OUR RAILROADS.

The Railroad Builders of This Session of Congress.

WHAT THEY ARE ABOUT.

Tom Scott Gobbles Up Marshall O. Roberts—Jay Cooke Swinging Along—The Atlantic and Pacific People After the Indians—Mormon Road Builders—Great Pipelaying of Ben Halliday—The Central Pacific Junta—Young Palmer's Road Opening the Indian Territory.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1872.

The railroad lobby is comparatively small this year, jobbery being pretty well done in the matter of large through lines, while the smaller railways between parts of the same Territory, or a State and a Territory, are generally handled by some one Congressman or by the road's own respectable officers. You have no idea of the immense amount of railroad building going on in the country, and much of it is done with foreign money, obtained upon little less than loose pretences.

HOW FOREIGNERS BUILD OUR RAILWAYS.

Take, for example, the railroad running from Denver southward toward the Gulf, of which fifty or sixty miles are done and trains running. This is a narrow gauge road, the first in the West opened to traffic, and its superintendent and builder is a Mr. Palmer, formerly of Philadelphia, and long a clerk or subordinate official of some character in the Pennsylvania Railroad office. He went to Kansas concerned in the Kansas Pacific Railway, and when that was done, being a man of bright parts and imaginative temperament, he conceived the idea of anticipating the general railway lobbies, which sought a large grant from Denver southward towards Santa Fé, and, securing the moral support of the Pennsylvania Company, he put off to Holland to sell his bonds. He did sell above two million dollars' worth at Amsterdam, but the Colorado people say that he presented a list of prominent names of bankers and other folks in the Territory as heavy stockholders in the road, few of whom had anything to do with it. This is one of the dodges used with "John Forsgner" to make him put up his money. The Territorial people, who want the railroad, yet will put no money into it, give the use of their names, and the array being astounding, some of the persons being known abroad as well as at home, the money is forthcoming and the road is built. The celebrated citizens aforesaid then gracefully retire their names from the roll, and the enterprise is left to its own possibilities, while the board of free and easy trustees in our Eastern States are supposed to be looking out shrewdly for the interests of the foreign bondholders. It often happens that dash and recklessness in a country with the general growth and prosperity of ours amount to as much as good foresight.

This route from Denver toward Santa Fé is paying the interest on its bonds regularly, carrying a good deal of stock and some passengers; for New Mexico, although a Territory, numbers, according to the last census, 112,000 people, of whom ninety odd thousand are white Mexicans or Americans.

SNOWED UP.

It is upon such secondary railroad enterprises as the above that Congress is now chiefly exercised, while the North Pacific, whose bonds are selling rapidly, asks no more from the government. The Union and Central Pacific are in a condition of *statu quo*, snowed up at both ends, and the Atlantic and Pacific, commonly called the Thirty-fifth Parallel Railroad, halts at the boundary of the Indian Territory, its right of way, which Congress gave it, stopped by the attitude of the pig-headed Indians there, who fear a locomotive and telegraph wire about equally.

M. O. ROBERTS RESIGNS.

Marshall O. Roberts, of New York, troubled with the kidney disease and in low spirits, is already heartily sick of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and has offered to sell the whole thing out to Tom Scott for $1,500,000, which is about the amount which Roberts has himself personally advanced to build the road. Roberts is generally looked upon here as a failure as a railroad man, and the hungry attorneys, ex-Congressmen and others who were promised bonds upon his accession are raving about town, talking about honorable and dishonorable conduct. It is said that not fewer than two hundred persons had promises of bonds and of money, but these promises amount to nothing, many of them being given to persons who, under the law, had no right to be interested in any measure before Congress.

TOM SCOTT AT THE BRAKE.

Scott is now in Washington, seeing what can be done out of the situation. His wonderful head and hundred hands take delight in such enterprises, and the grants in money and in lands lavishly heaped upon this road might well allure him.

The "Texas and Pacific" Franchise—such being the name of Scott's consolidated road, which is to run from Shreveport, La., across the broadest part of Texas to El Paso, and thence send an arm down to California and another to San Diego—is comprised of three or four different things, all subsidized with rich Texas lands.

WHAT SCOTT'S BIG ROAD WILL GET.

First, the Texas and Pacific comprises the Southern Pacific Railroad, chartered by the State of Texas, of which seventy miles are already built from Shreveport westward. This grant is 7,000,000 acres, which, at $3 an acre, would alone make $21,000,000.

Next in Scott's enterprise is the Memphis and El Paso grant—that unfortunate concession to John C. Fremont. The Texas and Pacific have compromised for the Fremont bonds—sold head over heels in Paris at a sacrifice, nearly to the ruin of our general securities, and not much to Fremont's own benefit—by mortgaging all their lands for the first 150 miles of the road to said bondholders. Fremont's indebtedness is not less than $2,000,000, and it is supposed that after indemnifying upon that compromise the persons who took his bonds the Memphis and El Paso grant will still amount to 5,000,000 acres.

