BISMARCK'S OWN STORY

Many Plots Against Him That Failed.

THE PLOT THAT SUCCEEDED.

The First Authentic History of the Old Chancellor's Fall—Work of the Conspirators from Arnim and the Empress Augusta to Waldersee and Windthorst—The Young Emperor's Orders to Bismarck and Bismarck's Order to the Young Emperor—The Interview in Which William Was Told to Mind His Own Business.

Just twenty years have passed since Count Harry von Arnim, the ablest of German Ambassadors, the protégé of Emperor William and Empress Augusta, the candidate of the Prussian aristocracy for Bismarck's place in the Chancellor's palace, was dismissed from his high diplomatic post in Paris. He was dismissed in disfavor on Feb. 22, and on Oct. 4 he was arrested as a common felon, and was locked up in a Berlin jail. A few days later he sat on the prisoner's bench of the City Court, with all Germany's great jurists assembled for the defence and the prosecution. "And Count Arnim stands at the bar of the City Court," wrote old War Minister Count von Roon in enumerating the signs that the political deluge was at hand. It was as if Sir Robert Morier had been arraigned in the Old Bailey or John Lothrop Motley had been forced to plead at the bar of the Tombs.

The principal offences charged against Arnim were that he had stolen official documents from the German embassy in Paris and had published parts of them. He did both, as was shown at the trial. He had been deprived of his post in Paris because he had committed the famous offence of "making opposition" to Bismarck. "Making opposition." was then a dragnet phrase in German politics, and under Bismarck it was often made as fatal to Ambassadors, courtiers, and Cabinet Ministers as "gross misdemeanor" or "lèse majesté" is to German editors and Socialist politicians. Bismarck had found Arnim too versatile, too independent, and too much prone to appeal from the Chancellery to the throne. Eventually the Chancellor found Arnim too slow in negotiating the last payment of the French war indemnity. Answers to his inquiries convinced him that Arnim had delayed negotiations for the purpose of profiting from a stock speculation which he and Baron de Hirsch had undertaken. He told the Emperor all this, and then complained of Arnim's insubordination so incessantly that William I. finally lost confidence in his protégé and recalled him. Arnim took with him from Paris the official records which he thought would justify his opposition to Bismarck. As soon as he reached home he began publishing articles written from them. The time was ripe for Bismarck to make one of his "terrible examples," that others might be warned of the perils of making opposition. Thus it came that Count Harry von Arnim sat as prisoner in a criminal court. He was found guilty and on appeal was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. He fled to Austria and there he published more revelations concerning the Berlin Foreign Office and more denunciations of Bismarck. He was sentenced by a German court to five years' penal servitude, but he remained in exile beyond the arm of German law until his death.

Count Harry von Arnim and his imperial patron and patroness are dead. The jurists who conducted those famous trials are gone or forgotten. Bismarck alone of all the fighters of those stormy days is still before the world, and he has at last consented to let the world know more of the motives that lay behind the recall and the relentless prosecution of his only rival. This he has done through the new work of Dr. Hans Blum, "The German Empire in the Times of Bismarck." In the preface to this work Blum says: "Prince Bismarck allowed the author to question him personally and orally concerning the events and circumstances in the period treated in the following pages, and he personally and orally gave in response full answers and explanations." The proofs of Blum's book were submitted to Bismarck for criticism, with the request that he strike out whatever he found to be incorrect. Blum's book, therefore, is regarded as the nearest approach to Bismarck's memoirs that is possible before the memoirs themselves be published. It has stirred the dry bones of German history and roused all the German editors to accusing, denying, denouncing, and defending as bitterly as they did in days when Bismarck was crushing his enemies. Count Henning von Arnim, Count Harry's son, demanded that Bismarck retract part of the statements in Blum's book. Bismarck ignored the letter, which was then published at Arnim's request in the Berlin and Vienna dailies and the *Times* and *Standard* in London. The letter closed with the threat that Count Arnim would take other steps in case Prince Bismarck persisted in refusing to retract. Thus, before any translator has had time to publish Blum's book abroad, the whole world has been informed that the old conflict between Bismarck and the Arnim family has become once more a question of the day.

