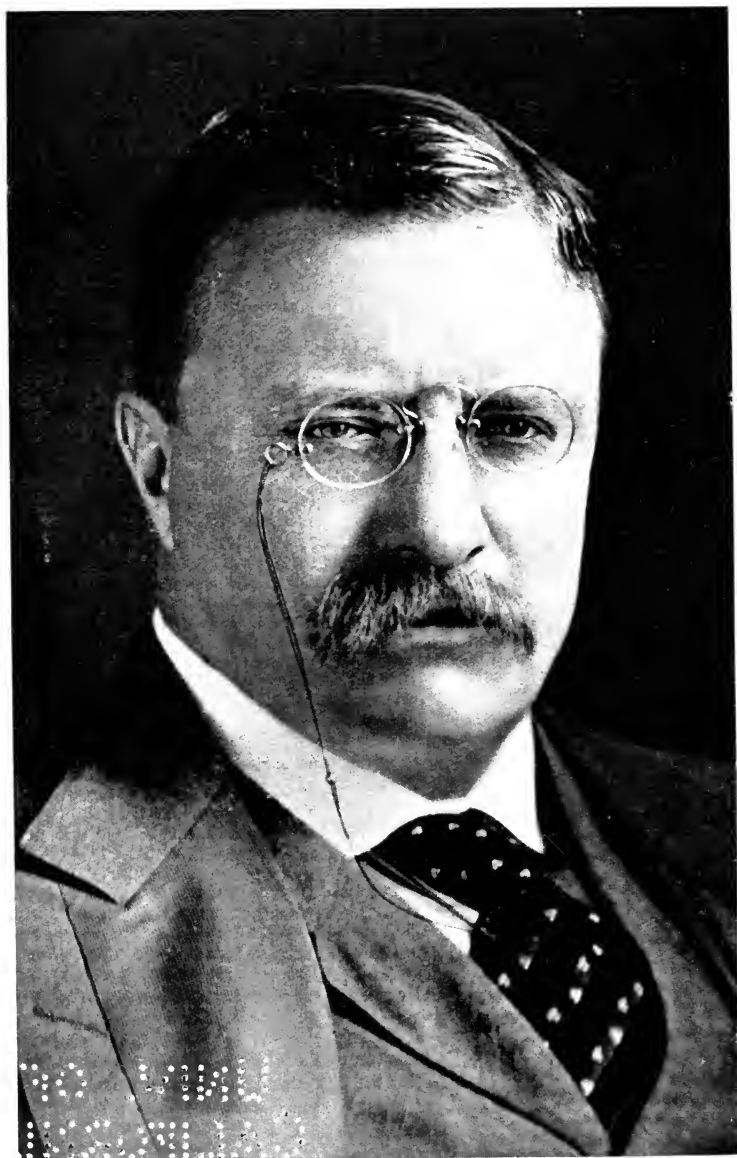
Some of the factors against a general organization of labour

in its own interest, to confront the remainder of the community, may be noted. Labour in America consists of men of many nationalities, speaking different tongues, and in this sense is still in part a Babel, tending to separation. Again, over forty per cent. of American labour is agricultural, and therefore less subject to organization and collective influence. Also, many of the wage-earners, and of course salary-earners, own a certain amount of property, their houses, and so forth, and they do not desire to jeopardize their position. On the whole labour is but poorly organized. The American Federation of Labour, on Trade Union lines, has, however, four million members. The next organizations in importance of members are the Railway Brotherhoods, and the Amalgamated Garment Workers—an 'advanced' body, each with some 400,000 members. These organizations do not represent more than twenty per cent., it is said, of the total of the American wage-earners.

The matter of growing industry and trade expansion brings us to a consideration of natural resources.

The United States is a land of marvellous natural resources, embracing every product of the soil, with the exception of those of the tropics, and in this respect, but upon a much vaster scale, it resembles England, with, however, the addition of the precious metals, and of petroleum and kindred elements. Upon their coal and iron, their timber and soil-fertility, the wealth and civilization of both the English-speaking lands has largely been built up. So lavish have been nature's gifts in this respect that we have grown accustomed to regard these potentialities as exhaustless, and it comes with something of a shock to learn that this is not so; that, on the contrary, they are, in some cases, within measurable distance of exhaustion, in both lands.

In the United States the easily available supply of coal may, it is estimated, not last for more than fifty years, in the case of anthracite, and a hundred years in the case of bituminous coal. These estimates are founded upon the growth of consumption and the continuance of existing wasteful methods. The Geological Survey of 1907 gave as their view that 'If the rate of increase that has held for the last fifty years is maintained, the supply of easily available coal will be exhausted before the middle of next century.' The National Conservation Commission of America, a body established by the late President Roosevelt in 1908, further investigated these matters, and drew attention to the prodigal waste of the coal and other resources of the United States. The same conditions affect



THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1858-1919).
Twenty-sixth President of U.S.A.

the iron fields, the petroleum fields, the forests, the soil-fertility, and other natural resources.

In England analogous calculations have been made. The Coal Commission of 1905 reported that 'we look forward to a time, not far distant, when the rate of increase of output will be slower, to be followed by a period of stationary output, and then a gradual decline.' However, it was not apparent that the actual supply was nearing exhaustion.

In America the great abundance of fine coal in the easily worked seams has tended towards extravagance. Here the coal often outcrops at the surface, with seams very thick, in contrast often with the immense depth and thin seams of the English mines—a factor which, moreover, should be taken into account when comparisons are instituted between the capacity of English and American coal-miners. American coal can be much more readily mined, and a much greater output per man be made, than in Britain. This ease in winning American coal has encouraged the colliery owner—known in the United States as a 'Coal operator'—to exploit the rich seams as rapidly as possible, and to enrich himself thereby and neglect the poorer seams. It is said, further, that 'Half the coal mined in America is wasted and that two tons must be produced for every one used.' In England the waste is less, but is nevertheless seriously denounced by experts. The loss of life in coal-mining in the United States is enormously heavy, far more so than in England, when, in reality, it should be far less, in view of the nature of the mines. This in part follows upon American methods and character; human life being held cheaper there.

Coal is produced in thirty out of the forty-six States, and there are vast unworked deposits in Alaska. The States of greatest production, in their order of output, are: Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Alabama. The total output of coal from American mines in 1913 was 517,000,000 tons, and in 1919, 495,000,000. The same figures for the United Kingdom were, in 1913, 292,000,000 tons, and in 1919, 234,000,000.

The enormous increase in the consumption of iron similarly tends to deplete the iron mines of both America and England. Those of the latter country are already largely exhausted, and we are mainly dependent upon foreign supplies. America has still vast deposits to draw upon.

One of the natural products most in evidence in the present age is petroleum (and petrol), which furnishes the motive power for the myriad motor-cars in every land, for many railways,

steamships and stationary engines, and lastly for aeroplanes. The United States is perhaps the most famous producer of this mineral oil, which is found in sixteen States of the Union. The rate of production and use has greatly increased. The National Conservation Committee found 'that in view of the rapid increase of production and the enormous loss through misuse the supply cannot be expected to last beyond the middle of this century.' Here, then, is food for reflection for the users of petrol. Last century, the traveller through Ohio and other eastern oil-producing States would have remarked the forests of derricks above the myriad oil wells, but these have largely been transplanted to Texas and California, and other western regions, extending into Mexico. The oil is being rapidly sucked from the rocks, but nature does not replace it, and even these newer fields must soon begin to show signs of depletion—soon, that is, in terms of industrial life.

The Natural Gas of the United States—a peculiar product of great importance—has similarly been exhausted. The Commission estimated the yield in 1907 as 800 thousand million cubic feet, half of which they state was wasted.

The forests of the United States may be described as the eastern and the western; two great wooded areas divided by the vast treeless region east of the Rocky Mountains. Enormous areas of woodlands have been marked out as National Reservations, a step taken in view of the serious denudation; and afforestation has been developed. One of the most difficult of problems to be confronted was that of forest fires, which annually range over thousands of square miles of territory. However, industry has swallowed up vast areas of the woods, and the depletion is now seriously felt. Timber differs from mineral resources in that nature may replace it, but, on the other hand, nature does not necessarily replace areas too rudely denuded, from changed climatic and other causes. The virgin forests tend to disappear; Man has drawn too heavily upon them.

The depletion of these natural resources has, in part, followed upon the great scramble for wealth, the 'get-rich-quick' stimulus of present life in America; and the same matters are not foreign to England. The research made by the Conservation Committee in America, before the war, showed as regarded coal, iron, oil, timber, soil-fertility and so forth that the future has been heavily mortgaged. It is not necessary to depict these matters in too dark a colour, but coming events undoubtedly cast their shadows before, and many of these resources of nature cannot be replaced. Undoubtedly present

unrest is associated with this depletion, although we may not yet realize the fact.

To turn to other matters, we have seen that America at times is a land of strange happenings. An example is in the advent of Prohibition, the forcing of a 'dry' America, which must be regarded as one of the marvels of to-day. This it might have seemed, at least to those unacquainted intimately with the American character, would have been an impossibility. But America is a continent out of which come at times unexpected marvels—matters which make it an unknown force for good or for evil in the future. There were, of course, certain 'dry' States, where Prohibition was always in force (where by devious tricks, however, those who required liquor could frequently obtain such), but that a majority of States would enable a law to be passed for universal Prohibition, even Americans themselves scarcely believed. To secure this end, an Amendment was incorporated into the Constitution forbidding the sale of all intoxicating liquor.¹ To repeal such an amendment a vote of the Legislatures of three-quarters of the States would be necessary—a very difficult matter. The law was bitterly opposed. Possibly there might have been compromise before it was passed, but the 'liquor interests' would have no compromise, for they did not dream the measure would pass, fancying themselves secure. Indeed, few would have suspected that in a nation so widely given over to the use of spirituous liquors—the 'cocktail,' whisky, beer on every hand, the wines of California, the enormous saloon and bar-room interests, the drinking habits of all classes—the 'liberty of the citizen' could have been so controlled.

Whether the measure is for good or ill it is yet too early to say. Its opponents state that corruption, intimidation and other anti-social forces were put in motion to secure its passage. From one point of view the 'drink evil' was a dreadful one in America. From another so drastic a remedy may seem to bring fresh evils in its train. In any case it is a social movement of considerable interest, even if its promulgation in America display that curiously intolerant spirit characteristic of America in social matters. But it is too early to dogmatize on the subject, and Prohibition might be repealed.

Let us cast a glance now at the American newspaper, which daily exhorts or entertains this vast population.

The Press in America is a very active agent in social life,

¹ Intoxicating liquor is defined as that containing more than one-half of one per cent. of alcohol. It may be that the percentage may be raised in the meaning of the Act to three per cent.

for good or ill, and its organs are far more numerous than in Britain. Of the 60,000 newspapers published throughout the whole world, 30,000 are those of the United States. The Press in America is far more decentralized than in Britain, for the newspapers in the large cities of the interior are in no way secondary to the New York papers, as those of the provinces are to the London Press. Most of the papers, moreover, are not necessarily party organs, as they are in Britain, although some of the principal ones are. None has the enormous circulation of London newspapers, for the above reasons of decentralization largely, for the United States is not one, but a number of countries. The same, of course, might be said for Britain, but Scottish, Welsh and Irish papers, of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, etc., have comparatively little standing beside the London papers, just as nationality in those lands is subdued to the general British interests—a condition which, however, may not be permanent or advisable, in its entirety.

As to party predilections, the *New York Tribune* has been Republican since the time of Horace Greeley, its founder—and its views are generally honest and uncoloured; The *New York World*, with a circulation of 350,000—a large figure for America—is Democratic: the *New York Times* is described as one of the largest and most prosperous and influential papers, and through the war was pro-Ally. The *New York American*, belonging to the Hearst interests, was bitterly anti-British. It has an enormous circulation among Jews, Irish and German-Americans, and is one of a series of periodicals of the same proprietors extending across the continent—including the *Chicago Examiner* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. It was debarred at one time during the war from the news service for giving garbled dispatches. The *New York Herald* was formerly of much influence, but has lost much of its power. It is Republican, pro-Ally, representative of the upper classes, but antagonized its readers by its abuse of President Wilson. It is one of those dailies that issue enormous Sunday editions, such as have been denounced from the pulpit as anti-spiritual forces.

A study of the Press of England and America reveals both differences and similarities. The American newspaper has not the solidity or character of the British, and to the English reader its sensational character is often repellent. There are, of course, certain American periodicals which approximate more to the higher standard. But to glance at the headlines of the generality of the popular journals is to receive the impression that life in the United States is largely

made up of frauds, murders, bank and train robberies, lynchings, divorce suits, shootings in love affairs, financial and political corruption, society scandal, and so forth. This, of course, arises from the methods of the enterprising and imaginative pressman in large degree, whose trade it is to provide daily news in piquant fashion. In England, also, the custom is growing, possibly adopted from American journalism, and the headlines of the daily penny papers are now Americanized in considerable degree, as is the 'snappy' paragraph and the 'stunt'; and, it may be said, with certain adverse effects upon the national character. The higher class English papers, the twopenny journals, and the *Times*, are but partly influenced, so far, and are solid and respectable. The *Times* in general may be said to retain its ancient and honoured leadership, even if some consider its status as having declined. On the other hand, others declaim against the power of what has been called 'government by newspaper'; the too considerable influence exercised by what are private institutions. Yet, it is one of the best features of the social conduct that these almost autocratic journalistic powers should be, on the whole, so well exercised. The power exists also in America.¹

Until that time when a newspaper shall be in every sense a national institution and not so greatly representative of class interests, if such shall ever be possible, the newspaper as an individual undertaking must retain its sway. But the English or American Press, with their important influence on life, have it in their power to work enormous good, much more than is exercised at present, but this they cannot do without a change of outlook. A far nobler and more fundamental and more equitably constructive outlook on life is needful to-day, if social and economic ills are to give place, and it is time the Press should recognize this and play its part therein accordingly. The newspaper that first discovers these truths might have before it a field of unlimited influence, in the homes and lives of the people—to say nothing of the augmentation of its circulation.²

¹ To a newspaper proprietor, Colonel Harvey, is ascribed the claim of having 'made and unmade' President Wilson, and of assisting to make President Harding—passing from the Democratic to the Republican Party for the purpose, and being rewarded by the Ambassadorship to England.

² One leading London newspaper advertises its daily sale as over a million copies, and whilst this is greater than has ever been accomplished, much more might be done among the compact fifty million folk of Britain, if greater vision were displayed.

CHAPTER XI

The Americans and the English

THOSE readers who prefer to consider only the more academic and ceremonious aspect of the relations between England and America may be excused from perusing the present chapter, where such relations will be considered from a somewhat more human and intimate point of view.

