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BATTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC, SEPT. 13, 1847

LOSSING'S

HISTORY of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE ABORIGINAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D.

Author of "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," "Cyclopedia of United States History," "Field Book of the War of 1812"

OVER ONE THOUSAND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

F. O. C. DARLEY

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COMPLETE IN EIGHT VOLUMES

Volume Seven

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ONE of the most important state trials ever held in this country, whether we regard the high position of the parties incriminated, or the failure of justice which public opinion considers to have taken place, was that of the "Star Routes." The "Star Routes" of our Postal Service may be described as lines upon which mail can not be carried by railroad or steamboat lines. There were one hundred and thirty-four such routes, on which the compensation was raised from $143,169 to $622,808. This was accomplished by increasing the number of trips, shortening their time, and obtaining therefor by political influence additional compensation. On twenty-six of the routes the pay was raised from $65,216 to $530,319. Chief among those accused of being implicated in this attempt to defraud the Government were Senator S. W. Dorsey, and Second Assistant Postmaster-General Thomas J. Brady. Against them and others in minor positions, the formal indictment was brought on the 4th of March, 1882, the proceedings having commenced in November of the year previous. The first jury disagreed, and charges of receiving bribes were brought against several of its members. The Marshal of the District of Columbia, the Washington Postmaster, and others, were accused of aiding the prisoners, and were dismissed. A new trial was begun in December of the same year, ending, however, in the acquittal of the chief delinquents.

A question concerning Peru and Chili arose from the war going on between those countries. Peru, being overrun by the Chilians, was in a state of anarchy, and two so-called governments co-existed. In June, according to instructions from Secretary Blaine, the Provisional Government of Calderon, one of the pretenders, was formally recognized in place of that of Pierola

General Hurlburt in July sent a communication to General Lynch, commander of the Chilian forces, saying that the United States disapproved of war which had in view territorial aggrandizement, and that the proposal of Chili to take possession of Peruvian territory, unless Peru demonstrated its inability to pay in any other way the indemnity imposed upon it by Chili, was disapproved of by this Government. This letter produced violent excitement. The Peruvians expected aid from the United States, and were correspondingly elated and grateful. The Chilians, on the other hand, denounced Minister Hurlburt with exceeding the bounds both of his own authority and of that of the United States. In response to the inquiries of the Chilian Government, General Kilpatrick, the minister at Lima, wrote a letter contradicting the statements of his Peruvian colleague. Upon this affair Secretary Blaine, for his own vindication, published his instructions to the ministers and various other documents. In these he desires the ministers, if it lies in their power, to persuade Chili to forego the claim upon Peruvian territory. He wrote: "There is nothing more difficult or more dangerous than forced transfer of territory, carrying with it an indignant and hostile population, and nothing but a necessity, proved before the world, can justify it. It is not a case in which the Power desiring the territory can be accepted as a safe or impartial judge." As a consequence of General Hurlburt's letter, President Calderon was imprisoned by order of General Lynch.

Affairs having become so involved, Mr. William H. Trescot was appointed special envoy to Peru and Chili. He was sent with instructions to try to arrange amicably the misunderstanding between the two countries. If, however, he found that the Chilian Government had suppressed that of Calderon to resent its recognition by the United States, he was to state that it would be regarded as an unfriendly act, and that diplomatic intercourse should be immediately suspended. This part of the instructions seemed liable to lead to serious complications with Chili, but on December 12th Mr. Blaine was succeeded, as already mentioned, by Mr. Frelinghuysen. He immediately telegraphed to Mr. Trescot that the questions arising from the suppression of the Calderon Government could be attended to in Washington, and he proceeded to say: "Were the United States to assume an attitude of dictation toward the South American republics even for the purpose of preventing war, the greatest of all evils, or to preserve the autonomy of nations, it must be prepared by navy and army to enforce its mandate, and to this end tax our people for the exclusive benefit of foreign nations." He nevertheless urged moderation on Chili's part, declaring that otherwise this Government would not give any aid in negotiating with Peru. Mr. Partridge was afterward sent as minister to Peru. He called an informal meeting of the

representatives of various European Powers to endeavor to agree upon a solution of the difficulty. In this action he was regarded as having exceeded his authority, and was recalled. Since then all intercourse with Chili has been of a friendly nature.

Secretary Blaine's attitude was very sharply criticised. It was stated that he was largely interested in the success of the Peruvian Company which held and was about to prosecute claims against the Government of that country. If its autonomy were to be destroyed these claims would be worthless, and it was charged that this consideration influenced to some extent Secretary Blaine in his attitude toward Chili. An investigation into the charges was conducted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives. The committee reported that no blame was attached to any United States minister. Mr. Perry Belmont, however, made a separate report criticising severely the course of the State Department in countenancing the demands of different claimants, and thus embarrassing the position of the Government.

In regard to the Panama Canal, the United States contested the right of any European Power to guarantee its neutrality, maintaining that the United States had the sole right so to do. It intimated its intention of withdrawing from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England, wherein a joint guarantee of those Powers had been established. This intimation was made by the United States because of the great change in affairs since that treaty had gone into effect. At that time our country had made concessions to England because of resources and wealth too limited to enable her to assume so arduous an undertaking. But the United States is now larger, its wealth has increased, and its population has more than doubled. And its larger interests and possessions make it essential that the neutrality of the canal should not be guaranteed by foreign powers alone.

The question of the coinage of silver again became a prominent subject, not merely in political, but in financial and commercial circles. By November 1st there were in the Treasury about 66,000,000 silver dollars. The danger arose that this would inflate the paper circulation of the country and reduce its currency to the standard of the silver dollar, and that gold would be withdrawn from circulation. To avoid this emergency, France and the United States invited various important nations to send delegates to a convention which should determine a fixed ratio between gold and silver. The convention was held, but Great Britain and Germany refused to be bound by any promises, and the convention was adjourned.

During the year one of the most memorable events was the occurrence, on September 6th, of the "Yellow Day," which will hereafter be associated

in history with the dark day of 1780. The peculiarity of the atmosphere was most marked in New England. So dark did it become in some places that schools and factories were closed. The suspension of dense volumes of smoke by a heavy fog, is supposed to have been the cause of the phenomenon, the sun's rays passing through them as through a tinted screen. The colors of objects seemed to change, and all things wore so unearthly an aspect that many thought the last day had arrived.

During the spring of 1882, in consequence of the partial failure of crops the preceding year, the prices of provisions rose. This caused much distress throughout the country, and the working classes believing they suffered the most heavily, demanded an increase of wages. In reply, the employers refused, declaring that they were the heaviest losers. Strikes followed in every direction. For the first time an organization which entitled itself the Knights of Labor, and which claimed to be organized with a view to enforce the rights of the laboring classes, made its power really felt. Of this body each member is taxed five cents a month, and the amount thus collected is put into a general fund for the support of those who join in a strike at the advice of the organization. Persuaded by their leaders, in June those employed in the iron trade demanded higher wages. The demand being refused, a strike ensued on so extensive a scale that almost forty thousand men were thrown out of employment—most of them in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky. After two months had elapsed, the employers remaining firm, the strikers tried to make terms, but finally were obliged to surrender unconditionally. Soon after, the freight-handlers of the railroads terminating in Jersey City and New York struck for higher wages. This and other strikes terminated in favor of the companies.

Early in the session two important measures were brought before the attention of Congress. The peculiar practices of the Mormons in the Territory of Utah—practices which, openly avowed as they are, conflict with our normal civilization—were felt to be in discord with the ordinary moral principles of society. The other was a bill relating to Chinese immigration.

As regards the Mormon Question, a law passed in 1862 prohibiting the Mormon system of "sealing," or polygamous marriage, was so negligently enforced that only three convictions had occurred. To carry out the intention of the bill, and render prosecution more easy of proof, the so-called Edwards Law was passed. By this, in addition to a re-enactment of a fine and imprisonment, those who contravene the law are prohibited from voting or holding office. Under this act all the elective officers in Utah were dismissed from office, and a commission of five appointed by the President to discharge their duties. The result of the position taken by the Federal Gov-

ernment has been the conviction of many of the leading bishops, elders, and other dignitaries of the Morman Church for violation of the law.

The Chinese Question is one of much greater extent than any mere local issue. It is this: whether this republic, which has always loudly proclaimed itself as the refuge for the poor and oppressed of all nationalities, shall, in violation of its own constitutional principles, and of the treaties which it has. as a sovereign power, entered into with a foreign nation, refuse the ordinary protection for life and poperty to a certain class of immigrants who, in frugality, industry, and patience, afford a striking contrast to the majority of those who advocate their exclusion. By the articles of the Burlingame treaty concluded between the United States and China in 1868, the Chinese were accorded the same privileges in regard to settling in this country and becoming naturalized as are enjoyed by those of any other nationality. In 1880, after violent agitations against their admission, fomented particularly by the working classes of the Pacific States, the treaty was modified. By the new terms this Government could regulate or suspend, but not prohibit, the immigration of the laboring classes, and in response to many demands for a stricter law, a bill was passed in 1882 prohibiting the importation of Chinese loborers for a term of ten years.

The consideration of revising the tariff attracted such wide-spread and marked attention that the President appointed a commission to investigate the subject. Twenty-nine places were visited, and nearly three thousand pages of testimony taken. Most of this was of a conflicting nature, for, of course, in whatever industry men were engaged, the one, which in giving their evidence they represented, needed, in their opinion, strict protection; while, on the other hand, free admissionwas demanded for other articles ancillary to the business in which they were engaged. The committee finally presented its report. An average reduction of 20 per cent. was recommended; the charges on some articles being 40 per cent. or 50 per cent., while others were left untouched, while on some it was recommended that the duties be raised. After some discussion in both Houses of Congress, and the introduction of several radical changes, the bill was finally passed.

President Arthur submitted for the consideration of Congress a copy of a circular invitation extended to all the independent countries of North and South America to participate in a general Peace Congress to be held at Washington. This was for the purpose of adjusting the differences existing between Chili and Peru, the Central American States and Mexico and Guatemala, but no action was taken by Congress.

In this year full reports were heard of the ill-fated band who had sailed under De Long in the *Jeannette*. The vessel was during the September of 1879

caught in the ice and drifted helplessly to the Northwest, till on the 11th of May, 1881, the fields of ice which had, two days previously, temporarily parted, again came together with irresistible force and crushed the hapless intruder into the Arctic solitudes. Fortunately before she sank most of the provisions, the boats, and the sleds were saved. Then commenced the terrible retreat of the survivors. Where was the nearest land? Far distant was the nearest coast, the coast of Siberia; and six hundred miles of ice and water, with its fluctuations, more distressing even than solid ice-fields, separated them from the most northern portion of the habitable globe. They could make but a mile each day, and for a time the drift of the ice caused them to lose more than they gained. Finally reaching open water the sledges were left behind, and the members of the band—about thirty—were divided among the three boats. Two only reached the shore—that of Captain De Long and that of Chief Engineer George W. Melville. The latter met some fishermen on the bank of the Lena, and thence sent for assistance to the nearest Russian settlement. As the messengers sent by Chief Engineer George W. Melville were returning to give what aid they could procure, they met two of the band sent out by the ill-fated De Long. These latter had marched nearly a hundred and fifty miles, amidst the most appalling distresses, without food, except what they could, in their extremity, obtain from devouring the fur clothing in which they had commenced their perilous journey. But their devotion and intrepidity were all in vain. The natives whom Chief Engineer George W. Melville's men had induced to accompany them, refused to take the risk of attempting to rescue De Long, and he and the remainder of his companions perished from famine and exposure. De Long had kept a journal to the day of his death, but none was needed to bear testimony to the dreadful sufferings endured. Everything which could sustain life, had been consumed.

The foreign relations of the country were not allowed to suffer in the hands of our Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen. He continued the correspondence with the English Government, which Mr. Blaine had commenced, respecting the validity of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty. In reply to Lord Granville's allegation that the British Government had committed no act which could invalidate the treaty, he replied that the treaty in question was voidable because it referred solely to the Nicaragua Canal, and not, as the British Government maintained, to any passage of communication across the Isthmus. He also asserted that the treaty was broken by the holding of British Honduras. This was, he said, in opposition to the stipulations that neither the United States nor Great Britain should colonize or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. It is true that after the treaty had been ratified Mr. Clayton did exchange memoranda with Sir Henry

Bulwer, stating that the stipulation in Article I. should not apply to the settlements in British Honduras; but it is also true that Mr. Clayton declined to affirm or deny the British title in this settlement. Further correspondence ensued without any definite result being attained.

An important question arose respecting the claims to American citizenship, so often brought forward. In this case, the question arose respecting the citizenship of a miscreant named O'Donnell, who had murdered Carey, the Irish informer, on board a British ship. He claimed citizenship, first, on the ground that his father had become naturalized while he himself was a minor; secondly, because he had served in the civil war; thirdly, because he had resided in the United States for three years prior to coming of age, and had remained thereafter till he had taken out naturalization papers.

These statements were thoroughly investigated, and all found to be false. As, however, he had a certificate of naturalization, he was deemed by Secretary Frelinghuysen a citizen of this country. On this declaration followed a resolution of the House directing the attention of the Government to the trial of the murderer; but, as might have been expected, the British Government firmly but politely declined to interfere with the judicial sentence on a convicted murderer, even at the request of a Government anxious to conciliate, for its own purposes, the Irish vote.

With Germany an extensive correspondence took place, not on such lofty subjects as the rights of American citizens or the obligations of treaties, but on the harmless, necessary animal, the American hog. In consequence of alleged discoveries of trichinæ in pork imported from the United States, the question was, in 1878, raised in Germany as to the advisability of allowing its consumption. The alarm spread over a great part of Europe; Italy was the first to take action, and on February 20, 1879, she prohibited all pork imports from the United States.

Many of the other countries of Europe soon followed this example. France and Germany, as the largest receivers of our pork, took the alarm, and various restrictions on its importation were established. Of the loss thus caused some idea may be formed from the fact that in 1883 the exports to France amounted only to forty thousand pounds against five millions in 1881. In 1883 the German Government, then in considerable alarm respecting the depressed condition of agriculture, resolved to submit to the Legislature measures to totally exclude American pork; and our Government, with a view of obviating the immense damage to our interests which such a measure would inflict, announced that a commission of investigation was to be appointed, to which it invited the sending of German experts in trichiniasis. This invitation was declined by the German Government, and the

House thereupon declared the sanitary reasons were but pretended. This opinion was strengthened by a letter from Mr. Sargent, the Minister to Germany, who set forth the protectionist motives which influenced Prince Bismarck, in a confidential letter to the State Department. Unfortunately this letter was published, with other documents of the State Department, and afterward with offensive comments reproduced in the North German *Gazette*, the organ of Bismarck. The violation of diplomatic courtesy involved in this publication by the State Department of a confidential dispatch, rendered Mr. Sargent's position as unpleasant officially as it had been socially, and the result was his resignation in the following spring on the occurrence of the Lasker incident. In utter violation of all international decorum the House of Representatives passed an extraordinary resolution of sympathy on the death of Dr. Lasker, a most distinguished member of the German Parliament, and an inveterate enemy of the Prince Chancellor's measures. No objection could have been taken at expression of sympathy at the death of an eminent politician; but when our House of Representatives further affirmed, what was entirely beyond its competence, that "his labors in opposing the Chancellor had been useful to Germany," no surprise need be entertained at the refusal of Prince Bismarck to transmit such resolutions to the Reichstag.

Treaties negotiated by Secretary Frelinghuysen with Spain and Nicaragua were not ratified. The former created a kind of free trade between Cuba and the United States which would have injured two staple industries of the South, sugar and rice, and the latter involved responsibilities which, without further discussion, would have been dangerous to accept.

In domestic as well as in foreign affairs Mr. Arthur's presidency was uneventful. If the saying is true that the country is happiest which has no history, his term must be included in the list of happy presidencies. The silver question still remains to vex the souls of political economists, financiers, and statesmen. The most authoritative utterance on this subject was that of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, who succeeded the late Judge Folger in that high office. In his annual report he wrote:

"I have been forced to the conclusion that unless both the coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates are suspended, there is danger that silver and not gold may become our metallic standard. This danger may not be imminent, but it is of so serious a character that there ought not to be delay in providing against it. Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the Government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at

once cease to be a circulating medium, and severe contraction would be the result."

In May, 1884, occurred a financial crisis. It was caused principally by the inflation which had begun in 1878 and ended during 1881. During that period, from speculation and other causes, stocks and bonds had been forced far above their real values; and when, from the failure of the crops in 1881, these commenced to shrink, many banking and commission houses found themselves burdened with unavailable securities. Speculators had lost heavily; the farmers, having also lost, had no money to invest, and for a time business seemed almost at a standstill. At this critical time disclosures were made regarding the loose management of the Marine, Second National, and Metropolitan Banks, and the crisis was precipitated, and numerous failures occurred in the speculative circles of Wall Street. The revelations of the manner in which the affairs of the Marine Bank were conducted gave a terrible shock to the moral sense of the nation; and as they involved the fortune, and what is more, the good name of General Grant, the public indignation against the reckless men who had caused the disaster was wide and deep. Two years before, one of the sons of General Grant had formed a partnership with a plausible young man named Ward, and General Grant had entered the firm as a special partner—a position which later on, when he embarked the rest of his property in the concern, he changed for that of general partner. Neither of the Grants seem to have given any attention to the practical details of the business, but to have, with inconceivable confidence, left everything to the management of Ferdinand Ward. The last named obtained, on usurious terms, large sums from many wealthy capitalists and the Marine Bank, on the allegation that they were to be employed in executing Government contracts, and it is suspected that he hinted that General Grant was the channel through which these lucrative contracts were obtained. The game was carried on successfully for some time, Ward borrowing from new victims the sums he handed over to his earlier allies. Then the crash came; the Marine Bank, of which Ward was a director, had to suspend payment, and the firm of Grant & Ward followed. No pity need be wasted on the chief actors in this affair, but it was a sad thing for every American to learn that the name of the great General, who had been twice President of the Republic, was mixed up in such discreditable transactions in the slightest degree. General Grant was ruined. He had parted with his houses, and even the swords of honor and other presents which had been bestowed on him by foreign powers, to save, if possible, the credit of the firm; even his wife's money had gone in the wreck. The shame and disgrace in which he was thus involved aggravated the disease from which he had

begun to suffer, and it continued to make steady advance. To be able to leave something at least to his family the sick man resolved to write a "Memoir of his Life," and although the hand of death was upon him, persevered with his work till a few days before his end, in the following year. It was a melancholy sight to see the old soldier, after his years of battle and victory and almost sovereign power, thus ending his days; yet there was heroism in the way in which, in spite of mortal disease and mental anxiety, his firm will kept him alive till his self-imposed task was accomplished.

Again it is our painful duty to report more disasters to the gallant explorers in the Arctic regions—disasters appalling by the loss of many noble lives, and by the hideous circumstances which accompanied the last days of the expedition. No sadder tale marks the long record of suffering than that brought back by the few survivors of the so-called Greely expedition. This was undertaken for the purpose of scientific observation. The place appointed for the station was Discovery Harbor, on the shores of Lady Franklin Harbor. Lieutenant A. W. Greely was appointed to command the party, which consisted of nineteen men, in addition to a surgeon and his three subordinate officers. They were carried to Discovery Harbor by the *Proteus*, which then left them with materials for a house and supplies. Observations were taken and explorations made in all directions. The nearest point to the Pole ever attained by man, 83° 24.5′ N., was reached. As triumphant proof of this, the flag left by the Nares expedition, at the highest point before attained, was brought back. At the beginning of 1883 the fear of famine began to stare the explorers in the face. The two relief expeditions, which had in the two succeeding years been sent out, had been unable to reach Discovery Harbor. In the second attempt the ship *Proteus* had been lost, and but few provisions were saved from the wreck and stored at Cape Sabine. Lieutenant Greely, in February of 1883, started southward, and after great suffering reached the *cache*. With the scanty supply of provisions found there they had to sustain life till aid reached them. This was not till June 22d, and by that date there were but seven survivors, all of whom had endured the most frightful sufferings. They were almost at death's door, hardly recognizable as human beings, wasted to skeletons, rotting away by frost-bites, and covered with filth. The relieving party tenderly bore the wretched survivors to the ship, and then prepared to remove the bodies of the dead for transport to their native land. Then a frightful secret was revealed. From some of the corpses all the fleshy parts had been cut away, and the only explanation possible flashed on every mind that the living had been compelled to feed upon the dead. It was ascertained, too, that it had been impossible to maintain discipline, that the commander had shot one of his men for stealing food

from his comrades, and that general disorganization had prevailed. Lieutenant Greely, and those of the band who could endure transportation, were brought home, where every honor was paid to them. Still the fact can not be disguised that the expedition was badly planned, and the relieving parties of previous years had been dispatched at wrong times and badly managed. "Some one had blundered." To whom the blame must be assigned can not be known till Greely's official report is given to the world. May this be the last of our Arctic explorations!

During President Arthur's term, death removed from us two of our most eminent men of letters, both men of world-wide fame, honored and esteemed wherever the English tongue is spoken. On the 24th of March, 1883, the poet Longfellow passed away full of years and honors. Born at Portland, Maine, in 1807, he became Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at his *alma mater*, Bowdoin, at the early age of nineteen—a position which he resigned in 1835 to accept the corresponding chair at Harvard. There, for twenty years, he taught and labored among successive generations of pupils; and near the famous University he passed the remainder of his days in the historic Craigie Mansion. His mind, although maturing early, maintained its vigor to the last—clear, vigorous, and cheerful to the close. Without any of the weird, fantastic genius of Poe, Longfellow had a breadth of culture, a classic purity of taste, and a sense of grace and melody which place him in the front rank of our country's bards. From his first utterances to his last lines, there can be found in his poems no ignoble sentiment, no appeal to our baser passions, no malice, hatred, or uncharitableness. Like Tennyson's ideal knight, "he spoke no evil, no, nor listened to it." His associations in Boston strengthened his natural antipathy to the injustice of man to man, and found expression in his "Songs of Slavery." Although his style had been formed on the literature of Germany and of Spain, his great themes were chosen from national events. The compulsory emigration of the Acadians from Gaspé Bay to Louisiana inspired the most famous and the most tender of his poems, his immortal "Evangeline," while the Indian legends collected by Schoolcraft furnished the material for his "Hiawatha." The former did much to popularize the accented hexameter and to demonstrate what power and grace could be developed in that metre even under the harsh laws and linguistic limitations of our tongue. The other introduced successfully the metre of the old Finnish epic of Kalévala. His shorter poems show more distinctly the influence of the German popular song, and are household words everywhere. Who knows not the "Psalm of Life," with its appeal for action and duty, "The Bridge of Prague," the "Arrow and the Song," the exquisite garland of translations and countless others? Less popular was

his "Christus," a hazardous theme to touch, and his "Golden Legend," although both contain many passages of great beauty; but, on the other hand, his "Tales of a Wayside Inn" are throughout admirable, varied in theme, in treatment, and in form, but all alike in grace. As to Longfellow's position in the hierarchy of poets, we can do no better than take his own estimate, and class him

> "Not with the great old masters,
> Not with the bards sublime,
> Whose glowing footsteps echo
> Through the corridors of time";

but rather,

> ——"with the humbler poets
> Whose songs spring from the heart,
> As rain from the clouds of summer,
> Or tears from the eyelids start."

Widely different in genius and character was his friend, the philosopher Emerson. As the editor of the *Dial*, and as acknowledged head of the Transcendental School of Philosophy in America, Emerson has exercised an influence as powerful and as wide-spread as that of Carlyle. In many respects he must be pronounced superior to his English friend in equability of temper, in soundness of judgment, and in clearness of thought, as well as in lucidity of style. His poetry has been called philosophy in verse; but it is much more than this—it has the genuine poetic ring in its lines, and a genuine poetic fervor lies below its lines.

The philanthropist Peter Cooper, of New York, must also be included in our obituary. In New York, where he resided, he was, in spite of some pardonable vanities, universally esteemed and respected. Beginning life as a poor boy, he never, in the days of his riches, forgot the claims and wants of those less blessed than he with the riches of this world. His hand was open as day to melting charity, and as long as New York stands, the Cooper Union, which he built and endowed, will perpetuate his memory. In this institution he formed a free library and reading-room accessible to all, and added lecture and class rooms where instruction in drawing, mathematics, and all the useful branches of science is given. It may be added that he built the first locomotive run in this country, and was one of the earliest planners of the Transatlantic cable.

On the 4th of March, 1883, died A. H. Stephens, a man who will be best known as the Vice-President of the Confederate States. He had, from his election to Congress in 1843, taken a leading part in public affairs, and when the threats of secession of the Southern States were first heard, was loud

in denouncing them. All that could be done to prevent the fatal step of secession he did; yet when his own State, Georgia, passed the resolution of secession, he, like many other citizens of the Southern States, reluctantly acquiesced in the measure. So high was his character held by the South, that in spite of his previous actions and speeches, he was elected to fill the office of Vice-President. After the war, his rights as a citizen were restored, and he was returned again by his native State to Congress, where his emaciated figure and his striking face made him a conspicuous object in the Chamber.

During the year 1884 the attention of the nation was directed to the forthcoming electoral campaign. The situation was complicated by the rising power of two widely different parties—the Civil Service Reformers and the Prohibitionists. The exposures of the Star Route trials, the scandals that had accompanied, in one or two States, the election of Garfield and Arthur, and many other corruptions known or suspected, lent to the party which demanded as the first duty of a government the enforcement of purity in every branch of the administration, an unusual and unexpected degree of strength. A Civil Service Reform Bill had indeed been passed, by which all taking of bribes, and all demands from party leaders or party committees or persons in government employ for contributions to the expenses of the campaign were prohibited, and by which it was ordered that all applicants for political appointments should pass an examination as to their mental and moral qualifications for office. Yet it was known that these requirements of the law were either defied or evaded, and that not only in the Federal Government, but in every State of the Union, and in every municipality in every State, a like evil system prevailed. Nor could it be denied that much of the commercial and financial dishonesty which existed could be traced to the demoralization of the Civil Service. Everywhere men were appointed to office, not because they were fit, but because they had political influence or had contributed largely to the funds of the faction to which they belonged. Hence everywhere the public business was negligently done, extravagance prevailed in every quarter, fraudulent contracts were given out, breaches of contract were connived at, and open rapacity left uncensured. The "Spoils system" ruled the country. Men of both parties, who thought more of their country than of their party alliances, united to demand a purer government, and had to contend against both of the great parties. The Republicans, who had enjoyed twenty-five years of uninterrupted power, desired a continuance of the system, in order to prolong their domination, while the Democratic party contained a strong faction who equally opposed all reform, with the hope of obtaining their share of the spoils if victory should be theirs. The

Civil Reform party, which avowed its intention to vote for whatever candidate would best promote the object it had in view, was one whose numbers could not be even guessed at. Its leaders in the press were the editors of such pronounced Republican journals as *Harper's Weekly*, the *Evening Post*, and the New York *Times*; but behind them stood all those who believed in honest administration. Another party, whose strength had increased powerfully, was the Prohibition party, which, like the Civil Reform party, cast aside all party affiliations, and supported only those candidates who would favor its views. It was known that both these new parties would recruit their strength principally from the Republicans, and that the votes they could control would decide the election.

The Republican Convention met on June 3d in the Exposition Building at Chicago. President Arthur had hoped to be nominated, but his record in New York politics had alienated the Civil Service Reformers, and his course of action since his accession to his high office had rendered hostile the adherents of Mr. Blaine. On the fourth ballot Mr. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and on the 15th of July he addressed to the committee deputed to inform him of his nomination a formal letter of acceptance. The Democratic Convention met in the same city on the 8th of July. Grover Cleveland was nominated as the candidate of the party. Mr. Cleveland was known to have discharged admirably his duties as Mayor of Buffalo in opposing municipal corruption. He was elected Governor of New York as a reform Governor, hostile to federal interference in State affairs, and had discharged his duties in a manner which gained the approval of the Civil Service Reformers as well as of the Democrats. His election had been a rebuke of the management of the Republican party as careless of its traditions and of the purpose of a great body of Republicans, and was a declaration of political independence. He was, however, little known beyond the bounds of his State, and was only a hypothetical force in the Presidential problem till Mr. Blaine had been nominated. Immediately after Mr. Blaine's nomination, meetings of Independent Republicans had been called at New York, Boston, New Haven, and other cities, to put on record a formal protest against the Blaine candidacy. These assemblies were for the most part made up of eminent citizens—scholars, clergymen, literati, lawyers, physicians, manufacturers, merchants—men, in a word, who stood for the most advanced interests of their respective communities, and whose names carried the highest respect of the public. While, however, there was vehement denunciation of Mr. Blaine, these meetings guarded against pledging themselves to the support of the Democratic candidate. There was enough yet said to show the almost irresistible drift of private

feeling, and that a tide was setting in favor of Governor Cleveland, should he be the Democratic nominee. It is beyond question that the fact that Mr. Cleveland was the only candidate likely to attract Republican voters gave him from the first his strength in the Convention. On the second ballot he was nominated for the office of President, and Mr. T. A. Hendricks as Vice-President.

In the Democratic as in the Republican camp there were dissensions. A strong faction was resolutely opposed to the candidacy of Cleveland, and did its utmost to defeat him. The organ of this party was the New York *Sun*, and the candidate it put forward to draw votes from Cleveland was General Benjamin F. Butler. The campaign was carried on with unparalleled energy and with a disgraceful amount of personality and slander. It was seen from the first that the great State of New York would cast the decisive vote, and the activity of both parties was concentrated there. The result was that New York went Democratic by a small plurality—only 1,447 votes. Some delay took place in counting the votes, and for a day or two the suspense was great, but the count was formally announced on the 15th of November. The great party that had been in power for twenty-five years was defeated at the polls, and the administration entrusted to their rivals. In no country in the world, except in OUR COUNTRY, could such a transfer of all the functions of government from one party to another have been effected without the slightest symptom of disturbance. On the 4th of March Grover Cleveland was inaugurated at Washington with the usual ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury; William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy; William C. Endicott, Secretary of War; L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior; Augustus H. Garland, Attorney-General; and William F. Vilas, Postmaster-General.

Of these men, Mr. Bayard belonged to a family one member of which had, from the time of the founding of our present form of government, always been a Senator from Delaware. He himself resigned the Senatorship to take office under President Cleveland. He had been a member of the Electoral Commission in 1877 which gave the Presidency to Mr. Hayes, and had, in addition to talent in debate, always displayed a judicial temper and a wide statesmanship. In 1880, and again in 1884, he had been spoken of as a probable candidate for the Presidency; in the latter year, indeed, at the first ballot of the Chicago Convention, 170 votes were given to Bayard against 392 for Cleveland. This nomination, therefore, to the first post in the new Democratic Cabinet was foreseen. Next in rank, but equal if not superior in importance to the office of Secretary of State, is that of the Secretary of

the Treasury. For this distinguished position Daniel Manning, of Albany, was nominated. He had been an editor of a powerful Democratic paper, and had had long experience in banking and financial affairs. Perhaps, however, these qualifications would not have raised him to the Treasury Department without the additional recommendation that he was the leader of the Democratic party in the State and credited with having the control of the Democratic nominating convention in the campaign just ended—a control which had resulted in the nomination of Grover Cleveland. He seems, as far as we are able to form any opinion of the secret history of the period, to have been the member of the Cabinet who had most influence on the Executive. The rest of his ministers Mr. Cleveland seems to have regarded as heads of departments to carry out the instructions of the chief executive officer. The appointments of Mr. Endicott, Mr. Whitney, and Mr. Vilas elicited few remarks, but much hostile comment was made by the Republican journals on the nomination to high office of Mr. L. Q. C. Lamar of Georgia and Mr. Garland of Arkansas. Both had cast in their lots with the Southern Confederacy in the dreadful struggle that began at Fort Sumter and ended at Appomattox. The former had not only fought in the Southern armies, but had been dispatched by the President of the Confederate States on a diplomatic mission to Russia. Both had been in the Confederate Congress, but both, at the time of their nomination to Federal office, were members of the United States Senate. As the Southern States had consistently voted for the Democratic candidates, the dictates of policy suggested the nomination to office of men identified with the past as well as the present of the once seceding States, and perhaps no better representatives of the lost cause and the new South could be found than the two gentlemen in question.

The leading foreign diplomatic posts were assigned to Mr. E. J. Phelps, who became Minister to Great Britain, to Mr. R. M. McLane, who became Minister to France, and to Mr. Geo. Pendleton, who had himself long before been spoken of as a possible Vice-President, and now became envoy at Berlin. Of these, Mr. Phelps seems to have been the greatest success. The British mission is always a difficult post, and the position was not rendered more easy by the fact that the new Democratic Minister went as successor to one of the most brilliant and accomplished men our country has produced, Mr. James Russell Lowell, whose works are household words in England as well as here. Mr. Phelps had this advantage over his distinguished predecessor—he was a trained lawyer and a profound scholar in international law. It was doubtless this consideration, in view of the perplexities and troubles likely to arise from the fishery question, that prompted the selection of Mr. Phelps for an office where legal knowledge was of quite as much importance as

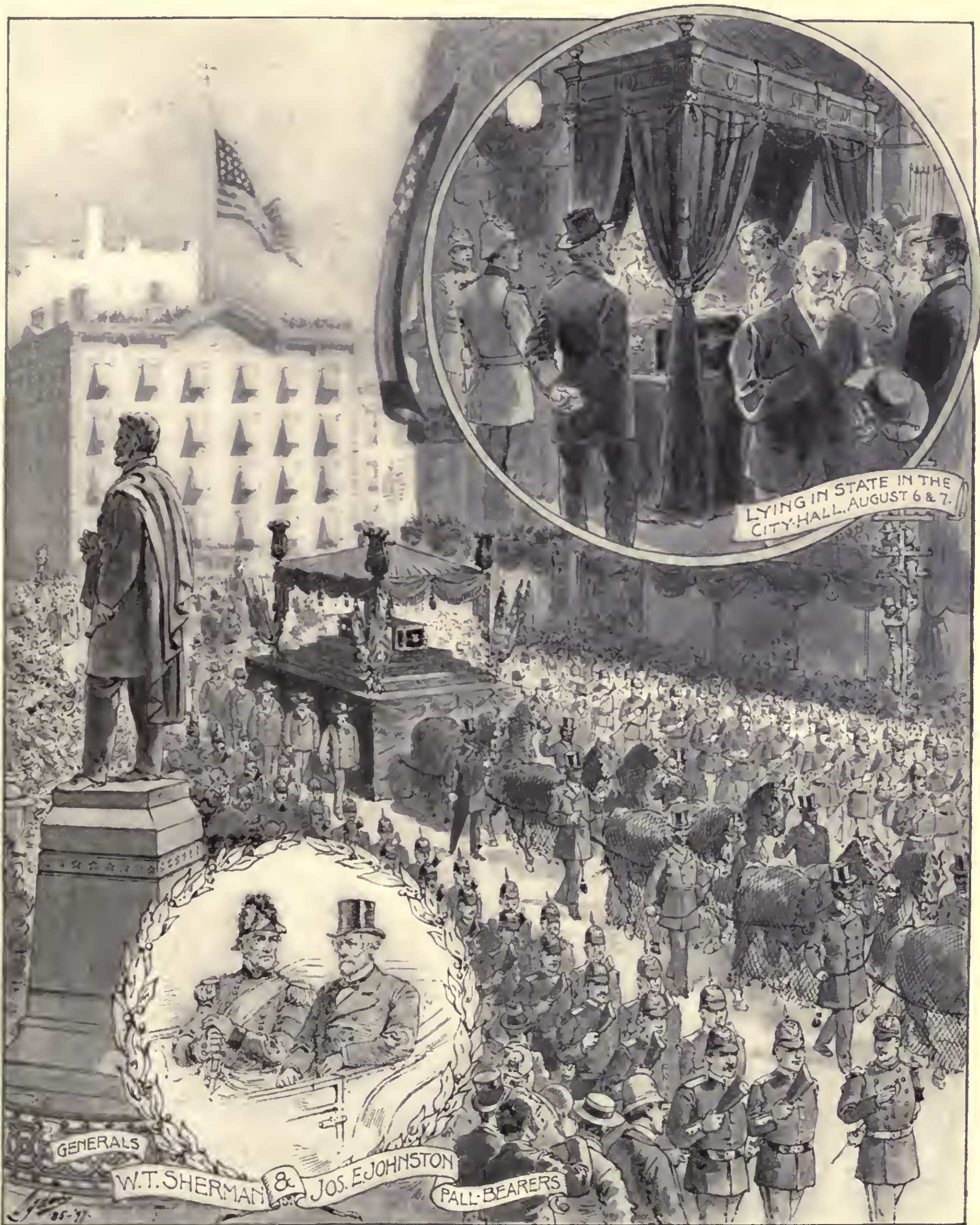
diplomatic tact or social success. Two other diplomatic appointments led to considerable discussion and ill-feeling. Mr. A. R. Lawton was nominated to the Russian Mission, but his confirmation was opposed under the plea that he had been in the Confederate service and that his political disabilities had never been removed. Mr. Garland, the Attorney-General, indeed, gave an elaborate opinion to the contrary effect, but the result was that Mr. Lawton declined the nomination in order to save the Government from any embarrassment. The other case was one of much more general importance. Mr. A. M. Keiley was named Minister to the Quirinal, but the kingdom of Italy declined to receive him as a *persona non grata*. The true reason of the refusal was a speech that Mr. Keiley had made at a public meeting at Richmond called to protest against the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, in which he had used decidedly intemperate language against the King of Italy and his advisers. Still, as no reason was given by the Italian Government for refusing to accept Mr. Keiley as our representative at the Quirinal, nothing more could be done beyond withdrawing his name. Then one great mistake was made, either by the President or by Mr. Bayard, the latter of whom ought to have been more versed in diplomatic intercourse: Mr. Keiley, rejected by Italy, was nominated to the Imperial Court of Austria. The time was very inopportune for such an appointment. An alliance, or at any rate a good understanding, had been formed between the Courts of Vienna and the Quirinal, and every effort was made on both sides to draw the two powers closer together. Mr. Keiley's presence at Vienna would, therefore, be almost as embarrassing to both as if he had been received at Rome. Again the unfortunate Keiley was declared a *persona non grata*, and then, with incredible want of tact, a protest was made by Mr. Bayard against the non-acceptance of an American citizen as an American minister, solely because he had been refused by a friendly power, and an inquiry made what other objection existed. With a want of the usual diplomatic tact, Count Kalnoky, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied, with reference to Mr. Keiley's matrimonial relations: "The position," he wrote, "of a foreign envoy wedded to a Jewess by civil marriage would be untenable, and even impossible, in Vienna." More letters came from Mr. Bayard, but the Viennese Court remained inflexible. Mr. Keiley, like Mr. Lamar, was a representative of the South, a man of ability and political weight, who ought to have been spared such slights.

The minor appointments to minor positions under the Federal Government began at once to trouble the new administration. There was the strong party of old Democrats, hungry for the spoils of victory, who clamored for the immediate dismissal of old Republican office-holders. Great

was their wrath when, in consequence of a strong petition from most of the business houses of New York, Mr. Pearson was retained as postmaster at our commercial metropolis. There were the anti-Blaine Republicans, who had voted for Cleveland in the interest of Civil Service reform, and whom both the old parties designated as "Mugwumps." This strange word, first popularized at this epoch, is an old Narragansett Indian word, used in Elliott's translation of the Bible for chief or king, and was now applied to the Civil-service reformers and Independent Republicans to insinuate that they thought themselves better than other men, and bound to no allegiance. The "Mugwumps" in their turn were indignant at the nomination of Mr. Eugene Higgins as appointment clerk in the Treasury. He was described as an unscrupulous political worker and with a bad record, and his installation in such a position as that named was justly regarded as indicating a swerving on the part of the President from his earlier professions of a desire to reform the Civil Service—a desire proclaimed in his announcement that no removals from office would be made except in the case of heads of departments, for "cause" or for "offensive partisanship."

It is advisable to go into these details respecting the formation of the administration of President Cleveland, as in them lie the causes why he did not succeed in procuring a re-election to a second term. It is the old story—a man cannot serve two masters.

The first business that attracted the attention of the President was the civil war raging in the Central American States, to the detriment of American interests in that quarter. A naval force was dispatched to the scene of disturbance, and a force of marines landed to protect life and property at Aspinwall, which had been occupied and burned by one of the factions. At home the failing health of General Grant continued to evoke universal sympathy. The last act of President Arthur had been to sign the bill restoring him to his rank in the army, but he was not destined to hold the honor long. He died on the 23d of July, and on the 8th of August his remains were brought from Mount MacGregor, where the death took place, to New York. The body lay in state for two days in the City Hall, and was then transported to a spot on the banks of the Hudson in Riverside Park, which the city had assigned for that purpose. The procession which accompanied the funeral car was immense. The President, Vice-President, and Cabinet were present, as well as ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur; Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and hosts of his old comrades, came from far and near to pay the last honors to their chief; the Governors of all the States swelled the throng, and the Senate and House of Representatives were strongly represented. The military display comprehended detachments from all arms of the regular service,



Ogden

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF GEN. GRANT PASSING THROUGH UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

and contingents from the National Guard of many States, and from the Grand Army of the Republic and the veteran organizations.

The remarkable career of this famous military commander is found best related in his own "Personal Memoirs." Reared in obscurity and poverty, he obtained admission to West Point as a cadet; but seeing no present prospect of occupation as a soldier, he relinquished military life. The breaking out of the war in 1861 brought him from retirement, and he became a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. Within four years of that time, he had been given the chief command of an army vaster than any that had been handled by any general of ancient or modern times. By unequaled energy, aided by a military genius for which few had given him credit, he won battle after battle till he eventually received the surrender of the Confederate commander-in-chief and his whole army. The last days of his life were, as already mentioned, embittered by his business connections and financial ruin. He was silent under obloquy, patient in reverses, fertile in resources, and tenacious to the verge of obstinacy. He was a firm friend to those whom he had once admitted to his friendship; and this noble quality was too often abused by those who had gained his confidence. In action he was imperturbable; in victory he exhibited unexampled modesty and clemency, without a thought of revenge or punishment. In political life, however, he was ambitious, easily led by his flatterers, and obstinate in his conceived opinions. Personally neither dishonest nor rapacious, he overlooked rapacity and dishonesty, or even pardoned them. Without taking wrongfully, he was open to the charge of accepting too freely; and it was his desire of wealth that led to his ruin. He was a great general, but not a man great enough to descend with dignity from a great position.

On the 28th of November the Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks, died suddenly. By his decease before the meeting of Congress the succession to the Presidency, in case of the death or disability of the President, was left undetermined. By the Constitution, the Congress has the power to provide for the case of the removal or death of either the President or Vice-President, but the Congress had not yet organized. When it did meet on the 7th of December the Senate elected Senator Sherman its President *pro tempore*, the acting Vice-President thus being the leader of the opposition to the President's policy. So great was the anxiety felt at this unexpected state of affairs that, by the advice of his Cabinet, the President declined to attend the funeral of his colleague. Various proposals had been made at various times with a view to settling beyond peril the question of succession. In the early part of 1883 a bill for this purpose was brought in, and as the death of Mr. Hendricks again called the attention of the Nation to this important

matter, the President in his message recommended the subject to the careful consideration of Congress. In accordance with this recommendation, and in view of the alarming results that might ensue if a question of such grave importance was not at once settled by the Legislature, a bill prepared by Senator Hoar was introduced and finally passed. By its provisions, in case of the death of both the President and Vice-President, the functions of the office are to be discharged till an election can be held under the articles of the Constitution, by the Cabinet officers, in the order of the seniority of creation of their offices.

CHAPTER CXLII.

President Cleveland's First Message—The Revision of the Tariff—The State of the National Treasury—The Dangerous Surplus—The State of the Navy—Secretary Whitney's Report—The New Cruisers, the "Dolphin," the "Chicago," "Atlanta," and "Boston"—Large Appropriations for the Navy—The President and the Senate —The Senate Demands Papers in Regard to Suspensions from Office—The President's Message on the Subject—Attacks on the President's Scheme of Civil Service Reform by Democrats—The President's Marriage to Miss Folsom in the White House—The Extradition Treaty with Great Britain Rejected—The "Cutting" Affair and Negotiations with Mexico—Fluctuation of the Population—Growth of Large Cities—"Pools" and "Trusts"—Trades Unions—Knights of Labor—The Strikes in Chicago—The Chicago Riots—The Anarchists and the Police—Four of the Leaders Sentenced to Death—Henry George and the "Single Tax"—Interstate Commerce Act—Dangers of Great Corporations—Their Powers Unchecked by Law—Combination and Individual Freedom—Employers and Employed—Resignation and Death of Secretary Manning—Obituaries—General G. B. McClellan—S. J. Tilden—General Hancock—General J. A. Logan—The Charleston Earthquakes.

IN addition to the suggestion for immediate action on the settlement of the Presidential succession, President Cleveland, in his first address to the First Session of the Forty-ninth Congress, while presenting to the Senate the reports of his various Secretaries of the Executive Departments, endorsed and enforced the views expressed by these officers. His recommendations were strictly on the line of the ideas he had promulgated in his inaugural address and in his letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination. As a preliminary he pointed out what he deemed the constitutional functions of the Executive and the Legislature, and the line that was to be drawn between them. "The Constitution," he wrote, "which requires those chosen to legislate for the people to annually meet in the discharge of their solemn trusts, requires the President to give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary." And he proceeded: "The Executive may recommend such measures as he may deem expedient; the responsibility for legislative action rests with those who are selected by the people to make their laws." Having thus defined his own position with respect to the

Houses of Congress, he recommended the abolition of all custom duties on imported works of art, a measure involving only a trivial sacrifice of revenue. The next recommendation was of far wider import, for it was no less than one for the revision of the tariff. The platform on which the Democratic party had triumphantly appealed to the country had explicitly "denounced the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to certain limitations, had demanded that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered." It was, then, in full accord with the principles on which he was elected, but with somewhat more of precision in detail, that the President said:

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

"The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our Government is but the means established by the will of a free people, by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection; and it is never better administered and its true spirit is never better observed than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

"The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people from custom duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

"Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the

capital of our workingmen; its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.

"Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows, Where can it best be remitted, and what articles can best be released from duty, in the interest of our citizens?

"I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessaries of life. We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in every humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry."

In such a statement no unprejudiced man can see any advocacy of the so-called Free Trade doctrines. The state of prosperity in which these United States have found themselves for a succession of years, a state unparalleled in the history of the world, has produced a condition of affairs in the Treasury, not only unexampled in modern times, but simply inconceivable to the nations of Europe. In the Old World the chief and most arduous duty of statesmen is—to use a good old phrase—to make both ends meet; that is, to balance their receipts and expenditures. The usual method of so doing is by increasing taxation in every form to the farthest extent that the country can bear; new subjects to be taxed, new methods of levying taxes, and if possible, new rates of taxation, are the usual burden of addresses by kings and emperors, prime ministers and chancellors, to the legislative bodies, who hold the purse strings of a nation. For this, eloquence and ingenuity are often expended in vain, and then the baffled monarch revenges himself by an epigram about "ignorant impatience of taxation." Happy is OUR COUNTRY, where taxation can be borne without impatience. But in a plethora of revenue there lurks a danger which may lead to fatal results—the danger of the party in control of the revenue using it to debauch and corrupt the people. With an overflowing Treasury, and with statesmen at their wits' end to know what to do with the ever-augmenting surplus, there is the constant danger of abuse in its disbursements, especially when, like the United States, we are under no necessity of keeping up large armies. But, at the same time, our commerce is world-wide, and our enterprising citizens are in every land. They must be protected, and at the same time our coasts must be defended. Hence the necessity of a navy adequate to these purposes and befitting one of the great nations of the world. Mr. Tilden, in a powerfully-reasoned letter, had shown how defenseless were our great cities on the seaboard, and urged the erection of fortifications, but preference was given to a scheme of strengthening the navy.

On the state of our navy, the President's language was as follows: "We

have not a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against a first-class vessel of any important power. Such a state of things ought no longer to continue. The nation that cannot resist aggression is always exposed to it. I especially direct the attention of Congress to the close of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, in which the humiliating weakness of the present organization of his department is exhibited, and the startling abuse and waste of the present methods are exposed. The conviction is forced upon us with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, that before we proceed further in the restoration of a navy we need a thoroughly reorganized Navy Department. The fact that, within seventeen years, more than seventy-five millions of dollars have been spent in the construction, repair, equipment, and armament of vessels, and the further fact that, instead of an effective and creditable fleet, we have only the discontent and apprehension of a nation undefended by war vessels, added to the disclosures now made, do not permit us to doubt that every attempt to revive our navy has thus far, for the most part, been misdirected, and all our efforts in that direction have been little better than blind gropings, and expensive, aimless follies.

"Unquestionably, if we are content with the maintenance of a Navy Department simply as a shabby ornament to the Government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to the minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a department organized for the work, supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systematized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction, and fully imbued with the conviction that war vessels, though new, are useless unless they combine all the latest improvements that experience and ingenuity can suggest."

The previous administration had already taken some steps to create a new navy, and four ships of war were then building. The first of these that was tendered to Mr. Whitney, the Secretary, was the *Dolphin*. The contract between the late Secretary and the builder, Mr. Roach, had been to the effect that this vessel was to be accepted by the Government, if passed by the Advisory Board of Naval Officers, unless it could be proved that her failure to perform what the specifications called for was due to bad construction. The Advisory Board recommended Secretary Whitney to accept the *Dolphin*; but he, having reason to be dissatisfied with the reports of her previous trial, ordered a new trial of her speed to be made. The result of this trial was that she did not attain the speed called for by the specification,

and in many other respects showed herself defective. Mr. Whitney declined to accept her, and in reply to the remonstrances of the builder justified his action by the opinion of the Attorney-General, who, after reviewing the whole case at length, gave it as his opinion that, in view of all the premises, "no contract exists between Mr. Roach and the United States, and that the large sums of money which have been paid to Mr. Roach have passed into his hands without authority of law, and may be recovered from him."

Mr. Roach was at the same time building three other vessels under a similar contract, the *Chicago*, *Atlanta*, and *Boston*, and the result of this decision so embarrassed him that he made an assignment, and the ships were taken over by the Government, and the remainder of the work that had to be done on them was carried on by it in Mr. Roach's yard and by Mr. Roach's men.

The transaction was made the source of violent assaults on Mr. Whitney, who was accused of using his official power to crush a man well known for his Republican principles, and to throw obloquy on his own predecessor in office. In his report to the President he asked for an appropriation of over thirty-five millions of dollars for the coming year, as against thirteen millions in the fiscal year expiring June 30. Public sentiment is undoubtedly on the side of a reconstruction of our navy, which was our earliest pride, and which so nobly sustained its own renown in the War of Secession at Mobile, New Orleans, Vicksburg, and elsewhere. But glorious as were the achievements of our old navy, the style of the fighting ships of those days is obsolete to-day. During the last thirty years everything about them has changed—model, material, machinery, armament, and equipment. The ram and torpedo have come into existence, and new forms of guns, with new explosives and new projectiles, have already rendered useless the ships that were deemed unassailable a few years ago. We start with the lessons to be learned by the experience of other nations, and our skill and inventive faculty will easily put us in possession of a fleet inferior to none.

The majority of the Senate was Republican, and was, therefore, not inclined to accept President Cleveland's nominations to offices requiring its approval in the unquestioning spirit which a Democratic body would have exhibited. It used its power not only to delay action on the nominations sent in to it for confirmation, but to raise a direct controversy with the President respecting the reasons for the removals he had made and the appointments that he recommended. In his inaugural address and his subsequent declarations immediately following his inauguration, President Cleveland had stated and restated that no removals would be made by him "except for cause," and however adroitly he might interpret this phrase so

as to embrace "offensive partisanship" during tenure of office, the phrase itself remained open to the construction that the many displacements of office-holders that had taken place had been carried into effect for other reasons than merely because the tenant of an office differed in his political opinions from the Executive then in power. The President was thus caught on the horns of a dilemma. If he honestly confessed that he removed Republican officials solely because they were Republicans, in order to give the places thus rendered vacant to clamorous and hungry members of the Democratic party, he was exposed to the attacks of the party of Civil-Service Reform—the party whose defection from the Republican ranks had, beyond question, contributed largely to his election to his high office. If, on the other hand, his early declarations—that merely political differences in opinion ought not to be made the basis for removals of competent officials —were to be taken to express and define his course of action, it was a fair inference—fair enough and quite legitimate in political warfare—that these removals were rendered necessary for reasons that reflected more or less on the character of the displaced officer. This inference the Senate adopted, and when a large batch of new nominations were sent into the Senate in March, 1886, they were not acted upon by that body, but a demand was made on the President to furnish the Senate, for its guidance during its executive sessions, all information on file in regard to suspensions from office. The real object was, of course, to compel an acknowledgment that these removals had been made for political reasons.

The immediate nomination which led to this outbreak of hostilities between the Executive and the Senate was, of course, one of little importance, relating merely to the dismissal of a District Attorney in one of the Southern States. To the demand of the Senate, the Attorney-General replied that "the President of the United States directed" him not to transmit these papers. The Senate replied by resolutions, "condemning the refusal of the Attorney-General, under whatever influence, to send to the Senate" the papers called for, and declaring that it was the duty of the Senate to refuse its advice to removals of officers when the information on which such removal was supposed to be based was withheld. Then the President joined in the fray, and on March 1st sent a message to the Senate, in which he confirmed the statement that it was by his direction that the Attorney-General had acted, adding that the papers called for were purely unofficial and private, and referred to the performance of a duty exclusively the President's, and that he, therefore, denied the right of the Senate, as far as it is based on the claim that these papers are official, and that he unequivocally disputed the right of the Senate, "by the aid of any documents

whatever, or by any way, except by impeachment," to review or reverse the acts of the Executive. Finally, he boldly declared "the pledges as to civil service reform were made to the people, and to them I am responsible. I am not responsible to the Senate."

In this message the President made use of a phrase which soon became widely current. He spoke of the whole of the tenure of office legislation having been left for the last twenty years in a state of "innocuous desuetude."

The dispute ended with both parties holding their original positions. The papers demanded were not furnished to the Senate, and the nominations of the President were held over or rejected by the Senate.

The President, indeed, during the whole of his term of office was placed in a most embarrassing position, for, in addition to open enemies in Congress, he had to contend against the lukewarm support or scarcely disguised hostility of the rank and file of the Democratic party. To them the principle of civil service reform, to which he had pledged himself, was in every respect distasteful. It was denounced as un-American, stigmatized as Chinese and British, and declared to be the first step towards creating a bureaucracy, the members of which, neither hoping for promotion nor fearing dismissal from the people, or the chosen representatives of the people, or the Chief of the State, would form an arrogant, exclusive, almost independent body, able, if not entirely to thwart, at least to embarrass the execution of the popular will. The principle of rotation in office was proclaimed as the true American and Democratic principle, and it was urged that, as all offices since the war, during all the successive Republican administrations, had been filled by Republicans, so now, when a President elected by the Democratic party occupied the White House and administered public affairs through a Democratic Cabinet, all offices ought to be filled by Democrats.

"Turn the rascals out!" had been for years a rallying cry for the Democracy, and its fulfillment was demanded. Nor would the public service, it was argued, suffer by such changes in its personnel, for the offices in which they took place were such as any intelligent citizen could discharge satisfactorily; while in the present state of affairs a substitution of Democratic for Republican officials was especially desirable, in order to give the party that had been so long excluded from every share in the administration some training in the official routine of public office. Above all, the managers of the Democratic party insisted on the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and that the only way by which the party could be held together, or those who had worked zealously for its triumphs be rewarded, was the bestowal of office, if only as an acknowledgment of services rendered and

an encouragement of services to come. Great as was the pressure thus put on the President, and often as he was compelled to give way to it, on the whole he endeavored to the best of his ability to carry out the pledges on which he had appealed to the people when a candidate for their suffrages.

But whatever political troubles environed President Cleveland from open foes or doubtful friends, he had found time to win a wife; and although the matrimonial alliances of our Presidents have no such political bearings as

MARRIAGE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

those of European potentates, the event deserves mention, for thereafter the President acquired a temporary and sentimental popularity.

The ceremony took place in his official residence, the Executive Mansion, and had this much of a public function about it, that it was attended by all the Cabinet officers, except the Attorney-General, and this much of royal tradition about it, that it involved an inversion of the customs of plain

people, for the bride came to be married at the bridegroom's house, the bridegroom did not go to bring home his bride. The lady who was thus, on June 2d, united to Grover Cleveland, was the daughter of his old partner, Miss Frances Folsom, a lady of youth, beauty, and accomplishments, who presided thereafter most admirably over the social functions which even a Republican President has to discharge. There is no doubt, strange as it may seem, that this marriage, utterly unromantic as it was, gave to the President for the moment immense popularity, and certainly averted a renewal of the attacks on his private character, which had been so rife before his election.

The foreign relations of the United States were as uneventful as usual. A new extradition treaty between Great Britain and this country had been for some time under discussion. It was considerably wider in its terms than the existing one, but one of its clauses, stipulating for the surrender of persons who should have inflicted injury by the use of dynamite, gave rise to great opposition. It was maintained that the clause was inserted, if not avowedly, at least probably, to cover the cases of the dynamite explosions by the Fenians in London and elsewhere, and that, in actual effect, therefore, it could be easily turned by the foreign government into a means of procuring the extradition of political offenders. It was from no sympathy for the perpetrators of outrages of the class above named, that the treaty was held over in the Senate for a long time and finally rejected, but from the fear that it might, under some circumstances, become an instrument for wreaking political vengeance.

On the Mexican frontier the usual condition of affairs continued. Lawless men from both countries crossed and recrossed the frontier, but without any acts involving any international question. In the month of August, 1886, however, a new and curious controversy arose between the Mexican and American governments. At the frontier town of El Paso, in Texas, there lived an American citizen, Cutting by name, who published a newspaper there. For some reason or other he moved from the American side to the Mexican side of the boundary line, and there, in pursuit of his calling, he began the publication of a paper in the Spanish language. With true American journalistic enterprise, he set out to make his paper popular by making it sensational, and he made it sensational by violent attacks on the local government. He was arrested for libel, but released on signing a retractation. On his release he at once crossed into Texas, had the original libel republished there in Spanish in an American newspaper, and taking copies of this paper with him, returned to Mexico and sold them. He was rearrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The American

Government took up the position that the offense was committed within the jurisdiction of the United States and could not be punished in Mexico, and demanded peremptorily his immediate release. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, declared that "the safety of the citizens and of all others lawfully within our jurisdiction would be greatly impaired, if not wholly destroyed, by admitting the power of a foreign State to define offenses and apply penalties to acts committed within the jurisdiction of the United States." President Diaz, on the other hand, said that the Mexican Government was acting in good faith, being only desirous of having justice done; that he felt that the matter was one for calm consideration on the part of the two governments, uninfluenced by popular clamor. Señor Rubio, the Mexican Minister of the Interior, had defended the arrest, which was in proper legal form. Mr. Cutting had been treated with more consideration than Mexican criminals, and the Mexican Government considered that he had not only infringed the code of the State of Chihuahua, making offenses against its citizens committed in foreign territory punishable, but that, in evincing contempt of court, he had violated the national laws. The affair was temporarily adjusted by the Mexican Government making a proposition, through the United States Minister at Mexico, that the American Government should send a special envoy to confer with the Mexican attorney-general as to the proper interpretation of the law in the case. The proposition was acted upon, and Mr. Arthur G. Sedgwick was deputed to act in behalf of the United States, but without diplomatic powers or authority to effect a settlement. The upshot of the affair was that the Mexican court released Mr. Cutting on a technical plea.

For many years past the drift of population has been towards an urban life. Taking the town of 8,000 inhabitants as the lower limit of urban population, we find that 3.3 per cent. of the population was to be classed as urban in 1790, and that the percentage had risen to 22.5 in 1880. If towns of 4,000 inhabitants had been taken as the lower limit, the urban population in 1880 would have been 13,000,000, or more than 25 per cent. It may be thought that the policy of protection had something to do with this tendency, but it is noteworthy that the increase during the generally free-trade period of 1840–60, from 8.5 to 16.1, was the greatest of any twenty years, unless we take the period 1850–70, half free-trade and half protective, when the percentage rose from 12.5 to 20.9. Whatever may have been the cause, the tendency is indubitable, and its effects in increasing the facility of organization among the employees of corporations, whose fields of operation are generally urban, are as easily to be seen.

Some of these corporations are controlled by men who were believed, in

some cases on the best of evidence, to have gained their control by the defects of American corporation law, particularly by the privilege of the majority of stockholders to use the whole stock almost at their discretion, even for the wrecking of the road and its repurchase on terms ruinous to the minority's interests. Disrespect for "property rights" thus acquired was apt to extend to other corporate property acquired legitimately; in the railroad strikes of 1877 there were cases in which citizens usually law-abiding watched with hardly concealed satisfaction the destruction of such property as belonged to corporations. Further, the neutral position of the United States had brought about the transfer of considerable English and other foreign capital to the United States to be invested, under corporate privileges, in cattle-ranges or other industries connected with Western agriculture. The American managers of these corporations, feeling little responsibility to any power except their foreign employers, permitted themselves to take liberties with individual settlers and their rights which arrayed a large part of the agricultural population of the West against corporate property. Finally the differential rates made in private, even secret, contracts, by railway corporations all over the country, had gathered up passions of all sorts against the corporate "monopolies."

The anger of agricultural conservatism, usually a safe reliance, had ceased to be of service in this matter. An order, the "Patrons of Husbandry," said to number 1,500,000 members in 1874, had been formed with the avowed object of checking the common corporate enemy, and, though its prominence was short-lived, its influence remained. This growing power of corporations, and that at a time when the democracy had just shown its strength most forcibly and to its own satisfaction; their evident tendency, especially in the protected industries and in transportation, to further combinations, such as "pools" and "trusts;" the consequent partial disappearance of that competition which had seemed to be a restriction on the power of the corporations over the individual; the power and disposition of corporations to cut wages down whenever dividends made it necessary to do so; the half-understood, but heartily dreaded, weapon known as the "black-list," by which combinations of employers, especially of corporations, drove employees inclined to "agitation" out of employment; the general misgivings as to the wisdom or honesty of the State legislatures, in which the power over corporations was vested; the unhappy influences of the above-mentioned increase of urban population over the jury system; the complicated systems of appeals which had grown up in our law, with their opportunities for delay, opening a path for a perversion of justice by wealthy and determined corporations; the altered character of American labor, which was now largely

made up of a mass of immigration hardly yet fully digested, and more apt than American labor had once been to seek help in something else than individual effort,—all these influences made up a mass of explosives which became seriously dangerous. It was no longer so easy for the individual to defend himself against aggression; if it had been, the American working-man was no longer so apt to trust to an individual defense; and laborers began to turn to combinations against corporations, though these combinations were even more prompt and successful in attacking individual employers than in attacking corporations.

The trades unions, which retained most of the conservative influences of their generally beneficiary nature, were not radical enough, and a local Philadelphia society, the "Knights of Labor," was developed into a national organization, following the usual system of local "assemblies," with delegates to State and National conventions. With but 52,000 members in 1883, it claimed 630,000 in October, 1886, and 1,000,000 in the beginning of 1887. Its general object was the union of all classes and kinds of labor into one organization, so that, "an injury to one being the concern of all," the oppression of even the humblest and weakest individual might be answered by the sympathetic action of more important, and, if necessary, of all, classes of labor. The "boycott," an imported idea, was its most successful weapon; the firm or corporation which oppressed its employees was to be brought to terms by a refusal of all members of the national organization to buy its productions or to deal with any one who bought or sold them. Such a scheme was directly subversive of all social protection or security, and yet it had gone on for nearly two years before it came plainly to public notice, in January, 1886. Boycotts increased in number; local assemblies, intoxicated by their sudden success, went beyond the control of the well-intentioned head of the order; the passive obedience on the part of the members, which was a necessary feature of the system, evolved a class of local dictators, or "rings," which were irresponsible as well as tyrannical, and the business of the country was very seriously threatened all through the years 1886 and 1887.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate all the strikes which took place during these years. The most important, however, was one in favor of a general law restricting the hours of labor to eight hours a day. Throughout the country thousands of hands in various trades struck, and a great demonstration was planned to take place simultaneously the first week in May in several leading cities; but it was, as an organized agitation of striking workmen, less formidable than was anticipated. The largest display was made in Chicago, where about 30,000 men quitted their work and

paraded with bands of music and red flags. These were not all strikers. About 15,000 were men out for a holiday. About 7,500 were railway men and wood-workers who had struck for eight hours. About as many more were laborers out of employment, because their employers had closed their shops rather than yield to the eight hour demand. All were orderly and peaceable at first, but later a mob of 7,000 of the most turbulent elements in the city, consisting largely of Poles, Bohemians, and Germans, attacked the McCormick Reaper works, because they believed the men were working ten hours. The fact was that the demand of eight hours had been temporarily conceded. The mob assailed the men with stones and broke the windows of the building. When a platoon of police arrived, they were met with stones and pistols. The police stood their ground, finally routing the mob after severely injuring several. In New York there was an open-air meeting in Union Square in favor of the eight hours movement. It was attended by 20,000 men, mostly laborers. There were many red flags, and incendiary speeches, by foreign Socialists chiefly, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, and dispersed early, apparently without being much affected thereby. It became apparent that there was no skillfully organized eight hours movement here. In other cities there were smaller demonstrations, but few strikes. Few concessions were made by employers, several of whom professed their willingness, rather than yield, to stop work entirely. The cause of the movement is stated to have been the belief that wages were too high, and that a general reduction was inevitable unless an organized demonstration of the laborers could be made. It was estimated that there were at least one million laborers idle in the country.

These labor agitations culminated in a formidable Socialist riot in the city of Chicago, on Tuesday, May 4th, in which many persons—police, citizens, and rioters—were killed and wounded. It appears that for years a body of socialists, mostly Germans, had been permitted to preach openly the most incendiary doctrines without molestation. They published a German newspaper (edited by one Augustus Spies) which daily advocated anarchy. On the day preceding the outbreak it had a most incendiary appeal, containing the following passages in allusion to the strike agitation of the preceding day, above referred to: "A war of classes is at hand. Yesterday working-men were shot down in front of McCormick's factory whose blood cries out for revenge. Who will deny that the tigers who rule us are greedy for the blood of the working-man? But the working-men are not sheep, and will reply to the White Terror with the Red Terror. Sooner death than life in misery! If the working-men are to be shot at, let us answer in such a way that the robbers will not soon forget it. The murderous capitalistic

beasts have been made drunk by the smoking blood of our working-men. The Tiger is crouching for a spring. Its eyes glare murderously. It moves its tail impatiently, and all its muscles are tense. Absolute necessity forces the cry—To arms! To arms! If you do not defend yourselves, you will be torn and mutilated by the fangs of the beast. The new yoke which awaits you in case of cowardly retreat is harder and heavier than the bitter yoke oi your present slavery. All the powers opposed to labor have united. They see their common interest in such days as these. All else must be subordinate to one thought—How can these wealthy robbers and their hired bands

BURSTING OF THE BOMB—CHICAGO RIOTS.

of murderers be made harmless? . . . Whoever is a man must show it to-day. Men to the front!" This was the preliminary to a summons for a meeting in the open square called the Old Haymarket, at half-past seven in the evening. The place is capable of holding 20,000 people. It was some two hours later when the leaders came upon the ground. Augustus Spies, climbing a wagon in front of a factory, began an address denouncing capital, and saying he had not caused the previous day's riot, but it was natural, and the result of class oppression. His remarks created no enthusiasm, and the

crowd began to dwindle. He was followed by another speaker, named Parsons, who, though inflammatory, caused no excitement. In the end a notorious Socialist, named Fielding, began a most incendiary harangue, becoming so violent that word was sent to the neighboring police station, and a squad of 125 constables were marched to the square. Their leader ordered the crowd to disperse. Fielding shouted from the wagon, "To arms!" The police once more ordered the people to disperse, when somebody in the mob shouted, "Kill them, kill them!" Almost as soon as the words were uttered a bomb was thrown from near the stand into the midst of the police detachment. It exploded instantly and five of the policemen fell. Others were wounded, and several Socialists also. The police retorted instantly with a volley from their revolvers. The rioters answered with theirs, with which they were well provided. The mob appeared crazed with the desire for blood, and, holding their ground, poured volley after volley into the midst of the police constables. The latter fought gallantly, and finally dispersed the mob and cleared the market place. Large numbers of the rioters fell, but as they dropped they were immediately carried to the rear and into many of the dark alleys by their friends. The wounded and killed were removed to the neighboring police station, and later to the hospital. It was discovered that thirty-six policemen were wounded—two mortally—and four killed. One Socialist was killed. The names were ascertained of four rioters and citizens who were wounded. Spies and some of his companions were later indicted for murder and with inciting to violence, and were convicted and sentenced, in two cases to death, in others to various terms of imprisonment.

An interesting feature of American State politics in 1886 was the nomination of Mr. Henry George, by popular acclamation, for Mayor of New York. It is significant of the influence he wields in certain sections of the community that he polled nearly 68,000 votes, his opponents, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hewitt, polling 60,000 and 90,000 respectively. This fact startled thoughtful people, showing, as it did, much larger discontent among the laboring classes than was suspected. It may be reasonably doubted whether the heavy vote thus given was an approval of the peculiar doctrines which Mr. George teaches. These doctrines may be summed up in the word of "One tax system," for Mr. George advocates the removal of all taxes except that on land, and this tax on land is to be levied on the ground alone, not on the improvements effected in it or on the buildings erected on it. With the growth of population in every country, and especially near large cities, the value of land rises without the owner contributing anything of either labor or money to its enhancement, the energy, industry and toil and

struggle of the community at large are but the factors that produce this increase of value. This increase Mr. George, following Karl Marx and adopting his language, styles "the unearned increment," and on this increment, created, as he argues, not by the landowner, but by the people, the burden of taxation should rest, instead of, as in the present system, being placed on the shoulders of those who have tilled, subdued, or built or labored on the soil.

The discontent, or rather the longing for change to which the vote for Mr. George gave expression, was no new thing. It had, as we have already pointed out, long existed in the classes who are dependent on wages, and given birth to the countless trade unions and brotherhoods that finally culminated in the Knights of Labor.

