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The whole question is one of very great importance to the people of Florida at this time, and this is, probably, why they are taking such energetic steps in the cause of scientific research. Within the last few years some 40,000 Cubans have settled there, most of whom are skilled growers and curers of tobacco, who have been driven out of Cuba by the unhappy political condition of their native country. They have been specially attracted to Florida because the hummock lands there possess soil very similar to that of the best tobacco-producing districts in Cuba, and they emigrated with the hope that they would be able to continue their old occupation in their new home. To their delight they now find that tobacco grown and cured in Florida is little, if at all, inferior to that of the best Cuban, so we may probably anticipate a bright future for the culture of tobacco in that State. Indeed, in 1897, no less than 160 millions of cigars were produced in Florida and put upon the market as Havanas, and they apparently gave every satisfaction to the purchasers. But, as the Secretary of Agriculture points out, both American and Cuban curers are ignorant of the principles which underlie and govern the production of tobacco flavours, and hence there is a great element of chance in the whole industry. To remove this uncertainty, or at any rate to lessen it, the laboratory at Lake City has been equipped by the Department of Agriculture, and great hopes are entertained of the issue of the labours of Dr. Stockbridge and his assistants.

It has been shown in the foregoing short statement that there is undoubtedly a fair and wide field for the bacteriologist in the province of tobacco; it is an almost unexplored country, which is bound to be rich in results. Bacteria are not unamenable when taken in the right way, and we may confidently look forward to the day when cultures of these germs which control the aroma of the fragrant weed will be obtainable, just as now we have lately discovered that itis possible to have living cultures of bacteria which can give a delicious flavour to our butter and a fine taste to our cheese.

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G. CLARKE NOTTALL.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY PEACE-MAKERS.

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THE late Prince Bismarck, in denouncing the proposition then newly made of an alliance between Great Britain and the United States as "Anglo-Saxon peoples," while denying the correctness of the designation, declared in effect, that in the present state of civilisation a common origin and identity of language, literature, and religion are not sufficient bases for such a cordial and intimate understanding between two commercial nations as would enable them to act harmoniously in the decision of questions affecting the relations of either to other countries. In this statement, the master-mind which created a united Germany out of the most discordant elements was undoubtedly correct, and he was well justified in referring to his own marvellous experience in support of the truth of his theory. Over and over again, even before the "doctored" despatch of Ems became the foundation-stone of German unity, it had been demonstrated that a common language, a common literature, and practically identical institutions are no sufficient guaranty against a family quarrel. Religion, more especially Protestant Christianity, has long since ceased to be regarded as an important factor of international relation, while the Anglo-Saxon has fully established his place in history as the least clannish of all the peoples with whom its records deal. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon stock may be said to be especially notable for the mutual repellancy between its parts which has been manifest ever since its first colonies staked their hopes of prosperity on a theoretical difference as to the right of the mother country to control her political progeny in a particular way. In nothing is the Anglo-Saxon more strongly distinguished from all other peoples than in his ability to disagree with his kindred—a disagreement, however, based always on some principle, actually or supposedly at stake, and having in it scarce

a trace of personal feeling. When the struggle is over between two branches of this great stock, they hobnob and intermarry as freely as if there had been no strife. Years of warfare leave only verbal differences and a good-natured rivalry in the maintenance of resulting conditions. So well known and universally acknowledged is this characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon family, that one wonders how so much stress should have been laid on community of origin and identity of civilisation by the advocates of a better understanding between its two branches, and so little attention given to the one thing needful to efficient co-operation between political organisms—to wit, a common aim and purpose. Especially is this notable when we reflect that conditions not difficult to define clearly demonstrate that some closer relation between Great Britain and the United States is not only a desirable possibility, but an inevitable and quick-coming necessity. Instead of requiring advocacy at the hands of any party or individuals, the public sentiment of two great nations has outrun the sagacity of leaders, and with that curious instinct which often controls what seems to be a blind emotion, has truly forecast world-conditions, that must, in a very brief time, compel the two countries to strike hands for the preservation of the peace of the world, and the maintenance of those ideals which the Anglo-Saxon holds above any consideration of material or political advantage. For despite his enterprise and greed, the Anglo-Saxon, more willingly than any other stock, lends ear to Ruskin's "strange people who have other loves than those of wealth, and other interests than those of commerce."

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The voice of the people may not always be the voice of God, but the consensus of all classes in all the nations of the civilised world, upon any particular question, may well be accepted as the best attainable evidence of the truth of any matter in regard to which such concurrence exists. The tentative proposal of an alliance between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock probably attracted more immediate and intense interest throughout the civilised world than any utterance previously made by any human being. Within a month at farthest, the whole world had heard of it, and passed instant and positive judgment thereon. Almost every periodical in every country commented at length upon it, pro or con, and for the first time in history the line of demarcation between approval and disapproval of a proposition affecting world-interests was clearly co-terminous with the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon power. Within these boundaries an unprecedented majority-probably nine-tenths-of all the periodicals of the United States and Great Britain including her colonies, approved with unexpected heartiness the proposition which Mr. Chamberlain put forth in a speech destined to become historical in a sense that

attaches to few human utterances. During the months which have succeeded, there has been discussion as to the character of the proposed alliance, but in no part of the Anglo-Saxon dominion has there arisen any faction or party who have opposed some sort of understanding by which better defined relations between all the elements of that marvel of modern civilisation, the Anglo-Saxon stock, may be secured.

