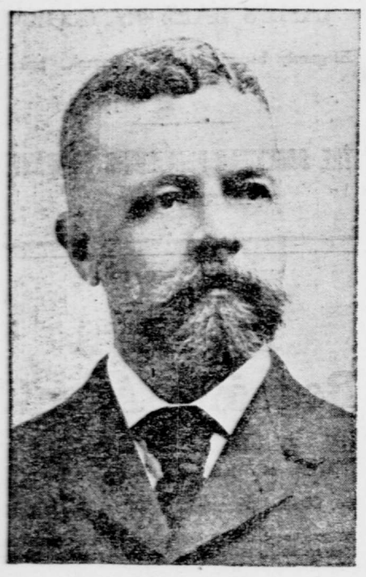
AMERICAN STATECRAFT.

Senator Lodge on Some Historical Figures.

A FIGHTING FRIGATE, AND OTHER ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. By Henry Cabot Lodge. 8vo, pp. 316. Charles Scribner's Sons.

These essays and addresses, with perhaps a single exception, have already appeared in print or been copiously reported in the public press; but Senator Lodge has done well to collect and offer them for circulation in this permanent form. They have distinctive value as studies of men who have contributed in important ways to build, to dignify, and to adorn the national life, and they cannot fail to stimulate patriotic aspirations. They cover a wide range of time and character, from Ellsworth and the Continental Congress to the lamented Governor Wolcott of Massachusetts, whose career death closed abruptly, just as his eminent capacity for the public service was coming into universal recognition. The contests of the political arena in which Senator Lodge has long borne a stalwart part have neither monopolized his attention nor impaired his intellectual tastes. He appears in these pages as the scholar and the man of letters. His English style is sound, vigorous and well adapted to the convincing delineation of historical figures and events. We cannot follow him through this memorial volume, but must content ourselves with a few references and citations, which nevertheless are suggestive of the nature and quality of the whole.

On the return of the Constitution to the Charlestown Navy Yard in 1897 Mr. Lodge welcomed her in a commemorative address which



HENRY CABOT LODGE.
Author of "A Fighting Frigate."
Charles Scribner's Sons.

vividly rehearses the shining record of "A Fighting Frigate." One of the lessons which the Constitution taught was not lost on Stratford Canning, the "great Elchi" of the Eastern question. At almost his first interview with Canning, then British Minister at Washington, John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, said: "It took us last time several years to go to war with England; it would only take several weeks now." Mr. Lodge continues:

Mr. Canning accepted the intimation in good part. Mr. Adams has been dead for more than fifty years, and he may safely, therefore, be called a statesman, and a great one, too, whose opinions it is well to heed. A little reflection, moreover, will show that he is entirely right in his attitude toward England and the best friend and maintainer of peace. Jefferson and Madison were hesitating and timid. They swallowed insult in the interests of peace and landed us in war. Mr. Adams took a high, firm tone with England and maintained peace inviolate. Jefferson and Madison abandoned shipbuilding, prepared no defences and drifted, feebly gesticulating, into a conflict with the greatest sea power of the world. John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson after him took a strong and self-respecting tone with all the world and kept an unbroken peace. England and Europe received valuable instruction from the war of which this battered old ship is the sign and symbol, but we Americans were taught a great deal more. We had learned that weak defencelessness meant war, and strong, armed readiness meant peace, honor and quiet. When John Quincy Adams spoke to Mr. Canning he knew that he was backed by a strong navy, for in 1826, with a population of ten millions, we had a large navy than we have to-day (1897), with a population of seventy millions. . . . One hears it often said by persons who are prone to mistake for thought the repetition of aged aphorisms, that some people intend to have peace even if they fight for it. They imagine that they are giving utterance to a biting and conclusive sarcasm when in reality they are stating a profound and simple truth. All the peace the world has ever had has been obtained by fighting, and all the peace that any nation, which is neither subject nor trivial, can ever have, is by readiness to fight if attacked. In our cities and town we maintain a large army of soldiers. We call them policemen, but they are drilled and organized, and are in all essentials a military body. For what purpose are they maintained? To make war on anyone? On the contrary, we have police in order to keep the public peace. In the same way must the peace of nations be kept.

