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The British-American Adventures Toward Liberty

BY
RALPH W. PAGE

Britain, Mother of Colonies

BY
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The British-American Adventures Toward Liberty

How the British Fleet Three Times Kept Autocracy Out of the Mississippi Valley—Jefferson's Wish for an Alliance with England to Safeguard Liberty—How Napoleon III and the Kaiser Revived the Ideas of Napoleon I and the Holy Alliance and Found England Still Coöperating with the United States

By

RALPH W. PAGE

THE serious discussion of our relations with Great Britain in the advance toward democracy

our political and social ideals are of British origin.

For this fact we are not under obligation to Great Britain, perhaps. But the Irish and the Germans to the contrary notwithstanding, our ideals, our sympathies, our morals, our religion, our prejudices, our viewpoint, our virtues and our vices are of British origin. This is a plain matter of fact. Our stories and history, traditions, songs, hymns, laws, and our love of liberty are the

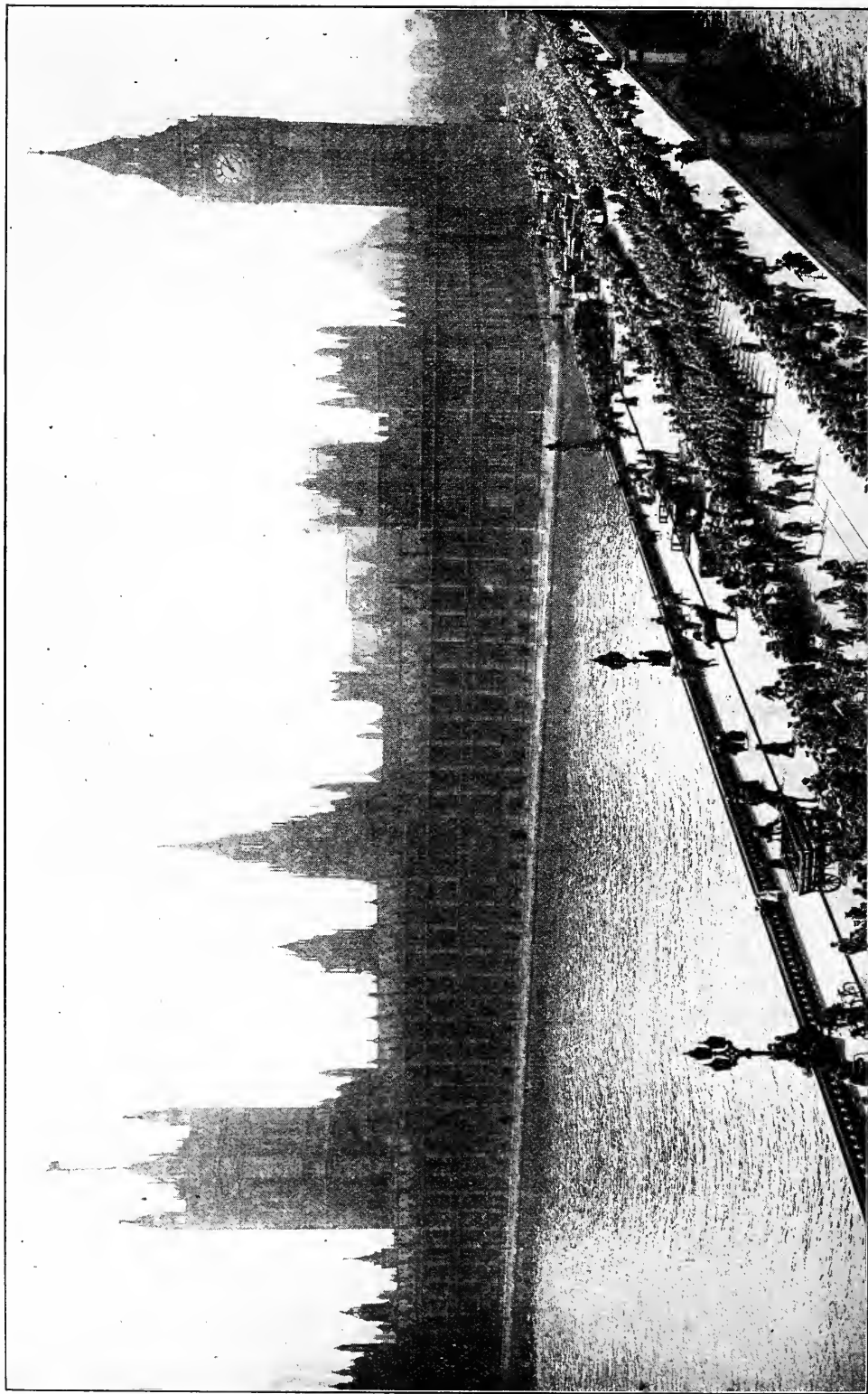
product of the larger part of those descended from the original stock which formed the Union—are of British descent, and

our very conceptions of right and wrong, our notions of fair play, of hu-

Thomas Jefferson's Advice to President Monroe Concerning the Announcement of the Monroe Doctrine

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. . . . America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

"One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the one nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."



AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY PASSING THE CRADLE OF FREE INSTITUTIONS

The British Parliament, in which was born representative government, for the first time in its history passed by regiments from across the Atlantic on their way to the battlefields of Europe to do their part in making the world free for democracy—a proof that while we have no concern in other affairs in Europe, in the defense of liberty the American Army and Navy is as omnipresent as the British fleet

mor, justice, sport, even expressions of emotions and actions are British, let him try to tell what they are in any other country under the sun. If he is an American born in the United States he cannot do it. He cannot think like Germans. Not to save his life. He doesn't understand them. He may study up the doctrine of blood and iron and try to master it intellectually; but by himself he couldn't have conceived it. He has inherited or been trained in the atmosphere of the British mind, or, calling it what you like, it is the mind bred of five centuries of struggle for freedom in the British Isles with two centuries of struggle here. This fact, then, we do not put into the category of debts. But we are proud of our origin and our history all the way back, and of our race.

The United States of America is an independent World Power, not only a congregation of people. And this power is an immense cooperative company dedicated to the proposition of freedom from political, personal, or intellectual slavery. And as a corporate body it has had its struggle in a world swayed by many evil and hostile as well as ignorant and misguided forces. It has had its existence to defend, its noble aspirations to fulfil, as well as its material and not always ideal ambitions to satisfy.

In an international crisis threatening the very existence of complete civiliza-



WILLIAM PITT

The great commoner, who conducted the Seven Years' War, the first struggle between autocracy and free institutions for the Mississippi Valley in which England and the American Colonies drove the soldiers of the French king from the American continent. Pitt fought not only foreign autocracy but British autocracy as well; for, recognizing the colonial opposition to King George III as a fight for liberty, he said in Parliament: "I rejoice that America has resisted. . . . If ever this nation should have a tyrant for a king, six millions of freemen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest"

tion, if not races, in which we as a people and a government are called upon to take part, it is a question of the utmost importance for us to know not only who our relatives are and where we got our notions but what countries have in the past threatened, and what countries defended, the ideals and the territory we are here to maintain. It is to these last that we shall have to look for comfort in the show-down coming.

And by virtue of the very standards of conduct that we profess it is to them that we owe our utmost assistance in time of need. Active national gratitude is a virtue hitherto unknown. But until recently so was good faith and frankness and forbearance. If the principle enunciated by Roosevelt that in international affairs the United States will act precisely as a strong and honorable man does in private life, and maintained by Wilson in his

patient, unselfish, and just attitude toward all mankind—if this principle has any real meaning and value, it signifies the advent of an entirely new era in the realm of diplomacy. If this is a living force, gratitude has its place beside self-interest in determining the course of our actions. It is my purpose to examine the record and disclose exactly what part the British people and Government have played in our own national development, and the actual influence they have exerted upon our struggle for stable existence and progress in democracy. In doing this I shall stick to the historical drama and disregard some of the subtle and powerful forces that have moulded our life. Yet it remains true, that in all probability a few simple heartfelt traditions, memories, and ties such as the Knights of the Round Table, the courage of Richard Coeur de Lion, and the homilies of Lord Bacon have had more to do with our life, liberty, and conceptions of happiness than all the wars and alarms, ultimatums, and high counsels of state, to be found in the library.