Next in Scott's Texas and Pacific enterprise will accrue the State bonds of $10,000 per mile, which are not to be handed over until 600 miles of the road are completed and it spans the whole State. This moneyed concession was made last winter by the Legislature of Texas, and the whole sum received in this way, if ever paid, will be $6,000,000 in State bonds.

Next, Tom Scott, if he builds this road, will get the government grant of 13,000,000 of acres lying between El Paso and San Diego, some of which is good land for agriculture, and much of it rich in minerals.

Putting these four things together, and valuing the land at between two and three dollars an acre, the Texas and Pacific concession amounts to $68,000,000 in land and State bonds. Public spirit, however, is not wanting on this road; but from Kansas, Colorado, California, and even from Utah, the road builders, with or without land or subsidy, are pushing south to tap the country at the headquarters of the Rio Grande and pierce into Mexico, while the Southern Pacific Railroad is being pulled to pieces by its Congressional manipulators.

THE MORMONS AT WORK.

But for the Mormon trials in Utah, which have embarrassed labor and enterprise there, the Mormons would have completed this year a third of the way southward towards the Arizona boundary. We shall have, through Palmer's road, connection with Santa Fé in two years or less. If the Atlantic and Pacific, or Thirty-fifth Parallel road, be allowed to run through the Indian Territory, they will also get to Santa Fé within two years. This road is generally said to be controlled by the bankers Seligman & Co., of New York.

THE NORTH PACIFIC AND SCHUYLER COLFAX.

To show the immense interest which the people are taking in these Western railway developments, and also how thoroughly capitalists rely upon private savings to accomplish these immense enterprises, I need only tell you that the cause of Mr. Colfax's proposed retirement from the office of Vice Presidency two years ago was an offer made to him by Jay Cooke & Co., which he had resolved to accept, giving him $25,000 a year to lecture on the North Pacific road through the United States, besides all the proceeds of tickets for his lectures and compensation for his newspaper writings paid by publishers. In other words he was to become the great statesman-advertiser of this huge corporation and get the salary of the President of the United States, with popularity and gate money thrown in. About the time he had fully resolved to take hold with this offer, and had therefore announced that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for re-election, a nervous prostration came upon him, and he received notification from his physicians that any such long and fatiguing lecture trips as he contemplated would be at the risk of his neck and perhaps his life. He gave up the tempting offer of Jay Cooke, and now announces that he will tarry with us a little while longer and give us the light of his smile at the head of the Senate.

THE COOKES' OPPORTUNITY.

The North Pacific road, and, in fact, all the roads, take encouragement from the calamities which have this year come upon our only road open to the Pacific. Trains have been snowed up, not only for days successively, but for a week at a time, to the great personal discomfort of passengers and to the peril of that very considerable through ticket business between India, China, Australia, New Zealand and Europe by way of our Pacific Railroad. Passengers just in give doleful accounts of the eating accommodations and heating conveniences while they lay on the cold summits of the Rocky Mountains, somewhat like the outcasts of Polka Flat, when they were cut off before and behind and Uncle Billy had stolen the horses. It is now evident that we must have more than one route across the country. While the North Pacific people allege that there is no snow to speak of on their frontier and that the isothermal line sweeps around and gives them good temperatures, yet popular sentiment has also set strongly in favor of relief to the Thirty-fifth Parallel road, which passes through the borders of a temperate region close down to the tropics, and is absolutely free from losses nearly all the year round. Nothing stops this latter road but the anomaly of an Indian Territory which is two-thirds larger than New York State, which spans east and west 470 miles and north and south 220. The "Jay Cooke's Road," so called, has made splendid headway, and now reaches the Red River, which is on the line of longitude a little west of Omaha and nearly of the middle of Indian Territory. This road has the most certain, and assured land grant of the whole of them for timber, cereals and emigration, and it is not far behind the others in the precious metals. Its directors are selling more than enough bonds per month to pay off the large gangs of hands, pay for the copious advertising which keeps the matter constantly before the country, and pay agents in Europe to hurry up emigration and keep the bait rolling. There are fifteen members now in the firm of Jay Cooke & Co. The Cookes themselves are generally supposed to look out for the sale of bonds, Moorhead attends to the iron matters, and the "editor" of the railroad is General Nettleton, formerly of Sandusky City, the common home of all the Cookes. It is certainly a marvellous enterprise to see a single banking house without other support than land on the frontier belt, pushing steadily ahead with a railroad 2,000 miles long. They have even sent out to Washington and Oregon, and begun to lay track there, in order not to be anticipated by Ben Halliday, who is driving things meantime and taking up the best land in the Willamette and Columbia valleys.

BEN HALLIDAY AS A TRACK LAYER.

