JAY COOKE & CO.'S ASSETS.

Partial Statement of the Resources of the House.

Property of the Individual Members of the Firm.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 25, 1873.

The firm of Jay Cooke & Co. and each individual member of the firm have made affidavit to the following statement of the assets of the firm. Appendes are also affidavits of the assets of each member of the firm, with the exception of Mr. Fahnestock and Mr. Moorehead, whose statements have not yet been filed.

Statement of the Firm of Jay Cooke & Co.

On the 23d of December Jay Cooke, William G. Moorehead, H. C. F. Fahnestock, H. D. Cooke, George C. Thomas, J. A. Garland and Jay Cooke, Jr., made a deposition giving a statement of their affairs as follows:—

INTEREST IN LANDS IN NEW YORK.

Eight lots on 125th street, near Kingsbridge road, cost	$10,930
Lease of basement, first floor and two rooms on third floor of building corner Nassau and Wall streets. (Lease expires April 30, 1874.)	nominal

INTEREST IN LANDS IN WASHINGTON.

Property on G street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, Washington, in name of H. D. Cooke, trustee for Jay Cooke & Co.	18,000
Lands in Pine and Kennebec counties, Minnesota, purchased of Baron Gervet, 1,687 acres	7,500
One half interest in Clark House, Duluth (the remaining half owned by E. W. Clark & Co.)	20,000
One-half interest in sundry lots in Bayfield, Wis.	11,500
Lease of part of building 114 South Third street, Philadelphia	10,000

PERSONAL PROPERTY IN PHILADELPHIA.

Balance on hand September 25, 1873, $49,275, which has been increased by payments made as per balance sheet of account rendered receiver, all amounting to	119,293
Also from note of E. G. Cattell & Co.	4,000

PERSONAL PROPERTY IN NEW YORK.

Balance on hand September 25, 1873, $25,600, which has been changed since as per balance sheet	1,271
Balance on hand September 25, 1873, $373, which has been changed since as per balance sheet	350
Balance on hand September 25, 1873, $20,106, which has been changed since as per balance sheet	9,373

BILLS OF EXCHANGE NOTES OR SECURITIES.

Morton McMichal, Jr. (collateral), 50 shares First National Bank of Philadelphia	6,428
Nichol, Alexander & Co.'s note of Bradley & Bros (collateral)	3,250
Mr. Leavison (collateral), Northern Pacific Railroad bonds	9,137
Thomas McMurtrie	200
John H. Paleston (collateral), $8,300 Northern Pacific 7.30's	9,788
A. P. Pritchard (collateral), 500 shares Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad	400
Emily Rose	46
J. Rust Ritter (collateral), Pennsylvania Railroad	150
William Khaum, 60 shares National Bank of the Republic	5,500
E. H. Rollis, 200 shares National Life Insurance Company and 45 shares First National Bank, Austin, Minn.	20,200
Robert C. Schenck (collateral), 500 shares Marshall county, Ill., bonds and 2,000 shares Northern Pacific Railroad, 7.30	4,205
Richard Randolph, deceased (collateral), 4 shares Switzure Transportation Company stock	200
John P. Verrie (collateral), Lehigh Coal and Navigation and Philadelphia and Reading stock	1,569
Joseph Thornton	2,000
James S. Woodward's Sons (collateral), $7,500 5.20's	7,500
John A. Wills (collateral), 41,000 shares Northern Pacific Railroad 7.30's	37,034
Thomas W. Irewendt, 50 shares Lehigh Coal, 34 shares Pennsylvania Railroad	3,800
James S. Chambers (collateral), United States bonds and national bank stock	6,188
McLaughlin Bros. (collateral), Pennsylvania Railroad and Northern Central and Northern Pacific stock	11,507

BILLS RECEIVABLE OF JAY COOKE AND CO., PHILADELPHIA, DEMAND AND PAST DUE.