The term Anglo-Saxon is used in connection with the matter in question, not so much as Prince Bismarck seemed to think, to designate the actual descent of the Auglican peoples from a particular Teutonic stirp, but to distinguish those nations, actual and embryotic, which have derived their institutions, customs, laws, in short; their civilisation, from the common law of England and the religious and political ideals which have been shaped by the genius and experience of the English-speaking peoples. It is useless to discuss the question whether the Anglo-Saxon stock was a predominating influence in shaping Anglican life, or whether the United States and the various British colonies which, within a period appreciable by the dullest, are destined either to become independent nationalities, or members of a great confederated empire, are racially homogeneous or not. The fact is indisputable that in their institutions, laws, and political ideals they are substantially identical with each other, and indubitably English in the character of their civilisation. A man may go from the United States to Canada, or cross the Pacific to Australia or New Zealand, and hardly realise any difference of legal relation, distinctive conditions, or marked variation in the type of government. In all essential features, the life of these colonies more closely resembles that of the United States than that of the British Isles. They are the later and riper fruitage of the Anglo-Saxon ideal, permitted by the mother country rather than emanating from it. In like manner, the seventy-odd millions of people who constitute the population of the American Republic, whether white or black, Celt or Slav, or from whatever European stock they may be descended, in political ideals are purely American and derivatively Anglican. This political ideal has come to be known as Anglo-Saxon. It is distinguished from that of all other nationsexcept the South and Central American Republics, which have adopted it in theory, but have not been able to carry it into practical effect, because of the inherited influence of centralised administration and the weakening ignorance of their respective populations-in that under it the individual is greater than the State—that is, the State exists for the individual. With him rests the initiative of government, the sole object of which is to promote the individual happiness or collective interest of its allegiants. The Anglo-Saxon ruler is the servant of the citizenship and must obey its wishes, no matter what the form of government may be. The Anglo-Saxon theory of the State and its function is not only that its object is to promote the welfare of the

people, but that this must be done in the way and manner that the people shall point out. It means always government by public opinion. Put a thousand Anglo-Saxons in any new or uncivilised land and their first act is to organise a government, choosing their own form of administration, creating their own judiciary, and determining their special political relations. It is this spirit which has made the history of British colonisation one continued story of empire-building. The Anglo-Saxon colonist is a home-seeker, a State-maker, not a mere tribute-payer or fortune-hunter. The Anglo-Saxon state is ruled not from the centre but from the circumference. It puts on every man's shoulders a part of the burden of government, and he bears it manfully, because of the assured promise of liberty and prosperity which it brings. The Anglo-Saxon ideal assimilates all foreign stocks that come to it with a fair average of intelligence, and if its power is extended over non-intelligent masses, it taxes its prosperity freely to lift them to the common level. It does not always succeed. Popular justice is not always abstract justice, but the ideal remains, and every Anglo-Saxon community is struggling more or less patiently, more or less earnestly, more or less successfully, towards its fulfilment. It is natural. therefore, that the members of this great family should desire closer relations with each other, not on account of the past but for the sake of the future. It is not ethnical derivation that draws them together, > but a common ethical quality. It is not unity of origin, but identity of aspiration that binds them; not lust of power, but the world's welfare which inclines them to a closer union and an instinctive tendency towards the maintenance of the common ideal, "government of the people and for the people," from which results the largest possible evolution of the individual initiative.

But it is not in Anglo-Saxon lands alone that substantial unanimity of sentiment is found upon the question of a closer union of this great family. Every journal of continental Europe, no matter what its character or what interest it professes to represent, at once denounced the proposed alliance as hostile, either to the political or economic interests of all the nations of Europe. Even the fettered press of the Sultan's dominions made haste to join with the official and unofficial organs of opinion throughout Europe in denouncing any step toward the establishment of a closer entente between England and America. Absolutists and Socialists, politicians and capitalists. nobles and bourgeois, the drones and the workers of every political hive in Europe, were instantly and earnestly agreed on this question, each seeking to outdo the other in denunciation of a proposition so natural and apparently harmless that the flood of vituperation it

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called forth might well have awakened wonder in every individual of the two nations whose alliance was so bitterly decried. What does it mean? What is there about the proposal of an Anglo-Saxon alliance which has power thus to bring the subjects of the Tsar and the Sultan into substantial harmony, to make Frank and German suddenly of one mind, and produce a passionate accord between rulers and ruled throughout all the continent of Europe? It is an unheard of condition and well deserves the most careful consideration.

This concurrence of Anglo-Saxon and continental sentiment, the one in support and the other in denunciation of a closer union between the branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock, proves beyond all controversy that there is a dormant antagonism of some sort between the nations and peoples of continental Europe and the 130,000,000 of Anglo-Saxons who muster under various names in every quarter of the globe. What is the character and cause of this antagonism?

IV.

The world to-day confronts unprecedented conditions. It has been customary to regard the saying of the first Napoleon, that "within fifty years Europe will be all Cossack or all Democrat," as an instance of the entire failure of political prophecy, even by this most astute genius of modern times. Yet, if we regard "Cossack" and "Democrat" as representing contrasted political ideals, we shall see that the intellect of the great Corsican had not lost its wonderful power of deducing effect from cause or of measuring the force of popular tendencies and political combinations when he made this alternative forecast. By "Cossack" he meant, not so much the power of Russia as has been generally inferred, but the predominance of that ideal on which the government of Russia is based; while by "Democrat" he meant government by public opinion for the benefit of the masses rather than government by centralised administration for the promotion of dynastic or class interests. His idea of democracy was undoubtedly that spirit of equality of which he was at first a favoured product and afterwards the baneful curse. What he failed to foresee was the development of this ideal in countries beyond the confines of continental Europe, where the genius of Anglo-Saxon civilisation should shape the inchoate aspiration of the French Revolution into that secure and conservative force which the world has come to know as "government by the people, regulated and safeguarded by fundamental law." In other words, he did not realise that the beautiful but dangerous idealism of the Commune would be so shaped and moulded by Anglo-Saxon practicality as to hold in check popular excesses, while confirming and perpetuating popular power and so constitute a new ideal of Democracy.

There are three significant figures in the politics of Europe to-day. Of these, the "Cossack," that sole survivor in occidental civilisation of the absolutism of the Orient which makes the State simply an expression of one man's will—a government in which one man has power to kill or make alive, without accountability to any power or tribunal for his acts—is the most important. In all the boundaries of the Muscovite empire, there is but one mind, one thought, one man—the Tsar. He is its policy and its religion, its conscience and its destiny. Its people have not yet found a voice. Only in Finland is there any pretence of consulting their will. Of late even this is refused. For two hundred years it has been the most continuously aggressive force in the political world. Whatever people have fallen beneath its sway have been assimilated, not by preference but by force. Every conceivable enginery, even to wholesale transplantation of peoples, has been employed to prevent any portion of its population from having or expressing opinion as regards its policy. The Tsar is supreme, indisputable, unquestionable. His subjects may sue for favour, but none can demand aught of right. He is the State, and the State is everything. The individual is nothing. an absolute zero, in the notation of the "Cossack."

