

bers to 370. The Viceroy's Council and all the provincial councils together number only about 140 members, and that is probably the total to which the 126 applies. The Viceroy's Council is subdivided into two. Seven members, all of whom up to last March were Englishmen, constitute a privy or executive council in whose hands the real powers of government are vested. For the purpose of making laws and regulations, thirteen additional members, Englishmen and natives, are called in. In the full council the natives form one-half of the membership. But, as Indian opinion used to complain, the "making of laws and regulations" did not partake of the essence of real law-making or administration. Government policy was shaped and Government secrets were discussed by the odd half-dozen of Ordinary Members among whom a native took his seat for the first time only six months ago.

For the purposes of administration India is divided into nine great provinces under governors, lieutenant-governors, or chief commissioners. Seven of the provinces have legislative councils made up, like the Viceroy's Council, of Englishmen and natives, in about equal numbers. But the sharp division between Hindus and Mohammedans among the natives, and the natural prestige of the ruling race, have given the English element control of the councils. Two of the seven provinces, Madras and Bombay, have small executive councils made up exclusively of Englishmen. As in the Viceroy's Council, the additional members, English and native, are called in to make "laws and regulations." In other words, the system over all India where legislative councils exist and natives are admitted to membership, virtually amounts to giving the natives the privilege of debating and ratifying policies and measures already decided upon by the British administrators. This is the system against which India protested and which Lord Morley's reforms have profoundly modified.

Under the new régime, the provincial councils are enlarged, and to the non-official element, which means practically the native element, is given an absolute majority in membership. The initiative in legislation and administrative policy will still come from the Government, of course, but members have the right to bring forward "supplementary" questions, or virtually to interpellate the

Government. An absolute majority in the Council, even if it were restricted to the making of "laws and regulations," could force concessions by a policy of obstruction. But under the new régime the budget will come up for debate in the Councils. In any case, the British administrator will be driven to discard something of the air of omnipotence and omniscience which Mr. Kipling so rejoices to honor, and will have to explain and account, in increasing measure as time goes on, to the representatives of the people over whom he rules. In Bombay and Madras, where the real power is vested in the inner or executive council, natives are to be eligible for membership in that body. The reconstitution of the Viceroy's Council, which is to number sixty members, and not 370 as reported in the daily press, is not to be put into effect for a few months. But that is because, in the case of the Viceroy's Council, the most important step was already taken in March last, when a Bengali lawyer entered the innermost citadel of English power as an Ordinary Member.

Undoubtedly, this entrance of natives into the executive councils constitutes the most important concession to India. It is not unfair to look upon the British rule in India as the rule of a handful of conquerors imposed on a submissive but by no means reconciled population. That is the view which British opinion and Hindu opinion of all shades openly or implicitly recognize. It is a momentous step, therefore, that the representatives of the subject population shall be admitted into the innermost councils of the dominant race. Let us make the rather wild assumption that the Viceroy's Executive Council will have to take measures next year against the danger of a general native uprising. Such measures will have to be discussed in the presence of the Bengali member of the Governor's Council. It may very well be that Mr. Sinha will turn out the most loyal man in the Council. But the significant thing is that the Viceroy's Council will no longer have the aspect of the general staff of an army of occupation. It will be truly a Council for India, because India's native sons will make their voices heard in debate.

There is little reason to doubt that the new system will work well. The admirable thing about the British character is that it loyally recognizes the

fait accompli. The London *Times*, which had fought concessions in India tooth and nail, is beginning to hope. "The capacity of the enlarged councils," it says, "will be judged mainly by their methods of treatment of the budgets. If a businesslike attitude be adopted by the Indian members instead of the present practice of diffuse speechmaking, with much ill-informed criticism, the official finance of the governments may benefit by the change of procedure." The principal danger in the way at present seems to be the possibility that the Hindu majorities may swamp the Mohammedan minority and lead to racial oppression. But the *Pax Britannica* has grown weak indeed, if it cannot hold a reckless Hindu majority under control.

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA.

Our State Department's approval of the Chino-Japanese conventions concerning Manchuria signed on September 4, comes somewhat belated, but welcome nevertheless. We have it now authoritatively laid down that the open door is still open, that Japan's railway and mining concessions do not create a monopoly in her favor, and that Chinese rights in the territory occupied by Japan have been duly respected. Great Britain, Germany, and France, who presumably are as interested in maintaining their foothold in China as we are, at once expressed their satisfaction with the agreement between China and Japan. Questions which had been hanging in the air for years were disposed of, and that was an advantage for every one. We alone, in one of our sporadic awakenings to the immense importance of our interests in China, began to scent a devilish game by Japan. We were going to protest, we were not going to protest; we were going to send a man to the spot who knew how to push American commerce—we called him back before he got on board ship. Only after two and a half months of confused polemic, the State Department begs to state that there is no reason for growing excited.