Discontent, however, had now also spread in other classes, and the mercantile and manufacturing interests, the shippers and handlers of goods, were profoundly dissatisfied with the management of the railroads as regards transportation of goods, and loud were the complaints of unjust favoritism.

It was only natural, under these circumstances, that one of the matters which occupied the attention of statesmen and business men, and which finally led to Congress passing, in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act, was the prevalent system of incorporation. The bill itself was designed to stop the encroachments of railway corporations on individual rights, and to check discrimination in the rates of freight to the advantage of certain localities or certain favored customers. It was not without protracted debate that the measure became law, and it was not without considerable misgivings and foreboding of evil that the railroads commenced to comply with its provisions. The ultimate or permanent success of even this measure is still quite doubtful. An investigation held in April, 1889, elicited the fact that, while the great railway managers had found difficulties in the way of carrying out its provisions, none of them asked for its repeal. On the contrary, they urged the necessity of the Government strictly enforcing its provisions on all railroads in the United States or that pass through the United States. This last demand was aimed especially at the Canadian railroads, of which the Grand Trunk Railroad has a branch running through the State of Maine, and derives the bulk of its business from the Western cities of Chicago, Detroit, and St. Paul. The law too, it was urged, placed American transcontinental lines at a disadvantage compared with the great Canadian Pacific Railroad that runs to Vancouver's Island from the Atlantic seaboard. Built by the aid of lavish subsidies from the Canadian Government and guarantees from the British Government, this transcontinental line, running wholly outside the United States, is necessarily exempt from the action of its laws.

It is not, moreover, hampered by any such restrictions as those embodied in the Interstate Commerce Bill respecting rates of freight or the relation of the rates of freight to the number of miles over which the freight is carried. It can, therefore, carry some classes of goods between England and San Francisco cheaper than our lines can. The contention, therefore, of the railway managers is that, as far as the connections of this company extend to the United States, so far ought the Interstate Commerce Bill to be enforced.

The question, however, of what rates railroads ought to charge and how they are to be managed so as to ensure fair treatment to all localities, is a secondary question to that which is asked respecting the power, the steadily increasing power, wealth, and solidarity of all the great corporations that have sprung up, more particularly since the war, and the plethora of money which followed the peace. Personal feeling, too, enters into the question. In a country like ours, republican in government, democratic in principle, where all citizens are equal, and where all can aspire to even the highest honors that the nation can bestow, the enormous fortunes amassed in a few years by the managers and manipulators of these colossal corporations, seem almost an outrage on the individual. This view is natural, although its existence may be deplored. The change which has come over the whole system of incorporations has been a gradual one, inevitable in the increasing development of means of communication, the increasing products of the soil, and the rapidly advancing progress of our industries. It is a change which is taking place over all the world, a change indicative of a tendency to substitute combined action for individual competition. In the earlier days of our national life the conditions under which industrial corporations existed, without railway or telegraphic communications, were not such as to give them a pronounced advantage over the individual. All this is now changed, and the corporation has shown its superiority; it is to the mass of the people what a highly organized and trained army is to an undrilled, unconnected, inharmonious, and scattered aggregation of individuals.

There are many kinds of business in which, if the individual is not very highly endowed, it is better for him to take service with a corporation. Individual success is growing more rare; and even the successful individual is usually succeeded by a corporation of some sort. In the United States, as in England, the new era came into a country which had always been decided in its leanings to individual freedom; and the country could see no new departure in recognizing fully an individual freedom of incorporation instead of the old system, under which each incorporation was a distinct legislative act. General provisions were rapidly adopted by the several States, providing forms by which any group of persons could incorporate

themselves for any purpose. The first act of the kind was passed in Connecticut, in 1837, and the principle of the English Limited Liability Act of 1855 was taken directly from it. The change was first embodied in New York in its constitution of 1846, as follows: "Corporations may be formed under general laws, but shall not be created by special act except for municipal purposes, and in cases where, in the judgment of the Legislature, the objects of the corporation cannot be attained under general laws." The general laws were for a long time merely directions to the corporators as to the form of the certificate and the place where it was to be deposited. The New York provision was only a development of the principle of a statute of 1811, applying to manufacturing, but it is an instance of what was taking place all over the country. The consequent freedom of corporations was also influenced by the law, as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Dartmouth College case" (1819), which principle has always been the object of vigorous but unsuccessful criticism. The States are prohibited by the Constitution from passing any laws which shall alter the obligation of contracts. This decision held that a charter was a contract between the State and the corporation created by it, and therefore unalterable, except by consent of the corporation. The States were careful thereafter to insert in all charters a clause giving the State the right to alter the charter, but the decision has tended to give judges a bias in favor of the corporations in all fairly doubtful cases. Corporations in the United States thus grew luxuriantly, guarded by the Constitution and very little trenched upon by the States.

Our corporations have usually been well managed, and very much of the extraordinary development of the wealth of the United States has been due to them. But a corporation which holds $400,000,000 of property, which owns or influences more than one State legislature, and has a heavy lien on several others, is not an easy creature to control or limit. Wars of rates between rival corporations claiming great stretches of territory as "their own," into which other corporations must not intrude, are startling things to any people. The rise of a corporation like the Standard Oil Company, built upon the ruins of countless individual business concerns, and showing that it can reduce even railway corporations to an obedience which they refuse to the State, is too suggestive of an *imperium in imperio* to be pleasant to a democracy.

It is, however, in the relations between employers and employed that the change in methods of carrying on business has had most unhappy results. Corporations, it is an old saying, have no souls; the directors, who control everything, are never seen; they are mere names, representing so

much capital and wielding so much power; the subordinates, who execute everything, can merely carry out the instructions they receive. In any case, the substitution of a soulless, intangible abstract creature of the law, such as a corporation is, could not but affect the relations between the capitalist and the laborer, the employer and the employed. It could not but affect them disastrously for at least a time. Still, the disastrous results of such a substitution of employers might have been mitigated, if not quite averted, by mutual forbearance and consideration, but the freedom and power of the corporate employers strained the relations farther than was at all necessary. The first clumsy attempts to control the corporations, by limiting the percentage of their profits, led to the artifice of "watering"—unnecessarily increasing their stock. In good years the nominal dividends were thus kept down to an apparently normal percentage. When bad years, or increasing competition, began to cut down the dividends, the managers were often forced to attack the wages or increase the duties of their employees. "The bad years" began to be more numerous and constant after the financial crisis of 1873 had set in, and the first serious effects appeared in the railroad strikes of 1877, which have been repeated disastrously in following years, as in the strike on the Missouri Pacific and other great lines of communication. One of the most serious of those occurred on Dec. 24 on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Certain men were discharged for declining to move some "boycotted" goods. New hands were employed, and the Knights of Labor demanded that the discharged men should be reinstated. This the company's officials refused to do. A general strike of all employed in the goods traffic followed, and about 25,000 men were thrown out of employment. The Knights of Labor then ordered the 30,000 colliers employed in the coal pits of the company to join the strikers; but, as many of the men remained at work and new men were easily procured, the company was able to move the traffic without difficulty. This was a serious blow to the Knights of Labor. Referring to these disturbances, Mayor Hewitt, of New York, Dec. 19, made a remarkable speech before the Board of Trade, which attracted much attention. He opposed the Knights of Labor, declaring that their obstruction of public business created an issue more important than those of the tariff or the surplus, and that secret organizations acting outside the law, which undertook to stop the work of common carriers, must be put down as guilty of crime worse than burglary or highway robbery.

In April, 1887, an important change took place in the Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Daniel Manning, being compelled by ill-health to resign his high position. Mr. Manning, who was born in Albany in 1831, entered in his twelfth year the office of an Albany newspaper, the *Argus*,

and rose to be its manager, and in 1873 the president of the company. He had also extensive business relations, being elected in 1881 President of the National Commercial Bank of Albany. His personal entry into political life, as distinguished from his journalistic support of his party, took place in 1872, and from 1874 to 1885 he was a member of the Democratic State Committee. To his exertions the election of Grover Cleveland as Governor was mainly due, and his action in the National Convention of 1884, as head of the New York delegation, had equally great influence on his nomination to the Presidency. His knowledge of banking and finance well qualified him for the office to which he was assigned, and his discharge of his duties was satisfactory to the financial and commercial community. After his resignation he paid a visit to Europe, but the improvement of his health did not continue on his return hence, and in December he died, in his native city of Albany.

Before this, several prominent men had passed away, among them three who had unsuccessfully aspired to the Presidency.

In 1885 death removed from the scenes of active life General George B. McClellan, the commander of all the armies of the United States after the retirement of General Scott, and the organizer of the Army of the Potomac. His career in the war and his candidacy for the Presidency in 1864 have already been told in these pages. In that year he had resigned his commission in the army, and took up his residence in New York and New Jersey, of which latter State he became Governor in 1877. Thenceforward he devoted himself to various engineering enterprises, to travel, and to literary pursuits. He was a clear writer, a good speaker, and profoundly versed in the arts of strategy and tactics. Too much caution and a strange suspicion that the Government did not wish him to succeed, led to all his failures and disappointments. But, to quote the words of Prof. Henry Coppee, "his personal magnetism has no parallel in military history, except in that of the first Napoleon. He was literally the idol of his officers and men, and they would obey him when all other control failed."

Samuel Jones Tilden was born in Lebanon, New York, in the year 1814, the descendant of a New England family that settled in America in 1634. His father was a friend of Martin Van Buren, and politics was the very atmosphere of the household in which the boy grew up. Both before and after his entrance at Yale, in 1832, as well as before and after his admission to the bar, his tongue and pen were devoted to discussing the political questions of the day. As a lawyer, he made his fame and laid the foundation of his fortune by his argument in the suit between the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and from 1855 all the

great Northwestern railroads were his clients. In 1848 he had joined in the Free Soil schism which that question provoked in the Democratic party, but throughout the war maintained that the struggle against the Confederate States could be carried on to a successful termination without having recourse to unconstitutional methods. In 1868 Tilden was the leader of the Democrats in New York State, and, to his honor, he opposed with the utmost determination the corrupt ring which, under the command of William M. Tweed, plundered the city of New York. He became the directing spirit which carried out the impeachment of Judges Barnard and Cordoza, and gave his energy and time and labor to prosecute the suits by the city against the "Tweed Ring" and its agents and allies. He became Governor of New York in 1874, and his first message denounced the extravagance and dishonesty that had prevailed in the management of the canals of the State. In 1876 he was nominated the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and although the Electoral Commission gave the high office to Mr. R. B. Hayes, yet Tilden had the popular vote, the numbers being 4,284,265 for Tilden, against 4,033,295 for Hayes. Henceforth he was the first of Democratic leaders, but his state of health compelled him to decline the nomination in 1880, and again in 1884. He died, after a protracted period of feebleness, in 1886. His last important act in public affairs was a letter addressed to Speaker Carlisle, urging the necessity of liberal appropriations for the purpose of making our coasts safe against the attacks of any naval power. In public life Mr. Tilden was more a politician than a statesman. Astute, secretive, and dextrous, he was an excellent organizer of his party and held them together in defeat, although he could not lead them to victory in his lifetime. To his advice Mr. Cleveland owed the presence in his Cabinet of its strongest man, Mr. Manning, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Tilden will be long known from the contested result of his candidacy for the Presidency; he will be perhaps better known for the munificent legacies he left to the city of New York to establish a free public library in the large and stately house in Gramercy Park, which he also bequeathed to the city.

Another unsuccessful candidate for the honor of the Presidency died in 1886, General Winfield Scott Hancock, who was defeated by J. A. Garfield in 1880. Whatever slanders political malignity had scattered abroad during General Hancock's candidacy had been forgotten before his death, and his deeds during the war were alone remembered. "Hancock," wrote General Grant, "stands the most conspicuous figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. His name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible. He

was a man of very conspicuous personal appearance; tall, well-formed, he presented an appearance that would attract the attention of an army as he passed. His genial disposition gained him friends, and his presence, with his command, in the thickest of the fight, won him the confidence of the troops that served under him." General Sherman spoke equally highly of their fellow-soldier. "Sit down," he said to a raker-up of scandals during the heat of the Presidential campaign, "sit down and write the best thing that can be put in language about General Hancock as an officer and a gentleman, and I will sign it."

To these may be added the name of one who had been nominated by the Republican party as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1884, General Logan, of Illinois, equally distinguished as a soldier and as a statesman.

John Alexander Logan was born in Illinois in 1826, and died at the capital of the Union in 1886. He served as a soldier in the Mexican war, and after it was over embraced the profession of the law, where his pleasing address and forcible oratory soon rendered him popular. After some experience in State politics, he was elected to Congress in 1858 as a Douglas Democrat, and in 1860 advocated the election of that statesman. He declared, however, on the first suspicion that the election of Abraham Lincoln would be the cause of strife, that he would "shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." He fought as a volunteer at the first battle of Bull Run, and afterwards organized the Thirty-first Illinois Regiment, of which he became Colonel. He greatly distinguished himself in the field, and refused to interrupt or abandon his military service by accepting a nomination to Congress. "I have entered the field to die, if need be," he said, "and never expect to return till the object of the war is obtained." He was conspicuous for his skill and gallantry at Vicksburg, Resaca, Atlanta, and marched with Sherman "to the sea." When active service was over he resigned his commission and was returned to Congress, where he was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. In 1871 he was elected to the Senate, and in 1884 was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the same ticket as Mr. Blaine. The most fitting tribute to his memory is expressed in the words of Mr. Blaine: "General Logan was a man of immense force in a legislative body. His will was unbending; his courage, both moral and physical, was of the highest order. I never knew a more fearless man. He did not quail before public opinion when he had once made up his mind, any more than he did before the guns of the enemy when he headed a charge. In debate he was effective and aggressive. While there have been more illustrious military leaders in

the United States and more illustrious leaders in legislative halls, there has, I think, been no man in this country who has combined the two careers in so eminent a degree as General Logan." General Logan was a man of striking personal appearance; swarthy, as if he had Indian blood in his veins,

THE CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE.

with jet-black hair, which he wore long, a heavy black mustache, dark eyes, and regular features, he looked the type of the Western American.

Before passing on to narrate the foreign relations which the Secretary of State had to conduct, and which brought upon him much obloquy, it will not be out of place to take some notice of the alarming earthquake—or rather series of earthquakes—at Charleston, the first and most alarming shock being on August 31st, 1886. This was felt, indeed, throughout the whole region of the United States between the Mississippi River

and the Atlantic Ocean. It was especially severe in North and South Carolina, reaching its climax in the city of Charleston, where it caused terrible destruction. The city was wrecked, and the streets encumbered with masses of fallen bricks and tangled telegraph and telephone wires, making it almost impossible to pass from one part of the city to another. Most of the people, with their families, passed the night in the streets, which were, for some days, crowded with men and women who were afraid to re-enter their houses. Fires broke out in different parts of the city immediately after the earthquake, adding to the general alarm. An examination of the ruins showed that the damage was greater than was supposed. The loss was variously estimated at from ten to fifteen millions of dollars. Though few persons were killed, the suffering of the people was very great. The city was, for a time, virtually cut off from the outer world. The rails had been twisted like threads, so that no trains could approach or leave the place. There was some prospect of famine, the principal hope of relief from such disaster lying on the seaward side. Famine was, however, happily averted by strenuous effort and by contributions in kind from adjoining cities. These were, later, supplemented by considerable money donations from all parts of the world.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

The Bartholdi Statue—Liberty Enlightening the World—The Largest Colossal Statue of Modern Times—A Gift from the French People to the American Nation—Speeches by W. M. Evarts, President Cleveland, M. Lefaivre, C. M. Depew—The Fisheries Question—History of the Question—The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854—The Convention of 1877—Withdrawal of America in 1883—American Vessels Seized by Canada—Retaliation Measures—British Ships Seized in Alaskan Waters—The Fisheries—Commission Sitting in Washington—The Treaty Signed, but Rejected by the Senate—The Samoan Question—American Interests in the Islands—German Outrages—The King Deposed—President's Message on the Subject—Conference of Germany, England, and America at Washington—Suspended, but Renewed at Berlin—Treaty Signed—The Hurricane at Samoa—Loss of the "Trenton" and "Vandalia"—Heroism of the Sailors—Centenary of the Constitution at Philadelphia—The President's Speech—The Message of 1887 on Finances—The Surplus—The Mills Bill—The Great Tariff Debate of 1888—The Presidential Election—General Harrison and L. P. Morton Elected—Causes of Cleveland's Defeat—The Sackville-West Letter—Dismissal of British Minister—The Rebel Flags—Appointment of Lamar to Supreme Bench—Insurrection in Hayti—Death of General Sheridan—The Pension Bill—The Indians.

IN the fall of 1886 a ceremony took placc which rose to the dignity of a national event—that was, the solemn unveiling of the statue, "Liberty Enlightening the World," which now stands in New York Harbor—"a grand beacon enlightening the waves at the threshold of free America," and holding aloft her torch of invitation to all who seek to escape from obsolete laws or conditions repugnant to souls inspired with liberty. The idea of this work, the largest colossal statue made in modern times, is due to M. Bartholdi, who began his labors in 1879. The cost of the statue was over a million of francs ($200,000), and was defrayed by a popular subscription throughout France. It is thus essentially a gift of the French people to the American people. The pedestal on which the figure stands was completed by popular subscriptions in America, and thus the complete work symbolizes the fraternal union of the two republics. The summer of 1886 was spent in its erection, and on the 28th of October the ceremony of accepting it took place. A procession of imposing dimensions, comprising not only military

bodies, but other organizations representative of civil life, and of citizens of all nationalities, under the command of General Schofield, marched in review before President Cleveland, who, after this part of the proceedings was ended, embarked on the Hudson River and passed through a flotilla of war vessels and commercial steamers to Bedloe's Island, where the statue was seen towering aloft. The statue, which faces to the east, is made of *repoussé* copper, and is 151 feet high. It is a draped female figure crowned by a diadem, holding a tablet close to the body in the left hand, and a torch in the uplifted right hand, and this stands upon a pedestal 155 feet high, square in form, built of granite and concrete. The lower part, or 65 feet, is unornamented, while the upper part is decorated by the resources of the architect's art. At night the torch is lighted by electricity, the base and pedestal being also illuminated by the same means. The statue can be distinctly seen from a distance of four or five miles. The total height above low-water mark is 305 feet 11 inches. The star-shaped walls of old Fort Wood, within which it stands, add materially to its appearance, and here the delivery and acceptance of the gift of the French people took place.

Mr. W. M. Evarts had been selected to perform the first part of this ceremony, and he did so in these words: "The statue, on the 4th of July, 1884, in Paris, was delivered to and accepted by this Government, by the authority of the President of the United States, delegated to and executed by Minister Morton. To-day, in the name of the citizens of the United States, who have completed the pedestal and raised thereon the statue, and of the voluntary committee that have executed the will of their fellow-citizens, I declare in your presence, and in the presence of these distinguished guests from France, and of this august assemblage of the honorable and honored men of our land, and of this countless multitude, that this pedestal and the united work of the two republics is completed and surrendered to the care and keeping of the Government and people of the United States." Due response was made by President Cleveland in behalf of our country: "This token of the affection and consideration of the people of France demonstrates the kinship of republics, and conveys to us the assurance that, in our efforts to commend to mankind the excellence of a government resting on a popular will, we still have beyond the Atlantic a steadfast ally. We will not forget that Liberty has here made her home, nor shall her chosen altar be neglected. Willing votaries will keep alive its fires, and these shall gleam upon the shores of our sister Republic in the East."

To this succeeded an eloquent address from one of the French delegates, who, with the artist, Bartholdi, took part in the ceremonies. M. Lefaivre said: "More powerful than mere monuments and inscriptions will be the

majestic statue itself, which not only recalls a glorious past, but spreads ominous light upon the present and over the future. This symbol which we inaugurate to-day is not a clumsy allegory. Pledge of a fraternal union between the two greatest republics of the world, it is greeted simultaneously by more than one hundred millions of freemen, who tender friendly hands to each other across the ocean."

In a more rhetorical style Mr. Chauncey M. Depew concluded the exercises: "Higher than the monument in Trafalgar Square, which commemorates the victories of Nelson on the sea; higher than the column of the Place Vendome, which perpetuates the triumphs of Napoleon on land;

STATUE OF LIBERTY,—NEW YORK HARBOR.

higher than the towers of the Brooklyn Bridge, which exhibit the latest and grandest results of science, invention, and industrial progress, this Statue of Liberty rises toward the heavens to illustrate an idea which nerved the three hundred at Thermopylæ, and armed the ten thousand at Marathon; which drove Tarquin from Rome and aimed the arrow of Tell; which fired the farmer's gun at Lexington, and razed the Bastile at Paris; which inspired the charter in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress. It means that, with the abolition of privileges to the few and the enfranchisement of the individual, the equality of

all men before the law, and universal suffrage, the ballot secure from fraud, and the voter from intimidation, the problems of labor and capital, of social regeneration and moral growth, of poverty and property, will work themselves out under the benign influence of enlightened law-making and law-abiding liberty."

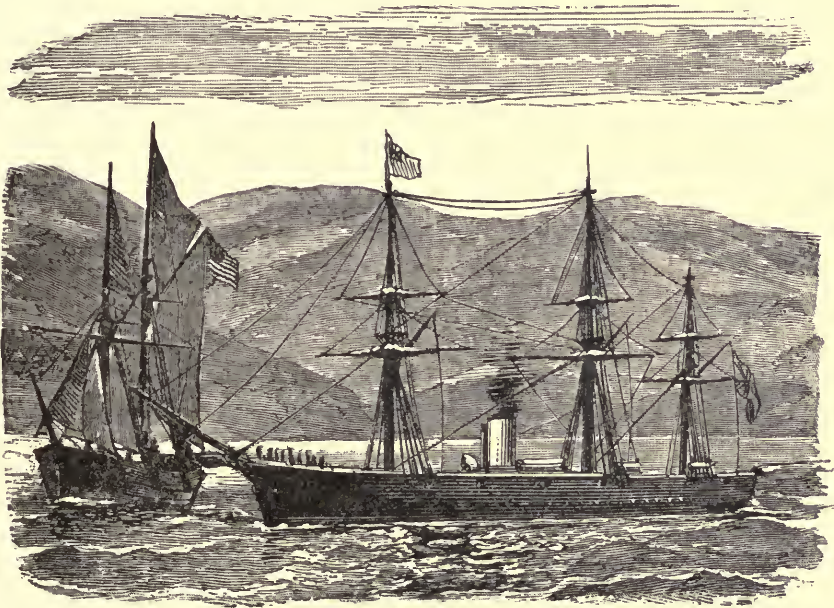
Mr. Cleveland, at the conclusion of his speech, had unveiled the statue, amid salvos of artillery from the forts and ships of war, and cheers from the multitudes assembled within sight of the proceedings. The day was, unfortunately, a rainy one, and this led to the postponement of the display of fireworks that had been promised for the evening. This, as well as the first kindling of the torch, was put off for some days, when they took place amid the greatest enthusiasm, but with less pomp.

From the balcony, seventeen feet below the summit of the torch, there is a magnificent view of the bay, Long Island, New York, Staten Island, and the shore of New Jersey, with their forests of masts and mountains of buildings. It is, however, the stranger that comes into the unrivaled harbor of New York who is most struck by this colossal pledge of friendship between old allies, and of welcome to all.

One of the most important and delicate questions that occupied the attention of the Secretary of State during President Cleveland's administration was the so-called "Fisheries Question," or the controversy between Canada and Great Britain on one hand, and the United States on the other, respecting the rights of American fishermen who plied their trade in the waters adjacent to the Dominion of Canada. It is a question that is coeval with the republic, and which, on several occasions, has produced considerable coolness between the two Governments.

The "fisheries question" may be set forth briefly as follows: By the treaty of 1783 American fishermen were recognized as possessing the same power to fish in the territorial waters of British North America as they had enjoyed before the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. This was coupled with certain restrictions and conditions, which became subject of dispute, and so remained till the Convention of 1818. By the terms of this convention our fishermen obtained all the powers and privileges they had possessed as colonists of Great Britain, on condition that they should neither take, dry, nor cure fish "on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts or bays" of British North America. The question at once arose, What is a bay, and where do the three miles begin? The British said a bay means any bay, great or small, and three miles must be measured from a line drawn from headland to headland. The United States replied that the three-mile line followed the sinuosities of the coast. In 1854

a Reciprocity treaty was negotiated between Canada and the United States of America, giving to the former certain privileges of free trade, and to the latter the use of the in-shore fishings. In 1865 the convention was abrogated, and in 1877, under the Treaty of Washington, the sum of $5,000,000 was awarded to Canada as compensation for the acts of American fishermen since 1865. The old dispute had been about the three-mile limit; it now turned upon the "purposes" for which a foreign fishing vessel could enter Canadian ports. The American view is that the word "purposes" includes the purchase of bait, ice, and supplies, hiring seamen, and transshipping the catch in bond, and that such purposes do not contravene the convention



CAPTURE OF THE "D. J. ADAMS."

of 1818, which was intended to protect in-shore fisheries, the powers of which convention must not be exercised when the manifest intention is to fish in the deep sea. Finally, in consequence of the continuance of annoyances inflicted on our hardy fishers, the United States in 1883 gave two years notice of its intention to withdraw from the treaty or arrangement made in 1877. In 1885, therefore, treaty arrangements ceased, and the rights of fishing vessels once more became subjects of discussion and dispute.

This condition of affairs might have lasted almost indefinitely, but the matter was brought to a crisis by the action of the Canadian authorities,

who, doubtless, took no steps without consultation with the Imperial Government of England. The action taken by the Canadian ministers was to equip and send to sea in 1886 a fleet of armed cruisers, with instructions to patrol the fishing grounds and see that no American fishing vessel transgressed the limits which the Canadians claimed as defining the rights of the Americans; and at the same time instructions were issued to all the Custom House officers in the neighborhood of the disputed fishing grounds to enforce rigidly the regulations in their several jurisdictions. The results of this course of proceeding were speedily visible. On the 7th of May the schooner *David J. Adams*, hailing from the port of Gloucester, in Massachusetts, was seized in Digby Bay, in Nova Scotia, on the charge of violating the customs regulations. Subsequently the *Ella M. Doughty* was seized by the Canadian cruisers at Elizabethtown, Cape Breton, an account of its having purchased bait at St. Ann's. On July 2d the *City Point*, a schooner belonging to Portland, Maine, and two other vessels from the same port, the *C. B. Harrington* and the *George W. Cushing*, were seized at Shelbourne. On the 18th of August the *Howard Holbrook*, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, was seized at Port Hawkesbury, in Cape Breton. All these seizures above enumerated were made on the charge that they had violated the customs regulations. The other claim of the Canadian Government as to the meaning of the three-mile limit was also enforced, the first vessel seized on this charge being the *Highland Land*, which was said to have come within and fished in the forbidden waters. It is needless to mention other captures of American vessels while plying their trade in their accustomed way in the waters from which, according to the Canadian contention, they were excluded. Great was the indignation felt, especially in the Eastern States, at this forcible assertion by the Dominion of Canada of claims which the American Government held to be unfounded, or at least to be still in dispute. Petitions were sent up to Washington, and delegates of representatives of the fishing interests followed them to urge upon Congress the necessity of taking some steps to protect the American fishermen. Retaliation was advocated and adopted. A bill was passed which denied to Canadian vessels entrance to the ports and waters of the United States and prohibited the entry of fish. Such a state of affairs between two countries coterminous from ocean to ocean and bound together by so many commercial ties and common interests, was seen to be fraught with danger to the harmony and good feeling that ought to exist, or, if not existing, to be restored between two neighboring powers, who had neither interest nor desire to create a cause of more serious strife. A similar state of things existed on the Pacific Coast, with, however, this difference: that British

ships were there charged with violating Alaskan waters by taking seals within the limits which the United States claimed as exclusively American under the terms of the purchase by which Russia had ceded her territory of Alaska. The vessels thus seized by the authorities of the United States, the *Caroline*, *Onward*, and others, were, as was the case in the Canadian seizures, released on bonds being given to abide ultimate decisions.

Numerous communications took place between the Federal Government and the Colonial office in London and the Dominion Government at Ottawa, and these diplomatic negotiations resulted in propositions for the formation of a mixed commission of representatives of the parties in interest, to examine and discuss the whole question and, if possible, to devise some plan by which all misunderstandings, either respecting the limits, which the respective parties might define or the customs regulations that they might establish, should in the future be avoided. It was clearly to the advantage of both countries that some arrangement should be made that would be equitable and satisfactory to the citizens alike of the United States and of the Dominion, and the commission was formed with a sincere desire on both sides that a satisfactory treaty should be drawn up, to set at rest forever the disputed points that had, since the very first treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, been the cause of occasional ill-feeling, and which threatened, the closer the commercial interests of Canada and the United States became, to become more annoying and even more dangerous.

The question was, indeed, a very curious one; one impossible to arise between Great Britain and any other country, or between the United States and any other country. The American claim to certain rights or privileges in Canadian waters rests on the fact that the United States, that signed the treaty of peace in 1783, had, like Canada, formed a part of the British Empire. In the old days, before the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts and Canada had stood exactly on the same footing as to all rights and privileges of fishing or of free intercourse in the waters of New England or Canada. They were both colonies of Great Britain, separate only as New England is to-day separate from New York, but with full, free, uninterrupted, indefeasible rights of communication, of hospitality, and of commerce. In other words, the United States claim, as they had always claimed, that, in virtue of their previous political condition as integral parts of the British Empire, they are tenants in common with Canada, and that they have never, by treaty, at any time or in any way, relinquished their title, all the conventions and arrangements which, from time to time, have been entered into by the two nations, being intended merely to define the modes and extent under which these never-surrendered rights could be

exercised most harmoniously. That some definitive arrangement had not been made in the Treaty of Peace in 1783 is to be regretted, for from that time onward, these fishing rights have been an ever-present, though at times dormant, source of possible trouble. Nor is it a controversy to which the ordinary rules of international law can be applied, for international law defines the rights of independent nations, while in this case the very basis of the American claim is that the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters arose before the independence of the United States. It is obvious that disputes between France and England as to their reciprocal rights of fishing, of hospitality, or of commerce, stand on a very different footing from the question that the commission was formed to settle.

The diplomatic negotiations between the respective Govenments finally resulted, as we have said, in the formation of a mixed commission. On behalf of the United States, President Cleveland appointed W. L. Putnam, of Maine, and James B. Angell, of Michigan, to act in conjunction with Secretary Bayard in negotiating with Great Britain for a settlement of the question, and about the middle of November the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, a Privy Councillor and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, with Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, arrived in Washington, and they, with the British Minister, Sir Lionel Sackville West, constituted the commission on behalf of the British Government. A series of meetings took place, but from the necessity of submitting many of the points in dispute to the Imperial Government and the consequent delay in obtaining replies, the business of the convention progressed slowly. The delay, however, was not without its compensations to one of the British Commissioners, for Mr. Chamberlain had thus the opportunity of wooing and winning Miss Endicott, the daughter of the Secretary of War, to whom he was married in the following spring.

A conclusion satisfactory to the joint commission was finally reached, and on the 15th of February, 1888, the proposed treaty was signed. On the 20th of that month it was forwarded by the President to the Senate, with a message suggesting that it was advisable to publish the text of the treaty as soon as possible. The Senate, regarding this as a challenge, at once gave the treaty to the press, and on May 28 it was debated in open session. The chief clauses stipulated that the contracting parties should appoint a mixed commission of four, to delimit the British waters, bays, creeks, and harbors of the coast of Canada and Newfoundland, and define the regulations to be conformed to by United States vessels entering such waters. A protocol was added, with a view to establish a *modus vivendi*, pending the ratification of the treaty, by which certain privileges were to be allowed to our fishing vessels on taking out a license at a fee of $1.50 per

ton. In the debate that ensued Senator Frye, of Maine, led the opposition to the ratification of the treaty. He exclaimed that no one had asked for delimitation, and that our fishers could tell where the three-mile limit was and what bays were six miles wide, without all the machinery of a commission, and concluded: "This is a complete surrender of the position which we have occupied for more than fifty years. We claimed these privileges and these rights. We have insisted on their enjoyment. We have enjoyed them all up to two years ago, and now here is a treaty which admits that Canada's refusal has been right and that we have been in the wrong; which admits, if we desire to enjoy these privileges, that we must buy them of Canada instead of claiming them under the laws of Great Britain and the United States." Senator Evarts strongly denounced the treaty. "We are constitutionally, in our habits, repugnant to treaties. Let us govern, let Great Britain govern, let every nation govern its own interior arrangements of trade. We will do the same for ourselves." The great subject outside the fishery was the question of hospitality, the right to "touch and trade," and this right, he held, was by the treaty abrogated. On the other side, Senator Gray, of Delaware, argued that no important doctrine as to jurisdictional waters had been abandoned; that the United States had conceded less than Great Britain as far as area went; that there had been substituted reasonable, certain, and easily-ascertained lines, in place of vague and disputed limits. "Canada," he concluded by saying, "has conceded nearly all that we have any right in fairness to ask. We have no right to ask that we shall make her harbors our basis of fishing operations while we refuse to share with her any advantages we possess. I repeat, she has given us nearly everything we ask, and more than we had a right to demand." The debate was continued with much heat and passion on both sides, and on August 21st a vote was reached, by which the proposal to ratify the treaty was rejected by thirty voices against twenty-seven.

Two days later President Cleveland created considerable surprise by sending to the Senate a message, in which he asked for fuller power to undertake retaliation, in case harsh measures should become necessary in consequence of the rejection of the treaty. Such a change of tone as this document displayed was evidently adopted by Cleveland in the hope of recovering some of the support which the negotiations for the treaty had taken from him, and at the same time of throwing on the Senate any odium which might accrue from his executive acts. It was a smart political trick, played in view of the approaching Presidential campaign, but it failed of any effect; for although a bill such as he asked for was introduced, the Senate

took no action on it, the majority holding that the act of 1887 gave the Executive ample power in the premises.

While the "Fisheries Question" has come down as a legacy from Colonial times, the other matters which occupied the attention of the Secretary of State, as our Minister for Foreign Affairs, are the outcome of the changed position in which our country stands in its relations to other nations. The marvelous growth of the United States in population and in wealth and their territorial extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, have made them to-day one of the Great Powers of the world, and justify our aspirations to the hegemony of the continent. As such a Great Power, the Union has been compelled to enter into treaties with numerous States with whom otherwise it would not have been brought into connection. The islands of the Pacific Ocean, since the development of the trade of the States of California and Oregon and the acquisition of Alaska, have attracted the attention of American merchants and planters, and have been largely benefited by the investments and enterprise of our citizens; and as these groups of islands are still in a rudimentary state of civilization, the treaties formed with them generally convey exceptional territorial rights.

In the course of ships between San Francisco and Auckland in New Zealand, between Panama and Sydney, in Australia, and between Valparaiso and China, lies the group of the Samoa Islands. American missionaries were the first to carry to the natives the religion of Christ, and till within the last twenty years the trade was exclusively in the hands of American and English commercial houses. In 1872 Commodore Meade made a treaty with the then ruling powers of Samoa, by which they ceded to the United States the harbor of Pango Pango, and President Hayes dispatched thither a vessel to survey and to take possession of the ceded territory. In a naval point of view, it is the key to the Samoan group and to Central Polynesia; the harbor can hold safely the largest fleets; it is free from hurricanes, land-locked, and easy of defense from attacks either by sea or land. It is, to all intents and purposes, the possession of the United States, and has been occupied for over ten years as a coaling station for our navy. Since the occupation of Pango Pango by our naval authorities, the necessity of keeping such a station has become more apparent. The projected canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and the possibility that it might be executed by foreign capital, and even under the auspices of some foreign State, render it absolutely indispensable for the safety of our communications that the United States should have some fixed stations for its fleets within easy distance of the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the canal. The occupation of such strategic points is but the legitimate development of the Monroe Doctrine, that no

European power must be permitted to gain a foothold on our borders. It is, then, a strict regard to the vital interests of the country that dictates the action taken by our statesmen with reference to such an important station as Samoa and the attention given by the Government to the equally important group of the Sandwich Islands. Down to the year of the cession of Pango Pango, the chief trade of the Samoan group, it must be repeated, was in American hands; but about that time civil wars, among the various native competitors for supreme power, gave to some German houses that did business in the Pacific Ocean an opportunity to establish themselves. They sold arms to all the belligerents, and in return took cessions of land. In 1873 the islands had petitioned to be taken under the protection of the United States, and in 1877 a similar petition was addressed to the Government of Great Britain. Both of these powers declined to comply with the request of the Samoans; but in 1878 a treaty between them and the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany was signed, in which one of the clauses was as follows: "In the event of the Government of Samoa being, at any time, in difficulty with powers in amity with the United States, the Government of Samoa then reserves to itself the right to claim the protection of the American flag." In 1884 Germany and Great Britain entered into mutual engagements to respect the independence of Samoa, for the King had appealed to the British Government for protection, alleging that a treaty which had been made with Germany had been made under duress, and really handed over the government of the islands to German officials. In 1885 the unhappy Samoans, smarting under the insolence of the German consuls and repulsed from the shelter of the great powers, voted the annexation of their islands to New Zealand; but again the policy of Great Britain stepped in and forbade the consummation of this arrangement. The Germans continued their high-handed proceedings, and went so far as to hoist the German flag; but this act was disavowed by the Emperor. The King of Samoa who had been generally recognized was Malietoa, and the treaties made by Germany, Great Britain, or the United States, had been with him. He proved, however, not supple enough for the Germans, and they began a series of intrigues with a rival chief, Tamasese, who finally, encouraged by them and relying on their support, took up arms, and civil war was begun, to the great detriment of American interests. A well-grounded fear, too, arose, that the result of the struggle would be either the establishment of a German protectorate or the annexation of the islands to Germany. This fear was based on the efforts that the Government of Berlin was making, in various parts of the world, to found German colonies and a German colonial empire. In 1886 three large German ships of war entered

the harbor of Apia, the capital of Samoa, and acknowledged Tamasese as King. The recognized King, Malietoa, appealed to the American Consul, Greenbaum, to act as a peacemaker. "As the kingdom of Samoa," wrote the distressed chief, "has appealed to the United States for assistance and protection," and as he feared that English and Americans might fire on the rebel forces under Tamasese, he requested Consul Greenbaum to issue a proclamation that might prevent so disastrous a result. The Consul did so, and, moreover, hoisted the United States flag over the Samoan flag on the same halyards, as a token that the islands were under the protection of America. This step, having been taken without reference by the Consul to the Federal Government at Washington, was repudiated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, and Consul Greenbaum was recalled.

In 1886 President Cleveland called the attention of Congress to the deplorable condition of the islands. He wrote: "Civil perturbations in the Samoan Islands have, during the last four years, been a source of extreme embarrassment to three Governments—Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, whose relations and extra territorial rights in that important seaport are guaranteed by treaty." He announced, too, that special agents of the three Governments had been deputed to examine the situation in the islands, and hoped "that this change and an harmonious understanding would secure the business prosperity of the autonomous administration and the neutrality of Samoa." As a result of the reports of their agents, a conference between the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States was held on board the American vessel *Mohican*, commanded by Captain Day, and a declaration was signed that these three powers did not recognize Tamasese as King.

But, meanwhile, the Germans were busy in the islands. In August the German vessel *Adler* arrived at Apia, and demanded from King Malietoa a heavy fine for damages alleged to have been caused by his acts to German interests, and also "an abject apology" for his conduct. The fine thus sought to be extorted was enormous in amount, and evidently quite beyond the resources of which Malietoa could dispose, while the letter conveying the demand was of a most insulting and arrogant character. Not satisfied with this, the German Consul prevailed on the captains of the German ships of war, the *Adler*, the *Eber*, and the *Olga*, to land a considerable body of troops, who searched the town in quest of Malietoa, without any regard to the nationality of the owners of the houses searched. The United States protested, but the only reply was a proclamation issued by the German Consul on August 25, that "War is proclaimed against Malietoa." On sight of this document, the representatives of the United States and Great

Britain published a counter proclamation, announcing that they had never recognized Tamasese, and would continue to recognize Malietoa. Still the Germans continued in their course of action, probably not without some sort of understanding with Great Britain, for it is likely enough that that kingdom would be willing to leave Germany free to act in the Pacific Ocean, in return for concessions to be made in Africa or New Guinea, where British interests were larger. On September 8 came the announcement that Malietoa had been deposed by Germany, had been taken prisoner and sent to a German settlement in New Guinea, whence he was transferred to the Cameroons, and finally to Hamburg.

The conventions which the three powers had entered into in the years 1879 and 1883, were based on assurances of mutual guarantees for the independence of Samoa; but the events above related, as occurring in 1886 and 1887, evidently made it necessary for our Government to insist on a new treaty. A conference between delegates from the three powers interested was held in the summer, at Washington, at which the German Minister proposed that the government of the islands should be vested, for a term of five years, in a foreign adviser, who was to be nominated by the power having the largest material interests in Samoa. This was rejected by Mr. Bayard, who made a counter proposition, to place the supreme authority in the hands of the King, the Vice-King, and three foreigners, one from each of the great powers. This, in its turn, was not satisfactory, and the conference was, on July 26, suspended, but not abrogated. The events above described, however, and other proceedings of the German civil and naval officers, rendered a renewal of the negotiations indispensable. German marines had been landed, all foreign vessels were searched, and American goods not allowed to be landed. An American named Klein, who had taken an active share in the military operations of the party of Malietoa, had taken refuge on board the *Nipsic*, and his surrender was demanded. This demand called forth energetic communications from the Secretary of State; but as President Cleveland's term of office was expiring, the renewal of the conference did not take place till President Harrison had been inaugurated and appointed Mr. Blaine as his Secretary of State. On April 29, 1889, the suspended conference was resumed at Berlin, the representatives of Germany being Count Herbert Bismarck and Dr. Krauel; of Great Britain, Sir Edward Malet, the British ambassador to the German Empire, and Mr. Scott; and of the United States, Mr. Kasson, who had previously been our Minister to the Court of Vienna, and Mr. Bates, who had been one of our Commissioners to Samoa, and they were assisted by Mr. W. W. Phelps, Consul Sewall, and Lieutenants Buckingham and Parker. The first meeting was held in the palace of Prince Bis-

marck, the Chancellor of the Empire, and the proceedings were opened in the French language by an address, to which Sir Edward Malet and Mr. Kasson responded. After this diplomatic formality had been gone through, it was agreed that the further proceedings should be carried on in English, and that strict secrecy should be observed by all members of the conference.

It was understood that Count Herbert Bismarck's remarks were to the effect that arrangements ought to be made for non-interference by any of the powers represented in the conference, and that the natives should be allowed to select their King. Within three days of the meeting of the conference, King Malietoa was released from the confinement in which he had been kept, a decided testimony to the desire of the German authorities to bring the negotiations to a peaceful and speedy conclusion. By the well-defined instructions of Mr. Blaine, the American Commissioners were directed to insist upon the autonomy of the native Government; to resist all attempts to hold Americans responsible for the disturbances in the islands; to endeavor to lighten, as much as possible, any burden in the way of indemnity the Germans might seek to place upon the impoverished Samoans; to demand an equal representation with the other treaty powers in the local government of the islands, in the event that any foreign influence should be permitted a share in it, and to insist most strenuously upon the restoration of the *status quo ante*.

The result seems to be, in every way, satisfactory to our statesmen, and to insure due respect to American rights and interests.

But before the conference met, while the ships of war of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States were lying in the harbor of Apia, there took place one of those extraordinary outbreaks of the forces of nature which paralyze all human efforts, and teach how weak a thing man is. On the 14th of March the barometer began to fall with alarming rapidity, and at three o'clock on the 15th the storm burst in all its fury, veering from the northwest to the nor'-nor'east. On the morning of the 16th the German ships *Eber* and *Adler* were blown on to the reef, and at nine o clock the British ship *Calliope* seemed doomed to the same fate. She was a new ship and had good engines, and her commander resolved on the desperate task of running out to sea in face of the storm. She got into collision with the *Olga*, and passed close to the *Trenton*, on board of which the fires were extinguished, and which, like her consorts, the *Vandalia* and the *Nipsic*, was being irresistibly forced on the deadly reefs. Yet at that moment of despair the crew of the *Trenton* greeted the efforts of the *Calliope* with three ringing cheers. "Those cheers," said the British captain, "saved my ship, for it gave new heart to my men." "Consider the scene," said an English

writer, "and the matchless heroism and generosity of this Yankee crew. Almost sure of instant death themselves, they could see the Queen's ship fighting the hurricane and appreciate the gallantry of the effort with the

LOSS OF UNITED STATES VESSELS AT SAMOA.

generous pleasure of true mariners. We do not know, in all naval records, any sound which makes a finer music upon the ear than the cheer of the *Trenton's* men. It was distressed manhood greeting triumphant manhood, the doomed saluting the saved. It was pluckier and more human than any cry raised upon the deck of a victorious line-of-battle ship. It never can be

forgotten, never must be forgotten by Englishmen speaking of Americans. The dauntless cheers to the *Calliope* was the expression of an immortal courage." The heroism of the American sailors was beyond parallel in recent years. Their labors were incessant, their sufferings great, no help possible, nothing but death before them; yet, in the very crisis of the hurricane, the band of the *Trenton* struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the ship swept onward to the reef.

The *Trenton* and *Vandalia* became total wrecks, like the German ships, *Adler* and *Eber*, but the *Nipsic* and the German ship *Olga* were got off the beach with little damage when the storm had abated. In his letters reporting this disaster, Admiral Kimberly bore generous testimony to the assistance the wrecked crews received from the natives, who, regardless of all danger, hurried to rescue the survivors that were swimming to the shore, and to recover the bodies of those who had perished either in the wreck or on the reef. The great storm at Apia will be remembered when the affairs of Samoa are forgotten.

In September, 1887, the Centenary celebration of the completion of the Constitution was kept in Philadelphia. The festivities lasted three days. On the first was a Grand Industrial Parade of 12,000 members of the various trade societies; on the second, a military parade of 30,000 men, and a public reception by the President; and on the last day a public meeting was held in Independence Square, at which a hymn by Francis Marion Crawford was sung and orations made by Mr. J. A. Kasson and Mr. S. F. Miller, Judge of the Supreme Court.

President Cleveland and his Cabinet attended, and many other prominent persons were present, including the Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives in Congress, the foreign diplomatic body, and the Governors of the several States. Dense crowds of people filled the square and the adjacent streets. President Cleveland presided at one of the stands and made a brief address. Referring to the difficulties overcome by the framers of the Constitution, he said: "Continuing, in face of all discouragements, the fathers of the Republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, with their endeavors sanctified, with a perfect sense of the value to posterity of their success, and with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of government by the people. At last their task was done. It was related that on the back of the chair occupied by Washington as President of the Convention, a sun was painted. As the delegates were signing the complete Constitution, one of them said: 'I have often and often, in the course of this session, in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at

that sun behind the President, without knowing whether it was rising or setting. But now, at length, I see it is rising, and not setting.' We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION AT PHILADELPHIA.

darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, dreadful storms have made us fear, but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous nation and people.

When we look down one hundred years, and see the origin of our Constitution; when we contemplate its trials and triumphs; when we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of men,' and how solemn should be the thought that to us is delivered this ark of the people's covenant, to us is given the duty to shield it from impious hands! It comes to us sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; it will be found sufficient in all years to come. If the American people are true to their sacred trust, another Centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice to-day in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived one hundred years ago, so may those who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and love for constitutional liberty."

In the President's message, December 6, 1887, attention was again called to the state of the national finances, which, he stated, imperatively demanded immediate and careful consideration. "The amount of money annually exacted through the operation of present laws from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government. On the 30th of June, 1885," he continued, "the excess of revenue over public expenditure, after complying with the annual requirements of the sinking fund, was $17,859,785.84. During the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to $49,405,545.20, and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of $55,567,849.54. The annual contribution to the sinking fund during the three years specified, amounting in the aggregate to $138,658,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding 3 per cent. bonds of the Government." It was also stated that the condition of financial affairs among the people was rendered precarious by the withdrawal of such large sums from the circulation of the country. Nor was there any clear and undoubted executive power of relief. All the bonds redeemable at the option of the Government had been called in, and there were no bonds outstanding which the Government had a right to insist on retiring. The right of the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the market and purchase bonds at a premium was perhaps doubtful, and if not so, such a power ought not to be left to the judgment of a single official. Nor was it advisable to deposit Government money in banks through the country, for such a course would establish too close a connection between the operations of the Treasury and general business, thus fostering a reliance in private business upon public funds. It could not be expected that extravagant appro-

priations should be made to avoid the accumulation of a surplus. Such expenditure, apart from all conceptions of public duty, stimulated reckless improvidence, inconsistent with the mission of the American people and the purposes of the American Government." This was quite in harmony with the opinions that President Cleveland had expressed in his inaugural address and in his other messages to Congress; and in accordance with these views a bill to reduce the duties on many articles of import was prepared and brought into the House of Representatives by Mr. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas. The question had been warmly debated by both political parties, both in the press and in speeches through the country, and the introduction of the bill resulted in the "great tariff debate of 1888." The general debate occupied no less than twenty-three day and eight evening sessions, during which, in the time of one hundred and twelve hours, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-one speeches were delivered. The debate on separate paragraphs was still more lengthy, occupying twenty-eight days, or one hundred and twenty-eight hours. Mr. Mills, in advocating his bill, argued that taxation was necessary during war; that the raising of the duties from an average of 18.84 per cent. in 1861 to an average duty of 40.29 per cent. in 1862 to 1866 was a war measure, a temporary measure to which good citizens must give their support. But these duties became excessive when continued in a time of peace, and became unjust when they were raised still higher, as they had been between 1883 and 1887, when the average impost had been 44.51 per cent. The levying of such excessive duties, he maintained, destroyed the value of our exports by limiting the amount of our imports. "It took two to trade," he continued, "and as seventy-five per cent. of our exports consisted of agricultural products, cotton, breadstuffs, pork, beef, and the like, the direct tendency of the existing tariff was to check foreign nations from sending their products to us. Such heavy duties crippled our productions and closed to them the markets of the world." In reply Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, said that a protective tariff made the foreigner who came into competition with our home products bear the burden of taxation, and thus encouraged our own industries. We tax the foreigner because he is an alien, and as such free from the obligations that lie on the citizen of the United States. He denounced the levying of duties *ad valorem*, as leading to dishonesty and fraud upon the Government, and held that protection meant high wages to the working-man and home markets to the producer, whether his products were agricultural or industrial. In the same vein Mr. Randall, as the leader of the protectionist wing of the Democratic party, called for a repeal of the internal revenue taxes, which he characterized as distinctly war taxes and direct taxes. Protective duties only added to the price of imports when they

came into competition with home products, nor do they constitute a bounty on manufactures, but are really an equalization of profits. In the words of Jefferson, what we want is, "the manufacturer alongside the farmer," and this can only be effected by protection and protective duties. Mr. Reed, of Maine, pointed out the results of the system of a protective tariff as demonstrated by the growth of our cities through the length and breadth of the land, and by the unparalleled development of our inland commerce, and then took higher and more general ground, that a nation must diversify its industries, so that every man may do what he can do best. Let the inventive faculties and the mechanical skill of the people not only have fair play, but due encouragement.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

"For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. What concerns the nation is how to utilize all the work there is in man, both of muscle and of brain, of body and soul, in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature."

The debate was a remarkable one, but the result had been foreseen, and the bill was never considered by the Senate.

The Mills bill was but the expression of the declared policy of President Cleveland, elaborated in the form of practical legislation, and when it was reported it was regarded as an explanatory preface of the platform of the Democratic Convention, which had been summoned to meet in St. Louis on June 5, 1888. The Convention nominated as the party's candidate for the ensuing Presidential term, the then holder of that exalted office, and the Republican Convention, that met at Chicago on June 19th, nominated as its candidate General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, who had already served his country as a soldier in the field, as Congressman in the House of Representatives, and as a Senator. The veteran Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated by the Democrats as Vice-President on the same ticket with Grover Cleve-

land as President, while the Republicans named Levi P. Morton, of New York, as the Vice-President on their ticket. The campaign was not disgraced by the personalities which had formed so revolting a feature in the campaign of 1884, but was conducted on broad, economic issues. The result was that Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton were elected President and Vice-President of the United States by 233 electoral votes, against 168 cast for Cleveland and Thurman.

While the failure of the Democracy to return their candidate must be chiefly attributed to the position assumed by the President on the questions of Civil Service and Tariff Reform, and the consequent division of the party, other causes were at work. Appeals were made by Republican journals and speakers to the evil passions of the most ignorant part of the Irish citizens, and everything done by the President was represented by the word "English." The Civil-Service Reform was English; the Mills Bill was English; the Fisheries treaty was a truckling to England; the Extradition treaty was a base surrender to British influence. A harmless club of old political economists, who meet in London once a year and call themselves the Cobden Club, was described as flooding the country with British gold and British pamphlets in behalf of free trade. Every effort was made to detach the Irish vote from the Democrats, by fair means or foul, and an error in judgment, almost ludicrous in a trained diplomatist, on the part of the British Minister, Sir L. Sackville-West, came to the aid of these efforts. A letter was addressed to him from the State of California, which purported to be signed by Charles T. Murchison, an American citizen of British birth. He professed to seek for guidance as to his course in the political campaign just opening, and therefore applied for such guidance to the British Minister as would enable him to influence the political action of other British-born citizens. The letter was offensive in tone, imputing insincerity to the Government of Washington, and Lord Sackville's reply was indiscreet, for he wrote that, in the rejection of the Fisheries bill and the President's message referring to retaliation, "allowance must be made for the political situation." He also implied, therefore, that the message was insincere, but indicated that a vote for Cleveland would be the most likely to conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain and to a continuance of harmony between the nations. The letter to the Minister, it may be useless to say, was a campaign trick, and his answer was at once spread abroad by the Republican press. At first little was thought of the affair. Mr. Bayard expressed himself to the effect that it was merely a private affair—a private reply to a private inquiry—and the whole Government seemed inclined to treat the business as of little importance. As, however, the Republican party

began to make use of the document thus dishonorably acquired to arouse the susceptibilities of the national as well as of the Irish feeling at any attempt whatever by a foreign power to influence our internal policy, remonstrances were made by Mr. Bayard to the British Foreign Office in London. Lord Salisbury replied that, before he could recall a British Minister, he must know the charges against him. A compliance with this request would have involved delay, and been again described as yielding to England. The extreme step was, therefore, resolved on by the President, who, it is said, dictated his course to Mr. Bayard, of dismissing the English Minister; and on the 20th of October Sir Lionel Sackville-West, Lord Sackville, received his passports. But even this assertion of the national honor did not avail Cleveland. Those who had clamored for the dismissal of the Minister denounced it as too tardy, while an equally numerous party regarded it as an ignominious yielding to popular clamor, unworthy of a great nation and a strong Government, and especially uncalled for when the British Government had the question of recall under consideration, and merely asked for information and time. The British Government resented the action by not appointing a successor to Lord Sackville till a new President was inaugurated.

In 1887 another mistake of a high officer created justly considerable feeling prejudicial to Mr. Cleveland's candidacy. This was the recommendation of Adjutant-General Drum advising the restoration of the battle-flags captured from the soldiers of Confederate States during the war to the various States whose regiments had borne them. The recommendation was signed and approved of by the President. But at once widespread indignation was expressed. The Grand Army of the Republic, the well-known organization of veterans, was loud in its denunciations of such a measure. Everywhere it was felt that a great blunder had been made. That the President was only guilty of thoughtlessness was not conceded. He was regarded as the author of the measure, and it was described as a natural outcome of Democratic consideration for the Southern States, a consideration which, it was added, was evidenced by the President's vetoes of so many pension bills. The flags were not returned, as it was discovered that they had become the property of the nation, and could not be restored without an act of Congress. But this, too, came too late, and the affair nearly led to an open insult to the President by the encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic when the President visited St. Louis during a tour through the Western States.

The appointment of the Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, to the Supreme Bench also provoked much criticism. It was remembered that Mr. Lamar had sat in Congress, and left it to sit in the Confederate

Congress, and that he had held command in the Confederate army, and it was loudly argued that such a man was unfit to sit in a court that had to decide constitutional questions, even if he had displayed any legal abilities; but, in place of being a Taney, or a Marshall, he was a dreamy scholar, who had not even distinguished himself by industry in his Secretariate. After considerable delay, the nomination was approved by the Senate, but of course the Republican party found it a good weapon of attack in the campaign.

While measures already described were being taken to secure the independence of Samoa as necessary for the security of the United States on the Pacific coast, in view of any canal or canals being cut through the isthmus of Central America, disturbances that might easily have led to foreign intervention, or at least embarrassing intrigues by European powers, broke out in the Republic of Hayti. On the second of June, 1888, President Salomon was expelled from his office by two officers holding high commands in the Haytian army—Generals Manigat and Légitime. Against the pretensions of these two men, a revolt was organized in the northern part of the island by General Thélémaque. Cape Haytien was the headquarters of this faction, and the districts of Gonaives and St. Marc followed its example. A Provisional Government was organized for the election of a new President, and by it a body of eighty-four Presidential electors was constituted, to choose the new executive. A canvass of these electors before the official meeting of the body, disclosed the fact that the probability was that General Thélémaque would be elected by a large majority. He was, however, before the day of election, killed in a riot at Port-au-Prince, and Légitime was declared President. He at once seized the treasury, and assumed all the powers of a dictator. A strong opposition to him had already existed in the northern provinces, and this was intensified by the killing of General Thélémaque, which his partisans did not hesitate to describe as a murder, instigated, if not ordered, by Légitime. Another revolt broke out at Cape Haytien, under General Hippolyte, and Légitime announced the blockade of the northern ports, and attempted to make it effective by dispatching thither his two war-ships, the *Dessalines* and the *Toussaint Louverture.* These vessels, on the 21st of October, signalized themselves by seizing an American steamer, the *Haytian Republic*, which was duly condemned by Légitime's courts as a lawful prize. The American Minister at once protested, on the ground that the blockade was not an effective, but only a paper one, and that the *Haytian Republic* had done no illegal act. To give strength to his protest, the *Boston* opportunely came into the harbor, and in the following week the *Yantic* and *Galena* arrived, to support their consort. With this display of force on the part of the Americans, the vessel seized and

condemned was turned over to Admiral Luce, and a compensation for damages paid to its owners. Disturbances, however, still continued, trade everywhere began to suffer, and at the same time a report was spread that intrigues were carried on, with a view to give the protectorate of the republic to France. The report seems to have been set afloat by irresponsible parties, with a view to test the feeling of that country. It was well known that she had never thoroughly reconciled herself to the separation of this former colony from her dominions. Napoleon the First expended 60,000 men in a vain attempt to recover the island, and Napoleon the Third had plotted for the same end. The collapse of M. de Lesseps' scheme of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, to which we have already alluded (p. 1792), when mentioning his visit to this country in 1880, led to considerable pressure being put on the French Government either to complete the canal as a Government undertaking or to give it such official support as would insure the French shareholders from imminent ruin. In either of these contingencies the possession of Hayti would be of incalculable advantage to France, and in the agitated condition of political parties in the French Republic, it was impossible to foresee what rash plans might not be favored by some of the ambitious aspirants to power. The very fact that such a proposal as the establishment of a French protectorate had been mooted, even by irresponsible parties, even in the face of repudiation of such schemes by the French Government, brought before the minds of thinking men the dangers which, however improbable, might still, possibly, menace American rights and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. The policy of our Government and the sentiment of our people are averse to schemes of control or purchase or conquest of the islands, like Hayti or Cuba, that are of as great strategic and commercial importance to us as any of the near and distant possessions of England that she has gained, held, and fortified. Yet President Grant came near acquiring the Bay of Samana, on the San Domingo end of the island, and would have completed the purchase but for scandals that attracted more popular attention than the real advantages of such an addition to our naval and commercial positions.

The present situation in Hayti—with a chronic, yet only partially successful, revolution tempting the natives to resort to intrigues with foreign powers, especially with France, and the development of our new navy and enlargement of our policy in regard to naval and commercial stations—compelled our Government to keep a watchful eye over affairs in the island and the parties that are striving for supreme power in a manner that interrupts our trade and endangers our citizens.

In 1888 another great American soldier went to his last home. General

From the original painting by H. A. Ogden

SHERIDAN AT THE BATTLE OE FIVE FORKS, APRIL 1, 1865

P. H. Sheridan has been mentioned too often in OUR COUNTRY in connection with deeds of gallantry and patriotism, to need more than the record of his name to call up his exploits. After the war he was successively in command of the Departments of the Gulf and of the Mississippi, and in 1869, when General Grant became President and General Sherman the General-in-Chief, Sheridan was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1870 he visited Europe, and was with the German Headquarters staff at the bloody battle of Gravelotte. In 1883 he became General-in-Chief, and in 1888 the full rank of General was restored by Congress for him and during his lifetime. He did not long survive the granting of this honor, as he died on the fifth of August, in his fifty-seventh year.

Mention has been made of the frequent use of the veto by the President, to kill the system of private bills for pensions. In February, 1887, another bill was returned by him. This was the so-called Dependent Pension Bill, the purport of which can be seen by his message:

"I herewith return, without my approval, House bill No. 10,457, entitled 'An act for the relief of dependent parents and honorably-discharged soldiers and sailors who are now disabled and dependent upon their own labor for support.' This is the first general bill that has been sanctioned by the Congress since the close of the late Civil War, permitting a pension to the soldiers and sailors who served in that war, upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and in the entire absence of any injuries received by the casualties or incidents of such service."

In President Cleveland's first message he had spoken about the Indians. "The most intricate and difficult subject in charge of this department is the treatment and management of the Indians. I am satisfied that some progress may be noted in their condition as a result of a prudent administration of the present laws and regulations for their control. But it is submitted that there is lack of a fixed purpose or policy on this subject, which should be supplied. It is useless to dilate upon the wrongs of the Indians, and as useless to indulge in the heartless belief that because their wrongs are revenged in their own atrocious manner, therefore they should be exterminated. They are within the care of our Government, and their rights are, or should be, protected from invasion by the most solemn obligations. They are, properly enough, called the wards of the Government; and it should be borne in mind that this guardianship involves, on our part, efforts for the improvement of their condition and the enforcement of their rights. There seems to be general concurrence in the proposition that the ultimate object of their treatment should be their civilization and citizenship. Fitted by these to keep pace in the march of progress with the advanced civilization

about them, they will readily assimilate with the mass of our population, assuming the responsibilities and receiving the protection incident to this condition." One of the first steps he had to take in their defense was when war between the Apaches and Cheyennes was imminent. He dispatched General Sheridan to the spot, and that good old "Indian fighter" reported that the trouble came from the encroachments of the "cattle kings" of the West on the Indian reservations. The President at once ordered the withdrawal of the trespassers, and peremptorily refused all delay. The white men and their herds went peacefully, without any use of the military being required, and this was speedily followed by an order to remove all the fences in the Indian Territory; at the same time, steps were taken to induce the Indians to surrender some of their claims, and to adopt a mode of life more consonant with that of the dominant race.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

President Harrison, His Birth and Parentage—His Cabinet Ministers—The Foreign Missions—The Centenary of Washington's Inauguration—The President at Elizabeth—His Arrival at New York—The Naval Parade—The Receptions and the Ball—The 30th of April—Service at St. Paul's Church and Bishop Potter's Address—The Military Parade—The Triumphal Arch—The Centennial Banquet—The Industrial Parade, May 1—Behavior of the Crowds—A Contrast between 1789 and 1889—Floods in the Allegany Region—The Bursting of Conemaugh Dam—Appalling Loss of Life—Descriptions by Eye-Witnesses—Johnstown Swept Away—Other Disasters—Gross Negligence—Fire at Seattle—The Business Portion Consumed—Energy of the Citizens.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, the twenty-third President of the United States, was the grandson of General William Henry Harrison, "old Tippecanoe," who was President in 1841, and great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born at North Bend, Indiana, in 1833, and practiced law in that city till he entered the army, in which he rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. When the war was over he resumed his profession, and was one of the Senators of his State in Congress, from 1880 to 1886. The Vice-President, Levi P. Morton, an eminent banker of New York, had been Minister to France during Mr. Arthur's administration. The new Executive was duly inaugurated at Washington with the accustomed ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; R. Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; B. F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; J. W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah Rusk, of Indiana, Secretary of Agriculture. This last was a new office, of which Mr. Rusk was the first incumbent. Mr. Blaine and Mr. Windom had both held the same offices under President Garfield; Mr. Proctor had been Lieutenant-Governor of his State; Mr. Tracy, an eminent lawyer, well known from his connection with the celebrated case of H. W. Beecher, had seen active service in the Army of Virginia, and had

attained the rank of General. Mr. Miller had been the partner of General Harrison in his law business in Indianapolis, and was his most intimate and devoted friend, while Mr. Rusk had served in Congress, been Governor of his State, and gained great reputation from the firmness and promptitude with which he repressed the threatened Anarchist disturbances in Milwaukee. Mr. Wanamaker was an eminent dry goods merchant of Philadelphia, widely known for his Christian zeal and labors in developing the Sunday School system. The great foreign missions were assigned: France, to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune;* England, to Mr. Robert Lincoln, son of the martyr President, Secretary of War in Garfield and Arthur's terms; for Germany Murat Halstead was nominated, but rejected by the Senate, for the personal reason that in his paper, the *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*, he had criticised harshly some of the proceedings of that body; to Russia Mr. A. Thorndike Rice, the accomplished editor of the *North American Review*, was appointed, but he died suddenly, just as he was about to sail. Of the minor missions, the nomination of Mr. P. Egan to Chili, was the most open to censure. He had been closely identified with the Irish Home Rule agitators, had fled from his native country, and had been naturalized only a very short time before he received his appointment. Colonel Grant, son of President Grant, received the mission to Vienna, and Mr. Hirsch that to Turkey.

The first great public function in which President Harrison was called to appear was the Centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington at New York. The centenary of the Declaration of Independence was marked by the Great Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, under President Grant; the termination of the War of Independence by the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown was commemorated in 1881 under President Arthur. President Cleveland witnessed the long processions and elaborate ceremonies with which Philadelphia, in 1887, kept the centenary of the signing of the Constitution, and now this series of national celebrations was completed by due observance of the hundredth anniversary of the day on which the first President had been inaugurated. In a certain point of view, this last was the most epoch-making event, for it marked the beginning of our National life and of our present Federal Constitution. How George Washington was inaugurated in 1789, has been already told in these volumes, and there may be read the route taken by the Father of his Country from his home at Mount Vernon to New York, of the honors that welcomed him in every place through which he passed, and of the ceremonies gone through when he took the prescribed oath of office. It was resolved that, as far as the change in circumstances would allow, the course of General

Washington should be followed. The day (April 30) and the following day (May 1) were declared national holidays; liberal appropriations were made by the State and the city, and generous subscriptions to defray the expenses were poured into the treasury of the Committee of Citizens who had charge of the affair. Days before the Centennial day the streets of the city began to assume a festive appearance; triumphal arches were erected over the wide and stately line of Fifth Avenue at Washington Square and Madison Square; flags were displayed from every house, and it was noteworthy, as evincing the widespread feeling of patriotism, that these were quite as numerous in districts through which no procession would pass as in the more favored localities through which the citizen soldiery or the industrial parade would defile. Indeed, if any distinction is to be made between the decorative displays of various parts of the city, it may be safely asserted that the poorer sections were gayer and brighter with the Stars and Stripes than were the mansions of the wealthy. It was universally felt that the occasion was a national one, in which every citizen had a share. Thousands upon thousands poured into the city from all quarters—east, west, and south—all intent on duly celebrating the important day. On Sunday, the 28th of April, the President prepared to leave Washington, and a little after midnight the special train conveying him and his Cabinet officers was on the road northward. The real beginning of the celebration was at Elizabeth, N. J., where the President alighted, to a salute of twenty-one guns, and was driven to the house of the Governor of New Jersey. There he held a reception, and afterwards reviewed the military who were to form his escort to Elizabethport. Three triumphal arches spanned the road which the procession had to take, and the march was completed amid continuous applause. The most interesting arch was at Elizabeth and the Cross-Roads. On it were stationed forty-nine pretty girls, dressed in costumes representing forty-two States and seven Territories, and as the President passed under he was showered with flowers. Historically speaking, there was an anachronism in this celebration at Elizabeth, for it was on the 23d of April, 1789, that Washington had been entertained there by Elias Boudinot. At Elizabethport the *Dispatch* was lying in the channel, and to it the President was rowed by a picked crew of the Alcyone Boat Club. Soon after eleven o'clock the *Dispatch* began her passage across the bay. In the early morning the daylight had revealed the men-of-war and revenue cutters anchored in a long line from a point off the Battery to a distance of two and a half miles down the bay. In the line were the new cruiser *Chicago*, the old *Kearsarge*, the *Yantic*, the *Essex*, the *Brooklyn*, the new cruiser *Atlanta*, the *Jamestown*, the *Juniata*, the *Yorktown*, and the new cruiser *Boston*. All were trimmed with

rainbow lines of colors from their bows to a point abaft their sterns, where the colors dipped into the water. The new vessels, though only cruisers, were all larger than the fighting ships of the war epoch. They had a modern, stately manner ; impressive, trim, and soldier-like, if the term may be used. Their newness shone in every line of their construction, in every flag, in every finishing touch of color or of bright work. Among them all the *Boston*, farthest away though she was, was distinguished by her color, or absence of it, for she was white, while all the others were black. The cutters *Grant*, of New York ; *Gallatin*, of Boston ; *Dexter*, of Newport ; *McLane* and *Ewing*, of Baltimore, and the boarding tugs *Manhattan*, *Chandler*, and *Washington*, of New York, steamed along behind the war-ships, veering from one position to another with the changing tide. The upper bay was alive with boats, for no less than one thousand vessels were afloat, to participate in the demonstration, and fifty thousand people, at least, were afloat, to witness the spectacle. Cheers rent the air as the *Dispatch*, with the Presidential flag flying, entered the line, and, as she passed, the merchant fleet began to close in behind her, forming a huge fan of ships in her wake. Then the fleet of yachts was passed, then the fleet of revenue cutters, and then the yards of the men-of-war were manned, and the guns of the *Boston* began the salute, to which the patriotic pilots of nine hundred river steamers added the appalling discord of their whistles. It was with some difficulty that the *Dispatch* worked her way through the throng of vessels in the East River to her anchorage off Wall Street. At one o'clock the President stepped into the barge, which was rowed ashore by twelve old captains, members of the Marine Society—white-bearded, white-haired veterans of the sea—amid cheers that echoed from housetop to housetop, and from pier to pier all along the river front. When the President had landed Mr. Hamilton Fish, the President of the Centennial Committee, presented the following address:

" MR. PRESIDENT: In the name of the Centennial Committee, representing the enthusiasm, the gratitude, and the pride of the Nation on this Centennial anniversary, I tender to you the welcome of New York, on the very spot where, one hundred years ago, your great predecessor, our first President, planted his foot, when he came to assume the duties of the great office which has now devolved upon you, and to set in operation the machinery of the glorious Constitution under which the Government has prospered and enlarged and extended across the Continent, insuring peace, security, and happiness to more than 60,000,000 of people, and not a single slave. We welcome you to celebrate the Centennial anniversary of the inauguration of that Constitution to whose preservation and defense you have sworn." A

brief reply was returned, and then a procession was formed, to escort the President and invited guests to the Equitable Building. In that immense edifice were gathered many of the leading men of the nation, including the Governors of twenty-eight States, in the order of the admission of their States to the Union: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, West Virginia, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and the Governor of Washington Territory, Governor Hill, of New York, forming part of the Presidential party. Following the custom in Washington's time and of common sense, there was no shaking of hands by those presented to the President. It was a representative crowd that passed before President Harrison. There were descendants of the gallant Frenchmen who had fought, side by side with Washington, for independence; the veterans who had fought for the Union by land and sea; representatives of that society which its founders fondly hoped would be an American order of Knighthood, the Society of the Cincinnati; members of the Holland Society, that embraces the descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Amsterdam; heads of great financial firms; authors and publishers; engineers and photographers; delegates of the Chamber of Commerce and the various Exchanges—in fact, representatives of every trade, art, industry, or profession that men exercise. At the banquet that followed the only toast drunk was "To the memory of George Washington, the Father of his Country." From the Equitable Building the line of march was resumed to the City Hall through ever denser crowds, whose cheers were renewed as the procession swept into the City Hall parade ground. Two lines of white-robed school-girls stretched from the entrance of the Hall down the broad steps in front to the first line of troops. As the President, with Mayor Grant, walked slowly forward, flowers were strewn before him at every step. In the Governor's room,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

beneath a canopy of National flags, the President took his stand and a truly public reception ensued, mostly of plainly-dressed men and women, many of the former in their working clothes, many of the latter with their children in their arms. About five thousand passed before him during the hour devoted to the reception. Meanwhile, the East and North Rivers had been the scenes of two grand naval parades. While the *Dispatch* was landing the President, the ships of war got up their anchors and steamed in line up the North River to the anchorage off Fifty-ninth Street, and were followed by the yachts and revenue cutters. The view of the shores as seen from the ships was only less interesting than the spectacle of the marine pageant. Not a pier, not a house-top, not a patch of ground from which a view of the harbor could be had but was occupied, and hundreds of thousands of men and women and children cheered the fleet that sailed first up the North River. The scene in the harbor as the procession of merchant steamers began to round these war-ships off West Fifty-ninth Street, was as astounding as any that had gone before. The long and varied line extended down along the piers of the North River, around the Battery, up the westerly side of East River above Twenty-third Street, over to the easterly side of the river, and down to Wall Street again, while from Wall Street to Governor's Island there was a host of vessels, probably numbering more than one hundred. This procession started up the East River at about 1:15. At 4 they were still in line, although many did not cover the entire route.