The scorching review of the Arnim case, as explained by Blum and Bismarck, has revived in Germany the strife of twenty years ago, and all the old crowd of stiff-necked Prussian noblemen, Radicals, Socialists, and Guelphs are out full-cry after the old Chancellor. The headline, "Arnim Contra Bismarck," or "Bismarck Contra Arnim," again stands daily in the first column of the first newspaper page. Foreigners, however, are not likely to find so much interest in the questions whether Arnim subordinated his diplomatic business to speculations with Baron de Hirsch, whether he was rebellious against his chief's authority, whether he was untrustworthy, insolent, and intriguing. The main point of interest in the Arnim case, as related by Bismarck through Blum, is that Arnim is revealed as the head of the first great conspiracy to overthrow Bismarck—of a conspiracy encouraged by the Empress Augusta, aided substantially by the high Conservative and Catholic noblemen at court, supported by the Clerical, Guelph, Socialist, and Polish leaders in the Reichstag, and represented in the press by the ultra-Conservative *Kreuzzeitung* and the Catholic *Germania*, as well as by a special organ, the *Reichsglocke*, which was published merely to slander Bismarck. This conspiracy was crushed repeatedly, but was always revived the moment Bismarck's heavy hand was removed from its leaders. For each of its varying forms Bismarck had a special name which has become classical in the German political lingo. One of the names was "feminine undercurrents;" another, "military inundations;" others, "official insubordination," "anti-imperial opposition," "hostile aspirations at court," and so on. All the conspiracies which gave rise to this terminology are described with frankness in the Blum-Bismarck book.

Few of the original conspirators lived to see their cause triumph. Ludwig Windthorst, the Clerical leader, was perhaps the only one of them who could say that he dealt a decisive blow to the great man at the last—that he was fairly in at the death. The course of the conspiracy against Bismarck after he had crushed Arnim is traced carefully by the Prince with the pen of his new biographer. In fact, a German would call the narrative of the conspiracy the real thread along which the rest of Blum's facts are arranged.

Count Harry von Arnim was finally disgraced and ruined in the spring of 1876. Early in 1877 the *Reichsglocke*, backed by such men as Arnim himself, at a safe distance, Freiherr von Loe, a Clerical, and Count Borries, a Guelph, was squelched after having accused Bismarck of general corruptness in office and of having enriched himself at the public expense. Two or three months later the Empress Augusta's efforts to involve Germany in the Russo-Turkish dispute and the rebellion of a Prussian Minister under her encouragement caused Bismarck to leave Berlin and remain in retirement for ten months. The old Emperor's confidence in him helped him to triumph again over his enemies, and in February, 1878, he was once more in the Chancellor's palace. Then came a series of Clerical intrigues, supported by Conservatives at court, and the supreme effort of the Radicals in the common cause to create conflict between the Chancellor and the Crown Prince, later the Emperor Frederick. Shortly after Emperor William II. ascended the throne Gen. Count Waldersee, leader of the *Kreuzzeitung* Conservatives became chief of the general staff. Waldersee was the head of the war party, and had long been responsible for the "military inundations," or influences at court, which, Bismarck complained, interfered with his diplomatic plans. The Emperor and Waldersee were seen together almost daily. The new chief of the general staff set his adjutants to writing warlike articles for the *Kreuzzeitung*. Warnings against these attempts to force the Chancellor's foreign policy were published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. They all were inspired indirectly by the Chancellor. Nevertheless, Waldersee had enabled the old conservative group that had once rallied round the Empress Augusta and Count Harry von Arnim to get the Emperor's ear and to whisper to him stories of Bismarck's arbitrariness and arrogance. Minister von Boetticher worked unceasingly for their cause. "If your Majesty aspire to be like Frederick the Great," he said to the young Emperor, "you must get rid of Prince Bismarck."

Between Waldersee and Boetticher and their parties at court the Emperor was influenced gradually to associate with the men whom Prince Bismarck had always found his most bitter antagonists, notably with the Clerical nobility, who, as Bismarck said bitterly, had obtained by their "back-stairs politics" great influence over his Majesty. Then came the labor rescripts which Bismarck edited although he did not approve of them, and the International Labor Conference, which was called at his suggestion. The appointment of Herr von Berlepsch to be Minister of Commerce in Bismarck's stead was another sign of the Emperor's waning confidence, but, according to the Blum-Bismarck narrative, it was comparatively insignificant. Such incidents had become very numerous in the winter of 1889-90.