Ben Holliday is supposed to be building on two certainties—a paying road, stocked with a little empire of splendid land, which is even now attracting emigration from California northward, or his road must be purchased at a fat figure by either the North Pacific or the Central Pacific. Halliday is losing $15,000 a trip, it is said, on the Australian steamers, and he has got Colonel Otis, of New York, and General Bee, of San Francisco, delving away to get him a Congressional subsidy. There is no good reason why he should not have a fair, encouraging amount; for the New Zealand and Australian governments, preferring to pay Americans rather than their own English kin, have already given him a subsidy compatible with their limited means. If Ben can get a subsidy from this Congress he will speedily clear out Australia and transplant his population to Oregon. He is a daring genius, although comparatively unlettered, and beginning life not many years ago with a few head of cattle which he drove from St. Joseph out to Mormondom, and afterwards made many weary trips with oxen and mules as a poor trader, he now runs steamship lines from Puget's Sound to Mazatlan, and from San Francisco to New Zealand, owns almost the only independent railroad on the Pacific coast, and stands by his friends, the Mormons included; and he is so this day one of the handsomest fellows to look upon known in this country. Ben Halliday's railway stands in dread of the mighty Colossus of the Central Pacific, which, striding from Ogden to the Golden Gate, ramifies on the way northward and southward and holds every channel of communication except by sea from Mexico to Oregon.

THE CALIFORNIA RAILWAY KINGS.

What a history has this road shown us of the power of small confederated enterprises! A few hardware store keepers, mediocre merchants and town lawyers in Sacramento met together with as much courage as the Swiss of Grutli resolving on independence, and they put down their little fortunes in a pile to work upon Congress for enough encouragement to climb up the sides of the Sierra Nevada. They got the promise of money; but, alas! were to build up those almost inaccessible mountains and founder around the Dutch Flats before a cent would be forthcoming, having, by the provisions of the subsidy, to complete 100 miles before the government would write its name across their bonds. Those men to-day are worth from five to ten million dollars each, and are inevitably certain, in the course of events, to be among the richest, if not the richest, men in the world. They have absorbed, one after another, all the internal navigation lines, the steamers and all the railway enterprises on the coast. They have never troubled themselves to bore State Legislatures for help, but have gathered their money together and annihilated opposition by fair purchase. They keep on deposit two millions of government bonds all the time for side issues of this sort, and when the California Pacific Railway fell into their hands last summer they were supreme on the American shores of the Pacific. Not content to see this princely collection of railways in the hands of their own original half dozen they have been buying each other out to reduce their number to three or four. It is very doubtful whether, with all our experience in the East—with our Vanderbilts, Scotts, Goulds, &c.—we have any railroad men up to the mark of the Sacramento people. Leland Stanford, to look at, is a large, grave, heavy-eyed, heavy-jawed person, who has not yet made his appearance in the East, but his associate, Mr. Huntington, is one of the moving spirits of the Chesapeake and Ohio road, which New York and California capital has built across the mountains of West Virginia, and which has leased, in addition, the short line road from Cincinnati to Louisville and Lexington.

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S NEW RAILWAYS.

Secure from all but United States officials, the Mormons, under the capable leadership of Brigham Young, are not only laboring to connect their settlements with a belt of rail, but they emotionally design building a road from the Colorado to the Columbia, connecting the rich mines and flourishing towns of mountainous Idaho with Salt Lake, so that it will become the flourishing emporium of the Central Continent. They already have a town with twice the population of Denver and with a trade unequalled by any town West of the Missouri except Sacramento and San Francisco. They are running a narrow gauge road with all energy 120 miles northward to the Soda Springs of Idaho, and expect to have it done in the spring of this year and a hotel built on the spot. Among the leading men of this road are William Jennings, Brigham Young, William H. Hooper, Hiram Clawssen and others, while the direction of its finances is entrusted to John Young, Brigham's son by his second wife, a handsome, prudent, agile young man, who has spent much time recently in the east and a few days in Washington. The Mormons build their railroads at no other first expense than the cost of the iron and rations to feed laboring gangs. The laborers take stock in the road for their pay and eat plain food, while the bonus of the road purchase the iron. Nothing is, therefore, to be done out to make enough profit after the enterprise is complete to pay the interest on the bonds. If the road is successful the laborers get dividends upon their stock, if not, they take their ill luck uncomplainingly. But it is singular that up to the present time every Mormon enterprise has been successful. Even the settlement of St. George, on the border of the Arizona desert, built in a country charred with immemorial fire and strewn all over with glauber salts, has come out a town as likely to stand as Salt Lake itself. When asked some time ago why he did such a foolish thing as to put a town on the site of St. George and expend so much time and endurance to recover a little tract of oasis from the desert, Brigham Young replied that he wanted to show that his people could do anything, and rather than have nothing to do he would undertake to reclaim the whole American desert. "If we fail," said Brigham, "we shall at least not have learned idle habits." It is not generally known that the Mormons, though quiet about it, have exercised a large influence in our public affairs. A gentleman who has seen the list of funds collected to elect General Grant alleges that a good round sum was contributed by the Mormons of Salt Lake City, under the advice of Ethan Washburn, who was always their friend. Washburn and several other men in public life took up land in Salt Lake City several years ago, believing in the growth and development of that country under the patient labor of the Saints.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE LAND-GRAB RAILWAYS.

