

that carried off at Portsmouth, for there they show themselves capable of self-conquest." The same compliment in almost the same words is paid the Japanese diplomats by Mr. Ferdinand Brunetière in the review quoted above. The *St. Petersburger Zeitung*, the organ of the German embassy, thinks that Japan ought to be satisfied with the prospect of a treaty which will usher in a permanent peace, while *Vorwärts* (Berlin), the Socialist organ, says that "the effect of the peace negotiations will prove as glorious to Japan as they are subversive of the Czar's plans of Russian preeminence in East Asia." Japan's statesmen, thinks the *Fremdenblatt* (Vienna), have shown themselves as successful at Portsmouth as her fighting men did in Manchuria and the Straits of Korea. But *The Saturday Review* (London) remarks with cold-blooded but felicitous cynicism:

"It is not only bad international manners, but the silliest twaddle, to talk of Japan's 'great renunciation' and of M. Witte's 'triumph,' when it is evident to all men that no peace was ever made which more faithfully registered the exact degree of success at-

declares the *Journal des Débats*, ought to do honor for safeguarding their interests in so masterly a way. According to the *Tribuna* (Rome) the result of the conference marks "Japan's latest victory" over Russia, and the writer hazards the conjecture that in their sudden ending of the war the Japanese diplomats were acting under the inspiration of Machiavelli.—*Translations made for THE LITERARY DIGEST.*

REVOLUTIONARY RESULTS OF VICTORY UPON JAPAN.

THE riots in Japan give point to a remarkable article in the *Européen* (Paris) by the editor of the Tokyo *Mainichi Shimbun*. This editor, who is a deputy in the Japanese Parliament, declares that the war has inspired his people with the spirit of democracy. He says that for the first time in their history the Japanese have found themselves and recognized their responsibilities as a nation, and adds that the idea of equality among men has superseded that of aristocratic exclusiveness and plebeian submission. Every man, rich or poor, feels himself on the same footing in the eyes of the nation.

He goes on to draw a parallel between Japan and England. After England's great struggle with France, which ended with the battle of Waterloo, the spirit of reform, the sense of personal responsibility, was evoked in Great Britain. So in Japan the personal patriotism of the Mikado's subjects has been proved and exhibited at Mukden and Liau-Yang, and, after those victories, and the arrival of peace, will survive in a new feeling of political and civic independence. To the success of Japanese arms, he says, every person in the country, young or old, contributed by his self-sacrifice. To quote:

"This people, which has sacrificed its money, to the extent of selling personal clothing for the benefit of the national war fund, and which has given generously the life-blood of its children, occupies no privileged position in the State and enjoys no pension as the nobles do. Without denying the ability and devotion of the military leaders, it must

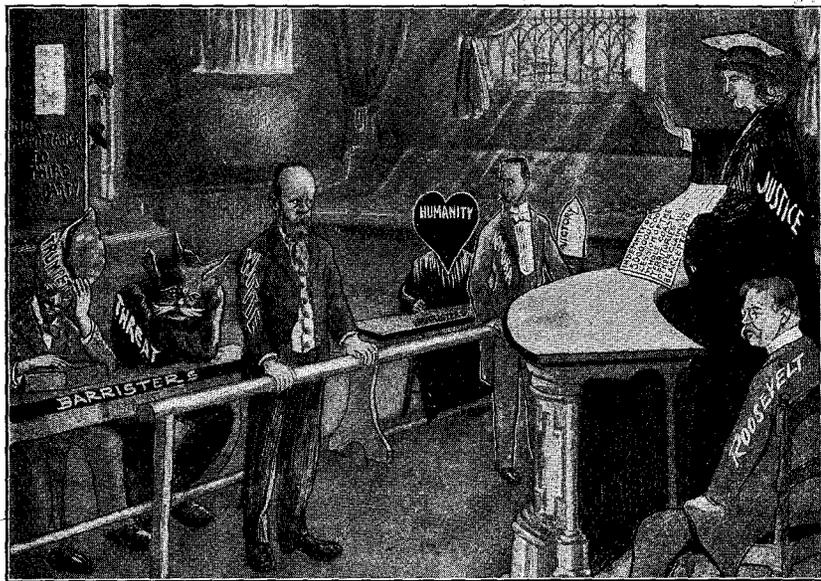
be allowed that but for the heroic spirit displayed by the rank and file success in any great degree would have been impossible."