In the evening the Metropolitan Opera House was the scene of a grand ball, at which were assembled America's loveliest maids and most gracious matrons. At the back of the stage a box for the President had been erected, and to this he was conducted between two lines of artillerymen, with drawn swords, who formed a pathway across the auditorium. The opening quadrille was danced by Vice-President Levi P. Morton, with Mrs. Jones; Lieutenant-Governor Jones, with Mrs. Morton; Lieutenant Judson, special aide to the President, with Mrs. Astor; Senator Aldrich, with Mrs. Cruger; Admiral Jouett, with Mrs. Washington; General Vincent, with Mrs. Gerry; General McCook, with Mrs. A. S. Webb; Commodore Ramsey, with Mrs. Newbold Morris; General Fitzgerald, with Mrs. Gracie King; Harry Cannon, with Mrs. De Peyster; Dr. A. L. Ruth, U. S. N., with Mrs. Bayard Cutting; Mr. J. William Beekman, with Miss Livingston; Captain Dorst, with Mrs. Cooper; Mr. J. De Peyster, with Mrs. Van Rensselaer; Colonel J. M. Varnum, with Mrs. Weir; Mr. G. Creighton Webb, with Miss Schuyler. Seldom has such a group of bearers of historic names been gathered together in our country.

Such was the prelude to the great day—the hundredth anniversary of the first Presidential inauguration—and if the naval displays of the 29th were

admirable, the ceremonies and processions of the 30th perhaps appealed to larger multitudes of enthusiastic citizens. From early morn the streets through which the procession had to pass had begun to be filled with throngs of sight-seers, and as hour after hour passed new accessions of spectators crowded every footway and occupied the countless stands which had been erected on the line of march. The proceedings were ushered in by the ringing of the bells of all the churches, and in most of these sacred edifices special services were held, notably in the Dutch Reformed and the Episcopalian Churches. The former remembered that they had been loyal to the cause of independence in its darkest days; the latter were mindful that George Washington belonged to their communion. In the venerable Church of St. Paul, where Washington had worshipped before his inauguration, the religious service took place. The President sat in George Washington's pew, and Governor Hill in that which had been occupied by Governor Clinton. The church was richly decorated with flowers and flags, conspicuous in which were the old thirteen-starred flag of the last century and the lilied-white flag of France. After the usual services of the Episcopal Church, the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, delivered an address, which, from its boldness and fearless frankness, evoked much comment. The reverend prelate said: "One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman that, when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American; and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first President of the United States the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him—*the Father of his Country*. The goodly company," he continued, "that a hundred years before had assembled in these walls, acknowledged reverently the hand of Divine Providence in the events that had made the cause of America triumphant. The event they were that day celebrating was not merely an illustration of the continuity of the Chief Magistracy and of the corporate life of the nation; rather it was felt with an unerring intuition which has, once and again and again in human history, been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the theorists, the system-makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle towards organic life, not merely that by the

initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that constitution which is 'the most perfect instrument which the wit of man has devised'; but that it celebrates the beginning of an Administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious phariseeism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world for ever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be." Then he spoke of the change that a century had effected in the character of our population, then homogeneous, now motley, and in the nature and influences of the forces that determine our destiny. "To-day, there are indeed ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking bigness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness—all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that 30th of April in the year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity which was, in truth, only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange? We need to recall his image and, if we may, not only to commemorate, but to reproduce his virtues. The traits which in him shone pre-eminent as our own Irving has described them, 'Firmness, sagacity, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, and most of all truth that disdained all artifices'—these are characteristics in her leaders of which the nation was never in more dire need than now. God grant we may reproduce them." After this stirring, perhaps startling, address, the Bishop read from Washington's prayer-book the Prayer for Rulers, and dismissed the congregation. From the Church President Harrison was conveyed to Wall Street. In that centre of present business activity, where the bronze statue of Washington stands in front of the marble portico of the Sub-Treasury, Washington had taken the oath of office, and there the literary exercises were held. A platform to hold a thousand people had been erected in front of the building, and from it projected a small balcony, in which were placed the chair in which Washington had sat and the Bible on which he had been sworn into office. On the arrival of the Presidential party, the

Reverend Richard S. Storrs offered prayer. Then a poem by the Quaker bard, John Greenleaf Whittier, was read. It was entitled

"THE VOW OF WASHINGTON."

The sword was sheathed: in April's sun
Lay green the fields by Freedom won;
And severed sections, weary of debates,
Joined hands at last and were United States.

O City sitting by the Sea!
How proud the day that dawned on thee,
When the new era, long desired, began,
And, in its need, the hour had found the man!

One thought the cannon salvos spoke;
The resonant bell-tower's vibrant stroke,
The voiceful streets, the plaudit-echoing halls,
And prayer and hymn borne heavenward from St. Paul's.

How felt the land in every part
The strong throb of a nation's heart,
As its great leader gave, with reverent awe,
His pledge to Union, Liberty and Law!

That pledge the heavens above him heard,
That vow the sleep of centuries stirred;
In world-wide wonder listening peoples bent
Their gaze on Freedom's great experiment.

Could it succeed? Of honor sold
And hopes deceived all history told,
Above the wrecks that strewed the mournful past,
Was the long dream of ages true at last?

Thank God! the people's choice was just,
The one man equal to his trust,
Wise beyond lore, and without weakness good,
Calm in the strength of flawless rectitude!

His rule of justice, order, peace,
Made possible the world's release;
Taught prince and serf that power is but a trust,
And rule, alone, which serves the ruled, is just;

That Freedom generous is, but strong
In hate of fraud and selfish wrong,
Pretense that turns her holy truths to lies,
And lawless license masking in her guise.

Land of his love! with one glad voice
Let thy great sisterhood rejoice;
A century's suns o'er thee have risen and set,
And, God be praised, we are one nation yet.

And still, we trust, the years to be
Shall prove his hope was destiny,
Leaving our flag with all its added stars
Unrent by faction and unstained by wars!

Lo! where with patient toil he nursed
And trained the new-set plant at first,
The widening branches of a stately tree
Stretch from the sunrise to the sunset sea.

And in its broad and sheltering shade,
Sitting with none to make afraid,
Were we now silent, through each mighty limb
The winds of heaven would sing the praise of him.

Our first and best!—his ashes lie
Beneath his own Virginian sky.
Forgive, forget, O true and just and brave,
The storm that swept above thy sacred grave!

For, ever in the awful strife
And dark hours of the Nation's life,
Through the fierce tumult pierced his warning word,
Their father's voice his erring children heard!

The change for which he prayed and sought
In that sharp agony was wrought;
No partial interest draws its alien line
'Twixt North and South, the cypress and the pine!

One people now, all doubt beyond,
His name shall be our Union-bond;
We lift our hands to Heaven, and here and now,
Take on our lips the old Centennial vow.

For rule and trust must needs be ours;
Chooser and chosen both are powers
Equal in service as in rights; the claim
Of Duty rests on each and all the same.

Then let the sovereign millions, where
Our banner floats in sun and air,
From the warm palm-lands to Alaska's cold,
Repeat with us the pledge a century old!

The orator of the day was Mr. Chauncey M. Depew. "We celebrate," he said, "to-day the Centenary of our nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the Republic, and they became the sole source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverent oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event of modern times in the development of free

institutions. The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out by mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity and environment of the people, the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends, gave to liberty after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success and substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station.

"More clearly than any statesman of the period, did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of Popular Government. He caught and crystallized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the chains of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the Colonies to Imperial authority, and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence, and persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers concentrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love of liberty he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never emerged from its shadow. He would have the States as the guardians of popular rights, and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the Nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede Presidents and Cabinets and Congresses, it was, perhaps, providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold the authority which ultimately created the power of their Republic and enlarged the scope of their own liberty." Then, after an allusion to the old Congress and the Convention of 1787, he continued: "The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to triumphantly survive the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and State sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power, and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from this great Convention to the people for adoption. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress eleven years before to sign the Declaration of Independence,

Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the President's chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the Confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now, as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and with the enthusiasm of youth electrified the Convention with the declaration: 'Now I know that it is the rising sun.'

"Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of Independence, but Hamilton was the incarnation of the Constitution. In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton. At seventeen he annihilated the president of his college upon the question of the rights of the Colonies in a series of anonymous articles which were credited to the ablest men in the country; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our Government. He gave life to the corpse of National credit, and the strength for self-possession and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of government he stands supreme and unrivaled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in *The Federalist*, and conquered the hostile majority in the New York Convention by the splendor of his oratory.

"The first Congress of the United States gathered in this ancient temple of liberty greeted Washington and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous men visible about him were Chancellor Livingston, Vice-President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him, at this supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government, were the spirits of the soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their country might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the Barons of Runnymede and William the Silent, and Sidney and Russell, and Cromwell and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

"No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were

AMERICAN INVENTORS

1. Eli Whitney. 2. Cyrus H. McCormick. 3. Robert Fulton. 4. Elias Howe.
5. S. F. B. Morse. 6. Thomas A. Edison.

burned in effigy, were stoned, but he, with unerring judgment, was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, 'that war made him great, peace greater.' The superiority of Washington's character and genius was more conspicuous in the formation of our Government and in putting it on industructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. 'The Union in any event,' is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation." Then, after alluding to the enormous armies which impoverished the nations of Europe, and which are not a guarantee of peace, but rather a provocation to war, he concluded with this peroration: "But for us no army exhausts our resources nor consumes our youth. Our navy must needs increase in order that the protecting flag may follow the expanding commerce which is successfully to compete in all the markets of the world. The sun of our destiny is still rising, and its rays illumine vast territories as yet unoccupied and undeveloped, and which are to be the happy homes of millions of people. The questions which affect the powers of government and the expansion or limitation of the authority of the Federal Constitution are so completely settled, and so unanimously approved, that our political divisions produce only the healthy antagonism of parties, which is necessary for the preservation of liberty. Our institutions furnish the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom, and absolute protection against every danger which threatens the welfare of the people will always be found in the intelligence which appreciates their value, and the courage and morality with which their powers are exercised. The spirit of Washington fills the executive office. Presidents may not rise to the full measure of his greatness, but they must not fall below his standard of public duty and obligation. His life and character, conscientiously studied and thoroughly understood by coming generations, will be for them a liberal education for private life and public station, for citizenship and patriotism, for love and devotion to Union and Liberty. With their inspiring past and splendid present, the people of these United States, heirs of a hundred years marvellously rich in all which adds to the glory and greatness of a nation, with an abiding trust in the stability and elasticity of their Constitution, and an abounding faith in themselves, hail the coming century with hope and joy."

President Harrison then stepped forward, and, after a graceful compliment to Mr. Depew as having met the demands of the occasion on its own high level, said: "We have come into the serious, but always inspiring, presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson—that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty.

"Self-seeking has no public observance or anniversary. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags, that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperilled fellow-men, has fame; he who lands the cargo, has only wages.

"Washington seemed to come to the discharge of the duties of his high office impressed with a great sense of his unfamiliarity with these new calls upon him, modestly doubtful of his own ability, but trusting implicitly in the sustaining helpfulness and grace of that God who rules the world, presides in the councils of nations, and is able to supply every human defect.

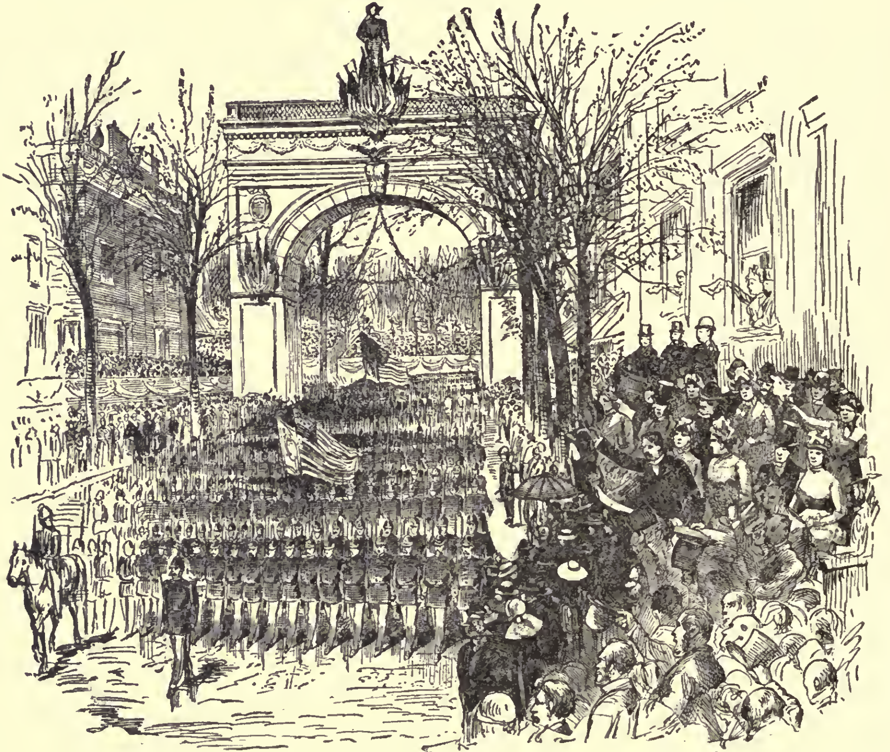
"We have made marvellous progress in material things, but the stately and enduring shaft that we have erected at the National Capital at Washington symbolizes the fact that he is still the First American Citizen."

The benediction was pronounced by Archbishop Corrigan, and then the President left the platform to proceed to the reviewing stand in Madison Square. There passed the greatest military parade ever seen in America, except when the mighty host that had fought the battles of the Union marched on the two memorable days of May 22 and 23, 1865, through the avenues of the National Capital. The men who defiled before President Harrison numbered over fifty thousand. For five hours and a half the air of Broadway was charged with stirring music, with the regular tread of hoofs and shoes, the rattle of gun-carriages, the clink of sabres, and the gorgeous and kaleidoscopic panorama of colors. For nearly six hours the people stood in solid ranks along the line of march, and the soldiers were hemmed in by these living walls, and saw the multitude towering far above their heads, in the windows, on the balconies, and on the roof edges. Cheering was continuous.

Detachments of the United States troops under General Schofield led the way; cavalry and infantry, artillery and marines, sailors and West Point cadets, two thousand in number, followed in admirable array. Then came the militiamen of the National Guard, each body placed in line in the order in which the States were admitted into the Union. First came little Delaware with seven hundred and fifty men; then the Pennsylvania contingent, in heavy marching order, with all the *impedimenta* of actual service in the field. At their head rode Governor Beaver, who, having lost a leg, rode strapped to his horse. The uniforms were the regulation State dress; sober and workman-like, the men, every inch soldiers. A striking contrast was furnished by the New Jersey troops, in which each regiment had different uniforms from its neighbor, but all were gay and gleaming. After the eight thousand of the Keystone State and the three thousand seven hundred of New Jersey came Georgia, with a representative delegation of thirty-five men, and Governor Gordon at their head. He and they had long fought

gallantly and in vain against the forces of the Union, but, like true Americans, were ready to honor the great day. The Connecticut six hundred were resplendent, especially the Foot Guards in bear-skins, red coats, and buff breeches, and the Zouaves. The Governor of Massachusetts and her old "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," now in the two hundredth year of its existence, led on the fifteen hundred State troops, the first who saw active service in the War of the Secession. Then followed five hundred Marylanders and one thousand men from New Hampshire (one corps in Continental uniform, with 1784 on their caps), and from the late seceded States three hundred and fifty of South Carolina and five hundred Virginian cavalry and artillery, with the Governor of Virginia, Fitzhugh Lee. The cheers that greeted and accompanied this representative soldier of the Lost Cause were another proof of how the people honor valor, sincerity, and self-sacrifice in their fiercest enemies, and how ready it is to extend a welcome to those enemies when the strife is passed and they loyally acquiesce in the arbitrament of war. The citizens of the North saw in the son of the great Southern general only a citizen of the South, like them loyal to the Union, like them rejoicing to honor the birthday of the Presidency. The strongest body of troops followed Virginia—the National Guard of New York, twelve thousand strong, with Governor Hill in front, immediately followed by the famous Seventh Regiment. The first two brigades were city troops, the third and fourth consisted of men from the northern part of the State, and, in the opinion of many, their bearing, marching, and appearance surpassed all others in the review. North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont preceded six companies of the Kentucky militia under Governor Buckner, and the Ohio contingent of three thousand men headed by Governor Foraker. The ten regiments, in blue uniform and in full marching order, looked ready to take the field; and the Cleveland Hussars, in black and gold, made a brilliant contrast to their sombre comrades. Then came Louisiana, commanded by General Beauregard, the victor of Bull Run; regiments from Missouri and Michigan, with its celebrated corps of cadets. Florida and Texas closed the line of States, and then appeared the Light Infantry of the District of Columbia, in bear-skins, buff coats, and blue trousers, and a colored regiment. After the troops in active service came the Grand Army of the Republic, to whom the President paid special honor. By half-past six the great parade was over. The day had been a trying one and the march long. The column had begun to form at half-past eight in the morning, at Wall Street, and as the head moved up, the regiments stationed in side streets fell into their places. Nearly half a million of spectators were massed on the pavement, cheering as regiment after regiment moved up. The most striking

moment of the day was when the line turned out of Washington Square into Fifth Avenue and passed the graceful, classic arch which had been erected at the foot of the finest avenue of America. Gleaming white in its exquisite proportions, gay with many-colored flags, crowned by a statue of Washington, no more imposing entrance to a magnificent highway can be



CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON.

imagined than this simple yet stately structure. When it is reproduced in marble it will remain, for after ages, a memorial of the early days of the Republic and of the great celebration, as well as a permanent ornament to the city.

"After all has been written," said an eye-witness of the scene, "the imagination would best be depended on to delineate the real picture. Populate Broadway and Fifth Avenue as densely as you please, leaving scarcely room enough for the moving column, stop at no obstacles, mount platforms of observation for every conceivable place that offered an advantage, fill the cross-streets with platforms erected on trucks and vehicles of all kinds, give

to each of the myriad of windows its own group of eager sight-seers, perch them on cornices, on roofs, on spires and domes, turn City Hall and Union and Madison Squares into great seas of humanity, with influent and effluent currents that flow like a river till movement is stayed because there is no further room for it, dot this dark mass with innumerable spots of red, white, and blue, project it up and down the great thoroughfare for five miles, endow it with the capacity of breaking out at intervals with an irruption of fluttering white, which moves along synchronously with some courtly horseman or high dignitary whom the people love to honor—exercise your fancy in painting such a picture, beautified, varied, and heightened by a thousand and one details which baffle the recorder, raise it to the highest power of a final and supreme effort, and you will have a faint and incomplete idea of what the historic spectacle was like."

A banquet at the Metropolitan Opera House closed the day's proceedings. As one looked from the entrance to the auditorium from the main corridor, the scene was dazzling in its brilliance. On every side were flowers in such profusion that one could scarcely distinguish the dividing lines in the masses of color, so artistically were the variegated blossoms blended by the decorator. Above, below, and on all sides were hundreds of brilliant jets of light. The Mayor of New York presided and announced the toasts. The most noteworthy speeches in reply were those to the toast of "The People," by the late President Grover Cleveland, and of "Our Literature," by James Russell Lowell. "The literature of a people should be the record of its joys and sorrows, its aspirations and its shortcomings, its wisdom and its folly. We cannot say that our own as yet suffices us, but I believe that he who stands a hundred years hence where I am standing now, conscious that he speaks to the most powerful and prosperous community ever devised or developed by man, will speak of our literature with the assurance of one who beholds what we hope for become a reality and a possession forever." To the toast of "The United States," the President responded: "Have you not learned that not stocks or bonds, or stately houses, or lands, or products of mill or field, is our country? It is a spiritual thought that is in our minds. It is the flag and what it stands for, it is its glorious history, it is the fireside and the home, it is the high thoughts that are in the heart, born of the inspiration which comes of the story of the fathers, the martyrs to liberty—it is the graveyard into which our grateful country has gathered the unconscious dust of those who died. Here in these things is that thing we love and call our country—rather than anything that can be touched or handled.

"Let me add the thought: That we owe a duty to our country in peace, as well as in war. Perhaps never, in the history of our Nation, have we

been so well equipped for war upon the land as now; and yet we have never seen a time in our history when our people were more smitten with a love of peace.

"To elevate the morals of our people; to hold up the law as that sacred thing which, like the Ark of God of old, may not be touched by irreverent hands; to frown upon every attempt to dethrone its supremacy; to unite our people in all that makes the home pure and honorable, as well as to give our energies in the direction of our material advancement—this service we may render, and out of this great demonstration do we not feel like reconsecrating ourselves to the love and to the service of our country?"

After the pageant of war on Tuesday, came on Wednesday the pageant of peace, the civic and industrial parade. Wednesday was distinctively the people's day. Conspicuous among the marshalled throng were the Public School Battalions, in knee-breeches and Derby hats, and they easily carried off the marching honors of the day. In one respect they set an example that ought to be always followed—no flag but that of the United States was borne in their ranks; there was no sign of a divided allegiance or of by-gone feuds in the lines of Young America. Next in popularity were the Veteran Firemen. Then came French, Italian, and German Societies, the members of the Tammany Society, and countless workingmen's organizations. The fact was impressed strongly on all spectators, that the most attractive part of the parade was that contributed by our adopted citizens. The German was the most significant division of the day's show. The introduction, not into America, but into the civilized world, of the art of printing, the cultivation of the art of music, and the spread of its humanizing influences through the medium of societies of singers; floriculture, with its gentle ministrations; the growth of the vine and the manufacture of wine, with its corollaries of geniality and good friendship; the pretty and poetical myths of childhood, he whose name we have translated into St. Nicholas and all his merry train of fays, fairies, gnomes, and spirits that populate the meads and woods and brooks of the German Fatherland, and transported hither, have helped to quicken the fancy and warm the emotions of American children—all these things, and many more, were called to the attention of the myriad of careless sight-seers by the tableaux that beautified the German division in the parade. But besides the tableaux of the Germans and the Labor Unions, there were many other elaborate and historical displays. Such were "The Landing from the Mayflower," "The Arrival of William Penn," "The Swedes on the Delaware," "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "Valley Forge in 1778," and "Washington Taking Leave of his Officers." All these tableaux, historical as well as mythical, formed a succes-

sion of pictures full of color, variety, and picturesqueness. In the evening the President returned to Washington. The procession dispersed, but still crowds of sight-seers filled the streets and carried off strips of bunting, flags, and decorations of all sorts as relics of the eventful day. And so ended the celebration. The conduct of the countless spectators was a more remarkable display of the American character than either the naval, military, or industrial parades. Crowded as were the streets from early morn, great as was the influx of strangers, manifold as were the temptations, no more orderly, patient, or good-humored throng ever was assembled. Drunkenness was unknown, and there was no pilfering, pocket-picking, or disturbance. There was, here and there, inevitable pressure, and occasionally confusion, but the good sense, the self-restraint, the civic virtue of the citizens, kept order more effectually and more surely than whole squads of police could have done.

What did this outpouring of the people, this universal display of loyalty, this general rejoicing, mean? It meant that the American people were celebrating the coming-of-age of the nation. It meant that the Federation was no longer an experiment, watched by European statesmen with curious, if not hostile eyes, but a great fact in the world's history. The United States had passed successfully through wars with foreign nations; had conquered, by the arms of peace, by industry, frugality, and enterprise, the noblest empire the world had seen; from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people, by their own efforts, had made the desert blossom like the rose, had built up great industries and reared cities to vie with the greatest of those of the Old World in all that constitutes civilization and freedom, and now, one hundred years after the first President took his exalted office, the United States proudly assumed and took its rightful place as one of the great nations of the world. Henceforth, in a sense stronger than ever before, America is for the Americans. Well did Washington foresee the future when, in his inaugural address, he said:

"The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of a free Government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less

persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

The experiment is one no longer; the American Republic, to use a trivial but expressive phrase, has "come to stay."

"If it were possible," wrote the New York *Tribune*, "to contrast the industries of 1789, when the world had lived and learned at least fifty-eight centuries, with those of 1889, when only one century more has been added, what a startling contrast!

"It is not possible. A new world has been created. The methods, tools, products, and arts of a century ago in many departments have vanished as completely as if they belonged to another planet. What has become of the spinning-wheel or the wooden clock? The suit of woolen cloth worn by President Washington at his address to Congress in 1789, was presented by a woolen factory only established in the preceding year, and cloth then cost five dollars a yard; the people were clothed in the homespun made in every family. The power loom for knit goods was not invented until 1830. In 1789 two citizens of Norwich asked exemption from poll-tax for themselves and their apprentices because they had set up eight stocking frames, which required two men for each. A century ago wool-carding had been done by hand, but Whittemore invented machinery to make cards. The first carpet factory in the country was established a little later. A century ago the cotton-gin had not been invented, the spinning-jenny was yet an experiment, and the first shipment of cotton to England, only eight bags, was made in 1784. Now the country has raised more than seven million bales of cotton in a year, and worked up more than one thousand million pounds of cotton and four hundred million pounds of wool.

"A century ago only charcoal iron was produced, and not as much of that, probably, as thirty thousand tons yearly; for, twenty years later, the product was but fifty-three thousand tons. Even Great Britain in 1788 produced only sixty-eight thousand three hundred tons—not as much as any one of several furnaces in this country now turns out yearly. The manufacture of steel was just beginning here; twenty years later only nine hundred and seventeen tons were produced in the country. The coarsest pig-iron then cost about as much as steel rails do now. A single railroad now buys yearly more iron than both Great Britain and this country then made, but there were neither railroads then, nor iron bridges, nor buildings; no

petroleum pipes, for there was no petroleum; no gas-pipes, for there was no gas-lighting even in Europe until later. Washington lived in an age of darkness; instead of the electric light, the millions had candles costing about two cents apiece. In all the departments and applications of chemistry the century has simply created a new world. American pressed glass, which has completely revolutionized the supply of table and house ware, is an invention of the last sixty years. The silk manufacture has not existed in this country half a century; the paper made a hundred years ago would hardly be thought fit for use since modern methods have been invented; the only use discovered for India-rubber then was to erase pencil-marks; and while the town of Lynn made one hundred thousand pairs of boots and shoes in 1788, they were not the shoes of to-day, and the manufacture by machinery is wholly due to inventions since 1800. Sewing machines for any purpose were unknown, and salt was made by boiling sea-water, though in 1787 it was first made from the springs near Syracuse at the rate of about ten bushels per day, and the cost soon fell to fifty cents per bushel.

"Farming in Washington's day knew nothing of machinery; even the first iron plough, patented in 1797, was a failure, for New Jersey farmers thought it poisoned the soil. Mowers, reapers, and harvesters began to be invented about the same time, and even the ordinary implements were such as it would not now be thought possible to use. The steamboat was practically unknown, and the railroad entirely until forty years later, and the cost of transportation by wagon confined the area of possible production with profit, as to most crops, to the margin of navigable waters. The whole Nation could not produce in Washington's day as much wheat as single Territories not yet States now export each year, and when the accounts of a century ago tell of 'vast quantities' exported, they really mean less in a year than the country has since moved in a single week.

"Volumes could be filled, and yet but a small part of the change in industry within the century could be mentioned. But the revolution in the condition of the laboring population has been the crowning result of all this progress. Of wages, it is enough to say that masons a century ago earned 67 cents per day in Massachusetts, carpenters 52 cents, blacksmiths 70 cents, and ordinary labor, 30 cents. Food near the farms was cheap, but pork is quoted in Massachusetts at 16 cents per pound, flour at $8.16 per barrel, corn at 76 cents per bushel, and ham at 20 cents per pound. Calico cost 58 cents per yard, broadcloth $2.70, buckram 22 cents, cotton cloth 88 cents, and tow-cloth 30 cents; hose cost $1.35 per pair, and 'corded Nankeen breeches' $5.50; buttons from 1 to 5 shillings per dozen, shoes of lasting 84 cents per pair, and sugar from 15 to 22 cents per pound. One does not

need to study such figures as these very long to discover that the world and the living of to-day were simply impossible for the working people of a century ago. The whole world has changed, but nowhere has the marvellous advance been greater than in these United States."

But as if to remind us that there are greater powers than those of man, and agencies against which all his skill, industry, and courage are impotent, the month that opened with such a jubilant celebration, and such a display of human achievements, ended in an appalling catastrophe. For some days heavy rains had been falling in the region of the Allegheny Mountains and swollen every stream. On the Conemaugh River, between Altoona and Pittsburgh, stood the town of Johnstown, the most populous in the county of Cambria, and the seat of extensive iron works, around which the 28,000 inhabitants dwelt. It had its rolling mills, steel works, and wire works; it had a freight station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which corporation had also repairing shops in the town. It had churches of all denominations, daily and weekly newspapers, street cars, gas and electric lights, and was in every respect a thriving community. It lay, however, right under three hills several hundred feet high, from which the streams descended that formed Conemaugh Creek and River, and filled nearly the whole space between the two bluffs that formed the valley. Back in the hills at the head of Conemaugh Creek, three hundred feet higher than the town, was a huge dam that had originally been constructed for the old Pennsylvania Canal. When the canal was abandoned the lake and the dam became the property of a fishing club, and this society increased the size of the dam till it was over a hundred feet high, and held back a lake three miles in length and a mile and a quarter in width. Alarm about the stability of the dam had often been expressed; but, as no accident had happened, men thought little of the danger, or, at all events, thought that if it did break, it would only flood the lower parts of the town. The rains in the last week of May had been continuous and heavy, and on the 31st of the month, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the huge mound gave way, and the pent-up waters were precipitated on the doomed town.

Examination showed that the repairs and the heightening of the dam by the fishing club had been imperfectly done, and that adequate sluice-ways had not been provided. In addition to these defects of original construction, the top of the dam had sunk in the centre. The danger was seen by John G. Parke, Jr., a civil engineer engaged on the grounds of the club, and he succeeded in warning the inhabitants of South Fork. He stated: "By half-past eleven I had made up my mind that it was impossible to save the dam, and getting on my horse, I galloped down the road to South Fork to

warn the people of their danger. The telegraph tower is a mile from the town, and I sent two men there to have messages sent to Johnstown and other points below. I heard that the lady operator fainted when she had sent off the news, and had to be carried off. The people at South Fork had ample time to get to the high grounds, and they were able to move their furniture, too. In fact, only one person was drowned at South Fork, and he while attempting to fish something from the flood as it rolled by. It was just twelve o'clock when the telegraph messages were sent out, sc that the people of Johnstown had over three hours' warning."

It was the lowering of the centre of the mound that immediately led to the disaster. The waters overflowed at that point, and their rush down the outer side of the embankment washed away rapidly the rip-rap and loose earth, cutting a deep channel right into the dam, till it could no longer contain the mass of waters behind it. An eye-witness who escaped from a train at Conemaugh and gained higher ground, thus writes of the force of the flood as it came thundering and foaming down: "The roundhouse of the Pennsylvania Railroad had stalls for twenty-three locomotives. There were eighteen or twenty of these standing there at this time. There was an ominous crash, and the roundhouse and locomotives disappeared. Everything in the main track of the flood was first lifted in the air and then swallowed up by the waters. A hundred houses were swept away in a few minutes. These included the hotel, stores and saloons on the front street, and residences adjacent."

Another man, who stood on the bluff below Johnstown and saw the first wave of the flood come down the valley, tried to describe it. "I looked up," he said, "and saw something that looked like a wall of houses and trees up the valley. The next moment Johnstown seemed coming toward me. It was lifted right up, and in a minute was smashing against the bridge, and the houses were flying in splinters across the top and into the water beyond." The wall of water had a front forty feet high and an eighth of a mile wide, and came on with the force of thirty Niagaras. In a few moments all was desolation, death, and agony in Johnstown. The only outlet for the torrent was over or under the railroad bridge, in part a solid stone structure, and up against it the houses, borne down in the torrent, were heaped in wild confusion. Above it for the space of sixty acres extended the pile of *débris* which, to add new horrors to the flood, soon took fire, and burned with a heavy, sickly odor, for numerous corpses were there imbedded. In this mass of ruin were the timbers of four square miles of houses, twenty-seven locomotives, Pullman cars and freight cars, fragments of the iron work of bridges, and no one knows how many dead. Strangely, the first reports from the disaster under-

estimated the loss. It was said that two hundred had perished; then that two thousand; then, when the whole extent of the calamity was seen, it was stated that ten thousand to fifteen thousand lives had been lost. What befell Johnstown befell other villages in the valley; for fifteen miles all was swept away. The greatest loss of life was that of women and children, for in many cases they were incapable, through fear, of availing themselves of

SCENE IN THE JOHNSTOWN DISASTER.

means of escape, which involved letting go of the *débris* in which they were whirled along. By half-past five—that is, within two hours and a half from the bursting of the dam—the force of the flood was spent. Many heroic deeds were done, but none perhaps more worthy of record than that of Mrs. Ogle, a widow, who, with her daughter, managed the Western Union Telegraph Company's office. In spite of repeated notifications to get out of the reach of danger, she stood by her instrument with unflinching loyalty, sending warnings to points in the valley below. When every station in the path of the torrent had received its warning, she sent the words: "This is my

last message." It was so, for she and her daughter both perished. Appeals for help were sent out in all quarters, for merely local generosity was entirely unequal to the task of housing, feeding, clothing, and tending so many homeless, starving, half-naked outcasts, much less to undertake the necessary task of removing the *débris* and burying the dead. The Governor of the State, James A. Beaver, simply told the tale in a few words: "The Valley of the Conemaugh, which is peculiar, has been swept from one end to the other as with the besom of destruction. It contained a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand people, living for the most part along the banks of a small river, confined within narrow limits. The most conservative estimates place the loss of life at five thousand human beings, and of property at twenty-five million dollars.

"Whole towns have been utterly destroyed; not a vestige remains. In the more substantial towns the better buildings, to a certain extent, remain, but in a damaged condition. Those who are least able to bear it have suffered the loss of everything," and he added that there had been no exaggeration in the newspaper reports as to the loss of life and property. He sent to the spot the Adjutant-General of the State, and placed the district under martial law, for all traces of self-government had ceased. The whole country nobly responded; the State of Pennsylvania advanced one million of dollars, New York gave nearly three-quarters of a million, and other cities in proportion. Relief trains, with goods and provisions, poured in as soon as the railroad tracks were passable, but the greatest difficulty was still to clear away the ruins, bury the dead, and prevent the outbreak of disease. As far as can be estimated, the total loss of life was about eight thousand or less. It can never be accurately known, as many unknown corpses were buried where they were hurled ashore, miles below the homes that knew them.

On the west branch of the Susquehanna the floods inflicted great loss. At Lewistown the water was four feet higher than ever known; at Williamsport and Lock Haven both booms were swept away, and nine-tenths of the sawed lumber was lost; at Milton the water was five feet high in the streets. In all directions bridges were carried down and the railroads rendered impassable. The Potomac rose till it spread from the highlands of Maryland to the highlands of Virginia, and the bridge at Harper's Ferry was only saved by the desperate expedient of loading it down with every locomotive that could be procured. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal received damage that it would take a million of dollars to repair. In Washington itself it was feared that the foundations of the Washington Monument were injured, and the Long Bridge was badly torn and strained; in fact, the whole country iri-

gated by the rivers from the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies was flooded, and days elapsed before railroad communication could be restored, owing to the destruction of bridges and the washing out of the road-bed. Every town was temporarily isolated, for in most cases the telegraph had ceased to work or was sadly crippled. In New York State less damage was done, but still the loss inflicted on Elmira reached nearly half a million; from Hornellsville to Corning the country was almost all under water; at Olean houses and bridges were swept away.

The flood fell nearly as fast as it rose, but its traces will long remain in homes left desolate and fertile fields made barren.

While water was thus laying waste exterior districts in the East, fire almost blotted out one of the most rising towns on the Northwestern seaboard. Seattle, in Washington Territory, was the centre of trade for the rich country lying on Puget Sound, and had developed considerable coastwise and foreign commerce. The business district embraced within its limits banks, professional and business offices, wholesale and retail stores, newspaper and printing establishments, docks and warehouses, and a small but crowded manfacturing quarter, and the tenements, in which some three thousand Chinese and Italians dwelt. On Monday, June 6th, a fire broke out, and in six hours this whole site of the active life of the town ceased to exist; even the piles and docks on the tidal-flats were consumed. No lives were lost, but the damage was estimated at fifteen million dollars—a sum which, estimating the population at twenty thousand, is higher in proportion than the loss in the Chicago fire. But if all the business machinery of Seattle was destroyed, the motive power remained. At nine o'clock the next morning the banks opened wherever they could find a room. At noon a mass meeting was held, at which the leading citizens resolved to rebuild their town in brick, to lay out wider streets and straighter thoroughfares, allowing therein no wooden buildings. Within twenty-four hours the heaviest losers were blasting down ruins, removing *débris*, and contracting for new buildings.

CHAPTER CXLV.

The Fifty-First Congress—Speaker Reed and the House Rules—The McKinley Bill Passed—The Reciprocity Clause—The Pan-American Congress—Treaties for Reciprocity—The Behring Sea Question—The Case of the "W. P. Sayward" Brought before the Supreme Court—Decision of the Court—Treaty with Great Britain for an International Court of Arbitration—The Republic of Chili—Victory of the Chilian Congressional Party over Balmaceda—Bad Feeling toward the United States—Outrage on the Sailors of the "Baltimore"—Apology and Indemnity Demanded and Granted—An Indian Outbreak—The "Ghost Dances"—Death of Sitting Bull—Surrender of the Hostile Indians—Their Grievances—Congressional Neglect—The Pension Bill—International Copyright—The Census of 1890—New States—Deaths—The New Orleans Lynching—The Mafia—Recall of the Italian Minister—Diplomatic Correspondence with Italy—The Question of Immigration—Meeting of the Fifty-Second Congress—Democratic Majority in the House—The People's Party—The World's Columbian Exposition.

THE Fifty-first Congress met December 2, 1889, with a Republican majority in both Houses, and as the whole Presidential campaign had turned on the question of tariff, and as Mr. Harrison entered the White House as the triumphant candidate of the party which advocated protection of native industries, the first important measure which was brought before the House of Representatives for discussion was the Tariff Act, commonly known as the McKinley Bill. Before it was introduced, however, some time was spent in debating the rules by which the proceedings of the House were to be governed. Although the Republican party had a majority in each branch of the Legislature, yet it was in both cases so slight —only two in the Senate and only eight in the House—that attempts were made by the Democrats to block the course of legislation by refusing to vote, under the idea that by such abstention from voting it would be impossible to have a quorum. As the Republicans had 169 members in the House, and as 166 constituted a quorum, if all the adherents of that party were present on any occasion, the House would be in a condition to transact business. If, however, the Republican members fell short of that figure, and there were not sufficient members of the opposing party present, then by the rules of parliamentary law, no business could be done. The Democratic members contended that according to the laws of the House, to constitute a quorum members must not only be personally present within the walls of the House, but must answer to their names and vote "Yes" or "No." Acting on this

principle, when a contested election case from West Virginia came up for consideration, on January 29th, 33 members out of 195 then present in their seats refused to answer to the roll-call and vote, and claimed that there was no quorum. Mr. Reed, who had been elected Speaker, thereupon directed the Clerk of the House to enter on the journal the names of the thirty-three recusants, and this being done, announced that a quorum was present within the meaning of the Constitution. Similar rulings were made by him in like cases, and finally the following provision was inserted in the House Code of Rules of Procedure: "On the motion of any member, or at the suggestion of the Speaker, the names of members sufficient to make a quorum in the hall of the House who do not vote, shall be noted by the Clerk and recorded in the journal, and reported to the Speaker, with the names of the members voting, and be counted and announced in determining the presence of a quorum to do business."

The McKinley Bill—to give it the title by which it is best known—is called a bill "to reduce the revenue, and equalize duties on imports." It was reported from the committee to the House by Mr. McKinley on April 16th, and after debate, amendment, and renewed debate, was reported to the House on May 21st, and thence to the Senate on June 18th, where it was agreed to on September 30th, and received the approval of the President on October 1st. The bill is a lengthy one, and it is impossible to give even an abstract of it. The duty on wool, and, therefore, on woolen goods, was raised; sugar was placed on the free list, and a bounty granted to all sugar grown within the United States; the duties on steel rails, bar iron, etc., in the metal schedule, were reduced, and the duty on tin plate raised; the general result being, in the opinion of Senator Sherman, that nearly as many goods would be imported free of duty under the new law as the whole dutiable articles imported. In fact, according to the estimates of the Treasury Department, fifty per cent. of the importations would be entirely free of duty. The chief speakers on the introduction of the measure were the member whose name it bears, and the proposer of the defeated bill in the previous Congress.

In opening the debate Mr. McKinley said: "If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy as promulgated in the Republican platform should be secured in any fixed legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in the great contest and upon that overmastering issue. The bill does not amend or modify any part of the internal revenue taxes applicable to spirits or fermented liquors. It abolishes all the special taxes and licenses, so called, imposed upon the manufacture of tobacco, cigars, and snuff, and reduces the tax on manufactured tobacco. From this source we reduce taxation over ten millions of dollars." In reply to the statement that the operation of the bill would not diminish the revenues of

the Government, he stated, "Every member of the House knows that the moment that you have increased the duties to a fair protective point, that very instant you diminish importations, and to that extent diminish the revenue." In opposition to the bill, Mr. Mills, of Texas, said: "The Democratic party maintains that taxes should be imposed on such articles, and at such rates as will bring the required revenue for an honest and economical administration of the Government, with the least possible restrictions upon importations, the least possible limitations upon exportations, and the least possible interference with the private business of the people. The avowed object of the bill is to check importation. To check importation is to check exportation. The great body of the people are laboring in order to obtain profit for their toil, and when they transfer something to another it is for something received from that other in return," and hence he argued, "this and all similar enactments, by preventing the farmer from exporting his products, will only depress still more our agricultural interests."

As passed by the House, the bill was especially unfavorable to the scheme for reciprocity entertained by the State Department, and the President in consequence sent a message covering a letter from the Secretary of State, in which the suggestion was made that the bill be amended so as to authorize the President "to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever such nation shall admit to its ports free of all taxes" our breadstuffs, machinery, petroleum, etc. As the bill was amended, the clause thus suggested (§ 3) empowers the President, when he is satisfied that the government of any country imposes duties on the products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of its products, he deems unequal, he may suspend the provisions of the act relating to the free introduction of the products of the said foreign country. In other words, the amendment gave the President power to enforce concessions from other countries in all cases where he deemed it necessary, by refusing them the enjoyment of reduced duties. In this point of view, the bill as amended may be justly regarded as a step toward an American customs union, which will embrace finally all countries on the American continent.

In his first annual message President Harrison wrote, "It is a matter of high significance and no less congratulation that the first year of the second century of our constitutional existence finds, as honored guests within our borders, the representatives of all the independent States of North and South America, met together in earnest conference touching the best methods of perpetuating and expanding the relations of mutual interest and friendliness existing among them," and he called the attention of Congress to the necessity of removing barriers to intercourse between the nations of America;

not only would the commercial results, he believed, be great, but peace be maintained and all contentions settled by means that a Christian civilization can approve.

Mr. Blaine, it will be remembered, cherished the design, when he held office under President Garfield, of forming a commercial union between all American States, and when he was again in the high position of Secretary of State, he proceeded to give effect to his views. In response to a joint resolution of the United States Congress, a congress of representatives of all American nations met on October 2d, at Washington, with Mr. Blaine and the President, and the following day the delegates began a series of excursions extending over the whole country. This congress considered the questions of international communication by ship and rail, a customs union or equitable tariff arrangement, a continental system of weights and measures, and coinage, and an international court of arbitration. Among the suggestions made was one for an international railroad to run from Cartagena, in Colombia, up the valley of the river Magdalena, and along the eastern slope of the Andes as far as Cusco in Peru, where it would connect with the existing South American systems; another contemplated a system of subsidies for lines of steamers in the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea, and from San Francisco to Valparaiso. At a second meeting of the congress in December, a recommendation was made for the appointment of a commission of engineers to survey the route of the proposed railroad, which should be forever neutral territory. The question of international coinage was referred to an International Monetary Conference which assembled at Washington, on January 7, 1891, and held its first business meeting in February, when committees were appointed, but the sessions closed on April 3d without any definite practical results, as the establishment of a fixed ratio between gold and silver, and the question of a monetary unit, were beset with such practical difficulties that the solution seemed impossible under then existing circumstances. The amount of coined silver in the Latin States of America is small as compared with that in the United States, and there is little uniformity in denomination, weight, or pureness, while none of the coins agree with our standard silver dollar.

Pursuant, it is said, to the recommendation of the Conference, there was drawn up a scheme by some enthusiasts, for a Pan-Republican Congress, to consist of two bodies, one nominated by the Presidents of the various Republics, the other composed of delegates from civil, commercial, and industrial organizations; these two houses to bear to each other the relation of our Senate and House of Representatives. The object of the congress is described as being the promotion of the interests of free institutions in all nations. A general committee of 200 was named, and at its second meeting on April 10th

the scheme of organization was presented by Champion L. Chase, and unanimously approved, and the committee itself was incorporated as the Human Freedom League, its special object being to bring about a meeting of the congress in 1893, with subsequent congresses at intervals of five years to be held in Paris, Rio de Janeiro, and Berne. It is to be regretted that the Pan-American Congress should have lent the weight of its name and influence to any scheme which is so impracticable and dangerous, and only calculated to embarrass the work of harmonizing the various States of America. The scheme of a great League of Human Freedom may be grand and noble in conception, but it is, to say the least, premature. The "Brotherhood of Man, the Federation of the World" must, like all things, grow, and the task which lies nearest to our statesmen is to spread the influence of our free institutions in nations that lie nearest to us, and with which we are geographically connected.

Meanwhile Mr. Blaine was actively engaged in negotiating treaties under the Reciprocity clause of the McKinley Bill, and satisfactory arrangements were made with Brazil, which became a republic on the deposition of Dom Pedro,—and with Spain respecting the commerce with her West Indian possessions. At the same time more satisfactory terms respecting the importation of American products into France, Germany, and other States of Europe have been successfully made by our diplomatic representatives abroad.

The negotiations with Great Britain respecting the seal fishery in Behring Sea, were continued by Mr. Blaine and the English government, a great part of the correspondence being devoted to examination of the question whether the term Pacific Ocean included Behring Sea at the time of the sale of Alaska to the United States by Russia. Mr. Blaine invited the British minister to make an offer of arbitration on the real points at issue, and this proposal was, with some trifling exceptions, accepted by Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England. While this diplomatic discussion was being carried on, a curious turn was given to popular discussion by the proceedings respecting seizure of the Canadian sealer, *W. P. Sayward*, in Behring Sea and its condemnation by the District Court of Alaska in 1887. In January, counsel instructed by the Canadian authorities, appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, and moved for leave to file a petition for a writ of prohibition against the condemnation of the said vessel. At first, this proceeding was viewed with distrust, and Senator Morgan introduced a resolution in Congress declaring that the British action was without precedent, prejudicial to the comity of nations, and not in consonance with the dignity of the Government and the People of the United States, and the respect due to the President of the United States. But these hasty views were soon modified, the charge of insulting inference was seen to be unfounded, as a decision of the court would be in no way an arbitration on subjects beyond its jurisdic-

tion. The court allowed the counsel for the British to file their petition, and the hearing, after being set down for the 13th of April, was postponed, owing to the illness of Justice Bradley, till October. Meanwhile diplomatic negotiations were continued without interruption, and on June 15th a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon by which Great Britain undertook to prohibit sealing by her subjects and vessels in Behring Sea till May, 1892, offending persons being liable to seizure by either of the contracting parties, and license being given to British agents to visit the islands to make such inquiries as may be necessary for the adequate presentation of the British case. On February 29, 1892, the decision of the Supreme Court was given; it held that the court had jurisdiction in the case, but refused to grant the writ of prohibition. It also declined to decide on the main question as to whether Behring Sea is a closed sea, as that was a political question merely, and would not fall within the province of the court to determine. The court also decided the case of the schooner *Sylvia Handy*, involving points nearly similar, in favor of the United States. Justice Field was the only member of the court dissenting.

On the same day a treaty relegating the whole of the Behring Sea question to an international commission of seven, was signed by Secretary Blaine and the British Minister, and ratified by the Senate in the following month.

The terms of the treaty may be briefly recapitulated by stating that they provide for the creation of an international commission to be composed of seven members. Two are to represent the United States, and two Great Britain—one of the latter being presumably a Canadian. The remaining three members are to be nominated by Sweden, Italy, and France. The sittings of the commission are to be held in Paris. There is no provision made in the treaty for a renewal of the *modus vivendi* of last year, but an agreement between the two powers in interest has been reached, by which pelagic fishing will be restrained. The British Government has refused to grant clearance papers to Canadian ships intending to visit the waters in dispute. The question of seal-fishing will be the province of the four experts. It is hoped that the court of arbitration will not only succeed in reconciling the conflicting views of the two parties immediately before it, but lay down a code of rules that will tend to protect many valuable industries, and conserve natural resources which have been hitherto regarded as outside of law.

Another subject which occupied the attention of the President and the Secretary of State was that of our relations with the republic of Chili. In 1890 a struggle commenced in that country between President Balmaceda and the Chilian Congress which ended in October of that year by the triumph of the latter. No sooner had this legislative body adjourned than Balmaceda broke faith, and on New-Year's day, 1891, issued a manifesto in which he declared that he would govern in despite of the resolutions of Congress, and accordingly de-

creed the budget which the representatives of the people had refused. On the 7th, the navy of the republic declared in favor of Congress, put to sea, and proceeded to blockade the ports on the coast from Iquique to Coquimbo. The vessels of the insurgent fleet bombarded several towns, and severe fighting took place between the troops that had remained loyal to the President, and the bands raised by the Congressional party. The latter, after several battles, became masters of the Northern Provinces, and made Iquique its headquarters. A difficulty in procuring arms and ammunition soon presented itself, and a merchant vessel, the *Itata*, was armed as a cruiser for Congress, and despatched to California for the much needed supplies. On her arrival at San Diego, she was at once seized by the United States Marshal under the provisions of the neutrality laws, but on May 6th she put to sea, with the American officer on board. Him she landed a few miles from that port, and then took on board a cargo of arms and ammunition. On the 9th of May the United States ship *Charleston* started in pursuit, and on her arrival at Iquique without having seen the *Itata*, was there informed that the Congressionalists, in order to avoid all complications with our Government, would surrender the vessel that had insulted our hospitality. She was at once surrendered to Admiral McCann and taken back to California. In August, the Congressional party determined to attack Balmaceda's stronghold, Valparaiso, and heavy fighting took place about ten miles north of the town, in which the President was worsted, being finally driven into the city and soon afterward died a Roman death by his own hand. It was to be expected that the Congressionalists should feel annoyed at the action of the United States in recovering the *Itata*, and the ill-will of the mob was increased by an unfounded suspicion that the landing of the Congressional forces near Valparaiso had been reported to the President by one of our naval vessels, and by the protection that our Minister, Mr. Egan, had extended to the friends of the late President by sheltering them in our Legation, and escorting some of them to neutral vessels in the harbor. This feeling of irritation against our Government and our Minister unfortunately manifested itself by an attack in the streets of Valparaiso on some sailors that had landed from the United States ship of war, the *Baltimore*, by a mob of citizens in which some armed police joined. A demand for an apology and indemnity for the victims was at once demanded by our Government, but the reply was slow in coming and its terms were not satisfactory. The course of diplomacy was not facilitated by the warlike tone assumed by the American press. To judge from the articles that appeared in journals of all shades of opinion, nothing ought to satisfy us but war. It seemed, indeed, as if the possession of the new, magnificent navy had inspired every one with a longing to try its efficiency on the first possible occasion. The Government seemed to feel the effect of these expressions of popular

sentiment and more ships were fitted out with feverish haste. Just in time, however, to prevent these sparks of hostility being fanned into a flame, the Chilians consented to the requirements of our Government, and the factitious war fever subsided. Reports were current that, as regards the course of action that was to be pursued, the President and his Secretary of State held conflicting views; that the former urged immediate action, the latter pleaded for consideration for a country that had just passed through a bloody civil war. Whether the reports of such divergence of opinion be baseless or not, cannot at present be known. At length, however, terms were accepted by Chili, which were acceptable to our Government, and the danger of hostility was obviated. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the nomination of Mr. Patrick Egan to such a responsible post as our Minister to a great and proud republic, we must remember that it was to Balmaceda that he was accredited, and that no power except Bolivia had granted to the insurgents the status of belligerents, and that his acts in protecting the leaders of the fallen party from popular vengeance were those of humanity. What is most to be regretted in this unfortunate complication is that the feelings of Chili toward our Government may not be soon abated, and that it will be no willing participant in Mr. Blaine's plan of a United America.

As usual it is melancholy to have to record another Indian outbreak. In May, 1890, reports came in that the Indians were in a state of great excitement caused by the promised coming of their Messiah, whose advent was openly preached by a leading medicine man of the Shoshones in September, and this Indian millennium was spoken of as the "Return of the Ghosts," as all the dead Indians were to return to life, and repeople the decimated tribes. Large herds of buffaloes and horses were to gallop in the Messiah's train. The Great Manitou had seen his children suffer long enough. When the grass grew again he would gather all faithful Indians around him, and roll back the earth upon the palefaces. Thirty feet of additional soil, well sodded and timbered, would the Messiah roll upon the earth, burying under it the white oppressors of the red men, all those who escaped from smothering being metamorphosed into buffaloes and catfish. Then would the "happy hunting ground" of the Indian's dream be realized. While waiting for their Messiah the Indians were to show their devotion by dancing continuously for five days and nights. These "Dances of Death," better known as the "Ghost Dances," began during the last week of October. Meantime half a dozen Messiahs appeared, the most widely accepted being the son of Wal-tit-a-win; although Co-we-go, at Mt. Grant, as well as Queetize-ow, a Piute, had each a strong following.

The craze of the "Return of the Ghosts" gained its most fervent believers among the Sioux Indians, and the wily chief, Sitting Bull, posed as its high-

priest and leading apostle. The treacherous old chief not only fomented the craze, but undoubtedly altered its character to fit his hatred of the whites. Instead of peacefully dancing, the young Sioux bucks arrayed themselves in war-paint, and stocked themselves with ammunition. Sitting Bull's influence alarmed the Government, and General Miles determined to end the "Ghost Dances." The dancers at Lower Brule, exhausted by their circling, were easily arrested; but other dancers were not to be so dealt with. The savages would not report at the Agencies, and declared that they would not peaceably lay down their arms. Soon some of them began burning and pillaging cabins near Wounded Knee. General Brooke quickly surrounded the trouble-makers, and a pow-wow was held at Pine Ridge, but resulted in nothing. The hostiles escaped into the Bad Lands. General Brooke surrounded their retreat with a cordon; but the Indians refused to return, and dared the whites to fight. Upon this General Miles ordered the arrest of Sitting Bull; and, at daylight on December 15th, Indian police under Bull Head and Shave Head, followed by United States cavalry, entered Sitting Bull's camp, 40 miles northwest of Fort Yates, N. D. He was just ready to start out for the scene of hostilities. His camp attempted a rescue, and in the skirmish which ensued the wily leader of the outlaw Sioux was killed. The remainder of Sitting Bull's band escaped, but toward the end of the year the Indians began hostilities, by attacking a provision train near the Rosebud Agency, and set fire to a mission school; the troops were sent to quell the disturbance, and a series of engagements took place which ended in the submission of the hostiles to General Miles on January 15th. At the first of these fights, at Wounded Knee, the loss of the troops had been heavy, and many Indian women and children had been killed, and a charge was preferred against Colonel Forsyth, of the Seventh Cavalry, as having caused these lamentable occurrences by a faulty disposition of his troops. Colonel Forsyth, however, was fully exonerated when an investigation had been made, and it was proved that orders had been repeatedly given not to shoot at squaws or children. A deputation of chiefs, in order to restore entire confidence, was sent to Washington, and one by one the chiefs related their grievances, we may say their wrongs. It was these wrongs that had driven the Indians into disaffection, and the "Messiah" and the ghost dances had been used merely to excite the men to the pitch of revolt. The latest grievance, the immediate cause of the outbreak, was the neglect of Congress to fulfill the treaty of 1889, by paying to the Sioux the price of the portions of their territory that they had surrendered, and by appropriating money for the payment of annuities, according to agreement. The crops had failed, rations had diminished, and Congress had, moreover, cut down their supplies. It is to such violations of national good faith and to the unsatisfactory character of many of the Indian

agents that all our troubles with the native possessors of the soil are to be attributed. It may be said that since 1851 till to-day, no single engagement entered into with the Indians has been kept to the letter. Many observers favor a restoration to the War Department of the control over the Indians, but this is by others regarded as inadvisable, as the experiment of ruling them by the army officers was abandoned as unsatisfactory by General Grant, after it had been tried for two years. The advance westward of white settlers and the rapid filling up of the country have entirely altered the conditions of Indian life, and require a radical modification of our system of management. The present plan has undoubtedly improved since the time of the old Indian Trading scandals, and the 64,000 red men in the five civilized tribes demonstrate that there is no inherent antipathy to civilization in their natures. The plan lately adopted, of enlisting young Indians in our cavalry, is said to promise well, and it is probable that a course of military training will teach the Indian the blessings of discipline, order, and obedience, while the establishment of schools and the diffusion of education will train up the rising generation to the blessings of civilization.

A bill which has a very important bearing on the finances and revenue of the country, was passed by Congress. This is the bill introduced by Mr. Quay, of Pennsylvania, in the Senate, "to increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are totally helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted during the war," which became law on March 4, 1890. Supplementary to this bill was another introduced into the Senate on March 31st, granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of labor and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents. This bill was approved of by the President, June 27th. The sum thus appropriated by this Congress under the head of pensions was over two hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, and the whole of the appropriations which had been passed by it was nine hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars. A bill for establishing International Copyright was at length passed, and this country now recognizes the rights of literary property in the productions of foreign authors. By this prohibition of reprints, our market will cease to be flooded by piratical reproductions, and our own authors, free from this unfair competition, will reap a fitting reward for their labors.

In 1890 the decennial census of the population was taken, and the returns showed that on June 1, 1890, exclusive of white persons in Indian Territory, Indians on reservations, and Alaska, was 62,622,250; including these persons, the population will probably reach, in round numbers, 63,000,000. In 1880 the population was 50,155,783. The absolute increase of the population in the ten years intervening was 12,466,467, and the percentage of increase was

24.86. In 1870 the population was stated as 38,558,371. According to these figures, the absolute increase in the decade between 1870 and 1880, was 11,-597,412; and the percentage of increase was 30.08. These figures show, on their face, that the population has increased, between 1880 and 1890, 869,055 more than between 1870 and 1880; while the rate of increase has apparently diminished from 30.08 to 24.86 per cent. Such a reduction in the rate of increase, in the face of the heavy immigration during the past ten years, would argue a diminution in the fecundity of the population, or a corresponding in crease in its death rate.

The centre of population of the United States for the year 1890 was in latitude 39 degrees, 11 minutes, 56 seconds; longitude, 85 degrees, 32 minutes, 53 seconds, at a point in Southern Indiana, a little west of south from Greensburg, the county-seat of Decatur County, 20 miles east of Columbus. The returns also showed that in the decade ending 1890, Federal indebtedness has decreased $567,975,077.61, and State indebtedness, $58,020,931.44. The net debt of the United States in 1880, was $1,922,517,324.51; in 1890, $923,376,119.36.

Idaho and Wyoming both knocked at the door of the States during the year 1890 and were admitted, President Harrison signing the Idaho bill July 3d, and the Wyoming bill July 10th.

Among the deaths of the year 1891 were those of William Windom, the Secretary of the Treasury; the Admiral of the Navy, David Dixon Porter, who shared with Farragut the highest naval honors; and William Tecumseh Sherman, who succeeded Grant as General of the army, and held that office till 1884. Literature has to mourn the loss of our great historian, George Bancroft; and, as in private duty bound, we record in these pages, which owe their inspiration and value to his talents and labors, the regretted decease of Benson John Lossing.

In the spring of 1891 the moral feeling of the country was profoundly shocked by a disgraceful violation of law by leading citizens of New Orleans. For many years past that city has been a favorite spot for immigrants from Italy. Many of these have acquired wealth by their thrift and industry, and are respectable members of the community; many, however, while accumulating a competence by their labors, have retained many of the evil customs of their native land. A large number of emigrants who have left the old Neapolitan provinces and Sicily, brought with them to our shores that redoutable secret organization named the "Mafia," which had for centuries flourished in evil luxuriance in that island, where its ramifications are still, in spite of the exertions of the Italian Government, dangerously widespread. In Sicily the Mafia has organized lawlessness, and is more feared than the law; its code of honor leads its members to seek no redress from the courts,

or even give evidence before them; it represents indeed a preference among the people for securing their persons and property rather by their own strength and influence than by the law and its officers. The active members are perhaps few in number, but the bulk of the society consists of those who accept the protection of the more daring spirits, and obey its behests. The Mafia levies blackmail in return for its protection, and dictates whom employers of labor must engage; it controls elections, defends its members from officers of justice, and extorts contributions from even the poorest. The Italian Government on the annexation of Naples set to work to stamp out this evil, but as yet without success, the chief result of its endeavors being to drive numbers of the Mafiosi abroad. Such it is believed are the majority of the Italians in New Orleans, ready at all times for deeds of vengeance, and prepared to baffle justice by all means at their command. Numerous murders and attempts at murder had taken place in the city and detection of the criminals seemed impossible, till an active and intrepid officer, the chief of the police, David C. Hennessy, gathered strong evidence against various members of the band. To the Mafia, inspired by its traditional principles, the removal of such a man was necessary, and he was brutally murdered on October 15th, falling dead from six serious wounds before the door of his own home. A number of Italians were at once arrested and identified as among the assassins, and nineteen were indicted. When the case came before the court a batch of nine were first arraigned, and the trial was continued for the space of twenty-five days. The evidence showed that a cabin near Hennessy's home had been taken by one of the prisoners, and that a boy had been placed in the street to give notice to the concealed assassins of the approach of their victim, and it was considered by the citizens that conclusive evidence had been given as to the identity of those who really fired on the chief of police. Under these circumstances the verdict of the jury excited general surprise and indignation. Six of the prisoners were acquitted, and a mistrial was entered in the case of the other three. On hearing this issue of the trial, a body of influential citizens met at night and called a mass meeting of the citizens for the morrow, adding to the call, as it was published in the morning papers, the words, "Come prepared for action." At 10 A.M. on the 14th thousands were assembled around the statue of Henry Clay on Canal Street, and addressed by prominent citizens, who told them the time to act was come. The prison door was broken open and sixty men were admitted, all armed; nine Italians, four of the acquitted men and five as yet untried, were shot down, and two others were hung outside the jail under circumstances of disgraceful barbarity.

The act of the mob cannot be justified by any one who respects law or order It may have been true that terror of the Mafia extorted the verdict, yet the

jury was legally impanelled from the citizens of New Orleans, and had given its verdict according to law. The usual arguments in defense of lynch law could not avail in this case, where some of the victims had undergone trial and been declared not guilty; the guilty party, if the citizens were justified in their suspicions, was the jury that had rendered an unjust verdict through fear. The outrage was at once reported to Washington, and Baron Fava, the Italian Minister, entered a vehement protest. Mr. Blaine, in a letter to Governor Nicholls, of Louisiana, expressed the deep regret of the United States Government at the deed, and called upon him to bring the offenders to prompt punishment. The governor replied that the case was under investigation by the grand jury. This, however, did not satisfy Baron Fava. Not understanding the relations between the State and Federal governments, he demanded from Mr. Blaine an assurance of punishment of the murderers and indemnity for the victims. As Mr. Blaine could give no such assurance under the Constitution, the Baron was recalled by the home Government. In a further correspondence between the two governments, the Italian Minister, Rudini, modified his demand for punishment into a demand for prompt institution of judicial proceedings. With regard to indemnity, Mr. Blaine replied that foreign residents in America must be content with the redress offered by the law to American citizens; that the United States did not insure the lives or property of Italian residents in America; and that it would only consider the question of compensation if the victims were subjects of King Humbert and law-abiding citizens, and that the police had failed to take any steps to preserve the peace. Meanwhile the New Orleans grand jury found no indictments against any citizen who took part in the tragedy of the prison, but did indict a detective named O'Malley and five others, for attempting to bribe jurymen,—an offense which it was soon discovered is not punishable under the bribery act. The controversy gradually cooled down, and the affair was settled without difficulty. The event has, however, called attention to a defect in our system under which a State can violate international obligations which the Federal Government is powerless to enforce, and which it will prevent a foreign power from enforcing by belligerent acts against the offending State. It seems probable that the United States courts may be empowered by Congress to deal with all cases involving international treaties.

The tragedy, too, deepened the attention with which the whole question of immigration is now regarded.

Up to about forty-five years ago, the population of the United States, if we except the Dutch in New York, and the French in Louisiana, was mainly, Anglo-Saxon. The famine in Ireland caused the first great inroad of people of an alien race. The great German influx followed; but the Germans are.

as a rule, industrious and law-abiding, becoming pretty thoroughly Americanized in the second generation. This is true also of the Scandinavians, who are so numerous in Minnesota and the adjoining States.

Of late years, however, immigrants from other countries, far more alien in their ways than either Irish, Germans, or Scandinavians, have poured into the United States, giving rise to the quite serious question of the cohesive forces of American nationality. Poles, Hungarians, Russian Jews, and Italians are found in great numbers. Many have brought with them a spirit of lawlessness and ferocity, which has been emphasized to such an extent that American statesmen have awakened to the serious conviction that the time has passed when this country may longer be made the receptacle for the worthless and depraved of every nation. Not only has the system of encouraging immigration by means of bureaus, agencies, and bounties, been abandoned; but, definite legislation has been enacted, with a view to check the objectionable tide. The character of the immigrants is not the only reason for this legislation. The free homestead area is practically exhausted; and the disappointment and distress which are liable to follow settlement when carried far beyond the limits of the rain-belt, are very apt to foster the spirit of unrest and lawlessness.

Laws dealing with this question were passed in 1875, 1882, 1885, 1887, and in 1888 when the office of "Superintendent of Immigration was established." This last law took effect on April 1st of that year and has been systematically enforced with beneficial results ever since.

On the assembling of the Fifty-second Congress, in December, 1891, a remarkable change in the relation of parties was disclosed. In the Senate the Republicans had 47 members, the Democrats 39, while two described as Independents were returned by the Farmers' Alliance. In the House the Republicans numbered only 88 votes, while the Democrats had 235, and the Farmers' Alliance 9 votes. The causes which led to this change in the constitution of the Legislature may be conjectured to be dissatisfaction with the McKinley bill and the Pension legislation, and the stand which President Harrison had taken in opposition to the free coinage of silver.

