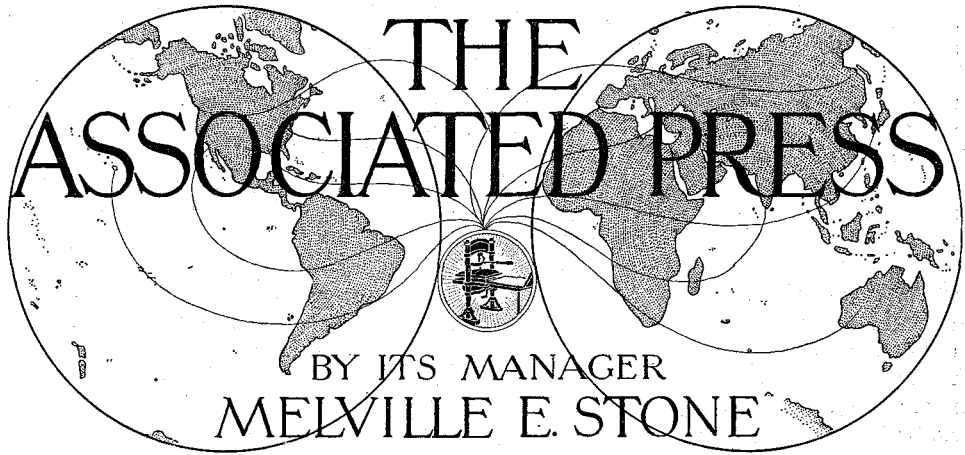


tance and if soldiers are too ignorant of hygiene to obey its dictates.

The officers of our small Medical Department know these things, but the American government and people do not know them. They see faulty details or an ineffi-

cient man, but they fail to detect the fundamental fault of defective organization. Before we can ever hope to rival the Japanese in the saving of lives in war we must be prepared for war even as they were.



THE REMOVAL OF THE RUSSIAN CENSORSHIP ON FOREIGN NEWS



SATISFACTORY relations had been arranged between the Associated Press and France, Germany, and Italy,¹ but obviously the place of chief interest was Russia. It had often been suggested that we station correspondents at St. Petersburg, but apparently the time was not ripe. It was the last country in which to try an experiment. Wisdom therefore dictated a delay until it could be determined how the agreement with other Continental powers would work out. Moreover, it was important that the St. Petersburg bureau, in case one should be established, should be conducted by a correspondent of singular tact. With this possible course in view, I put in training for the post a gentleman from our Washington office in whom I had great confidence. He was a graphic writer and a man of wide information and rare discretion. He studied French until he was able to speak with reasonable freedom, and devoted himself to the study of Russian history.

The situation at the Russian capital was peculiar. Every conceivable obstacle was put in the way of the foreign journalist who attempted to telegraph news thence to any alien newspaper or agency. The business of news-gathering was under ban in the Czar's empire. The doors of the ministers of state were closed; no public official would give audience to a correspondent. Even subordinate government employees did not dare to be seen in conversation with a member of the hated gild, and all telegrams were subject to a rigorous censorship.

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, was friendly, and desired me to act. While I still had the matter under consideration, an agent of the Russian government urged me to go at once to St. Petersburg. I sailed in December, 1903, and by arrangement met the Russian agent in London. To him I explained that we were ready to take our news of Russia direct from St. Petersburg, instead of receiving it through London, but to do

¹ See THE CENTURY for April.

that four things seemed essential. First, the Russian government should accord us a press rate that would enable us to send news economically. Second, they should give us such precedence for our despatches as the French, Italian, and German governments had done. Third, they must open the doors of their various departments and give us the news. And, fourth, they must remove the censorship and enable us to send the news. If we should go there at all, we must go free to tell the truth. Obviously, we could not tell the truth unless we could learn the truth and be free to send it.