THE DUKE OF ROCKINGHAM

One of the group of British statesmen believing in free institutions who took over the control of the British Government when the surrender of Yorktown finally forced the fact home to King George and his following that not only had he failed to limit the rights and freedom of the colonists but, in trying to do so, he had lost them as colonists. The king, moreover, had lost control of his own Government into the hands of men who sympathized with the colonists—their sympathy found utterance in Parliament and even in his own household—and who were firm and powerful enough to put him within proper constitutional limitations from which neither he nor any of his successors have ever emerged

For instance: I know a boy whose entire stock of historical information on the relations between the United States and Great Britain consists of these alleged facts: That Major Pitcairn used contemptuous expressions regarding his ancestors while he stirred the punch in Lexington. That

Andrew Jackson refused to black the dirty boots of a British tyrant. That we licked the English twice and would do it again for two cents, or any other reason.

And yet he knocked down a perfectly well-behaved Bavarian in a barber-shop for expressing his opinion that England would be invaded. His heart and soul were on fire. His life was saturated with the pride and splendor of a conception he had found in these lines, when first he learned to read:

And ever upon the topmost roof
the banner of England blew.

You could tell him all you pleased about the Battle of Bunker Hill and the cunning villainy of Lord North. But he will not release his ownership of the Black Watch at Waterloo or his inheritance of the sea, handed him from his cradle in the ballads of the fleet. The long bowmen of Agincourt and the Light Brigade at Balaclava belong to him, with Little John and the Black Prince. This is the stuff that we are made of.

To the serious student of our government and to the statesmen whose privilege it has been to mould its course, the outstanding fact of all our history has been that the Nation was founded for the express purpose of maintaining those rights which our forefathers claimed as Englishmen. They conceived that their inheritance included Magna Charta,

the bill of rights, and the writ of habeas corpus. That a thousand years of battle for independence of personal action, liberty of conscience, and freedom of speech conducted by their forebears and witnessed by the Reformation and the flight of the Stuarts, and the collapse of the royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, belonged as much to them as to their brethren overseas. It was in order to put into practice in America the selfsame principles that Chatham and Pitt announ-



GEORGE III

The last king of England who tried to maintain autocracy. The battle-ground he chose was the American Colonies. He not only found opposition there in arms but such opposition at home among the liberal elements which recognized the struggle as one for liberty that he was unable to raise armies in England and had to hire Hessians and had to put up with public rejoicing even in the House of Commons over his defeats in America. The success of the Revolution was accompanied and helped by the success of the liberal-minded in England, and the independence of the Colonies was marked also by the end of the king's effort to restore the "royal prerogative" in England



COUNT DE VERGENNES

The able minister of Louis XVI who worked assiduously against the rising tide of republicanism. He was willing to aid the rebellious colonies of the most liberal country in Europe to independence, but he had so little sympathy with democracy that he wished to limit the United States to the seaboard and to establish colonies under the autocratic rule of France and Spain in the Mississippi Valley and farther west to prevent the growth of free institutions. He proposed this plan to England, but what might have appealed to George III did not appeal to the British ministers who had succeeded in reducing monarchy to its constitutional limits

ced as the cornerstone of British existence that the minute men lined the Lexington highway. The United States became the champion of British liberty, having no greater or different aim than the exercise of the inherent rights of the Anglo-Saxon race, the pursuit of a common ideal, based upon the common law, and six centuries of conflict with arbitrary power culminating in the challenge of Burke, and the ultimatum of no taxation without representation.

A careful survey of our state documents reveals one striking fact at the outset. This is that without exception those countries which have had liberal and parliamentary governments have ever regarded us with favor. And it is equally true that not only have we never been attacked by such, but there never has been the slightest inclination on the part of any one of them to challenge either our supremacy in this hemisphere or the principles of our system of government. This is the more emphasized by the fact that the attitude of the rulers of the self-same countries have changed from friendly to hostile as the control passed from republican to royal hands. It is not a new or whimsical notion, this aversion we have for kings. Nor, as we shall see, is a crafty, long-planned, and treacherous scheme to undermine all liberal government and seize upon the golden wastes of America to add a diadem to an autocratic crown a novelty.

Even before we became an independent nation the spread of free institutions into the interior of this continent was threatened. Louis XIV meant to extend his autocratic sway over the region of the Mississippi. Pitt, on the other hand, believed in colonies of freemen as opposed to the colonial system of the European monarchies. When he took the reins of government the war in America was to settle the fate of the continent—whether the great interior of America was to

become a feudal colony of the French king or commonwealths of freemen. The fall of Quebec ended the menace of the French king for the time and the free institutions controlled the continent. This was the first round in the struggle to extend freedom to the Mississippi Valley. But the King of England did not understand either England or America and began his long and disastrous effort to build up the "royal prerogative." The means he tried was the Stamp Act.

"It is the glory of England," says our great historian Bancroft, "that the rightfulness of the Stamp Act was in England itself a subject of dispute. It could have been nowhere else. The King of France taxed the French colonies as a matter of course; the King of Spain collected a revenue by his own will in Mexico and Peru, in Cuba and Porto Rico, and wherever he ruled; the States General of the Netherlands had no constitutional scruples about imposing duties on their outlying possessions. To England exclusively belongs the honor that between her and her colonies the question of right could arise; it is still more to her glory, as well as to her happiness and freedom, that on that contest her success was not possible. Her principles, her traditions, her liberty, her constitution, all forbade that arbitrary rule should become her characteristic."

In the struggle between freedom and the king business the revolutionists



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The first citizen of his time, in whom the liberal leaders of France, England, and America had complete confidence. During the Revolution he was in regular correspondence with the British liberals in Parliament—Shelburne, Rockingham, Burke, etc.—and when they came into power they were in such close accord with his views that when Vergennes, the minister of Louis XVI, tried to limit the United States to the country east of the Alleghenies (the second attempt of autocracy to control the Mississippi Valley) he counted on British support against our former allies and received it, so that the Treaty of Versailles gave the United States not only the seaboard but the Northwest Territory

in the colonies and the supporters of liberty in England fought King George, the colonists on the field of battle and the English in Parliament.

When America refused to submit to the Stamp Tax in 1766, Pitt rose in the House of Commons and said:

"I rejoice that America has resisted. . . . If ever this nation should have a tyrant for a king, six millions of freemen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit

instruments to make slaves of the rest.”

If King George III of Hanover had had the united support of all Englishmen, and if his ideals were those unanimously held on the British Isles,



DAVID HARTLEY

Who signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 for Great Britain. Hartley and his predecessor in the negotiations, Richard Oswald, were not officers of the Government, their chief qualifications as British plenipotentiaries being that they sympathized with the struggle made by the colonies for political liberty, and that Oswald in particular, who had put up \$250,000 as bail for the American, Henry Laurens, who was imprisoned as a rebel, had long been a friend of Franklin, the chief American plenipotentiary. Oswald and Hartley belonged to the party that had opposed the king of England; Franklin, Adams, and Jay belonged to the party that had fought him in the Colonies. Both were agreed on the fundamental belief in free institutions

our adventures toward democracy with the English would have ended in 1775. Ignorant of the stormy history, sturdy character, and stubborn independence of the men he intended to subdue, King George undertook to strengthen the

arbitrary power and the “royal prerogative” of the House of Hanover.

He struck a snag in the military ability of George Washington and the French Alliance. But what scuttled his ship were his subjects at home.

When King George failed in his designs to insure the royal power the colonies had their independence and the British had ended the last attempt of a British king to become an autocrat.

These simple, undeniable facts absolutely change out of recognition the popular conception of the Revolution. This is of enormous importance in considering our relations with the English. If it had been true that the people of Britain were of a mind to enslave the American Colonies, and had attacked them with all their might upon their rebellion, there would not only be a great gulf between them now, but independence would not have been accomplished as it was. And if the British nation had been united against us, even after a successful war, our diplomacy would not have been able to form a state of the consequence and promise of the American union in 1783.