This omnipotent force is not the individual Tsar, but the selfcrowned ideal Tsar—the one charged not only with the right to govern, but with the obligation to govern according to the traditions of the "Cossack." While the will of the Tsar is supreme, his power to govern is largely controlled by the character of his agents. He who reigns to-day professes himself anxious for universal peace. So he may be, but the will of the man who chances to be the Tsar cannot stand in the way of that tradition which has made the Tsar sovereign and lord of all the Russias and the servant of Russian destiny. More than one of his predecessors have been strong men who sought a noble immortality, but the ideal Tsar, ruling in the hearts of his agents, making him the impersonation of Russian policy, has invariably been too strong for his personal inclination.

VI.

Sitting with her back to the frozen north, Russia is invulnerable. both because of the hopeless enthralment of the individual and the climatic rigours of her territory. Year after year, generation after generation, the rule of the "Cossack" has crept out on every radial line. Only the Turk and Napoleon have ever dared to set foot within its confines, and both were baffled, not more by its wintry blasts than by the frigid subjection of its millions to the one dominating will. This marvellously consolidated power which has just taken Manchuria in its unrelaxing grasp, in all its history since the reign of the great Peter, has been dominated by a traditional policy of aggressive expansion. It is the Orient ideal armed and equipped by Occident science and civilisation. Within its boundaries there is no scope of aspiration save in the competition for imperial favour. No sheet of paper is allowed to bear the formulated expression of divergence from the supreme will. To express or be known to harbour a doubt of the purpose or method of the one dominant intelligence, is to plunge headlong into the blackness of that gulf of Slavic despair known as Nihilism. It is the very antipode, political and religious, of Anglo-Saxon individualism. Is it any wonder that the few sheets which reflect this supreme intelligence should objurgate with the utmost vehemence the proposition for a closer union of the Anglo-Saxon Powers?

VII.

Germany is the second figure of political significance in continental Europe. Indeed, it ought perhaps to be regarded of first importance, since it is unquestionably the nidus whence the storms of war are most likely to arise. The German empire created by the genius of Bismarck had two initial purposes, first to establish Prussian absolutism securely in the leadership and control of a united Germany; second, by provokin, war with France, to establish the military supremacy of Germany under Prussian leadership, to counteract the liberal tendencies of German thought, and substitute the drill-sergeant for the schoolmaster as the shaper and moulder of popular impulse.

The result was to create in the heart of Europe a government having the most complete military administration ever known. Out. of a population hardly half as large as that of the United States is drawn year by year the material to maintain an army which on its peace-footing numbers 1,500,000 men, and on a war-footing may be increased to something more than 5,000,000. To accomplish this every able-bodied man must become a soldier. From three to five years must be given out of every healthful life, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight, the formative, and therefore the most valuable period of every life, to the service of the State. The underlying idea of German polity has come to be that the individual exists solely for the advantage of the State, and that the supreme function of the State is to fight—to extend German territory and enhance the prestige of German arms. It is not an absolutism like that of Russia which paralyses individual life and aspiration, but an absolutism which stimulates a popular thought in harmony with the traditions of the Hohenzollerns by making the road to honour and preferment lead always through the camp, which represses popular tendencies by subordination of the civil to the military power, and prevents the spread of liberal ideas by filling its citadels with those who dare oppose the imperial will or speak lightly of the royal favourites on the charge of less majeste, an ancient prop of despotism revived in these modern days under the pretence that the safety of the State demands a worshipful regard for the "consecrated person" of the ruler and those he may designate to perform his will. The result is an absolutism as complete as that of Turkey, and a military administration more perfect than that of Rome under the Empire.

War is the natural result of such a political ideal. It is the object for which the Empire was created, and the ambition of its present ruler is not more marked and unmistakable than the sentiment of his people. All that is lacking is opportunity, excuse, and a reasonable prospect of success. Excuse will always be discoverable under a government acting on the theories and practising the methods of Bismarck. With him, as with the first Napoleon, the function of diplomacy was to provide at all times a plausible reason for any policy he desired to adopt. As soon as he had prepared Prussia for war, he found excuse for conflict with Austria and Denmark. At any moment the expulsion of Danes from Schleswig and of Austrians from Silesia to-day may afford quite as good a pretence for hurling the Imperial legions upon Denmark or absorbing the Germanic portion of Austria, whenever fate shall cut the bond which unites the Austro-Hungarian Empire in an ill-assorted union. The difficulty is so to arrange affairs as to prevent interference on the part of other Powers. It would not do to have Russia climb upon her back at the critical moment, to have France strike her in flank, or England send her fleet to protect the interests of the much-allied house of Denmark. Russia might easily be induced to consent to Austrian dismemberment by being confirmed in her control of the Balkan principalities, and France might possibly be embroiled with her traditional enemy across the Channel, or be consoled for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine by the acquisition of Belgium. So Germany waits, armed to the teeth, for opportunity. In the meantime, she places herself on common ground with her neighbours in the Orient, by taking possession of Kiao-Chao, and showing herself ready to proceed hand in hand with them in the dismemberment of China. Is it strange that the political thought of Germany is opposed to a union of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock whose ideals are at such utter variance with Prussian absolutism? "A Parliamentary government," said Bismarck, speaking of Prussia, "must be avoided at all costs." What was true of the kingdom he rescued from free institutions, was true of the Empire he created to enhance the glory of a master whose chief merit lay in the fact that he was able to discern the genius of a subject infinitely his superior in moral and intellectual power.

But the people—why should the people of Germany so enthusiastically share the views of its ruler in antagonism to the proposed alliance? To find an answer to this question we must consider an economical condition as unprecedented as the political situation of Europe. Fifty years ago Germany was on the verge of becoming a democracy. Liberal thought had nowhere else in Europe so strong a foothold. The Bismarckian policy not only made Prussian absolutism the corner-stone of the Empire, but also gave new life to German commerce. German capital and labour, therefore, echo the protest of her official organs against any closer relation between two nations which not only antagonise the political ideal of the Empire, but are the keenest competitors of German trade. German commerce looks for its future profits to the extension of German power.