A new political party announced its intention to put a Presidential candidate in the field in 1892. This organization, which assumed the title of the People's Party, is the offspring of the Farmers' Alliance. It is the outcome of a movement which first culminated, shortly after the Civil War had ended, in the formation of the Patrons of Husbandry, or, as they were more commonly called, "The Grange," the object of which organization was the mutual protection of farmers against the encroachments of capital. The collapse of the Grange was due to a mistake it had made in not limiting its mem-

bership originally to those whose interests were agricultural. The first "Alliance" was formed in Texas, to oppose the wholesale buying up of the public lands by private individuals; and, although the scope of the organization soon became not merely local, but national in its importance, for about ten years the Alliance remained a Southern organization. In 1887, about ten years after the first local Alliance in Texas was formed, and five after the State Alliance, the "Farmers' Union" of Louisiana united with it, under the name of the "Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America." Branches were quickly established in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi. Later in the same year, the "Agricultural Wheel," a similar society operating in the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, was amalgamated with the Alliance, the new organization being called "The Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America."

The spirit of the movement had simultaneously been embodied in the "National Farmers' Alliance" of Illinois, which was started in 1877, and quickly extended into Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota. A minor organization, the "Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association," was started in 1887, in the southern part of Illinois. Finally, in 1889, at a meeting held in St. Louis, these different bodies were all practically formed into a union for political purposes, aiming at legislation in the interests of farmers and laborers; and the name of the "Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union" was chosen. In a meeting at Cincinnati in the spring of 1891, delegates from the Knights of Labor were present, and the name of "The People's Party of the United States of America" was adopted, and a platform adopted. In this declaration of its principles and objects, it demands the abolition of National Banks, and the issue of legal tender Treasury notes, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the prohibition of alien ownership of land, that taxation shall not be used to build up one class at the expense of another, that revenue be limited to necessary expenses of the Government, a rigid national control of the railroads, that sub-treasuries be established to lend money at two per cent. upon non-perishable products and real estate, and the election of the President and Vice-President by a direct vote of the people.

The time of the Fifty-second Congress was, as is too often the case in years when a Presidential election takes place, spent less in actual legislation than in seeking to define the position of parties toward the great issues before the country. In March Mr. Bland, of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Coinage, and originator of the Silver Coinage Act of 1878, reported to the House of Representatives a bill for free coinage of silver, and an animated debate took place, showing that Republicans as well as Democrats were divided on this important monetary question. At the same period a

bill was introduced by Mr. Springer, of Illinois, to abolish the duty on wool imposed by the McKinley tariff. The debate lasted for nearly six weeks, and took the form of a discussion of the merits of protection and tariff reform respectively. It was passed by a decisive majority of 194 to 60 votes, and thus afforded a fair test of the opinion of the House of Representatives on the revision of the tariff. Both debates, however, revealed dissensions within the opposing parties; as an important section of the Republicans favored free silver, and an equally important part of the Democrats favored a tariff for protection.

Meanwhile the labor party was gaining a considerable amount of sympathy from the disastrous events that took place at the great iron works at Homestead, Pennsylvania. These mills, situated on the Monongahela River, a few miles from Pittsburg, are the property of the Carnegie Steel Company, and in June the managers announced to their workmen a reduction of wages, not because the works could not be carried on with profit unless a reduction was made, but because "improvements in the plant enabled the men to make a greater output with the same amount of labor." In other words, wages were to be reduced, not because the company was losing money, but because the men were making too much. The men, backed by the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers, refused to accept the new scale of remuneration, and on July 1 the whole of the hands who adhered to the union were locked out. The company resolved to continue operations with non-union men, and to employ armed men to protect their works, if necessary. Two hundred and fifty men, under the employment of the notorious Pinkerton Agency, of Chicago, were ordered to Homestead, and an attempt was made to land them by the river during the night of July 6. The boats conveying the armed guards were met at the works by a mob of thousands of workmen who forbade their disembarkation. A parley ensued, and during the parley a shot was fired—it is not known from which side—then firing became general, and was kept up in a desultory manner during the day. At five in the afternoon the Pinkerton men surrendered under a guarantee of safe-conduct, but the leaders of the workers were unable to protect them from the fury of the men and women who had assembled. Fully one hundred of them were seriously injured as they were being taken to jail, while in the previous fighting eleven workmen and six Pinkerton men had been killed, and eighteen workmen and twenty-one guards wounded. On July 12 the town was occupied by all the military forces of the State. The trouble at Homestead was speedily followed by disorder in the mining regions of Idaho, where the union men had been locked out on April 1, and here so threatening were the miners that the President had to dispatch a body of United States troops to the scene. In Buf-

falo a serious strike of switchmen took place in August, and the National Guard of various cities, to the number of 8,000 men, were hurried to the spot. In Tennessee, there was a revolt against the system of employing convicts in the mines, and again military forces had been employed to preserve the peace. To these and other disturbances arising from the relations of employers and employed, may be attributed, to a great extent, the political revolution of November.

On the 7th of June, 1892, the National Republican Convention assembled at Minneapolis. There had been long a growing dissatisfaction with President Harrison on the part of some leading politicians, and when, on June 4, Mr. James G. Blaine resigned his office as Secretary of State, he was at once made a strong candidate for the nomination. On the final ballot, however, Mr. Harrison was nominated by 535, while Mr. Blaine and Mr. McKinley had only 182 votes each. The platform of the party embodied resolutions in favor of protection, reciprocity, bimetalism, and "a free and unrestricted ballot." The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago on June 21, and in its ranks too dissension was revealed; but in spite of the efforts of the whole delegation from New York State, Grover Cleveland was nominated by 617 votes on the first ballot. The platform denounced the policy of protection as unconstitutional, the enactment of any Force Bill, and the system of reciprocity, and declared that "the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic value." Two other tickets were put into the field, that of the Prohibitionists, who nominated as their candidate General J. Bidwell, and that of the People's Party, whose standard-bearer was General J. B. Weaver, of Iowa. The campaign was truly one of education, the results of the McKinley Bill being used by both parties in confirmation of their arguments. The final vote in November was a surprise to all; even the warmest partisans of Grover Cleveland, who had always believed that he would be elected, never hoped for such a triumph at the polls. Of the whole 444 electors chosen, no fewer than 277 were on the Cleveland ticket, against 145 for Harrison, and 22 for Weaver. A striking sign of the revolution in public sentiment was given by Illinois, which was carried for Cleveland by 27,000 majority, popular vote.

Early in September renewed attention was drawn to our immigration laws by the arrival of several steamers from ports in Europe where cholera had been raging, and when it became known that numerous deaths from cholera had taken place during the voyage, a widespread feeling of apprehension was the result. The President issued a proclamation ordering that no vessel be admitted to any port until it had undergone a quarantine of twenty days. Camps of refuge were instituted at Sandy Hook and on Fire Island, and a cholera hospital was established on Swinburne Island. In spite of

all these precautions the disease found its way into the city, but was kept under control. The measures adopted to prevent the introduction of this epidemic involved the exclusion from this country of 200,000 immigrants, and has vividly impressed on citizens and municipal authorities the importance of attention to the laws of health.

One of the most imposing functions which President Harrison was called upon to discharge was the opening of the Columbian World's Fair Exposition at Chicago, on October 21, 1892. As the four hundreth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus was approaching, a unanimous desire was expressed to celebrate the event in a fitting manner, and as the United States held the first position among American nations, it was justly held to be our duty to mark the epoch-making day when the great Genoese sailor first landed on any part of the Western hemisphere, by appropriate ceremonies. It was felt, too, that the ordinary style of festive commemoration, military processions, reviews of fleets, addresses by orators, and banner-decked cities, would not do full justice to the event. The United States can present a nobler spectacle than military array or civic pomp, in our works of industry, in displaying to the whole world in a tangible, visible form, what we have achieved during the four hundred years that have elapsed since the *Santa Maria* disembarked her crew. In those four centuries the uncultivated wilderness, traversed only by wandering tribes, has become the granary of the world. In a land where the rude Indian bow and flint arrow-head, or the roughly hollowed-out canoe were the highest products of human workmanship, and where a few hundred thousand untutored savages roved from river to river, or lake to lake through pathless forests, we have a population of nearly sixty-three millions of citizens, educated, orderly, and happy, in peaceful communities; we have cities that vie in wealth and all the resources of civilization with the most famous of the old world; we have fleets, the like of which Columbus could not have imagined, and treasures of the field, the mine, and every branch of industry such as no previous age can show. As the centenary of the birth of the United States was appropriately taken advantage of to display our progress during our independent life as a nation, so this fourth centenary of the revelation of the continent was a fitting occasion for a still more important display of our resources. Some natural competition arose as to which of our great cities should be the site of the proposed fair; but finally Chicago, from its central position, was selected, and on Dec. 24, 1890, the President issued his proclamation inviting all nations to co-operate in making it a success. Chicago raised $10,000,000, the Federal Government contributed $1,500,000, and different States appropriated nearly $5,000,000. A committee of Congress visited Chicago early in 1892, and in its report stated that "in its scope and magnificence this Exposition stands alone.

There is nothing like it in all history." On the shores of Lake Michigan there arose a White City, unparalleled for picturesqueness of effect and beauty of design, where in addition to the general halls for the display of industry, art, and manufactures of home and foreign productions, each State, as well as the Federal Government, had its own State building. The real day of the discovery, October 12 — according to the old style; October 21, according to the new style of calendar — was duly observed here and in Europe. In Spain, the harbor of Palos celebrated the day with a naval display in the harbor whence Columbus sailed, and three caravels, after models of the period, were launched on its waters. In New York on the earlier date civic and military parades, and a naval review, gave three days of holiday. At Chicago the greatest display of the regular troops of the United States ever assembled since the war, defiled before Vice-President Morton, on the 21st, and in the presence of no less than 150,000 people the great Exposition was formally dedicated. The absence of President Harrison from this inaugural ceremony was caused by domestic affliction. His wife had been for months before in failing health, and he could not leave her bedside. On October 23 it was known that the end was approaching, and in the afternoon of that day she died, and on the 27th was laid to rest in the cemetery of Indianapolis.

The early weeks of the year were occupied by the President-elect in forming his Cabinet, and, by an innovation on previous custom, Mr. Cleveland announced the names of the secretaries as soon as each had accepted the post tendered to him. Mr. Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, who was Mr. Cleveland's private secretary during his previous administration, was nominated Secretary of War; Mr. John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, who had been for years the partner of Mr. Cleveland at Buffalo, Postmaster-General; J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Hoke Smith, of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; and Mr. Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, Secretary of State. The latter appointment created some surprise, as Judge Gresham had been a prominent Republican leader, and one of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination at the Chicago Convention of 1888; and had been solicited by the Populist party in 1892 to accept the nomination for President on the Populist ticket. The office of Attorney-General was filled by the nomination of Mr. Richard Olney, of Massachusetts

CHAPTER CXLVI.

President Cleveland's Second Term—The Silver Question—Exports of Gold—The Panic—Drain on the Treasury—Extra Session of Congress—State of Parties—President's Message—Repeal of Silver Purchase Bill—Behring Sea Arbitration—Regular Session—President's Tariff Message—The Wilson Bill—The Senate Amendments—Bill Becomes Law—Veto of Bland's Bill for Coining the Seignorage—Repeal of the Force Bill—State of the Treasury—Issue of Bonds—Aid from the Banks—Second Bond Issue—Income Tax Declared Unconstitutional—Third Bond Issue—Contract with the Morgan Syndicate of Bankers—Fourth Bond Issue—Strikes in Coal Mines—Pullman City and Chicago—Dispatch of Federal Troops—Triumph of Republicans in State Elections—Cuba and Hawaii—The Venezuela Question—Disquieting Message on that Subject—The Venezuela Commission—Action of the Senate—The Coming Presidential Election—Free Silver Agitation—The Republican, Democratic and People's Party Conventions—Bryan and McKinley—Election.

THE inauguration of President Cleveland and Vice-President Stevenson took place with the usual ceremonies, on the 4th of March, but amid a storm of wind and snow that spoiled the effect of the procession that marched to the Capitol to listen to the customary Inaugural Address. The new President in this, his first official utterance, called attention to the question of currency. He promised that none of the powers with which the Executive is invested will be withheld when necessary to maintain National credit or avert financial disaster. He described the result of the election that had raised him to the Presidential chair as the verdict of the voters, which condemned protection for protection's sake, and everything which savored of paternalism. He denounced bounties and subsidies to aid all ill-advised or languishing enterprises, reckless pension expenditures which overlap the bounds of grateful recognition of patriotic services and waste of the people's money by their chosen servants. He repeated his statement that public expenditures should be limited by public necessity, measured by the rules of strict economy, and that one mode of the misappropriation of public funds would be avoided by carrying out civil service reform. He described the existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises for the purpose of limiting production or fixing prices — that is, trusts and syndicates — as conspiracies against the interests of the people, from which the general government should relieve the people. In conclusion he reminded his hearers that the Democratic party came into power

pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform, and a more equitable system of Federal taxation.

In such terms the President repeated and officially adopted the principles on which he had been elected. Of one subject which had arisen since that date no mention was made. This subject was the question of the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. At the close of the last year an insurrection broke out in Hawaii, the Queen Liliuokalani was deposed, a provisional government of Europeans formed under the protection of marines landed from ships of war belonging to the United States and a delegation sent to Washington to solicit annexation to the United States. President Harrison and his cabinet viewed the demand with favor, and he sent to Congress a treaty to carry out this measure. It was not acted upon by the Senate, and therefore the very important decision as to how far and in what direction it is politic or prudent to extend the territory of the United States was left to incoming administrations.

In the Inaugural address there had been no expression of any intention on the part of the President to call an extra session of Congress, although he and his cabinet as well as the majority of the business world were alarmed at the condition of our national finances, as it was by no means certain that either the Senate or the House would repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The Monetary Conference held at Brussels, in 1893, to which President Harrison had despatched Mr. Andrews of Brown University, had come to no conclusion; in our Western States, a large proportion of the people regarded the demonetization law of 1873 as a huge injustice to the debtor and agricultural classes, and clamored for free coinage of silver, at the ratio of 15 to 1 or 16 to 1. Meanwhile the Sherman Act was in full operation and the United States Treasury was purchasing four and a half million ounces of silver each month and paying for these purchases by treasury notes, redeemable in coin. By the word "coin" the world of trade and finance understood gold coin, as the treasury had always redeemed its issues in that metal, which alone is of use in international exchanges. Doubts had already been expressed as to whether the Treasury would be able to continue this policy, and when, in the month after the new President's accession large exports of gold took place, doubt gave place to alarm, and the alarm soon assumed the appearance of a panic. With this distorted condition of the money market came a loss of business confidence, and a sharp collapse in credit, and in the month of May an appalling list of business failures and depressions in all sections of the country. In spite of all the efforts of the Government to keep gold in the treasury with which to meet its obligations, gold continued to flow from America to Europe. Within a month after Cleveland's inauguration, Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the

Treasury, suspended the issue of gold certificates as required by law when the greenback redemption fund fell below the hundred-million-dollar mark, and on April 23, it was announced, in order to allay fears that had appeared in some financial centers, that coin certificates issued under the Sherman Act of 1890 were to be redeemed in silver. But in spite of his declaration the month of May was marked by disaster in all financial quarters. Undoubtedly the uncertainty respecting the tariff policy of the new administration added to the commercial depression, for commerce, which soon learns to adapt itself to any permanent condition, abhors uncertainties. The disasters of May were continued in June, for banks were afraid to help their customers and depositors were afraid to trust the banks, and it became evident that public confidence would not be restored, except by Government action. Such action was resolved on when the news was received that the British Government had suspended the free coinage of silver at the Indian mints, and the market-price of silver became still further depressed. Mr. Cleveland then summoned Congress to meet on August seventh in extra session, and urgently requested the immediate repeal of the silver purchase act. In his proclamation convening the two houses of Congress, President Cleveland said that the distrust and apprehension pervading all business centers "was largely the result of a financial policy embodied in various laws, which needed repeal, in order that the people might be relieved by legislation from the present impending danger and distress."

When the two houses met, the division of parties was as follows: in the House of Representatives Democrats, 219, Republicans, 127, Populists, 10, and in the Senate, Democracts 44, Republicans, 38, Populists 3, and three vacancies. On August 8, the President's message was sent to Congress, and in it he again expressed his belief that the alarming business situation, the general financial fear and distrust and the universal depreciation of securities were chargeable to the statute passed July 14, 1890, which he described as a "truce after a long struggle between the adherents of free silver coinage and those tending to more conservative views." By this law it was provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, issuing in payment for such purchase, treasury notes redeemable in gold or silver, at the discretion of the Secretary, but as the act declared that the policy of this country was to maintain the two metals on a parity at the present legal rates, it was manifestly impossible for the Secretary to refuse to pay the notes in gold, for thus he would establish a discrimination in favor of gold. Thus between May 1, 1892 and July 15, 1893, notes for payment of silver bullion had been issued to the amount of fifty-four millions of dollars, while forty-nine millions of dollars in gold had been paid in redemption of such notes. Hence depletion of the treasury was

easy. The net amount of gold in the treasury at the beginning of the year was over one hundred and twenty-one millions, but by April 1, it had fallen to one hundred and six millions, and was soon reduced below the hundred-million limit, which the unwritten law of the department held to be a reserve, exclusively for the redemption of United States notes. "Unless," the President continued, " government bonds are to be constantly isued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver purchase law now in force leads to the direction of the entire substitution of notes for gold in the treasury, and this must be followed by the payment of all government obligations in depreciated silver, and the government must fail in its policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other." The people of this country he pointed out, are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognized as such on every exchange and every market of the world. The matter was above the plane of party politics, and concerned every business and calling, and the wage-earner especially will be the first injured by a depreciated currency. The financial condition of the country, as evidenced by the universal depression of values and business ought at once to be considered by Congress, leaving the tariff question for attention in the near future. " I earnestly recommend," he continued, " the prompt repeal of the provisions of the Act of July 14, 1890, and other legislative action which may put beyond doubt the intention and ability of the government to fulfil its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries."

A bill was at once introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and was passed unamended, August 28, by a vote of 239 yeas to 109 nays, after the defeat of the proposal to substitute the Bland coinage law. In the Senate considerable delay took place. The bill was referred to the Committee on Finance, and reported back with an amendment in favor of bimetallism. Various compromises were proposed and declared by the President, but on October 30, the Senate passed the bill so amended by 43 yeas to 29 nays, the votes being, for repeal 20 Democrats, 23 Republicans; against repeal, 19 Democrats, 9 Republicans, and 4 Populists. Finally on November 1, the amended bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and received the President's signature, and Congress adjourned till the first regular session, which began December 4th.

For the fixity of purpose and stubborn determination with which the President compelled his own reluctant followers in Congress to carry out his will, in the repeal of the silver coinage law, over the most extreme Republicans, gave him unstinted credit. For it must be remembered that

he had this credit from foes, and some of the bitterest of foes among his own household. His nomination at Chicago had been bitterly opposed by an important section of the Democratic party, which showed its hostility during the election and continued to oppose him when he had been elected.

The panic, which compelled the summoning of the extra session, commenced with the return of the Democrats to power. Prices of all securities dropped, and the panic became general on the failure of the National Cordage Company, in May. The closing of the mints of India to the free coinage of silver caused a big decline in silver bullion, and stock went down with a rush; mines in the West were closed, and in that section and in the South, bank after bank gave way under the strain. Some relief was afforded by the issue of clearing-house certificates at the important financial centers, except Chicago. The issue of such certificates in New York began on June 29, and the total put out during the summer was $38,280,000. The issue in Boston, was $11,450,000, and in Philadelphia, $6,000,000. In July a remarkable dearth of currency occurred. Early in August bank and treasury notes commanded a premium as high as 4 per cent in New York. By the middle of August the worst was over, and the premium on currency ceased the first week in September. The banks began to call in the clearing-house certificates, but the last of the big issue in New York was not redeemed until November 1. The number of banks forced to suspend up to September 21 was 549, of which 151 were National banks. During the summer three large railroad corporations were forced into the hands of receivers — the Erie, the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific.

The decision of the Court of Arbitration, respecting the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea was given on August 15. The Court, which met in Paris, in April, consisted of Justice J. M. Harlan and Senator Morgan, representatives of the United States; Lord Hannen and Sir John S. D. Thompson, of Great Britain; Baron de Courcel nominated by France, who was elected President of the Court; Marquis Venosta, nominated by Italy, and Judge Graen by Sweden and Norway. On points of international law, the court was in favor of Great Britain, dismissing our claims for exclusive jurisdiction in Behring Sea and for a right to protect the seals, but prescribed the total prohibition of sealing at all times within sixty mile of the Pribyloff Islands, and established a close time from May 1 to July 31, on the high seas over a wide district of the North Pacific.

The first regular session of the Fifty-third Congress began on December 4, 1893, and continued until August 28, 1894.

In his message, the President, after referring to the settlement of the Behring Sea dispute and the repeal of the Silver Bullion Bill, expressed his conviction that no further action should be taken until financial and

commercial conditions became more settled and the effects of the new law were fully apparent. He referred to the growing deficit in the Post-office Department, which was estimated at $8,000,000 for the current year, and disapproved of the further extension of free postal delivery. In summarizing the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, he stated that more than $108,000,000 of gold had been exported during the year, and that the estimated deficiency in the treasury for the year was $28,000,000. In view of this, he suggested caution in further appropriations for the new navy. He announced that 33,690 pensioners had been dropped from the rolls. The message strongly indorsed the work of the Civil Service Commission. It closed with the words: "After a hard struggle, tariff reform is directly before us. After full discussion our countrymen have spoken in favor of this reform, and if public officers are really servants of the people, our failure to give relief would be sheer recreancy." While adhering to the principle of taxation for revenue only, yet the President added, "in the conditions that have grown up, justice and fairness call for discriminating care in the distribution of such duties and taxation as are demanded. Any reduction therefore should be of charges on the necessaries of life, and on raw materials necessary for our manufactures. A measure on the lines suggested had been prepared, and in order to provide against a temporary deficiency which might exist while the new tariff was going into operation, a small tax on certain classes of income was included in the plan of the bill."

A bill of which the main features were thus outlined was accordingly proposed by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. It had been in preparation during the special session and was made public before the reassembling of Congress. The features of the bill, as described in the accompanying statement of Chairman Wilson, were: (1) The adoption, wherever practicable, of *ad valorem* instead of specific duties; (2) "the freeing from taxes of those great materials of industry that lie at the basis of protection." In addition to an extensive increase in the free list, the schedules showed reductions in rates, as compared with the McKinley bill, on all but a small number of items. The notable additions to the free list included iron ore, lumber and wool. Raw sugar was left free, but the rate on refined was reduced from one-half to one-quarter cent per pound, and the bounty was repealed one-eighth per annum until extinguished. Various amendments were made in the administrative provisions of the tariff law.

It was estimated that the reduction of revenue effected would be about $50,000,000, and the committee set about the preparation of an internal revenue bill to make good that deficiency. While under consideration in committee, many changes were made in the Tariff bill; the most important

related to sugar, the duty being taken off of refined and the repeal of the bounty being made immediate instead of gradual. A clause was also inserted repealing the reciprocity clause of the McKinley law. The chief feature of the internal revenue bill was the provision for an income tax. The bill provided also for a stamp duty on playing cards, and increased the tax on spirits to one dollar a gallon. A tax of two per cent was imposed on all incomes in excess of $4,000, and in case of corporations the same tax was levied on all interest on bonds, and on all dividends, and surplus income above dividends, except premiums returned to policyholders by mutual life insurance companies, interest to depositors in savings banks and dividends of building and loan associations. The income tax proposal immediately called forth lively opposition. On February 1 the Internal Revenue bill was made a part of the Wilson measure, and the latter as amended was adopted by the House by a vote of 204 to 140. The majority was composed of 194 Democrats and 10 Populists, and the minority of 125 Republicans and 15 Democrats.

A scene of great excitement took place while the voting was in progress. Democrat after Democrat who had been counted on to vote against, now when it came to the final issue, recorded their votes for it, and when the decisive numbers were announced, Mr. Wilson was raised aloft on the shoulders of his supporters and borne in triumph, and amid enthusiastic cheers, from the House of Representatives.

The Wilson Bill, that thus passed the House on February 1, was sent to the Senate on the following day, and was immediately referred to the Committee on Finance, which turned it over for consideration to a sub-committee. The sub-committee reported it with very few changes to the full Committee on Finance, but that body submitted it to a thorough revision and made many important alterations. In this discussion the most prominent part was taken by Senator Gorman, of Maryland, a Democratic leader and hence the bill as passed is commonly described as the Wilson-Gorman Bill. The most important amendments were the imposition of duties on sugar, iron ore and coal. The Senators from Louisiana especially demanded a duty on sugar for the purpose of protecting the sugar planters of that State, and most of the other Senators expressed their dissatisfaction with the schedules affecting the industry of their constituents. At a Democratic caucus, Senator Hill, of New York, declared the bill to have been purposely framed to produce an insufficient revenue, and thus make necessary an income tax, a tax which had never been imposed except in times of war or to defray war expenses, and which was forbidden by the Federal Constitution. The Committee reported the bill on March 20, with the addition of 634 amendments; it was again referred back and again reported on May 8th

with the clauses admitting free raw material struck out except in the cases of wool and lumber, and with a clause granting a large bonus to sugar. In this form the Wilson-Gorman Bill passed the Senate by 39 votes to 34 and was returned to the House of Representatives on July 3.

The House of July 7 refused to concur in the amendments sent down by the Senate, and a conference of the two houses took place. In the conference committee irreconcilable differences of opinion were manifested; the crucial point in the controversy being the sugar duties. The Senate demanded instead of a bounty on sugar a general duty of forty per cent *ad valorem* with an additional duty on refined sugar, and a further additional duty on sugar from a country paying an export duty. Such a clause it was said, would not only protect the native planters in our sugar States, but would enormously benefit the large sugar refining company which had almost a monopoly of the business. From the beginning of the discussion on the sugar schedules report had been current that the American Sugar Refining Company had had agents at the Capitol busy in influencing legislation by a lavish use of money among the Senators, and so persistent were the accusations of bribery that the Senate in May appointed an investigating committee, which reported that no bribery was proved, but that two senators had been speculating in the stock of the company during the debates in the Senate. Finally the House conference members refused to accept the proposed arrangement as too favorable to the sugar company. On July 19, Mr. Wilson reported to the House that the conference could not agree, and took the unusual step of reading a private letter addressed to him, on July 2, by President Cleveland, in which the President stated that the Senate Bill was far short of what was demanded by the Democratic party, that Congress ought not to be driven away from Democratic principle by the "fear, quite likely exaggerated, that in carrying out this principle we may indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refinery interests," and that a failure to pass the House Bill would be "party perfidy and party dishonor." Such a letter thus communicated only hardened the hearts of the opposing Senators, who declared it impugned their motives, and the Senate refused to consent to any material change in its amendments. A deadlock resulted, the time being spent in idle talk, till the House yielded, and in a caucus held August 13, decided to concur with the Senate. The voting on the passing of the bill was, in the Senate 39 (37 Democrats, 2 Populists) against 34 (31 Republicans, 1 Democrat, 2 Populists, the solitary Democrat being Hill of New York), and in the House, 182 (174 Democrats, 8 Populists) against 106 (93 Republicans and 13 Democrats).

The bill then amended and revised became law August 27, without the

President's signature. He had previously vetoed in March, Mr. Bland's bill for coining the seignorage (that is, the difference between the cost and the coinage value of the silver bullion in the Treasury, purchased under the Sherman Act), but he naturally shrank from vetoing a bill brought in by his own party at his own suggestion, and, therefore, allowed it to become law by expiration of time, as provided for in the Constitution. Thus after an existence of three years and eleven months the McKinley Tariff Act was superseded.

At this session of Congress, another bill repealing the Federal election laws became law. It had passed the House at the special session by a vote of 202, chiefly Democrats, against a solid Republican vote of 102, and passed the Senate, February 7, by 39 Democratic and Populist votes against 28 Republican votes. The Federal Election Bill, commonly known to Democrats as the "Force Bill," was denounced in the Democratic platform of 1892 as an outrage upon the electoral rights of the people in the several States, which the party was pledged to resist. Thus three of the demands made in that platform, the repeal of the Sherman Bill, the repeal of the McKinley tariff and the repeal of the " Force Bill," were satisfied. In connection with the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill, the reciprocity clauses of the McKinley Act were repealed.

The President, in his veto of the Bland Bill for coining the seigniorage, denounced the measure as dangerous, adding, " that it was time to strengthen and not deplete the gold reserve, and advising that the Treasury be given more power to issue bonds to protect the reserve." In truth the condition of the Treasury was going from bad to worse. On January 13 Secretary Carlisle submitted to the Finance Committee of the Senate a statement showing that the excess of expenditures over receipts to that date had reached $43,000,000, and that at the same rate the deficit for the year would be $78,000,000, or nearly three times what he had estimated in his annual report. The gold reserve had shrunk to $74,000,000, and he asserted that the ordinary expenses of the Government would soon have to be paid out of that fund. Unless something was done by Congress to authorize the issue of low rate bonds, the Secretary announced that he would put forth high-rate bonds under the power granted by the Resumption Act of 1875.

Nothing, however, as we have seen, was done by Congress, and on January 17, a bond issue of $50,000,000 was announced. Considerable dissatisfaction with the terms of the proposed issue was expressed by financiers, but on the last day allowed for bids, the New York bankers, after several consultations with Mr. Carlisle, decided to sustain him, and subscribed for some $45,000,000. The subscription ended on February 1, the total bids being about $58,000,000.

The gold reserve meanwhile had run down to $65,000,000, but the proceeds of the bonds raised it above the $100,000,000 mark. There were heavy exportations of gold during May and June, and on June 22, the reserve was less than $62,000,000. The New York banks now came to the aid of the Government, and voluntarily supplied from their own vaults the export demand. On June 25, President Cleveland made a public denial of the rumors that the payment of matured obligations was being postponed by the Administration, and declared that there was no cause for apprehension. Toward the end of July, the taking of whiskey out of bond, in anticipation of the increase of the tax, measurably increased the revenue. The gold reserve sank to $54,000,000, but, the demand for export dying out, it had increased by the end of October to $62,000,000. But this was far below the sum fixed for the so-called gold reserve, and another bond issue of $50,000,000 was resolved on in November, and the gold reserve was thus raised to $112,000,000. In his annual report the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, set forth a scheme of currency reform, involving a reorganization of the National banking system. A bill embodying this plan was introduced in the House early in December, and, with some changes, was approved by the Democratic caucus. The House, however, refused to accept the proposal of the Committee on Rules by which the bill was to be pressed to passage, and the measure thus received its death blow.

Still the drain on the Treasury gold continued at an alarming rate, and on January 28, 1894, the reserve was reduced to $52,463,173 — the lowest point reached since resumption in 1879. On that day, the President sent a special message to Congress containing a second project as to the currency. His recommendations included the issue of a fifty-year three per cent. bond, payable in gold, the proceeds to be used in maintaining the Treasury's gold reserve and in redeeming legal-tender and Treasury notes; the cancellation of all notes so redeemed; permission to National banks to circulate notes up to the par value of bonds deposited, such notes to be of denominations greater than $10; the limitation of silver certificates to denominations less than $10, and the requirement that import duties be payable only in gold. The President intimated that a failure to legislate would be followed by another bond issue. A bill containing his recommendations was rejected by the House on February 7 — 135 to 162. In the debate the Republicans affirmed that the difficulties of the Treasury were chiefly due to the inadequate revenue produced by the Wilson-Gorman Act. The hope of the Government in its tariff measures, had been that the Income Tax that had been so fiercely denounced even by Democratic leaders, would produce revenue enough to compensate for the diminished returns under the new

reduced tariff. But this hope was frustrated by the decision of the Supreme Court, that the Income Tax Bill was, as had been argued in the previous debates in the Senate by Senator Hill of New York, unconstitutional. Before, however, this decision had been handed down by the Supreme Court and on the rejection of the bill recommended by the President for the issuing of fifty-year three per cent. bonds, another bond issue became necessary, the Treasury having then in its vaults only $41,000,000 in gold; in fact, on the day, February 7, when the bill was rejected, the suspension of gold payments at the Sub-treasury of New York was within forty-eight hours of realization. The Treasury was thus at the mercy of the bankers, and as every moment was of importance in providing for the due maintenance of our financial honor, the President, in another message, on February 8, announced that a contract had been made with the banking houses of Belmont and Morgan, for the purchase of 3,500,000 ounces of gold, to be paid for in thirty-year four per cent. coin bonds, on terms which made the price of the bonds about 104½, and the amount $62,317,500. In addition to this, the contract gave the bankers who formed the syndicate the option of any other bonds that might be issued till October 1st. This contract subjected the Administration to violent criticism from Republicans and silver men. When the syndicate put the four per cents on the market the loan was eagerly taken up in both New York and London, and the market quotation for the bonds rose as high as 118. This occasioned further bitter attacks on the Administration, for having accepted so low a figure as 104½. But, it must be remembered that the syndicate was contracting not merely for the delivery of so much specie, but for the importation of it from abroad, without drawing upon the reserve or hoards of gold in this country. Under the contract, the gold in the Treasury increased steadily until, with the last payment for bonds under the contract it stood at $107,000,000. Still, in a short time the reserve had again fallen below the limit, and the syndicate had to fulfil its contract to sustain the Treasury by depositing gold during the months of August and September. But not even these successive issues of bonds were able to place the currency of the nation on a sound basis, and in January, 1895, after the President's message on the Venezuela question, a call was issued for bids for $100,000,000 in gold for four per cent. bonds, and the total amount of gold received was about $111,000,000, some of the gold in payment of the bonds being withdrawn from the Treasury. Yet, even after the final payments on this issue of bonds had been made, the reserve in the Treasury was as low, in July, as $90,000,000. The banks, however, began now to supply the Government with gold, and enabled it to tide things over till the annual movement of crops put an end to the export of gold. This action was

entirely succesful in allaying the apprehension of the public and in obviating the necessity for another bond issue.

This statement of the various issues of bonds, during Cleveland's administration, has been here given without regard to the time between the separate issues, in order to present a consecutive view of the financial condition with which the Government had to deal. And it is especially necessary to remember these successive attempts of President Cleveland to maintain the gold reserve when we come to the presidential campaign of 1896. The opponents of the Goverment argued that the whole trouble lay in the Wilson tariff, which did not provide reserve sufficient to carry on the Government, while the latter asserted that no part of the money acquired by these bond issues was expended in defraying current expenses, but that the whole was entirely devoted to preserving the National honor in assuring the parity of silver and gold in all our National obligations.

The year 1894 may be described as a year of misfortune. Forest fires raged in Minnesota and Wisconsin, devasting forty square miles of territory, with great loss of life and great destruction of property. In the coal mining States, 126,000 men went out on strike; destructive riots took place at Cleveland, Ohio, requiring the calling out of the militia; in Colorado, the silver miners struck, and order was only restored when troops appeared; in the town created by and named after Pullman, the originator of the Pullman car system, a reduction of wages caused a strike, and the Railway Union, an extensive organization of railroad employees, in sympathy with their fellow-workmen at Pullman, ordered a blockade of all roads using Pullman cars. On June 26, traffic was suspended, scenes of violence and acts of incendiarism were recorded at various places, and on July 8, the President of the United States had to dispatch United States troops to Chicago, without having been requested by the Governor of Illinois so to do, an action justified by the fact that the strikers were interfering with the transport of the mails, but deeply resented by the Populist party. All these strikes, the depression of business and the general discontent was attributed by the partisans of free silver coinage to the closing of the mints to silver. The result was that the November election was a Republican victory; in New York, the Republican candidate for Governor defeated Senator Hill by 150,000 votes; Mr. Wilson, the author of the tariff bill, lost his seat in West Virginia; and Colorado, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Nebraska, and a dozen other States were swept by the Republicans. Apart from the discussions of currency questions, the third session of the Fifty-third Congress was uneventful. The recognition of the Hawaiian republic was announced, but the administration refrained from any change in its policy respecting those Pacific Islands, while it had preserved a strict neutrality in the affairs of Cuba, only

insisting on Spain issuing to its officers peremptory and positive orders not to interfere with legitimate American commerce.

In the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress the result of the November elections of the previous year was seen. The Senate consisted of Republicans 44, Democrats 39, Independents 6; the House consisted of Republicans 248, Democrats 104, Independents 7. In his message the President discussed at length the currency question, declaring that the only remedy for the troubles under which the country was suffering was the retirement of the greenback and treasury notes of 1890; he reiterated the necessity of observing strict neutrality between Spain and the insurgents in Cuba, and added that Great Britain had been called on for an answer to the question whether she would or would not submit her long-pending dispute about territorial limits with Venezuela to arbitration, and that an answer was soon expected. Little attention was excited by this clause in his message till on December 17, a special message was sent to Congress, respecting Venezuela, together with the correspondence that had passed between the British Government and Mr. Olney, who had been transferred to the office of Secretary of State, on the death of Mr. Gresham. Both the message and the correspondence were of an unusual and disquieting character. In the absence of any settlement of the disputed territorial questions between Great Britain and Venezuela, the President declared that the United States must determine for its own justification the true divisional line, and must therefore appoint a commission to investigate the facts. He concluded with the threatening words: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right to belong to Venezuela. In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow."

This expression of President Cleveland of the extended views entertained by him respecting the so-called Monroe doctrine created great surprise and excitement, and deeply affected the stock markets of London, the Continent and New York, thus increasing the difficulty of keeping gold in the treasury, and necessitating another special message to allay the growing apprehension of the people. Two bills were, in consequence, introduced into the House of Representatives, but both were dropped in consequence of the amendments made by the Senate and the insertion of a clause providing for the free coinage of silver.

The bellicose message of the President regarding the Venezuela boundary, and its extended interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, were regarded

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums

THE HARBOR OF HONOLULU

by many as a stroke of personal policy, designed to regain for Grover Cleveland some of the popularity that he had lost by his conduct in respect to Hawaii. During the first year of his term he had sent, as a special commissioner to the islands, Mr. James P. Blount, who reported that the monarchy was overthrown by a conspiracy devised under assurances from the United States Minister, Mr. Stevens, that he would recognize any government the revolutionary party might form, and that this recognition was given before the Provisional Government had demonstrated its ability to maintain its existence. Based on these reports was the recommendation made by Secretary Gresham to the President, "that the treaty of annexation left over from President Harrison's administration be not submitted to the Senate," and on December 18, 1893, the President sent a message to Congress reviewing the whole matter, and promising his co-operation in any plan "consistent with American honor, integrity, and morality." On the same day, Mr. Willis, who had succeeded Mr. Blount as Minister to Hawaii, demanded that the Provisional Government at Honolulu turn over its power to the deposed Queen Liliuokalani. The demand was refused by Mr. Dole, the Hawaiian Prime Minister, who declined to recognize the right of the United States to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. Finally, in June, 1894, a convention was held under the auspices of the Provisional Government, and a constitution adopted, which was proclaimed to be in force on July 4, with Sanford B. Dole as President. Formal recognition of the Republic of Hawaii was given by President Cleveland on August 7, in an official letter to President Dole.

But this was not the only quarter in which President Cleveland's policy created dissatisfaction. The insurrection raging in the Island of Cuba appeared to our citizens as the struggle of liberty-loving colonists against the tyranny of the mother-country, Spain, and many appeals were made to the President to acknowledge the Cubans as belligerents. The Senate passed a resolution by 64 votes to 6, declaring that "the United States should accord belligerent rights to the Cuban Government," and that the President should offer his friendly offices to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba. But no steps in this direction were taken by the Government, which, in spite of all clamor and all reports of Spanish outrages on American citizens and ships, adhered to its international duty of strict neutrality. In both the Hawaiian and Cuban questions, President Cleveland deserved high praise for his consistency and firmness in observing the obligations of international law, but in the popular view his conduct was considered to lack courage, and not to support "American principles," to the extent required by true patriots. To show that he

did not lack courage, and that he was a good American, to reinstate himself with many of his own party, and to divert attention from the state of the treasury were, perhaps, Mr. Cleveland's motives in his Venezuela message. It at once aroused what is called a "jingo" feeling in the country, and for a few days the President rose in favor. But he was not allowed to enjoy for long the monopoly of patriotic sentiments, the Senate and the House of Representatives surprised both the President and his Secretary, Mr. Olney, in the force of their declarations, and at once appropriated $100,000 for the expenses of the Commission recommended in the message. The following were appointed members of the Commission on January 1, 1896: David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Richard H. Alvey, Chief-Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, Frederic R. Coudert and Daniel C. Gilman. The commission organized with Justice Brewer as chairman, and pursued its work diligently during the greater part of the year.

But over all these transactions hung the cloud of the coming Presidential election, and this, it was universally recognized, would turn not on a strong foreign policy, but on questions of finance and tariff. And of these two domestic questions it soon became apparent that the former would be the real battle-ground of the contending parties, and the issue was sharply drawn on the free coinage of silver. The issue was no new one. As far back as 1884, Secretary McCulloch, in a report to President Arthur, said: "I have been forced to the conclusion that unless both the coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates are suspended, there is danger that silver, and not gold, may become our metallic standard. This danger may not be imminent, but it is of so serious a character that there ought not to be delay in providing against it. Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at once cease to be circulating medium and severe contraction would be the result." And since then, as for years before, political economists, financiers and statesmen had struggled with the difficulties of the situation. As has been already mentioned the silver purchase clause in the act of 1890 was repealed in the Fifty-third Congress, and this had embittered the advocates of free silver coinage still more. Such advocates were to be found in both of the great political parties, but in neither did they form the majority. Taking a local view, we may say that the Eastern States were for "Sound Money," that is, opposed to free silver, while in the West and South there was division in the ranks. This division had been apparent in the Fifty-

second Congress, when Mr. Bland, the originator of the Silver Coinage Act of 1878, reported a bill for the free coinage of silver, and time had indeed not closed the breach on this important monetary question. The Populist party, which in its programme in 1892 had demanded public ownership of all means of transportation, direct issue of currency by the government, and the suppression of trusts, syndicates and all monopolies, was in favor of silver or at least of bimetallism. In March, 1895, the Bimetallist League issued an address for the formation of a new party to advocate the unrestricted coinage of gold and silver on a parity. In May a convention held at Salt Lake City came out for silver, and in June, a bimetallic conference at Memphis demanded unlimited silver coinage. In the same city, in May, Mr. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, had addressed a sound money convention, in behalf of the parity of all American money, and some months afterwards had declared his opinion that the government ought to retire all the greenbacks and get out of the banking business. In December, 1895, the President's message echoed his opinion and recommended the retirement of greenbacks and treasury notes by long-term bonds at low interest, but it is difficult to convince the ordinary citizen that such an issue, when the interest has to be paid from taxation that is directly felt by all tax-payers is a better way to put our finances on a sound basis than the continued issue of greenbacks. Then much was made of the "crime of 1873," meaning thereby the act of that year demonetizing silver, concerning which so high an authority as Jay Cooke wrote: "The act has worked infinite harm and damage to all the debtor classes, which are as fifty to one in this country, compelling all who rely upon the products of their industry to discharge their indebtedness, to pay such debts contracted when silver and gold were both equal standards of value at a time now when gold alone is recognized as the unit of value, and the basis of all value among the civilized nations of the world."

On the other side, the sound money advocates alleged the fact that the whole commerce of the world is transacted on a gold basis, that the interest on our debt, specifically payable in coin, has always been understood by us and by foreign holders as being payable in gold, and that the honor of the country compelled us to live up to this understanding, unless we should confess ourselves bankrupt, ready to repudiate our obligations.

The first of the nominating conventions to be held was that of the Republican party, at St. Louis, June 16. The platform adopted for the coming campaign renewed the party's allegiance to the doctrine of protection as the foundation of prosperity, demanded a renewal of reciprocity arrangements with American States, protection for all our products and dicriminating duties for the purpose of building up our mercantile service. The next clause created a break in the convention. It opposed the free coinage

of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, and declared that until such agreement was effected the gold standard must be preserved. Twenty-one delegates left the hall when this was announced, among them being four Senators and two Representatives; the seceders were Hartmann (Montana), Cannon, Senator, Allen, Kearns, (Utah), Pettigrew, Senator, (South Dakota), Cleveland, Strother, (Nebraska), six delegates from Idaho, including Senator Dubois, and eight, including Senator Teller, from Colorado. It had been long before seen that William McKinley, of Ohio, would be the choice of the convention, and on the first ballot he received 661 votes, the next greatest number being given for T. B. Reed, of Maine, 84, while the votes cast for Governor Morton, of New York (58), for Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania (61), for Allison, of Iowa (35), were merely complimentary expressions of local feeling. In replying to the delegation that reported his nomination to Mr. McKinley, he stated, "Protection and reciprocity, twin measures of true American policy, should again command the encouragement of the government. A policy compelling the government to borrow money in time of peace must be reversed. The money of the United States, whether paper, silver or gold, must be as good as the best in the world, and must be at par in every commercial center of the globe." The nomination for Vice-President was given to Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey.

The scenes in the Democratic National Convention, at Chicago, July 11, were much more sensational than those at St. Louis. It was evident that a large proportion of delegates were in favor of free silver, in spite of all the efforts of the Gold Democrats of the Eastern States. The platform relegated the tariff question to the background, and in its opening clauses denounced the so-called crime of 1873 and demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for aid or consent of any other nation." The adoption of the platform was moved by William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. He had been returned to Congress in 1890, and had been a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and held that position in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congress. He was defeated, however, in 1894, and devoted his whole time to the advocacy of free silver. In his speech he declared that "the money question is the paramount issue of the hour," that the interests of the farmer as well as of other citizens required protection from the inroads of organized wealth, that, instead of the government going out of the banking business the banks must go out of the government business, and that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other reforms will be possible. His speech was delivered with great fervor in a popular style of eloquence, and ended with words that became the battle

cry of the Silverites: "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world; having behind us the commercial interests, and the laboring interests, and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The effect of the speech was decisive. At the first ballot the old champion of silver, Mr. Bland was in the lead, but in the final and fifth ballot, Mr. Bryan received more than the 572 votes necessary for a choice. Strangely enough, a Gold Democrat, Arthur Sewall of Maine, was put on the ticket for Vice-President. One hundred and sixty-two delegates refrained from voting. Mr. Bryan's nomination was indorsed by the People's Party Convention, meeting at St. Louis, July 25, but the nomination for Vice-President was given to William T. S. Watson, of Georgia, in place of Mr. Sewall.

The important secession of Democratic delegates from the Chicago convention, and the dissatisfaction of a powerful element of the party with the platform there adopted, led to the summoning of a Sound Money Democratic Convention, at Indianapolis, in September, which was attended by delegates from all the States except Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming. It denounced the Chicago platform as undemocratic, and condemned its financial doctrines as well as the tariff proposals of the Republicans. It favored tariff for revenue only, the single gold standard, a bank currency under governmental supervision; arbitration for the settlement of international disputes and the maintenance intact of the independence and authority of the Supreme Court. It also strongly indorsed the Cleveland Administration. With practical unanimity it nominated Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

The currency campaign was highly exciting and was remarkable for the unwearied efforts of Mr. Bryan, on behalf of his party. He made a tour of the country in all directions and addressed with his usual brilliancy numerous audiences. Mr. McKinley remained quietly at his house at Canton, Ohio, where he received numerous delegations, to whom he returned terse and forcible replies. The election took place November 3, and the popular vote was, McKinley, 7,104,779; Bryan, 6,502,923; Palmer, 133,148, while the electoral vote gave McKinley, 271, Bryan, 176.

On December 7, the Fifty-fourth Congress met for its second session. In the House, the Republicans numbered 248, the Democrats 104, Populists 7, and in the Senate, Republicans 45, Democrats 38, Populists and Silverites 7, and to bodies thus hostile to his administration, President

Cleveland addressed his last message; in which, after announcing the settlement of the Venezuela boundary question, he stated that negotiations for a treaty of general arbitration for all differences between the United States and Great Britain were far advanced.

From the commencement of our history as a nation, this country has so constantly lent the weight of its influence and example to the substitution of reason for force in the adjustment of disputes among nations that international arbitration may be said to be a prominent feature in its policy, and on two occasions we opened the door for arbitration treaties with all the nations of the world. In April, 1890, the Sherman concurrent resolution was passed by both Houses of Congress for this express purpose, and in October of the same year, when Mr. Blaine was Secretary of State, there was sent by our State Department, the Pan-American form of treaty, with an invitation to all civilized nations to join us in such a treaty. The Sherman resolution declared, "That the President is hereby requested to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means." On June 16, 1893, the British House of Commons adopted the following resolution. "This house has learnt with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have, by resolution, requested the President to invite, etc." (here the words of the Sherman resolution are quoted) "and that this House cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolutions." In accordance with these expressed opinions of our own Congress and the British Parliament, a treaty was drawn up, and signed on January 11, 1897 by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador for Great Britain, and at once transmitted to the Senate. Its chief provisions were as follows: The parties agree to arbitrate all questions in difference which fail of adjustment by diplomacy. All pecuniary claims which in the aggregate do not exceed £100,000, and do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with by an arbitration tribunal. Each party shall nominate one arbitrator, who shall be a jurist of repute, and these two shall select an umpire. In default of this the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the members of the Supreme Court of the United States and the members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain. In case they fail to agree, the umpire shall be selected by the King of Norway and Sweden. Controversies involving the determina-

tion of territorial claims are to be determined by a tribunal composed of jurists of both countries.

In the Senate, after a debate in which great hostility was displayed by Senators of both parties, the treaty was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who returned it January 30, with sundry amendments.

WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

One of the amendments provided that no question which affects the foreign or domestic policy of either of the parties, or the relations of either with any other State or Power by treaty or otherwise, shall be subject to arbitration under the treaty, except by special agreement. Another struck out all reference to the selection of an umpire by King Oscar. Another provided that if at any time before the close of a hearing on any matter, except territorial claims, either party declares that the decision of a disputed question, excluded except by special agreement, is involved, the jurisdiction of the tribunal shall cease. The treaty was discussed at considerable length, but there seemed to be a general desire to put off action till after the inauguration of the new president. Mr. McKinley (to anticipate matters and thus conclude the incident) in his inaugural address, after reminding Congress that the treaty was clearly the result of our initiative, added: "I respect-

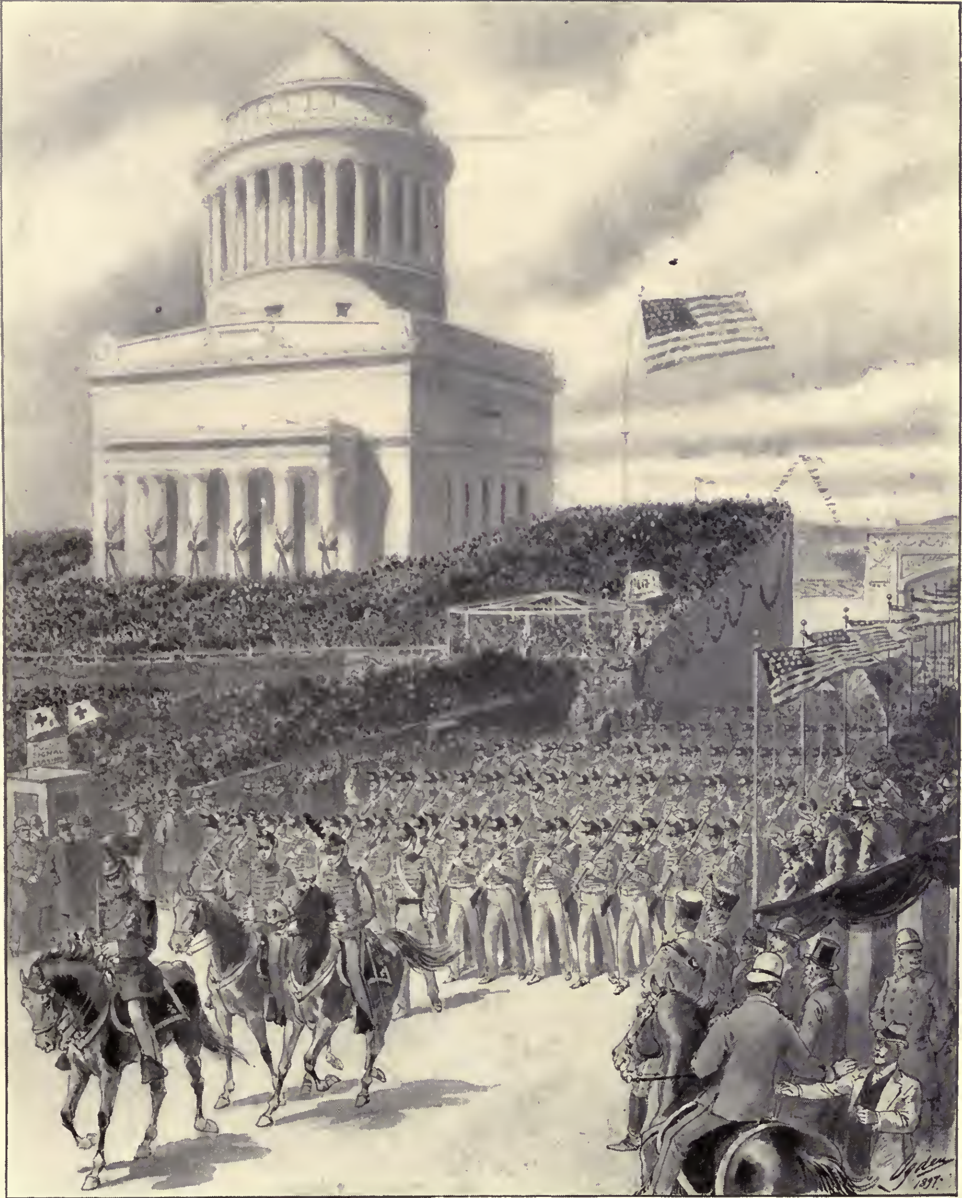
fully urge the early action of the Senate thereon, not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind. The importance and moral influence of the ratification of such a treaty can hardly be overestimated in the cause of advancing civilization. It may well engage the best thought of the statesmen and people of every country, and I cannot but consider it fortunate that it was reserved to the United States to have the leadership in so grand a work." But in spite of this strong recommendation by the Republican President of his Democratic predecessor's work, the Senate rejected the proposed treaty by a large majority.

President William McKinley and Vice-President G. A. Hobart, were duly inaugurated on March 4. The weather was perfect, the ceremonies more than ordinarily impressive, and larger crowds were present than had witnessed the installation of any other president. In his address, the President said that the currency should be under the supervision of the Government, but that changes could be made in our fiscal laws until an adequate revenue had been secured. He spoke in favor of a currency commission, promised early attention to international bimetallism, and insisted on the necessity of more revenue and the restoration of protective legislation, and the reciprocity principle of the law of 1890. He repeated the declaration of the party, "of opposition to all combinations of capital organized as trusts," called attention to the state of our mercantile marine, and as action on these matters would not be postponed, concluded by expressing his purpose to call together Congress in extraordinary session on March 15, to consider especially the state of the treasury.

The President sent to the Senate his nominations for the members of his Cabinet: Secretary of State, John Sherman, Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Joseph McKenna, of California; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa, all of which were immediately approved.

Of these officers, Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War, was born in Michigan in 1835 and engaged in the lumber business. During the Civil War he served with the Michigan Cavalry, and was several times wounded. He left the service with the brevet rank of Major-General. In 1884 he was elected Governor of his native state by the largest majority ever given to a Republican. He held no office until named to the Secretaryship of War.

John Davis Long, Secretary of the Navy, was born in 1838, and rose to an eminent position at the bar in Boston. In 1879, he was elected Governor



DEDICATION OF THE TOMB OF GENERAL GRANT, APRIL 27, 1897—
WEST POINT CADETS GIVING A MARCHING SALUTE

of Massachusetts, and re-elected for two successive terms. Subsequently he sat for three successive terms in Congress, but was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Gage of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, was an eminent banker in Chicago, was prominent in organizing the Columbian Exposition, and well known for his views on sound money and banking reform. The Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, a prominent merchant of New York, was long a leader in local politics, but held no previous public office. The Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland, had been a delegate to every national political convention from 1872, but had been defeated in his aspirations to Congress. Mr. Joseph McKenna, of California, the Attorney-General, an eminent lawyer, served four terms in Congress, and was appointed a Judge of the United States Court of California in 1892. He was a political friend and associate of Mr. McKinley in Congress, and assisted him in framing the McKinley Tariff bill. Later in the year Mr. McKenna resigned and was succeeded by John W. Griggs, Governor of New Jersey. The Secretary for Agriculture, James Wilson, a native of Scotland, sat for six years in the Legislature of Iowa, and for three terms in the Congress of the United States.

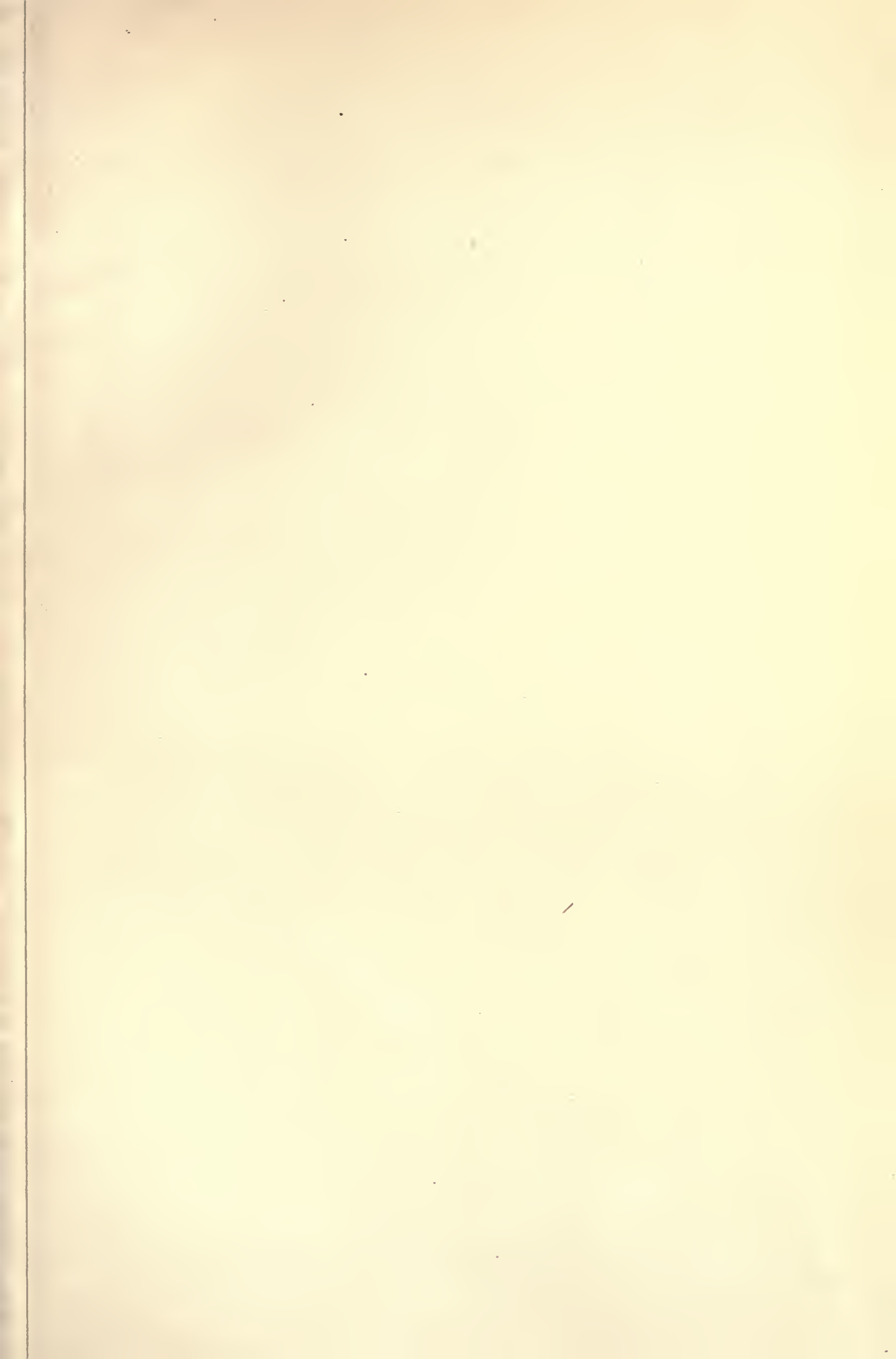
On March 6, the President called an extra session of Congress to meet March 15, at which Thomas B. Reed was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives by a vote of 200 to 114. In his message to Congress, the President stated that an extraordinary session was indispensable because of the condition of the revenue. The current expenses were greater than the receipts, and had been so for three years. Congress should promptly correct this condition, and in raising the required revenue duties should be so levied on foreign products as to preserve the home market, so far as possible, to our own producers, to revive and increase manufactures, to encourage agriculture, to increase our commerce, and to render to labor its adequate rewards. The enactment of such a measure, he concluded by saying, was the imperative demand of the hour and ought to be passed before any other business was attended to.

On the same day Mr. Dingley, of Maine, introduced a tariff bill, and on March 19 a measure was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. March 23 was set for the opening debate, and it was ordered that on March 31 the measure was to be put on its passage. In opening the discussion, Mr. Dingley stated that in the four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1893, the total deficiency was nearly two hundred and four millions of dollars, and that this deficiency arose from the falling off in receipts from duties on imports, caused by the financial policy of the late administration. To remedy this the new tariff bill was introduced. The chief opponent of the proposed legislation was Mr. Wheeler of Alabama, but on March 31 the Dingley bill

passed the House by 205 votes against 122. In the Senate the discussion was protracted, and no fewer than 872 amendments were incorporated in the House bill, the vote being 38 against 28. The House non-concurred, and a conference committee was appointed, which reported in favor of many of the Senate amendments. The report was agreed to and on July 24 the President approved the bill.

The Behring Sea Fishery question was raised again by Mr. Sherman, who in a very undiplomatic dispatch accused Great Britain of trying to evade the regulations of the Court of Arbitration respecting pelagic sealing, but the British government declined to re-open the matter, and refused to take part in a conference at which representatives of Japan and China were to be present. Finally a conference of experts, at which representatives of the United States, Canada and Great Britain were to take part, was arranged.

The conference was long drawn out, subject to many adjournments and delays, and terminated its meetings in February, 1899, with nothing accomplished. The seals were left wholly unprotected. The United States forbade pelagic sealing to its citizens, while England did not, and all the profits of the rapidly perishing industry were being reaped by foreigners. The Canadian sealing fleet of 1899 included 26 vessels, that of 1900 numbered 33, with a catch of more than 35,000 seals each year, and more than half of these females. The same conditions have prevailed ever since. The North American Company has been increasing its efforts in order to obtain its full share while the seals last, and in the Congressional session of 1901–2 it was seriously proposed to kill off the entire Arctic herd at once and thus end the whole question by putting an end to the seals. This radical step, however, has not been taken.



PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Railroads
Submarine Cables
Size of type indicates relative importance of places
BATAN AND BABUYAN ISLANDS
SAME SCALE AS LARGE MAP
FORMOSA (To Japan)
Bachi Channel
BATAN ISLANDS
Balingtang Channel
BABUYAN ISLANDS
MANILA
SCALE OF MILES
TO GUAM HAWAII AND SAN FRANCISCO
TO HONGKONG
PACIFIC OCEAN
LUZON
MINDORO
SAMAR
MASBATE
CATANDUANES
POLILLO
Mindoro Strait
Tondo
Binondo
San Nicolas
Sta. Cruz
Sampaloc
Intramuros
Ermita
Malate
Paco
Pasay
Pandacan
Sta. Ana
San Miguel
Quiapo
Pasig River
MANILA BAY
Manila
Aparri
Lingayen Gulf
Dasol Bay
Baler Bay
Dingalan Bay
Palanan Bay
Divilacan Bay

PARAGUA
SULU (JOLO) SEA
CELEBES SEA
MINDANAO SEA
Surigao Sea
MINDANAO
PANAY
NEGROS
CEBU
BOHOL
LEYTE
SIQUIJOR
CAMIGUIN
BASILAN
DINAGAT
SURIGAO
MISAMIS
DAPITAN
DAVAO
COTABATO
Illana Bay
Gulf of Davao
Zamboanga
Puerto Princesa
Iloilo
Sandakan
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO
Balabac Strait
BALABAC
BALAMBANGAN
BANGUEY
CUYOS IS.
CAGAYANES IS.
TUBBATAHA IS.
CAGAYAN DE JOLO
DUMARAN
PANGUTARAN
TAWI TAWI IS.
SIBUTU
SULU (JOLO) ARCHIPELAGO
SAMALES IS.
C.San Agustin
A 118 B 120 C Longitude 122 East from D Greenwich 124 E 126 F
Hammond's 8 x 11 Map of Philippine Islands
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CHAPTER CXLVII.

The Island of Cuba—American Interest in it Since 1854—Cuba's Insurrections—General Weyler as Spanish Governor—Sufferings of the Cubans—General Lee as American Consul-General at Havana—Indiscretion of the Spanish Minister De Lome—Destruction of the U. S. Warship Maine in the Harbor of Havana—Frightful Loss of Life—Excitement Caused by the News—Dignified Attitude of the Nation—The Court of Inquiry—President's Message on the Disaster—Preparations for War—Liberal Appropriations for Ships—Senator Proctor's Report on the State of Cuba—England's Approval of American Policy—Attempt of Pope Leo XIII to Mediate—President's Message to Congress to Authorize Him to Terminate Hostilities in Cuba—" The War in Cuba Must Stop "—Resolution of Congress—Our Minister Leaves Madrid—Declaration of War, April 21—Resignations of Postmaster-General Gary and Secretary of State Sherman—Sherman's Career—Orders to the Army and Navy—Blockade of Havana—Call for 125,000 Volunteers—Issue of Bonds—First Shot Fired April 22—The Bombardment of Matanzas—Dewey's Great Victory at Manila on May 1—Total Destruction of the Spanish Fleet.

THE position of Cuba has always made the island an object of deep interest to the United States, and we have always felt keenly the evils of the system of government which Spain has pursued. Readers of the earlier part of OUR COUNTRY will recall the fact that in 1848 President Polk offered to purchase it for the sum of one hundred millions of dollars, and after that offer was curtly declined refused to join with France and England in guaranteeing its possession to Spain. Again, in 1854, the American ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid drew up a manifesto on the subject of Cuba, arguing that Spain had better sell it than try to keep it, and ever since we have expressed sympathy for any attempt that the Cubans have made to throw off the yoke of the mother country. In October, 1866, a formidable insurrection broke out, and a provisional government was organized under General Cespedes, which sought recognition from us. Although we then refused to acknowledge the Cuban republic, the Cuban war continued for nearly twelve years, and only terminated in 1878, when the last of the insurgents surrendered. At its close Spain confessed that she had sent to the island 170,000 soldiers and had spent seven hundred millions of dollars.

Promises made to the insurgents were never fulfilled, and the island was left loaded with debt, her industries and commerce impaired, and every office of trust or profit in the hands of Spaniards from the peninsula. A pair

force, the "Volunteers," said to be 50,000 strong, was raised and maintained at the expense of the island. Meanwhile Spain and Spaniards had an absolute monopoly of the import trade, everything Cuban was placed at a disadvantage, discontent that had never been allayed, revived again, and nothing but the absence of a leader was needed to start another struggle for liberty. In 1895 this discontent led to local outbreaks, funds were raised by Cubans and Cuban sympathizers resident in the United States, and a soldier of the old war, General Gomez, took command of the insurgents. The Captain-General of Cuba, General Campos, carried on war honorably but uselessly, and was succeeded by General Weyler. The new Captain-General began his tenure of office by an attempt to confine the insurgents to one end of the island by drawing a fortified line, the *trocha*, across it, a plan which failed utterly, and then he ordered all non-combatants to be concentrated into the cities. These inhabitants of the rural districts, when thus gathered together, and removed from their homesteads and all their usual means of living, suffered severely, and then began to die of hunger by thousands. Accounts of their cruel sufferings aroused not only the sympathy but the condemnation of our people, and on representations from our President, General Weyler was recalled.

His successor, General Blanco, thought to restore peace to the distracted country by granting a system of local government. This plan of autonomy came too late; the insurgents refused to discuss the proposition; the Spanish elements, represented by the Havana Volunteers, were opposed to it, and the sincere autonomist who hoped to see Cuba standing to Spain in the independent position which Canada holds towards England, were in a hopeless minority. No charges of cruelty have been brought against General Blanco, who canceled Weyler's order for concentration, but substantially the whole number of the *reconcentrados*, over two hundred thousand, were saved from starvation by charity, chiefly American. The Spanish government also consented to the distribution of the sum of $50,000 voted by our Congress for the relief of American citizens reduced to distress by the civil war. These supplies were distributed by Consul-General Lee, who likewise procured the liberation of many American citizens wrongfully confined. About the middle of January, 1898, there were many riots in Havana, the leaders being the Volunteers. Mobs went about the streets shouting "Down with Autonomy!" "Hurrah for Weyler!" and wrecked some autonomist newspaper offices, but at no time threatened American citizens. The fact, however, that such a demonstration, headed by military men, was possible, was another proof of the failure of the Spanish government to save the island from anarchy. In view, however, of all possible contingencies our government authorized General Lee to summon a warship to Havana from

Key West if such a course of action should be necessary to protect the persons or property of Americans. Several of our vessels of war had sailed southward in pursuance of a plan of winter cruising, and the presence of a naval force near Cuba was in no sense a threat, but merely an act of prudence. On the 24th of January, the battleship, the *Maine*, was ordered to go to Havana. The Spanish minister at Washington said respecting this step: "It is perfectly in accord with usage for warships of two friendly powers to enter and leave each other's ports. The warships of Spain have visited American ports three times in as many years, and if there has not been an American warship in Havana in the same length of time it is merely because the United States government has not seen fit to order one there." Still it was daily becoming more evident that the time was approaching to which both President McKinley and President Cleveland referred in their messages when the United States could no longer maintain a position of inaction and indifference.