In describing or commenting upon the traits and customs of a people it is easy to give offence, especially in the case of a sensitive folk such as are the Americans. But offence should not be taken when description or comment is meant, not in unfriendliness, but as a transcript of honest impression, with the purpose of affording information and material for the study of national psychology and development, and with a constructive end in view. In such cases we must say what we mean, or it has no value.

The growing custom, perhaps, in England and the United States, in 'polite' circles, when considering each other's history or development, or each other's foibles and defects, is to round off comment with generalities, or wrap them up in apologetics. But both peoples have, as it is commonly said, much to learn from each other, and if there is any solid basis of friendship criticism will not break it down.

Of the last decades before the War the United States won for itself a high place among the nations and in the esteem of the world by reason of its general sobriety of outlook, its strength, policy of non-interference outside its own hemisphere, and its numerous charitable acts abroad where disaster or suffering had occurred. It might perhaps be true to say that America as a nation is more esteemed abroad than are Americans as individuals. Perhaps the converse is true of England—although these are but somewhat elusive generalizations.

The Americans claim for themselves a very advanced civilization, and, indeed, frequently make the statement that they lead the world in this respect. This latter claim is part of the

exuberant national character which, in the past, vented itself in the tendency to boasting, and the weak point of America in this connexion is generally known. It is true that in many material arts, in wealth, and in some elements of strength America is now in advance of all other nations, but that these matters alone do not necessarily constitute 'civilization' the more thoughtful Americans themselves know. It is no unkind spirit which would remark that the Americans are much behind England in some vital issues of life, and that it must be long before they reach the level of their Mother Country therein, if indeed they can ever do so.

Notwithstanding that the United States is a Republic, where all men are to be hailed as free and equal, class distinctions are exceedingly marked; while the general trend and method of social life reveal the fact that there is less freedom for the individual in America than in England, which is, in a practical sense, the freest and most democratic land in the world. This is not so much a result of laws or institutions, but follows on national spirit and character. The English character, moulded in its particular environment, influenced by history and race, and—we may say it without national conceit—apparently having some peculiar natural or providential mandate, undoubtedly represents the leadership in civilization, despite its considerable imperfections.

We remark this British pre-eminence in various fields. Foremost, we have the relatively high standard and integrity of the national character—a natural gift rather than a logical acquisition. It is notable in the British public man, and it may be said that the attributes filter down to all classes in any public or official position. They may at times be mistaken or obtuse, but the standard of honour and *noblesse oblige* is almost invariably preserved. It was not always so, as we know from English history, when 'every man had his price,' and we do not know that it will always be so in the future—though Heaven grant it!—but in our present and recent age corruption and double-dealing have been abhorred as impossible for the 'gentleman.' Indeed in this last-named English word—which has perhaps no exact equivalent in any other language—may be summed up the highest practical English ideal.¹ The gentleman has held his own since the days of chivalry in these islands, he lived through days bloody and times dissolute, at home he tempered oppression and ignorance, abroad he tried to 'play the game,' he came through the starchi-

¹ Since the above was written the word has been adopted by the French Academy.

ness of the Victorian era into the often slangy and casual life of the present, and we hope he will continue, a thread of national life, to run through the democratic age towards which the inevitable growth of life now trends.

In England we remark the very large class of men of high calibre who conduct or influence national and imperial affairs—paid or voluntary. Their name is legion, they may be drawn upon at any time, they are always ready, generally equipped with knowledge and authority. Their names are always before the public, the directories are full of them, they are scattered over that one-quarter of the earth's surface that the British Empire represents. And there is the Church, with its great body of intellectual and active bishops, a spiritual force such as the world has never seen before, perhaps. Neither Roman nor any other dynasty ever brought to being a class of this special character and amplitude. The fact is that the English upper class is a self-constituted, or rather a nature-constituted 'reservoir' of a peculiar talent or aptitude, such as has never existed before and such as would pass away if England fell. This 'reservoir,' moreover, has the added peculiarity that to those absorbed into it from below—and it is unceasingly added to to some extent in this respect—it automatically imparts its own high standard and character to such oncoming units. Let no hasty critic exclaim that this statement is but the natural conceit of an Englishman. It is not so, but a cold study of a psychological and racial condition. It may be partly a fortuitous circumstance born of climate or geography or race, but it is a condition and not a theory or pretension.

America contains her quota of eminent and clever men, capable administrators, leaders of society, statesmen, and all else, but it has never had the tradition, or opportunity, of the above class in Britain. Moreover, the very claim that men are born free and equal works against it, for in America men are so concerned to assert the fact, or rather theory, of equality that the growth of superiority is hindered, the seed-bed trampled upon. It may be that the more general level as—theoretically—represented by American social life is more desirable for collective humanity than the marked heights and depths of English life, but if that be really so it remains for the future to demonstrate it. Again, whilst the sturdy American democrat may think to look upon England as a land of hidebound social divisions and distinctions and maintain that in his own land there is but one class, it is seen in reality that America is more strongly divided in that way than England, and is the

home of social and intellectual extremes, of class that very jealously preserves its privileges, of families that also guard their wealth and refinement, a land of monopolistic immensities, and, above all, of the hegemony and pretension of the money power. It, too, has produced the 'Smart Set.'

In the opposite extreme of classes America is also behind England; that is, in the outlook and organization of her 'Labour' elements. Labour in England, despite its defects, has advanced to a plane, with a constructive outlook, which it must take Labour in the United States a very long period to attain to, indeed if it ever attain to it. Labour in Britain, the Trades Unions and kindred associations contain, in their particular field, the same ability and organizing power, and—on their plane, or at least as concerns their own element—the ideal of 'playing the game' which the upper class displays, which we see is a distinguishing English characteristic. At present the inevitable class feeling between the British upper and working classes tends to blind each to the qualities of the other—but that is a matter apart. Nothing is more remarkable in English life to-day than the standard of ability to which some of the leaders of labour have attained. They were often men of no particular status or education, often of the lowest or poorest origin, yet they could absorb or develop much of the mode of thought and expression of statesmen, with the hard facts of economic life. Commissions to inquire into industrial problems and disputes have brought out a high standard of labour witnesses and pleaders. (Their own organization is, moreover, a parallel to Parliament.) All this is a good augury for the future of England—that they should endeavour and are able to share the talent and spirit of their former social and political masters.

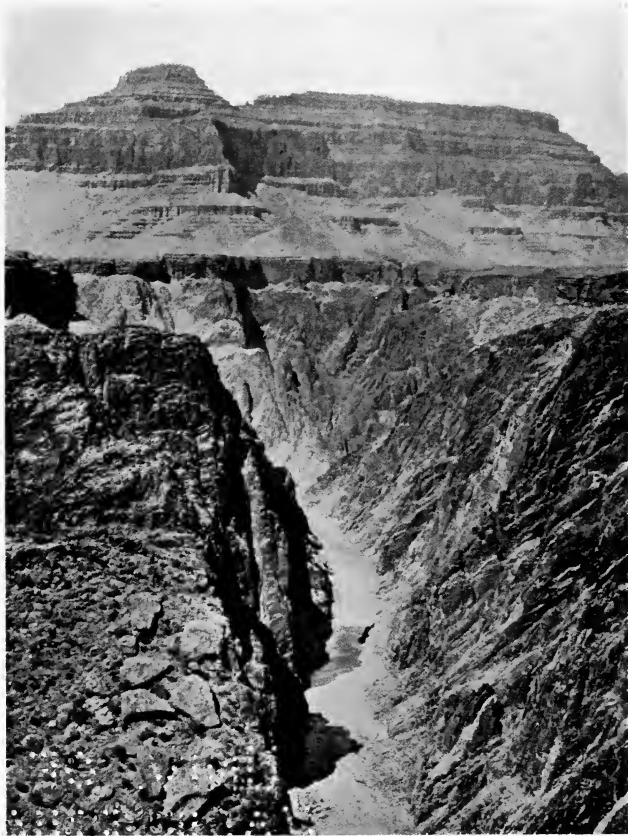
In America labour cannot reach a homogeneous and dignified plane, from physical reasons, largely, and within itself. It will be remarked that in America the hard, rough manual labour is generally performed not by American-born workmen but by the lowest class of foreign immigrants. The native-born American will not do this work—'let the raw Dutchman and Dago¹ do it,' he will say. This is, in part, because he loses caste in working side by side with the poor foreigner—Scandinavian, German, Austrian, Italian, Russian, Spaniard and all else; also he requires a higher rate of pay than these receive, for the higher standard of life he has reached. Americans who

¹ 'Dutchman' and 'Dago,' in America, are general slang terms broadly applied to folk of Teutonic and Scandinavian, and Latin racial origin, respectively.

visit England are struck by the fact that the common labourer is an Englishman, and not, as in his own land, a foreigner. In some respects American labour is a Babel of languages and customs, due to its very composition.

Britain in the past has been a land where the relations between the classes was ever softened off by a certain element of kindness. In the country the atmosphere of 'the squire and the parson' was a peaceful and generally beneficent one, to which even the wealthy country resident added by his or her local beneficence. In the town that deep-bred respect for the employer which has been characteristic of the employee—not necessarily servility, however—had some of the same influence, and there were of old time kindly relations between employer and employee. The Army and the Navy, too, could generally command sufficient of the lower classes to fill the regiments and man the ships, of men who served all over the globe and unquestioningly went under their beloved crown, flag, and respected officers upon any Imperial quest. Scarce a family in England that has not provided such a one: not a hamlet without soldier or sailor on foreign station, writing home to sweetheart or aged mother. It is too much to proclaim that this spirit has changed, but nevertheless it is true that class relations are far removed from what they were, and a somewhat bitter class spirit has arisen, or rather developed. The upper class now seriously blames the 'workers': but 'Labour' ignores their serious reproach. For labour has arisen, and it challenges the old order; and it questions the right of privilege or superiority. Its leaders who do this are never forgiven. Even a British Prime Minister who rose from a low estate and was hailed as the saviour of England in the Great War was applauded and almost loved for a space, but when that was over the upper class remembered that he had attacked the landed interests, that he had been, in their view, a demagogue who would pull down privilege and would thwart Imperial tradition, and they will not forgive him.

If England fell, either from external or internal causes, the 'imperial'-minded class which has accomplished so much at home and overseas would fall with her, for there is no other nation which produces it. America cannot carry on the torch of imperialism; from reasons geographical, intellectual, and moral she is not and never can perform a function that only once in modern history was to be performed, and which Providence placed upon the shoulders of these islanders off the European Coast. Will this class and spirit fail in Britain: will it begin to come to an end? There are signs that it is



THE FIRST GRANITE GORGE.
Grand Canyon: foot of Bright Angel Trail.

halting ; that both the supply and the spirit are not what they were, and we see it especially in the conduct of administration since the war, in the autocratic hand, the red-tape and routine-bound minister or departmental mandarin, the failure to tell the blunt truth of our governors, and deception of the public over home and international affairs, and in secrecy and 'white-washing.' During the war authority was largely delivered over into the hands of autocrats, appointed by autocrats, and the nation acquiesced as a war measure ; but the habit has grown and perpetuated itself, and England has been hampered in her sound development. It would seem, as regards oversea administration, to be evident in a certain decline of the methods of the 'gentleman,' which heretofore commanded the respect of controlled peoples. Whether this is a temporary or permanent phase remains to be seen.

There are further reflections concerning the able class of England's rulers which must be made. It has been too much in the nature of an oligarchy. Britain's affairs have always been controlled by what was more or less of an oligarchy, if talented and benevolent, and it has conducted home and foreign affairs mainly according to its will. But it looks now as if the phase had reached its limits. Great Britain has brought on its dependencies to a certain point of efficiency and order, but seems to lack either sufficient capacity, or sufficient desire adequately to train them for their own political responsibility and self-government. The consequence is that in some cases they are now—India, Egypt, Ireland, etc.—rebelling against the control. Unless she realizes this it may be too late. A higher intelligence is requisite.

Again, this ruling oligarchy retains, to an extent far too great, the control of public affairs at home. England is full of administrative talent among classes which under present conditions cannot find outlet. Without wealth or influence the talented individual cannot rise to these 'seats of the mighty.' But with wealth and influence exceedingly incapable men come to occupy very important governmental positions, and by sins either of commission or omission grievously waste the nation's resources and potentialities—a system of repression on the one hand and unbridled autocracy on the other which, as elsewhere discussed, is full of danger for the future. Doubtless however England will always readjust itself, as of old.

A comparison of England and America as individuals is not without interest. It would certainly be erroneous to say that the Americans are all of a type, but it is nevertheless true that there is a certain lack of individuality as the Englishman

understands it, as much in manner as in appearance. The folk of one country are often prone to regard those of another as 'all alike.' Thus, for example, to Europeans the Chinaman is one of a myriad similar in form and face, whilst the Frenchman and the German also conform to their native types; and as to the Englishman, it has been said that, to the foreigner, at least the young men of the upper class are all alike. There is no doubt, however, that the American life produces a certain similarity. Strong individualists in some respects, the Americans, by reason of their habits, their virtues, their defects, their very claim to equality and their interpretation of 'independence,' and their general outlook, must pay the penalty of falling somewhat into a mass, stereotyped, in which the 'herd instinct' is stronger; for American life not only rubs off the angles and corners of the humankind it has absorbed, but also has rounded the polished fasces of the gems. America at first loved to throw off the distinctions, superstitions, traditions, reverences, uncouthnesses, and sympathies of the old world, and must suffer by reason of her very homogeneity to lose the character and the colour, the personality and the intellectuality, of the European. The material has been passed in large degree, as it were, through a mill, and has come out uniform and trituated.

It is, however, on closer scrutiny difficult to describe Americans as of any special type, or pick out any delineament as generally representative. Such is an elusive attempt anywhere. But we do remark particular types to which vast numbers of Americans seem to belong. In the city streets and offices we see innumerable men of a somewhat dapper, active and often rather spare type, of about the middle height, generally well dressed—for new clothes, 'neckwear,' and rather tight trousers and dapper hats are widely in evidence. These folk generally have the 'business face,' an air of intensity and egoistic purpose. We are not without the same type in the London business man, and perhaps it is becoming world-wide. We see such in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and all other cities, thronging the streets and elevators, the stores, restaurants, and skyscrapers, the suburban railways and homes.¹ Next, we may remark a type of much stouter American, and doubtless he inherits a touch of the more 'bloated' German physical habit. He puffs unending cigars and throngs hotel lounges and offices. He is a persevering

¹ Some observers have noted a partial reversion of the American face to that of the Red Indian, but that is another matter.

and absorbent man of business, but his ideals do not reach the clouds.