VIII.

France is the third significant figure in European political notation. Though a Republic in name, it has inherited from a stormy past an administration centralised and absolute. Born in the throes of mortal agony, the third Republic in its earliest moments was consecrated to one idea, the redemption of France from the shame of recent defeat. It vowed in its cradle to avenge the desecration of her capital by an exulting foe and the imposition of an onerous tribute which constitutes the larger part of the unprecedented debt she still carries. To wipe away this ignominy and regain the military prestige of France in the Napoleonic era has been for almost thirty years the dream of all classes of her people. It has been the keynote of every policy, and the real basis of every factional appeal to favour during that time. It is to-day the promise of Republicans and Clericals, of Orleanists and Napoleonists alike. Preparations for war have absorbed her resources and engrossed her energies. In comparison with other countries her trade has fallen off at a startling rate. Alone, of all the nations of the world, her population is actually decreasing. The army has become the idol of her hope. It is supreme. For it the State exists, and the individual for the State. In effect, France is a reactionary absolutism, a Republic devoted, not to the maintenance of individual right or the development of individual initiative, but with an army dictating its policy and a centralised administration controlled by its chiefs. In the hope of recovering her military renown, she keeps, by means of the most rigorous conscription, 1,500,000 men with the colours, and beasts her ability to put into the field in the briefest possible time an army of 5,600,000 men fully equipped, the

largest army of trained men within the power of any nation of ancient or modern times to muster. On this and her naval armament rests her hope of to-morrow. She does not anticipate invasion and has no fixed policy of aggression. She only waits for opportunity to redeem with the sword the prestige she lost by the unpreparedness of her army and the treason and incapacity of her chiefs.

There is something really pathetic in the steadfastness with which the French people for almost a generation have clung to the hope that the glory of some unfought Marengo may yet hide the shame of Sedan, and that extended colonial possessions may yet enable her to eclipse the commercial glory of England. Unfortunately for this hope, her children of to-day have neither the qualities nor the opportunity necessary to enable them to achieve results as colonists at all commensurate with those inchoate nationalities which constitute the Greater Britain. The British colonist seeks a home and builds a nation; the French colonist, unused to individual initiative, goes into exile fettered with administrative regulations, seeking only fortune, and looking forward, not to a career in a new country, but to securing the means to live in ease and comfort on his return. British colonisation means nation-building for the benefit of the colonists as well as for the home power. French colonisation means the extension of Gallic rule, the collection of tribute and increased commercial opportunity for the home government only. There is no new France, instinct with fresh aspirations and greeted with appreciative hope as a self-governing scion of the parent stock.

With the heaviest debt a nation has ever known, and this constantly increasing while her resources grow steadily less, it is impossible for France to maintain her large army for any considerable time without war. War is always the occasion of a factitious prosperity, and it is doubtful if her people would permit any considerable reduction of herarmament, so possessed are they with the hope of regaining by the sword what was lost by the sword; of recouping for the third Republic the military prestige achieved by the first. She not only waits opportunity, but is compelled by her political conditions to seek it. All shades of political thought within her borders are agreed upon one-thing—that conflict is inevitable, essential to her fame and to her prosperity.

IX.

These nations are in effect three great camps. Together they have 4,500,000 men under arms in time of peace. On a war-footing it is estimated that their armaments would number respectively on first mobilisation: Russia, 3,500,000; Germany, 3,000,000; France, 3,400,000, with a reserve of trained men swelling the total aggregate

to about 17,000,000. Such armaments were never before known in the world's history.

What does it mean? Russia and France are allies. This much is admitted to the world. To what extent no one knows outside the inner circle of the two Governments. The Bismarckian policy of maintaining friendly relations with Russia has been continued also in Germany, and it is safe to say that the closest treaty relations unite the two empires so that there can be no apprehension of attack on the part of Russia from any one, nor on the part of either of the others of hostile attack from Russia or any country in alliance with her. What, then, is the real significance of these great armaments? It can only be that they anticipate some movement, looking to the reformation of the map of Europe, or an offensive alliance against some Power outside the continent of Europe. Either or both of these is probable. Germany is avowedly looking forward to territorial and commercial expansion. The German empire does not yet embrace all of the German Fatherland, and her rank as a naval power will not be all that she desires until the ports of Denmark and Holland afford shelter for her fleets. France avowedly awaits a favourable moment to retrieve her national prestige. This means to her, of necessity, increase of territory and commercial advantage. Take away extraneous influences, therefore, and this greatest triumvirate of history might divide at will the European world. Would they do it? When was a military absolutism ever restrained except by fear of failure from carrying out a policy of aggrandisement? As we have shown, each of these would be supported by a popular sentiment entirely in accord with such a policy except Russia, where there is no popular sentiment in regard to public affairs.

The lesser nations of Europe are mere arithmetical ciphers of no significance except from the relation they may sustain towards one or all of these great Powers. Each of them has increased its armament to an extent before unknown, with the evident purpose of allying itself with one of them when the expected cataclysm comes, in the hops thereby of securing its continued political independence, or at least of choosing its future destiny. It is notable, too, that each of these nations, except the Swiss Republic, is in thorough harmony with the absolutist sentiment and centralised military administration of the significant Powers. It is also noticeable that each of these subordinate nationalities, except Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian States, is at present dominated by a spirit of almost outspoken hostility to Great Britain, and an economic antipathy to the Angle-Saxon which finds expression among all classes of the people. It is but natural, therefore, that the journals of all these countries should be practically unanimous in expressing intense antipathy to a closer union of the branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock. This fact

lends force to the recent remark of an Italian statesman that "a universal war is much more imminent than a general peace." One thing is evident, Europe is all but unanimous in opposition to the political and economic results of Anglo-Saxon individualism. The reactionary impulse is universal. Practically Europe has become "all Cossack." Military absolutism with a united Europe at its back stands ready to contest the empire of the undeveloped world with the Anglo-Saxon system of government, and the Anglo-Saxon theory of the development of uncivilised lands by the uplifting of uncivilised races. The Anglo-Saxon alone offers to the semicivilised peoples that come under his control the advantages of intellectual and material development. The schoolhouse, the free press, agricultural and commercial development, are inseparable incidents of Anglo-Saxon sway. Political and material betterment are the prizes it offers to the laggards in civilisation who come beneath its rule. This is what England offers in India, Egypt and the Soudan; what the United States offers in the West Indies and the Philippines.

