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## ARTICLE III.

## THE MORAL DYNAMICS OF WORLD POWER

BY WINTHROP D. SHELDON, PHILADELPHIA, PA. ✓

LIKE the kindred expression *Weltpolitik*, "world power" is a term of recent coinage, having come into familiar use within the last quarter of a century. No other describes so well the trend of modern national development.

Briefly defined, a "world power" is one whose influence is more or less world-wide — a power that is to be reckoned with in the affairs and progress of the world at large. Various elements are commonly included in this concept — a favorable location upon the map of the world; a vast extent of territory; a large population; great and varied natural and acquired resources; a merchant marine flying the national flag on every sea and in every important port; extensive and valuable colonial possessions; and mighty armaments, military and naval. All these are objective and more or less adventitious elements in the problem of world power, its visible, material factors. And because they stand out in bold relief, they appeal so powerfully to the popular imagination, that most people lose sight of the primary, fundamental dynamics of world power,— the subjective, moral, and spiritual forces, without which no nation can wield a lasting and salutary world influence. In its way each of the objective, visual factors helps to give a nation a certain prestige and a *prima facie* standing as a Great Power. But one nation may lack some of them, and yet be a profound world influence; while another may possess most or even all, and yet have comparatively little real, vital influence,

or none at all, upon the affairs and higher progress of the world as a whole.

No European nation has been so richly dowered as Russia with the objective factors which make for world power. She holds a commanding position on two continents, with an area equal to one seventh of the landed surface of the globe and including sixty per cent of Europe, a population of one hundred and seventy millions, almost unlimited natural resources, a revenue of one billion five hundred millions annually, and by far the largest army in the world, sufficient with its enormous reserves, if properly organized and led, to overwhelm any adversary.

A greater combination of the physical and material elements of national power can scarcely be imagined. And yet, with all her objective advantages, Russia is almost bankrupt in the subjective factors essential to a strong, enlightened, progressive world influence, without which no nation is entitled to rank as a world power of the modern type. Political and social conditions, some of them almost mediæval, are notoriously far below the standards of other European states. Says General Kuropatkin, Russian commander in the late war with Japan: "The administration has paralyzed every activity or impulse toward initiative throughout the Empire, and acted like a blight upon every class of the population." The distinguished editor of *Novoye Vremya*, the leading journal of Petrograd, touched the secret of Russian inferiority, when he said: "Russia suffers from the provincialism peculiar to backward peoples, the provincialism of a narrow understanding. For a century we have occupied ourselves with European politics and neglected our national. We have lagged, miserably lagged behind, in all the paths of culture, and our worldly significance has been decreasing." The higher progress of

the world has owed very little to Russian initiative. Reflecting the character and tendencies of her internal policies, her influence in international affairs has been for the most part reactionary. Whatever standing she has secured among the nations has been due in the main to a Machiavellian diplomacy and the weight and impact of her battalions. During the last two centuries she has had thirty-five wars, two at home and thirty-three abroad, of which twenty-two were wars for territorial expansion. Her history clearly shows that in themselves the objective elements in the problem of world power count for comparatively little in determining a nation's rank in the scale of world influence. If with all her material advantages she also possessed the subjective factors — universal education, a free press, civil and religious liberty, industrial efficiency, social conditions fitted to secure the contentment and happiness of her people, and a liberal, enlightened government, founded upon justice and equal rights for all — Russia would be to-day the leading Power of Europe, or at least *primus inter pares*.

More than ever before, and steadily growing in power, moral forces are in the ascendant as sources of national pre-eminence. The nations now in the forefront are there, not primarily or largely because of extent of territory, population, general resources, colonial dependencies, and armies and navies, but because they are rich in the moral potencies of world influence — character, intelligence, freedom, high ideals which are reflected in their social conditions, political institutions, and governmental policies.