The work of the Bismarck haters at court did not begin to produce great results until the end of February, 1890. The new Reichstag had been elected. To obtain free hand in rallying his majority the Prince felt that he must be relieved of the worry and uncertainty caused him by the backbiting of Boetticher and other members of the Prussian Cabinet. He decided that, according to the order issued by King Frederick William IV. in 1852, the other Ministers must communicate officially with his Majesty only through the Prussian Premier or Imperial Chancellor; in other words, only through himself. His decision was supported in general by the Constitution; in particular, by the royal order of 1852. The Emperor objected to Bismarck's decision. He wished to abolish the royal order, but was unable to do so, as Bismarck refused to give his endorsement. The conflict on this point became steadily keener between Feb. 20 and March 1. What followed may best be told in Blum's words, for they give the first complete and authorized account of the old Chancellor's fall.

"On March 1 the Imperial Chancellor gave Deputy Windthorst (leader of the Clericals) a long audience. It is not improbable that the defeated Clerical leader offered Prince Bismarck the support of the Ultramontane party in exchange for certain services, and that this support was to be available to the Prince in his differences with his imperial master. Equally well founded is the assumption that Windthorst did not obtain the desired answer from Prince Bismarck. Almost immediately there was given out an account of this interview which certainly would not have become known if Windthorst had arranged the agreement which he had proposed. Moreover, the accepted account of the interview was for the most part untrue, and the true and untrue details were so mingled as to drive the Emperor to an immediate rupture of his relations with the Chancellor. Thus it was reported falsely that Prince Bismarck had invited the Clerical leader to a confidential interview, while, on the other hand, Windthorst had sought, through Herr von Bleichroeder, the privilege of an audience. It was said also that the question of the Guelph Fund was discussed at the interview, which was not the case. One thing is certain: that the persons who were working for Bismarck's dismissal (and since the failure of his negotiations Windthorst was one of the foremost of them) took pains to bring the substance of the interview to the Emperor's knowledge, only with a false coloring which left the impression that the Chancellor had not been disinclined to make an alliance with the Clericals against the Emperor. Only thus can what followed be explained.

"As soon as the Emperor received this information he sent Herr von Lucanus, chief of the civil Cabinet, with the command: 'The Emperor demands from Prince Bismarck that he shall give the Emperor previous notice whenever he is to receive Deputies for the purpose of discussing politics with them.' Prince Bismarck replied substantially thus: 'He begged to say to his Majesty that he allowed nobody to assume command over his own house.' Then, on March 15, very early in the morning, the Emperor himself appeared while Prince Bismarck was still in bed. Prince Bismarck dressed quickly and went to him. The monarch asked the Prince excitedly what his negotiations with Windthorst meant. Bismarck replied that the interview concerned private matters. The Emperor then said with emphasis that he had the right to be informed in advance of negotiations between his Chancellor and a party leader like Windthorst. This remark Bismarck refuted with the declaration that he did not allow anybody to regulate his intercourse with Deputies or give orders for his household. The scene continued thus:

"'Not even if I, as your sovereign, command you?' cried out the Emperor in excitement.

"'The commands of my master cease at my wife's threshold,' replied Bismarck firmly. Then he added that only owing to his promise to Emperor William I. to serve his grandson did he retain his office. He was ready and willing, however, to retire at once if he was not agreeable to the Emperor.

"Early on the morning of March 17 the Emperor sent Gen. von Hahncke, chief of his military Cabinet, with the commission: 'The Emperor expects the Prince's request to be allowed to retire.' Bismarck answered the General substantially in these words:

"'He would regard his conduct from the purely political point of view as entirely conscienceless, both toward the Emperor and the empire, were he to desert his post at that time. Moreover, if he asked to be retired he would give a false historical impression of the actual state of affairs. It was within the Emperor's power to dismiss him at any time. The Emperor of Austria was accustomed to say, when he wished to be rid of a Minister, "We have decided to relieve this or that man of his offices." He, Bismarck, could not consent to close his political career with an act whose consequences he must regard as the greatest misfortune which could overtake our people.'