The greatest question which the coming century must solve is whether the half-developed regions of the world shall be held and controlled by centralised military powers for the benefit of the nation subjugating them only, or by governments in which the voice of the people demands that opportunity and encouragement be given to other and weaker races. If the power of England should be crippled in Africa and Asia, the protectorate which the United States exercises over the weak republics of South and Central America would be at once destroyed. Military absolutism is already joined in the most harmonious alliance ever known, backed by public opinion in declared hostility to the commercial and economic results of Anglo-Saxon individualism.

X.

What do these conditions mean? Simply that each of the great continental Powers is animated by a determined purpose to extend its dominion at the earliest practicable opportunity; that each is restrained from creating such opportunity by apprehension as to the consequences of a general upheaval, or doubt as to the policy which Great Britain might adopt in case of a continental war. Fear lies at the bottom of the truce. Take that away and the triumvirate would make short work of the map of Europe. It is only natural, therefore, that the political sentiment of all these nationalities should be opposed to a practical duplication of this power by a closer union between Great Britain and the United States. This feeling is not based simply on jealousy of British power and prosperity as is generally assumed, but also upon the fact that every Government of

Europe, except Switzerland and the Scandinavian States, represents to-day the most intense antagonism to the basis principle of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. All Europe is an armed camp, organised especially to prevent the spread of liberal political ideas, and the organisation and establishment of what Bismarck declared must be avoided at all hazards-"parliamentary government." Centralised military absolutism is the one idea common to all the monarchs, all the ministers, all the armies of Europe. Over against them as world-forces stand England, the United States, and the South American Republics, which, by the acceptance of the "Monroe Doctrine" by Great Britain, are practically under the joint protection of these Anglo-Saxon Powers. There is no doubt that all Europe is hostile to Great Britain. Russia, Germany and France have already apparently made common cause against her in the East. There is little doubt also that the combined Russian and German influence would be sufficient to enrol Turkey in the ranks of her foes. Eliminate the United States from the problem, guarantee her neutrality, and there is little doubt that before the dawn of the twentieth century the civilised world would be arrayed in arms against Great Britain.

What interest has the United States in such a struggle? First, it must be kept in mind that any material lessening of the power of Great Britain would be an immediate and substantial threat against the political principle on which the Anglo-Saxon Republic is based—to wit, government by the people, or government controlled by popular sentiment. These are the only countries which recognise the principle that the object of government is the promotion and security of the rights and liberties of the individual, and that the people are the only proper judges both of their own rights and how they shall best be preserved. The natural result of a restriction of the power of one of them would be the combination of all the forces of military absolutism to limit the influence of the other. In other words, the natural tendency of present conditions is a hostile movement of continental absolutism—the reactionary wave which has been gathering since 1848 against government by public opinion represented by the Anglo-Saxon stock, the two branches of which it seeks to hold asunder and weaken in detail as occasion may offer. It is small wonder that politically the continent of Europe is unanimous in decrying the proposition for a closer union of the two great branches of this political family. But how about the people? Why should the popular sentiment of Europe, the thought of the workers and burden-bearers, the soldiers and sailors, of all classes and parties, wherever any freedom of opinion is permitted, be in such harmony with the policy of its rulers on this subject? The answer is not selfevident, but a study of to-day's economic conditions will afford ample explanation.

ΧĪ.

The economic conditions of the world are as unprecedented as its political situation. For the first time in history the world's labour is able to produce more than the world can consume. Invention has so multiplied the power of production that in many lines one man's labour equals in results that of a hundred fifty years ago, and in almost all fields of industry the capacity of the individual has been increased ten or twenty-fold. The means of transportation have been so improved and cheapened that distance from the point of consumption has comparatively little effect upon the price. The food products of America and the wool and meats of Australia are offered in the markets of the world at rates far below what would be required to produce the same by home labour. The chief problem of government at this time, therefore, is how to promote commerce and reward industry, to provide wage for the labourer and profit for the employer, since upon them rests the burden of all government. If the employer is unable to achieve a profit he cannot pay the labourer's hire and neither can bear the burden of taxation which Government imposes. .

While the aggregate products of human labour are year by year exceeding the aggregate demand, the capacity to produce the essentials of life is so unevenly distributed as to constitute a most important element in the determination of the world's peace. With the exception of Russia, no nation of Europe is able to produce from its own soil, or by direct application of its own labour, the necessaries of life which its people demand or the raw material on which its manufacturers depend. Germany, France, Italy, Austria, all must draw from granaries across the sea the food which the poor as well as the rich among their people must have, the price of which cannot be materially increased without causing suffering and the fear of domestic discontent. The very soldiers who muster by millions in their camps must draw their rations from other lands. Each of these countries has an immense surplus of labour, though one eighth of its industrial capacity is steadily diverted from productive occupation by the demand which military absolutism imposes as the condition of national existence. This surplus labour cannot, however, be employed to produce the necessaries of life required, because of the competition of richer soils, improved methods, cheap transportation, and the stimulus of a wonderfully developed individual initiative. As a rule, one man's labour in the United States, in Canada, or Australia, will produce many times as much of nearly all those things which are essential to human life as in Europe.

What is the result of this strange condition? In order to maintain the economic equilibrium, to furnish wage for the labourer and profit for the employer, the surplus labour of the continent is employed in

the manufacture of articles which may profitably be exchanged with other countries for the necessaries of life. These are mostly luxuries. Few articles of real necessity are produced by the labour of continental Europe for export. Of food products, she exports dainties, wines, strangely compounded liqueurs and comestibles which are quite as frequently the product of the factory as of the soil. Toys and other trifles manufactured only by hand, certain chemical products, dress goods and imitated wares, constitute the bulk of those exports, by the sale of which these nations seek to supply their deficit of necessaries. Sugar, oil, and tropical fruits from the shores of the Mediterranean are almost the only food products approaching the character of necessaries of life which the old world furnishes to the new. Great Britain and the United States are the chief consumers of the exports of continental Europe. The United States, Canada, and Australia, furnish nearly all the food products which are necessary to supply the deficit of home production, and also most of the raw material of their manufacturers.