In England a somewhat analogous class offers itself as a subject for that humorous sarcasm which is depicted in *Punch* and other periodicals. The British *nouveau riche*, often a person of humble extraction, who has acquired wealth in trade, having placed himself on the plane of the upper class as concerns money, now somewhat clumsily aspires to the social modes. He offers a large field for satire and humour. Earlier, this individual was generally represented as having been a food-purveyor of some sort, or a draper, or tradesman of other kind, or even a Stock Exchange man, and he was generally depicted as fat, with an ambitious but vulgar wife, fat too, but now the 'profiteer,' war or after war, furnishes a good basis. We see him depicted clothed in evening dress perhaps, a costume to which earlier he was a stranger, or in hunting garb, cutting strange antics amid hounds and horse-men in the hunting-field, or, in general, going through the somewhat trying operation of learning to assimilate the ways of those born to the method. He is not by any means a theoretical character, for we frequently meet him at society gatherings and, in the country, he has often acquired some estate and fenced it in more rigidly (with barbed wire) than any feudal lord has done, to the alarm of the rustic and disregard of ancient by-paths. Often, however, this class is well-meaning and both out of open-handedness and because it is a polite fashion subscribes liberally to the numerous charities—whose appeals appear in the daily Press or arrive by every post in England now. He and his wife are interesting examples of what might be called the eternal climb—the climb of the lower to the upper strata of society, a natural process, part of the science of things, the growth of humanity which is upward from root to flower and—seed. However, the post-war plutocrat certainly does not appear to be always generous in matters of charity, and he has been very severely assailed for his close-fistedness.¹

To English society folk the American 'Society man' seems often rather tame and colourless, if it may so be said without offence. He is of a land where the only elements that can be rugged or picturesque are the lower elements, for he cannot display the feudal touch which still tinctures all European society. He must be democratic, being an American, and yet being wealthy and of a leisured class he must set up some

¹ Lord Selbourne, among others, has severely arraigned him, in various public utterances.

distinctive plane, or try to create some special atmosphere. Thus his difficulty lies in the very root of the constitution of society, which divides men into classes, and until this division disappears or national life takes on some other form, the American society man and woman will always be in a false or anomalous position, for in Republican democracy there should be—*theoretically*—no setting-up of oneself above others because of wealth or position ; but in practice conceited human nature is too strong, and so a measure of compromise and hypocrisy must rule in American society, in this connexion. If in America all men are free and equal under the Constitution and by reason of the unwritten law of democracy, upon which America was founded, how then can the Society man find a *raison d'être* ! The matter is largely solved in America by the condition that the man of wealth is a man of business. His business occupies his attention greatly to the exclusion of society matters, which he leaves, in the main, in the hands of his womenfolk, and this sphere is one which woman seems to find no difficulty in filling and upholding—even in a democracy and Republic. Indeed, the American seems often out of his element away from the atmosphere of business. In the fashionable centres of Europe, where pleasure-loving folk congregate, the vapid, or aimless-appearing young American, so frequently encountered, seems anomalous. He may not be worse than his British or other confrère of the same class, but is nevertheless in a false position. Something else is expected from the real spirit of the American Eagle !

The women of America have generally been regarded with a certain admiration in England, or at least since the solid growth of the Republic brought the United States into international society, with the great flow of travel by Americans in Europe which constituted so marked a feature of the last generation. A certain type of American woman, generally tall, handsome, independent of mien, impressed itself on overseas society, and especially in England. This type was largely established by the drawings and descriptions of Charles Dana Gibson, the famous American caricaturist—the 'Gibson Girl,' who stood for a healthy, refined and beautiful young womanhood. But, apart from this partly true, partly imaginary model, it would be difficult to present any universal type of American woman, with the very wide range of nationalities in course of assimilation in the United States ; and of the working-class woman of America nothing is known abroad. The independent spirit of the American girl whose parents have become wealthy has been made familiar in England, both

actually, and in the popular novel. The reproach that was levelled against the American woman that she so tended towards luxury and ease as to look askance on the rearing of a family now extends itself to women of all advanced nationalities, including the English, and so no longer forms a special theme for the statistician, journalist, or the pulpit. In matters political, social and national, the American woman has been far behind her British sister. She has lacked the depth of character, the 'presence' and influence of the Englishwoman of the upper class, and her native outlook varies very markedly from the corresponding middle and lower classes. Her attitude towards women suffrage is a case in point, as regards national life. It might have been supposed that American women, in view of the national temperament, would have been the first to take up the 'emancipation' of women, to demand the vote, and to go to any lengths in obtaining it. But the fight was fought in England, not in America.

As regards matters of exaggerated fashion—frivolity in dress, extremes and extravagance—there is not much difference between American and English women and girls at the present time. The crazes of extreme fashion take hold of them both, and in England have enormously increased of late, as if the more sober repression of the Victorian age had led to a reaction. From the American pulpit condemnation is strongly meted out to the frivolous society woman, and to the prevailing fashion of outlining the female form beneath very flimsy draperies. However, women of any nation are to be congratulated if they have cast off the ponderous and encumbering modes of the past generation.

Whilst Americans are in some senses antagonistic to England, in others they are peculiarly Anglophile. Englishmen of distinction are most cordially received and respected in the United States. A few years ago there was almost a mania for things English, in clothes, customs and other matters. The stylish American man would wear no suit of clothes that was not of English cloth, and hat and boot, collar, necktie and all else were subject to the same sentiment. That an article was English was a guarantee of its desirability. Whatever social custom or matter of etiquette proceeded from England must be accepted and adopted. A single eyeglass was the crowning touch—the copy of the monocled Englishman, beyond which there was no social development possible. There was, and is, something almost pathetic about this; a sort of yearning towards contact with or sharing in the more distinguished and romantic spirit and *milieu* of England, whom traditionally

they ought to hate, but whom they could not keep from loving, much as a rejected suitor still yearns upon a faithless love. A verse of a doggerel ballad, written some years ago in America to inveigh against this exaggerated imitation of the Englishman, ran :—

‘ Behold them in adoring rows,
With canes reversed and baggy clothes,
Whilst lisping adulation flows—
Carissime Taurorum ! ’

—the references being to the English fashion of roomy garments, the carrying—then—of the walking-stick (in the States called a ‘ cane ’) with the handle downwards, and the supposedly affected English lisp.

An Englishman in America is immediately betrayed by his speech, and more especially his accent, and of course, the Englishwoman, who however is fewer. The speech of the cultured English person is of marked distinction in contrast with that of the American, and people will turn round to stare when he opens his mouth. They may at times pretend to ridicule it, but in reality it is greatly admired, and might be adopted by the ‘ Smart Set ’ were such a course not too openly imitative. Similarly is the lower class English speech remarked—mainly from the dropping of the ‘ H,’ the aspirate. An American never drops his aspirates. The ‘ Cockney ’ accent occasionally heard—imported—in America is a strange and arresting thing. Americans unacquainted with the general cultured British speech often think all Englishmen drop their aspirates ! It is largely for this reason that Americans have laid claim to be the better speakers of English.

There are many types of Englishmen in America. Among them is what may—perhaps somewhat unkindly—be termed the ‘ renegade Englishman.’ He is one who is more anti-British than the anti-British American. The cause of this attitude is sometimes in the circumstance that he may have suffered slight or difficulty in his native land, or possibly he will be found to be of the lower middle class and of that character which hates aristocratic England because he is not of its more cultured folk ; and, realizing that, somewhat bitterly vents his spleen in denouncement of the old land and all it may contain. On the other hand, there are Englishmen in America who see, or really think they see, freer life and institutions in the Republic, and would never return to make their home in England ; and their view may be respected. It cannot be denied that there is a much wider social environment in America for a certain class of Englishman, especially

the lower middle class, for there such are much less barred from social advancement than at home, where except by the acquisition of wealth they could never escape from the bonds of caste, from the *bourgeois* to the upper strata. But in general the Englishman in America rarely changes his nationality to become a naturalized American citizen. The settlement by English folk in the United States is a factor for better understanding between the two peoples, even if it deprive the British colonies of a certain number of settlers, and there are innumerable British subjects in the United States who, whilst retaining the fullest affection for the land of their birth and upbringing, are at the same time valuable citizens of the land of their adoption.

Whilst we may depict certain types of Americans (as Americans do of Englishmen), it is always difficult to avoid caricature—and whilst we may at times be repelled by a certain atmosphere of materialism in the great busy centres of America, we shall not overlook the life of the great mass of sober everyday folk, from whom the highest form of civilization might arise in the future. Some of the best elements of American life flourish in the small country towns, scattered in their myriads all over the land.

To return to the consideration of Anglo-American relations : There is a barrier which prevents and it would seem must long prevent the English and American people from mingling in unaffected friendship ; a barrier which it may be convenient or polite to disguise, but which is nevertheless a stern and abiding condition, rooted in the very character and calibre of the status of society in the two communities. The English people embody an upper and a lower class. It is an aristocratic nation, which the American is not. However ' democratic ' and just the English may be, however benignant and courteous the upper class, it is aristocratic and it cannot easily commingle with a people that is not. The English upper-class folk regard themselves as superior to the Americans. That they are so in the arts and refinements of life, it would be useless to deny. Nor is it of any service to disguise the fact that a large number of upper-class English folk do not like the Americans, and rarely hesitate to say so. There would seem to be no solution of this particular obstacle, unless either that the Americans should become a race of aristocrats, or that the English should lose their aristocratic caste. The one is impossible : the other would come about only if revolution should occur, which would pull down England's governing class and caste and establish a radical, *bourgeois* or ' pro-

letariat' regime—which would be a calamity. The only other solution is the deep-seated philosophical one which is discussed below.

We see that the American of a high type has almost inevitably to approximate to or become an 'Englishman'—the Englishman representing the final development so far of cultured humanity. That is, the American, in thought, speech, dress, manners, occupation and outlook has no option but to become the polished Anglo-Saxon (or Anglo-Celt) of the type which this Island produces. It is not mere imitation, but to a large extent necessity and reversion to type. The American as a cultured man of affairs, man of the world, ambassador, man of letters (as which witness Emerson, Henry James, and others), retired millionaire (of culture), statesman (with any world ambitions) and so forth, all approximate to the English model. But should this be so? Can there be no high, distinct American type? The answer is that the high American type might come to being whenever America evolves a new, a true civilization, that true civilization of the gentleman for which the world is waiting, that new departure which some nation of the world will one day take. Under this new departure the oppressive, the selfish, the sordid condition of life will be taboo, a new horizon will have opened, a great 'epochal achievement' will have been done. Here lies American opportunity, here could be her destiny if she had (and she may yet have) the intelligence to take it. The Roman in his time proclaimed himself the leader of the world, the Spaniard once had such pretension, the Frenchman thought he was for a space, the Englishman is to-day and for long has been, and is strengthened in his position now. But there is something more and greater yet within the grasp of civilized man. A great name, a noble name, we are told, is more than much silver and gold. The name of America might ring through the world more than did the Roman or the Englishman, did she grasp the truth. America certainly owes a great duty to the world, perhaps more so than any other nation, for she inherited a vast virgin land, and had unhampered opportunities for human good, so far, in the wider sense, unrealized and unfulfilled. At present she is but a compromise, like her mother country—who has, however, fulfilled a vital part.

There is a certain circumstance favourable to good Anglo-American relations that is likely to continue, in the fact that American representatives in London—ambassador and other public men—rapidly fall into the environment of the English upper and governing class, and, in a sense, are absorbed by it.

It is irresistible to them. They are flattered by their reception, they make many friends; the open-handedness and frankness, the 'simplicity' and yet high calibre of this British element disarm any aggressive Americanism they might originally have brought across the Atlantic. They are at once in the soothing society of gentlemen. How could they possibly do anything to shock such a *milieu*? It would be bad taste. A middle course is very difficult. They must either fall under the spell or else must stand apart. The Americans generally send over to represent them in England picked men of a certain character, undoubtedly some of their best and most cultured men, and not those of a rugged type or possessed of aggressive Americanism, or such as would be likely to indulge in what has been termed 'shirt-sleeve diplomacy.' Relations of a generally cordial nature are thus maintained, and such representatives find they have much in common with British social life, and often play a prominent part in a variety of functions. There need be no insincerity about this circumstance, which is of benefit to both elements.

Again, apart from this, it is seen that the American in England, be he diplomat or tourist, is generally much on his good behaviour.

In more general terms, England, of course, does not consist only of an upper class of aristo-democratic people whose friendliness to America is of what might be called the 'Haw-haw' type—that is the condescending statesman and public man, or of those who traditionally or from prejudice stand aloof. There is a very numerous body of lower middle-class folk, largely perhaps of 'Nonconformist' and Radical or Liberal type, who have a very genuine, friendly feeling towards America, without perhaps knowing very much about the country; and there are, of course, the Scotch, who are generally friendly to America. Again, there is the great business element of the two countries. Industrial and business relations between English and Americans frequently give rise to friendships whatever may be the future of international rivalry between the two, in their competition for foreign markets. In brief, all these generalizations must be tempered by innumerable exceptions.

So far America and England have officially, and at public functions, approached each other with something of what might without offence be termed an 'international smirk.' It rather reminds the student of social evolution, if he have any sense of humour, of the approach of two savage chiefs of ancient times who may have had occasion to respect each

other's prowess or strength of club-arm. The exponents of such old-time diplomacy might each advance from the shelter of their respective rocks and lay down upon the dividing space some gift, and then retire, hoping that amicable relations would result. As both chiefs, however, retained as a mental reservation the right to hunt on each other's preserves, or at least to exploit the common preserves, if possible at each other's expense, the offer was sometimes regarded as a sign either of foolishness or possible weakness. The same difficulty prevails to-day in a sense. We have sent over to America, especially during the war—and we continue to send them—some of our leading chiefs, and they wore the 'international smile' in a way it has not been worn before: an attitude we and America cannot yet be rid of, however sincere we think to be.