These facts are the A. B. C. of real history.

In his attempt to turn the overwhelming power of the British Empire against America, King George failed miserably and utterly. All attempts to raise volunteers to fight us raised nothing but jeers. In the face of great popular support for the Colonies

throughout the British Isles, voiced openly and violently, not only in tavern and highway, but unanimously by the strongest minds in the kingdom, and finding utterance in Parliament and even in his own household, he was powerless to conscript armies. He was confined in his military operations to such mercenaries as he could hire in Germany and the professional army under his orders at the beginning of the trouble. Nor was he able to count fully on the professional army. A great many of the best officers, some of them sons of the greatest families in the Empire, refused to serve. It was thoroughly understood by many in England that George Washington was fighting one of the great chain of battles that have marked the progress of civil liberty in the Anglo-Saxon world. The fall of Yorktown marked the fall of George III. Control of events passed from his hands into the hands of British ministers whose convictions were one with those of Hamilton, Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. And this explains the unique circumstances under which the peace was concluded. An understanding was reached upon a basis of mutual confidence and fair dealing that has had no parallel in the history of the world. The astounding spectacle was presented to the amazed courts of Europe of the great Empire of Great Britain sending as peace commissioner to Paris a private gentleman, Richard Oswald, who had placed his fortune at

the disposal of the rebellious Colonies, and whose only qualification, as stated by Lord Shelburne, was that he was an intimate and trusted friend of Benjamin Franklin. Moreover, Shelburne wrote Franklin that if



THE ACME OF AUTOCRACY

Napoleon intended to conquer not only Europe but America as well. In 1800, having forced Spain to give him Louisiana, and having established a base in Santo Domingo, he prepared an army under Marshal Victor to land at New Orleans and take the interior (the third attempt of autocracy on the Mississippi Valley). Rule by representative bodies he disliked as hostile to his designs and despised as "the rule of chatter," and he expected little difficulty from the United States, which at that time had almost no army or navy. But the expedition never started because, as he told his brother, "the English, who have seen the colony (Louisiana) given back to us with great displeasure, are aching for a chance to capture it, and it will be their first *coup de main* in case of war"

Richard Oswald wouldn't do, to let him know who would. Oswald, and later David Hartley, another confidante of Franklin and champion of the Colonies, concluded the negotiations.

It was as well for the infant republic



NAPOLEON'S ANTAGONIST

Thomas Jefferson, the acme of democracy, and an avowed pacifist, when confronted with Napoleon's intention to take Louisiana and plant the standard of autocracy in the great valley of America, instructed the American minister in Paris that if this was carried out to go to London and invite the help of the British fleet to protect Louisiana. As an alternative to this British-American alliance he gave Napoleon the opportunity to sell Louisiana and sent James Monroe as a special representative to make the bargain. Under the pressure of this arrangement Napoleon gave up his plan of conquest and sold Louisiana to the United States for 15 million dollars; for, as he said: "It is certainly worth while to sell when you can what you are certain to lose." So ended the third attempt of autocracy on the Mississippi Valley.

that Shelburne and Pitt and Fox and Rockingham believed in its destiny and sympathized with its ideals. These hailed the coming expansion and power of an American democracy. Their avowed policy was to yield the utmost, that the United States might be friendly to the mother country without fear or complaint; and to give it every encouragement to grow powerful and great, against the time when every son

of William the Norman and Harold the Saxon should face the final struggle with autocracy. The cause of liberty to-day is reaping the benefit of the coöperation of the two countries in its defense. In the great councils of Europe where the world was being partitioned, those dark days of 1783, it was the support of the liberals in Europe that made us a nation instead of a seacoast province.

The King of France, through his minister, Vergennes, and the king of Spain, our allies in the fight against King George, had no intention of making a free giant out of a rebellious pigmy. They proposed to England that, now the squabble was over, the kings had better divide the spoils. Their purpose was definitely expressed. It would be very dangerous to leave room for the expansion of such heretic and liberal nonsense as the Declaration of Independence. These two Powers would support England in keeping the land between the Great Lakes, and the Ohio west of the Alleghanies. Spain was to have the rest to the Gulf of Mexico. The thirteen states could remain thirteen to the day of judgment. They proposed to limit free institutions to the seacoast by a bargain as France had tried to limit them earlier by force of arms. This was the second effort of autocracy to limit free territory in America.

Against such a proposition we were ill-prepared to cope.

That is, if the English had in fact

been of a hostile mind. But the forces which to-day have brought into brilliant relief the irreconcilable difference between nations of free people and dynasties of governed slaves had germinated sufficiently in the English mind then for them to prefer an unlimited America to any extension of Bourbon power. The consequence was that Benjamin Franklin—in whose integrity and justice they had the most implicit faith—was practically allowed to write his own terms. And these gave to the United States the Northwest Territory and the basin of the Ohio River to the Mississippi, without which the marvelous expansion of the Colonies into the present World Power would have been impossible.

Within twenty years the Republic again came face to face with arbitrary autocratic power in command of the familiar formidable military organization, bent upon conquest.

There is something so magnificent, almost sublime, about the figure of the one real superman of the era, that it is impossible to regard him with the contempt and horror which is meted by the Christian world to the rest of the cruel and sordid crew whose creed of might and murder has served their ambitions to stain the world with blood and hatred. Nevertheless, Napoleon Bonaparte, for all his superlative imagination and magnetism, was the supreme champion and example of the military dictator and



HENRY ADDINGTON

The Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1803, who informed our minister in London that, in case of war with France, Great Britain would take and hold New Orleans *for the United States*. Napoleon and Jefferson were both correct in the belief that the United States could count upon the assistance of the British fleet

the absolute tyrant. His contempt for popular assemblies and the voice of the people knew no bounds. And as for the United States—well, his consideration for its feelings and his ideas of its power can be found in the Kaiser's words—that a debating society cannot wage war. "The reign of chatter," Napoleon called it. His unbounded ambition conceived the plan of establishing a province in America to curb this insolent Democracy, whose very existence was a challenge to his will, and to add to the splendor of his reign and the glory of his arms. He acted with his invariable

precision and rapidity. By real threats and false promises he wrenched from Spain the great Middle West from the Mississippi to the Rockies, from Canada to the Rio Grande, and the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico, including the city of New Orleans, that one gate to the richest river basin in the world.

He ordered his Minister of Marine



PRINCE METTERNICH

The chief minister of the Emperor of Austria (1822) and the moving spirit of the Holy Alliance, a union of the autocratic rulers of Europe against democracy. The First Article of its agreement reads: "The high contracting Powers, being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of sovereignty of the people with the Divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known." One project of the alliance was the restoration of autocratic rule in the revolted colonies of Spain in South America, and after that all signs pointed to an attack on the United States

to present him with a complete plan of conquest and government, with maps and charts, and details of fortifications and manœuvres; and ordered out the combined fleets of France and Spain to convoy Marshal Victor of the "terrible regiment" and a legion of his invincible army to the shores of Louisiana. Here was the third attempt of autocracy to bound free institutions by the Alleghanies.

Let no American be deceived by the powers of minute men and heroic patriots. This was no Lord Howe or Hessian Brigade. Soldiers the equal of these in training and leadership had never come against us. They were directed by transcendent military genius.

Thomas Jefferson, an avowed pacifist, was President. His fleet consisted of a few frigates in dry-dock, his army of a corporal's guard. However, he cherished no delusion that he could meet his doom with a "million men springing to arms" or an arbitration treaty or an olive branch. One ambassador had informed him that the First Consul discussed nothing. He ordered.

And yet Thomas Jefferson checkmated Napoleon Bonaparte. He met threat with threat, force with a greater force: he threatened Napoleon with the British Navy.

Remember that France and Great Britain were then at peace. If Great Britain harbored any ill-will, or were even indifferent, toward the United States, all it had to do

in order to see Napoleon's energies directed out of Europe to America was to produce that virtuous neutrality so recently extolled.