Germany is distinctly less favorably situated than her rivals. Her territory is small — equal to four fifths of Texas; and her colonies, though numbering over one million square miles, have thus far proved of no material advantage, either com-

mercially, or as attracting colonists. She is fairly well off in mineral resources; but her soil averages the least fertile in Europe, and her population is less than two fifths that of Russia. Clearly the rise of Germany to the first rank among world powers has not been due to any exceptional natural advantages; nor can it reasonably be attributed to the unequalled perfection of her military organization, upon which so much stress is laid by those who regard extensive military and naval armaments as the *sine qua non* of world power. Her advance is to be ascribed rather to the character and ideals of her people and the resolute endeavor to realize these ideals in all departments of her national life, educational, social, industrial, and administrative. No other nation has applied scientific principles with such skill and thoroughness to general and technical education and industrial training, to the betterment of living and working conditions among the masses of the population, to the prevention of hopeless poverty, to the conservation of natural resources and the elimination of waste, to the extension of foreign commerce and the organization of a monetary and banking system adapted to the business needs of all classes of the people. In her complex system of schools, skillfully adjusted to meet every requirement of her cultural and industrial life, every citizen is trained to fill some niche in the activities of the nation with credit to himself and profit to the state. Production has been increased twofold or threefold by the use of scientific methods of agriculture. Practical discoveries in science and improvements in technical processes have given the products of her diversified industries a reputation for the highest excellence. Her world-wide commerce is a tribute to the business methods, as well as to the enterprise, of her merchants. Highly trained experts compose the Civil Service. A steadily diminishing emigration.

now so small as to be negligible, shows that the social problem has been solved with such success that Germans are content to remain at home. Withal, in this rapid evolution along practical lines, the ideals of education, literature, art, and culture have not lost their hold upon the people.

This harnessing together of moral forces, so characteristic of German development, has made Germany the most efficient country in the world, and advanced her to a foremost rank among world powers. In the last analysis, her preëminence is not grounded upon militarism, nor upon any of the objective factors of world power; but, as the author of "Germany and the Germans" writes, "It is her men and women, giving the high unpurchasable gift of service to the State; giving the fine example of self-sacrificing, simple living; giving the prowess won by years of hard mental and moral training" — it is they "who have gained, and who keep, for Germany, her place in the world." Not her devotion to the ideals of militarism, — in the end this will prove her undoing, — but leadership in religious thought, in education, in literature, art, and science, and in intellectual freedom — this alone has won for Germany the commanding world influence she has wielded for generations.

In estimating England's standing as a world power, the superficial are wont to think only, or chiefly, of her navy — equal to the naval establishments of any two nations of continental Europe — and of her colonial possessions, comprising one fifth of the land area of the globe and many of its most valuable parts, with nearly one fifth of its population. But these salient, spectacular features of world power should not obscure the true sources of her supremacy. Moral forces, substantially the same that have given Germany her preëminence and for the lack of which Russia has been left far in

the rear — the sturdy qualities of Anglo-Saxon character, fidelity to the ideals of law, order, and liberty, and the distinguished ability and public spirit of the ruling class have made the British Isles, with an area of only one hundred and twenty-one thousand square miles — a mere speck, as it were, upon the earth's surface — a dynamo of world influence, that has told mightily for the progress of mankind.

It is customary to date the entrance of the United States upon the rôle of a world power from the war with Spain, because, then, for the first time we engaged in armed conflict with a continental European Power, and launched out upon a colonial policy. It has been said that America then became an actual, as distinguished from a potential, world power. Quite too much importance has been attached to that war as our *début* in this character, as if by some magic formula, some "Presto! Change!" the United States had all at once been translated out of parochialism into the expansiveness of a world power. No single event could effect such a sudden transformation. Of paltry proportions and waged with a nation that had fallen from her once high estate, because she lacked at home the subjective qualities necessary to world leadership, the war with Spain did not make a world power of the United States. She was such long before Manila and San Juan Hill loomed above the horizon. The war only marked a certain change of perspective, and a more pronounced and conscious attitude towards questions of international policies. To assert that previous to the war with Spain the United States was only a potential world power is to misread the history of the nineteenth century; it is to ignore the moral forces which made the last century the most progressive in the world's history and of which the United States was the foremost representative.