The present will be looked upon in future years as one of the greatest periods in the history of mankind for material enterprises. If Congress is beset with hundreds of land-grabbers, it is not only to be attributed to some supposed corruptions in our age, but to the immense public spirit and material energy of the American character at this time. The war turned out hundreds of railroad builders; for tracks had to be taken up and put down, and common sergeants and lieutenants were often called upon to run engines, build bridges and repair rolling stock. Under the operations of a high protective tariff on steel rails and iron, the iron rollers themselves, who made great fortunes during the war, are in many cases advancing the iron to railway builders who can get a good land grant, or in exceptional cases even the right of way. The tariff and land monopoly thus espouse the causes of each other.

RAILWAYS NO MONOPOLY.

Looking over the whole subject of railways already completed on the public domain it is hard to come to any other opinion than that without them the country would have been greatly retarded, and the evils which we supposed to be incident to their subsidization and monopoly do not appear. The only railways in the country which are at all absolute are the Union Pacific and its complement at the other end, the Central Pacific. The Union Pacific has greatly dissatisfied the miners of Colorado, Wyoming and Utah by raising freight rates on crude ores, particularly argentiferous galena. The fact was that at the old rates there was plenty of freight, but no profit. The Central Pacific, although the most powerful of all corporations, considered with regard to its surrounding population, is on the whole a modest corporation. Screwed in business, but still in considerable terror of the State Legislatures.

The history of Illinois, now the third State in the Union, is the history of one subsidized railroad, which has never trodden upon the necks of the people but has given to that Prairie State more than two and a half millions of people, or little less than the population of the whole republic at the close of the Revolution. Iowa is essentially a railroad State, with its 1,200,000 pure and industrious people, who do not appear to feel the heels of railroads on their necks, but, on the contrary, have some of the best railroads in the country. It is questionable whether there is a better road in the world than the Burlington, Quincy and Missouri Railroad, with its dining cars, smoking cars and its conversation cars. Missouri, now treading close upon the heels of Illinois with 1,700,000 people, never was much of a State until railway subsidy took it up and carried it along.

There is this about our American railways: that the common people build them, and they do not rise above their source and are always more or less amenable to State Legislatures, which, naturally enough, grow jealous of them as soon as they have created them. Thus there is a system of compensations and balances in all democratic enterprises, and we may ask as we pass along, What has become of all the money given to the "Crédit Mobilier" of the Union Pacific? Who has got it? It was made dishonestly in great part; it passed out of the hands of its accumulators with as much speed as they received it. Neither Durant, Ames nor any of the chief conspirators of that concern are now inordinately rich men. The land which they acquired has not been used to crush the people; but, on the contrary, there is no more healthy emigration anywhere in the world than on the line of the Union Pacific.

THE RAILROAD BUILDER

is generally a hard-listed, unintimidated chap from the frontiers, who makes up his mind that he will have a fortune or die. He lays aside his original modesty, becomes by volition a politician and a crowder, and, confederating with himself two or three boon spirits, appears at Washington with the motto of Richelieu—that in the bright lexicon of creek there is no such word as fail. He hints one next man's job and the great job before him and the little job underneath, in order "to get in." To use the words of one of our Washington strikers, he must be "let into this job or that job or he will bust them."

After being lampooned and mortified, deprived of the company of his wife and family, living in some cheap back attic without fire, and an eyesore to public men of every sort, this interminable bore, paying such costly penalties in comfort and in character, attains his end. He builds his road and the people get it, and, perhaps, at last, he has made no more net money than if he had stuck to congenial wheelwrighting or blacksmithing in the town from whence he was derived.

THE RAILROADS AND THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Senator Clayton, of Arkansas, a gamey, jovial, talented little man, with a fierce mustache and one arm, says that Arkansas, under railway encouragement, after lying in the low as a State thirty-five years, is coming out populous and vigorous. Half a dozen railways are being pushed through it, most of them running southwestwardly toward Texas, and only the opening of the Indian Territory is needed to make it a State as consequential as Mississippi or Louisiana. The present census shows about 483,000 people in Arkansas, of whom 122,000 are colored. Clayton says that there are now gathered along the border of the Indian Terrtory thousands of enterprising people, patiently waiting either for the Indians to take a second thought and open their land to material enterprises or for the government to break down the veil of barbarism and let the locomotive whistle scream through the squalid camp of Cherokee, Creek and Pottawattomie. The same is the case on the Kansas line of the Indian Territory and on the Missouri line, and even in Texas and Colorado. The railroad company which has taken the initiative, with able counsel and the sympathy of the Southwest at its back, is the Atlantic and Pacific road, which was chartered to run along the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude to Santa Fé and Southern California in 1866.