The agent said that, acting under instructions, he would leave London immediately for St. Petersburg, in order to have a week there before my arrival, so as to lay the matter before the ministers in detail. Meanwhile I went to Paris. At my suggestion, the French foreign office wrote to their ambassador at St. Petersburg, instructing him to use his good offices with the Russian government, the ally of the French government, in an attempt to secure for the Associated Press the service that was desired. They assured the Russian government that they believed the best interests of the world and of Russia would be served by granting my request, which they regarded as very reasonable. I went to Berlin, and the German foreign office advised the German ambassador at St. Petersburg in the same manner. On my arrival in St. Petersburg, therefore, I had the friendly intercession of the ambassadors of both these governments, and the support of Count Cassini, as well as the influence of our own ambassador, Mr. McCormick.

An audience with Count Lamsdorff, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, was arranged, and Mr. McCormick and I laid the subject before him. He was perfectly familiar with it, as he had received the report of the government agent and had also received favorable advices from Count Cassini. The minister assured me that he would do everything in his power to aid in the movement, because he felt that it was wise; but, unfortunately, the whole question of the censorship and of telegraphic transmission was in the hands of the minister of the interior, M. Plehve. Count Lamsdorff said that, the day before our call, he had transmitted their agent's report to Plehve, with an urgent letter ad-

vising the Russian government to meet the wishes of the Associated Press. He told me that I could rely on his friendly offices, and I left him.

The reply of Count Lamsdorff, and later that of M. Plehve, disclosed the anomalous condition of the Russian government. The ministers of state are independent of one another, each reporting to the Emperor, and frequently they are at odds among themselves.

Ambassador McCormick and I called on Minister Plehve. We found him most agreeable. I studied him with some care. A strong, forceful, but affable gentleman, he impressed me as a man charged with very heavy responsibilities, quite mindful of the fact, and fearful lest any change in existing conditions might be fraught with danger. He said frankly that he was not prepared to abolish the censorship. To his mind it was a very imprudent thing to do, but he said he would go as far as he could toward meeting our wishes. As to a press rate, unfortunately that was in the hands of the minister of finance, and he had no control of the subject; and as to expediting our despatches, in view of the entirely independent character of each minister it would be beyond his power to stop a government message, or a message from any member of the royal family, in our favor. Beyond that he would give us as great speed as was in his power. He would be very glad, so far as his bureau was concerned, to give such directions as would enable our correspondent to secure all proper information.

As I have said, no newspaper man at that time could expect to secure admission to any department of the government. Indeed, a card would not be taken at the door if it were known to be that of a newspaper man. The consequence was that the correspondent got his information at the hotels, in the cafés, or in the streets. The papers published little, but the streets were full of rumors of all kinds, and some of them of the wildest character. After running down a rumor and satisfying himself as to its verity, the correspondent would write his despatch and drive two or three miles to the office of the censor. The restrictions put upon foreign correspondents had been so great that they had virtually abandoned Russia; and when I arrived there, with the exception of our men

who had preceded me, no foreign correspondent was sending daily telegrams from St. Petersburg. The thing was retroactive. Because the government would not permit despatches to go freely, no despatches were going. The censor's duties, therefore, had been so lightened that the government had added to his work the censorship of the drama, and the chances were that when the correspondent called he would have to run around to some theater to find the censor; and he might be sure that between midnight and eight o'clock in the morning he could never see him, because a censor must sleep sometime, and he would not allow anybody to disturb him between those hours, which for the American morning newspapers were the vital hours.

It happened that M. Lamscott, the censor of foreign despatches, was a very reasonable man. But he was a subordinate of a subordinate in the ministry of the interior. He was a conscientious, well-meaning person, disposed to do all that he could for us, and he personally was opposed to the censorship; but he could not pass a telegram that would be the subject of criticism by a minister or important subordinate in any department of the government, or by any member of the royal family. And since he was liable to be criticized for anything he might do, his department became a bureau of suppression rather than of censorship. He could take no chances. Certain rules had been adopted, and one of them provided that no mention whatever of a member of the royal family should appear in a despatch after the censor had passed upon it. If, by any chance, the correspondent succeeded in securing information and writing it in such fashion that it would pass the censorship, he drove two miles to the telegraph bureau and paid cash at commercial rates for his despatch. It then must wait till all government and commercial business had been cleared from the wires.