Rev. John Boelin	325
William Badger	150
George A. Bassett (North Pacific as collateral)	2,047
Birnes & Sheaff (collateral, 30 shares Westmoreland Coal Company)	2,000
Selma Borg and Maria Brown	333
Charles W. F. Calvert (collateral)	2,200
Joseph G. Darlington (endorsed)	3,100
J. Paul Diver (claims an offset)	2,174
C. J. Dobson	1,000
R. B. Carnohan (collateral, North Pacific)	2,000
Alexander Irvin (collateral)	18,000
John W. Forney	567
Wm. W. Harding (collateral, 8,300 North Pacific)	4,505
Isaac Hough & Morris (collateral, U. S. bonds)	3,500
Samuel Hepburn	9,585
Hooper, Reese & Co. (collateral, North Pacific)	12,750
Sadler Bros.	5,400
Ezra Lukens	200
William S. King (collateral, North Pacific)	23,475
Note of Thomas Iron Company and several smaller notes, marked "not good"	45,051

TIME LOANS.

A. Reman & Co., endorsed by William W. Harding	1,650
A. G. Elliott, due January 19, 1874	1,507
George K. Anderson, due December 22, 1873	9,792
Edward H. Green, due October 21, 1873 (collateral)	4,000
James S. Champin, endorsed by Lewis C. Cassidy	1,000
Tyndell & Mitchell, endorsed by W. W. Harding	205
L. H. Tenny & Co., due October 25, 1873	3,000
Charles E. Warburtin, due November 25, 1873	1,840
William F. Arnis	6,000
William Jones, endorsed by W. W. Harding	220
The Mutual Insurance Company (collateral)	56,500
William H. Palmer (collateral, National Life stock)	10,000
Henry W. Adams (collateral, Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad bonds)	13,579
Robert Gray (collateral, American Steamship Company)	8,000
Jacob Dunlin (collateral, 20,000 shares Lake Superior and Mississippi bonds)	17,088
Grundy Bros. & Campion (collateral)	8,500
George H. Leonard, Lake Superior and Mississippi bonds	10,500
A. H. Cummings (collateral)	4,400
Charles E. Warburtin (collateral, Pennsylvania Railroad shares)	5,000
Abraham Bitler (collateral)	1,500
F. Dickenson (collateral)	1,000
John D. Defrees (National Life Insurance Co.)	15,000
Wm. T. Carter (Lehigh Coal and Navigation)	8,500
Wm. E. Chandler (collateral), National Life Insurance Company (contested)	18,000
A. G. Cattell & Co., due September 4, 1874	18,000
Perkins & Good, endorsed by Wm. W. Harding	800
Wm. H. Galusha, due January 4, 1874	15,000

BILLS RECEIVABLE, NEW YORK, DEMAND AND PAST DUE.

Chauncey Vibberd	$8,000
A. Hugee	25
Bonn & Co. (collateral)	5,000
Wm. C. Kithe (collateral), Northern Pacific	5,000
D. Rience (collateral)	850
Samuel Sinclair (collateral), Northern Pacific	5,733
C. W. Isbue (collateral), Northern Pacific	1,983
S. Harris (collateral), Northern Pacific	91
D. Proham (collateral), Northern Pacific	500
J. P. F. Lathrop (collateral), Northern Pacific	2,500
Henry Blood (collateral), Northern Pacific	20,000
M. Mitchell, Union Pacific as collateral	2,000
F. Dickenson	1,000
A. J. Hatch	10,000
C. Steinberger (collateral), North Pacifics	800
George D. Poller, Jr., Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad	1,300
Thomas H. Canfield (collateral), Minnesota	5,000
G. F. French (collateral), Lake Superior	2,500
Iowa Central Railroad, interest on currency bond	1,697
J. J. Thompson (collateral), North Pacific bonds	1,200
J. W. Simonton (collateral), 30 shares Pullman Palace Car Company	5,000
George F. Bateo (collateral), First National Bank of New York	2,000
F. C. Lathrop (collateral), Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad bonds	2,000
Milwaukee Construction Company	20,000
Franklin Telegraph Company (collateral), bonds of company	8,630
B. Seaman (collateral)	6,594
E. Steinberger (insured)	750
William H. R. Stiles	2,025
William H. R. Stiles	2,059
Pelloch, Nevin & Co., J. T. Miersin, Benjamin Wood, J. H. Ward, Jr., endorsed by American Press Association	500
W. Henry Richards (collateral)	5,000
W. W. Harding (collateral)	1,300
W. Henry Richards and note (W. W. Harding has guaranteed the payment of the notes of Mr. Richards)	16,870
Charles J. Pulman, endorsed	1,700
H. N. Guernsey, endorsed	1,000
A. G. Elliott, endorsed by W. W. Harding	493
H. S. Sandford, due December 29	10,000
Francis A. Jackson (collateral)	800
Pascot Upham & Co., endorsed by W. W. Harding	429
William C. Kibbe endorsed by W. W. Harding	532
Asa S. Collin (collateral)	200
Asa C. Fouth	184
A. S. Nettleton	1,827
S. M. Stevenson (endorsed)	9,841
R. S. Stockton	9,840
Elizabeth C. Wood (endorsed)	500
Henry D. Moore (collateral)	5,000
Gibson Peacock, endorsed	6,000
A. F. Abbott	2,300
R. B. Carnohan (collateral), North Pacifics	2,000
William C. Kibbe	530
Susan J. M. Black (collateral)	400
William C. Kibbe	849
William C. Kibbe	844
William J. Donavan	550
A. B. Nettleton	1,897
A. B. Nettleton	1,966
Wm. H. Boyd	500
Geo. W. Reed & Co.	1,171
Harris V. Rosenad & Co.	1,006
Wm. N. Goddard (endorsed)	500
C. C. Gilman (President)	20,000
C. C. Gilman	8,020
A. F. Huntingdon	600
F. A. Awe (collateral)	1,000
Gettysville Savings Banks (collateral, 5-20's Northern Pacific and Michigan Southern Stock	19,500
J. B. Armstrong	6,500
J. A. Garland (collateral, not Life Insurance Co.)	3,000
John L. Gill (endorsed)	10,000
Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. (which Jay Cooke & Co. have used with Bank of Commerce, New York, as security for $100,000 paper discovered with their endorsement	25,000
Check on Central National Bank (irregular endorsement)	3,900
James W. Rutledge	1,450
David Crawford, Jr., on hands Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co., England, for collection	64,508
Benjamin Allen	249
H. G. Langworth	825
Uriah Hunt	548
John Mollin	485
Lewis Remat	361
William Marin	362
F. G. Tefft	640
Thomas A. Biggs	5,750