It is generally taken for granted that America and England should strive to the utmost to dwell together without friction: that such is a condition devoutly to be wished. But is there a possibility that this *rapprochement* may not be part of the intended order of things? Nature, even Providence, may not take it for granted as Anglo-Saxon humanity does, or professes to do. Evolution may have other purposes in view; there may be ends to serve in mundane development that we scarcely realize, which would be advanced by Anglo-American rivalry rather than its mutual approach or equilibrium. If the approach is to be a simulated one, if it is to be made at the expense of sincerity or principle, or at the expense of other nations, or lastly at the sacrifice of some great world-principles, or their retardation, then assuredly Anglo-American relations will follow a chequered course. It is not improbable that this is to happen. The world is suffering from many subtle evils, from a good deal of complacent oppression such as the Anglo-Saxon folk know well how to hide under the cloak of assumed virtue; there is a conspiracy to defraud imagination of her due, in this branch of the world's people; to cheat what may be called the domain or romance of the constructive intellect. Also, there might be, in such an alliance, a further growth of that failure to apply structural logic to the affairs of society. Of the English it has been said that they will never work from a preconceived plan, but prefer compromise and to meet events as they come: and perhaps the Americans are in danger of developing this trait too much. It is a valuable trait in many respects, but something more is wanted, some Celtic or Latin element perhaps. Again, there is the danger of the too heavy hand of the policeman in such an alliance; the policeman and the law court; the danger of too much law, too much caution



GRAND CANYON FROM BRIGHT ANGEL TRAIL, LOOKING EAST.

Photograph by Rose.

and order. It has been wittily, if irreverently, said—but perhaps it was in bitterness—that if Christ were to appear in a London street to-day and address and exhort the throng, He would be arrested and taken before a magistrate for obstructing the traffic. Such an idea would be even more applicable to a New York street; and the New York policeman, moreover, would be more than likely to suppress any such ‘disorder’ with his customarily callous and often brutal methods. For America is peculiar as regards tolerance and intolerance: and whilst it is the refuge of the most varied sects, and indeed ‘cranks,’ in the world, it is still in large degree intolerant of true originality.

And once again, too close an alliance of America and England might mean the too-lasting consolidation of that over-‘business’ spirit which characterizes both peoples; that law and order of the ledger, the counting-house, and the factory, which, to-day, tends to become a votive offering to ‘that hideous idol the business-man,’¹ with danger to the true human philosophy. On both sides of the Atlantic we see the full development now of the ‘struggle for brains’—brains for business. The business brain and the man beneath it is exalted almost to the position of a demigod in to-day’s social economy, or at least if we are to believe in certain aspects of modern life. On every hand we are urged to cultivate ‘brains’ for the advancement of commercial affairs, for the attainment of individual wealth and ‘success’: scores of treatises and numerous ‘efficiency systems’ are put forward, some of a very full literature or philosophy, assuring their disciples advancement above all others and lifelong predominance, if from this pinnacle of the temple they will but behold the world. There are to-day pictured advertisements before our eyes everywhere in the Press, eulogising the peculiar type of brainy business man—the latest type undoubtedly of the more or less cultured predatory human or ‘forked animal’ of the acquisitive brain. Columns of what might be termed ‘philosophical bunkum’² appear in the papers, as to the merits of this or that business concern: a type of writing that is not without some merit and is certainly an improvement, if the same in principle, upon that earlier advertising literary trick, which, opening and engaging the attention with some exciting episode, concluded with a eulogy of some special nostrum. Far be it from the purpose here to deride commercialistic acumen

¹ A term enunciated recently in the House of Commons.

² It was originally introduced by an enterprising American multiple-shop in London.

in general, but to the philosopher it seems that the cult of 'business' and its peculiar intelligence has reached its apogee, and must begin to decline, both in England and America.

The observer of international ways is often tempted to compare the relative traits concerning commercial honesty and fair dealing among nations. It is a difficult path. The Englishman has a name abroad for fair dealing, his word is as good as his bond—the Spanish and Spanish-American folk have an aphorism of *palabra de ingles*, that is, 'the word of an Englishman,' well-known to the traveller in the Iberian republics of America, meaning that an Englishman will not fall below his promises, that his terms will be fulfilled in spirit and letter, his 'goods will be up to sample.' There is also the *hora ingles*,—the 'English time,' the synonym for punctuality. They are both flattering to the Briton and differentiate his outlook in commercial morality from that of his competitors, and are generally deserved, although whether under the stress of modern trade competition quite as much as formerly it were difficult to say. Yet honesty in the city of London is a very relative term. We must be tied up to the full with legal claims and agreements or we shall be defrauded in business operations. The character of the sportsman and the gentleman does not sufficiently or necessarily carry itself as a principle across the threshold of the counting-house and the office. Whilst this is, of course, a condition of all communities, it is sometimes found that the American is more generously and sportively honest. Perhaps as an individual in business he often has more money, and can afford to refrain from some undue advantage, or possibly the spirit of his broad mountains and plains, which in America lie at his door, influence him. However, in such reflections, we are bound to be blown hither and thither by the influence of personal experiences, and to assert that the American more faithfully keeps his word than the Briton, or *vice versa*, would be impossible as a general theory for general acceptance.

We note in the American often a keen adventurous commercial spirit: which is in contrast with the slower ideas and methods of a large bulk of English folk. England owns, controls, or influences, in her empire, as Britons are fond of saying, a quarter of the land surface of the globe, upon which 'the sun never sets'; but it may be that if Americans were masters of such an empire they would make more use of it in a legitimately material sense, would probably know more about its potentialities, and, as a 'business proposition,' would undoubtedly take more efficient hold of it. To ask

at random any ordinary man of the British middle class where such and such a remote part of his empire is, or what are its resources, or to suggest that we might well know more about this vast possession and strive to make more practical use of it for our legitimate needs, will be, in general, to be met with a certain stolidity. Perhaps he will turn to his pipe or his peddling. In a sense the good British citizen scarcely deserves to have his empire, whose infinite possibilities can never be developed in the present British frame of mind. Under a more American spirit of enterprise the empire might yield up tenfold of its potentialities. We might see a population in Canada far exceeding that of the few million folk it contains, and Australia much more rapidly peopled; both more greatly endowed with men, women, and cities, railways and all else, whilst, as to our enormous African possessions, with their millions of square miles of forest, mountain, plain, river, and illimitable natural resources, empires in themselves, we might see them far more advanced, producing much more wealth for themselves and the world,¹ instead of lying so largely fallow, and perhaps destined to fall from our grasp. It may seem strange to accuse Britain of colonizing inanition, but such seems undeniable. It is not necessarily from any superior virtue that an American spirit of development would have brought on these lands, but from the irrepressible activity and enterprise it displays, such as in a brief century has wrought such marvels in the United States. British methods have worked greater wonders in the empire up to a certain point, but they are too restricted and exclusive now, and must expand or fail. A more vigorous economic policy is needful; a greater use of the talent of the younger imperial-minded generation, which lacks opportunity, due in part to the somewhat selfish and exclusive bureaucratic habit, and methods of political and diplomatic nepotism. The talent for governing 'native' races which England has displayed has undoubtedly been unrivalled. But Americans must be given their due in this field. There is, for example, the considerable success in what may be termed democratic imperialism that has attended the governance and development of the formerly backward Philippine Islands, as an American Protectorate, a vast, heterogeneous community, and the Filipinos, after nearly twenty years of doubt and difficulty since the time of Spanish rule, are learning the arts of self-government, and their American teachers have shown great capacity in comprehension of native

¹ Since the above was written we have been told of the failure of colonization methods in British East Africa.

ideals : the burden has been carried by the United States even against the criticism of its own political Democratic Party, who would have abandoned or sold the Islands. American methods in this task are worthy of closer study by British imperialists and foreign and colonial office officials.

A volume might be written, as indeed volumes are written, on the temperamental differences of Briton and American, but such descriptions are of necessity often contradictory. We are representable as a cold-blooded people : they as more mercurial. Our temperament has been said to be so marked in English actors, for example, and especially actresses, that they leave their audiences cold, and, conversely, that the American player is more natural and emotional, and, touching the chords of human nature, reaps the applause of the audience, having gone below the surface of conventionality. These matters, however, are marked in various ways, often adverse to the American character. The development of the cinematograph, for example, has given America an opportunity to show a very undesirable side of its forensic constitution. It is complained, now, that, throughout the British Empire, few but American films are shown, with possibilities of 'Americanization' little to be desired, in the exhibition of American ways, which embody very questionable ideals and much mawkish sentiment. Also, the trivial and over-sentimental background and characters of many American novels shows the lack of stamina and maturity of the writing of fiction in the United States.

How do the great masses of American and British working-man compare ? There are points of superiority and inferiority in both. But here the cursing, expectorating mechanic, such as America so greatly produces, is not in evidence, but in both lands labour wakens slowly to its own culture.

Again, the quick, mercurial temperament of the American contains possibilities of crime which would be impossible for the slower, more phlegmatic, perhaps more stupid Britisher. The statistics of crime in America, in New York or any other locality are appalling in comparison with England. It is shown that the great American cities have from six to ten times as many murders as in London, whilst burglaries and other crimes in New York alone annually exceed the whole of Britain ; and these matters are not due merely to the coloured and foreign element. Perhaps for the Britisher there is less temptation for crime. His surroundings are older, his respect for the individual is greater, he regards human life with much greater veneration, his respect for property is deep-

seated. The long rule of mediævalism has had its lasting and, in general, beneficial effect ; climate and geography have had permanent influence upon him. He cannot be cruel or bloodthirsty : he is merciful, and the spirit of fair play is his natural gift : he is honest by nature ; he is tolerant, he would rather compromise than oppress. The American is not bloodthirsty, but he is often very cruel : he is not nearly so much actuated by the idea of fair play, and is often clever to gain his ends, but he is learning to venerate the true sporting character, as revealed by his English friends. He is generous and charitable when disposed to be so, but, on the other hand, can be a veritable Shylock. Again, he loves money, but spends it freely for what it produces. He is more polite outwardly towards women, but less sincere, and earns her respect in less degree. The tendency to tyranny by petty officialdom has been elsewhere remarked, although good-nature is often a strong characteristic. On the whole it may be said, though in no unkind spirit, that it is remarkable that the United States, with all its wealth and great provision for education, does not yet produce a folk of more general culture.

Between the two peoples the greatest intercourse, in all ways, is needful, that they may learn of each other. That intercourse, however, becomes unfortunately more and more difficult by reason of the increasing cost of travel.

CHAPTER XII

America, The War, and the Future

THE historian, in days to come, will doubtless endeavour adequately to answer the inevitable question as to why the United States did not earlier take its part in the Great War, which ravaged Europe in the years 1914-1918—the conflict which, in addition to being the most stupendous fight against evil that the world has ever witnessed, also marked a turning-point in the life and circumstances of humanity on the globe.

The war began in 1914; the Americans entered it in April, 1917: over two and a half years after the outbreak; and this simple statement of dates contains within itself as much as a whole chapter of reflections. It marks the period which had to elapse before the American people could be shocked, cajoled, or driven into taking its part in the protection, not merely of law, order, and humanity, but of the most primitive things of civilization: to awaken to the reality of human affairs, as against mere worldly wisdom and prejudice, and take up arms against the most corrupt and horrible aggression that has ever troubled mankind.

There is no doubt that the old American jealousy towards England, if largely concealed, was one of the principal elements against entering the war; that old jealousy which is partly a legacy of the War of Independence and various subsequent episodes in Anglo-American historical relations, and is partly temperamental. For, unfortunately, the sentiment obtained that if it was in any degree 'England's war,' that was a reason for America not to take part. England might be right or wrong—that was secondary, but to join with her in a war would require that a mountain of prejudice should be overcome. If England had gone to war, it must be—in America's eyes—for some ulterior purpose of her own, and America was not to be made a catspaw. Thus, in a sense, did the old rivalries and injustices bring forth fruit again, to the deadening of American generosity and spontaneity, leading to unneces-

sary slaughter and needless years of war, for an earlier American stand, it is highly probable, might have minimized both.

We see in these events how considerably the American Republic and people are controlled by their Ruler—to an extent unknown to the people of England. Perhaps no nation in the world is more susceptible to being led than the Americans, who have not, as elsewhere discussed, the bluff individualistic spirit of the Englishman. It has been said—by a French writer—that the Americans would rather be misled than not led at all. In the early days of the war, if their President had been of a disposition such as would, even metaphorically, have waved a sword over his head and said a few words, natural words, glowing with righteous indignation, probably an electric current would have run through America, and a very different tale might have been told. But the American President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, was not of that nature. His methods and language were those of the intellectual laboratory—the fact is revealed both in his actions and in the periods and sentences of the messages and Notes which he sent out to Congress and to the world—a type of elocution of which we are not without examples among certain English statesmen. It is what might be termed the ‘ semi-colon ’ form of expression, which enunciates in the first part of a sentence what it modifies, hedges, or develops in the second. Mr. Wilson was an ‘ internationalist ’ in spirit, and this class of individual is generally dominated by that obsession that right and wrong are equal adjuncts of all conflicts and contestants, which would ‘ hold the ring ’ rather than call the policeman or enter to protect the outraged party—this spirit, in the extreme, is the negation of chivalry and righteous indignation, the antithesis of the crusader and the gentleman.

Of course, from one point of view, the caution of the American President possibly had its virtues ; for he must endeavour to assure himself that he was representing the ‘ will of the people ’ whose head he was, and it is doubtful if they had at that time a sterner heart-beat of generous red blood than the President felt he could show, or such as Lincoln or Roosevelt would probably have shown ; and of course, in regarding American aloofness from the war, after fully considering matters of prejudice and so forth, we should try to put ourselves mentally in the American’s place. It was doubtless a dreadful consideration, to plunge their own country into the war, to have to send their kith and kin overseas to lose their lives and be buried in a foreign soil, to take up a quarrel in which—at the time—it seemed they had no part. The theatre of war

was far from their shores, it did not affect their continent, where they were safe from its horrors and dangers. Why mix themselves up in the 'squabble' or conflicts of the 'degenerate' monarchies of Europe? Had not Washington always warned them against 'entangling alliances' in Europe? What affair was it of theirs? Indeed many in England asked what affair it was of ours?—a view, however, which did not long obtain, for a few hours sufficed to plunge Britain and her colonies into the struggle. Further, it must be recollected that the American people are largely composed of a German element, and the wildest ideas were afloat as to the attitude of this element, whilst perhaps it was difficult for the Americans to know the real truth, in view of lying German propaganda in their midst, too rigid Press censorship—for which England was partly responsible—and the failure of England to state her case sufficiently clearly. Again, too, there was Russia—that autocracy of Tsarism and Cossack terror, one of the Allies, a great stumbling-block to America, who had always looked upon the methods of Tsarism with repugnance.