Under such a rule, it must be obvious that the business of sending despatches from Russia was impracticable. The mere matter of paying cash, which at first sight would not seem a great hardship, meant that, in the event of some great happening requiring a despatch of length, the correspondent must carry with him several hundred rubles. He could not trust a

Russian servant with this, but must go in person. There are over two hundred holidays in Russia every year, when the banks are closed and cash is not obtainable. The obstacle presented by that fact, therefore, was a very serious one.

Such were the conditions. After my audience with M. Plehve, the case seemed nearly hopeless, and I was delaying my departure from Russia only until I should receive a definite statement that nothing could be done, when the following Sunday morning the American ambassador called me on the telephone and said that I was to be commanded to an audience with the Emperor. The ambassador thought it best to keep in touch with him, since I was liable to be summoned at any moment. During the day I received the command to an audience on Monday.

After seeing M. Plehve I had a talk with the censor. M. Lamscott spoke English perfectly. He said that if his opinion were asked respecting the censorship, he would be very glad to say that he disapproved of the whole thing; but he was not at liberty to volunteer his advice.

I also, by suggestion of M. Plehve, had a conference with M. Dournovo, his chief subordinate, the minister of telegraphs. Dournovo is an old sailor, a hale, rough-and-ready type of man. He had spent some time in San Francisco while in command of a Russian vessel, spoke English perfectly, and proved a most progressive spirit. He was ready to do anything that he could, and assured me that by adopting a certain route, via Libau, he would be able to give our despatches the desired precedence. He said he would also issue orders to the trans-Siberian lines, so that we could rest assured that our despatches would not take more than an hour from Port Arthur or Vladivostok to New York.

We were making progress. We had succeeded in securing rapidity of transmission, a satisfactory press rate, and an arrangement to make a charge account, so that it would not be necessary to pay cash. Meanwhile successful efforts had been making for the appointment of an official in each ministerial department who would always receive our correspondent and aid him in his search for information if it fell within the jurisdiction of his department. General Kouropatkin, who at that

time was minister of war, Admiral Avelan, head of the navy department, and M. Pleske, the minister of finance, each appointed such a man. Finally I was commanded to the audience with the Emperor.

A private audience with the Emperor of Russia in the Winter Palace is an honor which must impress one. I was notified upon the formal card of command what costume I was expected to wear—American evening dress, which, in the court language of Europe, is known as "gala" garb. At half-past three on the afternoon of February 1, I presented myself. A servant removed the ever-present overshoes and overcoat, and a curious functionary in red court livery, with long white stockings and a red tam-o'-shanter cap from which streamed a large white plume, indicated by pantomime that I was to follow him. We ascended a grand staircase and began an interminable march through a labyrinth of wide halls and corridors. A host of attendants in gaudy apparel, scattered along the way, rose as we approached and deferentially saluted. In one wide hall sat a company of guards, who clapped silver helmets on their heads, rose, and presented arms as we passed.

I was shown into an anteroom, where the Grand Duke André awaited me. He introduced himself and chatted most agreeably about American affairs, until a door opened and I was ushered into the presence of his Imperial Majesty. The room was evidently a library. It contained well-filled book-shelves, a large work-table, and an American roller-top desk. Without ceremony and in the simplest fashion, the Emperor fell to a consideration of the subject of my visit. He was dressed in the fatigue-uniform of the Russian navy—braided white jacket and blue trousers. The interview lasted about an hour.

I represented to his Majesty the existing conditions, and told him of the difficulties which we encountered, and the desire on the part of his ambassador at Washington that Americans should see Russia with their own eyes, and that news should not take on an English color by reason of our receiving it from London. I said that we felt a large sense of responsibility. Every despatch of the Associated Press was read by one half the population of the United States. I added that Russia and the United States were either to grow closer and closer or

they were to grow apart, and we were anxious to do whatever we properly might to cement the cordial relations that had existed for a hundred years.

His Majesty replied: "I, too, feel my responsibility. Russia and the United States are young, developing countries, and there is not a point at which they should be at issue. I am most anxious that the cordial relations shall not only continue, but grow."