"After Gen. von Hahncke had been thus dismissed there appeared on the same day the chief of the civil Cabinet, Von Lucanus, with the direct command of the Emperor that Bismarck submit his resignation before a certain hour. This was not the only commission, however. The Emperor's negotiator informed the Prince that the Emperor offered to make him Duke of Lauenburg. To this Prince Bismarck replied: 'I might have been that long ago if I had cared for it.' Herr von Lucanus thought that he might also give the assurance that the Emperor would pledge himself to grant the Prince sufficient money to support properly his ducal rank. The Prince rejected this offer decidedly, saying substantially: 'I have such a career behind me that I can hardly be expected to close it running after a gratuity like a mail carrier on New Year's Day.'

"Of course, Prince Bismarck had nothing to say against the Emperor's definite command, communicated by Lucanus, that he should and must hand in his request to be retired. He did not feel now even those conscientious scruples which he had communicated to Gen. von Hahncke, and which the Emperor in the consciousness of his own political talents must have considered entirely insignificant, as he still persisted in retiring Bismarck. After receiving this distinct command the Prince had the feeling that he might better be 'well out of it.' He objected only to the order that he should prepare in a few hours the paper which the Emperor demanded from him. He told Herr von Lucanus he was willing to sign his dismissal at once, but for his request to be dismissed, which would be the last State paper of a Minister who had played a somewhat meritorious part in Prussian and German history, he must have more time. That much he owed to history. He felt that history must know why he was dismissed.

"Prince Bismarck wrote on March 18 and 19 an autograph communication to the Emperor in which he analyzed the political situation and the motives which, despite his age and the state of his health, would have prevented him from retiring had he not received the Emperor's explicit command. * * * This so-called request to be dismissed contained, in fact, the reasons why it was almost absolutely necessary to keep Bismarck in office. That these reasons were presented with all the convincing and persuasive power of a Bismarckian State paper may be inferred from the great emphasis which Bismarck attached to its preparation. This inference becomes virtually a certainty in view of the fact that whenever the leaders of the new régime have attacked Bismarck he has always demanded, though in vain, that they publish his memorial of March 18, 1890. They must have had good reasons for not complying with his demand.

"The Emperor received the memorial toward noon on March 20. He could hardly have read the comprehensive document when, a few hours later, the chiefs of the military and the civil Cabinet, Lucanus and Hahncke, brought Prince Bismarck his dismissal."

One scene of his last days in Berlin the old Chancellor still declines to reveal. The parting of Bismarck and the Emperor is barely mentioned by Blum, who closes his account of Bismarck's last call at the castle with these words: "What the Emperor said to the Prince is not known."

The last chapter of Blum's book is devoted to the new régime. It breathes fire and slaughter. After reading it most persons are likely to agree that if the new Chancellor were ever to conduct an opposition newspaper in Hamburg and the old one were to sit again in the Chancellery, there would be another State case not less sensational than the trial of Count Harry von Arnim.

EUROPEAN POLITICS.

THE UNMAKING OF ITALY.

Crispi and the Sicilian Insurrections—International Socialism Inspiring the Attack on the Unity of Italy—A Serious Outlook Worthy of Attention Even in America.

MILAN, Jan. 9.—The key of the actual situation in Italy, which the press and the politicians of western Europe seem to be looking for everywhere, excepting where it is to be found, lies in a few words spoken by Crispi four years ago at Rome to a friend acting as an intermediary between himself and the Marquis di Rudini, the Sicilian head of what passes current as the Conservative party in Italy. These words were: "I had an active hand in making Italy; I do not intend, if I can help it, to let Italy be unmade."

Between his early manhood in 1848 and the overthrow of the papal authority by the Italian troops in September, 1870, Crispi certainly had a very busy hand in many movements looking to the overthrow of the system of States, established in Italy by the Holy Alliance and Metternich, with the active help of England, after the fall of the first Napoleon. He took an energetic part in the Sicilian revolution of 1848 against the House of Bourbon, and when "order was restored" throughout the Peninsula by the victory of the Austrians over Charles Albert in the north and by the overthrow at Rome of the republic by the French, Crispi with many other Sicilians had to take refuge in France. Indefatigable in his passionate hostility to the old order of things, he kept up close communications with the revolutionary elements not only in Sicily, but on the mainland.