Yet one of the most remarkable things was that America officially should not have protested against the invasion of Belgium, notwithstanding that the United States was a signatory to the independence of that country, and President Wilson could write 'Great and good Friend' to the German Kaiser, whilst this outrage was taking place, after the shameful incident of the 'Scrap of paper.' The opinion of Americans seemed to be generally on the side of the Allies after the outbreak of war. They ceased to speak of that 'decadence' of England which had often been a favourite theme. But the war seemed to have had little effect on the electorate of November, 1914. The Americans regarded themselves as free from peril, although their commerce was injured, at which they became very angry, and in general they felt they could go about their own affairs as though war or peace beyond the Atlantic was no concern of theirs. British 'navalism' was to be denounced, the 'freedom of the seas' was to be made a burning question, and British blockade and censorship—necessary to the very life of Britain in the conduct of the war with the savage and unscrupulous enemy—was to be made a matter of bitter controversy, accompanied by the hurling of threats, and even insults at Britain by America. The martyrdom of Belgium and the dreadful story of Antwerp (October, 1914), in which all laws of war and humanity were ignored by the German invaders, who outraged women, bayoneted children and killed civilians in cold blood, the fall and deliberate burning of

Louvain—these things they found it difficult to believe or preferred not to believe until the Belgian Commission arrived, and even then they doubted. No; the Americans were to be 'clear of any reproach of favouring one side more than the other,' as their President put it in his message of December, 1914. Mr. Wilson even then was meditating upon some possible opportunity for his mediation—apparently in some self-glorifying spirit: 'an opportunity such as has seldom been vouchsafed to any nation,' as he said. Even France, which once had aided America so signally in her earlier conflict with Britain, she failed to support. In this cold-blooded neutrality, Mr. Wilson failed to see the issue, or to know that it was a fight to a finish against the devil and all his works. However, England went on her slow, often bungling, but purposeful and righteous way.

One of the most friendly and far-seeing figures on the American side was that of Admiral Mahan,¹ the famous authority on sea-power. Mahan had always expressed his astonishment at England's unpreparedness for war as regarded her army and neglect of the menacing attitude of Germany. He was an admirer of England and the British fleet; and, moreover, was under no delusion as to America's peril, should the Allies be overcome, and so had a far wider vision than his countrymen in general.

In November, 1915, the American attitude was partly revealed in utterances in the Press. For example, a New York paper² remarked: 'It is an error to think that because England is fighting for civilization that the Americans will not press their legal and technical rights (against her). As a Nation and as a people Americans do not accept the view that either British or German success is desirable for America—or dangerous'; and there were many other unfriendly utterances throughout the United States.

Unfortunately the English Government and Press were not acquainted with the American mentality and did not know how to influence the Americans. They approached them, rather, with what has elsewhere been called the 'Anglo-American smirk,' cajoled them when they should have talked ruggedly, and 'nursed' them when they should have chastised them with indignation, sending verbal bouquets—sometimes concealing innuendoes—when they should have been told the truth—when indeed the truth should have been hurled at them. The attitude of *The Times* was typical of such methods

¹ Died in December, 1914.

² *The Tribune*.

and for two years our leading journal nursed the Americans with polite phrases ; ' trusting always in the good sense and humanity of the great American people ' or analogous references. *The Times* staff, however well-meaning, evidently did not understand the American character, or else preferred a certain line of policy.¹ The Americans are in general a people of good sense and humanity, but to penetrate their outer covering of complacency or suspicion something more than philosophical cordiality was necessary, and a drastic purge should have been administered by the London Press, which in effect should have said :—You, the people and government of America are blind ; you are selfishly standing out whilst civilization is at stake : you are losing an enormous opportunity of asserting your moral power and of earning the respect of the World. Rub the scales off your eyes and take up arms against the German thieves and murderers who are at the throats of Belgium and France, if you have any valour and any moral sense beyond money-making.² Such an exhortation would doubtless have been unconventional, but it was needful.

Fortunately, however, *The Times* was very alert in its criticism of our own conduct of the war, and the service that journal rendered in punishing the Government for its inadequate provision of war material, the lack of shells and ammunition, its red-tape and obsolete methods, can never be sufficiently appraised.

On December 20th, 1916, President Wilson sent to all the belligerent powers a ' peace ' Note, which contained the following passage : ' He (the President) takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms by their own people and to the world.' This Note, which came without warning or hint, fell almost like a bombshell upon the English Press and people and the Allies generally, and the particular passage set their minds ablaze. In the view of the American President, then, the great moral and righteous principles which the English, French, Belgians, and others had been pouring out their life-blood to uphold, were on the same plane as the

¹ The *Morning Post* was much more rugged in its comments, but this is a habitual attitude of that valuable journal towards America—a useful corrective in some respects.

² Seeing this mistaken attitude of the Press, the Author (knowing the American people well) wrote to *The Times* in analogous terms, but the letter was returned.

German acts ; the question, in brief, was one of ' Six to half a dozen ! ' Endeavours were made by Americans and others on the following day to explain away or mollify this extraordinary pronouncement, in some degree. Other passages of the Note were even more remarkable :—' Each side,' Mr. Wilson said, ' desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war.'

It would have been difficult to conceive a statement more astounding or misleading, and it would appear to some that the man who could deliberately send it forth must have been mentally out of balance at the moment. Or, if not, then the American President revealed in this utterance the hopelessly bound attitude of mind of the pacifist, whose inability to see the truth, whilst at the same time clothing itself in a sort of unctuous cloak, is the despair of the normal and generous mind ; but the attitude is often found in the ' pacifist,' and it makes the heart sick. The avowed purpose of the Note was to invite all the belligerents to state the terms on which they would make peace, and in the introductory part it was said that the course suggested came ' not only from a friend but from the representative of a neutral nation, whose interests have been most seriously affected by this war, and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.' Thus one motive of the desire to bring about peace appeared to be that the United States had sustained certain injuries to her ' interests '—mainly trade losses!

It may be that the foregoing is a severe view to take of Mr. Wilson's unfortunate utterances, but it is one which is not likely to be forgotten, even if subsequent events and the President's change of mind soften the recollection. There is one extenuating circumstance—it probably did not represent the mind of America generally, and the view was, in fact, instantly repudiated by part of the American Press and public, whilst certain statesmen and others endeavoured to gloss it over, out of loyalty to the President. The Note displayed ' the hand of amiable, world-ignorant untutored Pacifism,' said one American authority.¹ Some, however, read into it a warning to Germany. As for British statesmen, they reiterated the moral forces in action and Britain's purpose to fight them out.

In January, 1917, President Wilson could still make his

¹ Quoted in *The Times*.

speech upholding 'peace without victory on either side,' to the American Senate, revealing his peculiar mentality once more. At the opening of the year 1917 the relations between America and England were considerably strained. The Americans, bent upon the carrying on of their commerce, resented the British blockade policy. (They had forgotten or overlooked the fact that their own blockade policy shortened their own Civil War): they quibbled and blustered at the arming of English Merchant ships, to protect them against the dastardly submarine outrages of the Huns, they opposed the doctrine of contraband—Germany was surreptitiously obtaining material to prolong the war: they bitterly opposed the British 'Black List' containing the names of hundreds of pro-enemy traders in America; and the detention of mails and censorships of telegrams, at a time when information to the enemy was being given through every possible source. Frequent diplomatic controversy had taken place on these matters, but Britain, though conciliatory, was firm. Popular resentment against President Wilson had been aroused in England by his Note of December.

On January 22nd, 1917, in an address to the Senate, Mr. Wilson laid before that body his views as to the conditions under which it would be possible for the United States—after the war should have been fought out—to take part in a League of Nations for the preservation of peace: of which the chief points were: 'A community of power instead of a balance of power: a peace without victory: a principle of equality as between powerful and weak nations: the freedom of the seas; and the limitations of armaments.' The speech was most noteworthy as marking a departure from the traditional American isolation policy of Washington and later. The 'peace without victory' again showed Mr. Wilson's blindness to the righteousness of the Allied cause and the curious lack of moral fibre of the 'pacifist' democrat. As to the 'freedom of the seas,' America seemed to have forgotten that the ships of all the world could trade with ports in the British Empire on the same footing as the British, but that—for example—the Americans confine traffic with their Asiatic or Pacific Dependencies—the Philippines and Hawaii—to American ships.

On February 1st, 1917, Germany announced her intended policy of 'unlimited submarine warfare,' sending a Note to the United States, in which, among other things, it was set forth that 'one steamer a week only would be allowed to run from America to Britain,' and that only under certain conditions. All other neutral vessels approaching Britain,

France, and Italy were to be sunk at sight. This announced policy of indiscriminate murder at last aroused the Americans, who were stung to scorn and anger by such threatened restrictions on their shipping, and the Press, even the pro-German Hearst Press, demanded action. Mr. Roosevelt and other prominent Americans denounced the Germans and called the Note an act of war. But it took two months for the President to decide on the situation. No warning was to be given to the crews and passengers of vessels passing this German 'blockade,' nor provision made for the safety of passengers attacked: the vessels were to be sent to the bottom ruthlessly. Mr. Wilson, however, announced his intention of not declaring war before the commission of 'some overt act,' but diplomatic relations were broken off on February 3rd, and the President, feeling that he had the support of the country, handed Bernstorff, the German ambassador, his passports.

Meantime, many steamers were sunk daily—an appalling situation. Some large liners were sunk and a number of passengers met their death, including women and children—but so far no Americans. American and other neutral vessels ceased to sail, but the British ships continued their voyages, and the bravery of the British merchant seamen now—and indeed throughout the war—was one of the finest features of the war. King George, at the Guildhall, said:—'Let us remember the unflinching gallantry and determination of the men of the Merchant Service, who have refused to be dismayed by a terrorism hitherto unknown in naval warfare: and the courage of the minesweepers, trawlers, and fleet auxiliaries who have performed without ceasing their perilous tasks.' But the sinking of the liners was not yet the needed 'overt act' required by President Wilson. However, American ports were now practically blockaded by the German submarine policy, and vessels refused to leave New York.

President Wilson's term of office came to an end, leaving the United States still standing by whilst these crimes on land and sea were being committed by the Germans. The Americans were, in effect, awaiting what might be termed a direct blow in the face before they would strike out in defence or retaliation. The country in general was boiling with rage, but many still counselled 'prudence,' and Mr. Wilson always nourished the futile and pusillanimous hope that Germany at the last moment would mend her ways, not seeing that he was dealing with a wild beast among the nations. On March 5th he was again installed as President, entering upon his second term of office; his announced policy being one of 'armed

neutrality,' and the address to Congress was couched in idealistic terms, enunciating all the philosophical views previously set forth. The Germans laughed and the Allies sighed, but the British Press, especially *The Times*, continued to be diplomatic in its criticisms. However, prominent Americans again expressed themselves in no measured terms. That America's own fortunes were now involved was a point of the President's statement. He considered he was hampered by certain old statutes (Lincoln, it was pointed out, brushed such aside when dire necessity dictated, as did Roosevelt), and he reiterated his arguments. 'We stand firm on an armed neutrality,' he said, 'since it seems that in no other way can we demonstrate what it is that we insist upon and cannot force.'

In March, however, came a change. Ship after ship belonging to the United States had been sunk by German submarines, causing great excitement among the Americans, now grievously wounded in their own susceptibilities and pockets. But it was not until April 2nd,¹ that the Republic was committed to the war by President Wilson's message to Congress. The following passage threw down the gage: 'I advise that Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be, in fact, nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of a belligerent which is thus thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and employ its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.' Also: 'The world must be safe for democracy; its peace must be planted upon trusted foundations of political liberty'; and again, 'We enter this war only when clearly forced into it, because there are no other means of defending our rights. It will be easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people, or with a desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and right and is running amok.'

One of the chief points that stood out from this speech was the distinction drawn between the German Government and people. Mr. Wilson seemed totally to exonerate the people from the crimes which Germany had committed, or for the

fault of the war, but this, as every thoughtful person in Europe and innumerable Americans knew, was absurd, and it showed once more the peculiar mentality of the President. Indeed, the British, French, and other Press exposed the fallacy immediately. Between the attitude of the German masses and their rulers, in the evil deeds carried out, there was no line of cleavage: between German citizens, men and women and their unspeakable rulers, whether Kaiser or ministers, or between generals and common soldiers, all of whom equally participated, either by word or deed.

When we look beyond these matters, the President's appeal to America was really a fine one. He concluded his address with: 'We have no selfish ends to serve: we desire no conquests and no dominion: we seek no indemnities for ourselves and no material compensations for sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind, and shall be satisfied when these rights are as secure and fast as the freedom of nations can make them. To such a task we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything we are, everything we have, with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth, and the happiness and place which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.' This was generally described in England as a 'noble oration,' and undoubtedly it was such, even if it savoured of the intellectual laboratory. But the historian of the future will ruggedly ask how it was that the enunciation of such high sentiments and purpose was delayed until America herself had suffered a direct blow.

The War Resolution was passed by the Senate with a vote of 82 to 6, and the House by 373 to 6. The Americans having resolved to play their part entered upon the matter with characteristic energy, although they soon realized their difficulties and limitations. It is further to be recorded that there was less of the characteristic boastful American spirit displayed than was to have been expected, and great earnestness prevailed. Even Mr. Wilson's bitter and most powerful opponents, among them Senator Lodge, supported him. 'The work we are called upon to do,' he said, 'when we enter this war, is to preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy and the light of modern civilization,—all that we most love, all that we hold dearer than life itself. In such a battle we cannot fail to win. I am glad my country is to share in the preservation of human freedom'; high-sounding (but doubtless sincere) sentiments such as Ameri-

can statesmen are prone to utter, but which it is to be regretted were not uttered and acted upon much earlier.

Compulsory military service followed, never employed since the Civil War, and a system the Americans abhor as much as the British ; and it is remarkable that the country accepted it without disturbance. However, the leader of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives did not support conscription, but the measure was passed by an overwhelming majority in both Houses, on April 28th. An enormous sum of over twenty thousand million dollars was voted for prosecution of the war, of which seven thousand millions were for loans to the Allies ; with other measures ; and, within six months afterwards a million and a half men were under arms, with ten times that number mobilized behind them in war industries, and some forces had been transported to France—under the protection of the British Fleet mainly—without the loss of a man. Shipbuilding and aeroplane-building were entered upon with energy, loans and subscriptions were enthusiastically raised, and America, in popular parlance, ' had found its soul.'

The first American contingent landed on the soil of France at the close of June, 1917, but up to March, 1918, the number reached only about 283,000, of which a large proportion were non-combatants, and there was widespread irritation in the United States at the Government's slow action, when the need was so pressing. But there was acceleration, and in the following four months three-quarters of a million men were in France or on board to go there, and by July this reached over a million. Of this, 32 per cent., however, were non-combatants ; the medical and supply services. No limit was placed to the ultimate size of the American Army, and President Wilson asked why it should be limited even to five millions.

With regard to the American Navy, it was generally stated that it had co-operated loyally with the British Fleet, and very friendly relations grew up between them.