When assured, in response to an inquiry, that the Emperor desired me to speak frankly, I said: "We come here as friends, and it is my desire that our representatives here shall treat Russia as a friend; but it is the very essence of the proposed plan that we be free to tell the truth. We cannot be the mouthpiece of Russia, we cannot plead her cause, except in so far as telling the truth in a friendly spirit will do it."

"That is all we desire," his Majesty replied, "and all we could ask of you." He requested me to recount the specific things I had in mind.

I told the Emperor that the question of rate and speed of transmission had fortunately been settled by his ministers, and that the two questions I desired to present to him were those of an open door in all the departments, that we might secure the news, and the removal of the censorship. "It seems to me, your Majesty," I said, "that the censorship is not only valueless from your own point of view, but works a positive harm. A wall has been built up around the country, and the fact that no correspondent for a foreign paper can live and work here has resulted in a traffic in false Russian news that is most hurtful.

"To-day there are newspaper men in Vienna, Berlin, and London who make a living by peddling out the news of Russia, and it is usually false. If we were free to tell the truth in Russia, as we are in other countries, no self-respecting newspaper in the world would print a despatch from Vienna respecting the internal affairs of Russia, because the editor would know that, if the thing were true, it would come from Russia direct. All you do now is to drive a correspondent to send his despatches across the German border. I am able to write anything I choose in Russia, and send it by messenger to Wirballen, across the German border, and it will go from there without change. You are powerless to prevent my sending these de-

spatches, and all you do is to anger the correspondent and make him an enemy, and delay his despatches, robbing the Russian telegraph lines of a revenue they should receive. So it occurs to me that the censorship is inefficient; that it is a censorship which does not censor, but annoys."

I went over the common experiences of all newspaper men who had been in Russia, and the Emperor agreed that the existing plan was not only valueless, but hurtful. He said that if I could stay in St. Petersburg a week he would undertake to do all that I desired. I asked if it would be of service to make a memorandum of the things I had said to him. He replied that he would be very glad to receive such a memorandum, as it would help him to speak intelligently with his ministers. We then talked about the negotiations with Japan and of the internal affairs of Russia. He said over and over again that there must be no war, that he did not believe there would be one, and that he was going as far as self-respect would permit him in the way of meeting the Japanese in the matter of their differences.

I was then given my leave by his Majesty, who courteously suggested that he should see me at the court ball which was to take place that evening. Three or four hours later I attended the ball, and he came to me and reopened the conversation in the presence of the American ambassador, and was good enough to say to Mr. McCormick that he had had a very interesting afternoon.

During the conversation with the Emperor, to illustrate the existing difficulties, I remarked that on the preceding Sunday we had received a cable message from our New York office to the effect that a very sensational despatch had been printed throughout the United States, purporting to come from Moscow, and alleging that, during the progress of certain army manoeuvres under the direction of the Grand Duke Sergius (assassinated February 17, 1905), a large body of troops had been ordered to cross a bridge over the Moscow River, and, by a blunder, another order had been given at the same time to blow up the bridge, and thus a thousand soldiers had been killed. This despatch came to us on Sunday evening, with the request that we find out whether it was true. There was

no way to ascertain. Nobody could get any information from the war department; nobody would be admitted to ask such a question; and I told the Emperor the chances were that, in the ordinary course of things, this would happen: three or four weeks later the false despatch would be sent back by post from the Russian legation at Washington, and there would be a request made on the part of the Russian government that it be denied, because there was not a word of truth in it; but the denial would go out a month or six weeks after the statement, and no newspaper would print it, because interest in the story had died out. Thus nobody would see the denial.

It happened in this case that we knew a man in St. Petersburg who had been in Moscow on the day mentioned, and when he saw the telegram he said at once: "I know all about that story. Two years ago the Grand Duke Sergius, at some manoeuvres, did order some troops to cross a bridge, and a section of it was blown up and *one* man was killed." I said to his Majesty: "In this instance we were able to correct the falsehood; but it is most important that a correction of this sort should follow the falsehood at the earliest moment, while the thing is still warm in the public mind."

He said he recognized the wisdom of that, and he also recognized that obviously, if our service was to be of any value to us whatever, the departments must be open to us and make answer to questions, giving the facts.