JAY COOKE AND CO., PHILADELPHIA.

Notes of Northern Pacific Railroad Company, due January 7, 1874, Nos. 1,001 to 1,014, inclusive; Nos. 1,016 to 1,025, inclusive; 1,027 and 28, each for $50,000	1,250,000
Ditto, due November 6, 1874, No. 912	50,000
Ditto, due November 7, 1874, No. 913	50,000
Ditto, due November 7, 1874, No. 906, endorsed by James Stenson	50,000

JAY COOKE AND CO., NEW YORK.

Notes of Northern Pacific Railroad Company, due October 13, 1873, No. 919	150,000
Ditto, due October 18, 1873, No. 926	50,000
Ditto, due October 29, 1873, No. 953	50,000
Ditto, due November 6, 1873, Nos. 910 and 911	100,000
Ditto, due December 9, 1873, No. 1,000	50,000
Ditto, due December 9, 1873, Nos. 1,033 to 1,042, inclusive	1,000,000
Ditto, due December 9, 1873, Nos. 1,043 to 1,054	300,000
Ditto, due December 9, 1873, Nos. 1,055 to 1,062	40,000
Ditto, due January 7, 1874, Nos. 1,015 to 1,016	100,000
Ditto, due January 7, 1874, No. 1,026	48,241

—$1,500,000 of the above notes are secured by 15 certificates of the capital stock of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, numbered 71 to 85 inclusive, for 2,500 shares (endorsed), in the name of A. H. Barney, Treasurer, and by him transferred to Jay Cooke & Co. Said certificates were sent to the office of the company, in Portland, Oregon, for issue of new certificates in name of Jay Cooke & Co. Par value, $3,750,000; estimated value, $1,150,000. The balance of the above notes and the open book account of the company are secured by $3,837,400 Northern Pacific Railroad Company seven-thirty first mortgage bonds in the hands of the receiver; $122,300 bonds in hands of the agents for sale; $231,700 in Fidelity Trust and Safe Deposit Company for registration, placed there in the hands of said trust company by Jay Cooke & Co., to keep the issue of the seven-thirty loan within the limit of $30,000,000, but which are the property of Jay Cooke & Co.