THE ENTERING WEDGE.

That road was to begin at Springfield, Miss., and to pass by Albuquerque, with a branch to Santa Fé, and it had to build through the Ozark Mountains for a very great distance, without receiving an acre of land from the national domain, getting a little assistance, however, from the State of Missouri. It is now completed, fully equipped and in successful operation to Vinita, thirty-five miles west of Missouri, within the Indian country, a total distance of 365 miles. It is in great part a New York road, directed formerly by Hayes, as president, now in the hands of Crocker, Seligman, Stout, Stearns, Fred Billings, Robinson and others. These gentlemen take the bull by the horns, and without prevarication declare their intentions to Congress—which are, in a word, to break up the present character of the Indian territory and bring it into the nation, with a delegate to Congress, under similar conditions to Colorado and New Mexico.

WHAT THE INDIANS THINK OF THE LOCOMOTIVE.

The Indians themselves are in a state of division and confusion as to whether the present sort of motley government by chiefs and tribes shall go on, or whether they shall hail their admission to American citizenship, and derive from their lands—which are now scarcely cultivated at all, but are richly productive, while without facilities to send their crops to market—a fair degree of wealth in consonance with the surrounding populations. Perhaps the most intelligent Cherokee that we have seen here is Colonel Boudinot. He was educated at Yale College, and is of mixed French and Indian descent. He has published in the Washington papers of this day the names of the most intelligent and wealthy Cherokees who urge that the force of the Indian Territory be stopped and the naturally intelligent Indians there be given the advantages of association and competition with whites. If this be done the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad will push straight on to the West, whereas, at present, it has before it 300 miles or more right of way through Indian reservations where there is no trade, no travelling, no power to educe any business or scarcely to drive the white man's cattle. In brief, the road asks the extinguishment of the Indian title and compliance with the terms of its charter, which were that it should have alternate sections on each side of the track in this tract, as elsewhere, when the Indians were agreed.

WHAT IS THE INDIAN TERRITORY?

The Indian Territory embraces 70,000 square miles, which is more than all the New England States combined, and is surrounded by 4,000,000 of white people. It is populated solely by 65,000 red men, members of twenty odd tribes, each claiming a distinct organization and occupying a separate reservation. They differ widely in degree of civilization. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Pottawattomies and others are fairly civilized; have stopped war and hunting, have fixed habitations, raise stock, cultivate the soil, have schools, written laws and a few churches. Some of their chief men have been educated at eastern schools. The rest are all "blanket Indians;" and among them the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, as well as the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, engage in war with each other and their white neighbors. All the tribes are steadily diminishing in numbers. The Cherokees have declined in ten years from 25,000 to 16,000, and the Creeks from 20,000 to 14,000. There is no way for a white man to join any nation but by marrying an Indian woman. With all the accretions from negroes, foreign Indians, &c., they decrease steadily two per cent. Property does not exist in any considerable degree. The Indian right is inalienable, and out of 22,000,000 acres but 5,000 were cultivated in any manner during 1870. The amount cultivated does not exceed one-fiftieth of the respective reservations. A citizen of a neighboring State can neither own, purchase nor live upon lands in this Territory or make a binding contract respecting any character of property with its inhabitants. No one can trade there without a government license and also the consent of the legislative council of the tribe he seeks to do business with. This with the Cherokees has never yet been granted. Even the right to drive stock from Texas to a State North or East is subject to the consent of the tribes, and whenever permitted burdened with an onerous tariff. The government of the Territory is divided between the few agents of the United States who are backed by military, and manage only its external relations, and a bundle of council regulations and traditions by which the Indians themselves regulate their internal affairs. Very poor order exists. The steady current of Western emigration thus presses against a parallelogram of good land, twice as large as Ohio, capable of sustaining, in the ratio of Ohio's inhabitancy, 5,000,000 of souls, and not only a law unto themselves and a nuisance unto themselves, but annihilating commercial intercourse among the States which surround them. Right or wrong, it is plain that this thing cannot go on. Twenty-five years ago these same tribes—the Creeks and Cherokees—attempted in Georgia to maintain an independent government, and the United States Supreme Court sustained them with its decision; but the people of Georgia set at naught the government, and executed an Indian who had committed a murder under State laws, and showed that, under the inexorable law of progress, a neutral empire cannot exist, surrounded on all sides by an aggressive democracy.

These Indians will be all the richer and their capacity for progress better developed when, under the very liberal bills introduced into Congress by such men as Senator Rice and the Missouri Representatives, Wells and Havens, they become an American Territory; and even then, according to Wells' bill, they cannot be overcome by popular suffrage, but each tribe, as a tribe, under its own tribal regulations, will send delegates to the territorial council, and the Indian rights which exist in severalty will be respected. When this Territory is established, as it inevitably will be, within four years, it will be crossed in half a dozen directions by roads leading from Chicago, St. Paul and St. Louis to the Gulf and to Mexico, and by roads from Arkansas penetrating to Colorado, to Kansas and to New Mexico.