XII.

This condition of affairs was not of serious moment as long as the United States was dependent upon the labour of Europe for manufactured articles, the cost of which counterbalanced the value of her exportations of raw material, food products, and other necessaries. When, however, invention enabled her to supply not only the demands of her own people who have doubled in number and more than quadrupled in wealth during the last forty years, but also to enter the lists as a rival with foreign manufacturers in the markets of other countries, the strain of economic competition was at once felt. This competition is a matter which appeals to the consciousness of every class of continental Europe. Every capitalist, every manufacturer, every tradesman, every labourer, regards the Anglo-Saxon peoples as in some sense responsible for the lack of profits or the reduction of wages which confronts them in their several occupations. Taken as a whole, it may be said that they regard these as the result, not of natural laws and economic evolution, but as a consequence of national policy and Anglo-Saxon greed. They consider British competition in all branches of trade as the result of British commercial policy, and not in any sense as a result of the individual quality of the English people. So, too, they regard the competition. of the United States in every field of production as the result of a national policy having for its purpose the humiliation and detriment of other countries and the impoverishment of their inhabitants. The lower classes are particularly inflamed with envy at the fact that British, and especially American, workmen receive much higher wages than the continental labourer of like grade. The amazing increase

of individual wealth in the United States is brought home to every hamlet by the fact that some one who has gone out from its impoverished homes, has reaped the reward of industry and activity in the strange new land which to them seems inhabited only by the rich. The Agrarians of Germany and the Socialists of France alike regard the exportation of food products from America to European markets at a price far below what their agriculturists can furnish the same, as the result of deliberate hostility. They cannot understand how the American farmer can pay a much higher wage for labour and still undersell his European competitor. They think it somehow the result of national policy, and rely upon national action to remedy the evil. This can only be done by increasing the price of food, and this increase, if carried to such extent as to exclude the foreign products, means starvation for the poor, bread-riots, and revolution. All this creates a popular antipathy against the people who persist in paying high wages and yet furnishing cheap food. So long as the United States received with open arms all who could compass a passage to her shores, the popular sentiment towards her in continental countries was somewhat mitigated by the very general hope of escaping harsh home conditions, and sharing the marvellous opportunity which her wonderful prosperity offered. Now that this opportunity has been restricted, and poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime are no longer free to barnacle themselves upon the liberty and enterprise of the American Republic, the labouring classes of Europe are filled with an envy which makes no distinction between the Briton and the American.

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Besides this, the necessity for keeping up large armaments has resulted in the discouragement of emigration by all the great Powers of Europe. None of them permit the emigration of young men during the period when they are subject to military service. Even if one manages to elude the law, which requires from one to three of the best years of life as a sacrifice to the Moloch of military absolutism, he is regarded as a criminal and is subject to punishment should he ever return. The fact that the United States does not intervene to protect him as one of her adopted citizens from such punishment, is even charged up by his friends and neighbours against the Republic across the waters, as unmistakable evidence of her hostility toward the labouring poor of Europe. The common people naturally take no note of the fact that the stimulated individuality of Anglo-Saxon life, the almost inconceivable efficacy of labour-saving machinery and the cheapening influence of systematised effort, are the real factors which produce the results of which they complain. They do not understand that organised capital has made it possible to rear a bullock in the United States with one-hundredth part the personal supervision required to effect the same in France. They do not realise that in the United States one man and two horses, by the aid of agricultural machinery. will plant forty acres of corn in a single day, or that improved processes of manufacture in steel and iron have made one man's labour capable of producing what half a century ago would have required the labour of a hundred. They do not appreciate the fact that it is the inevitable result of untrammelled intellectual opportunity which enables the American labourer not only to earn a higher wage, but also to perform a much greater amount of work in a given time than the European worker of the same class; that the protective policy of the United States is not alone chargeable with these results any more than the much more burdensome protective policies of every European Government can be relied upon to remedy them. They do not realise that it is the governmental policy of the nations of Europe, which insists upon perpetuating outworn conditions of tenure, administration and production, that prevents the European labourer from sharing the prosperity which the enterprise and freedom of the Anglo-Saxon peoples secure to the British and American working-man. It is for these reasons that the popular sentiment of Europe presents the anomaly of entire accord with the reactionary absolutism which controls its political thought. To the labouring classes, Anglo-Saxon prosperity means hard times for European labour, and they naturally denounce anything which they think may add to the power or prosperity of the Anglo-Saxon nations.

XIII.

One of the most marvellous results of the untrammelled individuality of the Anglo-Saxon is the fact that to-day the English-speaking nationalities control the most important products of the world and hold the points of greatest strategic value on all the great avenues of commerce. It seems like accident, but when we trace back the course of history we see it is just as much the result of definable evolutionary processes as anything in natural history.

As has been said, the British colonist has usually been a home-maker. The verdure and domesticity of English life have led his feet in grassy paths. He has sought to build a home and establish a new government, not to replenish broken fortunes merely or to seek tribute for a decaying system or outworn dynasty. As a consequence, almost all the best pasture and arable lands of the world and a vast preponderance of the sources of supply of the necessaries of life are within his control. All the regions on which the world must depend, for a generation at least, to supply its deficiency of meat and cereal products are directly or indirectly in the power of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. A quarter or half a century hence Siberia may be able to supply Europe with wheat enough to meet her wants; but even that is a matter of doubt, and until such development occurs, the United