400 shares Iowa Valley Railroad construction stock	
1,600 shares Iowa Central Railway	45,061
Interest on specie subscription	$5,600
Stocks and bonds of Northern Pacific Railroad represented on ledger—	
Jay Cooke & Co., No. 1	64,551
Jay Cooke & Co.	190,375
Jay Cooke & Co.	166,183
	421,110
For which Jay Cooke have—	
302,300 Northern Pacific Railroad 7's, bonds; 10,111 shares Northern Pacific Railroad stock; 1,627 first issue Lake Superior and Puget Sound Company's stock	
Interest on Northern Pacific Railroad, being 1-24 of the original division of the company at cost	37,292
For which Jay Cook have—	
6,222 shares Northern Pacific Railroad stock; 1,000 shares Lake Superior and Puget Sound; 83½ Western Land Company of Minnesota; also $1,944,323, balance of Northern Pacific Railroad stock, accruing to Jay Cooke & Co., as fiscal agents.	

The New York house have also about $200,000 worth of miscellaneous bonds and $75,000 worth of stock.

THE PHILADELPHIA HOUSE.

Among the assets of the Philadelphia house are 226,000 shares Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad (they had them for sale)	$131,402
$3,300 United States government bonds	3,900
$25,000 United States government bonds	29,500
112,500 Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad bonds	95,625
$211,237 Lake Superior certificates of indebtedness for arrears of interest, at cost	1,186,300
255,000 Iowa Central Railroad bonds	194,814
168,000 North Pacific Railroad scrip	152,010

STOCK.

9,163 shares Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad stock	$106,434

CHOSES IN ACTION.

W. W. Harding, secured by note of Keystone Sewing Machine Company	$34,000
Baron Gerolt	232
Mrs. Martha Cooke	21,531
William G. Moorhead, agent	105,624
William G. Moorhead, agent	38,748
E. Foote, No. 1	457,074
E. Foote, old rails	1,853
Blacque Bey	8
Northern Pacific	2,178,365

JAY COOKE'S PERSONAL STATEMENT—MORTGAGES HELD BY CHARLES H. NOBLE, NEW YORK.

Value of securities, $250,000; amount of debt, $75,000, assumed by the Lake Champlain Iron Company and William G. Morehead and John Chambers; six months' interest now due on $75,000 mortgage	$75,000
John Coltman, mortgage or judgment on farm at Shoemakertown, Pa., on a surety for $6,000 debt	12,100
Estimated value of lands in Western States	248,586
Town lots in Duluth	23,700
Lots in Minnesota	25,000
Ogontz, residence of Jay Cooke at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia county	500,000
Property No. 31 East Nineteenth street—no encumbrance	6,000
Island known as Gibraltar, Lake Erie	50,000
Castle Rock, Sherman county, Washington Territory	600
Land near Cape May	600
Notes of Thomas Iron Company in hands of Jay Cooke & Co., and used by them	64,567

IN HANDS OF JAY COOKE AND CO. AND USED BY THEM.

50,000 shares Sterling Railroad bonds	$50,000
300,000 shares Sterling Iron and Railroad Co.	39,000
30,000 shares Preston Coal and Improvement Co.	30,000
5,500 shares South Mountain Railroad Company	5,500
1,000 shares Warren and Franklin 7 per cent bonds	1,000
5,000 shares Sterling Iron Company's bonds	5,000
2,300 shares Sterling scrip	2,300
57,900 shares Northern Pacific 7 3-10 bonds	57,900
10,000 shares Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad bonds	10,000
500 shares Acqualing Salmon Fishing Company	500
500 shares Metropolitan Church bonds	500
Scholarship Willamette University	500
250,000 bonds Lake Champlain Iron Company	250,000
Certificates of deposit of Jay Cooke with Jay Cooke & Co. in New York and Philadelphia	407,511
Personal property, furniture, &c., at Gibraltar	6,098
Credit on books of the Sterling Iron and Railroad Company	12,125
Philadelphia and Erie Land Company	153,600
Pennsylvania Steel Company	3,485
Pennsylvania Steel Company, stock scrip	17
Sterling Iron and Railroad Company	36,564
First National Bank of Washington, 50 shares	3,000
Scrip Mercantile Library Company	1,000

IN HANDS OF JAY COOKE AND CO., TO BE USED BY THEM WHEN REQUIRED.