Three documents extant tell the story. One is the report from London made by our minister at the Court of St. James's. It bears the assurance from Addington, the British Prime Minister, that in case of war Great Britain would take and hold New Orleans for the United States.

The second is Jefferson's prophetic and far-reaching dispatch to Robert R. Livingston in Paris. In part it said:

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force . . . and, having formed and connected together with a Power which may render reinforcements of her settlement here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe be signal for the tearing up of any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations." And he added that unless Napoleon settled the matter in peace, the minister was at once to repair to England and "invite its concurrence in the war." As an alternative to this Napoleon was invited to sell his Louisiana.

In case there remains any doubt to whom the credit of this salvation

belongs, let us quote the third document, the historic statement made by Napoleon when he announced his intention to *sell* Louisiana.

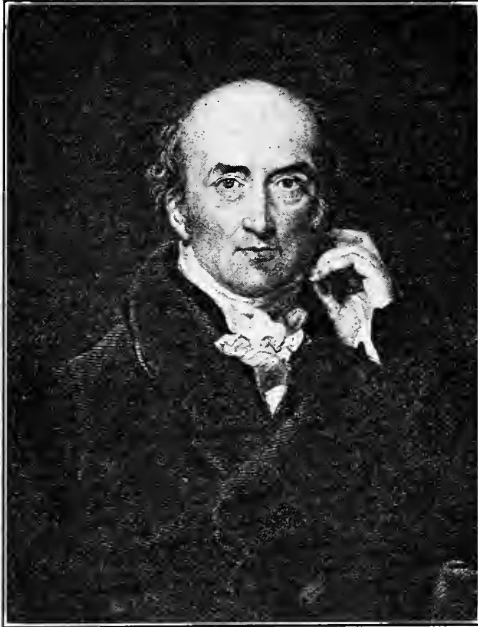
"It is certainly worth while," he said, "to sell when you can what you are certain to lose. For the English, who have seen the colony given back to us with great displeasure, are aching for a chance to capture it, and it will be their first *coup de main* in case of war.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

When he returned from the Peninsula with his 100,000 victorious veterans he was urged to take his army against the United States and wrest from it the Northwest Territory. He answered that the Americans were entitled to their boundaries, and practically at his command Great Britain made the peace that ended the war of 1812 on that basis. In 1822 he was the British representative at the Congress of Verona, and when the plan of the Holy Alliance to reconquer the revolted Spanish colonies in America was broached he showed Great Britain's hostility to the scheme by getting up and leaving the council

“You see our land forces have fought and will fight victoriously against all Europe. But as to the sea, my dear fellow, you must know that there we have to lower the flag—we and all the Powers of the continent. America perhaps some day—but I’ll not talk



GEORGE CANNING

The British Minister of Foreign Affairs who told the American Minister of the plans of the Holy Alliance to attack democracy in America, and, as his predecessor, Addington, had done, assured the United States support by the British fleet in the protection of free institutions on this side of the Atlantic. The Monroe Doctrine, the chief element of our foreign policy, and the size of our navy have been based upon the tacit continuance of that assurance from that day to this

of that. The English Navy is and long will be too dominant; we shall not equal it.”

Later, in 1812, when we declared war on England, Napoleon was as eager for us to break the power of the British fleet and establish the

“freedom of the seas” as the Kaiser has been in this war and for the same reason. Such action would then, as now, have been the greatest possible aid to autocracy, and as men of the South can now be glad that the Confederacy was not victorious in the Civil War, all Americans can be glad that our fighting frigates of 1812 did not seriously interfere with the British in their great contest for freedom and against Napoleon and autocracy.

This obvious fact, of course, is not an excuse for the ancient and dishonorable practice of impressing seamen from American boats which prevailed at that time in the Royal Navy. Contrary to the popular notion, however, this barbarity was not the principal cause of the war of 1812. This was brought about by the fight to the finish which England had taken up against Napoleon. Both parties issued decrees absolutely forbidding any one to trade with the other. Paper blockades they are called. Napoleon’s were the worse and moreover were concealed behind a solid tissue of lies and subterfuges. But by virtue of her triumphant fleet England’s was the more effective. In a great many respects the

situation, physical, moral, and political, was the same we witnessed in 1914. We protested impartially to both parties—the despot seeking to crush the world to his will, and our kinsmen, then as now holding the last trench in defense of democracy, with

the difference that this time the British case had been better handled than it was then. Napoleon had no submarine to define the issue. And regardless of the merits of the fight, we joined the dictator in fury at the mistress of the sea. Technically we were justified. But it certainly cannot be said that we were attacked. Or that we were fighting for democracy. Or that we won. At the end of this "second licking" we gave England, Napoleon was banished to Elba, the English Navy, in its prime, was just one hundred times as strong as our brave little flotilla, and the Duke of Wellington was home in triumph from the Peninsular campaign with 100,000 veterans.

the ocean marked, as Charles Francis Adams says, the birth of a World Power; but to show how we actually obtained the abatement of the abuses of visit and search and "impressment." It was by precisely the same method



JAMES MONROE

The peace negotiations tell the same story. The jingoes in England suggested that now the Iron Duke should take his army and wring the Northwest Territory from the Americans. Certainly, if he chose to try, the United States was in deadly peril. Not only did he not choose to do so, but he is on record as saying that the United States were entitled to their boundaries and to an honorable peace. And at his command the Treaty was signed, giving us just what we had before, *and without even any mention of a single one of the items for which we went to war.*

Who, in 1824, on the basis of the assurance given by Canning that we should have the British fleet to support us, announced his famous doctrine that "it is impossible that the allied Powers should extend their political system" (autocracy) "without endangering our peace and happiness." There was precedent in Monroe's mind for this for it was he who had been sent by Jefferson in 1803 to buy Louisiana from Napoleon and prevent autocracy coming to North America, using the British fleet as a club in the transaction. With the same club and with the advice and approval of his old chief, Jefferson, he stated the principle on which they had acted before, and this time publicly announced it as an enduring national policy

I emphasize this, not in order to detract from the everlasting glory of "Old Hickory's" subsequent phenomenal exploit at New Orleans, or the amazing performance of the frigate *Constitution* whose daring advent on

that the English obtained the repeal of the Panama Canal Toll Bill—by the sense of justice and the voluntary honorable abandonment of the injurious practice by the offending party. The last active case of visit and search



QUEEN VICTORIA

In the critical days of the Civil War, when our blockade was far more damaging to England than the British blockade has been recently to us and there were many causes of friction from tariffs to privateers like the *Alabama*, the Queen is reported to have said to her prime minister: "My Lord, you must know that I will sign no paper that means war with the United States"

was the *Trent* affair—in which the United States was the offender, and for which we made immediate reparation, forever burning an evil practice.

Until within one year the mass of the people of our country have not only taken no interest in foreign affairs, but as a plain matter of fact have been fostered by "noble representatives of the people" campaigning for Congress in the belief that they were superior and apart from such concerns. If this was not true, it would be a matter of common information and not an object of incredulous surprise

that for a hundred years the American continent has been protected from aggression by the joint action and understanding of Great Britain and the United States.

What is called the Monroe Doctrine is not a doctrine at all of Monroe or of any one else. It is a self-evident fact. To wit, that we do not wish any territory on this continent made into a European colony, and that we do not wish an autocratic monarchical system of government introduced here by any feudal despot. Everybody knows this. But the question was, how to prevent it. In 1823 practically the whole world, except Great Britain and the United States, was under the dominion of absolute monarchs. What we are learning now was a plain axiom to our ancestors—that the only argument known to these gentlemen is cannon and

muskets. And brave as he was, James Monroe hardly harbored the belief that, singlehanded, he could dictate to a Christendom of kings. And yet, at that very moment our dream of a continent of independent peoples free to choose their own form of government without the baleful influence of crown princes and dynastic ambitions seemed forever doomed. South America had broken her ties with Spain apparently in vain.