Later in the evening, Count Lamsdorff came up and expressed his gratification at the interview I had had with the Emperor. He said that the Emperor had told him of it, and Count Lamsdorff added: "I think it of great value to Russia, and I want to thank you for having told the truth to his Majesty, which he hears all too rarely."

While chatting with the Emperor at the ball I asked how I should transmit the memorandum referred to in the afternoon's interview, and he told me to send it through Baron de Fréedericksz, minister of the palace.

The next day I prepared the memorandum for transmission, and then it occurred to me that it would be befitting the dignity of the imperial office if it were neatly printed, and I set out to find a

printer who could do it in English. I drove to the *Crédit Lyonnais*, and called on the manager, whom I knew, and asked him if there was a printing-office in St. Petersburg where English could be printed. He gave me a card to the manager of a very large establishment located in the outskirts of the city.

The manager was a kindly old German who spoke French. I told him what was wanted, and he said he would be delighted to do anything for an American: he had a son, a railway engineer, at Muskegon, Michigan. He said he had no compositors who understood English, but he had the Latin type, and, as the copy was type-written, his printers could pick it out letter by letter and set it up, and then I could revise the proof and put it in shape. He asked me when it was needed. I replied that I must have it by noon of the following day. He said that would involve night work, but he would be very glad indeed to keep on a couple of printers to set it up.

As I was about to leave, he glanced at the manuscript and said, with a startled look, "This has not been censored."

"No," I replied; "it has not been censored."

"Then," he said, "it must be censored; there is a fine of five hundred rubles and three months in jail for setting one word that does not bear the censor's stamp. I should not dare, as much as I should like to accommodate you, to put myself in jeopardy. But," he added, "you will have no trouble with it. It is now six o'clock. I will have the engineer stay and keep the lights burning, and have the two printers go out to dinner, and you can go and have it censored, in the meantime, very much more quickly than I can. Return here by eight o'clock, and we can work on it all night, if necessary."

I drove at once to M. Lamscott, he being the censor who had passed upon our despatches, and presented the case to him. His countenance fell at once.

"I hope you will believe that, if it were in my power to help you, I would do so," he said; "but, unfortunately, my function is to censor foreign despatches only, and I have no power to censor job-work. That falls within an entirely different department, and my stamp would not be of any use to you whatever. But I may say to

you, as a friend, that it is hopeless. If Minister Plehve, in whose department this falls, sought to have a document like this censored, it would take him a week to have it go through the red tape which would be necessary. And the very thing which makes you think that this should be easy to censor makes it the most difficult thing in the world, because no censor would dare to affix his stamp to a paper which is in the nature of a petition to the sovereign until it had passed step by step through all the gradations of office up to his Majesty himself, and he had signified a willingness to receive it. Then it would have to come back through all the gradations to the censor again; and it would be two or three weeks before you would get the document in shape to print it."

I laughed, and said a petition to remove the censorship required so much censoring that it was actually amusing.

He replied: "The only thing you can do is to write it."

So I took it to the American embassy, had it engrossed, and transmitted it to the Emperor, and then waited for some word from him.

I received an invitation to the second ball, which the Emperor had assured me would be a much more agreeable function than the first, because, instead of thirty-three hundred people, there would be only six hundred present. This second ball was to occur a week later.

On Wednesday I transmitted the memorandum to his Majesty. On Thursday evening, at a reception, I encountered Minister Plehve. He said he knew of my audience with the Emperor and had seen the memorandum which I had left with him; and while he was desirous of doing everything in his power, I must remember that he was responsible for the internal order of Russia, and he could not bring himself to believe that a step of this kind was wise. It was almost revolutionary in its character, and he wanted to know whether there could not be something in the nature of a compromise effected. "All your other requests have been provided for," he said; "the only question that remains is the censorship, and I want to know if you would not be content with an arrangement by which I should appoint a bureau of censors at the central telegraph office and keep them on duty night and day, with instructions

to give you the largest possible latitude. I can assure you there would be virtually nothing but a censorship in form so far as you are concerned."