What part has any given nation played in the drama of world progress? Has it contributed little, or much, or nothing, to the advance of the human race? Here is the only rational and just criterion by which to determine a nation's place among the Powers of the earth. Tried by this crucial test, the United States has always been entitled to rank among nations of the greatest and most progressive world influence; and this, not because of her extraordinary natural advantages, nor because of a powerful army and navy; but because in larger measure than any other nation, she has been the fountainhead of those subjective, spiritual forces which have most profoundly affected the progress of the world during the last century and a quarter.

At once, upon her introduction into the family of nations, the United States became the protagonist of popular government, as defined in Lincoln's familiar epigram. She blazed the path for democracy; and nation after nation has joined her train, until it may be said with truth, that there is no people which has not felt the impulse of the United States toward democratic ideals. In 1864 Goldwin Smith wrote of the United States as "the nation which bears, more than any other, in the bark of its fortunes, the political (and, as I believe, the religious) hopes of man."

In England at the beginning of the nineteenth century an oligarchy of nobles and wealthy land owners held the reins of government in their own hands. Inspired by the example of America, democratic agitation, thwarted during the latter half of the eighteenth century, was now renewed with fresh vigor and with a more comprehensive and definite program. As the century wore on, successive measures were carried through Parliament enlarging popular participation in the government, until the suffrage has now become as inclusive

as in the United States, so that England is one of the most democratic countries in the world. John Morley, commenting upon Maine's "Popular Government," says: "The success of popular government in America has been the strongest incentive to the extension of popular government in England. We need go back no farther than the Reform Bill of 1867 to remind ourselves that the victory of the North over the South had more to do with the concession of the franchise to householders in boroughs, than all the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone and all the diplomacies of Mr. Disraeli." England's colonies are virtually as self-governing as if they were independent, a fact due in no small measure to the influence of American ideas and example.

The popular upheaval in France in 1789 was the immediate result of the democratic movement in America, which came as a summons to the French nation, to realize at once for itself the same ideals of political and social freedom. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man" adopted by the National Assembly — one of the most remarkable state papers in the history of Europe and the prototype of other similar manifestoes — was inspired by the American "Declaration of Independence." To quote Lecky's words: "The American Revolution inoculated French public opinion with republican ideas," which, after many alternations of promise and of failure, have at last found concrete and, we may believe, permanent expression in the French Republic of to-day.

The political unrest which prevailed throughout Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century and reached its climax in the revolutions of 1848 was largely attributable to the object lesson of free government in America, and to the moral support and material aid given so heartily by the

people of the United States. Everywhere in the struggle for personal liberty and national unity under constitutional forms, progressive spirits looked to America as the ideal of freedom, equality, and justice; and they found here, in that chivalrous youthhood of our Republic, a response whose sincerity, fervor, and inspiring influence it is difficult for us of the present generation to realize.

Early in the nineteenth century Spanish America naturally came within the sphere of influence of the United States. Whatever may be the causes of the recent decline of American influence in the countries to the south, it was long an important factor in their political development. When in 1809 Napoleon sought to absorb Spain and her empire in his "Continental system," the successful assertion of our independence encouraged the Spanish colonies to raise the standard of revolt. Their great leaders, San Martin, Simon Bolivar, Sucre, and others of like heroic mold, were profoundly influenced by the character and career of Washington. To this day South Americans have revered him as the personification of the genius of our Revolution and of the ideals of democracy. Later statesmen, like Sarmiento of Argentina, have been attentive students of American institutions and education, to the profit of their respective countries. Whether the Monroe Doctrine is now an "obsolete shibboleth," or in need of revision, to adapt it to changed conditions, our insistence upon it protected the Spanish American republics from European encroachment during a critical period of their history.