With unerring dramatic instinct the moving picture man has seized upon this situation. In a popular "screen"

picture called "The Fall of a Nation" is shown a gilded and regal council chamber in Verona. The Holy Alliance is in Congress assembled. This splendid coalition consisted of every single first class power in the world, prime leaders of which were the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria and the Czar of Russia. A document is being signed that might very well scare a timid president out of his wits and at the same time serves to elucidate our natural antipathy to kaisers:

"Article 1. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments in whatever country it may exist in Europe and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known."

This holy combination had used its unlimited power to crush every popular whimper heard in Europe. And now at the request of the King of Spain it proposed to come overseas and subdue the territories in Central and South America that had thrown off the Bourbon yoke.

And the question was, what were we going to do about it? It was all very easy to express our ideas. As



NAPOLEON III

Who seized the opportunity made by our Civil War to try in Mexico what Napoleon I had failed to accomplish in Louisiana—to push in a wedge of autocracy in America. In this fifth attempt of kings to lay hands on American territory an effort was made, as it had always been made, to gain British support in the attack on free institutions, and, as before, it failed

Adams said, he could answer the argument, but how could he answer the cannon? There has been a great deal of debate whether the "doctrine" was originated by Monroe or George Canning, Secretary of Foreign Affairs for Great Britain. But there is no argument at all on the only pertinent question, of who enforced it. The Monroe Doctrine became a possibility only when the Duke of Wellington walked out of the Congress of Verona and refused to have anything more to do with its proposition. It became an invisible force when George Canning

not only proposed that it should be adopted by the United States, but backed up by England. On August 20th, he proposed to Richard Rush, Minister from the United States, that Great Britain and the United States should jointly announce that they could not see any South American territory transferred to any Power "with indifference."

The nature of the danger threatening us at this juncture hardly needs comment. It was expressed this way by John C. Calhoun:

"The Holy Alliance had an ultimate eye to us; they would, if not resisted, subdue South America—and we should have to fight upon our own shores for our own institutions." This was the fourth attempt of autocracy to limit the spread of free institutions in America.

The attitude of Britain changed the whole situation. A moment before, we stood unprepared and alone to champion liberal government against the overwhelming odds of Powers professedly banded together to stamp it out. Now we could promulgate a ringing challenge to the world. For the whole world could scarce attempt to cross the Atlantic in the face of the admirals of England.

There is no use in slurring over the two vital forces in our history which came into being at this time. Johnson, the historian of American diplomacy, says that our understanding

with the British is the one fundamental basis of our foreign relations. And yet even a blind man can perceive that although this has been the bulwark and security of every administration from that day to this, it has been seldom that an Executive has dared to admit it, much less give credit for it. There are some things no American politician has the courage to do. For instance, in spite of the fact that for fifty years every single President has known and deplored the graft and dishonesty in a great deal of our pension legislation, only one has been found with the daring to veto a pension bill. The country has suffered an admitted national scandal for



RICHARD COBDEN

The leaders of liberalism in Great Britain in 1860, believers in increasing political liberty, in free trade, and firm supporters of the United States in its struggle for the

fear of the pension vote. For sixty years the politicians' abject terror of the Irish ward boss and the Kaiser's agents in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Hoboken, and Little Germany has rendered taboo any mention of our actual situation and understanding. Even Grover Cleveland was no exception. Justice Hughes's recent campaign bears the brand of the same terror.

Until he came face to face with immediate danger of destruction from the forces of despotism, Thomas Jefferson leaned toward a popular attitude of complacent criticisms and abuse of the English people. The arrogance of Britain was one of his favorite themes. This makes him a

most valuable witness. For upon him and not upon Monroe or any other man, fell the responsibility of determining our policy at this juncture—of setting our compass and pointing the course which we were to steer through the ocean of time. Since writing the Declaration of Independence nearly fifty years before he had moulded the Republic with his own hand, held every office in its gift, and had retired with tremendous power and prestige to watch and advise the successor he had named to the White House.

And to him Monroe repaired for advice in his difficulty. Monroe's letter shows that he understood, quite as well as we understand to-day, how the forces of the world were aligned:

"I transmit to you two despatches which were received from Mr. Rush which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from Mr. Canning suggesting designs of the Holy Alliance against the independence of South America, and proposing a coöperation between Great Britain and the United States in support of it against the members of that alliance—has not the epoch arrived when Great Britain must take her stand either on the side of the monarchs of Europe or of the United States, and in consequence either in favor of despotism or of liberty?

"My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposal of the British Government. . . ."



JOHN BRIGHT

freedom of the slaves. It was their power which kept the great industrial centres in favor of the Union despite the suffering caused by the blockade of the Confederacy

It stands as the highest credit to the memory of Thomas Jefferson that he threw both his political and personal prejudices to the wind, and laid not only the cornerstone, but the architectural design, of the whole of our future national policy, in a reply which might have been written yester-

through the ocean of time opening on us. . . . America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.



LORD PAUNCEFOTE

The British Ambassador in Washington who made the treaty with Mr. Hay giving us a free hand in the construction and control of the Panama Canal, and who also frustrated an attempt instigated by the Kaiser at the time of the Spanish War to put European pressure upon us and in favor of Spain

day, so little have the essentials of the one great question changed:

“The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer

“One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the one nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to unite our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause.”

It was upon this advice from his chief that James Monroe promulgated the famous message. The message has been in the mouths of our statesmen and behind our marines incessantly ever since. But it has not been common knowledge that its very existence is due to the fact that Great Britain “offered to lead, aid and accompany us in it” nor, in the words of the one man in a position

to know, that she brought her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipated a continent at one stroke.

The understanding created by circumstances in 1823 has not only continued ever since. It has been the *prevailing* force in this hemisphere ever since. Whatever our minor disagreements have been with Great Britain, it is certain that our statesmen have all depended implicitly upon their coöperation in the defense of free institutions in America. This is the reason that we have never tried to rival England's navy. And most of the time relying on her navy we have not even built a fleet capable of protecting the ambitious programme of Monroe from other powers. That is why in spite of fifty years' howling at Britain no man has been found insane enough to agitate the "menace" of the overwhelming naval superiority of the islands. The fact that this British fleet was devoted to liberal government, the one everlasting item without accounting for which no nation or band of nations on earth could even look with lust upon American shores has been so patent that not even a raving Sinn Feiner could hope to make capital against it.

This is not a matter of theory or speculation. Time and again it has been put to the test. And on occasion under very hard circumstances. Napoleon III of France seized the opportunity presented by our Civil

War to invade Mexico and establish a monarchy there. This was the fifth



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JOHN HAY

A firm believer in American and British coöperation in the defense of free institutions, a belief which he often expressed. Partially at a suggestion from Hay, Joseph Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, made the following reciprocal expression in a speech on May 1, 1898, at a time when the Kaiser was endeavoring to organize the forces of European autocracy against us: "What is our next duty? It is to establish and to maintain bonds of permanent amity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. There is a powerful and a generous nation. They speak our language. They are bred of our race. Their laws, their literature, their standpoint upon every question, are the same as ours. Their feeling, their interests in the cause of humanity and the peaceful developments of the world, are identical with ours. I don't know what the future has in store for us; I don't know what arrangements may be possible with us; but this I do know and feel, that the closer, the more cordial, the fuller, and the more definite these arrangements are, with the consent of both peoples, the better it will be for both and for the world—and I even go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if, in a great and noble cause, the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance"

attempt of autocracy to invade America. He was quite aware that if



MODERN AUTOCRACY

"If I had had a larger fleet I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." This was the Kaiser's remark at the time of the war with Spain, when his effort to organize Europe against us failed and when the attitude of the British Admiral, Chichester, at Manila Bay showed him that the understanding on which the Monroe Doctrine was based covered free institutions even off the American continent. The Kaiser's effort to gain a foothold in Venezuela in 1902 was blocked by Colonel Roosevelt's now famous ultimatum, and the record of another effort in Haiti in 1914 still lies in the files of our State Department

the Union won the fight he would be driven out. So he moved heaven and earth to get the English to recognize and make common cause with the Confederacy. And the English had many strong motives for doing so. To the Fourth of July orator it is plain as noon that any one sympathizing with Jeff Davis was an enemy of mankind and totally depraved. But in '61 it was not so simple. There were not one, but two Americas.