When the victories of Napoleon III. and Victor Emanuel in 1859 drove Austria out of Lombardy and opened the way for the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, the Italian republicans thought the moment had arrived for making a republican experiment possible by a revolution in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. This led to the famous and successful expedition of Garibaldi with his thousand volunteers. Crispi took part in this expedition, and distinguished himself after the defeat of the Bourbon troops by the ability and determination with which he successfully opposed and controlled the tendency of many of his more extravagant associates to extreme measures, threatening the foundations of social order at Palermo and throughout the island. When Victor Emanuel, fortunately for the future of Italy, had intervened at Naples to bring all southern Italy under the sceptre of the house of Savoy, and United Italy, as a constitutional monarchy, became a reality in Europe, Crispi was elected for Palermo to the first Italian Parliament, in 1861.

It was naturally not very easy for him at first to adjust himself to the new order of things as organized and directed by Cavour, and it is a curious incident in his political biography that he and Mordini, as Deputies, should have been arrested by the military authority of the royal Government more than thirty years ago. In fact, during the whole history of the existing kingdom of Italy no other deputies have ever been so arrested until three or four days ago, when Gen. Morra, acting as virtual Dictator of Sicily, in concert with Crispi himself, as Premier of the Government, found it necessary to seize and lock up De Felice, the would-be Socialist chief of an intended Sicilian revolution and a Deputy for Catania.

Between 1861 and 1894 events have indeed moved on strange lines in the most interesting and beautiful of all European countries, and as the few sentences I have already penned will have shown, Francesco Crispi has moved with them. This is greatly to his credit, not merely as a politician and a statesman, but as an Italian patriot; and whatever may be the issue of the conflict which obviously lies before him in the parliamentary arena at Montecitorio, it would be most unjust not to award him prompt and unqualified praise for the decision with which he has struck, and is striking, at the leaders of a new Sicilian insurrection which threatens the very existence of united Italy. To a certain extent, it is undoubtedly true that Italy was made thirty years ago as much in spite as in consequence of the activity at that time displayed in public matters by Crispi and by many of those with whom he was most conspicuously associated. The critics of the Prime Minister of 1894 are welcome to all the cavils they can extract from the story of the Sicilian revolutionist of 1848 and 1860. Fairly interpreted as they ought to be, by the light of his whole career, these cavils must tend, with men of sense, to enhance and not to diminish his merits as the central figure of the battle which the Government of King Humbert is now making to prevent the unmaking of Italy. That battle is a matter, let me assure you, of very deep interest not only to the people of Italy, but to every civilized country in Europe, and, if I am not grievously mistaken, to every civilized country also in America, for nothing can be more certain than this, that the real object of the organizations by which the outbreaks of the past month throughout Sicily have been engineered has been and is to bring to a head against the existing order of things in Italy all those subversive forces which are fermenting under the surface of the existing order of things in every civilized country in the world.

So far as Sicily itself is concerned, the social and economical condition of the island, though little if at all better, is not much if at all worse in 1894 than it was in 1860 or in 1848 or in 1815. The ownership of the land still is, as it has for centuries been, in the hands of a very small number of great proprietors. The peasants, or laboring population of the island, have no greater stakes in the soil on which they dwell than the peasants of Ireland had before the great famine of 1847, or the peasants of Galicia before the more recent *Jacqueries* in that country. The huts in which they live are more dismal, if possible, than the cabins of Donegal or Connemara. The food of the great majority of them consists of bread, with a broth of vegetables, little seasoned, and sometimes, though by no means generally, fortified by a little wine of the country. Meat they seldom, and in many districts it may almost be said never, eat. This of itself, of course, is not necessarily a hardship, for the question is still a moot question how far a diet of animal food is really necessary to the health and strength of man. But the use of meat as food in a European country affords a measure for estimating the average condition and means of the population.

Without going too far into detail for the purposes of this letter, let me say, therefore, that the picture given of the rural populations in Sicily by a member of the present Government, Signor Sonnino, ten years ago, in his very elaborate report on the island, is as dark in many respects as any description we have of the life of the agricultural classes in France or in Ireland during the last century. Of the 2,927,000 inhabitants of Sicily in 1881, 2,450,000 are set down as "illiterate." In spite of "obligatory" public education, the percentage of illiteracy has not, it is said, been diminished materially during the decade now ending, which leaves Sicily with a population estimated to amount in 1889 to 3,285,472. Ten years ago, too, it was estimated by competent authorities that of the annual wages earned by the average peasants of Sicily nearly three-quarters or 75 per cent. went in one form or another to the land owner. It is a peculiarity of the situation in Sicily that throughout a large part of the island tenant farming is practically unknown. The island is so badly supplied with water and rains are so infrequent, that small holdings are impracticable. Numbers of the laborers, therefore, are nomadic, moving about year after year from place to place, paying exorbitant rents for wretched habitations, and often finding themselves obliged to walk a distance of several miles to and from the fields in which they work.