States, Canada, the Australasian colonies, the temperate regions of South America, and perhaps the untested pasture lands of South Africa, must be relied upon to furnish the sausage of the German soldier, the loaf of the French ouvrier and the polenta of the Italian ladrone. Europe has a surplus of non-food-producing labour, enhanced by nonproductive armies, but a constant and growing deficiency in her domestic food supply. With the utmost possible endeavour, with the wisest and most successful economic revolution, this condition of affairs cannot be greatly modified in a generation. In addition to this, the greater portion of the world's supply of cotton, rice and coffee, is in Anglo-Saxon hands; three-fourths of the gold and silver output, and a great preponderance of the coal and iron beds whose products vitalise the commerce of the world are in their possession. They have no great armies, no camps fed by forced conscription of millions of their sons, but no enemy ever found them wanting in defenders. Between Europe and the Orient, where the great armed Powers are now struggling for a foothold, stretches the American continent, every foot of which is practically under the protectorate of these Powers. Already the inexhaustible mines of South America are being developed by English and American capital and opened by railways which are triumphs of Anglo-Saxon engineering. In Africa, where soon another chapter of economic progress must be unfolded, Great Britain holds the two extremes of intercontinental communication-Egypt and the Cape of Good Hope; the one commercially meaning control of the products of the Nile, the other of the gold and diamond fields and grassy veldts of South Africa. In case of war, the Suez Canal is practically within her power, while in some near to-morrow the American Republic will in like manner have possession of the trade route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Because of these conditions, an alliance between the great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family means the creation of a world-power against which it is not only impossible that any European combination should make head, but which will have such control of the commercial and economic resources of the world as to enable them to put an end to war between the continental Powers themselves without mustering an army or firing a gun. It is to such a union that the lesser Governments of Europe must look for safety when the policy of military engorgement has made conflict inevitable, and which alone can save the commerce of the world from loss by war which the policy of military absolutism has made imminent.

Whether they desire it or not, the necessities of the world's life, the preservation of their own political ideals, and the commercial and economic conditions which they confront, must soon compel a closer entente between these two great peoples. They are the peacemakers of the twentieth century, the protectors of the world's liberty, of free economic development, and of the weak nationalities of the earth. With

nations as with men, peace is usually the result of apprehension of consequences that might ensue from conflict. A free people, a Government based on public opinion, a people whose interests demand commercial opportunity, is always in favour of peace. They may be stirred to war by injustice or oppression or in assertion of the rights and liberties of others, but are rarely moved to a war of aggression or for mere national aggrandisement. Commercial character is the surest guarantee of peaceful purpose, and the closer union of the two greatest commercial nations of the world is the strongest possible security for the world's peace.

Existing conditions are simply the result of competition between absolutism and government by public opinion as contrasted economic forces. With the discovery of America all European nations made haste to seek advantage from possession of the new lands. The continental nations adopted the Roman method of subjugating for tribute. and imposing upon natives and colonists the absolute despotic rule of a centralised home-government, which permitted neither individual initiative nor the adoption of new administrative methods to meet new conditions. Such a system permitted no growth, no development, except through revolution. England was fortunate in losing her first colonies, by which she was taught to assent to self-government in the others. The system of administration through chartered companies, to which she has recently returned in Africa, is only a modification of the continental system. Neither in India nor elsewhere have its fruits been such as to justify the expectation of future good results. It is the self-governing colony which has afforded opportunity for individual development and made the Anglo-Saxon the most potent factor in the economic evolution of the world. A colony, in order to be of special advantage to the mother country, must either furnish an inducement for her surplus population to emigrate, supply the things of which there is a deficit in her domestic production, or consume large quantities of her manufactures. The French and German colonies in Africa and the East have none of these essential qualities. They offer no inducements to emigration; they supply no food products and little raw material; and no barbarous or semi-civilised people can ever furnish a reliable market for any great quantity of the products of civilised manufacture. Continental colonisation cannot be relied on to relieve the economic conditions of Europe. For half a century at least, the deficit of food products must come from Anglo-Saxon lands, and the market for the products of its surplus labour must be found in Anglo-Saxon shops. No other source of supply exists; no other market can be found. Even if China were dismembered to-morrow, it would bring to the Powers engaged in her partition no permanent advantage and

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very little economic relief. China can neither furnish necessaries nor buy any considerable amount of superfluities. An impoverished people, a worn-out soil, and an over-populated land, offer little hope for relief of economic straits. Only Russia will make decided gain from the slice of Manchuria she has appropriated. That portion of the earth's surface which the European can successfully occupy and develop is practically held already by the Anglo-Saxon, or occupied by people under his protection.

It is not easy to define the character of understanding which may be reached between these two great nations, yet there are certain things which may be clearly premised, both negatively and affirmatively, in regard to it. It is plain, in the first place, that it will not be a hard and fast alliance, offensive and defensive, because both are Anglo-Saxon peoples, and, as such, inherently opposed to abdicating to another their national volition. The American Government refused to accept the arbitration treaty proffered by Great Britain, but not because it was opposed to arbitrating international difficulties. Exactly the contrary, indeed, since the American people may be said to be almost unanimously in favour of the peaceful solution of all questions arising betwixt the Republic and other countries, and there is no political group or interest inclining them to war. They are, however, passionately devoted to entire freedom of action, national as well as individual, and hesitate to restrict it by a continuing contract for arbitration with a fixed tribunal. Their insistence that in each particular case the treaty-making Power shall specify and define the question to be arbitrated, is merely a natural result of the caution bred of their domestic history, which inclines them against any irrevocable contract that might some time fetter their freedom of action. In this they stand upon the same level as the Lord Chief Justice of England, who is understood to have expressed the cautious opinion, based on large professional experience no doubt, that "an agreement to arbitrate may itself be the cause of the most serious difficulties."

In the second place, it may be safely assumed that such understanding will not be one affecting the political relations of the two countries. There is no considerable element in either inclined to any material modification of its existing form of government. Each clamours loudly against the defects of its own system, but is jealously opposed to comment on the same by others, and especially sensitive to any assumption of leadership or superiority by another

In like manner, it may be positively declared that such understanding will not affect the commercial or economic relation of the two countries. They are, always have been, and always must be, the keenest of commercial rivals. Their industrial conditions are so VOL. LXXV.

antipodal that each has flourished to a degree unequalled by any other nation, under exactly opposite economic systems. The reason for this is apparent. The United States has so great an area of adjacent territory, with such diversity of natural products and perfection of manufacturing resources, that it is able to supply all the necessaries of life for a population twice as large as that of Great Britain, and have an immense surplus of food, raw products, and manufactured articles for exportation. This commercial rivalry will in no wise be remitted by any entente that may be effected between the two nations. Indeed, it is most likely to increase, since the United States is morally certain to devote its resources and energies to recovering something of the ocean carrying trade which it lost and England gained through the destruction of Confederate cruisers during the American Civil War. This is not strange, since its contributions to the profit derived from ocean traffic and travel are immensely greater than those of any other nation, while its shipbuilding capacity and the maritime quality of its people are beyond question.