Senator Lodge delivered an address on John Marshall before the Bar Associations of Illinois and Chicago, February 4, 1901, the hundredth anniversary of the installation of the great Chief Justice. The statesman rather than the jurist was his theme—the way in which the highest judicial authority was employed to lay the foundations on which the majestic fabric of nationality arose. At the outset Mr. Lodge recalls the incident, which seems so strange in this era, of Marshall's holding simultaneously for a month the offices of Secretary of State and Chief Justice, for the sake of suggesting these reflections:

It is quite true that to-day no President would think of permitting the Chief Justice to be a member of his Cabinet for an hour, and no Chief Justice would allow himself to occupy such a position for an instant. Should such a thing occur, the storm of adverse criticism which would beat upon both the President and Chief Justice can be readily imagined. The spectacle of a Chief Justice acting as the chief of a party Cabinet, and in the spirit of party politics, would now shock every one. Then it shocked nobody. In 1801 we were still very near to England in manners and habits of thought. We had as yet no administrative traditions of our own. Pluralists were not uncommon in English ministries; great judicial officers had often served as ministers of the crown; to this day the highest judicial officer in Great Britain is a member of the Cabinet; his place is purely political in tenure, and he rises and falls with his party. . . . This is not said with any view of defending Marshall. John Adams and the Chief Justice, who remained in his Cabinet, helping him to fill with tried Federalists every vacant or newly created office, were not only high minded and honorable men, but absolutely void of offence in this particular. The system under which they acted is not so good as the one we have since developed; that is all. To accuse them of wrongdoing would be as absurd as the educated ignorance which, parrot-like, repeats the conventional cant of its own circle about the decline in the character and standard of our public life at Washington. . . . The superior person who leads a life of inaction and criticism judges the present by prejudice and contrasts it with a past that never existed. From the past, of which he is ignorant, he eliminates all that is bad, and from the present, which he does not understand, he excludes all that is good. . . . In the easy blame which such a critic, arguing in his usual fashion, could throw upon John Marshall for holding political office after he became Chief Justice there has seemed to me an interesting lesson.

An excellent example of Senator Lodge's historical insight, pictorial faculty and gift of pungent expression is seen in this reference to the agency which thwarted the calculations of Jefferson and his party after their succession to governmental control:

In their pleasant plans and anticipations of revenge it must have seemed as if nothing could stop the onset of an all powerful President backed by a subservient Congress. Surely the national principle, the national life, the broad construction of the Constitution would shrivel away before such an attack. There seemed no one in the way, for however much Jefferson, ever watchful, may have suspected, his own followers certainly did not reckon as very formidable the great lawyer sitting far apart in the cold seclusion of a courtroom. Yet there the enemy was. There he sat entrenched. His powers were limited, but his opponents were to find out what he could do with them. They were to learn by bitter experience that even those limited powers in the hands of a great man were sufficient to extend the Constitution and to build it up faster and far more surely than they, by executive act or Congressional speeches could narrow it or pull it down.

We must pass over with a brief comment Senator Lodge's address on the unveiling of a statue of Daniel Webster in Washington. After a careful analysis and comparison of the masterpieces of great orators, Greek, Latin, French and English, he is disposed to think that Webster is unequalled, and sure that he is unsurpassed. He stands the final test of vitality. A host of speakers deemed immortal in their day have faded into oblivion. Webster survives, not as a mere relic, but as a living and moving force. It is his literary quality, in Mr. Lodge's judgment, that has preserved him. His speeches "are never essays or anything but speeches—and yet upon all alike is the literary touch." "He had the combination of Shakespeare's Brutus or Antony, or Demosthenes or Cicero." "When we open the volumes of his speeches, it is not like unrolling the wrappings of an Egyptian mummy, to find within a dried and shrivelled form a faint perfume alone surviving to recall faintly the vanished days, as when 'some queen, long dead, was young.' Rather it is like the opening of Charlemagne's tomb, when his imperial successor started back before the enthroned figure of the great Emperor looking out upon him, instinct with life, under the red glare of the torches." In practical proof and exhibition of Webster's supremacy, Mr. Lodge says: "Turn to any serious and large debate in Congress, and you will find Webster continually quoted, as he is in every session, quoted twenty times as often as any other public man in our history." That is an interesting declaration, and a suggestive one. It is often said that the age of great oratory ended when the use for great oratory ceased; that there is no need to-day for such a power as Webster's; that, indeed, if Webster were to be reincarnated the power would not be felt, that his occupation would be gone. But if Webster, dead for half a century, is still continually and profusely quoted by the practical legislators of this era, who want to persuade public opinion and impress the minds and capture the votes of their colleagues, what sufficient reason is there to believe that a living Webster could not get a hearing? The fact that truly great oratory is scarce does not prove that it is not wanted. Truly great poetry is not abundantly produced in these days, but the world is yearning for it. We have no idea that another "Reply to Hayne," answering to new conditions, would fall unheeded or fail to win immense renown.