No instrument of its kind has had such a far-reaching influence in shaping institutions of government the world over as the Constitution of the United States. All who have essayed constitution-making during the last century and a

quarter have made a study of the American scheme of government. Not that they have always followed it implicitly; but it has been fruitful in suggestions; it has indicated the general lines on which such a document should be drawn and its central, underlying principles. The French Constitution of 1791, perfected by the National Assembly after several years' consideration, contained various provisions similar in principle, if not in precise form, to those of our own Constitution, which was also the archetype of the constitutions of the Spanish American republics. In 1860 Dr. Calvo, a noted lawyer of Buenos Aires, published a Spanish translation of Justice Story's "Commentaries upon the Federal Constitution of the United States," which has become a classic throughout Latin America. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and more recently South Africa, in framing their organic laws, have profited greatly by a study of the institutions of the United States. They have adopted the federal principle—one of the most noteworthy contributions of our country to world politics—by which "national unity is reconciled with the existence of local self-government in larger and in smaller communities over the immense spaces of a continent." Our federal system was a model for the Swiss Confederation. And the trend of thought among English statesmen of all parties shows that the reorganization of the United Kingdom and the British Empire upon this federal idea is not far off. In framing her parliamentary institutions the Elder Statesmen of Japan have been discriminating students of our American system. Likewise the progressives in China, as they slowly feel their way towards constitutional government, are looking to America for sympathetic guidance and help, and to American precedents and methods, as they organize the first republic in the Far East. For many years the governments of Japan, Korea,

China, and Siam have employed American experts as constitutional and diplomatic advisers.

In his tribute at the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its adoption, Mr. Bryce said of our Constitution: "It has become, by the example of its working and the halo of fame which now surrounds it, one of the vital and vitalizing forces of the modern world; and its framers have rendered an incomparable and enduring service to all mankind." And Mr. A. Maurice Low, the well-known English writer, in his "American People" thus tersely summarizes the world influence of our national charter: "The American Constitution changed the whole thought of mankind; it affected all the world; it introduced a new system of political philosophy; it gave to man, the individual, a dignity he had not possessed before; it recreated the relations between the individual and society. Humanity stands forth in more grandeur and power. Neither liberty nor equality existed as we to-day know them, until liberty and equality were written into the American Constitution."

The most significant phenomenon of our time is the marvelous awakening of the backward peoples of the world, numbering more than half of its total population. Western governments have done little to bring it about. Essentially selfish, diplomacy and armed force have been for the most part a positive obstruction. This awakening has been the product of moral forces, which are the characteristic fruit of democracy and thrive in the fertile soil of democratic ideals with a luxuriance elsewhere unknown. Hence there is nothing inexplicable in the fact that the United States has been their most prolific source. Her people have contributed more in men and money and in self-denying labors than any other country to the social, educational, and religious evolution of

these laggard nations. If a widespread and constantly expanding world influence along these lines is any criterion, then the United States has been a world power for the last hundred years in a far higher sense, and of deeper import for the world, than any preëminence other nations may have gained in the field of world politics through diplomacy and armed force.

Figures could readily be given showing in detail the manifold activities, social and religious, through which America has interpreted Christian civilization to the less advanced peoples of the world,—the number of colleges and universities, and of schools of all kinds, scholastic and industrial; of medical missionaries, medical schools, hospitals and dispensaries, that have already effected virtually a revolution in the so-called medical practice of the Orient; of schools and homes for deaf mutes and the blind, asylums for the insane, orphanages, institutions for relief and rescue, and societies for social reform; of native Christian congregations; of translations of the Bible into native tongues; of languages reduced to written form and national literatures created; of extensive publishing houses, especially in Turkey, India, China, and Japan, which have annually poured forth an immense volume of literature in all branches of human knowledge and have profoundly affected the thought and life of hundreds of millions of people.