There were, however, some peculiar revelations after the war, in this connexion, when, before the Senate Committee which investigated the matter of Naval awards, in Washington, in January, 1920, Admiral Sims stated that the American Navy was slow in co-operating on certain vital points, especially as regarded convoy, which, in his view, had led to a serious prolongation of the war and needless loss of life. Admiral Sims also made the remarkable statement that, when he was ordered to England in March, 1917, just before the United States took part, he was instructed by the Navy Department

THE
LAW OF
CONTRACTS



WOODROW WILSON.

Twenty-eighth President of U.S.A. Elected 1912; second term 1916; retired 1921.

'not to let the British pull the wool over his eyes, and that we would as soon fight the British as the Central Powers.' 'It was ten months,' added the Admiral, 'before the United States really came to the aid of the Allies.' These statements sank rather deeply into the British mind, but the Press accepted them with a certain philosophy.

Was the service which the Americans gave in the war of great value? The answer is undoubtedly that it was of the utmost value, but that it came almost too late. Out of regard for the Americans much has been written of the 'enormous service' performed, whilst more outspoken critics have considered that the Allies had the matter in hand at the time. Between these two a just balance may in the future be drawn. Probably the moral effect was more useful than the material one. Undoubtedly, also, the Allies were in a much more favourable position at the close than they knew; and this was strangely true at the last, for there is little doubt that had the British and the French known the true state of German affairs at the time of the Armistice, it would not have been granted. Indeed the French leader, Marshal Foch, was against it, but he was over-ruled.

On January 8th, 1918, President Wilson enunciated his famous 'Fourteen points,' which he called 'The Programme of the world's peace.' The first of these called for the abolition of private international understandings or secret diplomacy. The second was for the 'freedom of the seas,' demanding 'absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace or war, except by international action.' The third called for 'the removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations.' The fourth called for adequate guarantees that national armaments would be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. The fifth called for an adjustment of colonial claims under the principle that the population of such colonies should have equal weight in the determination of questions of sovereignty and control. The remainder specified in general the geographical considerations of evacuation and establishing of frontiers, except the last, which called for a 'general association of nations to be formed under specific covenants to ensure the independence of States great and small.'

It was not likely that England would have agreed to the clause regarding the 'freedom of the seas,' which matter at once aroused great controversy, whilst that of the 'removal of economic barriers' seemed to be an impossible idealist

proposal tainted by ultra 'free trade' ideals; and that giving the inhabitants of colonies or dependencies (especially when such might be backward negroes and others) a voice in determination of sovereignty, was similarly over-idealistic.

Thus, if the Americans had come late into the war, thereby accomplishing much less for the cause of humanity than they might have done, their President, Dr. Woodrow Wilson, was no laggard in entering the preparations for peace. Indeed the circumstances surrounding his activities will go down to history as remarkable, for they were more opposed by his countrymen than upheld. The insistence on certain ideals and their enunciation without consideration with his colleagues or supporters, the two journeys to Europe which he made later, apparently against the wishes of his own people, and the persistence displayed when he returned are matters without parallel, and it is later seen that they defeated their own ends, in large measure.

On 'Lafayette and Marne Day,' September 6th, 1918, the celebrations included a speech from Mr. Roosevelt, who pointed out the services the Allied Armies had rendered to America, and insisted that the American Army should surpass even those of France or Britain in taking part on the battlefield, adding: 'It is sometimes announced that part of the peace agreement must be a League of Nations which will prevent all war for the future and put a stop to the need of this nation preparing its own strength for its own defence. Many of the adherents of this idea grandiloquently assert that they intend to supplant nationalism by internationalism, but rhetoric is a poor substitute for the habit of looking facts resolutely in the face.'

The same sentiments were simultaneously enunciated, independently and vigorously, in Britain, and elsewhere, representing what may be described as the prevailing 'Common-sense view' of the subject. 'Pacifism,' however, had not been without its efforts. Its protagonists even went to the length of a 'Stop-the-war' cry, and there were not wanting rich, influential and titled personages¹ who counselled that it was impossible for the Allies to win; that 'A knock-out blow' such as had been advocated was impossible: that 'we shall all be ruined and bankrupt'—a cry in which prominent bankers joined in. However, prominent bankers, in 1914, had proclaimed that the war could not possibly last six months, for the same reason. There was undoubtedly something of the sinister international financial element at work in the

¹ Including Lord Lansdowne, in his famous letter.

pacifist movement. Fortunately England remained staunch throughout, and the world may well congratulate itself for British tenacity.

The end approached rapidly when, in October, 1918, the Germans, practically defeated and desiring a cessation of hostilities, addressed a Note to President Wilson, through Switzerland, accepting the 'Fourteen Points' and asking the United States to arrange an armistice. The President immediately replied, asking for the 'exact meaning' of the Note and for whom the Germans were speaking; and saying he could not make the proposal to the Allies unless the Germans consented immediately to withdraw from all invaded territory. This reply met with a mixed reception. By many in America, Canada, France, and Britain an idea of an Armistice was condemned, and 'unconditional surrender' called for; but the Note was considered wise and firm, and confidence in Mr. Wilson was strengthened. It was followed by another German Note and another reply, in which President Wilson, following the directions of England and France, informed the enemy that: 'The terms of the armistice must be dictated by the Generals in the field.'

There was relief among the French and British public at this announcement, for it was felt that President Wilson had had the matter too much in his own hands, and that more rugged and responsible treatment was necessary for safety. But the French were disturbed, and thought that the 'conversations' between Mr. Wilson and Germany had been long enough, and some of the more resolute American papers and public missed the desired words of 'absolute surrender' in the President's reply. The English Press was diplomatic, but might well have been more emphatic. Many American papers had the right instinct—that no discussion should have been entered into until Germany was 'beaten to her knees'; and the West and South-West were specially emphatic, for their fighting blood had long been up. As to the Vatican, the Pope thought Germany was sincere, and hoped she would not be over-pushed.

November 7th was a momentous day. A delegation left Berlin to have Marshal Foch's armistice terms dictated to them in the field—he alone having been authorized to give them. Simultaneously it was announced that the Allies had accepted Mr. Wilson's 'fourteen points,' with the exception of that referring to the 'freedom of the seas,' reserving to themselves full freedom of action on that subject whenever a Peace Conference should be arranged. There had also been some uneasiness as regarded Point Three, as to whether Presi-

dent Wilson had impossible or unacceptable 'Free Trade' methods in mind: he being a Democrat and presumably supporter of Free Trade. For a month now the Germans had been retreating, and ruin stared them in the face. The renewed activity of the French, the recovery of the American Army from its transport difficulties, and its energetic advance, and the 'hammer blows' of the British—which Marshal Foch later proclaimed were the decisive factors in the final defeat—had brought the German Army to the verge of a *débâcle*. Added to this was the threat of political upheaval at home, for it was evident that the structure of the Prussianized Empire was giving way, that fissures were opening in it on all sides, that State was beginning to quarrel with State, class with class, that the singular alliance within it of the militarist and Jew financier was cracking; whilst the Kaiser's prestige was failing, the pro-Germans thinking him a coward and the peace party regarding him as an obstacle to surrender.

And now comes the end. There is a revolt in the Navy at Kiel; the Red Flag appears in Berlin; and, on November 11th, this ominous standard flies above the Kaiser's palace, for the Kaiser has abdicated and fled to Holland! The German Empire become a Republic in a night; crowns and ducal hats fall on every side; perhaps the world has never seen such days, or not since the fall of Xerxes or Darius. At Sedan, where the jack-booted Prussian militarism was consecrated by Bismarck and Moltke, half a century ago, a big thrust of the Americans—dramatic incident—puts the Stars and Stripes in possession. At Mons, where the Germans trampled on the famous and undying 'Old Contemptibles' of the British Expeditionary Force in the earlier dreadful days of the war, the British now take their stand, or pursue the fleeing Huns.

Practically amid all this the Armistice was signed, on November 11th. But were it not better that the Germans should have been pursued over their own borders and punished with some more righteous retribution, or should have been called upon for unconditional surrender? Perhaps the Allies were too moderate, or probably did not realize the actual weak state of the Germans. Foch stated that he wished to avoid further bloodshed, but also admitted it was against his inmost convictions.

Following this *dénouement* the British Fleet arrived off Constantinople; Franco-British troops crossed the Danube: the unspeakable Turk was humbled—but insufficiently: there was joy in Alsace: the King of England and the President of the United States exchanged warm telegrams: the German

Navy and fleet of submarines surrendered to the British: the Emperor of Austria abdicated—Austria was starving, and at Caporetto the Italians had taken 50,000 Austrian prisoners: the British and American Armies entered German territory: the French occupied Strasburg: Hindenburg proclaimed that the German Army was helpless and would not be able to stand even against the French alone. Heaven, and the heaviest battalions, had proclaimed the right.

Der Tag, 'The Day,' indeed, had come!

All thought now of home, and the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, announced that England 'must be made a country fit for heroes to dwell in.' The French and the Belgians, whilst glorying in their victory, wept over their ruined homes. President Wilson announced that he was coming over to Europe for the settlement. The American soldiers in training-camps lamented their lost chance of a blow at the Huns.

The American losses in the war were 58,478 dead; 189,955 wounded; 14,290 missing; and 2,275 taken prisoners. The British Empire's losses were 721,580 killed; 2,068,727 wounded; 273,357 missing. Of these, 2,453,266 were of the United Kingdom: the remainder being from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India, etc. The French losses were 1,287,300 killed and missing; 442,800 wounded; 408,000 taken prisoners. The Belgian losses were 58,402. To these must be added Italy, Serbia and others.

The Versailles Conference was already in being, and it was now to consider fateful decisions. A wag pointed out—it was serio-comic—that there was only one Englishman (Lord Milner) among its members, as against a Welshman (Mr. Lloyd George), a Scottish-Canadian (Mr. Bonar Law), four Scotsmen—Balfour, Haig, Geddes, Wemyss.

President Wilson, whose term of office would expire next year, appealed to his country to return a Democratic Congress and support him. The old Congress was Democratic by only a small majority, 8 in the Senate of 96 members, and 3 in the Republican, out of 435; but the Republicans had supported him loyally, for that party was ever the more enthusiastic for beating the Germans. There was little pacifist element in America—the pacifists in Congress had been weeded out. But bitter controversy arose over the President's journey to Europe. The 'Fourteen Points,' too, came under severe scrutiny. Definition of the term the 'freedom of the seas' was demanded. Americans realized that such a doc-

trine would have prolonged their own civil war, and equally the Great War. On the other hand, the Hearst party and Press thought 'British Navalism was as bad as German militarism' (even among some British pacifist folk this view was held). The Americans, moreover, thought that 'America was the best sounding-board for President Wilson's enunciations'; that, in making them on foreign soil, they would lose majesty. Also, there was complaint of the small amount of information vouchsafed them 'as to what he was going to say to the crowned heads or prime ministers of Europe,' and his 'internationalist' views were gravely called in question. The doctrines he might preach, or which might be made an accomplished fact in Versailles, might, it was said, be repudiated by the Senate on his return.

There was indeed something prophetic in this, as later events showed. But it seemed that the President, in his zeal for dominance in foreign questions, and his—not unrighteous—desire to impress his view on the world, got very much out of touch with America, as his 'candid friends,' even of his own party, told him. Controlled by a great idea, however, he took his own way—history has often approved such a course, and he was a historian; and he took no counsel with the Republican party, so incurring the hostile criticism of Mr. Roosevelt and Senator Lodge, who denounced his 'autocratic' methods. But France and England were quite ready to welcome him.

On November 28th, the American Thanksgiving-Day, celebrated in England, the Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges, dedicated a poem called 'Harvest-Home' to the Americans, of which the following are the first and last verses:

A toast for East and West,
 Drink on this Thursday feast
 Last in November,
 Across the sea join hands—
 Drink and remember!

The good God bless this day
 And we for ever and aye
 Keep our love living
 Till all men 'neath heaven's dome
 Sing Freedom's Harvest-home
 In one Thanksgiving!

The verses were perhaps not very inspiring. It was too early to talk of peace with 'all men.'¹

President Wilson's parting address to Congress dealt with

¹ The Poet Laureate had peculiar views, as was later shown by his part in the notorious 'Oxford Letter' to Germany.

the Peace Settlement, the work of the United States in the war, and American reconstruction after the war ; and he sailed on the *George Washington* with the presidential flag flying, under a glorious sun, on an early December day, and the Atlantic Ocean intervened.

The British Press acclaimed the departure ; and some members of it reminded the world that we had never doubted the valour of the Americans—but that the fate of the world had mainly depended upon the British control of the sea and destruction of the German submarines, without which the American troops could not have been transferred from the New World to the Old. (The American Fleet prepared to return home at the moment, 15,000 American sailors having visited London.) It was somewhat unfortunate that President Wilson, in his address to Congress, had made no reference to the fact that transport of the American troops had been rendered possible only by the activities of the British Navy, but on the contrary pointed out that ‘ the only losses in transport that did occur were on a British transport.’ However, the American Admiral of the Fleet, Admiral Sims, had paid this tribute, a few weeks earlier, in reply to assertions in the American Press that the United States had assured the transport of its troops : ‘ We did not do that, Great Britain did it. If a catastrophe should happen to the British Grand Fleet there is no power on earth that can save us. The Fleet is the foundation-stone of the cause of the Allies.’¹ Mr. Roosevelt hoped that the President would not try to act as ‘ umpire,’ but ‘ would act loyally as one of the Allies.’ The Democrats averred that it was impossible for Mr. Wilson to ‘ reveal his hand ’ before sailing, and the Republicans retorted that if his policy as set forth in the ‘ Fourteen Points ’ was one of open diplomacy he had abandoned it at the outset, in withholding information from his own country as to that policy. Upon this point the American Press was bitter. Some called it a ‘ strange adventure.’ The *New York World*, a Democratic organ, said that ‘ Mr. Wilson was bidding good-bye to many things, to even the slenderest pretence that the people and Senate of the United States, of whom he is the servant and who are his constitutional partners in Treaty-making, are entitled to his real reasons for going abroad,’ ; and the *New York Sun* and others spoke in similar terms. Mr. Roosevelt further said : ‘ Freedom of the Seas is a phrase that may mean anything or nothing. Nothing must prevent the British

¹ It will be recollected that Britain had had fifteen million tons of shipping sacrificed.

Navy, in the event of a future war, from repeating the tremendous service it has rendered in this war. The British, of course, must keep the colonies they have conquered. America must insist on the preservations of the Monroe Doctrine, must keep its right to close the Panama Canal to its enemies in war time, and must not undertake to interfere in European, Asiatic or African affairs, with which it ought properly to have no concern.* The American Federation of Labour also felt much slighted by the President's aloofness and secrecy.