The next incident to be recorded was a strange act of indiscretion on the part of the Spanish ambassador at Washington, Senor de Lome. He had filled his very difficult position with great ability, but at last lost his usefulness by the act of a spy and a thief. He had written a personal letter to a friend in Spain in which he spoke in terms of some contempt respecting the President and the good faith of the United States in its negotiations with Spain. This letter was stolen in transmission and sent to the Cuban committee in this country, which body, the Cuban Junta, published it on February 9th. The government at once instituted inquiries as to its genuineness and in a personal interview with the Assistant Secretary of State the ambassador acknowledged its authorship. At once, an intimation in courteous terms was sent to Madrid that Senor de Lome's recall was expected by the United States. De Lome, however, had anticipated this action, and cabled his resignation to the Spanish government, which accepted it immediately, and on February 10th he left Washington. This closed the incident, but it undoubtedly tended to aggravate the hostile feeling that was now growing rapidly, and which found expression in the Cuban debate in Congress during the same week, when Senator Mason said: "If we are to have war, let it be a war in defense of humanity. Let it be a war in defense of the weak against the strong." This, in the House of Representatives, led to the unanimous adoption of a resolution calling on the Secretary of State for full information respecting the state of Cuba.

The De Lome incident was comparatively harmless in its effects on the public sentiment compared to the appalling disaster which it is now, unfortunately, necessary to narrate, the destruction of our battleship, the *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana.

On the night of February 15, the carnival season had opened, and on the opening day, the streets of Havana were filling with crowds of masqueraders, and presented an animated appearance. The night was dark; in the bay the forms of the men-of-war and merchant ships were barely distinguishable. On the warships the buglers had sounded "taps," the boatswains' mates had "piped down" for the night, the men not on duty were in their berths, and the only life visible was the forms of the officers and sentries pacing to and fro on their stations. It was a little before ten o'clock, the inspection of the magazines had been completed, and the keys had been handed to the captain, and the captain himself was writing letters in his cabin. Then suddenly a terrible explosion shook the city, windows were broken, doors shaken from their bolts, and the sky towards the bay was lit up by an intense light, above which rose innumerable colored lights resembling rockets. An explosion had destroyed the *Maine*. Captain Sigsbee, her commander, said: "I find it impossible to describe the sound or shock, but the impression remains of something awe-inspiring, terrorizing; of noise, rending, vibrating, all-pervading. There is nothing in the experience of anyone on board to measure the explosion by." The destruction of life was appalling; of 354 men and officers on board only 101 escaped death. The ship sank very soon, bow first; many of the crew were drowned in their quarters, and the few survivors succeeded in launching only three boats. Immediately after the explosion a Spanish warship lowered her boats and did all that could be done to rescue the poor fellows clinging to the wreckage. Great masses of twisted and bent iron plates and beams were thrown up in confusion amid ships, the smoke-stack and foremast had fallen, a fire was raging amidships and occasionally an exploding shell sent its fragments through the air. "This is the work of a torpedo," an American spectator exclaimed; "it marks the beginning of the end." The funeral of the victims of the accident was the most imposing manifestation of mourning ever seen in Havana. The people of Havana, the officials, the citizens, and even the street crowds joined in offering reverent sympathy in the funeral ceremonies.

The receipt of the intelligence of this frightful disaster to one of our ships created a profound sensation in all classes of our citizens. The provocation to excitement was great, but the country at large bore the news with a calmness which indicated the inherent strength of the nation. The only exception was the rabid utterances of some sensational writers in irresponsible journals, which suggested that the tragedy was the deliberate work of the Spanish government authorities in Havana, and that revenge should be taken on the Spanish vessel of war, the *Vizcaya*, which was paying to New York a friendly cruising visit, such as the *Maine* had made at Havana. But the nation at large, as has been said, met the news with steadiness

U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE" AND ITS WRECK

and dignity. Great credit is due to Captain Sigsbee who, in a quiet, dignified self-restrained dispatch stated that any judgment upon the cause of the disaster must be postponed till after due investigation had been made. A resolution was passed in Congress assigning a large sum of money to raise, if possible, the wreck, and to ascertain the cause of the explosion. Divers were sent down to examine the wreck, and a court of inquiry began to take evidence, and before its conclusions had been published Secretary Long declared "that the element of official Spanish responsibility for the explosion had been practically eliminated." On March 28, the President sent to Congress the full text of the court of inquiry. With it he sent a brief message recapitulating the well-known facts about the visit of the *Maine* to Havana, the story of the disaster as it reached Washington, the organization of the Court of Inquiry, and its proceedings. The President also included in his message a succinct statement of the findings of the Court of Inquiry, which we quote in full:

"When the *Maine* arrived at Havana, she was conducted by the regular government pilot to buoy No. 4, to which she was moored in from five to six fathoms of water.

The state of discipline on board, and the condition of her magazines, boilers, coal-bunkers, and storage compartments are passed in review, with the conclusion that excellent order prevailed and that no indication of any cause for an internal explosion existed in any quarter.

At 8 o'clock on the evening of February 15 everything had been reported secure and all was quiet. At 9:40 o'clock the vessel was suddenly destroyed.

There were two distinct explosions, with a brief interval between them. The first lifted the forward part of the ship very perceptibly; the second, which was more open, prolonged, and of greater volume, is attributed by the court to the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines.

The evidence of the divers establishes that the after part of the ship was practically intact, and sank in that condition a very few minutes after the explosion. The forward part was completely demolished.

The conclusions of the court are:

That the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew.

That the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines; and

That no evidence has been obtainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons."

A noteworthy passage in the message is that in which the President says: "The appalling calamity fell upon the people of our country with crushing force, and for a brief time an intense excitement prevailed, which in a com-

munity less just and self-controlled than ours might have led to hasty acts of blind resentment. This spirit, however, soon gave way to the calmer processes of reason and to the resolve to investigate the facts and await material proof before forming a judgment as to the cause, the responsibility, and, if the facts warranted, the remedy due. This course necessarily recommended itself from the outset to the Executive, for only in the light of a dispassionately ascertained certainty could he determine the nature and measure of his full duty in the matter." Both branches of Congress immediately referred the message to the Committees on Foreign Affairs without debate.

The President refrained from making any immediate demand for indemnity, desiring to hear first what Spain had to say. It was understood that the Spanish Court of Inquiry reported that the destruction of the *Maine* arose from an internal accident, and there were indications that Spain would propose arbitration on all questions involved in the disaster. Even yet the question of war was doubtful. Señor Castelar, the Spanish statesman, declared that he did not believe war was possible, and our President earnestly deprecated any hasty resort to war on this account. But the real issue in the Cuban question, the disturbed state of the island; still demanded attention and preparation to meet all eventualities. Congress had on March 8th voted without debate a defense fund of fifty million dollars; and a naval appropriation bill of thirty-six millions authorized the construction of three new battleships, six torpedo boats and six torpedo boat destroyers; at the same time liberal appropriations were made for docks, yards and ordnance, purchases were made of warships from foreign powers, and in every direction the war and navy departments were to the utmost active. A statement laid before the Senate by Senator Proctor, of Vermont, at the end of March, had what may be called a decisive influence on public opinion and on the government. It was based on his recent personal experience and observations in Cuba, and gave a calm, unimpassioned view of facts, and a comprehensive survey of the state of Cuban affairs involved. He found that two of the six Cuban provinces (the eastern ones) were practically in the hands of the insurgents, and spoken of generally as "Cuba Libre;" that outside of Havana "it is not peace, nor is it war; it is desolation and distress, misery and starvation;" that every town and village is surrounded by a *trocha* (trench), a sort of rifle-pit guarded by a wire fence and by loopholed blockhouses; that these form what were virtually prison yards into which the people had been driven, to subsist as they can; that outside the fortified places and the equally fortified railway stations there was in the four western provinces hardly any human life or habitation — no crops, no pastures, no animals; that, in other words, in these provinces "the Spaniards hold just

what their army sits on;" a few and only a few sugar-mills were running, protected by the Spanish government, and also, it is said, paying tribute to the insurgents. As to the "reconcentrados," about 400,000 people were driven into the towns by Weyler's army, and Blanco's-much-talked-of modification of the order had done little good. These wretched people in many cases saw their homes burned before their eyes; "now they live — those who still live at all — in palm-leaf huts, under abominable sanitary conditions herded together with foul earth, foul air, foul water, foul food or none." The little children suffer the most, and were dying daily. It is believed that over half of these 400,000 people had already perished. If the Spanish authorities, who brought this infamy about, had done anything to help these people, systematically and efficiently, it did not appear to have come to Senator Proctor's knowledge. Relief to some extent was then coming through American contributions, administered through the Central Relief Committee and Miss Clara Barton, of the Red Cross. Senator Proctor saw in one Havana hospital (since improved by Miss Barton's agents) "four hundred women and children lying on the stone floors in an indescribable state of emaciation and disease." And he added that in other cities the conditions are worse. No possible rhetorical passion could add to the horror excited by this simple fact.

Turning to the military and political situation, Senator Proctor observed "that out of 200,000 Spanish soldiers sent to Cuba there are now about 60,000 fit for duty; the rest have died of disease, are in hospital, have been sent home, or have been killed in fighting — the last class being comparatively small. The soldiers are small, young, light in weight. They have no artillery, no tents or field equipment, do not drill, have no adequate idea of military tactics. Cavalry raiding comprises most of the fighting. The Cubans have about 30,000 men in the field, mostly in the eastern provinces, but including always some bands in Havana province itself. Ruiz and Aranguren were both killed within less than twenty miles of Havana. About a third of the insurgents are negroes. Of the total population of Cuba (1,600,000) one-eighth are Spaniards." The political situation is thus summed up:

"The dividing lines between parties are the most straight and clear cut that have ever come to my knowledge. The division in our war was by no means so clearly defined. It is Cuban against Spaniard. It is practically the entire Cuban population on one side and the Spanish army and Spanish citizens on the other. I do not count the autonomists in this division, as they are so far too inconsiderable in numbers to be worth counting. General Blanco filled the civil offices with men who had been autonomists and were still classed as such. But the march of events has satisfied most of

them that the chance for autonomy came too late. It falls as talk of the compromise would have fallen the last year or two of our war. If it succeeds, it can only be by armed force, by the triumph of the Spanish arms." And such a triumph he held to be impossible.

Our government meanwhile had been sounding the European states with regard to their attitude in case of a war with Spain, and their inquiry evoked a significant expression of sentiment from England. Never before had there been such outspoken approval of American policy, and there were not wanting indications that she would lend more than her moral support if any European power formed an alliance with Spain. Nor was Spain idle She gathered a formidable fleet at Cadiz, and dispatched a flotilla of torpedo boats to the Cape de Verde islands, there to fit up and await the fleet from Cadiz. She made appeals to various European powers, notably to Austria (the Queen Regent was an Austrian Archduchess), and at her request the Pope promised to mediate between Spain and the insurgents if an armistice could be arranged. General Blanco in consequence announced an armistice, but it was scornfully rejected by the Cubans, and the good offices of His Holiness were not demanded. President Cleveland in one of his messages had said that the time might come when intervention in Cuba would be a national duty and President McKinley repeated the sentiment in his first message. The time had now come, and after some delays the long expected message was sent to Congress on April 11th. Its tenor had been indicated a week before in an interview granted by the President to the diplomatic representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia in which they expressed a hope that peace would be maintained and order restored in Cuba, and the delay in sending it gave time for the withdrawal of Americans from Havana. Consul-General Lee, the other American officials, most of the Americans remaining in Cuba and many Cuban refugees landed safely at Key West.

The paragraphs in which the President calls for action by Congress are as follows:

"I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

"And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island I recommend that the distribution of food and

supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

"The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action."

These recommendations are followed by a reference to the suspension of hostilities in Cuba by Spain, with the comment, "If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action."

After a long review of the entire subject, and with especial reference to Weyler's policy of devastation and concentration, he adds: "It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave." He then proceeds to enumerate the attempts of his administration to improve the condition of affairs in Cuba; the peaceful overtures made to the Spanish ministry that succeeded Canovas; the successful demand for the release of the American citizens imprisoned in Cuba; the appointment of a Cuban Relief Committee; the appeal to the American people for contributions, and the action of the Red Cross Society; finally, the recent obtaining of the revocation of the reconcentrado order, and Spain's action in appropriating money for the relief of the sufferers. Still, it is said, the situation remained unendurable, and on March 27 this Government made a proposition, through Minister Woodford, looking to an armistice until October 1. To this Spain replied, offering to intrust the effort to make peace to the Cuban so-called autonomous parliament. This was quite unsatisfactory, as the parliament did not meet until May 4, and its powers were vague. What action should our Government take? Forcible annexation, the President said, would be "criminal aggression;" recognizing belligerency would "accomplish nothing toward the one end for which we labor — the instant pacification of Cuba and the cessation of the misery that afflicts the island;" recognizing the independence of Cuba has no historical precedent clearly applicable to the present situation, and, the President added, "from the standpoint of expedience I do not think it would be wise or prudent for this Government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic." As to intervention, the President held that there were good grounds for such action — first, in the cause of humanity; second, for the protection of our citizens in Cuba; third, from the injury to our commerce and the devastation of the island: fourth, from the constant menace to our peace in many and unexpected ways arising out of such a war at our doors. The last reason is illus-

trated and enforced by reference to the destruction of the battleship *Maine*. Of this the President says:

"The destruction of the noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, grief and want brought to their homes, and sorrow to the nation. . . . The destruction of the *Maine*, by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish Government cannot assure safety to a vessel of the American navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there."

In view of all these facts he adds, "The war in Cuba must stop," and then demands from Congress the powers mentioned in the paragraph already quoted.

The action of Congress was delayed by a three days' debate in the Senate, and a difference with the House of Representatives as to the wording of the resolutions in reply to the message. Finally both houses accepted the following compromise:

"First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof; and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

These resolutions were at once signed by President McKinley and directions sent to our Minister at Madrid, General Woodford, to present a note to the Spanish Cabinet demanding the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Cuba. The only notice of the action of Congress by Spain was the sending to General Woodford, before he could present the ultimatum, his letters of safe conduct. He reminded the Spanish Ministry that this was

equivalent to a declaration war and at once withdrew to Paris. At the same time the Spanish Ambassador, Señor Barnabe, who had succeeded Señor de Lome, demanded his passports and left Washington for Canada. From this date, April 21, 1898, a state of war existed between Spain and the United States, and a bill was passed by both houses unanimously declaring such a state of war.

Such a declaration had been surmised from the beginning as to the action to be taken by the President with regard to Cuban affairs, but the Cabinet at Washington was not unanimous. On the day when the proclamation of war was issued, Postmaster-General Gary resigned his office and was succeeded by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania. Mr. C. Emory Smith had long been an important figure in the organization of the Republican party; he had been editor of the Albany *Journal* and the Philadelphia *Press*, and had practical experience of diplomatic business as our Minister at the Court of Russia during the administration of Mr. Harrison. His wide experience in home and foreign politics rendered him a valuable acquisition to the President in this period of trial. Another member of the Cabinet also retired into private life, the veteran statesman and Secretary of State, John Sherman. A younger brother of our great General, William Tecumseh Sherman, John Sherman, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, in the year 1823. He was admitted to the bar in 1844, and was elected a member of Congress in 1854, in 1856 and 1858. In 1860 and 1861 he was Chairman of the important Committee of Ways and Means, and served with distinction in that capacity till he was elected by the Legislature of his native State to the Senate of the United States for six years. This period embraced the whole of our Civil War, and after the final collapse of the Southern Confederacy, Senator Sherman was the father of the bill for the reconstruction of the seceded States. He was elected to the Senate again in 1867 and 1873, and was nominated by President Hayes to the office of Secretary of the Treasury. He was again elected to the Senate in 1881, 1887 and 1893, when he left that body to join the Cabinet of Mr. McKinley. In Congress he was admired for his steady opposition to slavery, and on the outbreak of the war raised a brigade in Ohio, chiefly at his own expense. He helped the Union cause by his financial achievements in the Senate as much as his brother did by arms in the field, laboring unweariedly in strengthening public credit and providing funds for the armies in the field. To him is due the bill providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1878, and in preparation for that event he raised such a redemption fund in gold as raised the legal-tender note to its par value, so that when January 1st arrived there was no demand for its redemption. He served also in the Senate as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a

post for which perhaps neither his temper nor his training fitted him. It was with reluctance on his part, and with regret on the part of his friends and admirers, that he accepted the portfolio of State under President McKinley. In his ambition to attain the highest honor that the American people can bestow he failed. In 1880, 1884, and again in 1888, he was a candidate for the Republican nomination as President, but, popular as such a nomination would have been, he was unsuccessful. With his departure from the Senate and office a memorable link connecting the present generation with those illustrious citizens who served the Republic so well during a cruel crisis in her career was removed from public life. He was succeeded by Judge Day.

Immediately after the passage of resolutions by Congress orders were issued to every military department to dispatch all troops that could be spared to rendezvous near the Gulf of Mexico, and within a few hours 16,000 men were on their way southward towards the temporary camps at Chickamauga Park, Tampa, Mobile, and New Orleans. At the same time the squadron which had been assembled at Key West was ordered to sail and "maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, between Cardenas and Bahia Honda and the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast." According to first arrangements the fleet destined to blockade Havana consisted of the *New York*, *Iowa*, *Wilmington*, *Helena*, *Dolphin*, *Mayflower*, *Vesuvius*, *Ericsson* and *Porter*. Off Mariel were the *Nashville*, *Castine* and some auxiliary cruisers; off Matanzas, the *Amphitrite*, *Cincinnati*, *Dupont* and *Winslow*; off Cardenas the *Newport*, *Machias*, *Foote* and *Cushing*. A special squadron was formed of the *Indiana*, *Marblehead*, *Detroit* and *Mangrove*. All these ships were under the command of Admiral Sampson. Orders were also sent to Admiral Dewey, commanding the Pacific squadron, to leave Hong Kong and proceed to the Spanish colony in the East, the Philippine Islands.

The President issued a proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years; the Congress made provision for the issue of five hundred millions of three per cent. bonds, and to meet these and other expenses prescribed a system of internal taxation which was expected to yield about a hundred millions a year.

The first shot in the war was fired on Friday, April 22, by the gunboat *Nashville* across the bows of a 1,700-ton Spanish ship, the *Buena Ventura*, bound from Pascagoula to Rotterdam. A prize crew was put on board her and she was sent to Key West. On the same day the *New York* captured the Spanish liner *Pedro* off Matanzas, and the *Ericsson* a coasting schooner. Other vessels were picked up by other ships of our fleet, the most valuable being the *Catalina*, valued at half a million dollars. Other captures were the *Panama*, and the *Argonauta* with General de Corlejo and his staff on

board, that was trying to run the blockade at Cienfuegos. While the enemy thus was made to experience some of the misfortunes of war, our transatlantic liner, the *Paris*, arrived safely from England with the largest supply of gunpowder ever brought to New York.

The first warlike operation that took place was the bombardment of Matanzas by Admiral Sampson on April 27 with the *New York*, *Cincinnati* and *Puritan*. The object was to prevent the erection of new earthworks by the Spaniards, and a cannonade of twenty minutes' duration sufficed to destroy their new batteries. The bombardment was a very valuable and practical proof of the training of our sailors in marksmanship. The three ships fired very rapidly and every one of the three hundred shots struck disagreeably near the enemy's lines, a final 12-inch shell from the *Puritan* hitting the very center of the enemy's works. The Spaniards replied bravely, but without any effect, only one of their shots coming more than half way to our ships. No loss was suffered by us in accomplishing the task.

On May 1, the first naval victory was won by Commodore Dewey's fleet at Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands. This group of islands, numbering nearly 2,000, varying from rocks and reefs to the great lands of Luzon and Mindanao, are estimated to contain from seven to eight millions of inhabitants, of whom 400,000 are pagans, 300,000 Mohammedans, and the rest nominally Christians. These natives are mostly of the Malay race, the Spanish settlers being very few in number. As in Cuba, the rule of the Spanish had become intolerable, a series of revolts had taken place in the last few years, and a strong body of insurgents were in the field and in communication with the fleet of the United States. Manila, the seat of the Captain-General, lies on the east side of a wide bay on the southwest coast of Luzon; a sleepy old town, surrounded by crumbling walls. The whole Spanish population of the city is about 5,000. Two miles to the southwest of Manila lies the naval station and arsenal of Cavite.

The vessels that composed Commodore Dewey's fleet were the *Olympia*, flagship, Captain C. V. Gridley commanding; *Boston*, Captain Frank Wildes; *Concord*, Commander Asa Walker; *Petrel*, Commander E. P. Wood; the *Raleigh*, Captain J. B. Coughlan commanding, and just before the battle the *Baltimore*, commanded by Captain N. M. Dyer, was detached from the Pacific station and given to Commodore Dewey. These vessels were all cruisers — not, as many people have erroneously supposed, "ironclads," or armored battleships. Except the armor four inches thick around the turret guns of the *Olympia* there was no armor in the squadron.

Leaving the China coast the United States squadron sighted Luzon on April 30, and, after exploring Subic Bay in search of Spanish warships, Dewey resolved to enter Manila Bay during the night. The entrance to the bay is

narrow, and was defended by forts and submarine mines. It was moonlight, a night in which no squadron should have been able to run through the channel without meeting stout resistance. All the lights on board our ships were put out and they steamed unnoticed past the batteries at the mouth of the channel, and had passed Corregidor island in the bay before they were discovered. Not until most of the squadron had passed the narrowest part of the channel was a shot fired by the Spaniards. The *Raleigh*, the third in the line, replied with one of her four-inch guns; soon the *Boston* followed her example, and the *Concord* placed her six-inch shell so exactly over the spot from which the enemy had fired, that the battery was silenced. Without wasting any powder and shot on these shore defenses our ships proceeded slowly onward, timing their speed so as to be off Manila not earlier than daybreak. Much of the success of this bold entry into Manila Bay by night was due to the skill of the *Olympia's* navigator, who continued his patient and harassing labors all through the battle with never-failing accuracy and success. It should be remembered that navigating a harbor that is well lighted and buoyed is not always the easiest thing in the world, and in this case Lieutenant Calkins had no lights or buoys to guide him. The dawn began at half-past four o'clock. Our cruisers were now in close battle order, the flagship leading, followed by the *Baltimore*, the *Raleigh*, the *Petrel*, the *Concord* and the *Boston*. They had passed to the northward of Manila and were holding to the south when they sighted the Spanish squadron in the little bay of Cavite. The officer in command of the arsenal, Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasaron, was also the commander in chief of the squadron, the second in rank being Commandante General Enrique Sostoa y Ordennez, a captain in the navy. Under Montojo's command were the *Reina Christina*, flagship, *Castilla*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *General Lezo* and *Marques de Duero*, with four torpedo boats. The *Velasco* was undergoing repairs and her guns had been landed. At exactly nineteen minutes before six, Commodore Dewey quietly gave the order to fire: "You may fire, when ready, Mr. Gridley," he said to the captain of the *Olympia*. One of the *Olympia's* 8-inch guns threw a 250-pound shell at the Cavite fort, distant 5,500 yards. The *Baltimore* and *Boston* next followed, and soon a heavy fire was being given and received. The difference between the skill of the gunners and the range of the guns was soon apparent. Shells fell all about our ships, even close to them; a few struck the ships; the *Olympia* was very slightly injured; here and there rigging was cut. The *Olympia* drew a thousand yards nearer the enemy, took a course parallel to the Spanish line, brought all her guns to bear, and was followed into this closer action by the *Baltimore* and *Boston;* the former had a shot pass clean through her, but no one was killed and no

BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

serious damage done. Still nearer to the enemy went our ships, and the results of their fire became evident. Three of the Spanish ships were in a blaze, and their fire slackened. At just this point, says the *Herald* writer, "Commodore Dewey decided to give the men breakfast, as they had been at the guns two hours with only one cup of coffee to sustain them. Action ceased temporarily at twenty-five minutes of eight o'clock, the other ships passing the flagship and the men cheering lustily." After breakfast the battle was renewed; the signal for close action went up, and one by one the Spanish ships were burned and sunk. At half-past twelve a white flag appeared on the Arsenal in place of the Spanish flag. In the afternoon the *Petrel* was ordered to destroy the Spanish ships in the inner harbor, and a boat crew soon accomplished the work. As night drew near, our ships anchored off Manila, and word was sent by Commodore Dewey that if another shot was fired he would lay Manila in ashes. Admiral Montojo lost his flagship early in the fight, a single discharge from the *Olympia* killing, it is said, sixty of her crew, including her captain and other officers.

On May 1, Commodore Dewey cabled to Washington, "Manila, May 1. Squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy, and destroyed the following Spanish vessels: *Reina Christina, Castilla, Don Antonio de Ulloa, Isla de Luzon, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Marques de Duero, Cano, Velasco, Isla de Mindanao,* a transport, and water battery at Cavite. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men are slightly wounded. Only means of telegraphing is to American Consul at Hong Kong. I shall communicate with him. DEWEY."

A few days afterwards another despatch announced the final result: "Cavite, May 4. — I have taken possession of the naval station at Cavite, on Philippine Islands. Have destroyed the fortifications at bay entrance, paroling the garrison. I control bay completely and can take city at any time. The squadron is in excellent health and spirits. Spanish loss not fully known, but very heavy. One hundred and fifty killed, including captain of *Reina Christina*. I am assisting in protecting Spanish sick and wounded; two hundred and fifty sick and wounded in hospital within our lines. Much excitement at Manila. Will protect foreign residents.

DEWEY."

The most remarkable feature of this daring exploit is that we did not lose a single man. The Spanish shots were absolutely without effect. As our ships drew up for the attack in line two powerful submarine mines were exploded by the Spaniards from the shore, but fortunately ahead of our ships instead of under them. From the Cavite batteries came a heavy but ill-directed fire.

The heat was intense. Men stripped off all clothing except their

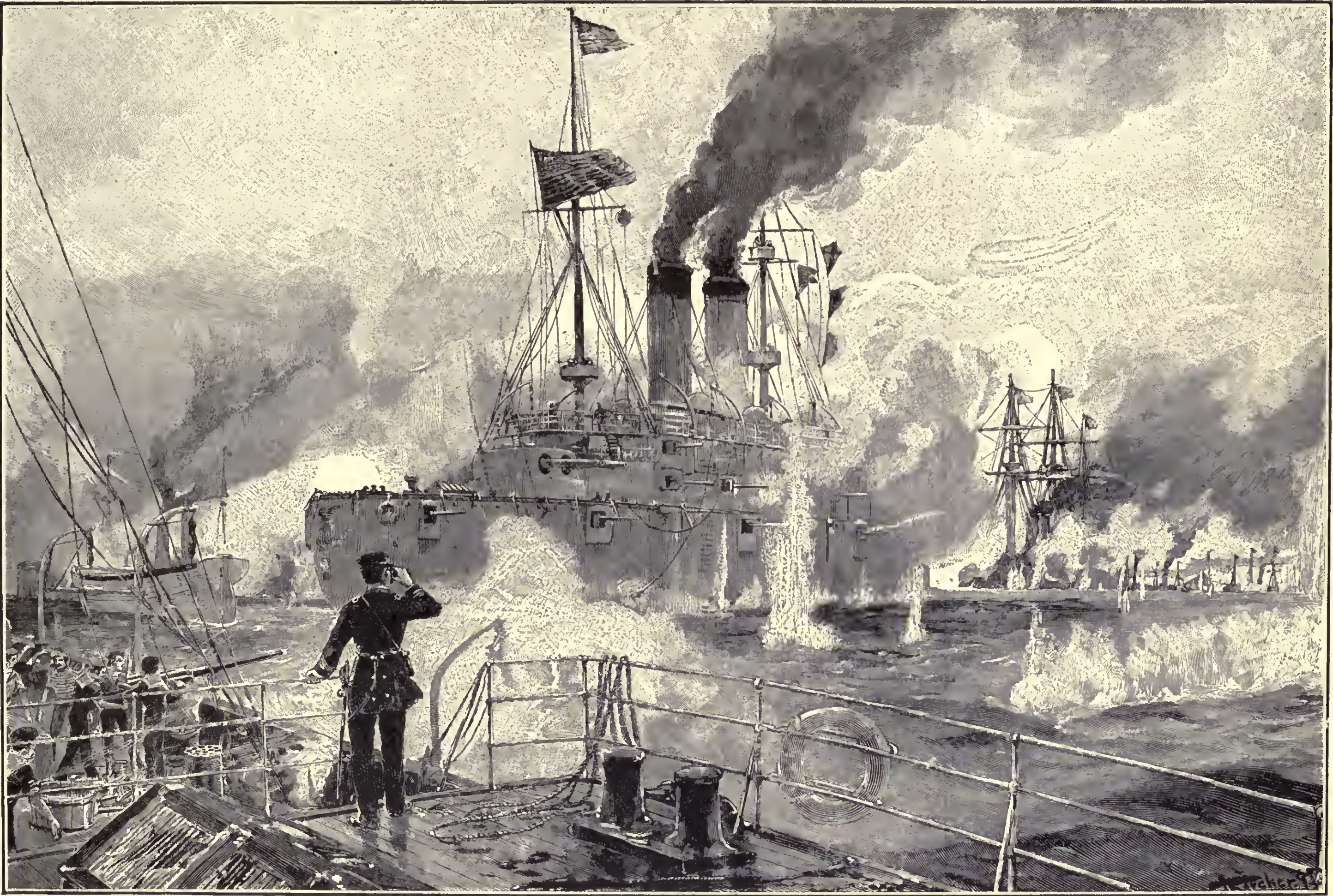
trousers. As the *Olympia* drew nearer all was as silent on board as if the ship had been empty, except for the whirr of blowers and the throb of the engines. Suddenly a shell burst directly over her. From the boatswain's mate at the after 5-inch gun came a hoarse cry. "Remember the *Maine!*" arose from the throats of five hundred men at the guns.

A letter from an engineer on board the flagship gives a graphic account of what such a naval action seems to one actively engaged in it. He writes as follows: "I happened to get permission just then to run on deck to see the fight for a few minutes. It was something dreadful, the hail of fire that struck and was striking the *Reina Christina.* The *Olympia's* 8-inch guns shot away the bridge, with the Admiral and staff and several young officers. In a few minutes she turned tail, and as she did we sent another 8-inch through her stern. I understand it killed a great many, as it went right through the ship. About half-past eight the Spaniards were demoralized, so that the *Olympia* pulled out of the fight, but the rest of the fleet made another evolution before coming out to us.

"The Spaniards fought bravely, and died to a man with their colors flying and their ships burning about them. About half-past eight the whole fleet took a rest and something to eat. At twenty minutes to eleven we went for them again to finish them up. The *Baltimore* led this time, with the *Olympia* following. The *Olympia* made only one circle, and fired about five or six rounds for each gun. We then drew out and allowed the rest of the fleet to do them up. The flag of truce was hoisted ashore at half-past three P. M. I must say there was no flag of truce hoisted on any of the ships. They died with their colors flying like brave men, brave to the last. Yes, foolishly brave, as at no stage of the game were they in it. The *Olympia* was struck only ten times. Strange, after all she went through. They fired either too high or too low, luckily for us. Practically the fight was ours after one hour and forty minutes, as we had destroyed four ships and three torpedo boats. One torpedo boat got within four hundred yards before we did her up. I tell you there was some quick shooting then. She was completely riddled."

The Spanish Admiral acknowledged the loss of four hundred men killed and wounded, including the Captain of the *Reina Christina*, killed, and Admiral Montojo wounded. It is pleasing to record the interchange of mutual respect between the victors and the vanquished. Admiral Montojo took great satisfaction in the words of praise given to him and his men by the American commander. He said:

"The Captain of the *Boston* said to my chief of staff, Capt. Boado, 'You have combatted with us with four very bad ships, not warships. There was never seen braver fighting under such unequal conditions. It is a great



AT CLOSE QUARTERS IN THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

pity you exposed your lives in vessels not fit for fighting.' Commodore Dewey also sent me a message by the English Consul yesterday saying that, peace or war, he would have great pleasure in clasping me by the hand and congratulating me on the gallant manner in which we fought."

The President at once raised Commodore Dewey to the rank of Rear Admiral, and Congress passed unanimously a vote of thanks and commendation.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

Admiral Cervera's Fleet—It Arrives at Santiago—Fight at Cardenas—Bombardment of San Juan, Porto Rico—The Oregon Arrives from San Francisco—Bombardment of Santiago by Admiral Schley—Troops under General Shafter Embark at Tampa—The Volunteers—The "Rough Riders"—Cervera's Fleet Bottled up—Hobson's Gallant Deed in Wrecking the Merrimac—The Texas at Socapa—The Marines at Guantanamo—Camp McCalla—Second Attack on Santiago—Arrival at Santiago of Transports with Troops—Landing at Baiquiri Bay—The Rough Riders in Action—Battle of La Guasina—Fight at El Caney and San Juan —Cervera Attempts to Escape—Total Destruction of His Ships—1,300 Prisoners and Cervera Captured—General Shafter Summons City to Surrender—Attack on the City—Negotiations for Surrender—The Spanish Commander Toral Capitulates—American Flag Hoisted over Santiago—Campaign in Porto Rico—General Miles Lands at Ponce—The Army Welcomed by the Porto Ricans—Skirmishes—Commodore Watson's Fleet—Annexation of Hawaii—Capture of the Ladrones Islands—The Philippine Insurgents—Aguinaldo Proclaims Himself Dictator—General Merritt at Manila—German Interference—Correspondence with Dewey—General Greene's Advance—The City Invested—Dewey Demands Surrender—Attack by Sea and Land—Manila Surrenders—General Augustin Taken Away by a German Cruiser—General Merritt is Military Governor—Fighting Stopped by News of Peace—Peace Negotiations—President McKinley's Proclamation.

IT was known that a powerful fleet of warships had been prepared for sea at Cadiz and had rendezvoused at the Cape de Verde islands, and an interesting problem in strategy exercised the minds of our naval authorities. It was, What was the destination of these vessels under command of Admiral Cervera? With a view to intercept this addition to the enemy's force, a squadron of fighting ships was detached from the fleet in front of Havana and sailed under Admiral Sampson towards Porto Rico, while the fighting squadron under Commodore Schley left Hampton Roads, May 13, in quest of Cervera, wherever he might appear. But on May 15 the Spaniard was reported as having been seen off Martinique, and on the 17th he called at Curacoa, a Dutch island off the coast of Venezuela. On May 19 he reached the harbor of Santiago de Cuba.

Our fleet meanwhile was not idle. The gunboat *Wilmington*, the torpedo boat *Winslow* and an auxiliary gunboat, the *Hudson*, while blockading Cardenas, were attacked by Spanish gunboats. The *Winslow* was disabled, and Ensign Worth Bagley and four sailors were killed and three others of her crew wounded. In the face of a most galling fire from the enemy's

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guns the *Hudson*, commanded by First Lieut. Frank H. Newcomb, rescued the disabled *Winslow*, her wounded commander and remaining crew. The commander of the *Hudson* kept his vessel in the very hottest fire of the action, although in constant danger of going ashore on account of the shallow water, until he finally got a line made fast to the *Winslow* and towed that vessel out of range of the enemy's guns, a deed of special gallantry. A fight also occurred at Cienfuegos, when men from the *Nashville* and *Marblehead* engaged in cutting the submarine cable in small open boats were attacked by the Spaniards, and one marine killed and five others wounded.

Admiral Sampson, on May 12, arrived at the city of San Juan in the island of Porto Rico and attacked the fortifications. The following account of Admiral Sampson's cruise is by an officer of his flagship, the *New York*, and may be considered to give the official report of his doings:

After making preparations to leave Key West on the afternoon of May 3 the fleet was held, apparently by orders from Washington, and did not sail until midnight, while the the flagship started early on the morning of May 4. Going direct to the blockading squadron off Havana, the Admiral was joined there by the *Iowa*, Capt. Evans, and the *Indiana*, Capt. Taylor, and proceeded eastward, arriving off Cardenas at dark. Here the other ships to accompany the expedition were found, and in order to save the coal of the *Amphitrite* she was taken in tow by the *Iowa* and for the same reason the *Terror* was taken in tow by the *New York* next morning.

Leaving Cardenas, the squadron was composed of the *New York*, *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Amphitrite*, *Terror*, *Montgomery*, *Detroit*, *Porter*, tug *Wompatuck*, and collier *Niagara*. During the afternoon of May 5 a Spanish bark from South America for Havana, with a cargo of dried beef, was captured and sent to Key West with a prize crew from the *Montgomery*.

The squadron stopped off the north coast of Hayti on May 7 and remained practically in the same place until the afternoon of May 9, when it proceeded eastward.

On the afternoon of May 11 the squadron was about sixty miles from San Juan. The Admiral and his personal staff transferred his flag to the *Iowa* and then proceeded, adjusting the speed so as to arrive off the city at daylight. It was generally supposed that the object of the expedition from the first was to engage the enemy's fleet and capture or destroy it, making the waters of the Atlantic free for American ships and shipping, as Admiral Dewey, by his victory at Manila, made those of the Pacific.

Unfortunately for all concerned, except the Spanish fleet, Sampson was unable to find them. The reconnoissance may be summed up in one man killed and two wounded on the *New York*, and three wounded on the *Iowa*.

Each of the ships was struck by one shell from the batteries, but no other ship was injured in the least, although all were exposed to a heavy fire for three hours from batteries which proved to be much heavier and composed of better guns than was generally believed.

The squadron approached San Juan during the night from the north-northwest, and all hands were called at 3 o'clock and breakfast served. At 4 o'clock it was still dark, and nothing of the shore could be seen, but with the first rays of the dawn the hills of the island began to appear, and then a call to quarters sounded. A few moments before 5 o'clock the shore was in plain view. The town was quite near, appearing, as it sits on a hill, as a mass of yellow walls with tile roofs. The whole place seemed at rest, and, judging from the weakness of the enemy's fire at the beginning, they must have been enjoying a peaceful rest, to be rudely awakened by the roar of the guns.

The squadron was now abreast of the entrance to the harbor, passing at a speed of about six knots from west to east in the following order: *Iowa* (flagship) *Indiana*, *New York*, *Amphitrite* and *Terror*, the tug *Wompatuck* about 500 yards inside the *Iowa*, for the purpose of anchoring a small boat which was to serve as buoy to mark the end of our run and the point at which to turn about after each passage of the harbor. The *Detroit* and *Montgomery* took stations previously assigned them right under the guns of the fort of Morro Castle. The first shots were fired by the *Iowa*, to which Sampson had transferred his flag, and the *Indiana*. The ships followed one another and poured broadsides into the forts as they wheeled in circles in front of the batteries. The firing went on for three hours, while over all the roaring of the fight could be heard the big 13-inch cannon of the *Indiana*. The marksmanship of the Spaniards was as wretched as it had been at Manila. Not one American vessel was fairly hit. One shell exploded near the *New York*, wrecking one of her boats, killing the only man lost in the fight, and wounding five others.

Great anxiety had been felt for weeks before these events as to the safety of the *Oregon*. This magnificent ship of war was ordered to proceed from San Francisco to Key West. It was known that she had passed Rio de Janeiro on April 30, and there were fears expressed that the Spaniards might intercept her. On May 18 Secretary Long announced that she was safe.

The report that Cervera with the fleet from the Cape de Verde Islands had entered the harbor of Santiago was followed by another that he had succeeded in leaving it, but on May 25, Commodore Schley sent to the naval authorities definite information that the Cape de Verde squadron was still in the inner harbor, where it had taken refuge, and a few days later he sighted it, or a part of it. Schley at once made preparations to attack the

place, and on May 31 he began the bombardment of the forts, the evident intention being to reduce them in order to get at Admiral Cervera's squadron at anchor in Santiago Bay.

The American fleet comprised fourteen vessels, including the *Brooklyn*, the flagship of the squadron; *Massachusetts*, *Texas*, *Iowa*, *Marblehead*, *Nashville*, *Scorpion*, and two torpedo boats and tenders.

Owing to the height of the hill on which the Morro Castle is situated at the entrance to the harbor, it was impossible for the Americans to run inshore and elevate their guns to a sufficient height to do any damage to the old fortifications. Consequently the big ships with the heavy rifles stood some distance off shore, from where they could pour in a more effective fire, while the smaller vessels, nearer the shore, devoted themselves to attacking the sand and mortar batteries on the shore beneath the Morro. The firing was apparently directed principally against the Morro, the Fort of La Socapa, on the opposite side of the entrance, and Punta Gorda, some distance from the entrance, but which could be reached by an almost straight fire from the sea.

The first shot was fired by the *Massachusetts* at 1:50 P. M., and the last by the *New Orleans* at 2:25 P. M. The object of this bombardment, which was really a mere reconnoissance, was to ascertain the position of the enemy's batteries, and their exact strength, before the arrival of Admiral Sampson's fleet from Porto Rico. No American ship was touched, and no American injured.

On the day before this examination of the harbor of Santiago took place, orders had been sent from Washington to embark 15,000 or more troops from Tampa under General Shafter. It was evident that an army of invasion would be landed in Cuba to co-operate with the fleet. The news was received with enthusiasm by our soldiers, both regular and volunteer. The President's appeal to the nation for 150,000 volunteers had been responded to with alacrity by all sections of the country; East and West, North and South were animated by the same spirit of patriotism; soldiers who fought under Grant and Sherman, and soldiers who had fought under Lee and Jackson stood side by side at the summons of a united nation. State camps were formed in every state for the enlisting of volunteers, and the men as soon as mustered in were sent to the large camps established by the Federal Government at Chickamauga, Tampa, Mobile and New Orleans, where the regiments were enrolled and drilled. Two bodies especially deserve notice — the "Rough Riders," a troop of horsemen raised by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, late Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who resigned his position at Washington to serve his country in the field, and the Mountain battery raised and equipped by J. J. Astor. Rich and

poor, the sons of toil and the children of luxury were all animated by the same spirit.

With the certainty of the support of a gallant army, Admiral Sampson resolved to prevent the escape of the Spanish navy by blocking up the mouth of the harbor of Santiago. Admiral Cervera was to be bottled up. An eye witness of this historic event gives a detailed account of the incident and the attending circumstances.

On Wednesday, June 1, Assistant Naval Constructor R. P. Hobson came aboard the *Merrimac* and announced that the Admiral had decided to run her into the entrance of the channel and sink her there. At once preparations were begun for putting into execution Hobson's plans.

While 200 men stripped the *Merrimac* of her arms, stores and portable effects on Wednesday afternoon, men on every ship were asked if they wished to go on the expedition, which, it was explained to them, would probably cost them their lives. Enthusiastic responses met the call on every ship. Hobson, on the *New York*, urged that he be allowed to command the *Merrimac*. His coolness at San Juan, where, watch in hand, he stood at the *New York's* range finder during the bombardment, timing shells, and his brave and able record carried the day for him. In making up his crew he had the choice of all the best men in the fleet. Sailors, machinists, firemen, engineers, petty officers, junior officers begged to be allowed to go.

By midnight the work had got so far that Admiral Sampson went aboard the *Merrimac* and inspected the arrangements, which he said were excellent in every way. By daybreak the ship was prepared. It was intended to sink her that morning (Thursday), but Admiral Sampson deemed it inadvisable. He sent word to Hobson not to go ahead. Hobson felt sure that he could make the effort successfully. In answer to the Admiral's order he sent this word:

"Mr. Hobson's compliments to the Admiral, and he requests that he be allowed to make the attempt now, feeling certain that he can succeed."

A positive order to wait until next morning was sent to him, and the project rested over the day.

The plan was for the *Merrimac* to go in at 2:30 o'clock in the morning. At nightfall the fleet withdrew to a distance of about six miles from Santiago, ranging itself in a semicircle. The night was clear. The moon lighted the peaks and mountain sides about the city, shadows covering the harbor entrance. The sea was smooth and all but motionless. At the hour appointed the *Merrimac* steamed up toward the harbor mouth, and the *New York's* launch ran in toward the shore to the west of the channel, directly under the Morro. A pilot was on the *Merrimac's* bridge beside

Lieut. Hobson. The ship was but a speck on the water, and could scarcely be seen from the fleet. The pilot ran her toward the harbor. His range was faulty, and she passed beyond the channel. She steamed back to a position where she could make the entrance. Then the pilot ran her to a point about four miles off the shore. There she was stopped and the forty men who had assisted in taking her that far dropped silently over her side into small boats and rowed back to the fleet. Almost before they had cast loose from the *Merrimac* they heard the sound of the jingle bell in her engine room, and she shot away in toward the harbor. Soon she was lost to view.

Then the men on the fleet fell to listening for her torpedoes. They expected to see a burst of flame from the forts. For twenty-five minutes they waited under an intense strain. Suddenly the hills on each side of the channel burst into volcanoes. It was apparent that the *Merrimac* had got to within a few hundred yards of the fortifications before she was discovered. When the Spaniards saw her they trained on her every gun from the Morro Castle and the Socapa battery that would bear, and began a cannonading that must have churned the water all about her. But she passed the forts, crossed the mine field uninjured, got fifty yards inside the bar, then she dropped her anchor and swung around. Hobson and his men waited patiently until they could drop another anchor, this one from the stern, so that it would hold her directly across the passage. She was 338 feet long, and so there were only thirty-one feet of the channel on each side that she did not occupy. Away went the last anchor at the proper moment. Still Hobson and his men stayed aboard until the vessel swung to the limit of the anchor chain and stopped. They were sure then that she would stay where she was and they launched the life raft and dropped down on board, taking with them the wires with which the torpedoes were to be exploded. The thunder of the shore batteries and the rattle and clash of musketry continued. The water was foaming with the commotion made by the shells and bullets. Hobson and his men floated down stream 150 yards, dragging the wires out after them. This was the distance for the contact to be made and it was done. The water about the *Merrimac* was lifted up by the explosion, and when it had settled again the ship was at the bottom of the passage, only her spars sticking out of the water.

Hobson and his crew of seven rowed ashore and surrendered to the Spaniards. The first news of their safety was supplied by Admiral Cervera, who sent a flag of truce offering to exchange prisoners, and giving expression of his high admiration of the gallantry of the exploit. "Daring like this," he wrote, " makes a bitterest enemy proud that his fellow-men can be such heroes." But Cervera's authority, it appeared, did not extend so far, and

negotiations had to be opened with Captain-General Blanco. He referred the matter to Madrid, and on June 20 informed Commodore Watson that the government refused to exchange prisoners. It was not, indeed, till July 6 that the brave Hobson was exchanged. The President, in a message to Congress recommending Hobson for promotion, said: "In considering the question of suitably rewarding Assistant Naval Constructor Hobson for his gallant conduct on the occasion referred to, I have deemed it proper to address this message to you, with the recommendation that he receive the thanks of Congress, and, further, that he be transferred to the line of the navy and promoted to such position therein as the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may determine."

The silencing of the Socapa battery, opposite the Morro Castle, was effectually done by the *Texas*. At the same time the gunners at Socapa have the distinction of being the first Spaniards who have succeeded in hitting an American warship since the first arrival off Santiago. Their shot killed Apprentice Blakeley of the *Texas*, who was buried at sea. Four of his eight shipmates were wounded by the shell that killed him.

The shot which struck the *Texas* was about the last fired by the Spaniards when abandoning the battery under the heavy accurate fire of the *Texas*. It entered twenty feet abaft the stem on the port side, about three feet below the main deck line, cut a jagged round hole, the measurement of which indicates that it was a 6½-inch projectile. Oddly enough, after striking the first obstruction the shell failed to explode. It passed through the hawser reel, then cut into a heavy iron stanchion at the centre line of the berth deck, leaving the upper and lower parts intact. Here the explosion occurred. Standing around at quarters, but not in action, were the crews of the two 6-pounders located at the forward compartment of the berth deck. Blakeley, who stood about two feet from the scene of the explosion, was torn to pieces.

At other points of the coast skirmishes or reconnaissances took place. The most important of these occurred at Guantanamo bay, where on June 10, a force of marines, under Colonel Huntington, from the *Panther*, were landed under protection of the *Marblehead*,

On landing the marines, 620 all told, pitched their camp on the brow of a hill overlooking the outer bay and the entrance to Guantanamo harbor. The position selected was exposed on three sides, and, occupied even by a larger body of troops, backed up by warships fn the bay, would be a dangerous place. At about 5:30 o'clock on Saturday afternoon a weather-beaten old insurgent came tearing into the camp from the road leading from the valley over to the tall hills three miles distant. He came to report the advance of the Spanish skirmish line. He was not a moment too soon,

REAR ADMIRAL
W.T. SAMPSON
REAR ADMIRAL
W.D. SCHLEY
REAR ADMIRAL
GEORGE DEWEY
MAJOR GENERAL
NELSON A. MILES
MAJOR GENERAL
ELWELL S. OTIS
MAJOR GENERAL
WILLIAM R. SHAFTER

for a bullet from a Mauser was not on his trail. Fifteen seconds later the sharp "ping" of rifles was heard, and the Spaniards were making a fierce attack on the outposts.

For nearly three-quarters of an hour shots were exchanged, now brisk, then a scattering fire across the lagoon or out of the thickets. It was nearly dark when the outermost sentries came in, hot, wearied and panting. Among the killed were Dr. J. Blair Gibbs and three others.

At least a dozen attacks were made by the enemy between dusk and dawn, the heaviest firing and the best organized attack being made about 1 o'clock in the morning. Then the Spaniards had apparently surrounded the camp. From the table land extending from the lower end of the camp to the sea, from the valley immediately eastward and from the winding road leading to the range of tall hills fronting the sea, the enemy poured in volley after volley, but the marines, though hemmed in, kept their faces to the foe.

When driven back from the outposts the sentries retreated slowly and gave shot for shot. Not one of the 600 faltered, and most of the firing was done by the Americans.

Col. Huntington had ordered the field pieces to be hauled up the hill from the landing place, and they were made ready for use. During the night, however, the howitzers were silent. It was impossible to tell the location of the enemy so as to shell the thickets and swamps without danger to the marines themselves. At no time was it possible for the skirmishers to see objects twenty yards away, and it was only by the flash of the enemy's guns that the whereabouts of the attacking party could be learned. As the camp of the marines, named Camp McCalla, after the commander of the *Marblehead*, was menaced by a fort, the Admiral decided to destroy it, and the *Texas* was detached from the fleet at Santiago for that purpose. The Spanish forces were driven away, and telegraphic communication with the French cable to Hayti restored.

On June 5, Admiral Sampson determined to make another attack on the fortifications of Santiago by a general bombardment, and prevent the Spaniards from increasing or strengthening their works, or repairing the damages inflicted by Commodore Schley. At 6 A. M. on Monday the ships slowly formed into two lines, 800 yards apart, on each side of the entrance to the harbor. To the east were the *New York*, Admiral Sampson's flagship; *Iowa*, *Oregon*, *Yankee* and *Dolphin*, while to the west were the *Brooklyn*, with Commodore Schley on board; *Massachusetts*, *Texas*, *Vixen* and *Suwanee*.

The lines were formed six miles off shore. When the ships had got into their assigned positions they steamed slowly in toward the mouth of the harbor until they were about 4,000 yards from the shore.

It was nearly 8 o'clock when the engagement was opened by a thundering roar from the flagship *New York*, and a shell from one of her 8-inch rifles went hustling through the air toward the Morro, the ancient fort which the Spaniards believed to be impregnable.

As the firing opened the two lines began to manœuvre, presenting a beautiful and imposing sight. Admiral Sampson's squadron turned to the east and Commodore Schley's to the west. At the same time the lighter ships, in obedience to a signal, steamed out of the range of the heaviest shore batteries for the purpose of attacking the light field batteries that had been erected near the beach. The battleships, remaining a considerable distance apart, steamed, slowly delivering a devastating fire on the strong shore defenses that were grouped at the mouth of the harbor.

The Spanish batteries were armed with Krupp and Armstrong guns, which were taken to Santiago by the Spanish steamer *Montserrat*. These were manned by German and French artillery experts. The marksmanship of the American sailors was, as usual, excellent, particularly in the cases of the *New York* and *Texas*.

For an hour a perfect storm of shot and shell landed in the batteries and forts, doing frightful execution. The Spaniards stood it as long as they could, and then their fire began to slacken. Shells from the fleet could be seen landing and exploding on the crest of the hill on which the Morro stands and at the bottom of which were some of the strongest batteries. As shells landed in these batteries there would be a roaring that could be heard above the din of battle, and then above the cloud of dust and masses of flying masonry could be seen guns and men blown high in the air.

The *Yankee*, manned by the naval militia, made a fine showing. She kept close inshore, fighting the batteries near the beach. The naval militia fought like old bluejackets and poured a savage fire into the enemy.

The cannonading was kept up until 10:20 o'clock, when the *New York* signaled "Cease firing," and our Admiral reported that he had silenced the fortifications without injury to American ships.

On June 16 another bombardment took place, with results as on the previous occasions, and on the 19th the last shot before the arrival of the land forces was fired from the dynamite gun of the *Vesuvius*.

On June 13 the Army of Occupation sailed from Key West. Following is the official statement of troops which left Tampa:

Infantry regiments — 6th, 16th, 71st New York Volunteers; 10th, 21st, 2d, 13th, 9th, 24th, 8th, 22d, 2d Massachusetts Volunteers; 4th, 1st, 25th, 12th, 7th, 17th, 3d, 20th. Total infantry, 561 officers, 10,709 enlisted men.

Cavalry — Two dismounted squadrons of four troops each, from the 3d, 6th, 9th, 1st and 10th Cavalry regiments, and two dismounted squadrons of

four troops each from the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, Col. Wood's regiment. Total dismounted cavalry, 159 officers and 2,875 enlisted men. One squadron, 2d Cavalry, mounted, 9 officers, 280 enlisted men.

Artillery — Light batteries E and K, 1st Artillery, A and F, 2d Artillery, 14 officers, 323 enlisted men; Batteries G and H, 4th Artillery, 4 officers, 132 enlisted men.

Engineers — Companies C and E of Engineers, 9 officers, 200 enlisted men.

Signal Corps — Signal detachments, 2 officers and 45 enlisted men; corps staff, 15 officers.

On June 20 the fleet of transports was saluted by Admiral Sampson's flagship off the Morro Castle of Santiago. They stretched out over eight miles of the Caribbean Sea, gently moving with the ground swell, as though courtesying to the grim warships which have been so long awaiting their coming. Their decks were thronged with soldiers, whose eyes were directed shoreward to the picturesque land in which they are soon to meet the foe of their country in the clash and din of battle.

As the fleet sailed up the *New York* saluted Gen. Shafter, and the transports and their convoys then wheeled into single file and paraded past the warships, each vessel dipping her flag to Admiral Sampson as she passed.

The battleship *Indiana* was in the lead. She was followed by the gunboats *Bancroft*, *Castine*, *Machias*, and *Annapolis*, in the order named. After them came a number of the troopships, which were in turn followed by a torpedo boat. Next in line were the rest of the transports, while the rear was brought up by the cruiser *Detroit* and the convoys *Helena*, *Wasp*, *Eagle*, *Hornet*, and several others.

The place chosen for the landing of the forces was Baiquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago. There was a Spanish blockhouse on a high cliff to the right of the place selected for the landing, and also a fort and earthworks on a hill to the rear. Some little time before the boats started for the shore the fleet began to prepare the way for the landing by bombarding the Spanish defenses. While some of the vessels attended to the fortifications at Baiquiri, others attacked Aguadores, Cabafias, Seboney, and Juragua, fortified places to the east and west of Santiago, it being necessary to reduce them before the troops could advance on Santiago.

Simultaneously with the bombardment a thousand Cubans ashore, under command of Gen. Demetrio Castillo, covered the disembarkation of the troops on the land side. These Cubans were transferred by the navy from Aserradero to Sigua, four miles east of Baiquiri, where they were joined by 500 others.

The fire from the ships and our Cuban allies was very heavy. From

their positions the Cubans commanded the Spanish defenses, and they poured into them a constant hail of bullets. The ships also made things so lively for the Spaniards that they had very little time to devote to preventing the landing of the troops.

The preparations for landing the men began at daybreak. Admiral Sampson gave orders for the *Brooklyn*, *Indiana* and *Texas* to engage the batteries to the west of Santiago, while the *Helena*, *Annapolis* and the *Ericsson* battered the railroad shops, in which there were a number of Spanish troops, at Los Altares, two miles to the east of Santiago. Meanwhile the *New Orleans* and the *Montgomery* bombarded the town of Aguadores, and poured such a fire into the place that the Spaniards were unable to hold their positions, and fled to the hills in wild confusion.

There was one blockhouse situated on a hill from which the Spanish flag floated defiantly throughout the engagement. When the troops had landed, however, it was found to be deserted and was at once occupied by the Americans.

It was just about midday when the signal came for the troops to leave the transports and start for the shore. The work of landing was pushed with great rapidity, and it is believed that such a number of men were never before landed from small boats in a hostile country in such a short time. The men were jubilant, and as they stepped ashore they cheered again and again. The first men of the expedition to touch foot on Cuban soil were Lieut. Simmons and Private McFarland, both New Yorkers and members of Roosevelt's Rough Riders.

The landing took place with few accidents. The army was soon on the march. It rested on Wednesday at Demojayobo, two miles from Baiquiri, and then advanced to Juragua, about eight miles from the landing place. Then the Spanish appeared in force, a skirmish took place and the enemy fell back six miles to Seville. General Young, commanding the advance, on hearing of the location of the Spaniards from Cuban scouts, got together a strong brigade and marched to beat the foe. The "Rough Riders," under Colonel Wood and Lieut.-Col. Roosevelt, were ordered to make a detour inland. The route taken by General Young's men presented few difficulties. That of the "Rough Riders" was very different.

The first part of the journey was over steep hills several hundred feet high. The men carried 200 rounds of ammunition and heavy camp equipment. Although this was done easily in the early morning, the weather became intensely hot and the sun beat down upon the cowboys and Eastern athletes as they toiled up the grade with their heavy packs. Frequent rests were necessary. The trail was so narrow that for the greater part of the way the men had to proceed single file. Prickly cactus bushes

lined both sides of the trail, and the underbush was so thick that it was impossible to see ten feet on either side. All the conditions were favorable for a murderous ambuscade, but the troopers kept a close watch and made as little noise as possible. The Rough Riders entered into the spirit of the occasion with the greatest enthusiasm. It was their first opportunity for a fight and every man was eager for it. The weather grew swelteringly hot, and one by one the men threw away blankets and tent rolls and emptied their canteens. The first intimation had by Colonel Wood's command that there were Spaniards in the vicinity was when they reached a point three or four miles back from the coast, when the low cuckoo calls of the Spanish soldiers were heard in the bush. It was difficult to locate the exact point from which these sounds came. The men were ordered to speak in whispers, and frequent halts were made. Finally a place was reached about 8 o'clock where the trail opened into a space covered with high grass on the right hand side of the trail and the thickest kind of underbush on the other. A barbed-wire fence also ran along the left side. The body of a Cuban was found on the side of the road, and at the same time Captain Capron's troops covered the outpost, the heads of several Spaniards being seen in the bushes for a moment. It was not until then that the men were permitted to load their carbines. When the order to load was given they acted on it with a will and displayed the greatest eagerness to make an attack. At this time the sound of firing was heard a mile or two to the right, apparently coming from the hills beyond the thicket. It was the regulars replying to the Spaniards who had opened on them from the thicket. In addition to rapid rifle fire the boom of Hotchkiss guns could be heard. Hardly two minutes elapsed before Mauser rifles commenced to crack in the thicket and a hundred bullets whistled over the heads of the Rough Riders, cutting the leaves from the trees and sending chips flying from the fence posts by the side of the men. The Spaniards had opened and they poured in a heavy fire, which soon had a most disastrous effect. The troops stood their ground, with the bullets singing all around them. Private Colby caught sight of the Spaniards and fired the opening shot at them. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first man to fall. He was shot through the heart and died instantly. The Spaniards were not more than 200 yards off, but only occasional glimpses of them could be seen. The men continued to pour volley after volley into the brush in the direction of the sound of the Spanish shots, but the latter became more frequent and seemed to be getting nearer. Colonel Wood walked along his lines, displaying the utmost coolness. He ordered troops to deploy into the thicket, and sent another detachment into the open space on the left of the trail. Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt led the former detachment and tore through the brush

urging his men on. The shots came thick and fast, and the air seemed filled with bullets. The sharp reports from the Spanish rifles were easily distinguishable from the heavy roar of the American guns. Sometimes the steady shooting would burst into a wild volley and these fierce storms clearing, the regular fall of bullets would continue again like steady and unchanging rain. Captain Capron, clutching his revolver, stood behind his men shooting instantly, and with faultless aim, such Spaniards as exposed themselves to view. It was while engaged in this work that he fell, mortally wounded. For twenty minutes this terrible fighting continued amid the smoke-clouded air, the fearful din of muskets, and the shouts of gallant and wounded men. Then the welcome sound of reinforcements could be heard and the Americans took fresh courage. The Spaniards were seen to be giving ground and their vollying slackened. They kept up a desultory fire for a while longer, however, and then turning, fled to a block-house some distance away. Here they rallied, but the Americans were advancing rapidly upon them and they decided not to remain in their place of refuge. When the Americans had advanced to within four or five hundred yards of the house, the Spaniards hastily deserted it and it soon fell into possession of our troops. The lay of the land placed Roosevelt's men at a great disadvantage during their approach as a comparatively small body of the Spanish sharpshooters, concealed by the chaparral, could pour down a withering fire from both sides with slight danger of effectual return from our troops.

The official reports are as follows:

"BAIQUIRI, *June* 24, via PLAYA DEL ESTE, *June* 25.

"*Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington:*

"In pushing out to occupy good position near Sevilla, to wait and intrench until supplies and artillery could be landed, the Fourteenth and Tenth Cavalry and Wood's regiment had a skirmish. Enemy was driven from his position, and Gen. Wheeler reports he now occupies his ground. Wounded: Major Bell, Capt. Knox, Capt. Wainwright, Lieut. Byram, First Cavalry, and a number of men. Above names only given. Lighters and steam-tugs asked for this morning should be sent at once.

SHAFTER, commanding."

The second message from Shafter gives further news of the first battle of regular and volunteer troops on Cuban soil:

"PLAYA DEL ESTE, *June* 25.

"Further news from Wheeler places our loss in the morning's affair about ten killed and forty wounded. Capt. Capron, First United States Volunteer Cavalry, killed. Wounded: Major Brodie, Capt. McClintock and Lieut. Thomas, First Volunteer Cavalry; Major Bell, Capt. Knox and Lieut. Byram, First United States Cavalry, Capt. Knox, seriously.

71ST REGIMENT, N. Y. V., AT SAN JUAN, CUBA

"Capt. Wainwright, formerly reported wounded, is uninjured. The names of the others killed and wounded, not yet known. The Spaniards occupied a very strong intrenched position on a high hill. The firing lasted about an hour, and the enemy was driven from his position, which is now occupied by our troops, about a mile and a half from Sevilla. The enemy has retired toward Santiago de Cuba.

"SHAFTER."

On the following day a body of our troops cut the pipe line that conveys water into the city; and thus left it at our mercy, for the few cisterns within the walls were badly contaminated.

This engagement on June 24, known as the battle of Siboney or La Guiasima, attracted attention, as it was the first in which the army was engaged. The enemy continued to retreat towards Santiago, the country being very broken and offering decided advantages to a defender and preventing co-operation between the various attacking bodies.

The disposition of our troops was as follows: The army of invasion comprised the Fifth Army Corps under Major-General W. R. Shafter, and was composed of two divisions of infantry, two brigades of cavalry, and two brigades of light and four batteries of heavy artillery. General Lawton commanded the Second Division, operating on the right, where the capture of El Caney was his principal task, and had the brigades of General Chaffee, the Seventh, Twelfth and Seventeenth Infantry; General Ludlow, Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts Volunteers; and Colonel Miles, First, Fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. In the centre General Kent commanded the First Division, consisting of General Hawkins' brigade, the Sixth and Sixteenth Infantry and Seventy-first New York Volunteers; Colonel Pearson's brigade, the Second, Tenth and Twenty-first Infantry; and Colonel Wikoff's brigade, the Ninth, Thirteenth and Twenty-fourth Infantry. General Wheeler's cavalry division contained two brigades, Colonel Summer's, the Third, Sixth and Ninth Cavalry, and Colonel Young's, the First and Tenth Cavalry and First Volunteer Cavalry. The cavalry operated at both the two principal points of attack, but fought dismounted, no horses having been shipped. At the end of the first day's fighting General Kent was reinforced by General Bates with the Third and Twentieth Infantry, coming up from the coast. On the left General Duffield engaged Aguadores with the Thirty-third and part of the Thirty-fourth Michigan and a force of about 2,000 Cubans. Grimes' and Best's batteries of artillery were with the centre and Capron's and Parkhouse's were with General Lawton on the right. General Shafter, General Joseph Wheeler, our old antagonist in the Civil War, and General Young were all

too ill to be in the field, though General Wheeler did go out in an ambulance. Headquarters were at Sevilla.

The city of Santiago is overlooked by a range of heights, two of which, El Caney and San Juan, were necessary to the defense of the place. They were both strongly intrenched, and supported with artillery from Admiral Cervera's fleet. At 6 A. M. a light battery of four guns opened fire on El Caney, but did no damage to the works, and at 8 o'clock General Lawton's infantry was sent to attack and was met by a hot rifle fire from the Spanish intrenchments. Chaffee's Seventh, Seventeenth and Twelfth Infantry still had no artillery. On the extreme right our men spread out, getting the protection of the trees and bushes, and firing every time they saw a Spanish head. They were always advancing upon the outside line of trenches. The retreat of the Spaniards prevented a flank movement on our part.

Captain Capron's artillery now resumed its firing, its target being a stone fort in front of the town. Every shot went true, but the guns were not big enough to do the necessary damage. They, however, made it so hot for the enemy that they had to leave several times. They always got back, though, before our infantry reached the outside of the town. The force was then split, going in two directions at the same time. The fighting before they reached the town was nothing compared with their reception in the town. They were fired on from all sides by the enemy, who were concealed everywhere. The trenches in view were filled with men, whose hats were visible. The Americans shot the hats to pieces, but killed none of the Spaniards, who had resorted to the old trick of placing their hats on sticks for our men to shoot at. The breastworks in the northeast corner of the town did the most damage. This position was not discovered for a long time. It fired a hot, almost resistless, fire upon our men. The Americans lay down to avoid it. The Spaniards had the range, however, and killed and wounded many of our men as they lay. The officers suffered particularly.

General Chaffee dashed here and there, giving orders and calling on his men to fight for their lives and to help their country to win a victory.

The battery was at last discovered, and that was the end of it. Every Spaniard who showed himself was picked off. The trenches ran with blood. Captain Capron at the same time silenced the fort again. Now was the time for the Americans to advance. With a yell they dashed in, led by their officers right up to the fort. The enemy fled, leaving one hundred and twenty-five prisoners in our hands.

In the centre, the battle of San Juan was opened by Grimes' battery, and the Spaniards replied with shrapnel. Little damage was done on either side, but the enemy's battery gradually ceased to fire. Then the Tenth

and Third Regiments and the Rough Riders were ordered to take the hill. As they advanced up the hill from El Pozo they had to ford several streams, where they lost heavily, and deployed at the foot of the series of hills known as San Juan under a sharp fire from all sides, which was exceedingly annoying because the enemy could not be discerned, owing to the long range and smokeless powder. They were under fire for two hours before the charge could be made and a position reached under the brow of the hill. It was not until nearly 4 o'clock that the neighboring hills were occupied by our troops and the final successful effort to crown the ridge could be made. The obstacles interposed by the Spaniards made these charges anything but the "rushes" which imaginative historians write about. The last "charge" lasted an hour, but at 4:15 P. M. the fire ceased.

The Spaniards made liberal use of barbed-wire fencing, which proved to be so effective as a stop to our advance that it is certain to take its place among approved defensive materials in future wars. It was used in two ways. Wires were stretched near the ground to trip up our men when on the run. Beyond them were fences in parallel lines, some being too high to be vaulted over. The wires were laid so close together that they had to be separated before an ordinary wirecutter could be forced between them. These defenses were laid in cultivated valleys and other open spaces which lay under the fire of the intrenchments, and the tree-tops around the clearings were alive with the enemy. Every fence compelled a momentary halt on the part of our men, and during those moments they were exposed to a pitiless fire from all sides. It is not only the strength of the wire and the sharp barbs that make this material so effective for entanglements and obstacles, but the fact that it offers no impediment to the flight of bullets. Short as the halt may be, the assaulting party is fully exposed to a rain of shot from quick-firing rifles at ranges that are known to the defenders.

The object of our attack was a blockhouse on the top of the hill of San Juan, guarded by trenches and the defenses spoken of, a mile and a half long. Our troops advanced steadily against a hot fire maintained by the enemy, who used their rifles with accuracy, but did not cling to their works stubbornly when we reached them. San Juan was carried in the afternoon. The attack on Aguadores was also successful, though it was not intended to be more than a feint to draw off men who might otherwise have increased our difficulties at San Juan. By nightfall General Shafter was able to telegraph that he had carried all the outworks and was within three-quarters of a mile of the city.

Though the enemy's lines were broken in the principal places, they yielded no more than was forced from them. and the battle was resumed on

the 2d. The last day saw our left flank resting on the bay and our lines drawn around the city within easy gun-fire. Fears were entertained that the enemy would evacuate the place, and the right flank was pushed around to the north and eventually to the northwest of the city.

The Spanish loss was heavy and included General Vera del Rey, who commanded at El Caney, killed, and General Linares, disabled by a wound. By this the chief command of the Spanish forces fell to General Jose Toral.