Of course, the burdens of communal and national taxation being grievous even in the best districts of the Italian peninsula, have gradually become quite intolerable to a population living and laboring under the conditions here intimated rather than depicted. Furthermore, the fiscal administration of Italy, during the last decade, has passed extensively into the control of elective functionaries; and, as may be well imagined, the ignorant Sicilian peasants, utterly unfamiliar with the most rudimentary notions of government by popular representation, have been exposed to all the evils so graphically described by "Ouida" in the harrowing picture of local Italian politics given in her story of "A Village Commune." Indeed the colors of "Ouida" are hardly dark enough for an island in which "villages" are rare and "communes" are made up largely of isolated little groups of peasant families scattered over great areas, hardly traversed in many instances by practicable roads.

From what I have said of the general condition of Sicily, it will be apparent, I think, that the riotous and revolutionary outbreaks of the present time must have had their origin, not in any instinctive uprising of the Sicilian people, but in an organized agitation prompted by persons not suffering under the burdens of Sicilian life, who have been enabled through the political machinery established in the island, to work up at favorable points such explosions of mere rage and rapine as preceded, in many parts of rural France, the assembling of the States-General in 1789. It is a lamentable law of human history that the really suffering classes and races of mankind never break into spontaneous revolt. Social insurrections always begin at points at which the pressure of social injustice is diminishing and the oppressed classes begin to breathe more freely. These Sicilian troubles of to-day have broken out in and immediately around the larger towns of the island, and the chief actors in them have not been the poorest either of the peasantry or of the townspeople. All the authentic data, in fact, so far available, go to prove that the Royal Commissioner, Gen. Morra, acting under instructions from Crispi, is striking the right blow at the right moment, when he arrests and brings under military rule such deputies as Signor de Felice and the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and managers of the semi-political semi-social bodies organized throughout the island under the name of "Fasci." Doubtless great numbers of the peasantry, really suffering under the economical, social, and fiscal conditions of the island, have been brought into these Fasci by the hope held out to them that through some mysterious action of the Fasci, quite unintelligible by them, the pressure of taxation would be lightened and their lot in life be made more tolerable. But the manipulators of the Fasci reveal the real spirit and intent of these movements, in the methods they have adopted. Fire and rapine have everywhere marked the movement. Lives have been lost in conflicts with the troops, but the chief aim of the leaders has everywhere been the sheer and simple destruction of accumulated capital in the form of buildings, public and private alike, and of other valuable property.

The organization of the Fasci has extended not only into southern Italy, but into the Romagna, and even into Tuscany and the northern provinces of the peninsula. Already at Ruvo and other points in Apulia outbreaks of the Fasci are taking place, accompanied with the same phenomena of apparently wanton destruction as in Sicily. All the rumors in the European press of foreign interference to promote trouble in Sicily, clearly originate in the connection already established by the military authorities between the chief leaders in Sicily, none of them persons of much political importance, and certain Socialist agitators in France. A note has been published from the well-known Cipriani, with whom De Felice had an interview during the autumn, at Marseilles, in which Cipriani bids De Felice leave to him the work to be done in the Romagna; and an extraordinary assertion is going around in the Italian press to the effect that the United States Consul at Palermo has informed the Italian Government that to his knowledge shipments of arms and ammunition have been coming into Sicily from France for some time past, and that bills of exchange and cheques have passed under his cognizance as a banker to the account of persons in Sicily having no ostensible commercial business or transactions there. Why any Consul of the United States should be giving such information is a matter on which I need not speculate. The story in its present form seems to be improbable, but it can hardly have been cut out of the whole cloth. I give it as it comes to us concurrently with many other matters, all of which go to show that the Sicilian difficulties are closely connected in some way with a concerted movement not confined to Sicily or to Italy, the main object of which would seem to be a deliberate attempt to bring on the long-expected social cataclysm in Europe, by breaking down public order and the Government in Italy, Italy being regarded obviously by the instigators of the movement as the weakest and most assailable of the great European communities.