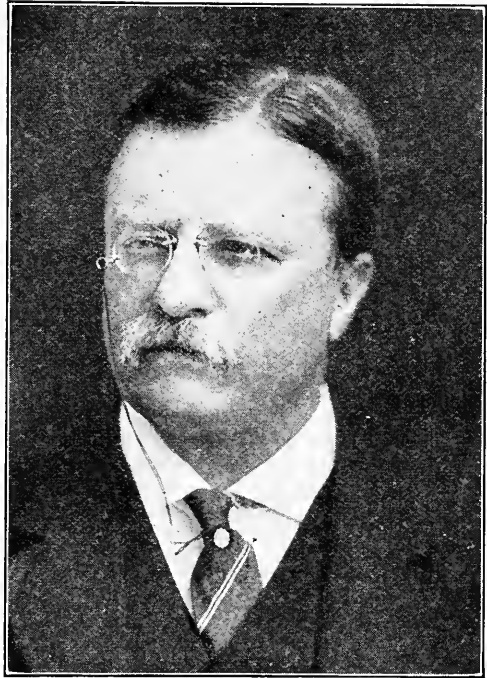
And there still exist citizens of the United States who do not consider Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as undeserving of sympathy. And across the seas it was not at all patent who was the oppressor and who the oppressed. Moreover, the fact of rebellion, *per se*, had even thus come to be regarded by liberal people with toleration, as probably caused by injustice. This is the habitual attitude taken by ourselves. Add to this the natural sympathy and understanding existing between the Cavalier element in Virginia, who had conducted our Government from its origin, and the English aristocracy, and the suffering entailed in England by the blockade and consequent loss of raw cotton, and a barbarous new tariff enacted by Congress which ruined innumerable great businesses, and it is comprehensible that many motives urged the acceptance of Napoleon's proposition.

The facts just recited are the kind of displays made by the German school. They are trotted out as conclusive exhibits of British hostility. They are just the reverse. They are the most powerful proofs of the strength of the Anglo-Saxon understanding. A man's integrity can only be tested, like a wire in a laboratory, under tension. Devotion to a principle can only be measured by the degree of temptation resisted. When, under these circumstances, Queen Victoria said to her prime minister: "My Lord, you must know that I will sign no paper that

means war with the United States," not only was the Union saved from foreign attack and the only foothold absolutism had upon this hemisphere doomed, but the good faith of the British nation had stood the crucial test—had withstood the day of temptation, and our hour of adversity.

Hence it was that William McKinley was free to take whatever he chose with regard to Cuba. He knew at the time, what the whole world has since learned, that the rulers of "Mittel Europa" had no intention of permitting the United States to destroy the last vestige of the old colonial system in America, if they could help it. The Queen of Spain was close to the Austrian throne. And the Emperor of Germany had designs of his own in the Caribbean. To fight Spain was one thing. To defy Europe another.

And yet the question was not even discussed. Congress acted as if it didn't exist, as if Von Holleben, ambassador from Germany, and Von Hengelmüller, from Austria, had not urged intervention upon the whole diplomatic corps in Washington—and as if the British Foreign Office was not being besieged by a Prussian messenger literally beseeching permission to flout the Yankee. McKinley and Congress were right. There was nothing to fear. The Kaiser, head of the autocratic family, dared not move in the face of the English stand. He tried the game in a tentative way in Manila Bay. He sent



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN 1902

When he told the Kaiser's Ambassador in regard to the Venezuelan controversy: "Arbitrate or I will give orders to Dewey within ten days to proceed to Venezuela and see that no bombarding is done," the Kaiser, contrary to his usual rule, arbitrated

an admiral to fight George Dewey. In all probability Dewey could have kept care of himself. But the German found not only Dewey there. He found Chichester. And not only Chichester, but the British Empire. What we know of the matter can be summarized in the Kaiser's own words: "If I had had a larger fleet I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." It was the same reasoning that made Napoleon give up his scheme to take over Louisiana. The Kaiser's fleet was large enough to meet the fleet of the United States—particularly in view of the fact that he would have

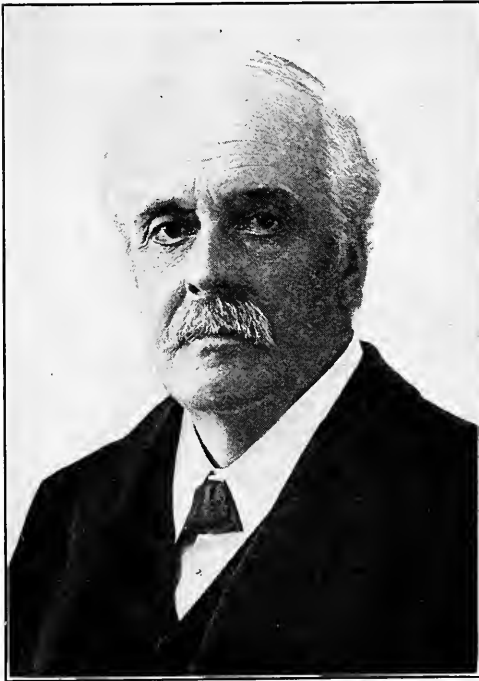
been allied not only with Spain, but Austria. The trouble was that "Perfidious Albion" had its battleships pledged to the cause for which Jefferson had hoped we might fight once more with her, side by side.

This same understanding gave such dreadful force to Roosevelt's later demand upon "myself und Gott" to arbitrate in Venezuela. He threatened the Kaiser with Dewey. Whether the Kaiser was afraid of Dewey or not, I do not know. He had reason to be. But his opinion of the fighting abilities of the United States have been very low, and in the light of subsequent events it seems hardly likely that fear

of our military prowess operated very strongly upon him. But off Gravesend lay another force. And the Kaiser knew, if the New York *American* didn't, that it was dedicated to the curtailment of the conquest of America.

This article is an honest analysis of our past adventures with Great Britain in the cause of liberty. I have no intention of passing over the many prolonged and vexing controversies that have embalmed the murky memory of Major Pitcairn and his insults. Cheap and truculent oratory filled with aspersions on "British tyranny" punctuated the settlement of these differences. The Maine boundary dispute: the interminable question of the Newfoundland fisheries; the Oregon debate, "fifty-four forty or fight"; the *Alabama* claims, the Venezuela arbitration.

Tense as these strained situations were, and high as ran the feeling, they were all settled by arbitration, and, win or lose, both countries stood by the awards. These controversies constitute the origin and development and establishment of the principles of international arbitration. And it is worthy of notice, too, that our differences with England have never, since George III failed to restore the royal prerogative, been over the fundamental question of democracy. In this most vital of all issues to the two peoples, since the Revolution as before, we have stood together the great bulwark of liberty in the world.



MR. ARTHUR BALFOUR

The first British Foreign Minister ever to set foot on American soil, who came to this country in recognition of the fact that in the defense of free institutions all parts of the Anglo-Saxon race are united

Britain, Mother of Colonies

How an Enormous Empire of Subject Peoples Has Been Built up by the Tact, Intelligence, and Good Faith of a Handful of Administrators Who Treat the Natives as Human Beings

By

POULTNEY BIGELOW, F. R. G. S.

(Author of "History of the German Struggle for Liberty, 1806-1848")

YOU have paid me the compliment of requesting an opinion on the Colonial administration of our Mother Country and to such a request I yield cheerful obedience. But let me warn the reader that an opinion on so vast a theme is dangerous—much like asking a sailor his opinion of the Atlantic or a politician his estimate of the American voter. True—I have traveled and studied in almost every British Colony; have visited also many dependencies of France, Spain, Portugal, America, and Germany; have made four journeys round the world in search of light on this vexed problem, and yet feel that the best I can do is to enter the stand as a witness, tell what I saw and let the reader think for himself.