To have set in motion agencies of such variety and extent is in itself an amazing achievement. But even more marvelous are the results they have accomplished in awakening vast populations to the higher aspirations of humanity and to an eager desire for the best in Western civilization. The increasing unrest and discontent with present conditions, so general throughout the East, is primarily due to these in-

strumentalities, which alone have reached, or can reach, the masses of the people. They have won for America the moral leadership in the Orient. Thinking men of the younger generation look to her as the exponent of democracy, as their guide to the fulfillment of their national aspirations. Said one of the greatest of Chinese statesmen: "We want to build the New China upon broad American lines and following American leadership." A new passion for education according to modern ideas has been kindled. Higher ideals of government, a new conception of the spirit and function of law, and of the equality of all before the law, and the intrinsic worth of the individual, — these ideas, hitherto foreign to the Oriental mind, are gradually being wrought into the thought and life of the people. Moral reforms in family, community and national life are making perceptible progress. Home life, virtually unknown as we understand it, has been effectively interpreted to the people. Inhuman social and religious customs, such as prevail in India especially, are giving way before the constant attrition of these moral forces of Christian civilization. Even the native religions and habits of religious thought have been greatly modified by years of contact with the Christian interpretation of religion and life. A philanthropic spirit is replacing the callous indifference towards the suffering and the unfortunate, so characteristic of Oriental society. Everywhere the despotism of superstition — in no country so absolute as in India — has steadily been relaxing its hold. Even the caste system has been undermined, so that it is only a question of time when it will be displaced by the spirit of human brotherhood. Chief among these signs of progress is the new attitude toward the emancipation of woman. "Orientals," writes St. Nihal Singh, "are awakening to the consciousness that woman in bondage and ignorance is a menace

to the nation, that the cornerstone of national progress and prosperity is intelligent, liberal-minded womanhood." More than to any other influence this radical change of view is due to the schools for girls, which Americans were the first to establish in the Near and the Far East.

Mr. Gladstone spoke with authority when he said that "America has done more for the progress of the Levant than all the nations of Europe put together." And Mr. Bryce goes still further in affirming that Americans have been "the only good influence that has worked from abroad upon the Turkish Empire." Their ten colleges and numerous schools, attracting thousands of students of a dozen and more races and nationalities, have been the only centers of light and leading among the dismal shadows of Turkish fatalism and misrule. Sultan Abdul Hamid laid the independence of Bulgaria at the door of Robert College. King Ferdinand has called it "the nursery of Bulgarian statesmen"; for, ever since the Kingdom was founded, its graduates, among them several prime ministers, have held the predominance in almost every cabinet. Hundreds of them have served in various important posts as members of the National Assembly, as Ministers at Constantinople, Bucharest, Vienna, Paris, and Washington, and as consuls, mayors, lawyers, judges of the courts, teachers, journalists, and bankers. Educational liberty for the women of Turkey has received a powerful impulse from American schools, especially from the College for Girls at Constantinople, founded more than forty years ago. Bulgarians speak of it as "the institution that trains the mothers of our statesmen and leaders." A Turkish lady pays this glowing tribute to her Alma Mater: "The large ideas from which Turkey was shut out, the great feelings which are opened up to me in your class-rooms, the ideas to which I was led

in your libraries, showing me that there was no difference in men on account of race, class, sect, or religion,—these ideas that make me live like a person, a civilized, humanity-loving person, and enable me to live larger thoughts, generous thoughts, thoughts such as you were living—these ideas I owe to you.”

As an integral part of the British Empire, India has been the special field of English altruism. Americans, however, have had no small share in the remarkable transformation that has long been going forward in her life and thought. Their schools and eleven colleges have borne an important part in shaping India's system of education, which, as it now exists, is primarily the fruit of mission enterprise. In the making of the Punjab no European or native has had so much influence as the American, Dr. Forman, whose fifty years' service is almost the educational history of the province.

Moral forces, in the main generated in America, have brought about the recent revolutionary changes in the social, civic, and educational life of China. Foreign governments are entitled to little credit. In dealing with the Chinese their policy of force and diplomatic finesse has been the quintessence of selfishness. It has delayed and hindered her progress by exciting suspicion and hatred of foreigners and foreign ideas. But America has saved the situation. In certain notable instances the government of the United States has treated China with a marked consideration, that has won her confidence. And with far more telling effect thousands of Americans have brought Christian civilization into direct contact with the masses of her people. Their disinterested labors have done much to allay the native animosity to foreigners and the irritation provoked by the arbitrary exactions of the Powers.