I replied that I was sorry that I could not see my way clear to do the thing he asked. "I am not here, your Excellency," I added, "to advise you as to your duties. That is a question which you must determine for yourself. Neither am I here to say that I think the suggestion you make an unwise one. I do not know. It may not be wise for you to remove the censorship. That is a question which I am not called on to discuss. I am here at the instance of the Russian government, because it desired me to come. It desired us to look at Russia through our own eyes. Obviously we cannot do that unless we are absolutely free. Anything less than freedom in the matter would mean that we should be looking at Russia, not through our eyes, but through your eyes. So, without the slightest feeling in the matter, if you do not see your way clear, I shall take myself out of Russia, and we shall go on as we have done for a hundred years—taking our Russian news from London."

"Oh, no," said he, in a startled tone; "that must not be. I would not have you understand me as saying that your wishes will not be met. I believe his Majesty has given you assurances on the point, and of course it is in his hands, and he will do whatever he thinks best about it."

The minister then suddenly saw, in another part of the room, a lady to whom he desired to speak, and we parted. Later in the evening he drew close to my side and asked in a whisper if I had heard the news.

"What news?" I asked. It was at a moment when the whole world was waiting breathless for Russia's last reply to Japan.

"The reply to Japan went forward to-night," he replied; "and I thought you might want to know it."

"Indeed," I said; "and when?"

"At seven o'clock."

He then quietly drew away, and I sought out our correspondent and communicated the fact to him. Going to the censor, he had his despatch censored and forwarded it. About an hour later, after twelve o'clock, the French minister said to me: "You know the news?"

I regarded Minister Plehve's information as confidential and asked: "What news?"

"I think you know very well, because Plehve told you," he answered.

"Yes," I said; "the answer has gone to Japan."

"No, not to Japan," he replied; "but to Alexieff, and it will not reach Baron de Rosen, the Russian minister at Tokio, until Saturday or Monday."

I was naturally startled, because the despatch which had been sent to New York had reported that the answer had gone to Japan. Twelve o'clock had come and gone, there was no opportunity to secure a censored correction, and an inaccurate despatch was certain to be printed in all the American papers the following morning, and I was apparently powerless to prevent it.

Mr. Kurino, the Japanese minister, was anxious to know the news. I did not feel at liberty to communicate it to him, and he turned away, saying: "Well, I think this is a very unpleasant place for me, and I shall take my departure." So he and his wife left me to make their adieus to the hostess.

I also took my leave and drove at once to the telegraph office. Now, they did not censor private messages. I entered the telegraph bureau and wrote this despatch:

Walter Neef, 40 Evelyn Gardens, London:

Howard was slightly in error in his telegram to-night. The document has been telegraphed to the gentleman in charge in the East, and will reach its destination Saturday or Monday.

I signed my name and handed in the message, which was delivered promptly in London to Mr. Neef, the chief of our London office, who at once sent a correction to the United States, and the despatch appeared in proper form in the American papers.

Plehve was a strong, forceful, and, I believe, sincere man—one who felt that all the repressive measures he had adopted were necessary. He was not a reactionary in the fullest sense. He was a progressive man, but his methods were obviously wrong. He felt that "if the lines were loosed the horses would run away." I did not gain the impression that he was an intriguer or that he was sinister in his methods. He seemed direct, sincere, con-

scientious. He belonged to the number who believe that the greatest good can come to Russia by easy stages and by repressive measures. He did not believe in the press; he did not believe that the best interests of the people were to be served by education: but he did believe in the autocracy, with all that it implies. The impression left on my mind was that he was afraid the censorship would be abolished over his head, and he wanted to make terms less dangerous from his point of view.

I received a telegram asking me to go to Berlin and dine at the American ambassador's house, the Kaiser to be present. This was to occur on the night of the 11th of February, and through the good offices of the American ambassador (I having said I would remain in St. Petersburg to await his Majesty's pleasure) I asked leave to go to Berlin, and it was granted.

On my return I was in a dilemma. The war with Japan was on. I had given my word to the Emperor that I would await his pleasure, but I was aware that his mind and heart were full of the disasters that had befallen the Russian arms in the East, and that he probably had had no time to give thought to my mission. There was a fair prospect of waiting indefinitely and without result. Before going to Russia, I had been warned by a number of friends, in sympathetic tones, that my visit would be a failure; that it was well enough to go to St. Petersburg in order to learn the conditions; that the journey would probably be worth the trouble involved: but that any effort to remove the censorship on foreign despatches would be sheer waste of time.