On the morning of July 3, the lookout on the battleship *Texas* saw smoke arising between Morro Castle and Socapa fort. Then the form of a ship appeared, and at once the signal "Enemy is trying to escape" was made to all our ships. Admiral Cervera was making a desperate effort to escape. He chose the day-time for his attempt, as he dared not pass the mine-field and the wrecked *Merrimac* in the night, and perhaps he expected that the American fleet would be less vigilant in broad daylight, when it was less probable that escape would be tried. The attempt was made under orders from the Captain-General of the Island, and Cervera knew that he was going to destruction. The ships under his command were the *Vizcaya*, *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, and the *Cristobal Colon*, all ships of about 7,000 tons and of 20 knot speed. To oppose these we had the *Brooklyn*, Commodore Schley's flagship, to the extreme west; then the *Texas*, Capt. Philip; the *Iowa*, Capt. Evans, and the *Oregon*, Capt. Clark. After these steamed the *Indiana*. The first shot fired was from the *Maria Teresa*, directed at the *Brooklyn*, and one of the first shells from the *Indiana* fell on the *Maria Teresa's* deck. The *Brooklyn* had to bear the most of the firing from three of the Spanish ships. She avoided being rammed by the *Maria Teresa*, and poured such a destructive fire on that ship that it headed for the shore, flames bursting from the hatches. At the same time the *Oquendo* and *Vizcaya* engaged the *Brooklyn*, the former Spanish vessel seeming to be willing to sacrifice herself to give the *Vizcaya* and *Colon* a chance to escape; both of these ships, when the *Oregon* came up to aid the *Brooklyn*, turned shoreward and headed straight down the coast. The *Oquendo* was soon in flames and practically out of the fight, and our two ships that had assailed her gave chase to the two Spaniards. The *Colon* was the finest ship in the Spanish navy and was rated as a 20-knot cruiser, and the *Vizcaya* outclassed in speed both of her pursuers. The *Brooklyn*, keeping outside the two flying ships, raised her speed to 16 knots and began to gain on the enemy, and the *Oregon*, with flames pouring from her funnel, and piling the water about her bows in huge cascades, rushed onward, sending shells from her 13-inch guns around the *Vizcaya*, while the *Brooklyn* poured in a shower of projectiles from her rapid fire-guns. The *Vizcaya* could resist no longer and turned to the land. She ran ashore at Asserradero

BATTLE OF SANTIAGO

17 miles west of Santiago, completely wrecked and on fire. One of her torpedoes on board exploded and wrecked her beyond repair. The *Iowa* followed up, and received the surrender of the ship and took off the survivors and a number of her crew who had swam ashore.

The same fate attended the *Colon.* At one time she reached the speed of 17½ knots, but could not keep it up, and she too was forced ashore at a distance of 48 miles from Santiago. Then she fired a lee gun and hauled down her flag and surrendered unconditionally to Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn.* The Spanish loss was four fine ships, 600 men killed and 1,300 prisoners. The Americans lost one man killed and a few wounded. Of the Spaniards who were rescued by our men the most important was Admiral Cervera. He was attempting to escape on a raft, which his son, a lieutenant, was trying to push ashore. He was taken to the *Iowa* and there received with all the honors due to his rank. Some very touching stories are told of the chivalrous respect paid by our men to their brave opponents. When Cook set out to take possession of the *Colon*, he told his men, who tumbled into his boat just as they were, half-naked and blackened with smoke and powder, not to show any signs of triumph or exultation, and they rowed in silence to the captured ship. Some one shouted *Bravo Americanos*, and the men of the *Brooklyn* shouted back *Bravo Spanoles.* Captain Philip of the *Texas*, when his men began to cheer as the *Vizcaya* burst into flames, said, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." The same officer when the battle was over called his men aft to return thanks to God for His protection, and said: "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I believe in God, the Father Almighty, and I want all you, officers and men, to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to the Almighty."

On the same Sunday, July 3, General Shafter, commanding the land forces, summoned the city to surrender, otherwise, he added, he would be obliged to shell the city. At the request of the foreign consuls, however, when General Toral refused to capitulate, the bombardment was deferred to the fifth, to allow women and children to be removed. On that day the demand for surrender was repeated and again rejected. But the truce was extended to enable Toral to communicate with his superiors at Madrid and Havana. The terms, however, proposed by the Spaniards were regarded as inadmissible, and President McKinley informed General Shafter that the United States would accept no terms but unconditional surrender. As a result, an attack on the city began at 5 P. M. on July 10, and was chiefly entrusted to artillery. The *Brooklyn*, *Texas* and *Indiana*, lying off Aguadores, threw shells over the cliffs in an effort to reach the city. On the next day the artillery in the American lines opened fire on the defenses of the city, and the fleet, having now found the range, threw in their shells at

the distance of 8,500 yards which were very effective. At the same time General Lawton pushed forward and occupied the village of Caimanes, northwest of the city. The town was now surrounded and the besieged could no longer hope for reinforcements or assistance from the rest of the Spanish army. On the 12th once more a demand for surrender was made, and again rejected, but at an interview between the lines at which Generals Shafter and Wheeler and General Toral met, a further delay was granted to enable the latter again to submit our terms to his superiors.

At length, on July 15, the Spanish commander suggested a joint commission to arrange terms, and General Miles, who had arrived July 11, and General Shafter, rode out and met General Toral under the tree between the lines, where the previous conference had taken place, and a joint commission was appointed. The terms of surrender agreed on were: "All forces and war material lying east of a line from Aserradera to Sagua to be surrendered as well as the city; the United States to transport all Spanish troops in the district to Spain, officers to retain their side arms; Spanish forces to march out with all the honors of war." This surrender included 12,000 soldiers "against whom a shot had not been fired" and the number of troops to be returned to Spain was over 24,000 men.

On Sunday, July 17, General Shafter and General Toral, with their staffs and escorts, met at 9 A. M. between the lines. The Spaniard stated that Santiago de Cuba, city and province, had been delivered into the custody of the United States, and offered to give up his sword, but it was returned to him. The two generals then rode through the city, General Shafter taking formal possession. In his dispatch of the same date he said:

"I have the honor to announce that the American flag has been this instant, 12 noon, hoisted over the house of the civil government in the city of Santiago. An immense concourse of people was present, a squadron of cavalry and a regiment of infantry presenting arms and a band playing national airs. A light battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

"Perfect order is being maintained by the municipal government. The distress is very great, but there is little sickness in town and scarcely any yellow fever.

"A small gunboat and about 200 seamen left by Cervera have surrendered to me. Obstructions are being removed from the mouth of the harbor.

"Upon coming into the city I discovered a perfect entanglement of defenses. Fighting as the Spaniards did the first day, it would have cost five thousand lives to have taken it.

"Battalions of Spanish troops have been depositing arms since daylight

in the armory, over which I have a guard. General Toral formally surrendered the plaza and all stores at 9 A. M."

During the time occupied by this Cuban campaign, preparations were pushed on for an invasion of the island of Porto Rico, and the first troops, numbering 6,200 men, embarked from Tampa, July 19. It was officially announced that "Porto Rico will be kept by the United States. Our flag once ran up there will float over the island permanently." General Miles was in the chief command and about 35,000 men formed his army, and on July 26 the first troops landed at Ponce on the southern coast of the island, a well-protected harbor with water sufficiently deep for all transports. The Spanish retreat was precipitate and four-fifths of the people were overjoyed at the arrival of the American army. At Guayama similar scenes took place. When General Haines rode through the streets the people came out and rushed towards him shouting *Vivan los Americanos!* some prostrated themselves in the road and grabbed the Americans around the knees, while others threw their arms around the necks of the soldiers and kissed them, all the time shouting "Long live the Americans!" The invasion of Porto Rico was little more than a military parade; there were indeed slight skirmishes at Coamo and Cape San Juan, but our losses were insignificant, only one of our men being fatally wounded. On the same day, August 9, Secretary Day announced that Spain and the United States agreed upon a protocol embodying terms for the negotiation of a treaty of peace, including the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Before this proposed treaty of peace can be touched upon, it is necessary to refer to some events which have been passed over in order to avoid any interruption of the narrative respecting Cuban affairs.

As long as the whereabouts of the Cape de Verde fleet, under Admiral Cervera, was unknown, it was imperatively necessary to keep our ships of war near home. The Spanish fleet might either proceed to the aid of their fleets and armies in Cuba, or might make attacks on our seaboard cities. To guard against the last submarine mines were laid in the harbors of New York, Boston and elsewhere. When Cervera was "bottled up" by Hobson's gallant exploit of sinking the *Merrimac* in the mouth of the harbor of Santiago, these fears were dissipated, and President McKinley resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. Orders were given, therefore, to detach ships from Admiral Sampson's command, and to form a fleet under Commodore Watson to attack the Spanish possessions in Europe and Africa. The knowledge of this intended expedition led to a modification of the Spanish plans. A fleet under Admiral Camara had been dispatched from Cadiz to go to the relief of the Philippine islands then blockaded by Dewey. It reached the Suez canal, but was recalled thence on the report

of Watson's expedition, to defend the home coasts. The Philippine islands were thus left to their fate.

Five years before the outbreak of this war, a treaty for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States had been negotiated. Queen Liliuokalani had been deposed and a Republic declared, and in consequence every facility was afforded to our navy and our army transports on the road to Manila, to take on supplies. In fact, we made as much use of the islands as we did of Key West or the Tortugas. President McKinley was known as an advocate of annexation, and on July 7 he signed the resolution of the Senate in its favor. On August 12, the solemn act of annexation took place in the Executive Building, Honolulu. At noon President Dole and his cabinet entered, and they were followed by the United States Minister Sewall, Admiral Miller and his staff. Mr. Sewall rose, and addressed President Dole:

"MR. PRESIDENT: I present you a certified copy of a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved by the President July 7, 1898, entitled 'Joint resolution to provide for annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.' This joint resolution accepts, ratifies and confirms on the part of the United States the cession formally consented to and approved by the Republic of Hawaii."

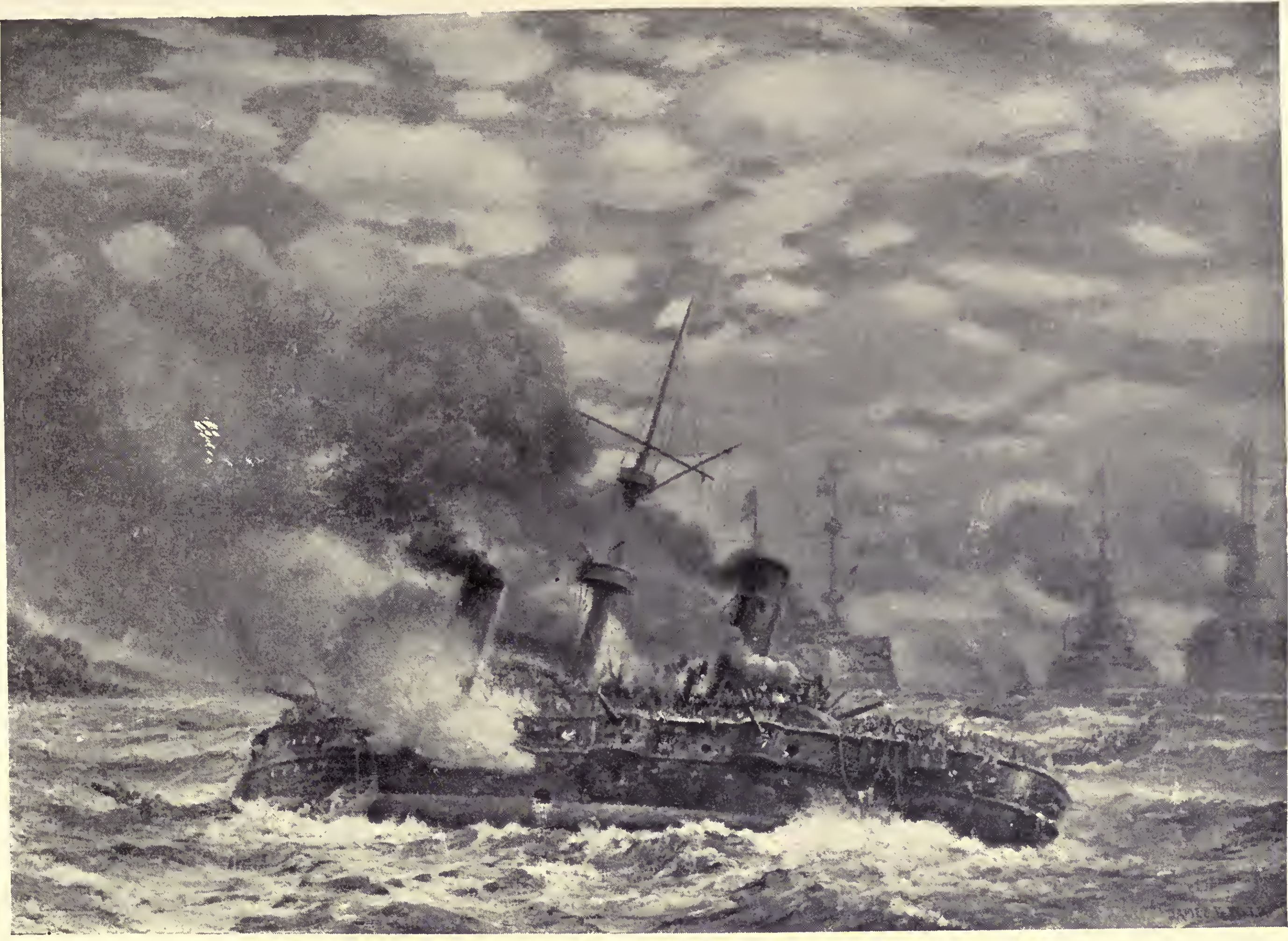
President Dole replied:

"A treaty of political union having been made, and cession formally consented to by the Republic of Hawaii, having been accepted by the United States of America, I now, in the interest of the Hawaiian body politic, and with full confidence in the honor, justice and friendship of the American people, yield up to you, as representative of the Government of the United States, the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian Islands."

Mr. Sewall's reply was:

"MR. PRESIDENT: In the name of the United States I accept the transfer of the sovereignty and property of the Hawaiian Government. The Admiral commanding the United States naval forces in these waters will proceed to perform the duty entrusted to him."

Then the flag of Hawaii fluttered, while a band played the national air "Hawaii Ponor," which means "Our Very Own Hawaii," the guns of the *Philadelphia* fired a national salute of twenty-one guns, and then it sank to the ground. The natives sadly turned away their eyes, even those in the National Guard turned them to the ground, while the women burst into tears. Then the *Philadelphia's* band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner" and the flag of the United Stated was flung to the breeze. The sight was most impressive, not because of the size of the crowd, for it was not large;



SINKING OF THE CRISTOBAL COLON OFF SANTIAGO

not for tumult, for there was little noise ; not for length of ceremonial, for the exercises were as simple as they should be when one Republic absorbs another, but because one nationality was snuffed out like a spent candle, and another was set in its place. When it was over, women who wore the American emblem wiped their eyes, and men who had been strong for annexation said, with a throb in the throat, "How sad it was."

Admiral Dewey's brilliant destruction of the Spanish fleet on May 1st, enabled him to blockade the harbor of Manila and take possession of Cavite, the arsenal of the city. As he had no land forces, he could do nothing but keep up the blockade till the expeditionary army arrived. The advance guard of 2,500 men under General Anderson sailed early in June under the convoy of the cruiser *Charleston*. A line from San Francisco to Manila passes the group of islands known as the Ladrones, and a line from Honolulu also passes through it. The Ladrones are 1,500 miles from Manila and 3,500 from Honolulu. To this remote group the *Charleston*, on her direct course. put in, took formal possession of the islands, and raised the American flag at Guam, the capital. So cut off from the world are the inhabitants that when the *Charleston* entered the harbor and saluted, the Spanish Governor hastened to apologize for not returning it as he had no powder. He had not heard of the war, and he and his garrison could do nothing but surrender as prisoners of war. They were taken on board the *Charleston* and a small American force left in their place to preserve order. A second expedition under General Greene left San Francisco June 25, and a third under General McArthur on the 27th. The chief command was held by General Merritt, who had under his orders 20,000 men.

For some years before war with the United States broke out, there had been many insurrections in the Philippine Islands, which the Spaniards could not suppress entirely. On Dewey's arrival on the scene the insurgents and their leader, Aguinaldo, entered into relations with him, and his campaigns in June and July inflicted great loss on the Spaniards. Aguinaldo, however, was not the most competent of allies. He proclaimed himself President of the revolutionary republic on July 1, and on July 22, General Anderson reported that "Aguinaldo declares dictatorship and martial law over all the islands. The people expect independence." On June 30, General Merritt cabled that he had reached Manila, and required 50,000 men, while on the following day Admiral Dewey received information that the city would surrender when summoned to do so. The explanation of these seemingly discordant statements was caused by the attitude assumed by Aguinaldo. He made no secret of his intention to kill every Spaniard he could catch, and he openly opposed the Americans. He thus doubled the difficulties that our commanders had to encounter. A difficulty requiring

consummate diplomatic skill arose from the conduct of the German ships of war, under Admiral Dietrich, in the harbor of Manila. It is customary for naval vessels of all nations to be dispatched to places where any of their citizens may be exposed to dangers of war and may want to be removed from the scene of action; thus at Manila there were two French and two English ships of war. But the German ships, four in number, amounted almost to a hostile demonstration. Their boats went about the harbor without regard to the regulations established by Admiral Dewey, and they interfered with the military operations of Aguinaldo, still our ally, troublesome, though he was, on the plea of acting in behalf of humanity. The insurgents had captured a steamer and sent her down with men to Subig bay to capture Isla Grande. The Germans compelled her to haul down her insurgent flag and raise a white one. On hearing of this Admiral Dewey dispatched the *Raleigh* and *Concord* at once. As they went in on one side of the island, the German boat *Irene* came out of the other. The American ships took possession of the island with 623 prisoners, and an immense quantity of arms and ammunition. When the *Irene* was coming out, an American ship spoke her, but did not stop her. The German Admiral protested against such interference with his ships, to which protest Dewey replied in a message to the effect: "Is there peace or war between our countries? If there is war, I want to know it. If there is peace, I want you to change your course. The way to make war is to clear up ship and go at it."

The first engagement of importance between the Spaniards and Americans in front of Manila took place July 31, when General Greene advanced his outposts to enclose the city from Camino Real to the beach. The enemy delivered a sharp attack, but the artillery outposts held their position. It was necessary, however, for our General to call out the brigade in support. On the following day another attack of the Spaniards took place, but they were again driven back. Their loss was heavy; ours 13 killed and 47 wounded. Other skirmishes took place as our army extended its lines to invest the city, and finally,.when that operation was completed, Admiral Dewey, on August 7th, sent by the hands of Captain Chichester, the senior officer of the British fleet at Manila bay, an ultimatum, demanding the surrender of the city, and although the army was not in a condition to attack. General Merritt joined in the demand. The Admiral notified the Spanish Captain-General, General Jaudenes, that the bombardment would begin in 48 hours if his terms were rejected. At the expiration of this period, another day's delay, to remove non-combatants and the sick and wounded, was granted. The neutral fleets in the harbor at once left their anchorage on the Admiral informing them that he wanted the stretch of water they

occupied; the English warships and the Japanese cruiser came across the bay and anchored near our fleet, while the French and German vessels anchored together north of their old position. Our ships meanwhile stripped for fight, sending away their boats and all useless incumbrances, and were ready to clear for action. The army, however, was not ready and it was not till August 12 that the fleet got under way. At 9:30 A. M. the *Olympia* fired the first shot, and was followed by the *Petrel* and the *Raleigh*. Their fire was directed on the quarter of the city named Malate, and the Spanish intrenchments beyond. The firing continued without any reply from the enemy till 10:30, when the *Olympia* hoisted the international signal, D. W. H. B., which means "Surrender." At noon the same signal was repeated, and still there was no reply. Then a launch bearing the Belgian flag aft and a white flag forward, left the *Olympia*, carrying the Belgian consul, M. Andre, Lieutenant Brumby, Dewey's flag Lieutenant, and Colonel Whitney to interview the Spaniards. A long delay took place. Then the launch returned to the flagship, and at 2:30 P. M. the *Olympia* hoisted the signal, "The enemy has surrendered." As soon as this was announced two battalions of the Second Oregon Regiment, who were on a steamer, were landed.

Meanwhile the army was busy on land. A fierce fight took place in the trenches. The Spaniards were driven back to their second line of defense. The ships had now suspended their fire, and our troops advanced along the beach under a hot fire from the enemy, and General Greene advanced on Malate. The suburb was soon occupied and the Spaniards driven into the walled town. Then a white flag was hoisted and the Spanish commander requested an interview with our General. General Merritt and his staff entered at 3 o'clock. The Spaniards formed in line in front of the Palace and laid down their arms.

Flag Lieutenant Brumby, with the *Olympia's* biggest flag, proceeded to haul down the Spanish emblem. He took with him two apprentice boys. When they reached the staff in front of the Cathedral a great crowd of Spaniards gathered around them. As the Spanish flag came down many men and women in the crowd wept. Then Old Glory climbed the staff, supplanting the yellow and red flag of Spain.

An army band that was coming up at the head of the troops marching from Camp Dewey happened to start playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" just at the time the flag was hoisted. This was merely a coincidence, for the band was around a corner and could not see the flag-raising. There was tremendous cheering by the Americans when the flag rose over the building, and it could be heard aboard the ships in the bay.

Perfect order was maintained by our troops as they marched into the

city, and the insurgents were not allowed by General Merritt to take part in the attack or to enter the city.

The surrender was made by General Jaudenes, the successor of Captain-General Augustin, who had been relieved of his command a few days before, and been taken by the German cruiser *Kaiserin Auguste* to Hong Kong, as the Germans assert, with the consent of General Merritt, a proceeding which others regard as nigh a flagrant breach of neutrality, and certainly an act of international discourtesy.

In the surrender of Manila about 6,500 Spanish soldiers and 12,000 stands of arms, together with an immense amount of ammunition, fell into the hands of the Americans. The honors of war were accorded to the Spaniards. General Merritt, as Military Governor, at once issued a proclamation in Spanish, stating that the United States Government has directed the General commanding to announce that the Americans had not come to wage war on the people, but would protect all in their personal and religious rights. There would be a military occupation of the island of Luzon, but until further notice all laws would continue in effect which relate to personal rights, local societies, and crime, unless they conflict with the necessary military laws as might be determined by the General commanding.

It has been already stated in the narrative of Cuban affairs, that on August 9, Spain and the United States had agreed upon a protocol embodying terms for the negotiation of a treaty of peace, and thus it will be seen that this victory at Manila took place when a state of war no longer existed between the two countries. The explanation, of course, is that as there was no direct telegraphic communication between Washington and Manila, neither Admiral Dewey nor General Merritt knew of the armistice. The protocol was signed by M. Cambon, Ambassador from France, acting on behalf of Spain, and Secretary Day, on August 12, at 4:30 P. M. About an hour before this time a portion of our fleet had begun to bombard Manzanillo on the southern coast of Cuba, but notification of the suspension of hostilities was received by our officers next morning.

Near Guayama, Puerto Rico, the news of peace stopped a battle, not a moment too soon. General Brooke had thrown out three strong columns to the left of Guayama, his plan being to force his way to a junction with General Wilson at Cayey. Three miles out beyond the scene of Monday's fight the enemy was discovered, intrenched in a splendid defensive position on the top of a hill. Light battery B of Pennsylvania had been ordered into position to begin the engagement. The guns of the first section had been brought up and a gun had been unlimbered; a shell had been placed in the chamber; a Pennsylvanian stood ready to fire. Suddenly there was a loud shout from the rear. Two men on horseback

CAMP OF NINTH INFANTRY AT LAS GUASIMAS

On This Field the Rough-Riders Fought their Battle June 24th, 1899

dashed into view, frantically waving their arms. The men at the guns waited. A message from General Miles had been received by General Brooke, directing that all hostile military operations should be stopped. The Pennsylvanians, officers and men, howled with disgust, and (when ordered to return to camp) sullenly wheeled the guns about and went, grumbling, to the rear.

When war was declared and the Spanish Ambassador left Washington, the protection of the interests of Spanish citizens residing in our country was transferred to the Ambassadors of Austria and France. Through them when it became evident to even the proudest Spaniard that Spain was hopelessly overmatched in her struggle with the United States, various unofficial proposals were made by Spain to save what she could out of the wreck of her colonial empire. At length M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, received formal credentials from the government at Madrid to negotiate with the authorities at Washington with a view to arranging terms of peace. Finally, after some delays owing to the necessity of referring many points to Madrid, M. Cambon and Secretary Day, who succeeded Mr. Sherman as Secretary of State, agreed on a protocol embodying the terms on which we should be willing to negotiate for a settlement of the conflict.

The provisions of the demand are these: (1.) Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. (2.) Puerto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter. (3.) The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines. (4.) Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation. (5.) The United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet in Paris not later than the 1st of October. (6.) On the signing of the protocol, hostilities will be suspended, and notice to that effect will be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

On August 12, M. Cambon received due authority to sign the protocol on behalf of Spain, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 4:33 of the same day his signature and that of Secretary Day were affixed to the document in the Cabinet Room of the White House. Immediately a proclamation by President McKinley was issued, which stated that the governments of

the United States and Spain had formally agreed upon the terms on which negotiations for the establishment of peace between the two countries should be undertaken, and added: "Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States, do, in accordance with the stipulations of the protocol, declare and proclaim on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and do hereby command that orders be immediately given through the proper channels to the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation."

The five commissioners nominated by the United States according to article 5 of the protocol were Secretary of State W. R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, Whitelaw Reid, and Senator Gray. The place appointed for our commissioners to meet those of Spain was the city of Paris, and there, in the rooms of the French Foreign Office on the Quay d'Orsay, the negotiations were carried on.

The news of the President's declaration of a suspension of hostilities was at once sent by telegraph to all places where the United States army and navy were engaged. At Porto Rico the announcement reached General Brooke just as he was about to open fire. Manila, with which there was no direct cable communication, was later in receiving intelligence of the armistice, and thus it happened that, a day after the President's proclamation, an engagement took place at that city, when the army under General Merritt coöperated with the fleet in attacking the capital of the Philippine Islands. Under the date of Aug. 13, General Merritt reported that "the Spanish troops, European and native, capitulated, with the city and defenses." The loss on our side was only five killed, and thus the Philippines were added to our conquests.

As soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities, our victorious ships and troops were recalled. On August 20, New York was the scene of a great naval parade. Still in their dark war paint the recalled fleets entered New York bay. In long line, the *New York*, the *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Brooklyn*, *Massachusetts*, *Oregon* and *Texas* passed amid salutes from forts and acclamations from the fleet of steamers that lined the way, up the Hudson river to the tomb of General Grant. A brilliant spectacle, a strange contrast to another parade, when the returning volunteers had to be conveyed in carriages along the route from the Battery to their armories. The army had suffered greater hardships than their brethren in the navy, and they came home, then, worn by fever and climate, yet still as brave as when they charged the heights of El Caney. All had been brave and done their duty with a devotion that no other soldiers could surpass. The regulars were, of course, in the thickest of every fight, and one of the most brilliant charges

of the war was that of the 9th United States Cavalry (colored) at San Juan. "It is a feature of the campaign," said a prominent officer, "that our colored regulars took a prominent part in every general assault against the Spanish lines, and in no case did they hesitate at the order to advance or falter at the command to charge. The faith and confidence they displayed in their white officers were grand, and their devotion to us was something beautiful." But equally brave in action, equally patient in enduring the privations and hardships of the campaign, were all the volunteer forces from every State, and all showed what American citizens of every rank and every section were ready to do when their common country called upon them for their services.

In Paris the negotiations between the American and Spanish commissioners were protracted, the chief question in debate being the future of the Philippine Islands, for, as already stated, the American forces had not occupied the capital of the archipelago till after the peace protocol had been signed, and a suspension of hostilities declared by President McKinley. Our commissioners, however, firmly insisted on the cession of these islands, as well as on Spain's abandonment of her sovereignty over Cuba and Porto Rico, and by the end of November our terms were accepted by the Spanish delegates as "imposed by superior force." On December 10th the treaty was duly signed by the two commissions, and in it the United States agreed to pay to Spain the sum of twenty millions of dollars, and Spain to renounce her sovereign rights in the above mentioned territories.

While these negotiations were being carried on in Paris, other commissions were organized by the authorities of the two powers for the purpose of effecting arrangements for the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico by the Spanish forces, and the formal transfer of the Philippines to the United States. On the 1st of January, 1899, the stars and stripes took the place of the crimson and gold flag of Spain. With this ceremony the Spanish rule of four centuries disappeared. From the signing of the protocol on August 12, measures had been taken to transport to Spain the one hundred and thirty thousand Spanish soldiers who occupied Cuba when hostilities ended, but it was not till February 5th that the last Spanish troops under General Castellanos sailed from Cienfuegos for their native land. The change of flag gave rise to no conflicts or ill feeling, and the embarkation of the troops was accomplished in good order and with extraordinary dispatch.

On January 4, 1899, the President transmitted the treaty of peace as signed at Paris to the Senate, and it was at once referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and reported favorably on January 11. On the 12th a debate began in executive session, and Senator Hoar of Massachusetts introduced (Jan. 14) a resolution declaring that the people of the Philippine Islands ought of right to be free and independent. He was

supported by several senators of undoubted patriotism, who regarded our acquisition of territory outside our natural geographical limits as fraught with peril to the republic, and tending to lead the country into a policy of imperialism, which might result in annoying complications with European powers, and in those entangling alliances against which Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned his countrymen. On the other hand, senators equally patriotic pointed to the accomplished facts. Our victories had destroyed in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines a long established government, and consequently we could not leave the regions, lately colonies of Spain, to become the prey of anarchy, but we must, in discharge of the duty which a great nation owes to the civilized world, to humanity, to the inhabitants of these regions, assume the reponsibility of insuring order as well as freedom, and of training to self-government these populations that had never had any education in the methods of creating or maintaining a government "of the people, for the people and by the people." The debate ended by the Treaty of Peace being ratified by 57 votes to 27 votes, on the 6th of February, and this ratification by the Senate was at once communicated to tne President.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

The New Epoch in Our History—The Island of Cuba—Mr. Porter and General Gomez—Our Occupation—Organization of a Cuban Republic—The Constitutional Convention—Final Report—Porto Rico—The Civil Government—Guam—The Philippines—Emilio Aguinaldo in Revolt—Attack on Manila—The President's Proclamation—Successes of Our Generals—Reinforcements Sent—The Ports Opened—Treachery of the Insurgents—Decline of the Rebellion—The Schurman Commission—Question of the Friars—Capture of Aguinaldo—He Takes the Oath of Allegiance—The LV Congress—Reorganization of the Army—Dewey's Return—Parades in His Honor in New York and Washington—The President's Message—The Gold Bill Passed—The Venezuelan Arbitration—Alaska and Canada—Government of Hawaii—Cession of Pago-Pago in the Samoan Islands—The Trans-Isthmian Canal—The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty—The Nicaraguan Canal Bill—Chinese Affairs—Troops Sent from Manila—China Appeals to the President—Our Policy Defined—The Presidential Election—The Republican and Democratic Platforms—McKinley and Roosevelt Elected—The Census of 1900—The President's Tour in the West—The Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo—The President Assassinated—His Death—Universal Grief—The Murderer Tried and Condemned—Honors Paid to the Dead President at Buffalo and Washington—His Burial at Canton—Theodore Roosevelt Takes the Oath of Office as President—McKinley's Last Speech.

ON the 1st of January, 1899, when in Cuba, Porto Rico and the far-off Philippine Islands, the crimson and gold of the Spanish flag gave way to the Stars and Stripes of the United States, OUR COUNTRY entered into a new epoch, not only of its own marvelous history, but of the history of the world. At first a few trifling colonies thinly scattered on the shore of the ocean, inhabited by sparse bands of settlers who had to contend with hostile natives, conquer an inhospitable wilderness and organize, each for itself, a system of social life, they were held together only by the loose bond of a nominal allegiance to a European power separated from them by the breadth of the great ocean which their little ships could cross only with difficulty. When the Declaration of Independence was signed and the War for Independence began, an imperfect confederation held them together till, when success crowned the patriot arms, the Constitution of the United States formed them into a Union which has grown

with their growth and strengthened with their strength, till the United States became one Nation, with sectional feuds outlived and forgotten, expanding from the ocean to the Alleganies, and from the Alleganies to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Saint Lawrence and the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico. And with its growth in territory, its growth in wealth, in industry, in commerce, in enterprise and in arms, kept pace, till all the world acknowledges the Union as the supreme master of the Western continent. Now no longer merely an American power, she takes her place as one of the great powers of the world, not encumbered by old traditions, not hampered with the accumulated burdens of centuries, but in all the vigor of youth, with youthful hopes and ideas, ready to proclaim the doctrine of true liberty in "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." That she will perform her task nobly, no citizen will doubt; that she may perform it successfully, every citizen must pray.

By the treaty of peace, signed in Paris, Dec. 10, 1898, ratified by the Senate, Feb. 6, 1899, and by the Queen Regent of Spain, March 17 of the same year, Cuba was in the military occupation of the United States. At that time the effects of the insurrection against Spanish rule and of the means taken to suppress it were everywhere visible; one-third of the population had perished, the towns were crowded with fugitives from the country districts in which the plantations had been destroyed, the crops burned, and the cattle killed, while in the towns commerce and industry had ceased. The first task of our government was to feed those in want till some crops had matured, and shiploads of provisions were sent to the distressed island. Many of the disbanded Cuban army found work in the cane fields, but some of their generals kept their commands together till the future political status of Cuba was determined. The Cubans were distrustful of the surrender of the island by the Spanish Captain-General Castellanos to our General Brooke, and General Maximo Gomez declared that he would keep his army on foot till a date for proclaiming Cuban independence was fixed. He demanded that the United States government advance sixty millions of dollars to be distributed among his men, to pay them for their services and compensate them for their losses. Mr. Robert Porter, the United States commissioner, replied that we were willing to advance three millions to the Cuban soldiers, to enable them to return home, on surrender of their arms. Finally this offer was accepted, the gold shipped from New York, and the Cuban Assembly convened, and after long and tedious discussions it was finally agreed that the money be distributed by American and Cuban commissioners, and the arms surrendered to Cuban officials in the presence of United States officers. This arrangement was finally carried out, and the arms were then shipped to Havana and Santiago

and placed in United States armories, under the charge of armorers appointed by General Gomez.

Meanwhile, Governor-General Brooke did all in his power to conciliate the natives by calling to his councils civilian subordinates and late officers of the Cuban army; his example was followed by the governors of the various provinces, and under this administration the island became peaceful and the people returned to work on reviving the industries of the island. A few Cuban politicians agitated against the prolonged military occupation and threatened revolt, but the people were content to wait for the gradual development of the Cuban republic. Many, indeed, were reconciled to the idea of the perpetuation of American administration when they saw the improvement in the organization of the police, of public schools, of justice, in the sanitation of the cities which tended to check that fatal scourge, yellow fever, and ultimately to extirpate it. The military government was made as inconspicuous as possible, and, it may be said, a normal civil government was established when General Brooke retired, and General Leonard Wood succeeded as Governor-General. The latter, on November 6, opened a convention to frame a constitution for the Cuban republic. The delegates elected by the people were instructed to draft a constitution adequate to secure stable, orderly and free government, and to state formally what, in the opinion of the convention, ought to be the relations between the island and the United States. The convention, consisting of thirty-one delegates, elected as temporary chairman Señor Llorente, Justice of the Supreme Court, and took an oath to renounce all allegiance to or to form any compact with any state or nation, to uphold the sovereignty of a free, independent Cuba, and to respect the solution of the question by the convention and the government established by the constitution. Accordingly, Mendez Capote, Secretary of State under General Brooke, was elected chairman of the Cuban Constitutional Convention. In May, 1900, a committee of this body proceeded to Washington, to discuss the delicate question of the relations between Cuba and the United States. The President received them without delay; the policy of this country was fully explained, and the 7th of May they gave, on their return home, a report of their visit. The difficulty had arisen from the so-called Platt Amendment, by which the withdrawal of our troops from Cuba is conditioned on the acceptance, as the basis of the relations between the two republics, *first*, that the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty with any foreign power that will impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner permit any foreign power, by colonization or otherwise, to obtain lodgement or control in any part of the island. *Secondly.* It shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest of which, after

defraying the ordinary expenses of the government, the revenues of the island are inadequate. *Thirdly.* That the United States may intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence and for discharging the obligations imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States. *Fourthly.* That the acts of the United States during the occupancy of the island be ratified. *Fifthly.* That plans be agreed upon mutually for the prevention of infectious or epidemic diseases. *Sixthly.* That the Isle of Pines is not within the boundaries of Cuba.[1] *Seventhly.* That Cuba shall sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at such points as the President may select. The Cuban commission, on May 16, reported to the Constitutional Convention in favor of accepting these terms. Señor Palma seemed likely to be the choice of the people for the presidency of the Republic of Cuba.

Porto Rico, like the Philippine islands, became, by the treaty of Paris, a possession of the United States, and when our rule began was in a very distressed condition. The war had paralyzed trade, Spain closed her ports to Porto Rican products, and in 1899 a terrible hurricane destroyed the food supplies of the lower classes, and nine-tenths of the coffee crop. Our army had to perform a very different duty to that which fell to the lot of their comrades in the Philippines; its principal work was to distribute 30,000,000 rations of one pound each to starving natives during the greater part of a year, and organize relief work on the roads, for which purpose a million dollars was allotted by the Secretary of War. On April 12, 1900, an act of Congress provided for the civil government of the island, the provisions of the Dingley tariff were extended to it, and on May 1 Governor Allen assumed the direction of civil affairs. He appointed a cabinet, a council comprising six Americans and five natives was created as an Upper House, and on Nov. 6 a general election was held for members of the Legislature. Since our occupation there is little to record, except improvements. New roads have been built, school-houses have been erected, and more will be established till each precinct has one; a Normal School has been completed, the administration of justice has been purified, Porto Rico made a judicial district of the United States, and an insular police, organized by an American soldier, has freed the country from robber bands and preserves order. Porto Rico is very successfully Americanized.

The island of Guam, the largest of the Marianne or Ladrone Archipelago, was also ceded by Spain to the United States by Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace. It lies in a direct line from San Francisco to the southern part of the Philippines, and is 5,200 miles from San Francisco, and 900 miles from Manila. It is about thirty-two miles long and 100 miles in cir-

[1] This was subsequently waived by the United States, and the Island of Pines was again attached to independent Cuba.

cumference, and has a population of about 8,661, of whom 5,249 are in Agana, the capital. The inhabitants are mostly immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the Philippines, the original race of the Ladrone Islands being extinct. The prevailing language is Spanish. Nine-tenths of the islanders can read and write. The island is thickly wooded, well watered and fertile, and possesses an excellent harbor.

Commander Taussig, of the United States gunboat *Bennington*, took possession of the island and raised the United States flag over Fort Santa Cruz on February 1, 1899. The present governor, who was appointed by the President in 1900, is Lieutenant-Commander Seaton Schroeder, U. S. N.

The United States flag was hoisted over Wake Island in January, 1899, by Commander Taussig, of the *Bennington*, while proceeding to Guam. It is a small island in the direct route from Hawaii to Hong Kong, about 2,000 miles from the first and 3,000 miles from the second.

In the Philippine Islands the task of the Americans was more difficult than in Cuba. The expression covers over 3,140 islands, inhabited by thirty distinct races and languages, the bulk being of the Malay stock, with a large mixture of Chinese and Japanese blood; while some parts of the islands inhabited by semi-savage tribes have never been explored, and other tribes profess the Mohammedan faith, although the Catholic religion had been imported by the Spaniards, as far as possible, after the introduction of the monastic orders into the islands in 1565. On taking possession of this archipelago, a commission was sent out by our government, and their report says: "Rich in agricultural and forest products, as well as mineral wealth, commanding in geographical position, the Philippine Islands should soon become one of the great trade centers of the East. New steamship lines, established since our occupation, connect Manila, with its population of 220,000, to Australia, India and Japan. She will become the natural terminus of many other lines when a ship canal connects the Atlantic with the Pacific; and others will be attracted by the development of the Philippine coal deposits. Our control means to the inhabitants of the Philippines internal peace and order, a guarantee against foreign aggression and against the dismemberment of the country, and commercial and industrial prosperity.

Before Admiral Dewey sailed from Hong Kong to Manila, an insurrection had broken out in the island of Luzon, and Emilio Aguinaldo, who had been leader in the insurrection of 1896, was taken by an American ship to the port of Cavité, where he landed in May, 1898, in order to organize an army to weaken the Spanish power of defense; but at no time was any promise of independence made to him in any form. The forces under Aguinaldo soon became masters of all Luzon, except the town of Manila,

into which city the Spanish forces had retired. On the arrival of American troops, he was requested to leave Cavité; but when he did so he promised independence to the Philippine people in the name of the United States government — an act entirely unauthorized. He had declared himself already president of the Philippine Republic, and continued to make every effort to be recognized as an ally and as the head of a republic. When Manila was taken, he claimed the right to occupy the city and have a share in the spoils. Such demands were, of course, repudiated, and then the relations between the Americans and Aguinaldo's forces became hostile. Assaults and robberies were committed by these insurgents on our troops; citizens and friendly natives were killed; clubs were organized to foster hatred of all things American; all males over the age of eighteen were ordered to serve in the insurgent army, and every blacksmith in Manila was kept busy forging arms. Yet an open rupture with the Americans was not desired, and many leading Philippinos asked Aguinaldo to write to President McKinley, praying him not to abandon the Philippinos; but this letter he never sent. A plan was then formed by Aguinaldo and his military chief, General Pio del Pilar, to drive out the American forces; the militia in Manila was to arise, and a general attack to be made on our small army. After a conference at which no conclusion was reached the insurgents began their attack. They advanced on the city on Feb. 4, and wounded our outposts, killing a sentinel; on Feb. 5 the Americans drove them back with great loss; on Feb. 27 an attempted rising in the city, in which all the whites were to be killed, was frustrated by General Hughes; but for weeks a reign of terror prevailed; the native population fled; the streets were deserted, and incendiary fires blazed every day. Then a vigorous campaign was begun, General MacArthur attacking Aguinaldo's main army and inflicting heavy losses, and General Otis was uniformly successful in his measures, although the enemy displayed the treachery they had employed against the Spaniards, hiding their arms and then attacking small bodies of men, and menacing the rear of the advancing army. The assurance of General Otis that the welfare of the Philippine people depended on the protection of the United States made no impression on the politicians of the Tagal provinces, among whom alone the anti-American feeling was strong; nor did the President's proclamation of April 4, warning all that the supremacy of the United States must be enforced, and promising reforms in all departments of government. Nothing was left for us but to prosecute the war, a guerilla war in which no brilliant victories could be won, but many deeds of courage performed. General Lawton drove the insurgents from Manila bay into the swamps and mountains, captured Malabon, and at the end of March, Malalos, where Aguinaldo's headquarters

were, fell. The main Philippine army was then at Calumpit, in a strong position on the Rio Grande, which was attacked by General MacArthur on April 24, when the Nebraska and South Dakota regiments swam across the river; and two men of the Kansas regiment swam, under a galling fire, to fasten a rope by which two companies of infantry under Colonel Funston were brought across on a raft. Aguinaldo continued to make proposals to treat for peace, while still preparing for further fighting when the rainy season might paralyze the operations of our army. Still, when the Phlippino congress met, on May 5, seven delegates were appointed to negotiate with General Otis; two of these Aguinaldo caught and beheaded. The delegates learned from our commissioners that the President proposed to appoint a governor-general, assisted by a cabinet of Americans and Philippinos, but that no armistice would be granted. So the war went on till the rainy season, during which additional troops, released from Cuba and Porto Rico, made the army strong enough for extensive field operations, and when further reinforcements arrived in December, most of the provinces were dominated by us, and the ports of the Philippines were opened to commerce. One great loss befell our army — General Lawton was killed Dec. 19, in a trifling skirmish at San Mateo; a soldier who in every battle had exposed himself to the hottest fire. The war then waged necessitated a dispersion of our troops, and on Nov. 1, 1899, we had on the islands no less than fifty-three military stations. The insurgents now discarded uniforms, so that we could no longer distinguish between friend and foe; disregarded all rules of civilized warfare, and their leaders in the towns, while outwardly complying with all forms of loyalty, secretly assisted the insurgents, who deliberately murdered all their own countrymen that were friendly to the United States, and created a reign of terror in districts beyond our posts. But gradually American courage and perseverance began to prevail, and in the spring of 1900 many of the leading generals and politicians of the insurrection had been captured or surrendered, and on June 21, 1900, the President directed a proclamation to be issued granting amnesty to all insurgents who made submission and gave up their arms. Numbers of the enemy accepted these terms, and soon many of their best generals co-operated with the Americans in advising submission. By August all northern Luzon except Bulacan was free from insurgents; but, misled by expressions of opinion by various American politicians during the electoral campaign, the insurgents redoubled their activity, and a Philippino representative came to this country and issued a proclamation to the effect that the war would last till Philippino independence was gained. With the close of the presidential election the rebel activity ceased, and nothing but a few marauding bands remained, and our troops were free to re-establish peace and order.

The Philippine Commission, of which J. G. Schurman was head, had reported early in the year, recommending the appointment of an American governor, of a council containing Philippinos as well as Americans, and of American provincial governors. A new commission, conveniently known as the Taft Commission, from the name of its president, was appointed, and formulated new tariff and tax laws, prepared a civil service law giving equal opportunities to natives and Americans, reformed the civil and criminal codes, and discussed the making a railroad into the rich mining districts of Luzon and the creation of public schools. The problem of the friars was one of the most troublesome questions to be considered. It had led to the first rebellion against Spain; the later insurgents expelled them from their places, and the majority of the Philippinos opposed their return. The friars had been the embodiment of all government, possessed 400,000 acres of cultivated land and large sums of money which they lent out. The United States, in the treaty with Spain, engaged to protect them in their possessions, and the commission proposed to solve the difficulty by purchasing these estates for public lands out of the island revenues.

The great event which ended the conflict in the Philippines was the capture of Aguinaldo, the inspirer and leader of the inssurection. In January, 1900, he again proclaimed himself dictator, and lived for seven months in a remote part of Luzon, till some intercepted letters betrayed his residence. General Funston, into whose hands they fell, resolved to capture him by stratagem, and laid his plans before General MacArthur at Manila. After this consultation Funston set out with four Americans, four former insurgents, three of whom were Tagal and one Spaniard, and seventy-eight Macabebes, a tribe which had been from the first on the side of the United States. All of these men spoke the Tagal language, and twenty of them wore insurgent uniforms. They left Manila on March 8, and landed near Casigauran six days after. The former insurgent officers, the three Tagals and the Spaniard were placed in apparent command; the five Americans professed to be an exploring party taken captive by the insurgents. They advanced under the pretext of an order to join Aguinaldo at headquarters. After eight days of difficult travel they reached Palaron, where he then was. The party passed themselves off as insurgent troops who had captured General Funston and others, and were taking them as prisoners to Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo furnished supplies and had his escort of forty men paraded to give them an honorable reception. The three Tagals entered the house, and then the Spaniard exclaimed: "Now, Macabebes, go for them." They opened fire and killed three of Aguinaldo's men; and he, thinking the musketry fire was a salute, ordered his men to stop firing. Then one of the Tagals threw his arms round Aguinaldo, say-

ing: "You are a prisoner of the Americans." After a fight of a few minutes the insurgents fled. The captive chief said: "I should never have been captured except by stratagem. I was completely deceived by Lacuna's forged signature." To explain this remark, it may be added that General Funston had some months previously captured Lacuna's camp, with many official papers, from which a letter was concocted informing Aguinaldo that Lacuna's best company was being sent to him as reinforcements.

After his capture Aguinaldo was taken to Manila and treated with all respect and courtesy, and after investigating conditions in the archipelago and consulting with his friends, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States, April 2, 1901, under the terms of the amnesty offered by General MacArthur. There were no charges against Aguinaldo for violating any of the laws of war, and all talk of his being brought to trial was at once silenced. However dangerous he might have been before his capture, now that he is a sworn upholder of our government, the restoration of order, the creation of civil institutions, and the industrial improvement of the islands will proceed rapidly. Colonel Funston was rewarded by being raised to the rank of brigadier-general.

When the third session of the LV Congress opened, in 1899, the state of political parties was as follows: In the Senate, forty-six Republicans, thirty-four Democrats, and ten Independents; in the House, 206 Republicans, 134 Democrats, and sixteen Independents. One of its most important acts was a bill for reorganizing the army, by which the permanent standing army was to be maintained at 65,000 enlisted men till July 1, 1901, by which time it was to be reduced to 30,000 enlisted men, and the volunteer force discharged. By the same bill a regiment of Porto Ricans was authorized, and a force of 12,000 recruited from the natives of the Philippine islands, to be commanded by officers of the regular army. Another act was also passed re-creating the rank of Admiral of the Navy, to which the President at once appointed the victor of Manila, Admiral Dewey. That distinguished officer did not return till the month of September, when he arrived on the 26th, at New York. Preparations to give him a fitting welcome by a naval parade on the 29th, and a land parade on the following day, had been made. Both these days had been declared by Governor Roosevelt to be legal holidays. On the 28th the North Atlantic squadron, under Admiral Sampson, had moved up from the lower bay, while at night the Jersey coast as far as Seabright, and the Staten Island and Long Island coasts, as far as Rockaway, were illuminated with colored fires. At noon on the 29th the parade began, Dewey's ship, the *Olympia*, leading the squadron of battle-ships, which, in its turn, was followed by a flotilla of yachts. As the procession reached a point in the North

river opposite Grant's tomb, the *Olympia* came to anchor, and with colors half-masted, fired a President's salute of twenty-one guns. At night fireworks were displayed from various points, and lighters sailed down the Hudson and East rivers, sending off fireworks on their way to the Battery, where a pyrotechnic display of both lines of lighters and others in the bay continued, not the least interesting part being brilliant electric effects. On the following day Dewey was escorted to the City Hall, where he received the freedom of the city and a loving cup of admirable design, and thence proceeded to Riverside Drive, where the parade began. It was formed by representatives of the navy, the army, the national guard of several States, and other uniformed bodies, and it was estimated 30,000 men were in line. At Twenty-third street Admiral Dewey left the procession and took his place on the reviewing stand, just above the stately memorial arch that spanned Fifth avenue. The arch, which stood between rows of columns, north and south, was, with the exception of the cost of the materials and the labor of workmen, the contribution of the American Sculpture Society. On the north the arch bore the inscription:

TO ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY,
GREETING. WELCOME. HONOR.
FROM THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK,
SEPT. XXX., MDCCCXCIX.

And the south:

TO THE GLORY OF THE AMERICAN NAVY,
IN GREETING TO ITS ADMIRAL,
TO SIGNALIZE THEIR TRIUMPHS,
A GRATEFUL CITY PROTECTED BY
THEIR VALOR.

The symbolical figures and medallions of our naval heroes were of unusual excellence, and the whole ought to have been perpetuated in some more enduring material than that of a merely temporary erection. But, more than all material or artistic testimonials to the hero, was the crowd of enthusiastic spectators who lined the shores as he sailed up the Hudson, and the streets of the city through which he passed. In the following month, Oct. 3, another brilliant demonstration in his honor took place in Washington, and a magnificent sword, awarded by Congress, was presented to the hero by the Secretary of the Navy, in the presence of the highest

officers of the country. The President spoke in fitting terms in praise of his distinguished services, and the Admiral replied in a brief and modest speech of thanks.

The main question which had divided political parties for many years and which was the one decided by the defeat of William J. Bryan, the Democratic candidate for president, by William McKinley, in the last presidential election, was that of the currency, and when the LVI Congress met, on Dec. 2, the President in his message recommended legislation to maintain parity in the value of gold and silver coin and to maintain the gold standard. A bill embodying the President's recommendation was brought in, and passed in the House of Representatives by 190 votes to 150, eleven Democrats voting in the majority, and signed by him March 14, 1900.

The bill enacted that the dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, shall be the standard of value, and all forms of money issued or coined shall be maintained at a parity of value with this gold standard. The United States notes and Treasury notes shall be redeemed in gold coin, and a redemption fund of $150,000,000 of gold coin and bullion is set aside for that purpose only.

The National Bank law was amended to permit banks to be created with $25,000 capital in places whose population does not exceed 3,000. Provision was made for the refunding of outstanding bonds at a low rate of interest, and under it bonds bearing three, four, and five per cent. interest have been refunded for bonds bearing two per cent.

Another section provided for the issue of circulating notes to banks on deposit of bonds, and for additional deposits when there is a depreciation in the value of bonds. The total amount of notes issued by any National banking association may equal at any time, but shall not exceed the amount at any such time of its capital stock actually paid in.

Every National banking association shall pay a tax in January and July of one-fourth of one per cent. on the average amount of such of its notes in circulation as are based on its deposit of two per cent. bonds, and such taxes shall be in lieu of the taxes on its notes in circulation imposed by Section 5,214 of the Revised Statutes. Provision for international bimetallism is made in the final section of the act, which is as follows:

"Sec. 14. That the provisions of the act are not intended to preclude the accomplishment of international bimetallism whenever conditions shall make it expedient and practicable to secure the same by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world and at a ratio which shall insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver."

It will be remembered that in 1896 President Cleveland appointed a

commission to examine the claims of Great Britain to territory also claimed by Venezuela. The commission took evidence as to the boundary line, but made no report as Great Britain agreed to leave the question to arbitration. An arbitration tribunal composed of American and English judges, with the Russian jurist, Martens, presiding, sat in Paris, and on Oct. 3 gave a unanimous award authorizing the inclosure within British Guiana of most of the territory embraced by the Schomburgk line drawn by that explorer in 1841, and thus removed all cause of contention respecting an affair that at one period assumed an aspect threatening the friendly relations between the United States and the United Kingdom. A *modus vivendi* was agreed upon with Great Britain regarding the boundary line between Alaska and Canada, but no permanent arrangement will be made till arbitration is appealed to. The text of the document states that "the Anglo-American Joint High Commission to adjust all outstanding questions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada having been unable to reach a conclusion at the time of the adoption of this agreement, October 20, 1899: It is hereby agreed between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain that the boundary line between Canada and the Territory of Alaska, in the region about the head of Lynn Canal, shall be provisionally fixed without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary," and further that "the government of the United States will at once appoint an officer or officers, in conjunction with the officer or officers to be named by the government of Her Britannic Majesty, to mark the temporary line agreed upon by the erection of posts, stakes, or other appropriate temporary marks." During the same session a government for the territory of Hawaii was provided, by which a Senate and House of Representatives was created, the governor to be appointed by the President. By the Samoa treaty, ratified by the Senate January 15, the island of Tutuila was ceded to the United States; an island valuable to us as containing our coaling station at Pago-pago, the best harbor in the Samoan group of islands.

The burning question of a trans-Isthmian canal, and the agitation of it, led to the drawing up of a new convention to take the place of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and on February 5 Mr. Hay, then Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote signed the document. In the old treaty it was stipulated that neither the United States nor Great Britain should maintain any exclusive control over a ship canal. By the new convention this stipulation is struck out; Great Britain concedes to us the right to build and maintain such a canal, the United States agreeing to maintain its neutrality and keep it perpetually open to the ships of all nations in peace and war. In its original form the treaty was not ratified by the Senate, which referred it

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to its Committee on Foreign Relations, and on Dec. 20 it accepted an amendment declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treated "superseded," cancelling a provision inviting the adherence of other powers to this convention, and adding that no conditions or stipulations in the treaty thus amended shall apply to measures that the United States may take for securing by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order. The President transmitted the document thus amended to the British government as a purely ministerial duty, but without any expectation that it would be accepted, as it really proposed to abrogate a treaty without consent of the other party thereto.

The Isthmian Canal Commission recommended in its report to Congress the Nicaraguan route in preference to the Panama route. Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan government declared that the concession to the Maritime Canal Company had elapsed, owing to nonfulfilment of conditions, and on May 2 the Nicaragua Canal Bill was reported from the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, by which it was enacted that the "President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized to acquire from the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, for and in behalf of the United States, control of such portion of territory now belonging to Costa Rica and Nicaragua as may be desirable and necessary on which to excavate, construct, and protect a canal of such depth and capacity as will be sufficient for the movements of ships of the greatest tonnage and draught now in use, from a point near Greytown, on the Caribbean Sea, via Lake Nicaragua, to Breto, on the Pacific Ocean; and such sum as may be necessary to secure such control is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. And that when the President has secured full control over the territory referred to, he shall direct the Secretary of War to excavate and construct a canal and waterway from a point on the shore of the Caribbean Sea near Greytown by way of Lake Nicaragua, to a point near Breto on the Pacific Ocean. Such canal shall be of sufficient capacity and depth as that it may be used by vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest depth now in use, and shall be supplied with all necessary locks and other appliances to meet the necessities of vessels passing from Greytown to Breto; and the Secretary of War shall also construct such safe and commodious harbors at the termini of said canal, and such provisions for defense as may be necessary for the safety and protection of said canal and harbors."

The President's message to the second session of the LVI Congress devoted much space to Chinese affairs. Since the war between China and Japan various European powers had taken possession, under one pretext or another, of various portions of Chinese territory. These cessions of territory created an intense anti-foreign sentiment in the country, which

culminated in the so-called "Boxer movement," and the perpetration of massacres of missionaries and native Christians, and finally in attacks on the foreign legations in Pekin. The Tsung-li-Yamen, which is the Chinese equivalent for a responsible government ministry, being itself permeated by sentiments hostile to the foreigners, could or would not take effective measures to protect the legations and allow them to depart from the country in safety. For several weeks the fate of the foreign ministers and their families and attaches, the legation guards, and the converted Chinese under their protection was in painful doubt, while reports of the most distressing character of wholesale massacres and outrages perpetrated upon the besieged, filled the world with horror.

The foreign powers, alarmed at the situation, hastily assembled their available fleets in Chinese waters and hurried troops to the ports nearest to the points of danger. An attempt to land marines at Taku was resisted by the Chinese, the forts were shelled by the foreign vessels, the American Admiral taking no part. Forces were landed by all the European powers, and some of our troops were dispatched from Manila, and attempts made to withdraw the foreign legations closely besieged by the Chinese in Pekin. The Chinese, recognizing the disinterested policy of America, made appeals to the President for peace, but the reply was that free communication with the legations must first be established. In August our minister at Pekin, Mr. Conger, succeeded in sending a cipher telegram, which read: "Still besieged. Situation more precarious. Chinese government insisting on our leaving Pekin, which would be certain death. Rifle firing upon us daily by Imperial troops. Have abundant courage, but little ammunition or provisions. Two progressive Yamen ministers beheaded. All connected with legation of the United States well at the present moment." On the 14th of that month Pekin was captured, the American troops being the first to enter the city. Our policy from first to last had been frank and open; we declared that we desired no acquisition of territory, but only that China should be free to the unrestricted commerce of the world. President McKinley, in his annual message to Congress, December 3, 1900, made the following statement of the principles which animated the government of the United States in dealing with the situation in China:

"The policy of the government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

"Faithful to those professions which, as it proved, reflected the views

and purposes of the other co-operating governments, all our efforts have been directed towards ending the anomalous situation in China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its defendants was accomplished, we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving our legation under an adequate guard in Pekin as a channel of negotiations and settlement — a course adopted by others of the interested powers."

The excitement preceding a presidential election once more agitated the country. Admiral Dewey in April announced his intention of becoming a candidate, but no serious attention was paid to it. The Republican Convention met in Philadelphia on June 19, and nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention assembled at Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai S. Stevenson, for President and Vice-President. The Republican platform declared that the Republican party came into power four years ago charged by the people to restore prosperity by two legislative measures, a protective tariff and laws making gold the standard of value, and then continued:

"This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what the Republican government means to the country than this — that while during the whole period of 107 years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

"We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

"In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic

principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs.

"We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard, and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the LVI Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured.

"We recognize that interest rates are potent factors in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the seasons and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day."

The platform also favored the policy of protection, of reciprocity, and of aid to American shipping, and demanded a more effective restriction of immigration, the raising of the age limit for child labor, and an effective system of labor insurance. With reference to the war, it said: "While the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled.

"It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given 'a new birth of freedom,' and to the American people a new and noble responsibility."

The Democratic platform denounced Imperialism, denounced the administration's policy in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, and declared that the Constitution followed the flag. With regard to expansion, its words are:

"We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizen. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands, to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens.

"We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended not by force and

violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

"The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in nowise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. *We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.*"

It declared warfare against trusts:

"We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted, providing for publicity as to affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

"We condemn the Dingley Tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

"We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of any other nation."

The platforms of other parties, such as the Gold Democracy, the Silver Republican party, the Socialist Labor party, and of the People's party (Middle of the Road) need not be quoted. The campaign was waged chiefly on the gold standard question and expansion, and was a very animated one, the Democratic candidate displaying remarkable activity in his tours through the country. The final returns showed: Popular vote, McKinley over Bryan, 849,455; over all, 446,718. Electoral vote, McKinley over Bryan, 137, and a total popular vote of 13,969,770.

In 1900 the decennial census was taken, and by it the total population

of the United States in 1900 was shown to be 76,304,799, of which 74,610,523 persons are contained in the forty-five States, representing the population to be used for apportionment purposes. The total population of the country includes 134,158 Indians not taxed, of whom 44,617 are found in certain of the States, and which are to be deducted from the population of such States for the purpose of determining the apportionment of Representatives.

The total population in 1890, with which the aggregate population at the present census should be compared, was 63,069,756, comprising 62,622,250 persons enumerated in the States and organized Territories at that census, 32,052 persons in Alaska, 180,182 Indians and other persons in the Indian Territory, 145,282 Indians and other persons on Indian reservations, etc., and 89,990 persons in Hawaii, this last named figure being derived from the census of the Hawaiian Islands taken as of December 28, 1890. Taking this population for 1890 as a basis, there has been a gain in population of 13,235,043 during the ten years from 1890 to 1900, representing an increase of very nearly twenty-one per cent. A census of Porto Rico, taken in 1899, showed a population of 953,243, but no enumeration has yet been made of the inhabitants of the Philippine group of islands.

The year 1900 opened auspiciously. The temporary flurry into which the country had been flung at the period of the presidential election had been succeeded by confidence, the Cuban question was settled, the Philippine troubles were drawing to a close; at home and abroad everything pointed to a new period of peace and prosperity. Our foreign relations were satisfactory, and a striking proof of our good understanding with England was shown by the universal sympathy expressed on the death of Queen Victoria, on Jan. 22, and testified to by more than the official tokens of our government to a friendly power, by a general display of flags half-masted, and by commemorative services in many churches. The country was happy to see again, in its highest executive position, the man whose administration will always be identified with such a remarkable development as had taken place, and under whose term it would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Our territorial expansion will have results that as yet we cannot foresee, but the most striking phenomenon of McKinley's first term was the commercial revolution. Instead of being exporters of raw material and importers of manufactured goods, we had become exporters of all kinds of industrial products. Instead of being borrowers, we had become lenders; and students of our history and of the history of the world saw that some change in our system was imminent, and who could steer the ship of state so well through the seas it had to traverse as the pilot who had guided it through other seas in safety?

On the 4th of March, William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt were inaugurated as President and Vice-President of the United States, with the greatest military and civil pageant ever witnessed in Washington; and in his speech to the people the President justified his present policy, taking the line which more fully developed in his last speech, the day before his death, at Buffalo.

On the 13th of March the death was announced of Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, the only President excepting John Quincy Adams who could count a President among his ancestors. His death left Grover Cleveland the only living ex-President. Benjamin Harrison was the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the Republic, "old Tippecanoe," and great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born in South Bend, Indiana, where his father was a farmer, in 1833; studied and practised law till he entered the army, in 1862, and when the struggle was over returned to civil life and resumed the practice of his profession at Indianapolis. In 1880 he entered the Senate of the United States, and in 1888 was elected President, with Levi P. Morton as Vice-President, on the Republican ticket, by 233 electoral votes, against 168 cast for the late President, Grover Cleveland, and Allen G. Thurman. The first great function in which he appeared was the celebration of the centennial of Washington's inauguration, at New York, in 1889; another was the opening of the World's Fair at Chicago, 1892; but at the next election he was defeated by Grover Cleveland, who received 277 electoral votes over 145 for Harrison. On retiring from his exalted position he resumed his law practice, in which the only interruption was his appointment as a member of the International Court of Arbitration by President McKinley. He was in his sixty-seventh year when he died.

On April 29 the President and Mrs. McKinley left Washington for a trip to the Pacific coast. At every place where he stopped he was greeted by cheering crowds whom he addressed. The health of Mrs. McKinley had long been a cause of anxiety to her husband and her friends, and when the presidential train reached San Francisco her condition, weakened by the long journey and its attendant excitement, necessitated a return homeward, and on May 30 he again was in his quiet home at Canton.

One of his earliest public utterances on his return was that under no circumstances would he consent to run for a third term. He had been urged to accept another nomination, but he preferred to adhere, in spite of strong solicitations from leading members of his party, to the unwritten clause in the Constitution which restricts the ambition of our Presidents to two terms of office.

In 1897 plans had been drawn up for a Pan-American exhibition at or near Niagara in 1901. The war interfered with the carrying out of the project, but when the war was over the idea was revived on a larger scale, and at the city of Buffalo. Large sums of money were subscribed for completing the scheme; the Federal Government appropriated half a million of dollars to the fund, and on June, 1899, invited all the governments of the Western Hemisphere to participate in the exhibition. A site comprising 350 acres near Buffalo was selected for the buildings, most of them in compliment to the Latin-American countries, being in the style of the Spanish renaissance, with a successful use of color. The great feature of the exposition, however, was the electrical display, and the marvellous resources of electricity were exhibited in more ways than were ever shown in one spot before. Thither the President and Mrs. McKinley, whose health was improved, journeyed, arriving Sept. 4. On Sept. 5 he delivered his last speech, defending his past policy and outlining his future course. A copy of this document we annex to this chapter.

On the following day, Sept. 6, the President again visited the exposition, and this time held a public reception in the Temple of Music. As is customary, a long line of some three thousand persons began to pass before the President about four o'clock. Policemen and detectives were near to him, and in the line, just behind a little girl whom he had kindly welcomed, came a young man, decently dressed, smooth-faced, by no means of a criminal cast of countenance, but evidently of foreign extraction. The only remarkable thing in his appearance was a white handkerchief wrapped round his right hand, as if it had been crushed. As the President leaned forward to shake hands with him (a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance), his gesture indicating that he intended to grasp the left hand, the assassin raised his right hand, dropped the bandage, and fired two shots in quick succession. One of them glanced off the breast and inflicted only a contusion; the second penetrated the stomach and lodged in the muscles of the back. The President's first thought was for his wife, and he begged that she be not informed of the attack; the next was for his murderer, who was being badly treated by the bystanders. "Be easy with him, boys," he said, as he sank into a chair. He was at once taken to a room in the building; surgical aid was summoned; an operation to close the wounds of the stomach was performed, and the medical men declared that from a surgical point of view it was perfectly successful. The President was then taken to the home of Mr. Milburn, a director of the exposition, whom he was visiting, and was resting quietly when the night came. For some days after the shooting the bulletins issued by the surgeons spoke most hopefully, late ones even predicting that he would soon be in a condition to be removed to his home. But towards

the end of the week hope was succeeded by anxiety, and then anxiety by despair, when on Friday morning a relapse took place and the President was lying a dying man. He calmly bade good-bye to those near and dear to him; his last words were: "It is God's way; His will be done, not ours," and he repeated some of the words of his favorite hymn, "Nearer, my God, to Thee." The cause of death was gangrene, as was shown by the necropsy, and the theory that the bullet was poisoned was rejected. Fourteen medical men of eminence united in declaring that death was the direct result of the wound, and could not have been warded off by any human skill.

On Sunday, after simple funeral exercises in the presence of the family, the body was removed to the City Hall, where it lay in state, while 90,000 persons passed reverently before the remains. On Monday the transference to Washington began; at every station the train was met by silent crowds. On Tuesday the obsequies at Washington took place; there was an elaborate escort of honor, and religious services at the Capitol. The coffin was laid on a platform where Lincoln's remains once rested. On the right stood the members of the late President's family, on the left the new President, Theodore Roosevelt, with his family. Thursday may be described as the people's day of mourning, when the body was taken to his family tomb at Canton. Then, in every city or village of the Union, all flags were at half-mast, all public and many private buildings draped in black or black and purple, all business was suspended, all places of amusement closed, all churches crowded, and the moment of interment was marked throughout the country by the stopping for a few minutes of all traffic; every railroad train, every trolley car, every carriage, every kind of conveyance, heavy or light, paused in reverence and sympathy, as all that was mortal of William McKinley was laid in its grave.

After the assault the assassin was at once seized. He gave the name of Leon Czolgosz, and was a Pole by descent, although born in America. He avowed his belief in Anarchism, but denied that he was the agent of any society or conspiracy. He was twenty-eight years old, attended school at Detroit, and, although not very intelligent in appearance, was by no means repulsive. The police took all precautions against any attempts at lynching, and his trial began at Buffalo Sept. 23. The case was carried on with dignity and promptness. The prisoner had pleaded guilty, but this plea was not accepted, and counsel was assigned to him by the court. The jury was selected with little difficulty, the evidence was brief, and sentence of death was at once pronounced. He was executed in October at the prison at Auburn. Let him be forgotten.

The murder of President McKinley gave as great a shock to Europe as

to America. Every State, when the news was flashed across, gave expression to its abhorrence of the assassin's deed, to sympathy with the victim's family, and to good wishes for his recovery. Telegrams from every sovereign and from the Republics of France and Switzerland, all agreed in the messages sent during the last days, and when the end came every country put on signs of mourning, and in England the newspapers appeared with black rules, and services were held in the churches. Never, perhaps, had such general grief been felt, so causeless was the crime. The victim was a man of blameless private character, who had not a personal enemy; the time chosen was when the party struggle was over, and the assassin seemingly had no possible motive to commit his crime.

The first of McKinley's forefathers born in this country served in the Revolutionary war, and, that ended, moved from Pennsylvania to Ohio. There, on Jan. 29, 1843, at a village called Niles, the late President was born. After a common school education, a partial course at Allegany College, and a few months of teaching school he entered the army in the 23d Ohio Regiment, of which Rutherford B. Hayes was Major. Till the regiment was disbanded he was only once absent on a short furlough, and he left it with the rank of Major. He then studied law, took up his abode in Canton, and took an active share in political life. In 1875 he took the stump for his old commander, Hayes; in 1876 he was elected to Congress, where he soon became noted as an advocate of the protective system. As Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee he gave his name to the bill passed by the LI Congress, which is known as the McKinley Bill. Defeated for another term in Congress, he was elected Governor by 20,000 votes against the Democratic candidate. Re-elected Governor by a majority of 80,000, his prominence in the National Convention of 1888, made him a prominent candidate for the Presidency, and his nomination in 1896 was a logical one. The events of the first administration have been already recorded in the pages of OUR COUNTRY, and of them may be here quoted the words of Senator Thurston:

"The achievements of this administration have not only made us a world-wide power, but a power in the whole wide world. The prestige gained for us as a people will be lasting and permanent, guaranteeing continued peace with all other nations, giving us equal advantages for trade and commerce in all other countries, and enabling us to project the mighty energy of all our business enterprises into every field of commercial opportunity and activity.