1,250 shares First National Bank of Washington	125,000
250 shares Central National Bank, Philadelphia	37,750
334 shares Providence Life and Insurance Company, Philadelphia	16,700
1,000 shares First National Bank, Philadelphia	140,000
2,250 shares National Life Insurance Company	220,000
2,000,000 shares stock Lake Champlain Iron Company, estimated in value $375,000, less mortgage $75,000	300,000
Perpetual policies of fire insurance in various companies	90,000
Temporary policies of insurance	50,000
One-quarter interest in estate of Eleutheras Cooke, deceased	20,000
Balance of investment in land at Put In Bay by Rice Harper	2,000
Invested in town lots in Duluth	15,000
Quarter interest in estate of E. Cooke, decreed as joint heir-at-law	5,000

DEEDS.

Mr. Cooke also gives a list of the deeds of numerous pieces of property held by him, but does not give their value.

HENRY D. COOKE'S STATEMENT.

Estimated value of lands	$103,885
Personal property in bills, notes, &c.	25,000
Books, pictures, horses, &c.	42,115
Stocks	376,900
Policies of insurance	45,000
Quarter interest in estate of E. Cooke	30,000

GEORGE C. THOMAS' CREDITORS.

Mr. Thomas has given a list of his creditors and his securities, as follows:—

Due to National Life Insurance Company, of Philadelphia, $160,000—secured by 1,600 shares of First National Bank.

Due to First National Bank, $6,500—security, 2,000 shares Warren and Franklin Railway sevens; 5,000 shares Oil Creek and Allegheny River Railway sevens; 2,000 in Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad sevens.

THE ASSETS OF GEORGE C. THOMAS.

Interest in 380 acres in Pocahontas county, Iowa, value	$2,280
Patents—3,000 acres in Wade county, Minnesota, value	6,000
Due by A. B. Nettleton, as payment for lands	1,875

Cash on Hand.

On hand at time of suspension—Mr. Thomas had $500, which he used in payment of personal debts, leaving	300

Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes or Securities.

2,000 shares first mortgage seven per cent bonds of the Warren and Franklin Railway Co., at $75	1,500
Certificates of deposit of Jay Cooke & Co., Philadelphia and New York, amounting to	70,450
Household goods	335
Books, prints and pictures, amounting to	500

STOCK IN INCORPORATED COMPANIES AND INTEREST IN JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

50 shares Philadelphia Warehousing Company stock, par $100, paid $60	$3,000
70 shares National Life Insurance Company, par $100, paid full	7,000
100 shares Union Improvement and Elevator Company, of Duluth, Minn, par $50, paid full	5,000
100 shares Oil Creek and Alleghany River Railroad, par $50, paid full	1,500
100 shares guaranteed Trust and Safe Deposit Company, par $100, paid $40	4,000

POLICIES OF INSURANCE.

2 policies in National Life Insurance Company in favor of his wife, each $10,000	20,000
2 policies in Guardian Mutual Life Insurance Company, New York, in favor of his wife, one for $5,000, the other for $2,000	7,000
Claims against H. T. Jolins, of St. Paul, Minn., secured by mortgage, about $1,000, estimated	500

NOTE.—All the household furniture of Mr. Thomas was in his wife's name.

STATEMENT OF JAY COOKE, JR

Interest on Lands.

Land known as Steadman tract, Bald Eagle township, Clinton county, Pa., 411 acres	$5,000

Bills of Exchange, Notes, &c.

3 notes Thomas Iron Company	4,556

NOTE.—These notes have been used by Jay Cooke & Co.

5,500 shares Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad bonds	$4,875
500 bonds of Church of St. Matthias	400
Bonds and mortgage of H. L. Turner and wife, bearing 10 per cent interest	2,000
Certificates of deposit with the firm of Jay Cooke & Co.	68,668

Personal Property

Amounting to	565
Library, 600 volumes	300
Hunting Materials	125

NOTE.—All Mr. Cooke's furniture was in his wife's name.

Stocks in Incorporated Companies.

Lake Erie Steamboat Company's stock	$1,130
Philadelphia and Erie Land Company	1,200
Union Improvement and Elevator Company	2,000
Coffee Creek Mining Company	7
Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad	75
Cincinnati and Sandusky and Cleveland Railroad	240
Cincinnati and Sandusky and Cleveland scrip	2
National Life Insurance Company, 100 shares, in hands of Jay Cooke & Co., for use as collateral	10,000
Sterling Iron and Railway Company	5,232
Interest on real estate in Philadelphia, and on Put-in-Bay, Ottawa county, Ohio	1,700
Interest on estate of D. E. Cooke, deceased	1,100

Mr. Jay Cooke, Jr., on September 25, assigned to J. B. Moorhead (his father-in-law) all his interest in the firm of Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co., of London, England, as a member of the firm of Jay Cooke & Co.