William T. Stead had gone to Russia a year before on the same mission, and had had the advantage of the personal friendship of Plehve. Stead was known as the most active pro-Russian journalist in the world. He had had a personal audience with the Czar at his country place in Livadia, and had signally failed. I felt therefore that these prophecies of evil were likely to be fulfilled, and I determined to leave as soon as I could do so with propriety.

I asked Ambassador McCormick if he would call on Count Lamsdorff and say frankly to him that I knew how occupied the attention of all the officials was, and I thought it perhaps an inopportune time to pursue the matter, and would, therefore,

if agreeable, take my leave. Mr. McCormick called at the foreign office that afternoon on some official business, and, before leaving, told Count Lamsdorff of my predicament, and asked his advice.

Count Lamsdorff replied in a tone of surprise: "The thing is done."

"I do not follow you," said Ambassador McCormick.

"Mr. Stone left a memorandum of his wishes with his Majesty, did he not?" said Count Lamsdorff. "Well, the Emperor wrote, 'Approved,' on the corner of the memorandum, and all will be done. There may be a slight delay incident to working out the details, but it will be done."

"Would it not be well," asked Mr. McCormick, "for Mr. Stone to call on Minister Plehve and talk the matter over with him as to the details?"

"There is nothing to say," said Count Lamsdorff; "it is finished. Mr. Stone has no occasion to see Plehve or any one else. It will all be done as speedily as possible."

Mr. McCormick reported this conversation to me, and I determined at once to depart, leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the authorities. I wrote, and despatched by hand, letters thanking Count Lamsdorff and Minister Plehve for their courtesy and for what they had done, and indicating my purpose to leave by the Vienna express on the following Thursday. Count Lamsdorff made a parting call, and Plehve sent his card. I left St. Petersburg on Thursday evening.

On my arrival in Vienna, I received the following from Mr. Thompson, chief of our St. Petersburg office:

I know you will be gratified to learn that on my return to the office from the station after bidding you adieu, and before your feet left the soil of St. Petersburg, we were served with notice that the censorship was abolished so far as we were concerned. But Count Lamsdorff feels that it is a mistake, and that we shall be charged with having made a bargain, and any kindly thing we may say of Russia will be misconstrued. He thinks it would be much wiser if the censorship were abolished as to all foreign correspondents and bureaus, and desires your influence to that end.

I wired back at once that I fully agreed with Count Lamsdorff's views, and certainly hoped that it would be abolished as to the correspondents of the English,

French, and German press at once; and forty-eight hours after the restriction was removed from the Associated Press, it was removed from everybody.

Since my departure from St. Petersburg, not only our correspondents, but all foreign correspondents, have been as free to write and send matter from any part of Russia, except in the territory covered by the war, as from any other country in the world. We have found ourselves able to present a daily picture of life in Russia that has been most interesting and edifying, and even in the war district the Russian authorities have given the largest possible latitude to our correspondents. They have turned over to us in St. Petersburg, daily, without mutilation, the official reports made to the Emperor and to the war department, and the world has been astonished by the frank character of the despatches coming from Russia. Ninety per cent. of the real news concerning the war has come in bulletin first from St. Petersburg, and later in detail from the field; and there has been no attempt on the part of the government to influence the despatches, or even to minimize their disasters, when talking officially to our correspondents. The doors of all the ministries have been opened to correspondents, who make daily visits to the war, navy, foreign, and interior offices, and are given the news with as much freedom as in Washington.

Until Port Arthur was invested, we found that we were able to receive despatches with extraordinary speed. On one occasion a despatch sent from New York to Port Arthur requiring a reply occupied for transmission and reply two hours and forty-five minutes; and on the occasion of the birth of the son of the Emperor at Peterhof, twenty-eight miles from St. Petersburg, we received the despatch announcing the fact in exactly forty-three minutes after its occurrence.