The higher education in China has mainly been in the hands of Americans. Of sixteen colleges and universities organized by foreign agencies, thirteen are of American origin. Four of the first six established by the native Government were placed under American management, among these the Imperial University, founded in 1898 at Peking as a model for the provincial capitals to follow. Dr. W. A. P. Martin was appointed the first President and may be regarded as the founder of modern state education in China. Already he had served for twenty-five years as President, and Professor of International Law, in the Tung Wen College of Peking, founded in 1862 especially to fit young men for official service. Dr. Martin was long the adviser of the Chinese Government in disputes with foreign Powers, and translated, besides various educational works, the treatises of Wheaton, Woolsey, Bluntschli, and De Martens for the guidance of the foreign office. Another, Dr. Tenney, was for eleven years President of the Imperial University of Tientsin and at the same time superintendent of native schools in the metropolitan province of Chihli. He aided Yuan Shih-kai, then Viceroy of the province, in his plans to reorganize the schools of China on the model of those in Chihli. A singularly varied service has been rendered China by Dr. Ferguson, for many years President of the University of Nanking, one of the most thorough and best equipped of the Government institutions, and afterwards of the Imperial Polytechnic College of Nanyang at Shanghai. He has also filled various positions in the Ministerial Departments of the Government and was a member of the Chinese Commission to revise the treaties with the United States and Japan. Dr. Peter Parker founded at Canton in 1835 the first hospital in the Empire (it still bears his name), and in 1856 was ap-

pointed United States Commissioner at Peking. In the long roll of Americans to whom the awakening of China is primarily due, Dr. S. Wells Williams is a name of rare distinction. Going to China in 1833, he labored there in many capacities for more than forty years. Commodore Perry in his naval expedition to Japan in 1853-54 depended mainly upon him in negotiating the treaty by which that country was opened to the world. Four years later he assisted United States Minister Reed in concluding our first important treaty with China. In 1856 he published his first Chinese Dictionary, and in 1874 a more elaborate work entitled "A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language."

Under the auspices of an association of Yale men, Ya-li College, with collegiate and medical departments and a hospital, was founded in 1905 at Changsha, the capital of the province of Hunan in Central China. Already it has won the confidence and hearty cooperation of the Government and people. The University of Pennsylvania has its medical school at Canton, and Harvard at Shanghai. Princeton is actively at work in Peking, while Oberlin maintains in the Province of Shansi a fully equipped system of elementary schools with a large corps of American and native teachers. Michigan is also sharing in this University extension movement, which means so much for China's educational progress. The Young Men's Christian Association, rapidly becoming an important factor in the development of the East, is mainly under American direction.

In the more important centers of population Americans have opened more than a thousand schools of all grades. As a result of the Government edicts requiring examinations in Western science, government, and laws, these schools have been thronged; they are also the chief sources of supply of

teachers for the fifty thousand popular schools organized under the new educational movement. The new outlook for the womanhood of China is due to the mission schools for young women, many of whom rendered effective service during the Recent Revolution as members of the Red Cross. Of the men most active in promoting the Revolution many were trained in missionary institutions, among them the Vice President of the Provisional Government and a group of advisers to the President, Yuan Shih-kai. The provisional assemblies of several important provinces are largely composed of their graduates. Dr. Sun Yat Sen thus commented upon the statement that the Revolution originated with him: "I do not deny the charge. But where did the idea of the Revolution come from? It came, because from my youth I have had intercourse with foreign missionaries. Those from Europe and America, with whom I associated, put the ideals of freedom and liberty into my heart." Said the present editor of the *London Times*, after extensive journeys in China: "To me it seems that in the missionary movement in China we have to-day one of the most splendid exhibitions of Anglo-Saxon altruism the world has ever seen."