We cannot dwell on the author's "Treaty Making Powers of the Senate," in which he argues the proposition that the Senate has always possessed, never doubted, and habitually exercised the power of amending treaties at its discretion; or on the addresses commemorating "Three Governors of Massachusetts," in which the Massachusetts Senator, in a strain of ardent pride and love felicitously celebrates the virtues of Greenhalge, Robinson and Wolcott. Space must, however, be reserved for the oration on Oliver Ellsworth before the graduating class of the Yale Law School last June, because it passes judgment on a question which is of some present interest, and which may hereafter become of great importance. Senator Lodge assigns to Ellsworth a large share of credit for the acceptance of the constitutional principle of representation according to population in the lower branch of Congress and equality of the States in the Senate—a somewhat larger share than his colleague, Mr. Hoar, solicitous for the fame of Roger Sherman, is willing to concede to Roger Sherman's colleague in the convention. Having expressly remarked that "the equality of the States in the Senate was the one provision of the Constitution which the framers declared could not be changed without the consent of every State," Mr. Lodge continues:

Just now there is a movement on foot to bring about the election of Senators by direct popular vote. If successful, it will inevitably be followed by proportional representation in the Senate, and the most radical revolution conceivable will take place in our form of government. . . . If the Senate is placed upon the same basis as the House and is chosen in the same way by the same constituency, its character and meaning depart, the States will be hopelessly weakened, the balance of the constitution will be destroyed, centralization will advance with giant strides, and we shall enter upon a period of constitutional revolution of which the end cannot be foretold.

We are aware that other Senators have declared the same belief, but it appears to us that the foregoing paragraph contains a violent non sequitur. We have never advocated or thought well of the proposal that Senators should be elected by popular vote, and are not disposed to deny that proportional representation in the Senate might engender all the evils which Mr. Lodge foresees; but we cannot admit that proportional representation would inevitably follow popular election. "No State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." There is no power residing anywhere, or capable of being called into existence, which can ever relax that prohibition, except the ultimate power of revolution, and we cannot imagine how a revolution could possibly be brought about for the accomplishment of such a change. To our minds such a combination of State populations as would be essential to effect it is absolutely inconceivable.

We may take leave of this studious yet animated and companionable volume with a reference to Senator Lodge's report of his observations in Russia. His conclusion is that the Czar's vast, and in some respects exceedingly proficient, empire can never achieve the place of primacy among the nations until it has in some manner been imbued with a new and radically different economic spirit and faculty. Such an acquisition is, in his opinion, to be reckoned only among the bare possibilities. There is no forecast in present conditions or discernible tendencies of such a transformation.

ON LEARNING TO THINK.

From The Saturday Review.

The habit of giving the attention by even painful effort is of far more importance in education than any amount of cramming with malt extract of information. But that again is contrary to the cult of childhood. The great aim nowadays is to conceal the fact that attention is needed, that all things require effort in the learning. It is, of course, extremely delightful to see a band of happy youngsters beguiled by split straws and colored tissue papers into unconscious education, knitting the map of South Africa, with beads for battlefields, and splitting straws according to the first principles of political economy. But, viewed in reference to the time when kindergarten shall be no more and the child has to face its own manhood or womanhood, what is all this education worth in comparison with the single habit of giving attention by an effort of will, and not by the bribe of a pleasurable personal interest in the lesson to be learned? And herein lies the gist of the whole question as to whether childhood is to be treated with reference only to itself, or with reference to its future development into manhood or womanhood.

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Continued from fifth page.

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