Thus the great epic of railway building is enacted under our eyes, and all the influences and power of our time are confederated to make us a homogeneous nation, with copious intercommunication, with competitive facilities for the distribution of our population, and to make the wilderness blossom like the rose.

GOVERNMENT ARMS FOR SALE.—The Davenport (Iowa) *Gazette* says that Colonel Flagler has been instructed to sell all the old-style guns, muskets, revolvers and accoutrements now stored in the Rock Island Arsenal, the government having decided to use only breech-loading fire-arms of a uniform design.

The Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance of the State of New Jersey, Rev. C. R. Harriatt, of New Brunswick, is arranging for visits to divisions in various parts of the State with a view of reviving the energies of the members to increased exertions.

THE RUSSO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.

The German and the Old Russian Parties.

German Sympathies of the Emperor and the French Sympathies of the Heir Apparent—Enormous Warlike Preparations—What For?—The Only Ground on Which Two Great Parties of the Empire Can Meet as Friends.

MOSCOW, Jan. 10, 1872.

You will have received, long ere this reaches you, the substance of the Emperor's speech upon the reception of his illustrious German visitors, who came to assist at the solemnities with which St. George's Day is always celebrated in Russia. The Czar having decided to decorate Von Moltke and Prince Frederic Charles with the cross of the Order of St. George in acknowledgment of their distinguished military talents, their presence became of course necessary at St. Petersburg, not only to receive the decoration, but as a matter of etiquette, upon the occasion of the ceremonies attendant upon the annual celebration of Russia's patron saint. There are only about ten or twelve persons in Europe wearing the decoration of this Order; it is only conferred for great military merit, and the honor attaching to it is considered as great or greater than that of the Iron Cross. The fact of the Czar having conferred this honor on two German Generals, when many people supposed there was no good feeling existing between the two governments, is a very significant one. The Emperor's speech is more significant still, and the German party here are jubilant over

THE NEW ALLIANCE,

which they consider an accomplished fact. These two great empires that, together, are able to defy the world, are, it would seem, about to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, for the ostensible purpose of maintaining peace throughout Europe. Whether they are sincere or not in their professions of peace and good will to men remains to be seen. But it is a curious fact that every alliance entered into with this great object in view invariably ends in war.

DELUSION OF PEACE ALLIANCES.

Peace alliances have, up to the present, proved to be a delusion, not to say a fraud, and without in the least attempting to cast suspicion upon the sincerity of their Imperial Majesties when they cry peace, we may yet be permitted to doubt the near approach of the millennium, the more so as the Russian government has within the last few weeks ordered a new levy of troops, which will add a contingent of nearly three hundred thousand men to the present standing army—a measure which has anything but a peaceful look. The army is now composed of about eight hundred thousand men; this number will thus be augmented to nearly eleven hundred thousand—a most formidable array for a peace footing.

Whatever be the ultimate object or result of this German alliance there is little doubt that it will be accomplished, if indeed the two contracting parties have not already signed the terms of the compact. The official organ of the government has within the last few days been publishing a series of articles, in which, under cover of a general review of the political situation of Europe, it sustains most cordially an alliance with Prussia, or, more properly speaking, with Germany. Casting a retrospective glance over the history of the last hundred years the writer enters into a short discussion of the system of politics known as

THE HOLY ALLIANCE;

shows why it was brought about; how Russia only remained true to it, while the other Powers, influenced by various interested motives, fell off one by one, or only kept up a semblance of loyalty in order to deceive. He claims that England first showed signs of defection, fearing the influence of Russia in the East; then Austria during the Turkish war in 1829. The revolutions of 1830-'40-'48 achieved the overthrow of the system; but the Russians, still faithful to the old compact, clung to the delusion until the Crimean war awakened them to the stern reality that they had only been hugging a corpse. Through all these various vicissitudes and changes, these wars and revolutions, the writer claims that Prussia and Prussia only showed herself a firm friend to Russia. That, less free then than at present, restrained by lack of strength and crammelled by her rivalry with Austria in the German Diet and by a sentiment of nationality that revolted at the idea of separating from German Austria, she could not then, as now, dictate terms to her neighbors; but that upon every occasion she used her influence in favor of Russia, restraining the other Powers where she could not prevent them overstepping the bounds of right, and showed herself loyal and true to the compact she had entered into.

WHY RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA SHOULD BE FRIENDS.