In England, at the moment, the general election was taking place; Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition begging to be returned to power (as Mr. Wilson had done) as being the main safeguards of the situation; and this took place. In Germany, American troops were occupying Coblenz; the people receiving them 'with their now usual resigned attitude,' especially the women, who 'averted their faces' as the troops passed. Perhaps the German women—whose guilt had recently been proved in the war, especially in the maltreatment of prisoners—were ashamed of themselves. It is with peculiar regret that one records the guilt of the German women on this occasion. American, English, or French women could not have done these things, which were an added proof of German degeneration under 'Kultur.' The unspeakable Crown Prince at this moment proclaimed his 'innocence.' 'I never desired war,' he whined. From Russia was heard the shocking news that the Tsar and his family had been murdered in a cellar by the Bolsheviks in July.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and all the important churches in Britain—except the Roman Catholic, which regarded it as an international matter—issued an appeal in support of a League of Nations. The issue of 'self-determination' also comes to the fore, as does the matter of the prosecution of the ex-Kaiser. A 'British Day' was acclaimed in America, and thousands of public meetings in churches and schools throughout the Republic paid tributes of admiration to the people of the British Commonwealth. In France, at Brest, where President Wilson would land, a Statue of Liberty was erected, and the streets were adorned with streamers, with the texts: 'Hail to the Apostle of International Justice,' 'Homage to the Champion of Liberty'; and among other elements in Paris the Socialists and Syndicalists prepared great manifestations in his honour, and Labour was specially active. In England great railway and cotton strikes were to the fore.

The *George Washington*, with the President on board, was

spoken off the Azores, and thoughts relative to the sea were afloat. A British Statesman, Mr. Churchill, had made a speech on British naval supremacy, which the President pondered and said he would reply to at Oxford. The waves were rolling high—the wireless message said, and the super-Dreadnought and the accompanying destroyers were at times hidden from each other by the seas.

It was supposed, on the one hand, that Mr. Wilson had thoughts quite hostile to Britain, and on the other that he was quite friendly, only that he wished to press the 'freedom of the seas.' However, Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, who had long pledged himself to create an American Navy equal to or larger than Britannia's, was outspoken. 'If Great Britain actually refuses to co-operate in the President's purpose to make impossible another world war,' he thundered, 'if the British Government insists that Britannia rules the waves, the United States will lay two keels to every one Britain does, or five to one if necessary, using the interest on the British and French debts for the programme.'¹ (President Wilson strove to force his views in this respect upon the Conference, where, as regarded the British representatives, it would seem that Radical rather than Conservative influences were prominent and were more amenable at the moment with the American Democratic ideals.) Mr. Daniels, however, tempered this a little later with a tribute to the British Navy's loyal spirit of co-operation. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft both upheld Britain's Navy, in their speeches.

The President's party was not 'officially' seasick, the Press stated, and the vessel arrived safely at Brest, where it was met by the American Squadron. The great searchlights of the Eiffel Tower flashed welcome: in Paris the President had a remarkable reception, and he at once became a popular hero. There was a drive of triumph through the streets of the capital, such as few have experienced in its history. Europe generally agreed that the conferences to follow would be the most memorable in history.

It would be beyond our scope here to follow the deliberations of the great meeting of statesmen. The whole world hung upon what was being said and done. A veritable army of statisticians and other experts had been collected, and large hotels and other buildings requisitioned for their housing. But the eagerness of Press and public was early dampened by the closed doors of the great assembly. In their own

¹ The Press, December 9th, 1918.

wisdom the deliberants chose to conduct their portentous deliberations in secrecy, except for brief *communiqués* issued from time to time to the news-hungry world, and the public began to lose its interest. The usual tendency to arbitrary control of public affairs asserted itself. The discussions, as was inevitable, drew on lengthily. But the most serious condition was in the great delay in arranging the terms of peace with Germany, which, as all the world knows, was mainly due to the American President's insistence on making the Peace Treaty and the establishing of the Covenant of the League of Nations part of each other; generally regarded by practical folk outside the council doors as a profound mistake, and an over-idealistic pretension. However, Europe still retained faith in President Wilson, who, the deliberations still uncompleted, was obliged to return to America.

The President visited England, where he was the guest of the King, but his visit appears to have made very little impression, and is scarcely remembered. It seems probable that Mr. Wilson had no particular or cordial regard for England, and possibly he suffered from suppressed jealousy or kindred sentiment.

President Wilson's second journey to Europe was welcomed by Europe, and opposed by America, in considerable part. A cartoon in *Punch* summed up the position, representing the President somewhat jauntily stepping from America to Europe across the Atlantic at a stride, with the legend 'Back again to the Continent where I am really welcome'!

The story of the deliberations is a history in itself. The Treaty that ended the war was finally signed in the 'Hall of Mirrors' at Versailles, on June 28th, 1919. The Covenant of the League of Nations was couched in an idealist strain. It has been described as 'not a Constitution for a super-State, but a solemn agreement between Sovereign States, which therein consent to limit their complete freedom of action on certain points for the greater good of themselves and the world at large.'

The first rude blow was given to the Covenant—which although signed had still to be ratified by the Governments of the various allied nations—by the Government of that country whose ruler had been so largely instrumental in its conception and framing; that is, the United States. Congress refused to ratify it: except with many modifications. This Mr. Wilson would not accept, and the history of the quarrel between the Americans' President and Congress is a remarkable one, and was followed with amazement in Europe. But the public at length became wearied of the whole affair, and there was

considerable resentment in England, France, and among the other Allies at the American attitude.

Perhaps the effusion from *Punch*¹ in this connexion inscribed 'To America; deferentially hinting how others see her and what they think of her threatened repudiation of her President's pledges,' may be regarded as having some historical value here, as indicating in serio-comic (if somewhat severe) vein the general feeling:

When you refuse to sign the Peace
 Except with various 'reservations'
 And prophesy a swift decease
 Impinging on the League of Nations;
 When you whose arms (we've understood)
 Settled the War and wiped the Bosch out
 Regard the whole world's Brotherhood
 As just a wash-out;
 You say in terms a little blunt,
 'This scheme that you are advertising
 Was all along a private stunt
 Of Wilson's singular devising.
 His game we weren't allowed to know,
 Under a misty smile he masked it.
 We never gave him leave to go,
 (He never asked it)
 And you poor credulous allies
 Found in this fellow, self-appointed,
 The worth he had in his own eyes
 And let him pose as God's anointed
 Taking no sort of pains to see
 Whether or not he had a mandate,
 Like puppy-dogs the other three
 Out of his hand ate';
 But how if *we* had queered his claim,
 Or questioned his credentials, saying,
 'Who is this Woodrow What's-his-name?
 And what's the rôle he thinks he's playing?
 Is he a Methodist divine?
 Or does he boom Chicago bacon?'—
 I think that I can guess the line
 You would have taken.
 'Behold a man,' I hear you say,
 'Of peerless wit and ripe instruction,
 Elect of Heaven and U.S.A.—
 Surely an ample introduction;
 He comes to put creation right;
 He brings no chits—he doesn't need 'em,
 Who doubts his faith will have to fight
 The Bird of Freedom!'

In considering the American refusal to ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations it is necessary to preserve a balanced attitude, an attitude that was very difficult to secure, given

¹ February, 1920. Sir Owen Seaman.

the emotions of well-meaning 'pacifists' on the one hand, the American feeling against entangling alliances on the other, American jealousies, British and other European desires to draw the United States into a kind of partnership, which, however altruistic it might seem, might be a premature discounting of world-process, and so forth. It was not sufficiently considered in Britain that, if the Covenant of the League of Nations stood, it would be possible in some future time for an American President to commit the United States, through its representative on the League, to some policy which the American Legislature might disapprove of, a condition of affairs that could not arise in Great Britain, where the Government is day by day under the mandate of the House of Commons, and is not pledged for any stated period to carry on any particular policy, as is the case under the American Constitution for the Legislature of America.¹ Probably the American people—those of them who take any particularly earnest part in foreign affairs (and that, of course, represents but a small part of the American public, relatively)—did not wish to withdraw any influence they might have possessed from the affairs of the world. If they entered a League it ought to be as a willing, not as a reluctant partner. On the whole, it may be that the United States has really performed a service—one of those services which at first sight do not seem to be such—in not entering the League. They scented the undefined dangers of over-idealism.

However, there was a concrete American point of objection, namely, that there were, in the proposed League, six British votes for the British Empire, the votes of the self-governing Dominions, and it was not unreasonable for Americans to object thereto, when they themselves, with several million more English-speaking citizens than the Empire possessed, would be entitled to only one vote. The United States did not necessarily grudge the British Empire this voting power, but pointed to its own minority. It was laid down by British statesmen—e.g. Lord Grey in a letter to *The Times* on returning to England in February, 1920, after his visit to the United States as special British Envoy, writing, as he said, as a 'private observer'—that the Dominions were full members of the League and that 'they will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualifications whatever of that right.' The question was rather how the American vote could be increased, 'to which in principle Britain had no objection.' If America had

¹ Although of late British Ministers have arrogated to themselves powers almost in defiance of Parliament!



W. G. HARDING.

Twenty-ninth President of U.S.A. Elected November 1920.

reason on her side in her contention upon this point, so had Britain, for was it conceivable that such communities as Canada, Australia, with New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland—the five Dominions—could be expected to be without individual votes, when even the smallest and in some cases least responsible States of the world, such as the smaller Spanish-American republics, the Balkan States, or others, might each have a vote? Further, several minor States, dependent politically and economically on the United States, also had votes. But, in March, 1920, the American Senate adopted a Reservation against Article Ten of the League of Nations, by forty-nine votes to twenty-eight, designed largely to safeguard the United States from the six votes of the various parts of the British Empire.

Subsequently the League in the United States became, if not a matter for party politics, at least the subject at issue between the adherents of the two political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans; an issue which, however, was not always very clearly defined. It became evident that a large part of the American people viewed the League with absolute disfavour, as likely to involve them in European affairs and to limit their independence, and this attitude was emphatically demonstrated by the election of the Republican candidate, Mr. Harding, to the Presidency, in November, 1920, by a very large majority over his Democratic rival; and he pronounced the League as 'deceased.' It would appear to have been antagonism not to *a* League, but to *the* League that actuated the Republican party, and though many ardent British and other European upholders of the Covenant have bitterly blamed the Americans for not adopting it, the more broad-minded of English folk were not surprised, and many indeed shared the feeling or knowledge that the League was, in part, an over-idealist conception, and whilst containing matter of great value, in embryo, overshadowed by elements of doubtful utility, or even positively prejudicial. The general feeling in England was perhaps, not one of anger at the result, but rather of annoyance, or even disgust, that they had been deluded by the earlier American attitude—and, it must be added, their own blindness. However, the League seemed to have a certain vitality, and it held a sitting of several weeks' duration at Geneva, at the close of the year.

The author of this remarkable institution, President Wilson, appeared as a somewhat pathetic figure during its demise among his own countrymen. A severe illness, after his second journey to Europe, largely incapacitated him, yet did not abate the

tenacity—or obstinacy—with which he clung to the clauses of the Covenant, which the Senate refused to accept again and again. But he deserved more grateful treatment than his own country accorded him.

As the year 1920 developed it became evident that a certain element between America and England of lessening cordiality, or even antagonism, was growing. Doubtless this was in part a reaction, but it also obeyed certain causes. Among these was the Irish question, in which the United States viewed with surprise and resentment the failure of the English Government to bring about reasonable self-government and peace in distressed Ireland, a view which the active Irish propaganda in America served to accentuate. The Americans at times exceeded the bounds of international discretion in their attitude, but England was patient with them. But there can be little doubt that the Coalition Government had failed lamentably in Irish affairs, although later, on the other hand, the problem was one well-nigh too much for the wit of man. Another cause of constraint was in British disillusion with America's earlier promises of 'making the world safe for democracy.' But perhaps the most serious element of possible discord is a commercial one; that of rivalry in fields of foreign trade, added to which is rivalry in naval armaments. America has newly cast her eyes from her pinnacle of the temple over the riches of the world; she sees that England has enjoyed a predominance in world-trade, and in the control of many natural resources overseas, as also in the paramountcy of her merchant fleet: and the United States now plans for herself a greater share in world-trade, a larger mercantile fleet, and a navy that shall be second to none—a more aggressive commercialism and general predominance.

At the opening of the year 1921 the internal affairs of neither nation were in good order—though better in this respect than elsewhere in a gloomy and troubled world. The high cost of living, serious unemployment, bad trade, revolutionary tendencies among certain sections of the people, impatience with governmental and bureaucratic methods, and so forth, were equally rife in both lands.

In the latter part of 1920 there was evident a certain loosening of the righteously judicial attitude of England towards Germany, among a certain section of folk, due on the one hand to matters of commercial self-interest, and on the other to 'pacifist' mentality (the word is used for lack of a better). Quantities of cheap German goods appeared on the market (despite unemployment); there was an inclination to mitigate

the penalties imposed upon Germany, undoubtedly motived in part by that more or less concealed internationalist financial element which is ever operating for its own ends: there was some hesitancy by the British representatives at the Paris conclaves in settling and enforcing the Reparations, causing some bitterness of spirit among the French; and an extraordinary 'letter'¹ was published by certain Oxford professors and clericals, addressed to German professors, Universities and scientific societies, offering a return to 'our old friendliness' with their 'German and Austrian brethren.' This irresponsible and harmful effusion, however, was generally repudiated. As to the Reparations, these were finally decided upon by the Allies, in March, 1921. But the Germans, with characteristic bluster and prevarication, refused to sign, and the allied army occupied Dusseldorf and other German towns, as provided by the Treaty of Versailles. The Americans had held aloof from the discussion as to the Reparations, which they criticized one way or the other according to their varying opinions. In general, however, allied action was upheld. The Americans, however, had frequently inveighed against what they termed French 'militarism,' failing to understand the position of France's *vis-à-vis*, a savage and only half-subdued enemy. In November, 1920, Marshal Foch again stated his conviction that it had been 'a bad Peace' with insufficient guarantees, and his was the clearest mind among all the Allies.