The regular outcry against Japan's attempt to close the open door in Manchuria coincides with the regular outcry about the decline of American trade in China. Naturally, the two must be related as cause and effect. If our imports into Manchuria go down while Japan's go up, it must be because Japan

will have it so. We refuse to recognize that there can be any legitimate reasons why Japanese commerce should grow in Manchuria. Yet a moment's candid reflection would show that there are at least three powerful reasons. First, it is manifestly absurd to believe that such political paramountcy as Japan holds in Manchuria does not inevitably carry with it a trade advantage. A good many Americans, if we remember well, once had a good deal to say about trade following the flag. Much more reason is there now for Japanese trade following the Japanese flag across scarcely a hundred miles of sea. Without infringing even the spirit of the international agreements concerning equal opportunity in China, the Japanese Government would be more than human if it did not give its subjects broader opportunities for trade in Manchuria than the outsider can compass. Nor is any of the other nations in a position to throw stones.

A second factor in the growth of Japanese commerce in the Manchurian provinces is the increase of the Japanese population there. Korea has absorbed since the war possibly a half-million Japanese. Manchuria must have received a very large immigration. When we are told that the importation of Japanese cottons into Niuchwang has been making headway at the expense of the American product, it is well enough to remember that, other reasons aside, the Japanese immigrant is pretty sure to patronize the Japanese article. Here is a case where the Mikado's Government might indulge in absolutely Aristidean impartiality and yet be compelled to witness a steady growth of her imports into Manchuria. But neither the first nor the second reason can compare with the third great reason for the growth of Japanese trade—Japan's fitness to hold her own and more with the other Powers in fair economic competition. Again, it would be absurd to overlook Japan's enormous advantage in her proximity to the market, an advantage that did not count when Japan was in her industrial infancy, but one that must count tremendously when Japanese ingenuity and resourcefulness have mastered the processes and methods of industrial success. The energies of a nation called forth by a successful Titanic war for self-preservation are inevitably seeking an outlet in the industrial sphere.

What reasons exist under present conditions in this country for the growth of American commerce in Manchuria? We held a predominant place in that region ten years ago, largely because of lack of competition and in spite of our notoriously bad trade methods. Now there is Japanese competition to meet. To overcome Japan's advantage of an enormously cheaper labor market and much lower freights, what efforts have we made at home, what new resources have we brought to play on the Chinese market? At home the mockery of tariff-revision sends the cost of living steadily upward, and makes even the semblance of competition with Japan in the matter of labor-cost unthinkable. In China the American merchant clings to his fine antediluvian habit of carrying the stock he himself likes best, packing and labelling his wares to suit himself, and as for making himself familiar with the language and habits of his public—ridiculous!

Is it not now as plain as a pikestaff that if Japanese trade in Manchuria is growing and American trade is declining, it must be the wicked Japanese who are behind it all? Hence, we have piteous appeals to the State Department to keep the open door from being shut on American thumbs. Then come heroic measures for stimulating American interests with the strychnine and digitalis of railway loans forced down China's unwilling throat. At bottom, how sincere are our great manufacturers in all this pother about the disappearing Chinese market? If our tariffed industries displayed one-tenth the ingenuity in China that they expend in separating the American consumer from his money, they would not be howling every little while at the doors of the State Department. One fine Southern imagination has declared that if the Chinese people would add one inch to the length of their shirts, the product of our cotton mills would be doubled. But only let our tariff barons add one cent to what the American citizen pays for his yard of cotton cloth, and the Chinaman's shirt can go on lengthening till it sweeps the ground in sacerdotal folds, for all our manufacturers care.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER.

Not often is the nation called upon to mourn a truer patriot than Richard Watson Gilder; not often has it been

better served by one whose career was that of letters. For the inspiration of his pen was the desire to better not only the administration of the state, but the lot of every individual. So it has been that every civic movement of importance in New York city has turned instinctively to Mr. Gilder for encouragement, certain of his approval. The frail, delicate physique was lashed from one public service to another by the same dauntless spirit which, at seventeen, had made him a cannoneer at Gettysburg amid the hardships of a campaign that overcame many a stouter body—and always with a modesty so great that to far too many people the splendid character of the service rendered was quite unknown.

Not, however, to those who had followed or participated in the battle for a better and worthier New York. They know that Mr. Gilder took up the cause of the poor unasked, because his heart cried out against the conditions in which the poor lived and live; they know that in the work of the Gilder Tenement House Commission he set himself a monument of which any man might be proud. To his initiative and leadership more than to that of any other one man the three millions who live in New York's tenement houses owe the reforms which, as Jacob A. Riis has well said, "tore down a hundred 'dens of death' and gave the poor tenants' children playgrounds where before they had only the street and the gutter"; it was Richard Watson Gilder "who opened small parks and recreation piers, who compelled the building of new schools; who shaped the laws that made the tenant safe against the horrid peril of midnight fires"; thanks to him there were saved each year more than 12,000 infant lives. Yet great as was this civic achievement, the sum total of his many hundred others is even greater. In campaign after campaign for city righteousness he would take assignments to East Side meetings, often speaking in the open fairly at the risk of his life and always with complete self-abnegation.

The same kindness and the same devotion to the highest ideals, the same simple modesty, characterized Mr. Gilder, the editor. The inspiration for those poems, lyrical and epigrammatic, for which as a writer he will chiefly be remembered, came largely from his pub-