"In spite of anything said to the contrary, the President has stood by the Constitution of the fathers and has exercised no power or authority without warrant of law.

LAST MOMENTS OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

"In the recent Chinese complications the valor of the American soldiery has been once more exemplified, and the steadfast, conservative, humane position of William McKinley toward the people of the Orient has compelled the great military powers of Europe to modify their more barbarous and selfish plans to meet the requirements of the American conscience.

"Take it all in all, historians will say that the first administration of William McKinley, in peace, in war, at home, abroad, in domestic matters and in international complications, surpasses in importance and abiding results that of any other. It stands to-day indorsed by the American people and approved by the best judgment of the civilized world."

In an address four days before President McKinley's speech at Buffalo, Vice-President Roosevelt, at Minneapolis, gave an exposition of his favorite text, "a strenuous life." "The willfully idle man, like the willfully barren woman, has no place in a sane and vigorous community. We must use no words that we cannot back up with deeds," he said, and added that "the same spirit of strenuous endeavor must characterize the nation as well as the individual; that commercially we ask only for a fair field and no favor, and that we can best get justice by doing justice." Respecting Cuba, he said that we have given the island law and order, and ask in return only that at no time their independence shall be prostituted to the advantage of some foreign power so as to menace our well-being. As to the Philippines, he remarked: "Barbarism can have no place in a civilized world," and that Governor Taft was giving the islands "a peace and liberty of which they never dreamed." Compared with the President's speech the day before he was attacked, this expressed the policy of the administration and the policy, now that he has succeeded to the supreme executive office, President Roosevelt will carry out.

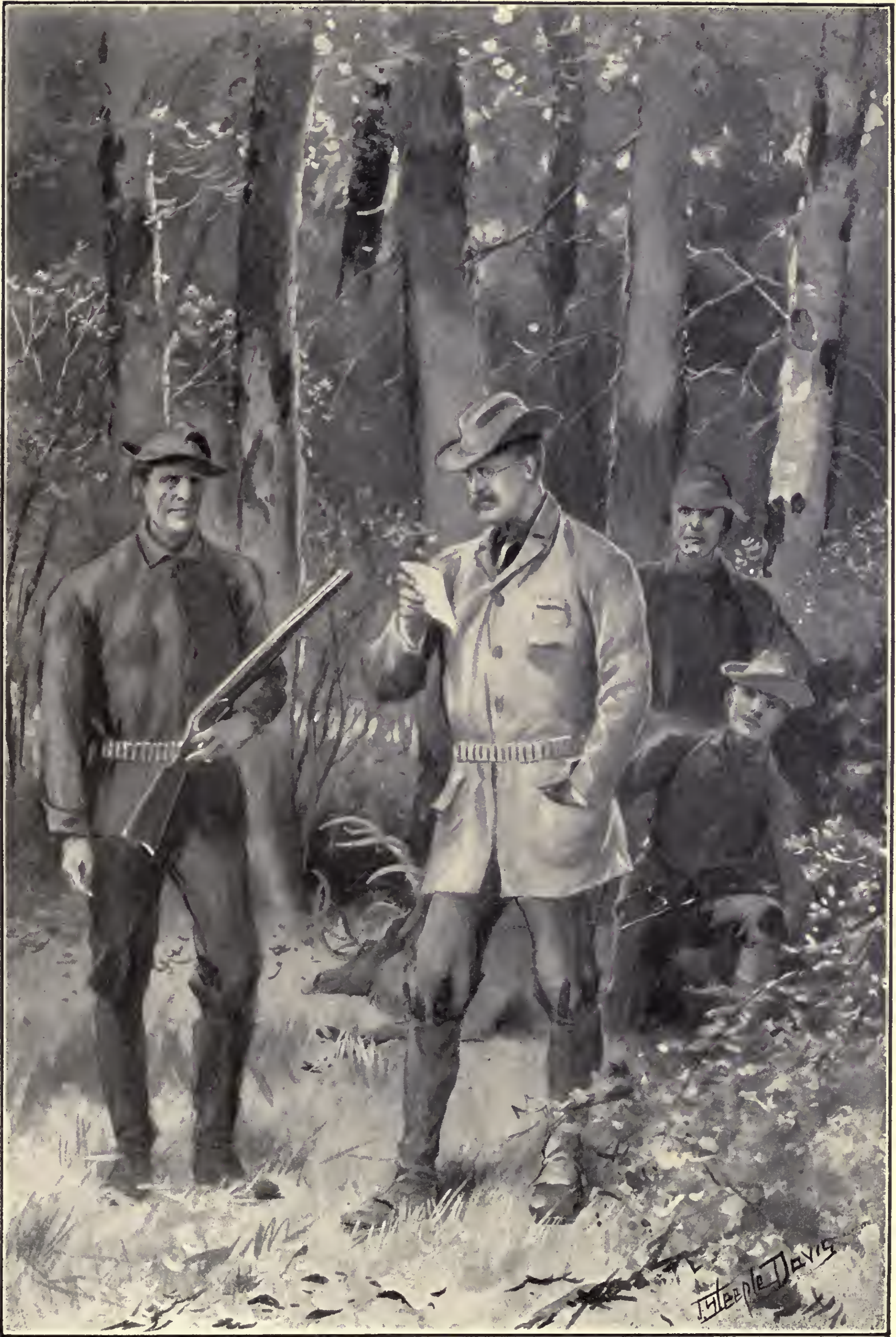
As soon as the assault on President McKinley was known the Vice-President and the Cabinet were summoned to Buffalo. The physicians then were all hopeful of the President's recovery, and Mr. Roosevelt went to the Adirondacks to bring his family home. When death was seen to be inevitable another message was sent to recall him. He at once set out and reached Buffalo on Saturday afternoon. The oath of office as President was administered at once in the presence of five members of the Cabinet, and before taking it he made the declaration: "I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country." He announced that all the members of the Cabinet had been requested to retain office, and that no special session of Congress would be called. President Roosevelt's first official act was to issue a proclamation appoint-

ing Thursday, Sept. 19, the day of McKinley's funeral, as a day of mourning and prayer, and in it occurred the sentence: "President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow-men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people."

Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-fifth President of the United States, is the youngest man who ever filled the office of President. He is, too, we may say, one of the most romantic figures that have appeared in our annals. A scholar and a ranchman, an author and a soldier, a lawyer and a politician, he has in abundant measure the qualities that make men great when they are united with courage and integrity, and, to use his own words, strenuousness. Eight generations of his family have been prominent in the affairs of New York State, and Theodore, only a year after leaving college, entered the Assembly at Albany, in which he served three terms, becoming noticeable by his opposition to the "third term scheme." He was unsuccessful as Republican candidate for Mayor of New York against Abram S. Hewitt, but he did admirable work for his party when he acted as Police Commissioner under Mayor Strong in 1895. He was appointed, in 1897, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and his work in preparing the navy for the war was warmly acknowledged by Secretary Long and the President. When the war broke out he, inspired by his own maxim, "We must use no words that we cannot back up by deeds," resigned his position at Washington, and with his Rough Riders proceeded to Cuba. The war over, he was elected Governor of New York, and in the late campaign accepted, with reluctance, the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He undoubtedly, by the reputation he had already won and the energy he exhibited in the campaign, contributed to the success of the ticket.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S LAST SPEECH.

President Milburn, Director-General Buchanan, Commissioners, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to again be in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally honored. To-day I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this Exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interest and success. To the Commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British Colonies, the French Colonies, the republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the Commissioners of Cuba and Porto



THEODORE ROOSEVELT RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship, and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education and manufacture, which the old has bequeathed to the new century.

Expositions are the time-keepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people, and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step.

Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of men. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and low prices to win their favor. The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other peoples, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture, and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the Powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will co-operate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and invention is an international asset, and a common glory.

After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world. Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never

before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and larger trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom.

The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occuring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor. It took a special messenger of the Government, with every facility known at the time for rapid travel, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now. We reached General Miles, in Porto Rico, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our Capitol, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption, even in ordinary times, results in loss and inconvenience. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Pekin, and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication, inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the Government of the United States brought through our Minister the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of

steam railroad on the globe; now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings, and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty in the care and security of these deposits and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect, or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multipled that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvellous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of

their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamships have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the western coast of the United States and South American ports. One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the conveyance to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

We must build the Isthmian Canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed. In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This Exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds here practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American Congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of

MODERN WARSHIPS

1. PROTECTED CRUISER "MILWAUKEE" LAUNCHED SEPTEMBER, 1904

Displacement, 9,700 tons. Speed, 22 knots. Bunker Capacity, 1,500 tons. Armor, Belt, 4 inches. Armament: Fourteen 6-inch R. F.; eighteen 3-inch R. F.; twelve 3-pounder semi-automatic; four 1-pounder automatic; two 3-inch field guns; two 0.30-caliber machine guns; eight 0.30-caliber automatics. Complement, 645.

2. BATTLESHIP "CONNECTICUT," LAUNCHED SEPTEMBER, 1904

Displacement, 16,000 tons. Speed, 18 knots. Coal Supply, 2,200 tons. Armor, Belt, 11 inches to 4 inches. Armament: Four 12-inch, eight 8-inch, twelve 7-inch, twelve 3-inch rapid-fire guns, 26 smaller guns. Torpedo Tubes, 4 submerged. Complement, 803

Mexico. The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear; this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to "make it live beyond its too short living with praises and thanksgiving." Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired and the high achievements that will be wrought through this Exposition?

Let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict; and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure. Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth.

CHAPTER CL.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME—I.—New Historical Era begun with War with Spain—Sound Statesmanship and Vigorous Administration of President Roosevelt—The London "Spectator" on his gifts and characteristics as a Typical Whig—Colonial Expansion of the Nation—Ameliorating effects of American Interference in Cuba—Autonomy in the Island Republic and withdrawal of the United States—Our Insular Possessions in Porto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines—Education in the Latter—Commercial Gains in our Dependencies qualify incipient dread of Imperialism—Change of Masters and its effects, near and prospective, in our New Possessions.

THE new historical epoch which the previous chapter relates as having dawned upon the Nation is one of obvious and notable distinction. It dates from the period of our War with Spain, in 1898, and the eventful incidents which marked that conflict with the effete Old World Power whose dominance, before the régime of political janizaries brought it to impotence, was once great in the New World. We have since travelled a long way from that fateful period, and a still longer way from the era when these United States were first proclaimed a confederation or league, consecrated to liberty and devoted to the cause of human advancement and rational freedom. Coincident with the War with Spain, and a result of its triumphs by the military and naval forces of the Nation, has come the extra-continental expansion of the Republic and its assumption of dominion, imperial almost in its sway, in the neighboring West Indies and the Far East. That our new departure as a Nation, which began with our righteous interposition in Cuba, to save its people and a blighted colony from wanton misrule, tyrannous oppression, and a hated race-aggrandizement, and give them and it the advantages of independence and freedom from the plundering civil and military officials of an inept and atrophied Old World kingdom, has been without its drawbacks and a certain misgiving as to its far-reaching results, we do not say; but it would seem to have been providentially designed in the interest of advancing civilization, and as such welcome to numberless devout as well as humane hearts in the Nation, and at the same time gratifying to the patriotic

ardor and high national instincts of the far-seeing, progressive portions of our people.

In taking this onward, progressive trend, the United States has had, at this momentous period of its career, the great advantage of having at the head of its administration a man of uncommon, indeed of rare, mould — one who, while forceful and energetic, is at once sound and sane in all he says and does, and whose principles are those of a just yet fearless, righteous and God-fearing man. In succeeding to the Presidency on the lamentable death of William McKinley, President Roosevelt assumed his high administrative office at an eventful moment, the War with Spain, in which he took part, being over, and the Nation needing guidance in the peaceful settlement and political and social reorganization of its newly acquired, over-sea possessions. What he has accomplished, aided by his Cabinet officers and the heads of the administrative departments in this delicate, crucial work is well known. Under his sane rule and virile, inspiring force, he has striven admirably to guide the ship of State in approved, unsensational directions, and in the foreign affairs of the Government has sought to hold high the head and front of the Nation. At the head of the national Executive, "he represents," as the London *Spectator* has recently remarked, "the sanest and most honorable traditions of American public life, instilling into every branch of Government that high sense of public duty with which he is himself inspired." "Under his guidance," the able, critical journal we have quoted continues, "he neither fears the mob nor the plutocrat at home; nor does he allow the greatness of the United States abroad to dwindle or grow dim from 'craven fears of being great.'" As a typical Whig (using the term in its best and most worthy historical sense), the *Spectator* speaks of President Roosevelt "as a man who makes reason and moderation his guide in public affairs, and who at the same time is inspired by a lively faith in the principles of liberty and justice — who believes that in the last resource 'a man is his own star,' and that it is the business of the State rather to preserve liberty of action for the individual than to attempt to play the part of a fostering Providence." The true Whig — the journal goes on to say —"hates the extremes of socialism and tyranny equally, and desires a sane man in a sane State rather than any impossible ideal of material equality. The Whig insists that no career in the State shall be closed to individual exertion, but does not wish to see a jealous or interfering Government. He can tolerate the rich man as well as the poor, provided that the rich man makes no oppressive use of his wealth, and

owes nothing to the favoritism of the law or the Executive. This is the kind of Whig — the Whig set forth in the writings of such men as Macaulay and Sydney Smith — which we believe the President to be. This standard of reason and justice, moderation and common-sense, we expect to see President Roosevelt apply to the internal affairs of the United States as far as the Constitution will permit him. That he has now every right to apply it" (with our experience of his first period in office) "who can deny?"

"The people of the Union knew from the experience of three years what kind of man he was, and what were his views; and he may fairly take his return to power by so enormous a majority as a mandate from the people to carry into action the policy which he has placed before them since he went to the White House. In home affairs we expect to see his influence used to prevent the vast accumulations of capital which are so marked a feature of modern American life being used oppressively or unjustly. The President will prove no enemy to capital where it has been fairly earned and justly maintained. He will, however, oblige it to respect the law, and where it is used either to defy the law or to oppress the individual, he will take means to regulate it. But his determination that the millionaires and the undertakings which they control shall not form an *imperium in imperio* — a privileged State within the State — will not prevent him from insisting also that Labor has its duties as well as its rights, and that no excuse can be allowed for any dereliction in respect to such duties. The State which gives Labor, considered apart from the rest of the community, a privileged position is as much to be condemned as the State where the rich man, because he is a rich man, is allowed to override the law."

Besides this deserved compliment to the President of Our Country and his high administrative gifts, the *Spectator* thoughtfully comments on other topics of national and international interest, and expresses its conviction that the United States, under Mr. Roosevelt's régime, will see the Panama Canal constructed; popular government in the Philippines continued in the true interests of their inhabitants; the navy strengthened; and the Monroe Doctrine modestly yet stoutly maintained, in the letter and spirit, as our American people desire, though without any undue assertion on dangerous grounds that might lead to unwise foreign entanglements. It also expresses confidence in President Roosevelt's known wish and desire to deal justly with the negro question and that he will place the race, socially as well as politically, in no equivocal or unhumane position.

MANILA

1. La Escolta. 2. The Bridge of Spain.

The article concludes with an eulogium on the high personal character and sound common sense of President Roosevelt —" two qualities which are combined in every ruler whose schemes and policies come to fruition" — and affirms its belief " that his administration will leave indelible traces on the larger half of the English-speaking race, and that for the whole of that race it will be a lesson and an example in sound and sane government."

The significance of events following upon the War with Spain has not been sufficiently appreciated. The effect upon Spain herself, whose colonial possessions, chiefly in Africa, are now reduced to an area of 80,500 square miles, we need not stop to consider. To that nation, the loss of her old-time colonies in the New World and in the Pacific, humiliating as it has been to her ruler and people, may be a blessing in disguise, since it deprives her greedy officials of opportunities for indulging in wanton prodigality and oppression, while it relieves the kingdom of heavy expenditure in maintaining dependencies which it has been shown she has no aptitude for properly governing, either in those she was compelled to relinquish to this country, or in the islands in the Pacific she parted with, by treaty in 1899, to Germany. In her internal affairs, under her young King (Alfonso XIII.) she has enough profitably to occupy her, especially in the way of national reorganization, and hampered as the country is with a partially demoralized government, a jealous and obstructing opposition, a heavy debt and a draining taxation, and with parts of the Kingdom (Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, especially) affected by a chronic disposition to revolt. Her recuperative powers, if they are fortunate enough to have fair play, are however great, for her soil is very productive, her grain, sugar, orange, and wine trade is large, her cotton manufactures are prosperous, while parts of the Peninsula are rich in minerals. Liberalism, for a time, gave promise in Spain of accomplishing much in the way of reform, especially during the life-time of the gracious and humane as well as disinterested and patriotic queen-mother, Maria Christina; but the absolutism with which it had to contend, together with political incapacity and indifference and bureaucratic hostility to liberty and self-government, have choked its growth and retarded the efforts it might have made, in spite of the anarchy that prevailed within and without the Kingdom, in effecting reforms and modernizing the Government and the nation.

In Cuba, the ameliorating effects of American interference and invasion — after a long period of tolerance and forbearance — has been wholly

good, and changed the dire aspect of affairs which prevailed when we were forced to interpose to quell disaffection and put an end to the brutal régime of General Weyler. Since our relinquishment of and withdrawal from the island and its assumption of the position of an independent State, under President Estrada Palma, Cuba has made much progress socially, politically, and economically. In the latter point of view, we may state, that her exports have grown from a total of under 50 million dollars in value in 1899 to a total of 78½ millions in 1905. The staple products of the island, which form the bulk of her exports, are sugar, tobacco, fruits, molasses, and rum, together with mahogany and other forest growths. The sugar exports, which are largely to Great Britain, have doubled in value since 1901; while the exports of tobacco, both of cigars and leaf tobacco, have also grown, as has the iron-ore shipped to the United States, aggregating 50,000 tons a month. The trade relations with this country are, naturally, close as well as profitable to both countries, as are those with our other marine possessions once held by Spain — Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines: The bulk and reciprocal character of this trade, which since our occupancy of these island domains has been a steadily expanding one, may be seen from the following figures. In the case of Cuba, now an independent State, our exports from the island have grown in value from 53¾ million dollars in 1890 to 77 million dollars in 1904, while our imports to it, during the same period, have expanded from 13 to 27 million dollars in value. Equally remarkable have been the growth of trade and the interchange of commodities, within a like period, in the case of both Porto Rico and Hawaii — our exports to Porto Rico having increased from 2 to nearly 11 million dollars in fourteen years (seven of which it has been in our occupancy), and our imports to it have increased from 4 to 11½ millions; while our exports to Hawaii have grown from 4¾ to 11¾ million dollars, and our imports from the island have grown from 12 to 25 millions!

The progress of the Hawaiian (or Sandwich) Islands, since their annexation in 1898 as a Territory of the United States, has been very striking. By the Census taken in 1900 the islands had a total population of 154,001, an increase in four years, chiefly of Americans, Japanese, and Chinese, of almost 45,000. The population of Honolulu, the capital, on the Island of Oahu, was 39,305, made up, in the way of creeds, of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Buddhists, with a sprinkling of Mormons. Here, and throughout most of the islands, schools have been established, English being the chief language taught; while elementary education has

been made free. Six lines of steamers connect the islands with the United States and Canada, Australia, China, and Japan; and besides various lines of tramway in the towns there are 130 miles of railway throughout the different islands, while all are connected by wireless telegraphy. Honolulu, moreover, is lighted by electricity, and is traversed by electric cars and rapidly extending lines of tramway. The islands, which are characteristically mountainous and volcanic, are exceedingly fertile, sugar and rice being extensively raised, besides the coffee bean, and the banana fruit. In 1903, the year's output of sugar exceeded 387,000 tons.

In Porto Rico, which became a possession of the United States in December, 1898, and was given representative government in 1901, the area is 3,606 square miles, and the population in 1899 was 953,243. The chief towns are San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez. In them an efficient school system was organized in 1899, the teachers being mainly from the United States. Besides elementary schools, the island has been given some degree of higher education, including the work of normal schools and an agricultural college. The products of the island embrace besides coffee (the chief export), sugar, tobacco, and fruit, including bananas, oranges, and pineapples. Mining is as yet in its infancy, though there is a large industry in the salt works, whose annual yield is 10 million pounds of salt. Porto Rico has an adequate railway service, 140 miles in extent, with 470 miles of telegraph lines.

Of the other insular possessions of the United States the most important of those ceded, in December, 1898, by Spain, following the effectual demolition of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay by Admiral Dewey, and the suppression of Filipino insurgency under Aguinaldo, is the extensive Philippine group in the Southern Pacific. The area of the group, including the Sulu Islands, together with the two main islands, Luzon and Mindanao, is about 127,853 square miles, with a population, estimated in 1903, of 7,635,426, of whom 647,740 are said to be uncivilized. The capital of the archipelago is Manila, now constituted as a province, with 219,928 inhabitants, chiefly of the Malayan race, including (in the islands as a whole) about 25,000 Americans and Europeans, 100,000 Chinese, and some Negrito tribes. The Philippines have a fine, though tropical, climate, while the soil is very fertile, but lacks labor for its proper cultivation. The chief article of commerce is hemp, of which $21,800,000 worth was exported in 1904; the other principal exports are sugar, tobacco, oilnuts, and copra. In 1902, Congress passed an Act giving the Philippine people civil government, following upon the cessation of disturbances in

the islands and the termination of military rule. In that year, Wm. H. Taft was appointed Governor, and, in December, 1903, he was succeeded by Luke E. Wright. The Central Government is composed, besides the Governor, chief of the Executive, of seven Commissioners (four Americans and three Filipinos), who constitute the legislative body. There are four Executive departments, those of the Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction, of which the American Commissioners are secretaries. The islands are subdivided into forty provinces, each having a local governor and other functionaries; while local municipal government has been instituted in over 900 towns. There has also been established a Philippines Constabulary and Municipal Police for the maintenance of public order. For the administration of justice there is a Supreme Court with seven judges, sixteen judicial districts, each with a court of first instance, a court of land registration with two judges, and a court of customs appeals with two judges.

Education is another of the advantages given to Filipinos by the United States on becoming Masters of this and other insular areas in the Pacific. English is taught in all the public schools of the islands, of which there are about 3,000 with 227,000 enrolled pupils (in March, 1904), besides night schools for adults, with 25,000 in attendance. The educational machinery is under the direction of the Secretary of Public Instruction, under whom, besides a general superintendent, there is a teaching staff of American teachers for all grades, Filipino teachers on Government pay, and Filipino instructors paid by the municipalities. The cost of maintaining this teaching staff, Americans and natives, is in the neighborhood of $1,720,000 per annum. A school for training teachers is also part of the educational equipment, while industrial and trade schools have recently been established. At Manila, there is, moreover, the St. Thomas University, with several faculties, including one of Medicine.

Philippine commerce has not been slow to feel the impulse given to it by American ownership and occupancy, as the following statistics show. In 1900, the total exports of the islands amounted to $27,990,000, whereas, in 1904, they had increased to $37,033,185; while, in the same period, the imports had risen from $24,864,000 to $34,327,481. Within the past four years, the exports to the United States alone, from the archipelago, have more than doubled in value, the figures in 1900 being $5,971,208, while in 1904 they were $12,066,934. The imports of the Philippines from the United States, for the same period, indicate a proportionate advance — the figures, in 1900, being $2,640,449, against a value of

$4,831,860 in 1904. Gratifying as are these statistics representing the trade expansion of the Philippine Islands within the brief period of American possession of them, there are indications that the economic situation will be vastly improved in the next few years. The justification for this surmise arises from the known wealth of the Islands, not only in valuable forest timber, gum, and dye woods, but in lignite coal of the best grade, iron ore, and other minerals, which, like agriculture, are hardly as yet developed. It is also justified by what is reported of the efforts being made by the local bureaus, agricultural and forestry, in establishing experimental farms and distributing for general cultivation improved quantities of plants, seeds, roots, etc.; while giving instruction in combating destructive insects, in raising the grade of live stock, and in suggesting more scientific methods of curing tobacco and producing a better quality of hemp. Forest rangers have also been appointed to protect and care for the valuable timber and dye woods, and to encourage the re-planting of the more important native trees. Prospectors have also been sent out to examine and report upon the mineral lands over a wide area, and to test the qualities of the ores.

The value to the United States of the islands of Guam and Tutuila is chiefly as naval and coaling stations for our war-vessels and commercial marine in the waters of the Pacific. Both have exceptionally fine roadsteads; while the islands, lying as they do in the path of vessels making for Manila, in the Philippines, or for Auckland, New Zealand, are advantageous as ports of refuge or call, since they are now connected by cable with San Francisco. Guam belongs to the Ladrone Archipelago, in the Pacific, while Tutuila, with its magnificent harbor of Pago-Pago, is one of the Samoan group. Both are luxuriantly wooded, well watered, and fertile, the former having an area of 200, and the latter an area of 54 square miles, with a population respectively of 9,000 and 3,800. Copra is found largely in Tutuila, and has begun to be exported; while Guam's exports consist of sugar, rice, cacao, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

Such, in brief, is the story of United States gains as the result of our War with Spain, gains that, as yet, are only in an immature state; but which, ere long, must have a vastly increased influence, alike on the United States nation, and on the various peoples inhabiting our new possessions who have come within the national ægis and jurisdiction. The gains are such as materially to qualify, at home, the incipient dread of imperialism; while, abroad, it must make for the increased prestige and repute of the American Republic, as a nation keeping abreast of the great currents of

national life and activity, and looking kindly on the advance of progressive ideas and world-wide political, commercial, and social influence. Nor is it the least gratifying feature in our now expanded nation to note with what justice and fair-dealing, as well as with what ability and vigor, we have won and occupied, as inalienable possessions, these extensions of our dominion, and how beneficent, to the colonies themselves, must be the results of bringing them within the range and influence of American civilization. In the change of masters, they have already recognized that the Nation now having authority over them is not a decrepit and extortionate Old World Power, steeped in corruption and superstition, and from the galling dominion of which they are glad to escape; but a strong, just, and helpful modern nation, whose greatness and restrained, disciplined force is their protection, and whose healthy training in political life is certain to be beneficial in its influence on rising communities beginning a new and more hopeful career, with every freedom to carve out a prosperous industrial and social future for themselves and politically and morally to rise in the scale of being.

CHAPTER CLI.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — II.— The Pacific Cable — Panama Isthmian Canal — Settlement with Great Britain of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute — Entente between Britain and the United States — Presidential Elections of 1904 — Republican Victory and Re-instalment of Mr. Roosevelt as President — His Administrative Qualities — The Federal Cabinet — Call for Sharp Executive Vigilance and Legislative Restraints on Trusts, etc., on Moral Grounds — Industrial Disturbances and Labor Controversies — The Conflict between Capital and Labor — Centennial Expositions and Industrial Exhibits, the other and brighter side of the Labor Problems — Centenary of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y.— Healing of the Scars of the Civil War Conflict, and Fraternizing of the Veterans, North and South, under Union Auspices.

HAVING set forth the more obvious proprietory and economic gains which have accrued to the United States as the result of the War with Spain, and glanced at some of the benefits conferred by the American nation on our overseas Colonies, let us resume the narrative of events proper to this work, and particularly those that, since 1901, have marked the history of the two periods of the Roosevelt Administration. Before passing from our Island Possessions in the Pacific, it is interesting to note that, in the summer of 1903, President Roosevelt formally opened the line of Submarine Cable from San Francisco, *via* Hawaii, Midway Island, and Guam, to Manila, in the Philippines, by despatching a congratulatory message from Oyster Bay (Mr. Roosevelt's summer residence on Long Island) to the Hon. William H. Taft, Governor of the Philippines (later on U. S. Secretary of War), conveying his greetings to the Governor and people of the Philippines on the completion of the undertaking. From Manila the cable proceeds to Hong Kong, thus connecting the United States with the Far East, and, through the agency of other Cable Companies, girdling the entire globe. Another vast enterprise of the new century which, when completed, will give readier and more speedy means of reaching, by steam and sailing vessel, the Pacific and the Far East, from the Old World and the Atlantic front of this Continent, is the revived project to complete the construction of the Panama Isthmian

Canal — a project which, ere many years are over, we trust we may see achieved. Much discussion, the reader will be aware, has arisen of recent years over the route to be chosen for the construction of the canal, many engineering experts inclining, as did a number of U. S. Senators, to the Nicaraugua route, as the better and less costly, though a longer, one. The objection to the latter route, however, lay in the fact that the region of the Nicaraugua Republic is one much disturbed by volcanic upheaval, and on this account is an undesirable one for the construction of the water-passageway to connect the two great Oceans, and, as it were, bring the two coasts of the United States together. Matters were greatly facilitated by an agreement come to with the Panama Republic, in November, 1903, and this country, whereby a region, five miles wide, known as the Canal Zone, was formally ceded by treaty for the construction of the enterprise. This Zone lies between the ports of Panama and Colon, a distance of 47 miles, and is the one in which a French financial and engineering company had long operated. The agreement was finally ratified in February, 1904, and in July of that year the provisional delimitations of the boundaries of the United States territory on the Isthmus were agreed to and signed. In return for the Zone-grant by Panama, and its agreed upon privileges, the United States paid $10,000,000 on the ratification of the treaty, and is to pay $250,000 yearly after the lapse of nine years. The Canal Treaty, by an earlier arrangement and agreement with Great Britain, provides, by consent of the United States, for the neutralization of the inter-oceanic canal, by whatever route constructed, and for its use on equal terms by vessels of all nations.

Another important treaty between the United States and Great Britain was that which settled, in 1903, by joint arbitration, the long debated and vexed question of the international boundary line between Alaska and Canada. The U. S. Territory of Alaska, it will be remembered, was in 1867 acquired by purchase from Russia, at a cost of $7,200,000; but its limitations on the Canadian side, adjoining the region of the Yukon, had never been precisely defined. This for many years had been a subject of thorny contention with Great Britain, acting on behalf of the Canadian Dominion as the ill-defined boundary of Alaska, and the United States' command on the coast line on the N. W. of the British Columbia Province, from the region of the Portland Canal northward, interposed a barrier to Canadians and British subjects in getting access to the gold-fields of the Canadian Klondike. A *modus vivendi,* in 1899, tided over the difficulty by provisional arrangement, whereby access to the Yukon Valley

could be had by way of the head of Lynn Canal; but this was only a temporary make-shift until an arbitration decision on the points in dispute could be had. This finally came about, early in 1903, through the good offices of the late Hon. John Hay, U. S. Secretary of State, and the then British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Michael Herbert. The arbitration Commission, three from each side, met in London later in the year (1903), and their decision, which was in favor of the claims of the United States, was declared in October, and was ratified by the U. S. Senate and by Great Britain, respectively, in the months of February and March in the following year (1904). The arbitration of the delicate question and the definitive award "furnished," as President Roosevelt thoughtfully observed in his Annual Message on December 7, 1903, "signal proof of the fairness and good-will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty, and by their nature incapable of submission to a third power for adjudication."

This example of international good-feeling, and of the *entente* now abundantly manifest between the two great English-speaking nations, is, happily, in many other instances in the relations of the two peoples, exhibiting itself. It is seen especially in the exchange of visits at American and British ports of the navies of each country, and in the receptions and departures of the Ambassadors of both nations. We saw this but the other day on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, our diplomatic representative in Britain, from the embassy in London, a withdrawal the English press spoke of universally with genuine regret. The happy relations which Mr. Choate for a number of years had had with the official and professional classes in England were fervently expressed by him at the farewell banquet tendered him by the English Bench and Bar Association, held in the hall of Lincoln's Inn, London, when he said with unfeigned enthusiasm and earnestness that "his task as a diplomatist had been rendered absolutely easy by the fact that he had been received and met half-way by Lord Salisbury and Lord Landsdowne; by the resolute determination of Queen Victoria and King Edward, of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, that the two countries should be friends; and by the temper of the great mass of the two peoples." Mr. Choate also spoke felicitously of the "substantial identity of English and American law," and gave some illustrations of "the intimate and enduring relations between the Bench and Bar of England and the United States."

In a previous chapter page (2,009), record has been made, after the lamentable assassination of President McKinley, of the succession of the

then Vice-President to the Presidency. The circumstances which called for the elevation of Mr. Roosevelt to the office of Chief Magistrate were deplorable and evoked universal regret. In assuming the helm of State, President Roosevelt, with his wonted tact, considerately approved the political policy of his lamented predecessor and retained in office the members of the McKinley Cabinet. The endorsement of his own policy and wise though forceful administration of affairs came three years later, at the returning period when nominations are made for the Presidential election. At the Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago June 21, 1904, Mr. Roosevelt was enthusiastically nominated as the sole candidate of the party for President; and, as his running mate, the Convention put forward Charles W. Fairbanks, U. S. Senator from Indiana, as its nominee for Vice-President. In the following month, the Democratic National Convention was convened at St. Louis, when the drift of Democratic favor inclined strongly towards Mr. Cleveland; but as that gentleman, who had twice before filled the Presidential chair, refused again to be a candidate, the nomination for the Presidency, after considerable discussion, fell to Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, and the nomination for Vice-President to Senator Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia. Mr. Justice Parker's nomination was to the Republican Party an embarrassing one, as he was looked upon as a strong candidate, and from his abilities and high character one likely to run a close race with Mr. Roosevelt for the honored post of President. The issue, after the usual activities of both parties, was finally assured to the Republican Candidate, Mr. Roosevelt, who, at the general elections, held in February, 1905, was returned as President by a popular vote of 2,523,750 over his chief opponent, Judge Parker — the electoral vote, which gave Mr. Roosevelt 336 and Justice Parker 140, or 196 of a majority in favor of the former — confirming the election to Mr. Roosevelt. Of the scattering votes cast, Mr. Debs, Socialist, received 386,955; Mr. Swallow, Prohibitionist, received 254,923; Mr. Watson, Populist, 117,257; and Mr. Corrigan, representing the Socialist-Labor party, received 29,222.

The popular choice of Mr. Roosevelt, by an overwhelming majority, and his re-instalment in the Presidential office, was, it will be admitted, a notable tribute to a man of fine statesmanship and high calibre, worthy alike of the honor and the confidence of the great American people. It is true, he has opinions of his own and a will and purpose strong enough to enable him to carry through what he sees is not only just and right, but whatever is for the best interests of the nation. While he ever manifests

absolute confidence in himself, as a man of high purpose and sound common-sense, he can, we know, be just and stern, no less than moderate and restrained; and in the foreign affairs of the State, as well as in matters pertaining to its defensive force, efficiency, and adequate equipment, his obvious desire and will is that the United States shall hold her own among the Great Powers of the world. In the internal affairs of the nation, he has exercised a wholesome conservative influence, and has acted righteously, so far as opportunity offered, in restraining overt wrong-doing and in curbing audacious rascality and oppression. Towards the flaunting aggressions of the Trusts he has indicated his fearless hostility, and has laudably counselled them that the time is near when no leniency will be shown to their defiance of legal restraints and harmful disregard of public interests. Equally wise, as well as watchful, has been President Roosevelt's attitude towards strikes and discontents of Labor; yet, though he has frowned upon lawlessness and undue exaction, he has been sympathetic with the workingman and given him the benefit of weighty counsel, while emphasizing the wisdom of reasonable restraints and the policy of just concessions. Acting, as he has, in this spirit and temper, in relation to the political, industrial, and economic problems of the time, President Roosevelt has had the mass of the sober-minded people of the nation with him, supplemented by the support of the reputable Press; while he has had in his Cabinet men of thoughtful yet active mood, who are his loyal allies in seeking the good government of the United States, and are personally in sympathy with the President's methods in upholding the high character and unblemished record of the national Administration.

In the practical work of administration, President Roosevelt has had the hearty coöperation of a strong and able Cabinet, many of the members of which, as we have related, he continued in office on succeeding to the Presidency after the demise of Mr. McKinley, though since then there have been some changes. There are nine chief heads of departments in the Federal Cabinet, as follows: Secretary of State: Elihu Root, of New York (formerly Secretary of War), who succeeds the late Hon. John Hay; Secretary of the Treasury: Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa, successor to Lyman J. Gage; Secretary of War: William H. Taft, of Ohio (late Governor of the Philippines); Secretary of the Navy: Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, who succeeds Paul Morton; Secretary of the Interior: E. A. Hitchcock, of Missouri (formerly Ambassador to Russia); Posmaster-General: George B. Cortelyou (late Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and formerly private secretary to Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt); Attorney-Gen-

eral: W. H. Moody, of Massachusetts, who succeeds Senator Knox; Secretary of Agriculture: James Wilson, of Iowa; Secretary of Commerce and Labor: Victor B. Metcalf, of California. The department of Commerce and Labor is a recent practical addition, dating from February, 1903, to the number of administrative bureaus, having a large variety of duties; while under the Federal Government all have responsible work assigned to them, as the delegated authorities in matters appertaining to Federal commerce and industry, taxation, foreign and inter-State trade, treaties and other relations with foreign powers, the postal service, coinage, weights and measures, the trial and punishment of crime against the United States, besides the important charge and control of the American army, navy, and (to a certain extent) the militia of the nation. In these various fields of official departmental work much is demanded in the way of supervision and management from the Secretaries; while, in these lax times morally, there is constant need of, and an urgent call for, the exercise of sharp executive vigilance, if the growing distrust of our questionable methods of government is not to be intensified and the nation brought by them to increased dishonor and shame. It is possible, we are aware, to be too pessimistic, and to see nothing good in the present industrial and commercial era but the basest corruption, alike in business and in politics. But with the widespread "graft" evil and the increasing examples that have come to light in connection with several of the so-called Trusts, and a number of the great Life Insurance Companies, not to speak of notorious instances of municipal malfeasance in many of our larger cities, and even in our high judicial Courts, one can hardly help lamenting that corruption, as it has been remarked, "is widely rampant and that honesty is to an unhappy degree a lost virtue."

Other regrettable aspects of the time, which call for wise intervention and sane counsel, are those connected with industrial disturbances and labor controversies. The losses alike to employers and employés involved in the resulting strikes and lockouts, which are an unhappy feature of the era, are very great, while the discontents and passions they engender are factors in the case that urgently call for compulsory arbitration, in the interests of public peace and well-being, when wise mediation has failed or is no longer practicable or possible. The problem is, however, confessedly a difficult one to deal with, since the fair use of the power of combination should, in the interest of both employers and employed, be as little as possible prohibited or restrained; though whenever private privilege comes into collision with public rights and their due conservation, the

latter, obviously, must be permitted to prevail. There is at the same time manifest danger no less in the menace of capitalism than in the socializing tendencies of industry, and legislation should be as careful to guard against the undue growth and action of the one as it should be watchful to check and restrain the perils and disturbing tendencies of the other. The industries of the United States are now so vast that the nation's commerce, no less than the weal of labor, are matters of such vital import that legislation is called upon to protect both, together with whatever can peacefully be effected by such representative organizations as the National Civic Federation, and its permanent board appointed to settle differences between employers and the labor unions. In the great manufacturing centres public indifference is usually so great, while municipal action in the way of restraint is often so inadequate or partisan, that strikes and other industrial disturbances have frequently great license; hence there is often little local force at call to check outbreaks or exercise any ameliorating or restraining influence. This we have abundantly seen, in the past two or three years, in such conflicts between Capital and Labor as have broken out among the coal miners in Hazleton and Wilkesbarre, Pa., among the mill hands at Fall River, Mass., and at Chicago, Cripple Creek, and in Colorado City, and other industrial centres, where lawlessness, including not only intimidation and coercion, but dynamite destruction and murderous outrage, were rife, and conciliation was effected, in most instances, only after the militia forces had been called out and martial law was declared. In but one notable instance, that of the anthracite coal-workers in Pennsylvania, was mediation strikingly effective, the chief credit of which was due to President Roosevelt's efforts to refer the miners' disputes and the clashing interests of the mine-owners to a commission of arbitrators.

There is happily another and brighter side to this record of Labor-trouble convulsions, in the spectacle of Labor, with its multiform products and handiwork, decked out in its stately, peaceful array at Centennial Expositions and Industrial Exhibits. Since the Buffalo Exposition of 1901, chronicled in these pages, the most memorable of these gala exhibitions was the one held in 1904 at St. Louis, Mo., to mark the centenary of the purchase of Louisiana from France. The Exposition, which was open for 187 days, from April 30 to December 1, and had an attendance of 18,741,073 visitors, was a magnificent spectacle, the cost of the buildings and grounds and their maintenance being close upon $44,500,000. The exhibit floor-space, on which were erected a score of elaborate buildings, exceeded 128 acres, an area then far greater than that of any pre-

vious home or World's Fair. Exceeding in area-space the St. Louis Exhibition (its area is over 400 acres in extent), and marking also an historic event, in the exploration and subsequent organization of the great Oregon country by the famous early overland travellers, Lewis and Clark, was the Centennial International Exposition and Oriental Fair held in 1905 at Portland, Ore.

The great fair, which was a gratifying and brilliant success, had for its scene a grand array of buildings situate in the outskirts of Portland City, at the confluence of the Columbia and Williamette rivers, and availing itself of portions of Guild's Lake, a fine body of water, 220 acres in extent, which had been artistically utilized for the purposes of the National Exposition, with its numberless pavilions, grand palace enclosures, natural forest park, and elaborate landscape gardens. The handsome mass of National, State, Territorial and Foreign buildings embraced, besides the Administration group and the vast Auditorium, exhibition palaces for the display of Agricultural and Forestry products, and those assigned to the Fine Arts, the Liberal and Industrial Arts, Machinery, Electricity, and Transportation, Mines and Metallurgy, U. S. Fisheries, etc., etc. The uses of these mammoth Expositions as an education in the colossal march of New World civilization, and as a fine pictorial lesson in the wonderful advancement in the products and manufactures of the United States before and since she rose to the dignity of a great World Power, will be conceded by all, while they are gratifying alike to the eye and heart as well as to the honest pride of every American citizen and patriot.

While treating of Centenary Celebrations, we should not fail here to record one which, though of a militant rather than of a peaceful industrial type, it is pleasing to say something of, since the institution we are about to write of has entered much and closely into a large portion of the national life — that of its active defensive force. We refer to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., and the Centenary, which occurred in June, 1902, of the founding of this historic school of the nation's military training. Beginning in 1802 in an humble way, though the school was warmly advocated by Washington and Jefferson — the latter was its legal founder — the Academy in time grew, while thorough courses of study and military exercises were originated. To-day, as all know, it is a flourishing institution, with a large corps of efficient instructors, academic and military, under a Brigadier-General of the U. S. Army as its superintendent.

The number of cadets attending the Academy is close upon 500, who

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THE MINNESOTA, THE LARGEST VESSEL BUILT IN AMERICA

Length, 630 feet; Breadth, 73 feet 6 inches; Molded Depth, 56 feet; Displacement on 33 feet draft, 33,000 tons. Speed, 14 knots

for practical instruction in drill and a knowledge of military tactics are formed into a battalion, which is divided into six companies, and those again into smaller units. The record of the institution's work is proudly pointed to in the high character borne by its thousands of graduates, as well as in the gallant bearing in the field of those who have seen active service. At the Centenary Celebration, one of the days was set apart as "alumni day," on which occasion there was a hearty fraternal union of the graduates, whose connection with the Academy extended back over a period of sixty years. These were addressed by veterans of the Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War. Some of those belonging to the Civil War period had served under the Union, and others under the Confederate, flag in the then life-struggle of the Nation; but in recounting their varied experiences each speaker was actuated by the kindest feeling towards all, while a most cordial and mellow influence was shed over the enthusiastic gathering. Here, as elsewhere in similar reunions, all the old-time enmity between sections of the nation, and particularly between representatives of the two one-time rival armies, appears to have utterly faded and the embers of the once deadly racial and sectional strife are happily left to die out. This was significantly shown at the reunion at West Point, as it is also shown in like gatherings of a social as well as a military nature in the various sections of the country. In a similar way is the bond of a united nationality and an inter-blended patriotism making itself felt in all the relations of the once sectionally-severed peoples, in much the same fashion as the spirit of brotherly regard and goodwill is revealing itself between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race on either side of the Atlantic. A notable example of this came to light at a banquet of the American Society in London, in honor of Independence Day, when Lord Lansdowne and the Hon. Whitelaw Reid made excellent fraternal speeches, the former, in alluding to the attitude of the two nations, remarking that "the two peoples had managed to get rid of almost all points of difference between them, and to provide an amicable means of settling the rest"— and adding "that just as the health of King Edward is drunk with enthusiasm in any American gathering, so the health of President Roosevelt is received by Englishmen with the special acclamation given only to those who have captured the national fancy." The same manifestation of reciprocal fine feeling is shown towards detachments of the navies of either Power on occasions of international visits; it is shown also in appreciative estimates of the literary men of both nations, and in the honor and distinction paid them when

abroad. Were there need of emphasizing this, we might point to the exceptionally high character of the tributes paid by the British Press to the memory of the late Hon. John Hay, both as an active, experienced statesman and a cultured man of letters, on his lamented death after a most useful and honorable career, when a leading London journal spoke of his country possessing, and now, alas! losing, in him "a great national asset." Hardly less significant of the existence of this *entente* between the two English-speaking peoples, is the fact that on the day Mr. Hay was buried in this country a memorial service for him was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, when the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, and at which representatives of all that is best in English public life were present.

It is in the fitness of things that historic Ohio, the "Buckeye" State, should have a Centennial Celebration, at the old capital of Chillicothe, in November, 1902, and May, 1903, marking the hundredth year since the State adopted the Constitution and was organized as a State of the Union. The next decade of the early passing years of the new century will bring occasion for similar anniversary demonstrations in a number of other States, viz.: in those of Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama, with Maine in 1920, and Missouri in 1921. Ohio has had much reason to felicitate herself on the occasion we have referred to, as not only does she stand fourth in the rank of States in the Union, by reason of her population, but also on account of her high status, historically and economically, in the proud roll of the Nation's federated State bodies. Comparatively small as is her area, of 41,060 square miles, her record of progress is a gratifying and honorable one, since Ohio was carved out of the North-west Territory, under Governor Arthur St. Clair, in 1803, and rose to autonomy as an independent State of the Union, under her recent State Governors, McKinley, Bushnell, Nash, and Herrick. In population, the State has grown from 45,000 in 1803, when she had but three incorporated villages — Marietta, Chillicothe, and Cincinnati, each with less than a thousand people — to over four and a half million to-day, with great, progressive cities like Cleveland and Cincinnati, having populations of close upon 400,000 each, besides Columbus, the present day capital, with nearly 150,000 inhabitants. She has also greatly increased economically, especially in manufacturing and in mining, as well as in farming and in other paths of industry. In these, she has been helped as a State not only by the labor and enterprise of her stalwart sons, but by the discoveries of early years, in the application of steam to navigation, in the construction of the Erie Canal, and in the completion, in 1835, of the Miami and Ohio

Canals, which with the coming of the railroads created a new and progressive era for the State. "In times of war"— to quote from one of Ohio's orators on the occasion of the Centennial celebration —"her people have shown their patriotism by their readiness to respond to the call to arms; and among her military heroes she is proud to number as sons such national idols as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Custer. In times of peace she has contributed her full quota to the ranks of the Nation's statesmen, and the Nation has honored Ohio by elevating five of her sons to the Presidency, in Grant, Hayes, Harrison, Garfield, and McKinley." We quote also from Governor George K. Nash, in regard to the progress in material wealth of the State: "There were no mines developed in Ohio when she became a State. Now, 25,000 men were employed last year (1902) in coal mining; they produced over twenty million tons of coal, of the value, upon the cars at the mines ready for shipment, of more than $23,000,000. Our railroads, too, have grown until all parts of the State are crossed by the 8,700 miles of roadway, their employés numbering more than 67,000. The wages paid to these employés amounted to over $42,000,000; while the gross earnings of the railroads exceeded 100 millions, and their net earnings to nearly $13,000,000. Then in agriculture we have grown and prospered, as well as in the other industries. The value of all the farm products of the State, in 1900, was over 200 millions; while in our manufacturing establishments in 1902 we employed an army of 345,000 men. Their wages for the year amounted to 123 million dollars, and the articles turned out were of a value exceeding $800,000,000. This shows how our State has grown and prospered."

CHAPTER CLII.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — III.— Decennial record of the Marvellous Development and Prosperity of the Nation — Increased Acreage of Farms and Farm Product Values — The Expansion of our Export and Import Trade — Where our Exports chiefly go to — Destructive Floods and Conflagrations and other Calamitous Events, including Marine disasters and Railroad accidents — Losses by death of Eminent Public Men — Comfortable housing of the People — Our immigrants and aliens — Increasing lawlessness and crime.

POSTPONING to a later chapter the consideration of the absorbing topic of international concern — the Russo-Japanese War, and the active and signally successful interest taken by President Roosevelt in bringing about Peace — let us continue our résumé of home matters of moment and the narrative of the doings and happenings within the United States. One theme, of almost exhaustless extent, which calls for record and congratulation in these pages is the continued marvellous development and prosperity of the Nation, as the census of 1900 notes and emphasizes. In no previous decennial period has there been such a record of progress and phenomenal expansion to recount. One thing this striking internal development shows is, that engrossed as the Federal Executive may be in extra-continental expansion, and in teaching the Filipino and his Malayan conquerors the rudiments of civilization, probably in advance of their capacity to appreciate and take advantage of the lessons given them, the American at home is ploddingly pursuing his own honest native occupations in the conquest of nature, and making startling strides in economic and social progress. This the statistical returns of the last Decennial Census abundantly prove, and that not only in agriculture and in the increased value of farms and farm stocks as well as in the heightened value of all varieties of cattle and farm stock, but also in the vast increase of the farmer or ranchman's individual wealth, either hoarded in State and Savings Banks, or invested with Loan and Trust Companies, or in local enterprises, such as mines, mills, and manufactures. This surpassing recent growth will be best indicated by a few figures. In 1890, the total acreage of farms in the United States was 623,218,619 acres, of the

aggregate value of $16,082,267,689; while, ten years later (in 1900), the acreage had extended to 838,591,774 acres, and the value of farm property to $20,439,901,164! Within the same period, the value of farm products rose from $2,460,107,454 to $4,717,069,973; while the value of all classes of farm animals, at the close of the year 1904, was over 3,000 million dollars.

Not a little of the increased value of our country's farms is due to the facilities given for settlement, near and remote, by the railways; to wise, liberal irrigation; and to improved methods of cultivation, under the educational efforts of agricultural colleges and their scientific methods of husbandry and crop-raising, as well as to the influence of experienced farmers removing from the older to the newer States. In the track of the movement westward, new towns are springing up, with their advantages of school, municipal machinery, and social intercourse; besides the impulse they give to improved railroad traffic, and the opportunities they afford the farmer, at modest transportation rates, in reaching larger and more advantageous markets. Referring as we are here to railways, we may note that their extension throughout the country, in the past ten years, is another notable evidence of the national growth. In 1893, as statistics show, the mileage of railroads within the United States (not including double track, sidings, or spurs) was 173,433 miles; while, ten years later (1903), the figures had grown to 206,876 miles. Within the same period, railway capital stock had expanded in value from 5,080 to 6,355 million dollars, and the gross earnings from 1,222 to 1,908 million dollars. The net earnings of the railway companies, in 1903, were $592,508,512. In 1902, the length of street and elevated railways was 26,429 miles, of which 25,789 miles were worked by electricity.

In other branches of national activity — in manufactures of all kinds, in coal and ore mining, in forestry products and the lumber industry, in cotton production, the manufacture of tobacco, and in the canning trade, the preserving of fruits and vegetables — there have been, in the last ten years, a like remarkable growth. In 1902, the total area under cotton was 27,114,103 acres; the crop amounting to 10,662,995 bales, valued at $418,-358,366. The area under tobacco in 1903 was 1,037,735 acres, which yielded 816 million pounds of the raw material, valued at 55½ million dollars. Of the chief metallic products of the United States, the yield of pig iron, in 1903, was 18 million tons, valued at 344 million dollars; while the copper yield was 698 million pounds, of the value of $91,506,006. The gold yield, in the same year, was 3½ million troy ounces, valued at $73,-

591,700, and the silver yield was 54 million troy ounces, of the coining value of $70,206,060. Of bituminous coal, the yield, in 1903, was 282¾ million short tons, valued at 351¾ million dollars; while of Pennsylvania anthracite coal, in the same year, the yield was 75 million tons, of the value of 158 million dollars. The growth, within ten years, of the manufacturing establishments in the United States is indicated by the following figures: In 1890, the establishments reported were 355,415 in number, with an aggregate capital of 6,525 million dollars, and a product value of 9,372 million dollars. Ten years later (in 1900), the number of establishments had increased to 512,734, with a total capital of 9,817 millions; and a product value of 13,039 millions. The total value of the export and import trade of the nation, between the years 1897 and 1904, is indicated by the following figures: Imports (1897), 764, and exports (1897), 1,032 million dollars; imports (1904), 991, and exports (1904), 1,435 million dollars — an increase in imports, in the later over the earlier year, of 227, and in exports, of 403 million dollars. Finally, in these statistics, we may note, that the population of the country doubled between the years 1870 and 1900; in the latter year the total was 76,303,387, while to-day (1905), it is estimated to be close upon 82 millions. The area, to-day, of the United States and its island possessions is estimated at 3,756,884 square miles.

An interesting feature of the commerce of the United States is to note the countries of the world to which our exports now go. Since the acquisition of our overseas possessions, an increased amount of our shipments naturally finds its way to Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, as well as to Cuba. The total value of this export trade to these countries amounted in 1904 to close upon fifty-four million dollars, while our imports from them totalled, in the same year, one hundred and twenty-five millions. To our northern neighbor, Canada, our exports for the year ending June 30, 1904, were about one hundred and thirty-four millions; to Mexico we shipped forty-six millions' worth; to Brazil, Argentina, and other South American countries, fifty-one millions; to Japan, Hong Kong, and the Chinese Empire, our exports were forty-seven millions in value; to British Australia, we sent twenty-seven millions' worth; to British Africa, twenty millions; to Italy, thirty-six; to Spain, sixteen; to Belgium, forty-one; to the Netherlands, seventy-two; to Sweden and Norway, twelve; to Denmark, fourteen; to Austria-Hungary, eight; to France, eighty-five; to Germany, two hundred and thirteen, and to Great Britain, five hundred and thirty-eight million dollars' worth. The progress of this extensive trade of the Republic

is, happily, more marked now on the export than on the import side, though it is hampered in no little degree by tariff imposts, as well as by the active rivalry of the other great commercial nations — France, Germany, and Britain. In our trade with the colonies of the latter nation, the Imperial Federation movement, which just now holds so prominent a place in British politics, is likely to restrict that trade in some measure, though this may be but an apprehension, rather than a future realized, fact. The advantages, however, are so greatly in our favor, especially in many departments of our export trade, such as in agricultural products, manufactures, and in the raw materials that enter into the latter, that our exports, aided by the inventive genius as well as by the intelligence and enterprise of our people, are not likely to diminish much, if they are not certain greatly to increase.

With all our phenomenal progress as a nation, there come, now and then, periods of trade depression, political and industrial turbulence, and what at times seem to be unpreventable set-backs. To some of these we have already alluded in these pages, but there are others that call here for record, such as the calamitous visitations of Providence, in the case of notable havocs occasioned by nature's disturbances, in volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, cyclones, etc., and in the more frequent horrors caused by great conflagrations and railway accidents in our cities, added to the periodic natural losses by death in the case of our eminent public men. Of these disasters, within and without the nation, few occurrences so calamitous in their consequences since the great flood which proved so destructive to life and property at Johnstown, Pa., in 1899, have transpired than the inundation, by a great tidal wave, of Galveston, Texas, in September, 1900. This fateful mishap was wrought by an annihilating wind and water storm which broke with great and sudden fury over the doomed city from the low sea-front, the waters of the Gulf and Bay overwhelming the town and its inhabitants, close upon 7,000 of whom perished, while the destruction of property involved a loss of not less than $30,000,000. Fully 2,600 houses were instantly wrecked, while it was estimated that 97 per cent of those that withstood the combined elements were seriously damaged. The dire calamity, on its becoming known, at once evoked the active sympathies of the entire country, with the more practical alleviating aid and relief of the generous and humane national Government, States, and people. Two years later, another horror shocked our nation and people, though, happily, its occurrence was without the country, in the entire destruction of the town of St. Pierre, on the French West Indian island of Martinique, by

the violent irruption of Mont Pelée, in the luckless town's immediate vicinity. The visitation, which resulted in engulfing St. Pierre and its 30,000 inhabitants, was a horrifying one, and for the time it arrested the eye and mind of a careless though affrighted world. Here again the appalling calamity brought its remaining sufferers the ready and helpful aid of the United States, the nation that was first on the spot to bring relief. The volcanic eruption occurred in May, 1902, and, besides St. Pierre, the chief commercial town of the French colony, a great part of the island was whelmed in the disaster. It is gratifying to record, that, since the dire occurrence, some 10,000 refugees have received, besides monetary assistance, free grants of other lands from the local government, and have had cottages built for them from relief funds.

Other calamitous events nearer home, unhappily add to the tale of horrors we have to relate, the more heart-rending and recent of which are connected with disasters by fire in some of our chief cities, and in the inland waters of the nation. The most distressing of these occurrences include the Iroquois Theatre fire, in Chicago, on the 30th of December, 1903, when over 600 persons, chiefly women and children, were burned or trampled to death at a matinee performance in a supposedly fire-proof building; the appalling conflagration in Baltimore, Md., on February 7–8, 1904; and the hideous mishap to a party of 2,500 excursionists on a day's holiday outing in Long Island Sound on board the *General Slocum*. In the latter instance, by an outbreak of fire on the steamer, fully a thousand New York and Brooklyn citizens — again chiefly women and children — met an agonizing death by being either burned or drowned. The calamity, as is usually the case, might have been prevented or mitigated in its horrors, had strict discipline among the crew been manifested, and the vessel been better equipped with life-preservers; or had the boat been instantly beached, as was practicable when the fire broke out, even though she was not, as she ought to have been, practically immune from fire. The conflagration above referred to in Baltimore was a most destructive one, devastating the business portion of the city, and occasioning, by its two days' fire over an area 140 acres in extent, a loss of property, in the 2,500 buildings consumed, of nearly one hundred millions. So extensive are the annual losses of property by fire in the United States that cities and municipalities cannot make too stringent the laws and ordinances designed to improve, and make fireproof, all buildings, public and private, and thus lessen the risks, by these and other precautionary measures, to which towns and villages are exposed from the devouring elements. In the five years of 1900–04, the property

VIEW OF HAVANA FROM CABANAS

loss by fires over the country, it is estimated, amounted in the aggregate to no less than $829,581,000.

Since the *General Slocum* disaster in New York waters, a sad addition to the dire tale of calamitous occurrences in the metropolitan city itself has to be recorded in these pages, in the accident which happened on the morning of September 12, 1905, on the Manhattan Elevated R. R., whereby twelve lives were lost and over forty passengers were seriously hurt. The accident occurred on the line of the elevated road at West 53rd Street and Ninth Avenue, at the curve where the Sixth and Ninth Avenue lines diverge. The train, which consisted of five crowded cars, in the main filled with young women and work-people going down town to their several daily duties, had left 59th Street station at 7 a. m., and, proceeding on Ninth Avenue, approached the Signal Tower in the vicinity of 53rd Street and the sharp bend of the line towards Sixth Avenue. As the train was a Ninth Avenue one, the pace was a fast one set towards the 50th Street station, and much faster than the pace motormen are permitted to go on the trains taking the curve for Sixth Avenue. Here, at the Signal Tower, by some fatal mischance, the operator seems to have mistaken the fact that the train was a Ninth Avenue one, and shunted it on to the curve at 53rd Street, as if its direction was that for Sixth Avenue. Realizing his mistake, the operator then sought to change the switch course, and this while only the first of the cars had rounded the curve. The act was a most untoward and fatal one, its result being to snap the couplings and throw the second car entirely off the track and precipitate it with great force to the street. The plunge was a terrible one, added force being given to it by the impact of the rear cars, and by the down swoop upon it of the heavy truck of the third car, creating a scene of appalling horror. Hurled forward by the weight of the cars in rear, the third coach was thrown also from the track, its forward end being forced through the upper window of an apartment house at the curve and held there by the sill and the fire-escape, while its rear end hung suspended over the street. The second car, by the fall to the pavement, was shattered to pieces, while its crowded occupants, thrown with violent force, were mangled and crushed in the wreck. The scenes that ensued, in their horror, baffle description. Fortunately, ready hands and immediate help were near, and the dead were in due course extricated and removed, while the injured were taken in ambulances to the hospitals. As we write, the causes of the accident and its attendant circumstances are being officially investigated, the Elevated R. R. Company giving all necessary aid in the enquiry.

Among the losses, personal and national, which the United States has had to deplore in recent years, are many among our public men whom the nation could ill afford to lose. They include men of eminence of all ranks, statesmen, senators, members of the varied professions, and men of letters, some of whom it will be hard to replace, and whose services to the nation must keep their names ever fresh in the memories of their countrymen. Of these, John Hay will long be greatly missed, as a man of great usefulness to the State, and of high and honorable record as a publicist and man of letters. It was not only his distinction to be familiarly associated in Civil War times with President Lincoln, whom he highly esteemed, faithfully served, and dearly loved; but he lived to become a preëminently useful Secretary of State and an Ambassador and diplomat, conscientiously and with great ability representing his country at the London Embassy. Of other public men of note, we have also to deplore the deaths in recent years of U. S. Senators Marcus A. Hanna, Matthew S. Quay, George G. Vest, and George Frisbie Hoar; of William C. Whitney, ex-Secretary of the Navy; J. Sterling Morton, ex-Secretary of Agriculture; Charles Foster, ex-Secretary of the Treasury; General John B. Gordon, ex-U. S. Senator from Georgia; Rear-Admirals W. T. Sampson, H. C. Taylor, and F. P. Gilmore; ex-Confederate Generals James Longstreet, and F. B. Howard; Brigadier-General W. S. Worth; Archbishop Corrigan; Bishop Huntingdon, of New York; F. A. Bartholdi and John Rogers, sculptors; Bret Harte, Paul Leicester Ford, Francis R. Stockton, Edgar Fawcett, W. H. H. Murray, E. C. Godkin, Parke Godwin, Louis P. Di Cesnola, Deans E. A. Hoffman and Francis Wayland, the great comedian, Joseph Jefferson, John White Chadwick, President J. G. Barrows, of Oberlin, Antoinette Sterling (contralto singer), Major J. B. Pond (lecture agent), Charles Godfrey Leland ("Hans Breitmann"), Rev. W. H. Milburn (the blind Chaplain of the U. S. Senate), and Daniel Scott Lamont, among them authors, preachers, antiquaries, Deans of Colleges, etc.— a goodly company, of which, though Death has robbed us of them, their works, their services, and their memories abide.

Gratifying are the evidences of increasing comfort and prosperity throughout the United States in the past decade, particularly in relation to the housing, generally with all modern conveniences, of the people. In this country, our people, especially the farming population, are not crowded for space, as are those of the Old World; while the artisan and laboring classes, outside of the large and thronged cities, at least, are as a rule well-to-do, with many educational and social advantages, not usually obtainable

abroad, either for themselves or their families. Separate houses and cottages are not always theirs to command; but they are not packed in squalid tenements or in over-crowded rooms, as the bulk of the industrial classes are on the other side of the Atlantic. In urban and rural districts, their lot is usually a comfortable and measurably happy one; while the cost of living is, with care and economy, well within their incomes, and that in spite of increasing taxation; and there is not the temptation in this country to drink, caused by class tyranny and the depressing influences of an outcast and uncared-for condition. More manifest is the comfort of the middle classes, even in cities, with all the advantages, including a favorable social environment, that attach to them, and the facilities afforded by the Apartment or "Flat" system, with its conveniences and varying accommodation, at a usually fair rental, for those of limited incomes. In the higher grades of the social circle, life in the New World in our modern day is at once attractive and enjoyable, though it is not infrequently detracted from and marred by excess of ostentation and display and a flaunting, and often ruinous, extravagance. The comforts are great, and the field for the enrichment of life, by literary and art cultivation, is, with the exercise of an intelligent and dutiful citizenship, abundant and varied.

Among the working classes, the price of labor is affected depressingly by the large annual intrusion into the country of the poorer class of immigrants and aliens; while it often helps to fill the workhouses, as well as add to the already heavy calendar of crime. The statistics of the latter are, we regret to note, lamentably large, while lawlessness over the country, including murders and homicides, is alarmingly prevalent, and still more alarmingly on the increase. In 1902, though not the worst year on record, the murders and homicides committed in the United States amounted to the large total of 8,834, while in 1896 the number was 10,652. Nor did these occur chiefly in "the wild West" and on the frontiers of our civilization, since a large proportion are reported as having happened in cities, supposedly well-governed and law-abiding, such as Chicago and New York.

To these crimes, and other flagrant instances of the extended reign of evil in our fair land, the public conscience is, manifestly, indifferent and dull; while until it is aroused, and safeguards and remedial measures are strenuously and righteously undertaken, a foul stigma will attach to the Republic. One critic, an evidently well-informed authority, throws the responsibility for this blot on our present-day American civilization on the rampant corruption manifest throughout the nation — a corruption

that not only shows itself among the habitual criminal classes, but extends to a widespread class of supposedly reputable citizens — lawbreakers, who, for the purposes of private gain, loot, bribe, suborn, and malignantly influence and debase those having authority in our midst, from city aldermen and police officials to State legislators and judges on the bench. "We find them" (these lawbreakers), says the authority we have referred to, "among men in business life — captains of industry, bankers, street-railway magnates. In short, wherever franchises or contracts of any kind are to be secured from a community, we find leading citizens in the ring to rob their own neighbors, managers of corporations bribing law-makers, lawyers for pay helping their clients to bribe safely, jurors refusing to render just verdicts. These men — bribers of voters, voters who are bribed, bribers of aldermen and legislators, and aldermen and legislators who are bribed, men who secure control of law-making bodies and have laws passed which enable them to steal from their neighbors, men who have laws non-enforced and break laws regulating saloons, gambling houses, and, in short, all men who pervert and befoul the sources of law — these men we have called Enemies of the Republic. They are worse — they are enemies of the human race. They are destroyers of a people. *They are murderers of a civilization.*"

The indictment is a trenchant, and, though sad, a truthful, one, the responsibility for which affects us all, as patriots and individual guardians of the nation's honor and good name. Nor will we do rightly, in seeking a remedy, by quiescently throwing the responsibility on the law, and those appointed to administer it. The law, in its letter on the Statute books, is, as a rule, all right; while assuring, in most cases, is public judgment in regard to the high sense of justice and unqualified good-faith of those who are appointed to execute it. But in other, and indeed in all, cases, the law seeks its sanction and support from the honorable character and high tone of the community back of it; and here it is where it too often fails or becomes lax, for want of the sympathetic, yet stern, sense of duty and example in right-living which as citizens, individually as well as collectively, we are bound by helpful countenance and moral influence to afford it and those who administer it. If in the past we have come short in this respect, and failed ourselves to live righteous and law-abiding, honorable lives, then, in large measure, we are ourselves at fault, and infractions of the law and a lax administration of it will continue and spread. In upholding the law, and securing inflexible and impartial justice, the influential, reputable Press of the nation can also be very helpful.

CHAPTER CLIII.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — IV.— The President's open- and alert-mindedness — Influence of his Personality on Municipal Reform — The Monroe Doctrine — Yellow Fever in the Gulf States — Uprising in the Republic of Colombia — Polar Exploration and the Peary Expedition — Recovery and re-interment of the body of Admiral John Paul Jones — The "Bennington" disaster and its inquiry — Submarine Boats — Ocean Cables.

MR. ROOSEVELT, in assuming the duties of his high office, has done so at an era which has afforded him an excellent opportunity to put into operation the principles which he has hitherto consistently preached, and, in more limited fields than that he now conspicuously occupies, has consistently practised. He knows politics and politicians from the *a, b, c* of the primary to the legislative chambers; his work on the Civil Service Commission has given him familiarity with this important branch of government; while as Governor of the great State of New York his earlier experience at the head of the New York Police Commission must have been of value to him from its revelations of the foul side of popular government when permitted to fall into the hands of the unscrupulous and self-seeking. The vigor with which he has heretofore attacked every task before him, whether in the legislature or in the bureaus of municipal and federal government, on the battlefield, or in the arduous labors of an exciting political campaign, has manifestly been brought into full play in dealing with the problems of national administration. President Roosevelt's open and alert mindedness, his serious earnestness of purpose, and his passionate devotion to the cause of righteous political government, as well as to the moral rectitude of public functionaries, has proven of inestimable value to the nation; while his gifts, no less than his untainted attitude as a public man, have made him a shining example of all that is worthy and honorable as a statesman and administrator.

In the latter respect, Mr. Roosevelt's influence has been beneficent in its results. Already, in one sphere, that of municipal government, we can clearly trace the influence and example of the President's personality. To

purge our civic administrations of rascals and the "bosses" of rascals is one thing; it is another and happier thing to take counsel together to devise, in the public interest, the most efficient as well as economical systems of municipal government. It is to this task that public-spirited zeal is, in many cities of the Union, now addressing itself, and with results so beneficent as to foreshadow and even to usher in what we may legitimately call a new municipal era. The form in which these commendable activities are in many quarters manifesting themselves is that of ardent and enthusiastic interest in municipal affairs, taken by men of honorable and independent character, whom the better class at least of their fellow citizens have reason to regard with confidence and respect. The object of their interest and solicitude is to take the government of our cities out of the hands of those who make a trade of politics and are responsible for the abuses and evils of civic administration. Nothing can well be more praiseworthy than attempts of this kind to inprove our municipal systems, and in our cities and towns to raise the standard of public purity and efficiency in all branches of the public service. Much and disinterested aid toward this desirable end is at present happily being given by students of our social and municipal systems, and practically by men who have come forward to fill our civic chairs, and who are full of zeal for the work of municipal reform.