The following remarkable passages occur in the last of these articles, and I have thought it worth while to translate them, in order to show something of the spirit by which they are animated:—

We do not forget that in the midst of this ill-concealed hostility, which was manifested on all sides, Prussia was the only Power that tried to remain faithful to us. We say tried, and that alone was not without danger nor merit. Prussia was not then as free of action as she is to-day. She was trammelled by her rivalry with Austria in the German Diet, where the latter Power arrogated to herself the right of protecting German interests on the Danube. She was bound by a sentiment of German nationality, which revolted at the idea of separating from German Austria, and it was thus that, in spite of her good intentions, she was urged on by Austria, while at the same time she restrained that Power in the course she was pursuing. We have not forgotten the good-will thus shown us, and think we are not going too far when we conclude that if the Prussia of that time had been the Prussia of to-day the grand idea first put forth in the Conference of Ramsburg—that of constituting Germany into one great moderating Power, capable of arresting and preventing war in Europe by throwing her weight into the balance against the first aggressor—would have been very near its realization. It would have preserved Russia from an unjust war and Europe from a senseless conflict, which has been the starting point of all its subsequent agitations. These two Powers are, by their force and respective positions, the best adapted to play a preponderating and conservative part. Their interests are nearly enough coincident to make them prefer concord to conflict, but not enough so to render their alliance a menace to the rest of Europe. They are powerful enough to inspire mutual respect and esteem, but neither is in a condition to think of absorbing the other. These conditions are the most favorable to the establishment of lasting and mutually beneficial relations between the two countries; and when, as is the case, they are sustained by a long and uninterrupted course of loyal and straightforward dealing, of mutual services kindly rendered, and by the continual friendly dispositions, as shown in the recent visit of our German guests, these relations may be considered as of the most sincere and durable kind.

PRESENT INTENTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

As these articles have appeared in the official organ of the government, which is supposed to be directed and inspired by Gortschakoff himself, they may be regarded as a pretty sure index of the intentions of the government. Indeed this alliance has its *raison d'être*; for although there will be, sooner or later, a clash of interests between them on the Baltic, there is for the present no subject for dispute; and, besides, what is more conducive than a closely-knit alliance to a bitter and complicated quarrel?

TWO GREAT PARTIES IN RUSSIA.

I have already spoken of the German party here, and it may be as well to state that Russia is divided, curiously enough, into two great parties on a subject of German nationality, German sentiment and sympathy. And this is the only positive line of demarcation between the parties at present. On every other subject, as the various reforms inaugurated by the government, there is such a diversity of opinion among all classes and conditions of society, those whom we should expect would have nearly the same views are so widely divergent in sentiment, that it is impossible to draw any well-defined party lines or make any positive classification of the masses, politically speaking, except on this one point. Here, however, the boundaries are broadly marked and easily traced.

THE GERMAN PARTY.

By the German party is not to be understood real Germans alone, of whom there are a great many in the country, but that portion of the Russian population bearing German names and descended from German parentage—even dating back in many cases 200 years, and often more Russian in sentiment and feeling than the Russians themselves. Numerically they are, of course, not by any means so strong as their opponents, but the Emperor is on their side, and he counts for a million. He is so German in sentiment and has apparently so much more confidence in the integrity, assiduity and working capacities of this class of his subjects that he has given them two-thirds of the offices in the empire, and has even gone so far as to allow none but Germans to be apothecaries or deal in any manner in drugs or medicines, giving as a reason, I believe, that pure Russians are either not sufficiently well instructed in the dangerous art of mixing drugs or not sufficiently upright in their dealings to have the lives of their fellow citizens entrusted to their care. It is this party, then, headed by the Emperor, who have sympathized with Germany during the late war with France, who inspired the articles in the *Official Journal* of which I have spoken, and who are rejoicing in the hopes of a German alliance. As a rule, they most positively detest the French, and it is a curious fact, that this enmity of rule has not yet died out, although the family trees from which they spring were in many cases transplanted into Russian soil two hundred years ago. They laugh at the idea of Russia becoming the dominant race among the Sclaves, and maintain that it is only superiority in the arts and civilization and advancement in the progress of civilization that can give a man the supremacy, and they do not hesitate to affirm that in these attainments the Sclavonic peoples under the rule of Austria and Prussia are far in advance of their Russian brethren, that it is idle to talk of forming a federation of the Sclavic races, with Russia as the dominant Power, for the simple reason that Russia is behind all the others in the very qualities that could alone give her the supremacy—enlightenment and civilization.

THE OLD RUSSIAN PARTY.