New Japan is essentially the creation of the men, most of them from America, who followed closely upon the heels of Commodore Perry's expedition in 1854. The Japanese have looked to the United States, more than to any other nation, for their ideals of national progress; and nowhere else have they found so many ready helpers along the pathway of Christian civilization. Dr. G. Mitsukuri, who was chosen to prepare an official history of the Empire, said in an interview: "In writing this history it will be my purpose to accord to the United States full credit for the regeneration of Japan. This country was our source of inspiration, our protection in

time of trial and tribulation, our rescuer from the state of semi-civilization which was succeeded in the latter half of the nineteenth century by the progressive government we now have." A leading Japanese thus apportions his country's debt among the nations of the West: "Japan copied her navy from England, her army from France, medical science from Germany, her educational system from America." Her scheme of universal public education was laid out upon American lines by Dr. Verbeck and put into operation by Americans, among them Dr. David Murray, for some time official adviser to the Department of Education. It remains to this day substantially American in organization and spirit. Dr. Verbeck assisted in organizing the University of Tokyo and became its first President. In its early history half of the professors were Americans, who have also formed a large proportion of the teachers in other Government institutions. Americans organized the Imperial College of Agriculture at Sapporo, branches of which have been established in the provinces of the Empire, with all the accessories for the teaching of scientific agriculture.

Under the auspices of American missionaries ten institutions of the higher education, for both young men and women, have been founded — among them the famous Doshisha University — which have won the respect of the Japanese and stirred them to a friendly rivalry. Hundreds of the youth trained in them have taken an active part in the great progressive movement which began in 1870. Some have been members of the Imperial Cabinet, or assisted in framing the Constitution of 1889. Representatives of these schools have been members of various government commissions to foreign countries, beginning with the World's Commission that vis-

ited America in 1872, one half of whom had been students under Dr. Verbeck. Many of the most successful charitable institutions of all kinds, which that eager, open-minded people have been quick to emulate, are of American origin.

America has had a marked influence upon the new literature of Japan in history, philosophy, and religion, and in education, journalism, and even fiction. In 1880 was celebrated in Tokyo the completion of the translation of the Bible into Japanese by Drs. Brown, Hepburn, Verbeck, and others. A monument of industry and high scholarship is the comprehensive Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary prepared by Dr. Hepburn in Roman, Japanese, and Chinese characters. As confidential adviser to the Government, Dr. Verbeck translated into Japanese the Code Napoléon, Bluntschli's "Staatsrecht," and the constitutions of various countries. To him especially was due the adoption of the policy of religious liberty. Largely through translations of the standard political literature of the United States, ideas of constitutional liberty and self-government and equal rights for all have become familiar and influential; and an enlightened public opinion has been slowly developed, approaching nearer and nearer to that which is characteristic of democratic institutions.

Another noteworthy channel of world influence has been the foreign students, resorting to the United States in larger numbers than to any other Western nation. At present they number at least five thousand, including those in secondary and other schools, with the more than four thousand in our colleges and universities. They come from all parts of the world—about one thousand from China alone—representing as a rule the flower of the youth of their respective countries. Says Tong Kwoh Onn, himself educated in the United

States, and now superintending the placing of Chinese boys, under the "Indemnity Scholarship Fund," which was returned to China in 1908: "The Chinese government and the educated people of China value American influence upon the young men even more than the education itself. The young men become imbued with the progressiveness characteristic of this country, which China thinks this country teaches better than any other." Yung Wing, who was graduated from Yale in 1854, — the first Chinese to graduate from an American college, — inspired in the first instance the progressive educational movement which has now become the fixed policy of the Government. In his undergraduate days he conceived the idea of a Chinese Educational Commission, which was organized a few years later through his influence with Li Hung Chang. Between 1870 and 1880 he placed in American schools and colleges a large body of Chinese youth. When in the latter year the reactionary policy of the Government ended for the time his statesmanlike plan, these young men returned home, many of them to become leaders in the making of the New China. Former students in America have held many important positions in the Civil Service, especially since the deposition of the Manchu Dynasty. One has been Premier of the Cabinet. In the Department of Foreign Affairs there have been two ministers, a president, a vice president, two councilors, and two secretaries of the general board. Three have been ministers at Washington, one to Germany, and one a special envoy to convey to our Government the thanks of China for the return of the Boxer Indemnity. A number, including two acting ministers and a councilor, have held responsible positions in the Ministry of Finance. One has served as minister and two as vice ministers of agriculture and forestry; two as heads of the Min-

istry of Posts and Communications; one as minister, one as vice minister, and another as councilor of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce; and one each as minister of education and minister of justice. One is Vice Admiral and naval adviser to the President. Others have held appointments as consul and consul general. As engineers, builders, and directors, six have rendered important service in the railway development of China. A large quota are teachers and professors in the native schools and universities.