In addition to these, it may be safely assumed that neither country would support the other in a war for the acquisition of territory in any part of the globe. But although neither political or territorial advantage nor specific commercial concessions can be expected from a better understanding between these two Powers, there is still a very considerable indirect advantage to be derived from such entente. First among these must be counted the fact of the increased moral power of each in the family of nations. Both being commercial peoples, peace is the prime requisite of the prosperity of each. At the present time, England is antagonised by the more or less hostile combination of European Powers. She secures immunity from attack by playing off one against the other alternately as a favoured ally. At the same time the United States is liable, in case of any unfavourable turn of affairs, to become embroiled with one or more of the continental Powers in regard to the practical protectorate it has asserted by the maintenance of the "Monroe Doctrine" over the weaker South and Central American Republics. This declaration, being simply that no European Government shall be allowed to acquire in any manner new territory on the American continent, is regarded by every nation of Europe, except Great Britain, as an unfair restriction of international right and privilege—that is, as a restriction of the ancient right of every country to subjugate and annex any nationality it may choose to invade and prove strong enough to conquer. This principle of the "Monroe Doctrine" has already been recognised by Great Britain, and is even regarded by French authorities as having originated with a celebrated English statesman, though, in fact, proclaimed by the United States some years before the Argentinian controversy arose. It is of the utmost importance to the peace of the United States and to the commerce of both countries. As has already been shown, a mutual understanding between the two countries will effectually restrain European combination against either, by its control of vital resources and the commercial ruin certain to ensue from their combined antagonism.

There is also the field of unfair trade restrictions in which these two great nations may naturally and properly co-operate with each other. While their prosperity is largely based upon contrasted economic policies, still more of it is due to the individual initiative of their people—that is, the enterprise of the merchants, manufacturers, and producers of all kinds. An essential element to the full enjoyment of such enterprise is that the products of all nations shall be admitted to the ports of all the world upon equal terms. In other words, that no distinction, such as a maximum tariff on the products of one country and a minimum tariff on the products of another, shall be allowed to interfere with fair and open competition in the markets of the world. Akin to this is the removal of that notably unfair restriction imposed by the existing treaty upon the right of the United States to build a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien, to be open on equal terms to the shipping of the world. At the time it was imposed by Great Britain, the interest of the United States in the Pacific Ocean was not what it is now, and the need of amendment

of the treaty is at present universally recognised. There still remains to be considered the field of inferior nationalities or the relations of weaker nations and semi-barbarous peoples to other Powers. Both Great Britain and the United States are, by natural bias of their people and by commercial interest, opposed to the absorption of small and weak nationalities by strong ones. This principle lies at the foundation of the American Republic-the right of every civilised people to have and maintain its own political organisation. While it is not probable that the Republic would ever interfere by force in any European controversy, it would unquestionably be willing at all times to cast its moral influence in favour of the established independence of any nationality threatened with absorption by one or more of the great Powers; and the united protest of England and the United States, taken in connection with their known control of the most important sources of commercial prosperity and material supply, would make their protest in most, if not all, cases practically effective. As to the partition of barbarous or semi-barbarous lands by conquest or the forceful extension of treaty rights, the two nations are practically of one mind. The people of the United States are so averse to disregard of the right of self-government even of such populations, that a considerable antagonism exists to the conquest of the Philippines, which the war with Spain forced on the Republic. At the same time, England openly opposes the acquisition of territory in China, off-setting the "open door" and "sphere of influence" policy in antagonism to that of dismemberment supposed to be entertained by Russia and her continental allies.

It is possible, also, that these two great Powers may mutually agree that neither shall declare war against any other nation, unless in case of unexpected invasion of its territory, without submitting the matter to the other, and invoking its aid in securing a peaceful solution of the pending difficulty. Such an agreement would go far toward the establishment of an international tribunal by which the question of peace or war between the nations of the earth may be ultimately determined. The strongest objection likely to be arged in the United States against such an understanding is the peculiarly cordial relations which have always obtained between the great Republic and the great Autocracy. During the American Civil War Great Britain was saved from espousing the cause of the Confederacy only by the wisdom and foresight of her Queen, who shrank with horror from any conflict with a kindred people. Even then, her shipyards were allowed to send out the craft which swept American commerce from the sea. France, Austria, and Belgium united to establish Maximilian in Mexico in the shope of forming an alliance with the Confederacy. The one friend, who from first to last stood staunchly by the Republic, was Russia. Why there should be such intimate relations between these political antipodes it is hard to say, unless a far-sighted Russian policy sought, by espousing the American cause, to detach the Anglo-Saxon Republic from the Angle-Saxon Empire so as to assure at least its moral support in any conflict that may come betwixt the Lion and the Bear. Despite the friendliness which has recently developed between the Anglo-Saxon peoples, it is not to be expected that the United States would willingly assume a rôle which might place her in even seeming antagonism with Russia, unless for the maintenance of principles which she regards as essential to the general welfare and peace of the world. If, however, its effect would be to give the United States a position that might enable her to intercede with special prospect of success between these great Powers, to both of which she is bound by peculiar ties, it would constitute, instead of an objection, a most potent reason for the establishment of such an understanding as is now contemplated.

Anglo-Saxon Powers for the world's benefit and mutual commercial advantage is a very large one, which, if fairly covered by wise and benignant provisions, not too restrictive in character, will constitute the Anglo-Saxon peoples the efficient and unquestioned guarantors of the peace and prosperity of the world during the greater part of the twentieth century, with every prospect that it will lead to the establishment of international tribunals which may make warfare no longer the chief business of government.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

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