American home and foreign policy was naturally marking time pending the inauguration of the new President, which duly took place in March, 1921. The inaugural address revealed an attitude of what was described as 'staunch or undiluted Americanism.' In glowing terms Mr. Harding eulogized the spirit of the Republic. 'We have' ('in emerging from the wreckage of war') 'riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy,' he said. 'When the government of the earth shall have established a freedom like our own, and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practised

¹ Published in *The Times* and elsewhere on October 18th, 1920; its chief promoter being the Poet Laureate, Dr. Robert Bridges. It was judicially and unsparingly condemned by the *Times*, and Oxford generally disassociated itself therefrom (for which England may be thankful). Its signatories, a number of professors and clerics, including well-known names, showed, in this effusion, that mentality prone to forget thus early the crimes of Germany and the fact that Germans were still *unrepentant*. They forgot or preferred to forget that the relations between England and Germany are not those of mere antagonists, but of judge and criminal.

it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written. Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward normal way.' Also: 'We aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization, and we hold a maintained America, the proven Republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and an example, but the highest agency of strengthening good-will and promoting accord on both continents.' Again: 'Believing in our higher standards reared through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights.' These were high-sounding, if, no doubt, sincere words. But in view of the deep-seated defects in American life and the growing and somewhat self-centred ambitions of the United States in regard to oversea commercial affairs, they did not reveal a sense of proportion. There was, moreover, no mention of any improved League or Association of Nations, such as Mr. Harding had foreshadowed in his electoral campaign. Indeed, a prominent New York paper,¹ commenting, said: 'With this utterance the last glimmering of hope of those who have yearned to juggle this country into the League of Nations dies.'² (This was confirmed in the First Message, wherein, however, were certain altruistic expressions as to foreign policy.³) There was no direct reference to the cause of the Allies, to the noble part played by Britain, France, and Belgium, nor to the criminality of Germany; nor yet any regret at America's lagging part in the history of the war.⁴ There were, however, flashes of a wider vision; some disposition to

¹ *New York Herald*.

² A presidential address, traditionally, does not comment much on foreign affairs.

³ April, 1921.

⁴ The President is a native of the Middle West, and doubtless a broader outlook on the world could scarcely be expected from his horizon (he had, however, visited Europe in earlier years). Also, he is described as a clever politician, and the method of such, whether in America or England, is rather to appeal to elements of political and official security than to define and initiate: and the character of a 'safe' man has been ascribed to him. But only the future can show what elements may develop from such a mentality. Mr. Warren Gamaliel Harding was born in Marion, Ohio, the son of a country doctor, and began life as a printer's boy, working his way up to be a newspaper proprietor by his business ability and industry, in typical American fashion, attaining political success by a certain happy faculty of being able to 'bring people together.' He was State Senator and Lieutenant Governor, and is of fifty-seven years of age, and of stalwart frame.

look towards higher possibilities of human polity. 'We dare not uphold the conception of an America living within and for herself alone.' But to the dispassionate student of world-affairs the same strain of thought is revealed that permeates American state oratory generally: that is, a determination to have no part in 'entangling alliances' in the Old World, to be free of responsibilities overseas, whilst at the same time having an equally strong determination to benefit commercially abroad in every way possible. But there is not the vision to see that this same trading instinct is one of the causes of international rivalry. Here America differs from England, who, with her strong commercial instinct, nevertheless is ever ready to sacrifice herself to uphold the scales of justice among the nations. Thus America will seek her share of commerce. 'We seek participation in the world's exchanges,' said the President, 'because therein lies our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace.' The questionable philosophy of this utterance need not be too hardly criticized perhaps, in view of the present general world-outlook on such matters, and ignorance of the real ethics of economics. On the other hand, America is not to be made too easy a field herself for 'the world's exchanges,' for, 'It has been proved,' the President said, 'again and again that we cannot, in throwing our markets open to the world, maintain American standards of living and opportunity and hold our industrial eminence in such unequal competition. There is a luring fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade'—and there were needful higher tariffs on imports. Thus Mr. Harding, even if he proclaimed it from the platform of national egoism, pronounced the truth as to 'trade barriers' which his predecessor had negatived, and which the League of Nations negatives, and endeavours—well-meaningly it may be—to delude the world. It is of course to be recollected that the announced American trade policy is that of the Republican Party generally, the party of 'Big Business' and 'High Finance,' the ally of Wall Street which has so often subordinated the philosophy of Protection to monopoly and oppression. The address was received by the English Press with mixed feelings, but was in general well regarded.

The inauguration of Mr. Harding was accompanied by the simultaneous retirement of Mr. Wilson; the ceremonies involving the presence of both.¹

¹ There were pathetic elements in Mr. Wilson's farewell. Delicate, suffering from severe weakness, he was in contrast with the stalwart figure of his successor. 'Government is easy,' Mr. Harding is reported

A lesson of political events in America, indeed an old lesson, is that matters of international polity between England and America must be founded on a firmer substratum than these afford. At the close of February of 1921, relations between the two countries, although from causes which it was impossible for the ordinary individual to discover, appeared to become suddenly and acutely strained. There was a hurried journey of the British Ambassador in Washington to London, and a pronouncement to the effect that 'America and England were drifting into war.' The British—and doubtless the American—citizen was mystified and astonished. It would appear that there were matters of commercial rivalry beneath the surface (perhaps in which Japan was involved). The matter was doubtless exaggerated; the Press on both sides of the Atlantic volubly asserted that there was no foundation for it. It may have been so, or there may have been more than was apparent. Be it however as it were, the incident showed the possibility of rupture.

The chief danger to Anglo-American relations, or indeed world relations generally, as already discussed, would seem to lie in matters of commercial policy, whether existing, whether still below the horizon, or matters arising out of such policy.¹

In considering these relations for the future, it must be recollected that peace—or war—between the two countries (or between America and any other country) will not in the long run depend upon the ideas or actions of well-meaning statesmen. The cordial addresses given on occasion when representatives of both nations meet at farewell or inaugurative banquets, drawing deeply upon the fount of oratory and 'practical idealism,' and proclaiming that 'blood is thicker than water,' are useful, but their echo is often brief. Peace or war would not depend upon these friendly personages.

to have said during his campaign—but not in Dr. Wilson's experience. Called to the window of his new residence by a popular demonstration organized by the League of Nations Association the ex-President spoke, but, choking with sobs, he pointed to his throat in token that he could not further reply to their ovation. Thus passed from authority a man of deep convictions—conviction that the moral progress of the world is not an illusion, a man whose name will long remain on the world's annals.

¹ One such appeared in the question of American participation in the world's petroleum supplies—America having arrived within measurable distance of exhaustion of her own, and she was disposed to dispute Britain's influence with regard to the oilfields of Persia, Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Such are but indications of clouds which may obscure the horizon in the future. With Japan various questions arise.

They would not rest, in the first instance, upon England. They would depend upon that mass of American citizens between their two seas, who have no knowledge of or sentiment about England, a people who 'know not Joseph,' who, if they had certain national demands which they thought America should justify or exert, in whatever field it might be, would not stop at war; and upon their mandate depend grim politician-statesmen—not of the elect who are mellowed by London influences—who would obey the mass-voice, follow the herd-instinct, lest they themselves should be politically trampled upon, and a clamant Press would justify them (whether the opponent were England or other). Thus it would not depend upon England, who would have either to give way or prepare for war. To give way would be but to add cause to a next occasion. It is doubtful if England could give way, were she once affronted. Her upper class would not permit it; her working class would not restrain its pugnacity very long. She would be patient at first, and to a point. The quarrel would be of American choosing. Britain has no disposition to quarrel; she would abhor such a conflict; rather she is and has long been conciliatory, so much so that her upper class customarily says: 'We have always given way to America,' and history for over a hundred years shows this to be true.

To pursue such a theme further is unfruitful. Heaven grant such grim philosophies may never be put to the test, that causes of possible conflict may be compromised and postponed until that time when both nations, and the world generally, shall have awakened to that higher intelligence without which all polity, whether home or international, cannot be more than a palliative or patchwork. For to-day elemental forces are at work in all society, and each and every country smoulders with revolutionary elements in its own bosom; whilst at the same time is perforce involved in processes which invite rivalry abroad. Nothing but the dawn of a truly 'structural' age; in which human intelligence, awakening to the truth that a true Law of Life awaits them—a law not to be invented but comprehended; a law and a social structure whose foundations are in Nature and the Cosmos, in the spiritual as well as the material, can ever bring them that peace and security at home and abroad, which is the ultimate goal. What that law and structure is cannot be entered on here.¹ It may be that knowledge of it is nearer

¹ In an address to the Sociological Society in London, November, 1920 (Sir Francis Younghusband, president of the Royal Geographical Society presiding), the author brought forward certain new principles

than the present frame of mind of a troubled world imagines.

Finally, in the mental receptivity, in the hands of the English-speaking nations, at this juncture of the world's life, lie the greatest influences for the future, whenever the real truth shall be sought, and that will be when there is a disposition to seek it. If these two countries would justify their claim to a high intelligence, they will realize the extent and nature of the field that lies open before them. In the meantime, the world being what it is, both nations—and it may be taken as a lasting consideration—may legitimately (and non-Pharasaically) congratulate themselves on one fact—which indeed embodies a final motto for America. Just as a son is grateful to his parents for being clean-minded and clean-limbed, so may America be grateful to her progenitor, England, that she is an English-speaking, English-modelled nation, when she might have been Teutonic, or even Latin-American; whilst Britain is fortunate in the existence of a great world power, and it is to be hoped a great world companion, of the same race-mentality as her own—that of the United States. These considerations cast no slight upon any other nation—it is open to any nation to-day to inaugurate that newer civilization towards which—we hope—the world in general aspires.

regarding a needful 'structural' basis of Society, as affecting the individual, the nation and the world; 'Cosmic' principles which underlie the whole structure and function of matter and the universe: he showed that three so far unrecognized elements of 'place,' 'function,' and 'behaviour' must be understood and acted upon before general security and progress can be attained to: principles which directly affect home industry and international commerce; resting upon a fundamentally spiritual basis and *scientific* interpretation of the 'Golden Rule'; an ultimate Law of Life, economic in its practical working—a 'Gospel of Structure and Science of Corporate Life upon the Globe.' Published in part in the Society's *Journal*, January, 1921, and in the author's book, *Can we set the World in Order?* London, 1916.

INDEX

- Agriculture in U.S.A., 191-192
 Alabama, 104-105
Alabama Incident, 45-46
 Alaska, 45, 54
 America and the Great War, 226-241
 Americans and Englishmen, 211-217
 American Mercantile Marine, 196-197
 Anglo-American Relations, 217-225
 Anti-Slave Society, 38
 Appomatox, 37, 40
 Arizona, 156
 Arkansas, 136-137
 Armistice, Signature of, 240
- Belgium, Invasion of, 228
 Bering Sea, 52
 Big Trees of California, 175
 Boston, 71-73
 'Boston Massacre,' 23
 British Characteristics, 207-209
 Broadway, 81
 Bunker Hill, 25, 28
- Cabot, John, 18
 California, 168-176
 Central Park, New York, 82
Chesapeake Incident, 31
 Chicago, 118-121
 Chinese Immigration into California, 171
 Cincinnati, 113-114
 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 55
 Cleveland, President, 47-50
 Coal Industry in America, 200-201
 Colorado, 148-154
- Columbia River, 177
 Connecticut, 76
- Declaration of War by America against Germany, 234-235
 Declaratory Act, 23
 Delaware, 86
- Elections in U.S.A., 186-188
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 74
 Englishmen and Americans, 211-217
- Fairfax, William, 27
 Florida, 100-103
 Fort Sumter, 37, 39
 'Fourteen Points,' 237-238
- Garfield, President, 46-47
 Georgia, 99-100
 Gettysburg, Battle of, 43
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 19
 Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 156-157
 Great Lakes, The, 116-118
 'Great Panic, The,' 46
 'Great Serpent, The,' 112
- Harding, President, 59, 249; Inaugural Address, 251-253
 Harriman, 51
 Harvard University, 75
 Hay-Pauncefort Treaty, 55
 Hudson River, 84
- Idaho, 165-166
 Illinois, 118-121
 Indiana, 114-116

- Industries of U.S.A., 191-196
Iowa, 131
- Jay Treaty, 30
Jefferson, President, 38
- Kansas, 135-136
Kentucky, 111-112
Key, Francis Scott, 92
- Labour in U.S.A., 199-200, 209-210
League of Nations, 246-249
Lee, General, 40, 43
Lexington, 24, 74
Lincoln, Abraham, 41-44
Longfellow, 67-68
Louisiana, 30, 138-141
Lowell, James Russell, 75
- Maine, 66
Maryland, 91
Massachusetts, 70-75
Mayflower, 19-21
McKinley, President, 52-53
McKinley Tariff, 49
Mexico, 35, 45
Michigan, 116-117
Mills Bill, The, 49
Minnesota, 124-128
Mississippi River, 13, 30
Mississippi, State of, 105-106
Missouri, 134-135
Mobile, 105
'Money-Kings,' 51
Monroe Doctrine, 32-33
Monroe, President, 32
Montana, 164-165
Mormons, 36, 161
- Nashville, 106
Nebraska, 131-134
Nevada, 166-168
New England, 66, 75
New Hampshire, 68
New Jersey, 86
New Mexico, 154-156
New Orleans, 140-141
New York, 78-84
North Carolina, 97-98
North Dakota, 129
- Ohio, 112-114
Oklahoma, 137-138
Oregon, 31, 176-177
- Palo Alto, Battle of, 35
Panama Canal, 54-56
Panama Railroad, 54
Pan-American Congress, 52
Paris, Treaty of, 22
Peace, Treaty of, 246
Pennsylvania, 87-91
Philadelphia, 88-89
Pilgrim Fathers, 19-21
Pittsburg, 89-91
Plymouth Rock, 21
Population of United States, 51
President, Election of, etc., 183-184
Press in America, 203-205
Prohibition, 203
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 95
Railway Travel in U.S.A., 64-65
Religion in U.S.A., 191
Rhode Island, 77
Rocky Mountains, 144-145
Roosevelt, President, 53-54, 56-58
- San Francisco, 170-173
Senate, 181-183
Sherman Anti-Trust Act, 49;
Silver Purchase Act, 49
Slavery, 14, 38
South Carolina, 98-99
South Dakota, 129-131
Spanish-American War, 52
Stamp Act, 22-23, 80
Strikes in U.S.A., 193-194
Submarine Warfare, 232-233
Sugar Act, 22
- Taft, President, 57
Tea Act, 24
Tennessee, 106-111
Texas, 35, 142-148
'Thirteen States' of U.S.A., 65
- Utah, 158-161

- Vermont, 77
Versailles Conference, 241
Virginia, 94
- Wall Street, 82
Washington, City of, 32, 92-94
Washington, George, 17, 25-30
Washington, State of, 178-179
Wisconsin, 122-124
Wilson, President, 58-59, 227-229; Peace Note to Belligerents, December 20, 1916, 230-231; Address to Senate, January 22, 1917, 232; First Visit to Europe, 245-246; Second Visit to Europe, 246
- Wyoming, 162-164
- Yale University, 75
Yellowstone National Park, 162-163
Yorktown, 26

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