STATEMENT OF JAMES A. GARLAND.

Five acres Chester, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, and in hands of receiver	$5,000
Cash in hand, none.	

Bills of Exchange, &c.

Certificates of deposit issued by Jay Cooke & Co.	68,850
Household furniture, none, as wife claims it all.	

Stocks in Incorporated Companies.

Miscellaneous stocks	1,500
Policies of insurance	12,000

Interest in Lands.

Interest in estate of James Garland, deceased, but not available until the death of Mr. Garland's mother, by agreement signed by the heirs.

Property Conveyed for Benefit of Creditors.

None, with the exception that, as one of the firm of Jay Cooke & Co., on September 18, 1873, Mr. Garland assigned to J. B. Moorhead all rights and title in the stock and bonds of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company; also in all the stock and bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad; also in stock of First National Bank of Philadelphia for the benefit of the creditors of said firm.

ACCOUNT OF PITT COOKE.

Unsecured Claims.

Amount due estate of Eleutheron Cooke, deceased	$12,690
Lands in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas	169,555

Bills of Exchange, &c.

Notes held by Pitt Cooke	14,918

Personal Property.

Two cows, one carriage	125

NOTE.—The balance of his property is in his wife's name.

Debts Due Mr. Cooke.

Balance due from Jay Cooke & Co.	$21,481

Stocks in Incorporated Companies.

5,000 shares in Bank of Commerce, Georgetown, D. C.	500
100 shares Sterling Iron Company	1,250
10,000 shares National Life Insurance Company	10,000

Policies of Insurance.

In Life Insurance companies	11,000
In Fire Insurance company	5,000

Interest in Land.

Interest as one of the heirs of Eleutheron Cooke	25,000
Interest as heir in personal property of estate of Eleutheron Cooke	5,000

Property Excepted.

Property excepted under Bankrupt Law in Sandusky, Ohio	500
Property excepted under the laws of Ohio	500

JAPAN.

Cabinet Reconstruction and Creation of a New Portfolio of Ministry—Councillor of State Kido Discourses on His Experiences Abroad—Departure of the Ex-American Minister.

YOKOHAMA, Nov. 19, 1873.

There is little more to be said about the change in the Ministry, mentioned in my last advices, except that a new department has been formed, to be called the Department of the Interior. This has not yet been filled, nor has the Department of Education, as yet, a veritable head. The present Minister of Justice, Oki, is also named as Minister of Education, but he will only retain the title until the place is filled. Mori is still in hopes to be able to obtain the appointment. He would be a good man for the position. In the meantime all the displaced Ministers have received positive orders to remain in Jeddo. They are not allowed to return to their own provinces, for fear they might take it into their heads to foment trouble in the distant districts.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

I transcribe here a translation of the manifesto of Kido. It will be seen that it is not a document which, considered from an American or European standpoint, seems to contain any very brilliant thoughts; but it must be understood that we have no good means of judging the completeness of an idea as conveyed in an Asiatic language. One thing is certain, that as it advises moderation, it will be well if the Japanese follow the advice therein contained, however poorly the address may strike us. Over 30,000 copies of it have been circulated among the Japanese:—

DISCOURSE OF KIDO, COUNCILLOR OF STATE, AFTER HIS RETURN TO JAPAN.