Crispi, I repeat, gives you the key of what is going on here now in his words which I quoted at the beginning of this letter. The immediate object of all these disorders is to break up the constitutional unity of Italy as finally established after the occupation of Rome by the Italian forces in September, 1871. This, in the forcible language of Signor Crispi, means "the unmaking of Italy." As the latest made and, therefore, presumably the least solid of the existing nationalities of Europe, Italy has been selected by the International Socialists for their first combined and systematic attack. If the Commune of 1871 could have established itself at Paris we should have seen the unmaking of France. France refused to be unmade, concentrated herself at Versailles, besieged Paris, crushed the Commune, and, for the time at least, preserved the unity of the French nation. Now it remains to be seen whether the forces of international socialism, essentially as hostile to what civilized men call patriotism as to what civilized men call property, can deliver their assault with greater effect in Sicily and at Rome in 1894 than at Paris in 1871. If they can, and if they do, we are indeed on the eve of the beginning of the end. And not for Italy alone! It is the belief obviously of Signor Crispi that they neither can nor will achieve their object. He at least, having had his hand in the making of Italy, stanchly refuses to stand by idle while Italy is unmade.

Surely whatever may be thought of the value and the objects of that triple alliance of which Italy, as she exists to-day, is an essential factor, which would certainly tumble to pieces were Italy unmade, the scope and the designs of the organizations most active in this effort to begin on the plains of Sicily the Armageddon of modern society, can hardly commend themselves to men of sense and of forecast, I will not say in Germany, in England, or in America alone, but even in France and in Russia.

AN AMERICAN TRAVELLER.

ART NOTES FROM PARIS.

The American Architects' Prize—Prince Colonna's Pictures to Remain in France.

PARIS, Jan. 16.—The training in our Special and National School of Fine Arts of Paris, as the institution is called officially, is not only gratuitous, but open to all foreigners who may enter, after a successful competitive examination, on the same footing as Frenchmen, and compete for prizes offered by the school. A few premiums due to private endowments are reserved exclusively for Frenchmen.

These advantages have naturally tempted a great number of students of all nationalities, and it may be said without exaggeration that one-third of the students are not French. Among these the Swiss and the Americans are the most numerous. Notwithstanding our excellent relations with the Swiss, the extremely reserved character of the compatriots of William Tell and the presence often remarked in their ranks, of *soi-disant* Swiss of the German tongue, who have not the courage to affirm boldly a nationality which few artists or Frenchmen would be rude enough to turn into a cause of reproach, have created a certain coldness between the students of the two countries.

It is quite the reverse with the Americans, whose cordiality, good company, and dash are legendary in the school. As a matter of fact, the Americans who quit Paris at the close of their studies leave behind warm sympathies and lasting friendships. But the Americans determined not to remain in debt in the matter of generosity. Under the title of "The Prize of Gratitude of American Architects" they have established an annual trophy in architecture, for which French students alone have the right to compete. This manifestation is all the more touching because it is due entirely to that private enterprise which is so active in your country. The initiators of the movement were Messrs. Hunt and Whitney Warren, the former the son of your celebrated architect.

It may be interesting to the readers of THE SUN to learn the result of the competition this year for this prize. The laureates are simply pupils, and their names can tell little or nothing to your readers; but they will serve to let Americans know who their debtors are, and to form one more among the many cordial bonds that exist between the two republics. M. Bigot received the first prize, and Messrs. Chifflot, Tronchet, Duquesne, Adoux, and Sizot obtained *accessits*.

It should be remembered that the American pupils are the only foreigners who manifested their gratitude in this matter.

The explosion of Vaillant's shell in the Chamber of Deputies appears to have inspired M. Berond, well known for his portraits of our Deputies. The wags already say that the picture by this painter represents a great deal of smoke, out of which the head of M. Dupuy appears, shouting the memorable words, "Let us proceed to business!" As it would be difficult for the artist to make the public understand exactly the precise words used by the President of the Chamber, and as he cannot have recourse to the method of the stained-glass painters of the middle ages, who represent their personages holding in their mouths the extremities of long balloons upon which are written edifying maxims intended for the faithful, or uncomplimentary terms addressed to the devil, it is generally supposed that the frame of the picture will be ornamented by a cartouch, giving an extract of the report of the session just as it appeared in the official journal; and this would not be any more astonishing than the entire poems or pages of literature which one finds at the bottom of very many pictures in our annual expositions.