The writer proceeds to show that war has filled the mind of the Japanese with a sense of democratic equality. Those who fought for peace and independence must enjoy the fruits of it. As in England the continental victories of Wellington paved the way for the reforms of 1832, so Japan expects that the extension of political privileges will result from the victories gained in Manchuria. He proposes, accordingly, something like universal suffrage in Japan. In his own words:

"It is ill advised, or rather unreasonable, to tell those who have devoted themselves to the service of their country, and are conspicuous for their loyalty, that because they do not pay high taxes they therefore have no right of interference in the affairs of the nation. By extending the franchise on a large scale such deputies will have a chance of being elected as really represent the claims of the people, and are more interested in relieving social distress than in projects of fresh taxation. In this way the distance between rich and poor will be lessened and popular discontent kept in check."

He talks of military life as being actually a school of democracy and hints at a danger which threatens the State unless "the governing class give their best consideration to the present tendency of thought in the nation." He argues as follows:

"In spite of this equalizing tendency, the distance between rich and poor in Japan must inevitably increase. The growth of



THE JUDGMENT OF JUSTICE.
A Japanese View.

—The Tokyo Puck.

tained by the victorious party up to the time of its conclusion or more exactly measured the resisting force still existing in the defeated side."

The Spectator enumerates all the territorial and other gains of Japan and concludes: "M. Witte may exult in his hardly decent fashion at what he considers his victory; but it is Japan, not Russia, who has achieved a triumph, consolidated rather than limited by the terms of a peace signed before St. Petersburg has recorded a single victory either by sea or land."

Naturally enough, the French press extol the skill of Witte, and praise the wisdom with which the Czar has put an end to a disastrous war. There is only one exception in this laudatory verdict of the papers, and that is the utterance of a French Academician in the important review of which he is editor. Ferdinand Brunetière, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, already quoted, a magazine of the greatest weight and authority in Europe, declares that "every single thing which was at stake in the war remains in the hands of Japan," and expresses astonishment that Russia should make the paying of the indemnity a question of "honor." The *Paris Figaro* thinks the Czar showed "great wisdom in his perception of the necessity for ending the game," a compliment that must apply with even greater force to the "wisdom" of the thousands who perceived the necessity long before the Czar did. The *Gaulois* (Paris) calls the sudden surrender of Japan a *coup de théâtre*, and says the incident constitutes a remarkable diplomatic victory for Russia and especially for Mr. Witte, to whom the Russians,

expenditure on administration and on repayment of loans and other legacies of the war, together with the rise in prices, will widen the breach between the masses and their rulers, and altho the growth of capital will enlarge the sphere of financial operations, the money will find its way to the rich, rather than to the poor. Such is the change that will come with peace. While general public opinion tends toward equality, the financial situation will tend to create a social abyss."

The result of the war, in short, has been to set Japan upon her feet, and to teach the people their rights and their power.

Unless this situation is faced and provided for, this writer predicts "a terrible explosion."—*Translations made for THE LITERARY DIGEST.*

TOLSTOY ON THE SIN OF HOLDING OFFICE.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is classed with Nicholas, Wilhelm, and Chamberlain as "most immoral men" in Count Tolstoy's latest essay on the wickedness of governments. And not only are these rulers thus judged by the professed imitator of the One who said "Judge not," but "their supporters and parliaments" are put under the same condemnation. No moral man can be a legislator, says Tolstoy—a remark that may or may not be intended as a reflection on the new Russian "douma." Anarchy and individualism, as opposed to collectivism, socialism, or imperialism, appears to be the latest phase of opinion adopted by the earnest and eloquent Russian count, who has done so much to wake the conscience of Russia, and indeed of the whole civilized world. The idea of government, a controlling and directing authority in a country, he denounces in the London *Times* as abominable. The Russo-Japanese war, he says, with all its horrors, resulted from the existence of a government in Russia. After enumerating and stigmatizing several of the bad rulers of the Muscovite empire he goes on to speak of Nicholas II. thus:

"To-day heredity has tossed up on to the throne a weak-minded hussar officer, and he, with his hangers-on, undertakes his Manchuro-Korean scheme, costing hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of rubles.