I, Takayoshi, have always been filled with fear at the thought that I, an unlearned man and of inferior capacity, have presumed to take a share in the conduct of affairs, and I am sensible that I have in many ways failed to discharge aright the diplomatic duties imposed upon me by my late appointment as Envoy to the States of Europe and America. I have not succeeded in fulfilling the charge contained in the full powers given me by my government, nor, on the other hand, have I been able to satisfy the expectations of the people. For this I deserve no small blame. In the course of my travels, however, while observing the forms of government and the civilizations of the various countries, I have noted the cause of the modifications which they have undergone, and, taking into account the points of resemblance and difference which are owing to likeness or unlikeness of national customs and character, I went on to mark the analogies with the condition of our country before and after the Revolution and maturely to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the measures by which these modifications have been brought about. This inquiry has convinced me that the history of all countries, great or small, enlightened or unenlightened, proves that the inquiry into the causes of their conservation or downfall resolves itself into the question of the state of vigor or decay and the merits or faults of their laws and constitutions. No matter how extensive the territory may be or how numerous their subjects, if a due control is not exercised over them by means of the laws and constitution one man will basely follow his own selfish ends, while another will presumptuously turn right to wrong, and so the government will swarm with parasites and place-hunters. In such a case, although an outward semblance of prosperity, power and enlightenment may be maintained, the foundations of the country have been sapped and the evil will finally become past remedy. The Chinese saying, "We have before us the example of the Sho dynasty," may be applied to the downfall of the country of Poland, in Europe. When it was free and independent, Poland had a wide territory and a large population. It was not that her kings were tyrants or her officials corrupt; the tendencies of the age brought on changes which rendered it impossible for the constitution of her government to maintain its integrity. One was thoroughly convinced of his own wisdom and styled himself a sage, another, relying on himself, assumed to be a clever man, and each refused to be guided by the other. The nobles and rich, some bent on selfish gain, others turning right into wrong, by their strife and jarring reduced the country to a state bordering on anarchy. The distress to which the people were brought was too painful to describe. What wonder that there was no one who did not look round upon for some means of preventing himself from starving! The whole country, therefore, rose in tumult, and wreaked its vengeance on the rich and nobles, and the disorders spread as far as the neighboring countries of Russia, Prussia and Austria, so that at last there was hardly one of the people who remained peacefully pursuing his occupation. The three countries could no longer stand by unconcerned. They assembled an army, and having chastised the remaining robbers, divided the country into three parts, each uniting one to its own territory. Whom can the people of the ruined country blame for this, or whom can they hate? The essence of independence their country never had, and they themselves ever enjoy any original rights as citizens. When I was travelling in a railway carriage from Prussia to Russia, one morning at dawn my dreams were suddenly broken by the melancholy notes of a flute. I got up and opened the window. I was in Poland and the flute player was a poor native who was begging copper coins from the passengers. This incident carried my mind back to the days of Poland's greatness, and it was long before I was able to restrain my tears. Alas! what country can escape the same fate if it does not maintain its constitution and preserve the integrity of its laws? As the turning point between prosperity and decay, between safety and destruction, is so critical, I felt compelled to note down this example so as to submit it for the opinion of my wise and enlightened readers. A single rod, even though a stout one, may be broken by a young child, but if ten rods, though weak ones, are made into a bundle, they are not to be broken by the veriest grown man. They will even maintain a weight of 1,000 pounds without breaking. In the same manner, if a country is divided among a multitude of petty rulers, each one having full authority in his own district, the lines of policy are multiplied, inasmuch as each prince will seek his own advantage and devise schemes for his own gain. Under such a system the national strength is dissipated, and, although the fellow-others may know each other's relative strength, how will they stand in comparison with foreign nations? How could they ever withstand a powerful enemy whose forces were harmoniously united? But it, on the contrary, one sovereign can exercise control over the numberless petty chiefs, if he maintains one national line of policy and balances the gains of one province with the losses of another—if he thus exercises supreme control, though his territory may not be large or his people numerous, they will be able to protect themselves against the insults of their neighbors. This is a principle founded in nature, and is now-a-days a commonplace with the powerful nations of the five continents.