In the year of the Spanish War (1898) Germany proved herself our enemy by sending to Manila Bay a squadron of war ships with orders to intimidate Admiral Dewey and secure from Spain the remnant of her insular possessions in those Far Eastern waters. The sailor of Uncle Sam, however, declined to play the part assigned to him by the Kaiser; on the contrary, although much inferior in war strength, he cheerfully stripped for the fight; whereupon Admiral von Diederich tucked his pennant between his legs and disappeared to Kiao-Chau.

To Kiao-Chau I followed him and found a German colony one year old. It was a colony on the Prussian plan—barracks and batteries—drill ground and goose step. The Chinese population had been forcibly dispossessed to make room for administrative quarters and avenues of Berlin breadth and symmetry. The colony had been conquered by the sword and was held by the sword alone. The natives were compelled to labor at prices fixed by the conqueror; all signs and legal notices were in Gothic type; it was *verboten* to use any language other than the German tongue.

In short, although I was received with civility by the Governor and entertained by the garrison mess, it was clear that this colonial venture was a failure from the start—it was a colony in name but there were no colonists; much military but no merchants; many barracks but no warehouses.

For twenty years Kiao-Chau flew the flag of the Hun—twenty years of perpetual pettiness in administration and brutality in the execution of unjust laws. Nothing was omitted that could humiliate the natives of the soil or create Mongolian sympathy with other victims of Prussianization in Poland, Denmark, Alsace—to say nothing of blacks in Africa and Papuans in New Guinea.

Parenthetically permit me to say that I visited every station of German New Guinea after more than a quarter century of Prussian rule and found everywhere struggling replicas of Kiao-Chau—hundreds of notice boards warning the naked natives to keep off the grass—all in the unintelligible script of the conqueror. Every Colonial station was conspicuously recognizable because of the geometrical pattern of its administrative landing stage, its path leading to the Governor's palace, the jail, barracks, and drill ground. Everywhere sullen silence amongst the wretched natives and harsh gutturals from the homesick officials of the Fatherland. The jails and barracks were active—all the rest was suggestive of that ominous obedience which precedes the signal of a popular insurrection. To be a German was to be an enemy in every part of the Archipelago—to speak English was to carry a passport honored in every hut.

Without going further for illustration—East or West Africa for instance—let me carry you from this theatre of perpetual punitive expeditions and administrative failure to any territory you may select where the British flag proclaims equal rights or at least fair play for the native.

At Hong-Kong in that same year of the Kiao-Chau visit, Great Britain added a large area as hinterland to that splendid port. This matter I studied with much personal interest because it followed closely on the Russian seizure of Port Arthur and the Prussian conquest of Kiao-Chau—both of which were accomplished as acts of war and as grievous insults to the Chinese Government. Not so in the case of England—not a shot was fired, scarce an angry word exchanged. A quiet young Scotchman, Lockhart by name, who happened to be Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong and who like the rest of his craft understood Chinese character and speech, made an excursion into the territory about to be annexed. He did not draw his sword—or even lead a military escort. He went with his life in his hand to talk the matter over with the different heads of districts and villages.

The Chinaman is the most reasonable and intelligent of men. He despises mere brute strength but is quick to appreciate justice and commercial opportunity. And thus it happened here that my quiet friend (now Sir Stewart Lockhart) annexed to the British Empire in a few days and without firing a shot a territory more valuable to the world's commerce than all the colonies of the Kaiser with all their sunken millions and discontented natives.

HONG-KONG THE CONTENTED

From Hong-Kong go thousands of Chinese annually to labor under contract in the mines of the Malay islands; the rubber plantations of Borneo; the tobacco fields of Sumatra or the sugar estates of the West Indies. Indeed, contract laborers sign cheerfully from any Eastern port to any part of the world so long as they have the word of the British Government that their contract will be honestly enforced against employer no less than employee. You can find in South Africa and the Caribbean no less than in the Eastern tropics British subjects of every color and creed from Bombay or Calcutta; Penang or Singapore; Wei-Hai-Wei or Hong-Kong cheerfully signing themselves away for a five year labor term in Jamaica or Trinidad; Natal or Demerara. They are confident that the conditions under which they embark will be observed; that the wages mentioned will be punctually paid; that the food will be adequate and the housing according to the sanitary rules; that the

labor will be done under wholesome conditions—in short, that after five years of enlistment as a laborer the Chinaman, Hindoo, or Kaffir may count upon a return to his home satisfied that the British Commissioner of native labor has paternally watched over his interests and encouraged others to follow in his steps.

No other country of my ken can point to such victories in the field of peaceful colonial conquest as England for the last three quarters of a century. There is no other colonial field of my acquaintance where I would feel safe in walking from end to end with no weapon more destructive than a bamboo cane.

Far be it from me to pretend that the bungling tourist cannot find ample scope for blood curdling adventure and many pages of profitable romance. One has but to outrage the religious practices of Brahmins or Mussulmans to gather material for many thrilling chapters; and if the survivor still yearns for fictional fame he has but to tamper with the women of a Malay Head Hunter or sneer at the crest of a Samurai of Dai Nippon. But the tame walking stick of my wanderings has little to record. To me the patient observing of animals has more charm than their slaughter; I marvel at my contemporaries who have waded in blood amidst scowling savages where my more commonplace eyes and ears have been refreshed by native dance and gentle hospitality. In the jungle of German New Guinea where successive administrators with fiercely elevated mustache tips assured me that the natives were hopelessly addicted to ferocious cannibalism I have wandered unarmed and unattended—safe so soon as the native knew that I was not German.

Basutoland has been the habitat of the most warlike of Kaffir tribes and when I visited that country (1896) I found scarce half a dozen Englishmen ruling more than a quarter of a million black savages in a country with not a single road, or bridge, or telegraph pole or newspaper—not a single sign of what we call progress save this lonesome but fearless handful of British Colonial administrators who lived in the midst of these turbulent tribesmen with the same unconcern that we have noted in the veteran soldier who is ready at any moment to fall asleep even whilst the artillery is roaring its message of prospective hand to hand battle.

It was Sir Godfrey Lagden who ruled

Basutoland twenty years ago. He is now retired, but Basutoland continues prosperous and quiet because the system of the Mother country brings forward an abundance of men qualified for just such unobtrusive tasks. In my lifetime no shot has been fired in anger throughout that territory and to-day, should any chief dare to prove insubordinate, there is no punishment that would be more keenly felt by the nation at large than the mere threat, on the part of the British Governor, that he would pack up and abandon them. Such administrative rule as this calls for men who are not tied up with red tape, who have infinite good sense, and no fear of death.

Germany had a most efficient system, but it did not work. England has had no very distinct system, but it has worked admirably. Of the many causes which have procured this result perhaps the most important is the broad fact that men for the Colonial service are carefully selected; that they are handsomely paid; that they are trusted; that they are promoted without regard to politicians and that after a certain number of years devoted to their country they may retire on an adequate pension. The practical effect of this system is to create a body of administrators whom the natives trust. All men respect truth and courage. Small wonder then that a simple sport loving Briton can rule millions of Hindoos by merely a hint to their Rajah who bows before that hint because he knows it is the hint of an official who speaks true and cannot take a bribe.

In the days of the old Sultan of Brunei I visited that sanguinary potentate's capital which lies between Sarawak and British North Borneo and is inhabited by head hunting Malays very expert in predatory warfare. In this most lonesome quarter of our globe I met (1906) a clear eyed sport loving young Briton who had a bungalow and a war canoe and apparently nothing to do but look indifferent and wait for the moment when some Dyak should run amuk in his path. He was the only white man in the Sultan's savagery save a few traders who came for cocoanut fibre. He told me that he had no authority—was simply sent there to look about—that he belonged in the Colonial service at Singapore.