"Why, this is dreadful! Dreadful chiefly because, even if this insane war were to terminate to-morrow, a new fancy may, by help of scoundrels who surround him, jump into the weak head of this man in power, who may to-morrow undertake a new African, American, or Indian scheme, and these will again drain the last strength out of the Russian people and send them to the other end of the world to commit murder.

"This is what has happened and is happening, not in Russia alone, but in every place where there has existed or is existing a government—*i.e.*, an organization in which a small minority can force a great majority to do its will. The whole history of European States is the history of mad, stupid, dissolute men succeeding each other on their thrones, killing, ruining, and, worst of all, corrupting their people.

"The throne in England is mounted by an unconscientious, cruel scoundrel and rake, Henry VIII., and, that he may get rid of his wife and marry his concubine, he invents his pseudo-Christian Protestant Church, he forces the whole people to accept his in-



TOLSTOY IN HIS STUDY.
From a painting by Julius Norden.

vented faith, and millions of men are destroyed in the struggle for and against it.

"The greatest hypocrite and villain, Cromwell, takes possession of the machine, and executes another similar hypocrite, Charles I., and relentlessly ruins scores of thousands of lives and destroys the very faith for which he pretends to strive."

He makes no distinction between forms of government. All are equally wicked and unjust. The history of nations is nothing but a record, he says, of the iniquity of governments. To quote:

"Read or recall to mind the history of the European Christian nations from the time of the Reformation. It is an uninterrupted enumeration of the most dreadful, senselessly cruel crimes committed by representatives of the Government against their own and other nations and against each other; incessant wars, plunders, the destruction or the oppression of nationalities, the extermination of whole peoples, the ruin of peaceful populations for the sake of rapacity, vanity, jealousy; or, under pretense of the establishment of religious truth, a continuous succession of stakes at which, among thousands of average men, were also burnt the best men of their time; treacheries, fraud, trickery, seizure of other people's property, tortures, prisons, executions, and vice, that dreadful unnatural vice which is met only among these unfortunate rulers. And this is the case not only with a Charles IX., a Henry VIII., an Ivan the Terrible, but the extolled Louises of France, Elizabeths of England, Catherines and Peters of Russia, and Fredericks of Prussia—they all do only this. Our contemporary governments—*i.e.*, the men who at present compose governments (whether these governments be autocratic or limited monarchies or republics)—do the same thing; they can not but do it because in it consists their function."

He ranks even American presidents, and names Mr. Roosevelt, among those who grasp by violence the wealth of the laboring classes, and he says of all rulers and statesmen whether elected by the people, or succeeding to a throne as despotic emperors or heirs to the crown of a limited monarchy:

"Their function consists in grasping the greater part of the property of the laboring classes, by means of violence in the form of direct or indirect taxation, and of using these means according to their discretion—*i.e.*, always for the attainment of party or their own personal avaricious ambitions and vain aims. Secondly, in maintaining by violence the right of a few men to possess the land taken from the whole nation. Thirdly, to organize by hire or conscription an army—*i.e.*, professional murderers—and at their will to send these murderers to kill and rob this people or that. Or, lastly, to institute laws which would justify and consecrate all these villainies. This is precisely what is being done by present-day Roosevelts, Nicholases the Second, Chamberlains, and Wilhelms, with their supporters and parliaments. In this consists their function. And this function can be accomplished only by the most immoral men. One need only carefully examine the essence of that in which the exercise of governmental power consists in order to understand that those men who rule nations must be cruel, immoral, and necessarily standing lower than the average moral level of their time and society. No moral man, nor even an incompletely immoral person, can be on the throne or be a minister or legislator, the determiner and definer of the fate of nations. A moral, virtuous statesman is as great an inward contradiction as a moral prostitute, an abstemious drunkard, or a meek brigand."