Examples of such men giving themselves to the noble work are here and there happily to be seen, proving that municipal reform is neither a neglected nor a hopeless issue. Already on both sides of the continent — in Boston and in San Francisco — has the note been sounded summoning the watchmen to the tower; while at scattered points, such as Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, and St. Louis, impetus has been given to the movement by the instituting of reforms of a beneficent character, and, in some instances, by the triumphant election of mayors of the worthiest type. This progress, thankful though all must be for it, leaves much yet to be done in the war now entered upon against civic maladministration and government by the machine. Great things have meantime been gained in the direction of independent voting, and in the freeing of the electorate from the thraldom of party. Emancipation from this tyranny, with its corrupting and caballing influences, will, we are persuaded, do more for good civic government and public morality than any other reform that is an urgent necessity of the time.

What the Monroe Doctrine is, and what it stands for in the foreign policy of the United States, there is little need to-day to relate. Though

no part of international law, it is, however, well recognized by the Powers of the Old World as a fundamental and distinctive feature governing the policy of this nation in its relation to all foreign countries and governments that have, or may have, interests in the Western Hemisphere. While it restrains the United States from interfering with the internal concerns of any European power, the Monroe Doctrine commits the nation to interpose should these powers, or any of them, attempt at any time to extend their political systems to any part of these Continents of North and South America with any aggressive motive (other than the legitimate one of enforcing just international and legal rights), still less for the purposes of oppressing or with the intent of controlling their destinies. The meaning involved in the assumption, and possible enforcement, by the United States of the Monroe Doctrine is sufficiently explicit, and as such is happily recognized and respected to-day by all European nations. Its designs and limitations were plainly set forth in 1895 by Mr. Richard Olney, then United States Secretary of State, in a dispatch he penned on the Venezuela Boundary dispute, in which he remarked, that the Monroe Doctrine " does not establish any general protectorate by the United States over other American States, nor does it relieve any American State from its obligations as fixed by international law, or prevent any European Power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them." The interposition or interference of these Powers on this Continent for aught else in the way of aggressive acts is, however, another matter, and one which this Nation would resist as a manifestation by such foreign Powers of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States, and so likely to provoke the Nation's ire, with its consequences. On the question of American responsibility in maintaining and enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, President Roosevelt, in an address delivered before the Chautauquan Assembly on Aug. 11, 1905, spoke as follows, plainly hinting not only that the Doctrine was not to be suffered to become a fossilized one, but also assuming it to be the duty of this country to compel South American Republics to fulfil their just obligations. How far the President was right in his interpretation of the Doctrine, and extending thus the scope of its functions and the policy which the United States is to be committed to in regard to it, we shall not here venture to say. His own view of the matter is, however, outspoken and emphatic, as may be seen from the following extract from the Address. " It is out of the question," observes Mr. Roosevelt, " to claim a right and yet shirk the responsibility for exercising that right. When we

announce a policy such as the Monroe Doctrine we thereby commit ourselves to accepting the consequences of the policy, and these consequences from time to time alter." Proceeding with his exposition of the subject, President Roosevelt remarked that "We cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident in the first place that we do not intend to treat it in any shape or way as an excuse for aggrandizement on our part at the expense of the republics to the south of us; second, that we do not intend to permit it to be used by any of the republics as a shield to protect that republic from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations; third, that inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister republics which need such help, upward toward peace and order. I do not want to see any foreign power take possession permanently or temporarily of the custom houses of an American republic in order to enforce its obligations, and the alternative may at any time be that we shall be forced to do so ourselves."

The periodic outbreaks and occasional ravages of Yellow Fever in the Gulf States of the Union are to be deplored, and the necessary means of preventing and checking their disastrous visitations are imperative on the part of our authorities, local and general. During the summer of 1905, the pest has been very prevalent at New Orleans and neighboring towns at the mouths of the Mississippi, as well as in the hot, moist, low-lying and mosquito-haunted regions of the river and gulf. The total deaths from the infection, in New Orleans alone, were over 300. In the city and region generally, the advance of medical science and the resort to scrupulous sanitation, have been most helpful, as preventive and restrictive measures, enforced by the health authorities. How much can be done in this way we may see by the improved sanitary condition of Cuba, and the practical elimination there of yellow fever, since the island came under temporary American occupation and supervision. Before our occupation of Cuba, in 1898, yellow fever and similar pestilential epidemics were practically rarely absent from the island, especially in the hot season. The Canal zone in Panama has also given cause for uneasiness; though not a little has been done by the sanitary and hospital experts of the Isthmian Commission to relieve the situation and prevent the spread of disease in the fever belt on the Isthmus. In the cities of the South, and, indeed, everywhere in our crowded cities and towns, the need is urgent for scrupulous and ceaseless cleanliness, coupled with the most efficient modern methods of sanitation.

LIEUTENANT PEARY IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS

In view of our interests in Panama and the region of the Isthmian Canal Zone, the occurrence of any uprising in the Republic of Colombia is a menace to American peace and security. In Colombia, and to some extent in the adjoining South American States of Venezuela and Ecuador, the tendency to periodic revolutionary outbreaks has become chronic. Colombia, we know, is specially prone to this. Since 1860, the country has been repeatedly devastated by civil war, and though the revolution of 1884–86 gave it a new constitution and transformed the loose federal union into a supposedly strong centralized state, we have seen rebellion rear its head in 1895, and again in 1899. The causes of these revolts are not deep-seated, for they affect many South American countries, and find their explanation in the rude, untutored and lawless character of the people, living under heedless, corrupt governments, and readily worked upon, for the most part, by designing men, in the main, mere tools of the faction for the time being in power. A fruitful cause of the unsettled condition of the country has been the abolition of the sovereignty of the separate departments or provinces of the Republic, though they are permitted to control their own finances. Another incentive to trouble has been the breaking away from Colombia of the now independent Republic of Panama, which asserted its rights as a separate state in November, 1903, when the *de facto* government was at once recognized by the government of the United States, and a treaty made with it providing facilities for the construction and maintenance of the inter-oceanic canal. This was a sore point with Colombia, especially as the United States gave notice, at the time when she recognized the independence of the Panama Republic and paid it ten million dollars to bind the Canal Treaty, that no Colombian military force would be suffered to land at any port on the Isthmus. The $10,000,000, the Colombians thought, should have been handed over to them by Panama, and, as this was not done, and Panama had been permitted to separate herself from the federal union at Bogota, there has ever since been tumult in the country and a stirring-up of bad feeling, with more or less insurrectionary violence. What the trouble will come to, and what will eventually happen in Colombia, it would be difficult definitely to say. Nor does it specifically matter greatly to this country, so long as no attempt is made to dragoon Panama back into the Colombian Federation; and so upset our treaty with the Isthmian republic, and the provision we have made with it for the construction of the Panama Canal, and the securing of the right of way for our vessels.

To our commercial interests, we should say, however, prejudicial would

be any prolonged period of renewed strife in Colombia, as our trade with the republic is now a considerable and growing one. The following figures will indicate this: In 1900, our exports to Colombia, chiefly of cottons, mineral oil, breadstuffs and provisions, amounted to $2,710,688; in 1904, they had increased to $4,678,104 in value. Our imports from the Republic have, within a like period, also advanced greatly; in 1900, we imported a little over four million dollars' worth, which had nearly doubled four years later, their value in 1904 being $7,948,611. They consisted of coffee, hides, rubber and bananas. This expanding trade, had the Republic peace within its borders, would doubtless still further increase in the coming years, as Colombia is rich in minerals, as well as in emerald mines, and in pearl fisheries. Little of the country is as yet under cultivation, owing to the deficiencies of labor and transport; but there is considerable cattle raising, and a large export trade in hides, in addition to rubber, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, sugar, dyewoods and vegetable ivory.

Polar exploration, in Arctic and Antarctic regions, has of recent years been a further indefatigably pursued enterprise, though the results have not been very significant. The Poles remain still at a seemingly baffling distance from the quest of their hardy and adventurous would-be explorers. The nearest recorded approach to the North Pole has been that achieved by the Italian expedition under the Duke of Abruzzo, which in 1899–1900 penetrated to n. lat. 86 degrees, 34 minutes, or within 237 statute miles of the object of scientific search. Commander Robert E. Peary, who has prevously been operating in the region north of Grinnell Land, reaching in 1902 n. lat. 84 degrees, 17 minutes, has in the present year (1905) set out to abridge, if possible, the distance which separates the area of inhabited life and the North Pole. His plan is to make a dash by sledges overland for the Pole in 100 days, if practicable, from his most northerly base. Let us trust he may be successful! In Antarctic waters, Capt. Robert F. Scott, in command of the British ship *Discovery,* has been the more notable of recent investigators, and those engaged in geographical research in the Southern seas. In 1902, he reached, partly by sledge journey, latitude 80 degrees, 17 minutes south, 300 miles further south than any of his predecessors, or within 670 statute miles of the South Pole. For accomplishing this notable task, he received the royal medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and was given the rank of captain in the British navy. For what Capt. Scott was able to achieve in the vast spaces of the Antarctic Continent, which in early years engaged the historic efforts of Captains Cook and Ross, he well deserves the distinguished honors paid him. The perils of his expedition were great; and for a time caused much

anxiety on his account, while his vessel long lay in heavy pack-ice far from the open sea. From this extremity he was finally rescued by the efforts of two relief ships, the *Morning* and the *Terra Nova*, which were timely sent to his assistance and those of his hardy and exposed comrades.

An historic incident worthy of note in connection with one of "those who go down to the sea in ships" is the recent recovery from a tomb in the French capital, of the long inurned remains of Commodore John Paul Jones, America's first great sea-fighter. This valiant hero of Revolutionary days, when death ended his career at Paris, in July, 1792, was given a notable funeral, attended by representatives of the then French Court and the National Assembly; and now, after the lapse of considerably more than a century, new honors were to be paid to the famous rover of the sea and harrier of English ships during the Revolutionary War, by bringing the body in high state on a United States warship across the Atlantic, for final interment in this country. In the recovery of Jones's revered relics, our country's ambassador at Paris, General Horace Porter, has taken great interest; while the nation paid high honor to the admiral's memory by dispatching a U. S. squadron, under Rear-Admiral Sigsbee, from these shores to France to convey the *Bon Homme Richard* captain's remains home for interment in the chapel crypt of the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. When the body was brought across the ocean, an impressive funeral service was held, on July 24, 1905, at Annapolis, attended by a great naval cortége, including the officers and jackies of the *Brooklyn* flagship, and those of the French warship *Jurien de la Gravière*, besides a number of prominent civilians. On the occasion, the chaplain of the Academy officiated and delivered an eulogistic address, while the band of the Naval Academy played Chopin's Funeral March.

A melancholy interest attaches to another sad incident which claims record in these pages, in the dire mishap to the U. S. gunboat *Bennington*, while stationed at San Diego on the Pacific coast. This vessel, one of nine belonging to the Pacific Squadron under Rear-Admiral Goodrich, had recently made a trip across the Pacific from Honolulu to San Diego, and while at the latter port, in July, 1905, a frightful explosion of one of her boilers occurred, which, besides the destruction of the vessel, resulted in the deaths of 58 of her seamen and machinists, the disabling of 46 others, while 17 additional men were reported missing — probably drowned. The cause of the tragic disaster was, it seems, some overlooked defect of a serious nature in one of the ship's boilers, due, it was reported, to neglectful or indifferent mechanical inspection. The distressing occurrence natu-

rally evoked much sympathy over the continent for the relatives of the victims; and the Naval Bureau at Washington directed a rigid investigation to be made into the cause of the accident, with a thorough inspection of the sunken wreck of the gunboat, in the hope that it might give up its tale of fact in explanation of the untoward event. The explosion, it appears, was not so much due to defects in the ship's boilers, as to want of attention in failing to see that the safety and sentinel valves on the boiler were not working properly when submitted to excessive pressure, together with general neglect in the engine-room inspection. The responsibility for this was brought home to Ensign Charles T. Wade, a young naval officer. A further result of the enquiry has been to reflect on the ship's commander, Capt. Lucien Young, in failing to assure himself that the officers under him were not only fit for, but attentive to, their responsible duties; while the administrative system on board our warships is arraigned for abolishing the corps of engineers in the navy, a greatly regretted circumstance which deprives it of competent engineering supervision, and gives occasion for just such happenings as the disastrous one we here have regretfully to record.

There is not a little activity among the various nations ambitious to rank high among the great world powers to construct and add to their naval fleets armed submarine ships, otherwise known as "Submersibles." Several types of these boats, built after the model of the British *Holland,* the German *Nordenfelt,* and the French *Morse* type, are owned by the United States and the great European war powers, and from time to time they have been put to more or less severe experimental tests. Their tonnage is necessarily light (usually under 200 tons); while they are not primarily built for speed. Their motive power is varied, steam and gasoline being the usual equipment for use afloat, and electricity for use when submerged. As yet, most of them are, more or less, in the experimental stage, so far as one can gather, for much secrecy is observed by all the nations who have adopted them, in regard to their design, speed, and practical achievements, above and under water, as vessels of war carrying batteries and torpedoes for blowing-up purposes, and for use as rams and other aggressive war objects. Of these submarine boats, the United States have on the navy-roll register eight ships, of an average 200-ton displacement, though only a few are in active commission. They are known as the *Adder, Holland, Grampus, Plunger, Porpoise, Pike, Shark,* and *Moccasin,* besides the *Bainbridge,* a torpedo-boat destroyer. In one of these, the *Plunger,* it is interesting to record, President Roosevelt left his

summer home at Oyster Bay, L. I., on Aug. 25th, 1905, to inspect and witness, with his family, the manœuvres of the submarine in the waters of Long Island Sound. The preliminary inspection of the *Plunger* was witnessed from the naval tug *Apache,* which was moored alongside. Soon afterwards, in spite of a heavy sea running, Mr. Roosevelt boarded the *Plunger* and took a dip in her in the waters of the Sound, to a depth of forty feet, remaining below the surface for nearly an hour. The President was greatly interested in the mechanism and skilful handling of the craft, together with its means of propulsion, either forward or backward, as well as with the machinery that raises or depresses it in the water. He also examined the vessel's electrical apparatus, the contrivances for supplying the craft with fresh air, and closely inspected the conning tower, besides interviewing the officers, machinists, and seamen. One of the most thrilling experiments witnessed by President Roosevelt while aboard the *Plunger* "was the sudden turning out of the lights — an experiment in conjunction with a previous one — while the submarine craft was at full speed.

"After the lights went out the need of the precaution was explained to the President, also the necessity of being able to manœuvre the vessel in perfect darkness. All the previous movements of the vessel were carried out in the gloom of the Sound bottom with a celerity and accuracy that seemed to astonish the President.

"'I have never seen anything quite so remarkable,' he said.

"When the lights were again suddenly turned on, the President was able to see that the *Plunger* was still going ahead at full speed.

"Presently, however, the black of the water turned to gray, then to green, followed by an opal tint; then the white light of day shone through the port-holes. The conning tower was thrown open, and the pure air rushed into the interior of the submarine boat which had been at the bottom of the Sound for nearly an hour.

"The President, after thanking Lieutenant Nelson and again complimenting the commander and the crew upon their management, expressed himself as very much impressed with the submarine boat and returned to the tender *Apache,* from which he boarded the *Dart.*"

The extension of the system of Submarine Ocean Cables has of recent years to be noted, as an evidence of enterprising commercial expansion in the chief centres of the world's trade. These cables are now in large use by the Governments of the principal nations, there being no less than 1,622 of them in number, with a total length of 35,129 nautical miles.

Besides these there are 382 cables owned and operated by private companies, with a length of 189,423 miles of cable line, including those along the shores, and in the bays, gulfs, and estuaries of rivers, but excepting those in lakes and the interior watercourses of Continents. One of the most important of these cable lines, so far as it interests, and is valuable to, this country, is the American Pacific Cable from San Francisco to the Philippines, which was laid as far as Honolulu, Hawaii, in January, 1903, and has since been completed, *via* Midway and Guam Islands, to Manila. This cable was first opened for traffic on July 25, 1903. Good cable facilities now exist for communication also with Yokohama, Japan, *via* San Francisco, a distance of 7,348 miles, and with Shanghai, China, a distance of 9,920 miles from New York. Excellent, and expeditious, are the facilities of cable communication also across the Atlantic with European capitals, as are those communicating with the West Indies, South America, Australasia, and the coasts of Africa; while the passing years are, moreover, adding to their number.

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CHAPTER CLIV.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — V. — Our Expanding Commerce — Gratifying results of American Commercial Competition — Tainted Politics and the Administration of Our Cities — Growth of the Union and its Chief Capital Centres — Increased National Expenditures — Increasing thrift of the People as shown by the Savings Banks Deposits — Millionaires and the Art of Munificent Giving.

WITH nations once our rivals in international commerce elsewhere lagging behind in the race, it is gratifying to find, of late, abundant evidence of the lusty strength and marvellous development in commerce and industry of our country, and this in spite of occasional periods of depression, and the preoccupation of the nation in the practical though fitful discussion of the policy or impolicy of expansion. Whatever may be thought of the rôle in which the United States has in recent years appeared before the world, in taking its share of "the white man's burden," the passions and excitements of the time have evidently little interfered with its trade operations or retarded the phenomenal growth of its commerce. This, as the present writer has elsewhere observed, is admitted even in Britain, once our formidable, though friendly, commercial rival, into whose trade we are now seriously cutting. In one respect the admission has come in a very gratifying way to our people, since the English have handsomely and with manifest good faith expressed admiration for our proficiency in the science of naval mechanics and in the skill and highly effective training of our gunnery experts on board the nation's warships. But it is in the paths of peace, and especially in our active and successful competition with other countries for the world's trade, that one has most reason to be proud of the recent progress of the United States. The expansion of our commerce in foreign markets is significantly shown in recent statistics, which indicate not only the productive power of the country and the wide range of its products for export, but a remarkable advance in the volume of manufactured articles entering into competition with those of the Old World nations.

Some gratifying instances of American competition have come of late

years to light, which, if conditions do not in the near future greatly alter abroad, augur well for the coming foreign trade of this country. We refer especially to some important, and, it is said profitable, orders which have been received by manufacturing firms in the United States: in one case, a few years ago, for an iron bridge to be erected over the Atbara River, a tributary of the Nile, for the Khedive's government; and in another instance for a number of locomotive engines for the Midland Railway Company in England. Contracts for these requirements have, it seems, been awarded to American firms, partly, we understand, on the ground of cheaper price, and partly because of more expeditious construction and a speedier completion of the entrusted orders. The cases we instance, though they present a somewhat novel experience to our manufacturing concerns, will, we may be sure, not long be solitary or infrequent ones. The issue of the orders naturally occasioned much talk in government and capitalist circles abroad, as well as in the ranks of labor in England, which, on their being given out, were greatly exercised over the matter, and disturbed by the intrusion of competition from an unexpected quarter. England has in the affair a rather startling warning, and her artisans will do well to heed the lesson if "the tight little island" from which our people have in large measure sprung is to maintain its prestige as a great industrial nation. The admonition may not be without its profit to England if it opens the eyes of British labor to a new quarter from which strenuous competition may henceforth be confidently expected, and incites it not only to renewed activities and broader and less insular views and methods of work, but to refrain from wasting its energies and resources, as we, alas! are also given to do, in strikes and lockouts, and its time in listening to the profitless gasconading of noisy labor agitators.

The instances we have cited of the competition abroad of this country, though somewhat unusual ones as yet, are by no means uncommon in less important branches of manufacture. Much the same story may be told of the opening of European markets to American electric tramways, bicycles, organs, and other manufactured articles and wares, not to speak of the phenomenally increasing volume of the country's export trade in cereals, fruits, and other natural products, as well as in oils and minerals, which of recent years have been expanding "by leaps and bounds." According to government statistics, the increase of the total export trade of this country, in the past fifteen years, exceeds fifty per cent; while the exports of Britain, great in volume as they have been and are, have within the same period remained stationary or have suffered diminution. Not

less satisfactory to the nation are the returns of imports, which have increased but slightly in the past ten or fifteen years, showing the self-containedness and great internal resources of the United States and its ability to provide abundantly for its own people's wants from within the vast and varied zones of the native production. Prosperity such as these facts attest are matters to be gratefully and reverently thankful for, and are, with other numberless blessings vouchsafed to the country, incitements to a righteous patriotism and to public respect for individual as well as for national integrity and honor.

Referring to the latter, we have of late rejoiced to see, in not a few of our cities and towns, a remarkable awakening of the public mind and conscience to combat municipal corruption and the conscienceless scramble of unworthy men for office and the spoils of office — which present another, and an ignoble, side to the picture of individual and national well-being. There is crying need for the awakening, as all must admit who look below the surface of things and desire that our civic, state, and national affairs shall be saved from moral deterioration and redeemed to better things. The disease, there is reason to fear, is infecting the whole body politic, and unless drastic remedies are applied, and that instantly, efficiently, and persistently, moral death, and that on a vast scale, must ensue. The party system, it is hardly necessary to point out, is to a large extent the source of the evil, for to it we owe the "machine" in politics, with its bosses and their henchmen, and all the tyranny and unblushing effrontery of their sinister rule. With these things as blights upon our civic life, we cannot, of course, have pure and wholesome government. The peril is increased by the growth of ignoble and ostentatious wealth and its power to bribe and corrupt, as well as to debauch, the community. Under its evil influence, independence shrinks from asserting itself, and even good men are, by their silence, made to acquiesce in the nefarious game.

Fortunately, in a few notable towns, public alarm, as we have hinted, is beginning to do its work, and that in a more or less effective and we trust drastic fashion. In the larger cities, especially, giant are the evils that have to be grappled with, and encouraging must be even the beginning of an earnest and well-directed reform. Something, manifestly, is accomplished when the better citizens rouse themselves from their apathy and patriotically seek to assert their influence for good in the administration of our cities and towns. The first step to that desired end is to cut loose from political parties that are tainted and elect men of assured probity,

intelligence, and independence to the offices of civic trust. Demagogism, with its jobbery and Satanism, has had its long day: let there be now the innings of a more moral element in our civic affairs, with the co-operative effort of practical as well as honest men, seeking only and always the good and the fair repute of the community. This once secured, there will then be hope for our little commonwealths, and citizenship will be an honor, instead of a reproach, to all who have interests in common at stake and feel pride in our country's good name.

In 1900, the nation consisted of 45 States and 4 Territories, exclusive of the District of Columbia (the seat of the United States Government), Alaska, Indian Territory, and Hawaii. In February, 1905, New Mexico was advanced from the status of a Territory to that of a State, and at the same time, by a Bill in the Senate, Oklahoma and Indian Territory were admitted as one State to be named Oklahoma. The area of the whole, inclusive of Alaska and Hawaii, was 3,567,563 square miles, with a population, in 1900, of 76,303,387, or an estimated population in 1905 of between 82 and 83 millions. The increase is calculated upon the known advancing native and Americanized birth-rate, and upon the increasing immigration, chiefly from the Old World, the total of which, in 1903, was 857,046, and in 1904, 815,361. Japanese immigration has of recent years also added its quota, the number entering the country in 1903 being 19,968. In 1903, the population of the chief cities was as follows:

New York	3,716,139
Chicago	1,873,880
Philadelphia	1,367,716
St. Louis	612,279
Boston	594,618
Baltimore	531,313

Denominationally, the strength of the principal sects in the nation, by the Census of 1900, is as follows:

Roman Catholics	8,447,801
Methodists	5,809,516
Baptists	4,443,628
Lutherans	1,575,778
Presbyterians	1,560,847
Disciples of Christ	1,118,396
Jewish Congregations' membership	1,043,800

Protestant Episcopal	709,325
Congregationalists	628,234
Reformed Church bodies	365,075
Latter-Day Saints	343,000
United Brethren	264,980

Education also supplies its gratifying statistics, while the number of illiterates, by each Census returns, grows less. According to the latest statistics the number of pupils enrolled in the elementary grades of the Common Schools of the States and Territories was 15,417,148, with 424,938 teachers; in the high or secondary schools, the number of enrolled students was, in the same year, 592,213, with 24,349 teachers. The number of collegiate and graduate students, in the 455 institutions of higher learning, was, at a like period, 94,041, with 9,268 professors and instructors. Besides this enumeration, there are statistics, which should be taken note of, indicating the number of private schools, business colleges, and the professional institutions in theology, law, and medicine; besides those for the training of nurses, Indian schools, and schools for the deaf, blind, and feeble-minded. The growth of the library system in the larger centres of population, and the increased and improved character of the press and periodical output of the nation, are further subjects of congratulation; though, on the other side of this account, has to be reckoned the increase of crime and lawlessness, and, indirectly, the growing provision that has to be made for paupers and the inmates of almshouses.

While there is increasing national expenditure, to meet the expanding civil, military, and naval annual outlay, the revenue usually keeps pace with and even overlaps the expenditure. In 1904, there was a considerable revenue deficiency; but this was owing to a temporary falling off in the yield from the Customs, as well as owing to the payment of 10 million dollars on account of the Panama Canal. Nevertheless, on June 30, 1904, there was in the national treasury the substantial sum of 172 millions. The gross figures representing the nation's financial resources and outgoings, in 1904, exclusive of the receipts and disbursements of the postal service, and of payments on account of the principal of the public debt, was as follows: revenue $540,631,749; expenditure, $582,402,321. The net debt of the United States (June 30, 1904), deducting cash in the Treasury, was a little in excess of 967 millions. Of the expenditure of the nation calculated for the year 1905, amounting to a gross total of 718½ million dollars, the civil establishment is estimated to absorb 138 millions; the

military and naval appropriation is 122 millions each; pensions, 140, and the postal service 159½ millions; while 173 millions were required for the Indian service, and 24 millions for the interest on the public debt. The maintenance of both arms of the nation's defensive force is now a heavy though an ungrudged one, calling for the equipment, provisioning, housing, and pay of 3,860 officers and 60,450 men, in the 30 regiments of infantry, 15 of cavalry, and 3 battalions of engineers; besides those in the artillery corps and on staff departments, and the 115,803 officers and men of the organized States militia. The maintenance of the United States Navy, a proud, and to-day a strongly efficient, branch of the nation's reliance, entails heavy burdens, and increasing ones as new battleships are being built. The present effective strength of the navy, aside from the warships under construction, embraces, roughly speaking, 14 battleships, 10 monitors, 21 cruisers, 20 gunboats, 40 torpedo, and 8 submarine torpedo-boats and destroyers, added to the ram *Katahdin.* Many of these carry powerful batteries on their various fighting decks, as well as on their forecastles and in their superposed turrets; while they are strongly belted and side armored. The speed of many of them, despite their heavy armament, is high, especially in the case of those of recent and improved scientific construction.

A gratifying feature of the Nation's prosperity and an indication of the growing thrift of the people, is seen in the increasing number of depositors and the amounts of their deposits in the Savings Banks of the country, of which there are now over 1,150. In 1880, the number of depositors was under 2½ millions, with under 900 million dollars to their credit; in 1890, the number had increased to 4¼ millions, with a little over 1,500 million dollars in the institutions. In 1905 the number of depositors had grown to 7,305,443, with the large aggregate of $3,060,178,611 in savings. This total far exceeds the deposits of the people in Savings Banks in any other nation, those coming next to the United States, in the gross amount of their deposits, being Germany, Great Britain, France, and Austria. On this subject, it may not be amiss to urge upon the Federal government and the Postal authorities the propriety of, and the great advantage that would accrue from, the establishing of a system of Postal Savings Banks throughout the country, such as exists in Europe, in the interest of the working classes and of persons of limited means. The desire may well be gratified, since it tends to economies and thrift on the part of the people and to habits of saving which it is proper to encourage, particularly when it can be done with absolute security to the depositor and with confident trust in the *bona fides* of the government.

We have the Money Order system — a great and general convenience — why not the Postal Savings Bank? The system, it is well known, has worked admirably in foreign countries, especially on the European Continent and in the British Isles and dependencies, the statistics of which testify to the large advantage taken of the system by the masses, and afford proof of the thrifty Scotch proverb, that "Many a mickle makes a muckle," or, to modernize Chaucer, "Many a small maketh a great." Much the same idea is aptly expressed in the injunction: "Take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves." Concurring in the habits of thrift which the system encourages, and seeing in the establishment of these Savings Banks a beneficent enterprise on behalf of the people, the Postmaster-General at Washington has recommended their adoption. He has spoken well of the project, in furnishing a fund, which, as it accumulates, "would find its way usefully into the channels of trade and commerce and be a valuable feeder to the financial currents of the country." That the system, if established, would bring the Government into injurious competition with private enterprises already in existence, we hardly think likely, since the facilities which the Government would offer would, in the main, attract, not those who are already depositors and investors, but the large and widespread class that hitherto has had nothing to speak of laid by "for a rainy day," or that furtively hides its little hoardings in a stocking.

That superfluity of wealth in our day can do more for our fellowman than ever before, and that the fields for the exercise of beneficence were never so inviting as they are now, or more full of the promise of helpful and gratifying results, are statements hardly likely to be challenged. In saying this, we would not detract in the least degree from what our Peabodys, Girards, Coopers, and other princes of philanthropy have done in our midst in the past, nor limit public mindfulness of the debt of gratitude owing to our old-time public almoners and philanthropists and their memories. We wish merely to point out that the field of our time appears richer to-day than in the past for the exercise of the art of munificent giving, and that the scope of intelligent practical bequests is in our day far wider than it has ever been, considering the good that can be done by a humane and wisely directed charity. In spite of our American extravagance, and the prevailing habit of substituting the tinsel and glare of life for worth and true enjoyments, it is gratifying to see that many of our people possessed of a liberal share of this world's goods are, in now numberless instances, actuated by noble impulses, and are doing much of what in them

lies for the benefit of their kind, and that in ways that commend their bountiful acts to the thoughtfully observing and humane. The instances of large giving in recent years in our country, no less than the volume of the bequests, are almost as incalculable as is the good which ostensibly has been done by these gifts. Nor can we question, as a rule, the motive which underlies this vast giving, or the manifest purpose which has actuated our intelligent, charitable-minded public almoners, in the lavish use they have made or are making of their superabundant wealth, since it has largely taken the form of gifts or bequests either to needy public institutions of great usefulness, or to the enhancing of the facilities which are afforded those who seek to raise themselves educationally in the scale of intellectual being, as in the case of vast gifts to public libraries, institutions for the promoting of science, literature, and art, as well as to churches, hospitals, asylums, and other worthy and deserving objects. The bountiful open-handedness of such opulent givers and wealthy benefactors of our day as Mr. Andrew Carnegie and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, and other multi-millionaires — far removed as they manifestly are from the greed of pelf which gnaws so extensively at the vitals of many of our great modern captains of commerce — has been a characteristic of the time; while their deeds are such as to win them honor and fame wherever a wise beneficence is properly and justly recognized, valued and estimated. No less to be commended are the modest among those large and bountiful givers, unknown often by name to the world, who have not let their left hands know what their right hands were doing, and who while content with doing fruitful and humane work for the world of humanity in their day have shunned rather than courted notoriety.

In this matter of large giving, happily a prevalent and increasing one in our day, it is manifestly true that, as the present writer has elsewhere said, we can no more leap at once into the millennium of universal beneficence than we can leap into that which Socialists hold before our visions as the goal of their hopes in the sphere of politics. The process of educating wealth up to the ideal state when the richer brother shall share with the poorer one, and the man with two coats shall give to him who has none, is necessarily, and perforce, a slow one. Much faster, however, must be the change in the social conditions of the world did our millionaires take home the lesson which a recent writer enforces in a thoughtful paper in one of our chief magazines, on "The Art of Large Giving." The lesson is that, in a thousand ways, as the writer (Mr. George Iles) points out, superfluity to-day can do more for mankind than ever before. In the article

referred to, the purpose the writer has had in view is not only to stimulate intelligently the habit of munificent giving, but to show, in the history of institutions in this country that have been organized or largely developed by benevolent founders, the resultant practical and beneficent effects. In the institutions he enumerates — among them universities, libraries, and other educational and scientific institutes — he mentions many that have made ample return for the benefactions received by them, in the varied fields of learning, discovery, and research, as well as those that have given technical training to the artisan and the means of education, art culture, and recreation to the masses. The article we have alluded to will be found rich in material for thought; while its statistics must plead powerfully for extending the area and making more general the habit of large giving. "In promoting the culture of the sense of social right and duty, the large giver," aptly observes Mr. Iles, "strikes at the root of both want and surplusage, and wins for himself the worthiest remembrance among men." Naturally in this matter, one looks chiefly to the millionaire to befriend and aid those who are deservingly in need. By considerate and timely help these favorites of fortune can do much to soften the harsh lines of division between classes. Happily, many of them, as we know, have begun to recognize their duty in this respect, and in this country, as well as abroad, we see wealth honestly, often nobly indeed, seeking to give good account of its stewardship. In bridging the gulf between the classes, superabundant riches, which have their responsibility, have a fine and productive field in which to operate, and the hint surely is sufficient, since it is universally admitted that it is labor that chiefly makes capital, and in the making of it is often inadequately and disproportionately rewarded. Nothing we trust will ever appear in these pages to encourage class enmity; but Socialism has, it may be said, a justification where the rich dispoil or spurn the poor, and are indifferent as well as obdurate to the cry of humanity. If society is to remain sound and the relations between man and man are to continue unvexed by either envy or resentment, the rich must do their social duty, and lay earnestly to heart the unmistakable, and often ominous, lessons of the time.

CHAPTER CLV.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — VI.— The Public Domain, its Products and Exports — Irrigation and its Operations — Immigration — Industrial Wars and the Labor Unions — The Era of the "Sky-Scraper" and Tall Apartment Houses — Durability of Steel-Frame Structures — The Doom of the Church Spire.

THE public domain of Continental United States, including Alaska (590,884 square miles in area), is in extent 3,616,484 square miles, or embracing the area of the Philippines (122,000 sq. m.), Hawaii (6,449 sq. m.), Porto Rico (3,606 sq. m.), Guam (200 sq. m.), and Tutuila, Samoa (54 sq. m.) — a grand total of 3,748,793 square miles. The population of the United States proper, including Alaska (63,592), was, in 1900, 76,149,386, or embracing the inhabitants of the Philippines (8,000,000), Porto Rico (953,243), Hawaii (154,001), Guam (8,661), and American Samoa (5,800) — a grand total of 85,271,091 souls, or an estimated total in 1905 of close upon 90 millions. In 1903, the wheat crop of the United States yielded close upon 638 million bushels; Indian corn yielded 2,244 million bushels; oats yielded 784 m. bu.; barley, 132 m. bu.; rye, 29 m. bu.; and buckwheat, 14 million bushels. The value of the ores and minerals of the United States, the product of the year 1903, amounted to over a thousand million dollars, or including the value of metals mined and smelted, $1,587,317,905. The returns, for the same year, of the tobacco product in the several States of the Union, but chiefly in Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia, were 812,724,221 lbs., from an area of 1,031,695 acres, the total value being $55,221,445. This growth of the tobacco product is, at an early day, likely to increase still more largely, since the area of its production is not now limited to the South, but is extending over the East-Central tier of States from Vermont to Wisconsin. We are also as a nation greatly increasing our imports from Cuba in cigars and tobacco-leaf, the returns, for the fiscal year of 1905, showing an import of over four million dollars' worth of cigars against three million dollars' worth in the preceding year; while in the same year

we imported nearly eleven million dollars' worth of tobacco in the leaf, an excess of a million in value over the imports of the year 1904. The total U. S. imports of tobacco, for the year ending June 30, 1904, amounted to $20,073,346 in value; while we exported of the same and its manufactures to the value of $34,633,531, nearly half of which went to Britain.

The current exports to Great Britain continue to be large of other natural products and semi-manufactured material than tobacco. The largest values are those represented by our horse and cattle exportations, together with wheat-flour, maize, fresh beef, preserved meat, bacon, hams, pork, lard, tallow, cheese, apples, etc., etc. Timber is another large export, as are raw cotton, leather, petroleum, oil-seed cake, turpentine, glucose, in addition to machinery, copper-work, lead, etc. The value of the exports of this country to the United Kingdom was, for the year ending June 30, 1904, close upon 538 million dollars; while we exported about 214 million dollars' worth to Germany — the total of the gross exports of the United States for the year to Europe being a little over 1,000 million dollars in value. To Canada, Mexico, and other countries of North America we exported, in 1904, 235 million dollars' worth; to South America we exported, in the same year, 50 million dollars' worth; to Japan, China, and the Far East, 60 millions in value; to British Australasia and the Philippines, 32 millions; and to British Africa 24 millions — a grand total of 1,461 million dollars! This, no one will say, is not a goodly and gratifying showing.

Irrigation, in many of the drier parts of the United States, where the rainfall is deficient, is a serious necessity. In the plains of the North-west, as well as in New Mexico and Arizona, it is to the farmer in his agricultural operations a crying need, as an artificial means of creating or increasing the productiveness of the soil. By this method, now largely utilized, many arid parts of the country have been usefully reclaimed; while, happily, there is, as a rule, little lack of water, in lakes and rivers throughout the nation, from which to divert the fructifying element by canals, ditches, or dams for the irrigation of farm lands. In some, indeed, in not a few quarters, artesian wells have been profitably made use of, for irrigation purposes, with windmills as the cheap machinery for pumping, as in Nebraska and Kansas, and the Great Plains; while in California water has been readily secured by tunneling into the hillsides. The drawback in some instances to widespread irrigation is the long distances from which water, where it is not obtained locally, has to be brought, besides the expense of conduits by which to convey it, where ditches, in hilly regions, interfere

with the natural flow of the water. In Canada, especially in the vast new farm-land regions of the North-west, our neighbors, like ourselves, have been seriously handicapped in their agricultural operations by want of water.

They have enterprisingly however, set to work to relieve their necessities by resorting, and here and there on a large scale, to irrigation, and have met with much and gratifying success in doing so. In this they have been materially assisted by the operations of ambitious land companies, encouraged by the schemes already developed of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Of these operators, in contributing to the local husbandman's wants, one of the chief is the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Co., which has large landed properties in the neighborhood of Lethbridge, in the New Province of Alberta. This Company has now a canal system embracing 150 miles of main waterways, the construction and operation of which has aided materially in developing the agricultural resources of the district. The Canadian Pacific Irrigation scheme is another important and useful one in the region. Its undertaking embraces a block of three million acres of land lying east of Calgary, which is intersected by the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The soil in this vast area is, we understand, first-class, but in the majority of years the rainfall is not sufficient to mature crops.

The water, as "The Canadian Statistical Year Book" for 1904 informs us, for irrigation in this block of land is taken from the Bow River, near Calgary, in a main canal having a bed-width of sixty feet, and carrying water to a depth of ten feet. This main canal is about twenty miles in length, and from it the water is distributed through secondary or smaller canals, which will ultimately reach several hundred miles in length. About one-half the block, or 1,500,000 acres, can be irrigated, the remaining half being devoted to grazing and dairy farming. The first section of the scheme now under construction includes the main canal and about 100 miles of secondary canal, and this section will irrigate and bring under cultivation 300,000 acres, and open up an additional 400,000 acres for grazing and dairy farming. This portion of the scheme, it is estimated, will cost $1,600,000, and if it proves a success, further sections are to be constructed until the whole scheme is completed, at an estimated cost of between four and five million dollars.

Much the same story, happily, may be told of the doings of Irrigating Land Companies and their operations on this side of the international boundary line, especially in Colorado, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, and

Idaho, where the rainfall is either generally light, or so variable as to be a serious detriment, at critical periods of the husbandman's year, to the farmer. By the adoption of irrigation schemes, intelligently planned and directed, the system has been, and in the future is certain to be more than ever, of the greatest value in the region of farm lands where the climate is a dry and non-humid one. By the resort to irrigation, on an adequate and efficient scale, "the desert has literally been made to bloom, and vineyards and orchards, meadows and fields of smiling grain, churches and schoolhouses, the possession of cultivated, prosperous, and law-abiding communities, have replaced the barrenness of regions that, but a few years ago, were chiefly the resort of herds of bison and roving bands of Indians."

Immigration into the United States happily keeps growing to a gratifying extent, and that of useful immigrants representing the industrial classes, in addition to farm laborers. Especially large has been this addition to our population even within the period since the last Decennial Census (1900). In the latter year, the number of immigrants were 448,572; two years later the number had increased to 648,743, while last year (1904), the addition had grown to 812,870. Of these immigrants the chief additions came from Europe, the total of which, in 1904, was 764,923, while 14,264 came from Japan, and 10,193 from the West Indies. Of the increased population, chiefly settlers, Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, furnished the largest number (in 1904, 193,200); Russia and Finland come next, with 145,141; while Austria-Hungary furnished 177,150. The total number of immigrants, in 1903, was 857,046, a slight increase over the year 1904, of about 45,000. From these figures, on the other hand, have to be deducted the current outflow into the neighboring Dominion of Canada, the population of which, in recent years, has been largely augmented by the emigration from this side the boundary line, chiefly in the West. The extent of this outflow from the United States into Canada will be seen from the appended figures: In 1900, the number of declared settlers from this side the line was 8,543; in 1901, the number was 17,987; in 1902, 26,388; in 1903, 49,437; and in 1904, 45,229. These figures, we may add, are considerably in excess of the immigration into Canada of English and Welsh, and about on a par, including the latter, *plus* the immigration of Scotch and Irish, with the immigration into the Dominion from the United States.

Our American communities are once more disturbed by labor strikes, which threaten to extend indefinitely, to the intended discomfiture, if not the serious menace, of capital, forgetful that capital is the ally, or should

be, of labor, and not its enemy. With the cause of labor we, who are of the toilers ourselves, are in hearty sympathy, but it is to real and not sham labor that we feel kindly, and we have no emotions to waste on the mere agitator. Nor have we any quarrel with trade unions, guilds, or other associations of industry organized for legitimate purposes, which do not threaten or unnecessarily incommode the community, are not in spirit anti-social, but whose members obey the dictates of reason and refrain from acts of violence and intimidation.

We admit, of course, that brotherhoods of labor expect from capital and its employing chiefs the same considerateness and restraint that we should seek to impose upon the Unions and their associate members. Tyranny is hateful, on whatever side it is exercised, and against wrong, whether on the part of capital or of labor, we do well, in the last resort, to fight. But fighting is too apt to be the attitude assumed in most labor conferences, and the wheels of commerce are constantly being clogged by industrial antagonisms. We want more conciliation and the bringing of grievances, unaffected by class enmities, into the court of the arbitrator. With frank and unheated conference, the resort to strikes would often be obviated and social chasms would be bridged that otherwise alienate and perpetuate class distinctions. That there is at times failure, on both sides, to meet and give effect to the counsels of reason is only to say that this is an imperfect world, and that transactions between man and man are, in this mundane state, not yet wholly governed by the maxims of the golden rule.

Communities, actuated by sentimental feeling, have generally looked leniently upon the growing disposition of dissatisfied labor to strike when its demands have not been complied with. Trade unions and other labor organizations have not only encouraged the tendency to revolt, but have done much, in recent years, to evoke the anti-social spirit and to foster industrial antagonisms. To protect itself against the incitement of this spirit, capital, on the other hand, has shown itself obdurate and sullen. The result of both attitudes is fatal to the spirit of arbitration, and, indeed, discourages it for open war. What it leads to, we have abundantly seen, for now many years back in this and other countries, in riotous proceedings and social incendiarism, culminating not unfrequently in pitiful bloodshed. Some eight years ago, it will be recalled, we had a distressing example of this in the coal miners' strike at Hazleton, Pa. A more calamitous instance of human perverseness and fatuity of conduct has hardly occurred than was that affair, and the lesson of the tragedy may to-day

well be heeded alike by capital and by labor. Had the spirit of reason and conciliation then prevailed, with considerate regard for the fact that the disaffected miners were, in large measure, ignorant foreigners, such a sequel to the strike, which all good men deplored, could not have occurred.

In that unhappy instance of industrial war in Pennsylvania, it may probably be said, that the fact that the strikers were chiefly foreigners, escaped from the governmental pressure and social thraldom of the Old World, explains the lawlessness which brought upon the men their ill-starred doom. But this view of the case is only to palter with the matter, since the spirit which engenders labor strikes had, unhappily, been active in the country long before the advent of the Hazleton and Lattimer miners. It is the spirit that has constantly bred disturbances, antagonized capital, alienated classes, and flouted the gospel of honest industry, thrifty contentment, and harmonious living. It is a spirit, moreover, which is ever growing, and is an increasing menace to the world of peace and order, and may well cause dismay to it. It is the spirit which is to-day the great peril of industrialism, and one that unlettered labor, coming into the country, is not slow to learn. Its indulgence speedily tends to class embitterment, lawlessness, and its accompanying havoc.

In taking this view of a matter that must fill all breasts with anxiety and concern, we do not, of course, deny the right of workmen to strike, nor conceal from ourselves what labor has gained from organization. It is not to combination among the toilers that we demur, but to the evil counsel, the unreasoning, haggling spirit, and all that in tone and feeling is hostile to conciliation, and that tends to widen the breach and cause increasing distrust between employer and employed. These are the things we deplore, and we see their legitimate outcome almost everywhere we look in the fields of labor. Yet why should this be? Seeing that labor over the entire country is generally prosperous, that unions are recognized, and that the wages and hours of labor are, in the main, satisfactory. Still less do we see why labor should be so perturbed and dissatisfied, when, almost everywhere, the supply of wage-earners is inadequate. Is not this the result of labor unions, and of the too often impolitic and foolish spirit that controls and actuates them? And yet "the picture is not wholly dark," as a contemporary *(The New York Times)* in an article issued on Labor Day, 1905, thoughtfully and optimistically observes: "If labor has been defeated (in the past year) with exceptional thoroughness, it has prospered as never before. The year began with only 196 unemployed

among each 1,000 of the approximately 100,000 wage earners of the State. The previous New Year's found 231 in each 1,000 unemployed. There is no authority for stating the present conditions, but they are certainly better, and perhaps unprecedentedly good. One reason for thinking so is the reports made by the savings banks. Their deposits increased for the first half of the year $52,000,000, which is considerably more than half of the previous largest increase for any year, which was $71,000,000 in 1899. This is a happy contrast with conditions when workingmen were withdrawing funds because their wages were stopped or lessened by strikes. It is in evidence that the unions spent $1,500,000 during the bituminous coal miners' strike. The United Mine Workers alone expend an average of $1,000 in strike 'benefits.' It is safe to say that during strikes more money is withdrawn from savings banks than is received in 'benefits.' And when there is no occasion for 'benefits' the money flows into the savings banks. Perhaps no previous Labor Day ever provided more sobering or more encouraging facts and conditions for laborers and employers alike."

It is not without its element of pathos that one witnesses, in our large cities of to-day, the passing of the old, roomy, and often cosy frame house, and its substitution by the towering, many-storied, modern "sky-scraper." Even when the conversion to the lofty apartment house has not occurred, the increasing cost of lumber — consequent on the extending remoteness of its supply from cities, and its growing scarcity — limits the erection of frame or brick and frame houses and has made them comparatively rare in large towns. The cost of the latter has also now increased beyond that of the fireproof building, of concrete or steel-frame construction, and as a result they are now less commonly to be met with as homes. In cities of limited and already crowded area, the provision of the sky-scraper tenement or apartment house has solved, while it has utterly changed the character, of the housing problem. The number and varied accommodation of these lofty apartment houses are remarkable features of town life in such cities as New York; while for factory and office purposes the sky-scraper has come as a welcome boon to the clerical wants and other urgent necessities of industry and commerce. In Manhattan, a few of the more notable of these lofty structures, with an indication of their heights, may be cited as examples of this new architectural departure. The more prominent of these are *The New York Times* Building, on Broadway and 42nd and 43rd Streets, which is 25 stories in height above the curb, or 358 feet from curb to top of lantern; the American Surety Co. (Broad-

FLATIRON BUILDING

way and Pine Street), and the American Tract Society building (Nassau and Spruce Streets), are other examples, each of which has 23 stories, and rises to a height, in common, of 306 feet. Two structures on Park Row (one of them the Pulitzer Building) are respectively 22 and 29 stories, or a height of 380 feet from curb to top of tower. On lower Broadway, on Broad Street and Exchange Place, on Nassau and Cedar Streets, and on Broadway and Rector Street, are other towering structures, ranging from 18 to 21 stories; while another eye-arresting structure is the Fuller or "Flatiron" Building, on Broadway and 23rd Street. The St. Paul Building, on Ann Street and Broadway, is another soaring structure, of 26 stories, rising to a height of 308 feet; while yet another is the Washington Life Insurance Co. building, on Broadway and Liberty Street, consisting of 19 stories, with a height of 273 feet. The Commercial Cable building, on Broadway (21 stories, and a height of 255 feet, exclusive of the dome), is yet another example, as are some of the uptown hostelries, such as the "Hotel Netherland," on Fifth Ave. and 59th Street, which has 17 stories and a height of 220 feet, and "The Waldorf-Astoria," on West 33rd Street, which has 16 stories and a height of 273 feet.

As a result of the new era in our city architecture a radical change has become imperative in the designs for our modern church edifices. The day of the Gothic structure for our churches, with their graceful, ornamental spires, has admittedly passed, since the "sky-scraper," in adjoining buildings, has so environed and dominated the "sky-pointer" as to utterly dwarf the church steeple and overwhelm it as a feature in the architectural aspect of the city's street-front. Notable instances of this in New York are St. Paul's Chapel and "Old Trinity," in the lower-town Broadway region, which have now quite lost their former glory in the close environment of the massive and lofty edifices devoted to offices and the huge hives of present-day commerce. Aside from this fact, there has also come a demand for church structures that will be adapted to the religious institutional life of to-day — buildings that will serve not only as places of worship, but that will also meet the wants of religious organizations in connection with the churches, such as church libraries, reading and recreation halls, and other social society and guild rooms. Hence the new requirement of church architecture is to abandon the spire, and erect lofty, dome-crowned edifices, topping these guild rooms, etc., and placing their structures somewhat on a par with those by which they are surrounded.

Pessimistic and timid people are fond to-day of casting doubt on the durability and stability of the "sky-scraper." Such fears arise from not

appreciating sufficiently the capabilities of resistance in the huge steel structures of our time. In the "sky-scraper," as well as in the other marvels of engineering audacity in which the steel-frame and girder play so important a part, the effects of vibration, corrosion, and molecular degradation are alike slight and slow. Scientific assurance of this has come not only as the result of severe and rigid tests, but also from the inspection of structures carried upon steel skeletons which have borne the wear and tear of a score of years. Public forebodings may therefore be dismissed on this matter as groundless and unreasoning fears.

CHAPTER CLVI.

THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME — VII.— Electricity and its Practical Utilization — The Automobile and other Self-propelled Vehicles — Underground or Subway transportation — Wireless Telegraphy — Speed Records on Land and Sea — Motor-Cars, Motor-Boats — Yachts — Ocean Liners — Railroad Express Trains — Steam Turbines — Air Ships and Ballooning — Grand Army Encampment at Denver, Colo.— The U. S. Pension List.

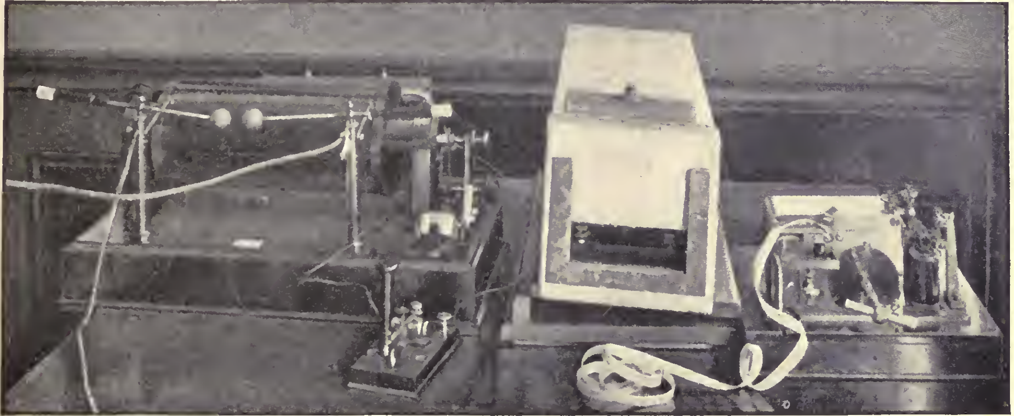
MARVELOUS, as well as characteristic of the progress of the era, is the modern-day development and utilization, in so many ways, of Electricity and its practical application, not only as a means of securing power for machinery and traffic, but as an expedient and service in the home, increasing its efficiency, security, and comfort. It has practically revolutionized the industrial world, while it has greatly extended and cheapened the facilities of modern railway and tramway traffic. To use a common expression, it is "the stuff" of which the world is made, if we may trust, as we well may, the researches of Science into the boundaries, and even into the innermost reserves, of the material universe. In the quest for increased mechanical power, we have found in electricity a subtle, phenomenal force, the marvel of the age, and an agent of manifestly unlimited scope brought to the service of labor and the scientific activities of the world. By the agriculturalist, electricity has now been utilized to destroy insects and vermin that prey upon the crops and other products of the soil. This is done by sinking metal rods or electric brushes at intervals in the land troubled by injurious insects, the rods being connected with a small dynamo; the practical result is to exterminate the pests as if by a stroke of lightning. Electricity has further given us the automobile and other electric vehicles, in the portable and highly-charged storage batteries which electrical experts and skilled machinists have devised for us; while its uses as a power-transmitter, drill machine and tunnel excavator, and its utilization as an intense temperature furnace in smelting and other metallurgical purposes, are invaluable. Nor is it the least wonderful

of the marvels which electricity has disclosed in our time to note the phenomena that science has brought to light in the study of the basal constituent of matter and its hitherto occult properties, in the reduction of the atom and its discovery as the physical basis of energy, as well as in the theories recently propounded in relation to the ether, as the stuff out of which the universe is built.

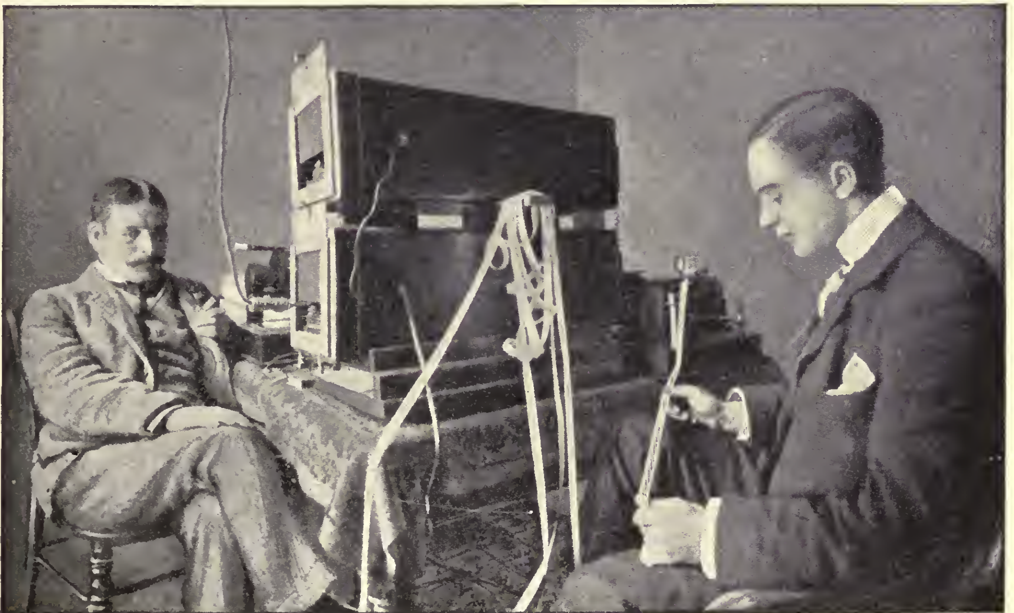
We have referred to the Automobile among the self-propelled vehicles which electricity and other power-generating forces have given us as a means of ready and rapid transportation on our streets and highways in our modern age. The equipment of this now largely utilized conveyance, with its varied yet kindred types made use of as cabs and omnibuses, as well as trucks and delivery wagons, consists, as our readers know, of a storage battery for supplying the current, the motor for transforming the current into mechanical power, and the controller for regulating the speed of the motor. The more popular machines in present-day use are, manifestly, those that are propelled by some form of oil-engine or internal combustion motor, in which the propulsive power is given to the piston by the explosion on the cylinder of vaporized oil, such as benzine or gasoline, the power thus derived being transmitted to a crank-shaft, from which it is communicated by varied systems of gearing and clutches to the driving wheels. The mechanics of automobile construction are constantly being improved, and we may soon see the use of these vehicles largely extended, especially if their cost is lowered, at no sacrifice of their utilities, and with less trouble or effort in managing and running them. The perfect motor vehicle, doubtless, has yet to be constructed, though its present development and practical uses are phenomenal. The chief responsibility in running them is the care which has to be exercised in regulating their speed, so that they shall not be a menace on the crowded street or on the less frequented highway, where, as yet, automobiles are, in some measure, novel and rather disturbing sights to many using the public roads in ordinary vehicles. This, we need hardly say, is the serious trouble, and it is one that is exercising State and municipal authorities alike over the land, in their efforts to regulate automobile traffic, so that it shall not be a danger, still less a nuisance, on the public highway.

One of the wise, practical achievements of the time, as seen especially in the two chief cities of the Union, New York and Boston, is the remarkable extension of rapid transit by means of Underground or Subway communication, in addition to that supplied by the Elevated railway sys-

Experimental Station at South Foreland, showing the high pole, which is an essential feature of the Marconi system.



Transmitter Receiver



Apparatus in operation, message being received and read

From photographs by Newton & Co., London

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY (MARCONI'S SYSTEM)

tem. In Boston, between the years 1895–99, the City was provided with a subway railway, constructed under the supervision of a Transit Commission, the cost of which was in the neighborhood of five million dollars. of which $3,800,000 was expended in construction, and $1,000,000 in acquiring the necessary real estate and right of way. The municipal enterprise has proved a great boon to the citizens, while it has happily relieved the other crowded modes of public transit, in a city of characteristically narrow and tortuous streets. By an excellent fan system of large proportions, operating in commodious chambers, an adequate and constant supply of pure air is maintained, which has added materially to the health as well as the comfort of those using the Subway and its several sections. In New York, besides the extensive transit facilities supplied by the Elevated railroads, the city has of recent years been given a Subway service, operated by electricity, extending from the City Hall and the Battery on the main line in Manhattan borough, to 96th St. W. and Broadway, thence by the West Branch northward to 157th St. and Lenox Avenue — a distance of 9.46 miles, the usual running time being for local trains 38, and for express trains 26, minutes.

Another of the interesting marvels of the time is the installment and operation of the system of intercommunication by Wireless telegraphy. Besides, the importance of this now fast-developing method of communication at sea, it has been proved of high value on land, over long stretches of isolated country, as in Alaska and other remote parts of our great North-west, where intercommunication is sometimes stopped or delayed by storms which obstruct or otherwise interrupt messages being received or sent. Another successfully attested use of the system has been in this country to convey speedy information to the national authorities, or to cities or public officials within call, of the outbreak of fires in forest reserves in remote parts of the Republic, and so hasten the means of putting them out or limiting the area of their destruction. But the chief utilization of wireless telegraphy has so far been on the ocean, in communicating with vessels, often 200 miles apart, one or other of which, it might be, was in distress and seeking assistance; as well as in the case of a seacoast bombardment, where communication with warships at a distance was desired at, it might happen, a critical moment, or where dispatches were sought to be sent conveying calls for food or powder, or reporting notable happenings and the progress of operations. Already, the success of the system has been proved by many and gratifying tests

which will ensure its wider application at no distant day; while it may be possible, in developing its practical uses, to extend the number of words transmitted by the operators in a given space of time: at present, this is from twenty to thirty words a minute.

Ours is undoubtedly a fast age, so fast, indeed, that our city streets and public highways are no longer safe for the sauntering pedestrian in these days of scurrying automobiles and motor-carriages. Abroad, where the roadways are better than they are in this country, the motor-cycle is a menace on every highway. Here, with the gasoline-propelled automobile, speed-breakers, who are not afraid of municipal ordinances limiting the pace on the public highway, are audacious enough to "do" their mile a minute, whatever life may chance to be in peril thereby. In Europe, tests for motor-car speeds have achieved 150 kilometers an hour. At Nice, even this headlong speed has of late been exceeded. At home, among recent notable records for heavy (60 horsepower) cars, one embraces the covering of the distance between Boston and New York (a 250-mile run) in 6 hours, 41 minutes; another record is the covering of the distance between San Francisco and New York in 32 days, 23 hours, and 20 minutes. While such statistics of speed, *plus* the comfort and exhilaration of such rapid modes of transportation, it is safe to assume that the automobile and its connected industries have come to stay.

There would appear to be as great a future also for the motor-boat as for the motor-car, while the records for speed are equally remarkable. One such record may be cited, which was won by the *Napier Minor,* a boat 35 feet in length, with a 4-cylinder Napier engine of 55 horsepower. This craft, in the Solent races of last year (1904), won Sir Alfred Harmsworth's Cup (the Gordon-Bennett Cup of the Sea), and also the German Emperor's Cup at Kiel. It is recorded as having covered 271½ knots at an average speed of 13¾ knots an hour. In international yacht races for the America's Cup, it is gratifying to find that for more than thirty years we have beaten English yachts such as the *Valkyries* and *Shamrocks,* in spite of the plucky, persistent efforts of Sir Thomas Lipton to snatch from us the laurel. In August, 1903, the American yacht *Reliance,* pitted against the *Shamrock III.,* twice won the contest of the year; first over a course of fifteen miles to windward and back (time, 3 h., 14 m., and 17 s.); and second, over a triangular course of thirty miles (time, 3 h., 14 m., and 54 s.). In the first race, the American boat beat the English one by 7 m. 3 s., and in the second race by 1 m. 19 s.

In Ocean travel by the great Steamship lines passage across the Atlantic

DENVER, COLORADO

has in the past twenty years been reduced by one day. Of recent years the record of the Cunard liner *Lucania,* won in 1894, has not yet been beaten, the time in crossing from Queenstown to New York by that steamship being 5 days, 7 hours, 23 minutes. The rapid passages, in the early nineties, of the *City of Paris, Campania, Majestic, Oceanic* and *Teutonic* — all of them signal triumphs of mechanical and constructive skill — will not have been forgotten by trans-Atlantic tourists. Other vessels, such as the *Deutschland* of the Hamburg-American, and the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* of the North-German Lines, have made fast passages, both within six days, while several others have crossed in 5 days, 7 or 8 hours. Further records, which of recent years have become general, cover the delivery in London, by fast steamer across the Atlantic and rapid railroad journey from Southampton to the British capital, of the American, New Zealand, and Australian mails within 5 days, 21 hours, and 53 minutes from the time of departure from New York.

Railroad speed, alike in England and on this side, forms another marvel of the time. In England, the great railway feat of the year 1904 was the non-stop run of the new "Cornishman" Limited Express between London and Plymouth, a distance of 246 miles in 265 minutes, an average speed of 55.69 per hour. From Plymouth to London, brisk rivalry between the London and Southwestern and the Great Western R.Rs., transfers the American mails over a distance of 250 miles under four hours. On this side the Atlantic, fast short-run railroad trips (under ten miles) are accomplished at the speed rate of from 105 to 115 miles an hour; while long distance runs are usually achieved at a pace varying from 50 to 75 miles an hour, allowing for stops *en route*. The records of such trips as those of the New York Central "Empire State" Express, the "Twentieth Century Limited" on the Lake Shore, the Pennsylvania, and the Michigan Central systems, and the Burlington & Chicago Express, will be very familiar to the reader. The "Empire State" Express, over the New York Central & Hudson River railroad route, does the journey between New York and Buffalo, a distance of 440 miles, with four stops, in 8 hours, 15 minutes, or at the rate of 53½ miles an hour. The same road has even reduced the time on "specials" to 6 hours, 47 minutes, or a speed of 64.33 miles. The Central Railroad of New Jersey has run an express between Jersey City and Washington (231 miles) in 4 hours, 8 minutes, a speed of 60 miles an hour; while the Pennsylvania, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroads have accomplished the feat of running a train between Jersey City and Denver (1,937 miles) in 48 hours, or at the rate of 40.3

miles an hour, including stops; while the distance between Jersey City and Oakland, Cal. (3,311 miles) has been bridged in 83 hours, 45 minutes, an average speed of 39.53 miles an hour.

The Steam Turbine for high-speed Liners has come as a rival to steamships of the current type propelled by reciprocating engines. The marine turbine has the advantage not only of higher speed, but of reduction in weight, ease in handling, together with absence of vibration and the minimum of wear and tear. Already the Canadian Allan Steamship Company have put turbine steamers with success on their route between Liverpool and Montreal; while the Cunard Company have under construction two new liners with turbine engines for the New York traffic. The difference in favor of the turbine-fitted vessel is a gain in speed, with less steam pressure, and a higher rate of rotation. The turbine engines make in the neighborhood of 500 revolutions per minute in the case of the side shafts and 600 for the central shaft, as against 180 revolutions per minute in the reciprocal engines. For propellers used in local and coast traffic, and for the lighter classes of marine work, the turbine engine is as yet ill-suited, in consequence of its waste of power, though this may at a future day be remedied when more experience has been gained in the use and management of the turbine fitted vessel, with improved methods in reversing and otherwise manœuvring them and in going astern. For war vessels and torpedo boats, the turbine engine must become valuable, especially where high speed is wanted, with great horsepower. The superiority of the turbine over the reciprocating engine, in the case of bad weather at sea, is moreover great; while it is especially superior under rough-weather conditions as against the side-paddle steamer.

That air-ships, in our modern era, are to add practically to our other varied facilities for rapid transportation few, we imagine, will be likely to assert. Recently in New York we were treated to a free public exhibition and test of an air-ship, the aëronaut being a young venturesome Toledoan, named Knabenshue, who was apparently successful in his flight over the city, reaching a height, it is said, of over 1,000 feet. The dirigible balloon seemed to be under adequate control, the wind conditions being favorable and the day fine. That the exhibition was more than an exciting holiday spectacle, and contributed anything to the extension of our scientific knowledge of aëronautics, will, however, hardly be affirmed; while he would be a bold man who would say that flying machines are likely to be wildly popular methods in the future of transportation. The air-ship on exhibition in New York was similar in construction to those used by M. Santos-

Dumont, the Brazilian, who, at the manifest risk of his life, amused Paris in 1900 with his flights from St. Cloud to and around the Eiffel Tower. It is true that balloon excursions have extended to over a thousand miles in their flight, and have reached an extreme height of 9 or 10 miles; but the success of these ventures, made under favorable weather conditions, have naturally had little effect in evoking a passion for practical aëronautics, nor, so far as one can see, are they likely to do that.

The annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic for the year 1905 was held in Denver, Colo. A large and enthusiastic gathering of the Veterans of this patriotic society was present. The city and State made generous provision for the comfort and entertainment of the Veterans of the Civil War, and gave the assembled delegates of the order a most cordial reception. The organization has for its chief object, besides the maintaining and strengthening of the fraternal feelings which bind together the surviving soldiers, sailors, and marines who took personal part in suppressing the War of the Rebellion, the dutiful one of perpetuating the memory and historic deeds of the comrades who have passed into the hither land, together with the practical and humane design of assisting the needy, including the widows and orphans of deceased comrades, caring for and educating the orphans, procuring, where necessary, an increase in the pensions of infirm existing members, and founding and supporting soldiers' homes. The number of Grand Army Posts is at present between six and seven thousand, while the National Council of Administration consists of forty-five members, each department being represented by one member. At the Denver Encampment, Minneapolis was chosen as the place of meeting for 1906; the choice (which was made unanimous) of Commander-in-Chief for the new year fell to Corporal James Tanner, of New York, a notable hero of the Civil War, who lost both legs in the second battle of Bull Run. He is widely known throughout the country and is an active and zealous member of the Grand Army, and in 1876 and 1877 was Department Commander at New York. Among the prominent matters of business that came before the Encampment at Denver was a resolution thanking President Roosevelt for the part he took in helping to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. This resolution was offered by Past Commander Henry W. Knight of U. S. Grant Post of Brooklyn, Department of New York, and was adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, The Grand Army of the Republic, comprising a great majority of the survivors of the Union Armies of the Civil War in the

United States from 1861 to 1865, and now in Annual Encampment at Denver, representing 600,000 living veterans of that great conflict, knowing the horrors of war and appreciating the blessings of peace, have noted with great satisfaction the earnest efforts of President Theodore Roosevelt in bringing about peace between the warring nations of Russia and Japan, and for these efforts looking towards the peace of the world, and which have been crowned with success, we extend to him our thanks for the manly and patriotic part which he initiated, and we congratulate him and also Russia and Japan on the happy issue of the negotiations resulting, as we trust it will, in a lasting and honorable peace to all concerned.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute be sent to the President and also to the Peace Plenipotentiaries of both nations.

That this country, forty years after the close of the Civil War, should be disbursing annually close upon 140 million dollars for Pensions is practical evidence of the Nation's considerate treatment of those who have honorably fought its battles. This large sum is divided among the veterans of the War of the Rebellion and their widows and orphans, while a portion goes to those, still alive, who fought in the Wars with Mexico and Spain, in wars with the Indians, as well as to survivors of the War of 1812, or to their dependent families, besides the sums appropriated to pensioners of the two branches of the regular service. The provision is a generous one, and properly so, since in the case of veterans, upon whom the burden of years must now fall heavily, it is the duty of the Government to see to it that the evening of their days shall be comfortable, and, above all things, free from want. It should be its care, at the same time, to see that no fraud is permitted in drawing thus upon the Nation's bounty. To just and defensible claims for pensions, no man of humane and patriotic feeling would of course object; but objection would be justified were the fund drawn upon illegitimately or upon any dubious pretext. It is satisfactory to know that the Pension Commissioner at Washington is alive to the danger that besets the granting of pensions, and as a remedy has advocated the publishing of the Lists. It is also assuring to see the willingness of the chiefs of the Grand Army to cooperate with the Pension officials in purging the fund of inadmissible and reprehensible claims, which, by honoring them, bring dishonor on the worthv and deserving.

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