It is known that Prince Barberini Colonna di Sciarra, notwithstanding the Italian law of the 28th of June, 1871, which forbids the exportation of artistic works in galleries and collections, secretly managed to sell some works of art which belonged to him, in order to pay his debts. For this he was brought before the court. Several of the objects in the Colonna collection having been sold and transported to France, the court ordered their seizure. But the Court of Appeal of Paris refused the exequatur. The Court of Cassation (the Supreme Court in France) has just confirmed the judgment, although basing it upon a simple question of procedure.

RAYMOND DALE.

THE SEEKERS FOR OFFICE.

THEIR TASK IS A WEARY AND OFTEN THANKLESS ONE.

Still the Rush Continues and the Hard Times Increase It—The Places at the Disposal of Cabinet Officers—Influence of Senators and Congressmen.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—With lowering skies and murky fogs, the rush for office continues. Men, women, and children are involved. The hard times increase the rush. What adds to the pathetic character of the hunt is the fact that those who are in office make most desperate efforts to retain their positions. Widows who work to support their families have lost their situations. Old soldiers have been discharged, and among them men who have received the Medal of Honor. Those in need seem to have received no more favor than those not in need. The Civil Service law is the only protection for them, but there are many places not classified and not subject to civil service regulation.

In former Administrations politics has been an important factor in the distribution of these places. It is a factor to a far less degree in the present Administration. The wishes of the Representatives and of the Senators are more frequently disregarded. Some are never consulted as to Federal appointments in their district or State. Others secure appointments with very little trouble. Those nearest the heads of departments seem to have more influence than officials immediately interested.

All Cabinet officers have more or less appointments. The Secretary of State is credited with the power of distributing foreign missions and Consulships. These appointments, however, are made by the President. It is said that Mr. Gresham really has very little to do with them. They have been distributed thus far, with few exceptions, after consultation with the nearest Assistant Secretary of State. Special Congressional favors may have secured a moiety of them, but the recommendations of not one Congressman in twenty have been favorably considered. Outside influences swirl in and bear away the prize.

While this may be annoying to a Congressman it is exasperating to a Senator. The Constitution provides that the President may make these appointments "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." When they are made without regard to a Senator's wishes they are apt to provoke a controversy in executive session. They may lay in the hands of a Senate committee for weeks and months before they are even considered.

If the office is an important one and the Government is suffering because it is not filled, the President has it in his power to withdraw the nomination and make another one. When Justice Blatchford of the Supreme Court died, the President nominated Mr. Hornblower for the vacancy. The Senate took no action. Meantime a special session of Congress ended and the regular session began. Some Senators doubtless anticipated that if the Senate failed to confirm the nomination at the special session, the President might take the hint and nominate a new man at the regular session. This, however, was not done. The President renominated Mr. Hornblower, and the decisive action of the Senate followed.

Nominations for postmasters, collectors, marshals, district attorneys, and other Federal officers, including vacancies in army and navy grades, frequently drag in the Senate. Each Senator fancies that under the Constitution he is entitled to some say before the nomination is made. If he does not get it he is frequently able to delay action indefinitely, if not to defeat it.

So much for the higher offices in the gift of the Government. The Secretary of the Navy appoints all the officers and men employed in the navy yards. They are not subject to revision at the White House. Before Secretary Tracy retired he placed all the navy yards under civil service regulations. His action has been confirmed by the new Secretary of the Navy, who has undoubtedly followed the wishes of the President in the matter. Mechanics and skilled laborers employed in the yards are thus protected, while the vast army outside seeking their places are disappointed. The yards are filled with Republican employees, and the civil service lists from which other mechanics and laborers were to be drawn are filled with Republicans.

When Secretary Herbert began his term of office under the civil service rules inaugurated by his predecessor, it would have taken at least five years to reach a Democrat on the lists. To alleviate the situation, the Secretary availed himself of a well-known civil service rule. He issued an order that those who had been upon the list for one [illegible]

THE KOSSUTH FAMILY IN 1851-2.

Some Instructive Reminiscences and Recollections.

[illegible]

History Straightened Out.

[illegible]

A GLORY THAT IS GONE.

SOUTH STREET IN THE DAYS OF SAILS, AND SOUTH STREET NOW.

[illegible]

LOOK OUT FOR THESE TRICKS.

[illegible]