In juxtaposition to this party, and in strong contrast with it, are the old Russians. Among these may be ranked the old Russian nobility, who look with little favor on this new German alliance, who hate the Germans and love the French in spite of Moscow and the Crimean war. With them may be classed the great mass of the Russian people, who, as far as they can be supposed to have political sentiments and opinions, hate the Germans most bitterly without probably knowing why. It was one of the chiefs of this party who, when asked by the present Emperor what he could do to recompense him for his distinguished services in the Caucasus, replied, "I will pray you, O Sire! to make me German," implying that, as the Germans were obtaining all the offices and emoluments in the country, he would only have to be classed among the favored nationality in order to obtain any and every thing he might desire. They believe in the future confederation of all the Sclavic races, with Russia at their head, and perhaps the ultimate amalgamation of all these races into one mighty empire, which shall be the means of carrying Christianity and civilization to the farthest confines of Asia. They believe in the agglomeration of races and languages, and they say that sooner or later Europe will be divided into three great and simple confederations—that of the Latin races, comprising France, Italy and Spain; that of the Teutonic races, comprising England, Germany and a part of Austria, and those of the Sclaves, comprising all the Sclavonic dialects and people, numbering, in all, one hundred and twenty-five millions. To this end Austria must be sacrificed and divided between the Sclaves and the Germans, and the Turks must be driven over the Bosphorus. This is their dream of the future of Russia, and it is certainly not wanting in the grand and the sublime. I have said they look with little favor on the projected German alliance. I may go further and say that they hate and detest it most cordially, and would, if within their power, oppose and prevent it. Here in Moscow, the stronghold of the old Russian party, St. George's Day was scarcely celebrated, because Von Moltke and Frederick Charles were being received at St. Petersburg with royal honors, and even in the latter city itself the illustrious visitors were hissed while attending the opera.

AT PRESENT POWERLESS.

But they are for the moment powerless or nearly so. When the Czar says, "*Ta Gnoichw*" all bow their heads in submission, and they only protest among themselves under their breath, and however much they may object to the course pursued by the Czar they never think of complaining louder than in whisper. But they hide their time, and if the German party has the present the old Russians have a lien upon the future, for though the former have the Emperor the latter have the Grand Duke, next to the throne, who detests the Germans as cordially as the Emperor loves them. It is said that he has carried this feeling of repugnance so far that he has put up a notice in his palace at St. Petersburg warning all whom it may concern that a fine of twenty-five roubles will be imposed upon any one who shall dare to speak German in his presence. It is related that his imperial father came into his son's apartments one day and observing the notice, said, "*Ich werde es bezahlen, aber Deutsch will Ich sprechen*" (I will pay your fine, but I will speak German). Another little circumstance which is not generally known, and which the German papers have probably not thought sufficiently interesting to be given to the world, is this:—

ANOTHER INCIDENT.

When the Grand Duke was passing through Frankfort some two months ago the authorities of the town prepared him a reception, apartments, illuminations, &c., and were at the railway station to receive him upon his arrival. But he alighted from the train, turned his back on them, refused to look at or greet them, and took apartments in a hotel while awaiting the departure of the next train.

WHEN A CHANGE WILL BE EFFECTED.

It will be seen, therefore, that this party are not wrong in counting upon the heir apparent. His advent to the throne will be the signal for a change of politics far more comprehensive and important than that which would be the result of the defeat or victory of a great party in any other country. The Germans, therefore, have only to calculate the probable length of time the Emperor has to live in order to know how long their present alliance will hold good.

THE EMPEROR'S HEALTH.

The German party here say he is robust in health and will reign yet many years, whereas the others whisper it about that he is failing fast, that his health is not so good as could be wished, and that he may possibly not live long. This with all due respect and affection, for it must be acknowledged that even this party does not lack in either towards the person of their sovereign, although they are opposed to many of his progressive and advanced ideas.

THE NEXT CZAR.

The party is not the one, I should judge, to pave the way to Russia's future greatness; for although many of its adherents, as the Dolgorowskys and the Galitzins, have sympathized with and supported all the reforms inaugurated by the present Emperor, the majority of the party is too conservative and has too much of the spirit and prejudices of the past, too little of the initiative and enterprise of the present, to put Russia in a condition to cope with the nations of the West. Much will depend on the disposition of the next Czar, however; for he will have more influence over the destinies of the country than any party can possibly have under the present order of things.

He has certainly seen too much of the world and has become too well imbued with modern ideas to not follow in the footsteps of his father, who has done so much for the civilization of Russia.

THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE.

Here at least is one instance in which the benefits of a despotic form of government may be adduced with evident advantage, when the head of that government is actuated by a sincere desire to promote the prosperity and greatness of the country. Were this people left to themselves to work out their own destiny it would take them centuries, probably, as it has England and France, whereas I will venture to predict that if the next Czar follows in the footsteps of his father Russia will in thirty years have taken a position among the nations in point of civilization and commerce only equalled by the United States of America. The only

GROUND ON WHICH THESE TWO PARTIES CAN MEET

and agree is their undying hatred and detestation of the Turk. Here, at least, the hatred of the common enemy has made them friends, and they would unite hands cordially, if the Czar but gave the word, and march enthusiastically upon Constantinople in the teeth of Europe. This is an event that will assuredly transpire sooner or later; and, indeed, the Russians are not alone in thinking that it is time the Turk should quit this little corner of Europe, that has long been an eyesore to Christianity. Even the Turks themselves recognize the insecurity of their position. They see the finger of Fate pointing to their ultimate expulsion from Europe, and they bury their dead on the other side of the Bosphorus.

ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE CHICAGO FIRE.

A Ruined Man Cuts His Throat.

(From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 2.)

James H. Carpenter is an old and respected citizen of