Of the thousands of Japanese who have enjoyed the advantages of foreign education a large proportion have been students in America. The first native of Japan to be educated here was Nakahama Manjiro. Shipwrecked in 1841 on the Sea of Japan, he was rescued by Captain Whitfield, master of the John Howland, and brought to Fairhaven, Massachusetts, where he attended school for six years and acquitted himself with great credit. In 1850 he returned home. When in 1853 Commodore Perry with his squadron visited Japan, much to his surprise he received a reply in English to the letter he had addressed to the Tycoon. The writer was this Nakahama Manjiro, who had assured his countrymen of the friendly intentions of the Americans. During the negotiations he served as interpreter for the Japanese, whose communications were submitted to him to be put into proper form. Afterwards he received a title of nobility and was sent to Europe to report upon the Franco-German War.

Of the host of students of whom he was the *avant coureur* many have borne a distinguished part as educators and men of affairs in the later development of Japan. At least fifteen have been members of the Imperial Diet. In the Diplomatic Service one has served as ambassador at Washington, and

others as ministers to Austria, Russia, The Hague, Mexico, and Brazil. One was chief adviser to the Commission which negotiated the Treaty of Portsmouth at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Another, as head of the Commission to investigate the fur seal industry, negotiated with the United States the final treaty upon this subject. In the Cabinet there have been a minister and a vice minister of foreign affairs, a minister and a vice minister of finance, two ministers of justice, and ministers of education and of agriculture and commerce. One has been President of the Privy Council. Two have served with distinction as admirals in the Navy. Many have been prominent in business life; two, governors of the Bank of Japan; seven, bank presidents, directors, and managers; four, railway officials; and others, in leading manufacturing concerns. Education has enlisted the largest number. Besides many professors, there have been ten presidents of universities and colleges, two of the Imperial University of Tokyo. One is the founder and President of the large Women's University of Tokyo, modeled upon the American college for women, which he affirms "is the standard of the higher education for women all over the world." To him, perhaps more than to any one else, is due the educational enfranchisement of Japanese womanhood. The founder and first President of the Doshisha University, the pioneer Christian institution in the Empire, exerted an influence as educator and reformer that was felt among all classes of the people. Not a few young women from Japan, India, China, and Turkey have been educated in America — a fact that has meant much for the melioration of womanhood in those countries. Scores of Bulgarians, trained in our colleges and universities, have become men of mark in the public and private life of their native land.

It is hardly possible to overestimate the steady outflow of world influence during the last half century, as these thousands of foreign students have returned to their homes, charged with the best impulses of American life, to be "foundation" men in the new era of progress in the Orient.

It is clear from this discussion that from the beginning the United States has qualified as a world power of the first significance. As a storage battery of moral forces she has wielded an influence for the higher progress of the world, surpassed in extent, quality, and value by no other nation, and equaled, perhaps, by none. If she is faithful to her traditions and opportunities, the paramount rôle of the United States will always lie within the realm of these subjective, spiritual potencies. Americans should ponder the pregnant words of Viscount Bryce, late British Ambassador at Washington:—

"It is only vulgar minds that mistake bigness for greatness; for greatness is of the soul, not of the body. In the judgment which history will hereafter pass upon the forty centuries of recorded progress toward civilization that now lie behind us, what are the tests it will apply to determine the true greatness of a people? Not population, not territory, not wealth, not military power; rather will history ask what examples of lofty character and unselfish devotion to honor and duty has a people given? What has it done to increase the volume of knowledge? What thoughts and what ideals of permanent value and unexhausted fertility has it bequeathed to mankind? What works has it produced in poetry, music, and other arts, to be an unfailing source of enjoyment to posterity?"