Not many years ago our own country passed through a revolution which was demanded by the altered tendencies of the age, and during it multitudes of the people were deprived of their occupations and fell into great distress. We have also had to lament the campaigns of Kiushu and the North, when Japan was forced, as it were, to sit in dust and ashes. I give as example the many fortunes which befel one family. The father sacrificed his life for his country at the castle of Kioto, while his son discharged the debt of gratitude he owed his lord by laying down his life on some battle field in the North. Even yet, when I recall to mind those days, a cold sweat breaks forth over me. But the misfortunes of one family were mere private griefs; the crisis in the State was a public matter and demanded our most serious concern. It was no time for indulgence in private sorrow. The whole nation, therefore, spared neither pains nor labor, and so it became at last possible to lay the first foundations of our constitution. If there upon follows that in recent years the power to rule there were none of those things which catch the eyes and ears of the people which were not changed from their ancient customary form. In some this engendered suspicion, others tried to stand aloof, and it almost seemed as if there was no one who knew whither the imperial purpose really tended. But how could it be supposed that these measures of the government proceeded from a mere idle pleasure in changing the old system of rule? The truth was that there was no change made which had not become unavoidable, chiefly owing to the internal condition of the country, but also, though in a less degree, to relations with foreign countries. The object in view was to promote the wealth and power of the nation, to spread enlightenment, and to secure to every one a peaceful life in his own sphere. Hence it was thought advisable, so early as the spring of 1868, when the northern provinces were still unsubdued, to summon together at the castle of Kioto all the officials and nobles of the Empire. The Emperor then prayed to the gods of heaven and earth and pronounced an oath containing five clauses, which was thereupon published throughout the Empire, removing all doubts as to the objects the Emperor had in view, and guiding the ideas of the people in one fixed direction. The heading of this oath contains the following expression:—"By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws." This led at last to granting the petitions for leave to restore the fiefs to the Emperor, which occasioned the abolition of the Daimios and the concentration of the dissipated national strength. Is not all this consonant with that commonplace argument of the powerful countries of the five great continents? And, if this be so, then, surely, we must consider those five clauses as the foundation of our constitution. Now, the constitution is a thing which sets on a firm basis the weal of the entire nation, which prevents officials from taking unauthorized steps merely on their own judgment, and which, by placing under one control all the business of administration, renders it necessary that all measures are conformable to it. Is there at the present day any subject of the Empire who does not gratefully acknowledge its profound and far-sighted policy and admire the soundness of the Emperor's views? But in enlightened countries, though there may be a sovereign, still he does not hold sway in an arbitrary fashion. The people of the whole country give expression to their united and harmonious wishes, and the business of the State is arranged accordingly, a department (styled the government) being charged with the execution of their judgments, and officials appointed to transact business. For this reason all who hold office are faithful to the wishes of the whole nation and serve their country under a deep sense of responsibility, so that even in extraordinary crises they take no arbitrary step which is unauthorized by the unanimous consent of the nation. The strictness of the constitution of these governments is such as I have just described; but as an additional check upon illegal acts, the people have officers for discussion (members of Parliament), whose duty is to sift everything that is done and to check arbitrary proceedings on the part of officials. In this way a very admirable form of government is produced. But if the people are still insufficiently enlightened, it becomes necessary, at least for a time, that the Sovereign should by his superior discernment anticipate their unanimous wishes and act for them in arranging the affairs of State and in entrusting to officials the execution of their wishes. By this means he will gradually lead them forward in the path of enlightenment. Such a course is consonant with natural principles, and I am inclined to believe that upon this idea was founded the thought of the Emperor when he inaugurated by an oath his energetic policy. My belief is that although Japan has not yet reached that stage where everything is submitted for the sanction of a Parliament, in the weight which the Imperial command bears with it and the importance of the business transacted, our country differs not a whit from those countries of Europe and America whose government is carried on on the principle of executing the wishes of the people, and it is important that our officials should not be forgetful of their responsibility, and should keep constantly before their eyes our five-clause constitution.

The constitution is the mind of the State; the officials are the members. If, when the mind issues its commands, the members act in a contrary direction, or without waiting for the mind's orders, the affairs of the whole country must fall into confusion and the whole nation feel ill at ease. The final results of such a state of things it would be hard to foresee. If such were to be the lot of our own country the vigorous policy inaugurated on a former day would stop short with the mere idle abolition of the former system of government, and the pains and labor of the people would have been spent to no purpose and vanish like foam on the surface of water. To talk of the affairs of the Empire is easy; to put one's ideas into practice is hard. Let us, then, while it is still open to us to do so, keep strict watch over all our proceedings. While pondering on the Emperor's words on the occasion referred to the following thoughts occurred to me:—What reason could there be for making the entire Empire the private possession of a single family? The Emperor dwells in it along with his people, along with his people he defends it, and of all the parts of the administration there is not one which does not affect them. The subjects ought, on the other hand, each to have his full rights and bear his due share of the public burdens. During my visit to France a learned gentleman of that nation named Brook (?) said to me:—"The people of France cannot compare with the people of England, and this is deeply to be lamented. The reason is that, generally speaking, there is no Englishman who does not enjoy to the full the rights given by his government, while not only are the French deprived of more than half their legal rights, but many of them are eager wrongfully to seize privileges never granted them. This has been the sure cause of the frequent revolutions which have kept our country in a state of weakness. This state of things is truly lamentable." These words sent a thrill through me and filled me with shame. Every citizen's object in life is to maintain all his rights and to preserve his natural liberty, and to assist in carr