WHAT YOUNG MCARTHUR DID

This was all true; but what he did not say and what I learned from other lips was that whenever his Sultanic and Satanic majesty

was guilty of some project needlessly outrageous my simple young sportsman from Singapore would whistle for his war canoe crew; paddle over to the Imperial Palace; sip coffee; smoke an enormous Sultanic cheroot; exchange a very few words with this august representative of Mahomet and then once more mount his war canoe and paddle back to his bungalow. All this was purely a pleasant piece of every day platonic politeness. No sabre was rattled, no mailed fist unveiled, no harsh words uttered. Our listless British visitor (his name was McArthur) merely remarked in a careless way—referring to some murderous or thieving project—“Yes—it has its good points, *but*, I wouldn't do it just now—it wouldn't look well on paper—they don't like things in London—queer people the English—yes—very—good day—etc.!!”

Now this little episode has no particular importance unless you read on and learn that when the old Sultan died a few years later his empire became part of an English colony so quietly that few noticed what happened; and none regretted the change, least of all the natives.

Only those of superficial thinking talk of England as “*gobbling up*” or “*conquering*” colonial territory. This view is Prussian by origin and American by adoption. The truth is that in the last three quarters of a century Britain has had colonial responsibilities thrust upon her; has sought to divest herself of them but has been finally forced to expand not merely by the call of her countrymen but by that of the natives.

In 1898 Stewart Lockhart was Colonial Secretary in Hong-Kong—the same who incorporated the adjacent territory of Kowloon. He is now Governor of Wei-Hai-Wei ruling another Chinese area, about 100 miles from Kiao-Chau. Here as in the southern post, not only does he find the Chinese contented under the British flag, but desirous of fighting under it and against the hated German.

LUGARD'S WORK IN CHINA

During my last visit to Hong-Kong (1910) the Governor (General Sir Frederick Lugard) laid the foundation stone of a Chinese University. The money for this important seat of learning was contributed largely if not entirely by Chinese merchants and officials. The three faculties of medicine, morals and engineering were repre-

sented and the purpose was to save Chinese students the cost of the journey to England by arranging for examinations in Hong-Kong that should entitle the candidates to degrees equal to those of the London University. Here then was the military governor of a British colony on Chinese territory commanding so completely the confidence of the public, no less than the officials, that they reared under the guns of his fortress a purely Chinese school of learning in perfect reliance on the word of an English administrator.

So far I have met no one who ever heard of this Hong-Kong University, but I venture to think that in the history of our race no prouder page could be written than that which recorded this proof of British uprightness in her dealings with China. To be sure Sir Frederick Lugard deserves much credit; but without the system which permits the rise of such men, there would be in Hong-Kong the same dull colonial routine that has made Germany lose all her million square miles of colony at the first sound of a bugle proclaiming war against Prussianism. The name of Lugard was honored already some thirty years ago when first I had the honor of grasping his honest hand. He was then a young and very impecunious captain thirsting for an opportunity of getting killed or anything else that would keep him alive. He went to Eastern Africa, soon showed that he had in him the stuff of the empire builder and has risen from one post to another until now he is to Africa what Lord Roberts was to India.

The word system I have used for want of a better. Perhaps I might say with more exactness that England's colonial success has been due to the fact that she never has had any system—at least in theory. Had the London Colonial office formulated a scientific theory of Colonial administration akin to that which Berlin has for thirty years applied to her tropical dependencies, the result might have been almost as disastrous. Fortunately for British fame, the very absence of uniformity or system permitted each Colonial administrator to apply to each native territory the rule most comfortable to native custom or prejudice. It is the mania of the orthodox official to simplify his work by making rules to which all must conform. Now we know that no two people are alike even in our own state or village; yet a Prussian Minister will send out a book of paragraphs accord-

ing to which all natives are to be ruled whether Mohammedan or Buddhist; Bantu or Papuan. The Berlin official cannot see why the drill regulations of the Potsdam garrison are not equally applicable to the Kanaka of Samoa or the Herero of West Africa.

Nor can the German people penetrate the careless generosity of a British parliament capable of permitting one million square miles of colonial territory to pass under the Kaiser's yoke merely because Queen Victoria was partial to things German and the British public dreamed the dream of the Pacifist and believed that the rule of William II meant the Rule of Peace throughout the colonial world.

Germany gladly seized the colonies which England released and ever since that time has waged a campaign of hatred and slander against her benefactor. Yet today England can arm the natives in any one of her dependencies and turn them against our common enemy, whereas after thirty years of Prussianizing not a colony of the Kaiser but rejoices when the black eagle drops from over the Governor's gate-way.

INDIA A HUGE SUCCESS

Is India an exception? Germans have wearied me for many years by their tales of alleged native discontent, and their groaning under the heels of British military boots! But how many military boots would be needed, think you, in order to successfully trample down a discontented population of 400 millions of intelligent people? These are matters so elementary that they are not to be discussed in the pages of such a review. The reader has but to consult the "Statesmen's Year Book" or any respectable almanac and there learn that in all India Britain maintains a military establishment so minuscule as to deserve the name of a merely nominal police force. It is some years since I was in Delhi and Calcutta (1910) but it needed no special training for any observer to note that the emissary of the Kaiser was at work there as in this country working up a propaganda hostile to the government. In every German colony Englishmen have been hampered if not wholly prevented from doing business. On the contrary, German commercial agents have been accorded equal rights and generous treatment wherever they moved under the British flag and this hospitality

has been shamefully abused for the purpose not merely of spying but of organizing sedition under the specious cloak of socialistic pacifism.

So far I have referred only to British Colonial rule as affecting black, yellow, brown or alien races. We have known of German machination and money widely distributed for the purpose of compelling the mother country to employ her army in quelling rebellious natives rather than helping France on the western front. We have seen the Prussian plot a failure and the duplicity of the Berlin cabinet exposed. We have had the profound joy of seeing generosity rewarded; of seeing the natives of every creed, color and climate raising their voices in one common chorus of disgust at the cruelty, the treachery, the sacrilegious mutilations done by a Prussian monarch who dared to proclaim himself the apostle of Kultur! The Afghan from the Khyber; the Hindoo from Benares or Madras; the Zulu, Matabele or Basuto; the swarthy men of the Malay Archipelago; millions of Chinese and every island from the Bahamas to Trinidad—not a race, not a religion but would unite with Great Britain in driving back to his Baltic swamps and pine barrens the desecrater of Rheims—the unmistakable offspring of Europe's traditional enemy who have for near twenty centuries plun-

dered on the outskirts of white man's civilization—their name has varied—now Goth, now Vandal—now Hun—now Hohenzollern.

Shall I say yet a word of the white man's greater Britain—Australia, New Zealand, North America, South Africa? Do we not all recall the monotonous assurances of Prussian professors that this war would be the signal for every colony to throw off the British Yoke! Alas, poor Prussia! When God distributed his gifts to the races of mankind he gave quick wits to the Yankee, laughter to the Negro and infinite patience to the Chinaman. But to thee, as to the donkey, he gave an impenetrable hide and total absence of humor. So go on with the war—it has made the Boer and Briton march together like brothers against the man who wrote the Kruger despatch; it had made Canada and Australia glad to pour out their blood in the trenches of France but above all, O Prussian donkey, I bless thy pachydermatous propaganda for thou hast at last opened the eyes of this good natured nation to the snake-like quality of thy professions and the deadening effect of thy Kultur. The war is costly; the war is deadly and the end is not in sight; but however costly in death or dollars it can never be a price too high to pay if it restore to us our dignity as a nation and our manhood as Americans.

A LIST OF IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS BEARING ON THE WAR

- "THE IRISH QUESTION: FEDERATION OR SECESSION," by F. S. Oliver, author of "Alexander Hamilton." Price 10c.
- "GREAT BRITAIN FOR DEMOCRACY," by Lt. Col. G. G. Woodwark. Price 10c.
- "TREASURY OF WAR POETRY," 289 pages. Price \$1.25. (Houghton Mifflin).
- "THE WESTERN FRONT," drawings by Muirhead Bone—in two volumes. Price \$2.50. (George H. Doran).
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- "IMPERIAL ENGLAND," by Cecil F. Lavell and Charles E. Payne. Price \$2.00. (Macmillan).