As a consequence of these arrangements, the Associated Press has been able to usurp in a large measure the functions of the

diplomat, and I think it makes for universal peace in a remarkable way. Instead of public questions now passing through the long and tedious methods of diplomacy as formerly, the story is told with authority by the Associated Press. The point of view of a country is presented no longer by diplomatic communication, but in the despatches of the Associated Press.

A striking instance of this occurred some months ago, when a Japanese war-vessel went into the neutral harbor of Chifu and captured the *Rychitelni*, a Russian gunboat which had sought an asylum there. Our correspondent was on the *Rychitelni* when the Japanese lieutenant and a detachment arrived, and was a personal witness of the occurrence. His story appeared throughout the civilized world, and was made the subject of representations by Russia, through her ally, France. In less than a week the Japanese government prepared a careful defense of their action and handed it to Mr. Egan, our correspondent in Tokio, with a request that he send it throughout the world. It was done, and it closed the incident. They made no effort, and distinctly said that they would make none, to send an official answer to Russia on the subject through the ordinary channels of diplomacy, but chose rather to send it through the agency of the Associated Press.

The authorities of the foreign offices of the different European governments recognize the independence of the Associated Press, and have virtually made choice of it as a forum for the discussion of current questions of international interest. They recognize that a telegram of the Associated Press, published, as it is, throughout the world, unless immediately explained, may arouse a public sentiment that can never be met by the ordinary methods of diplomacy. They recognize that in the end it is the high court of public opinion that must settle international questions, and not the immediate determination of the foreign office of any country.



THE WORLD-WIDE SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

BY HENRY R. ELLIOT

ARE we hearing "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry-trees"? So inquire, with a happy light of anticipation in their eyes, many alert souls among us who are sensitive to the phenomena of religious awakenings.

Whether these Watchmen of the Night are warranted in the announcements they are now making on every side, or whether their predictions are to pass away unfulfilled, it may be conceded that not for many years has the social atmosphere been so charged with spiritual electricity. Wherever we turn, in polite centers or the barbarous extremities of the earth, among all peoples and under every variety of creed and condition, the same phenomena are manifest. As in a conflagration, the fire leaps from point to point, bursting out in a dozen distant spots at once. Now it is Australia and New Zealand that are chiefly affected; then amazing reports come from Korea; next, perhaps, are extraordinary returns from Los Angeles, Atlanta, or Pittsburg.

Just at present the center of interest is in Wales, where scenes are witnessed quite as thrilling as any in the history of revivals. All accounts agree that the Welsh revival is unique for spontaneity and fervor. Its leader, so far as it has any, is a young divinity student of twenty-six, Evan Roberts by name, simple-hearted, sensible, ablaze with zeal. But the movement is far beyond any personality. Religion is the one topic of conversation. Meetings are constant and crowded. The converts are numbered by the tens of thousands, and the ethic results are of so pronounced a sort as to make criticism difficult. It is the uniform testimony that the morals of

whole communities have been transformed. A visitor describes a typical ride in a colliery train where he had been accustomed to meet blasphemy and filth; but "the men were as respectable in their demeanor and as clean in their talk as one could desire. Some carriages resounded with Christian song."

This singing, by the way, is the characteristic feature of the Welsh revival. It has been said, indeed, that Wales has been preparing for the outburst, these many years, by the national love for and practice in choral singing, mostly of a religious character. The national singing contests largely turn on proficiency in oratorio work, or at least in themes of serious import, and the whole people are saturated with sacred song. Be this as it may, the singing at the meetings is said to be of the most thrilling description, fully up to the world-wide reputation of Welsh choral work.

Very different in method, but most effective in result, have been the Torrey-Alexander meetings, first in Australia, then in India and Japan, and later throughout Great Britain. Just now these two American evangelists are holding immense meetings in London, where the huge auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall is quite inadequate to accommodate the multitudes. Specially constructed auditoriums, holding six, eight, and ten thousand persons, have been erected in various cities, only to be found utterly inadequate. In London, for the campaign in that city, a guaranty fund of seventeen thousand pounds was quickly raised, and the general committee included some of the highest names in church and state. Dr. Torrey is an uncompromising