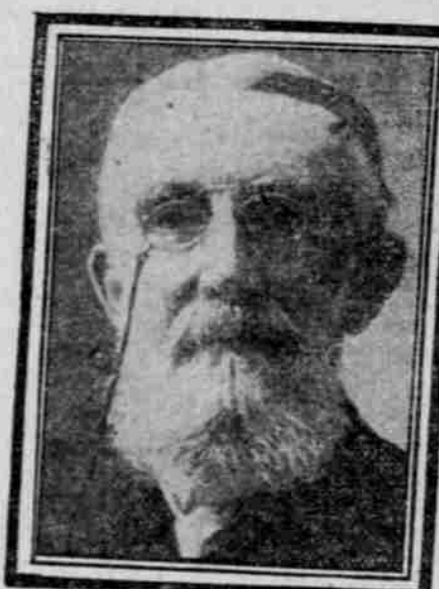


AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

Famous Surviving Coterie of Men Who Have Represented the United States at the Seats of Seven Great Powers



ANDREW D. WHITE, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.



CHARLES M. PINCKNEY, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.



GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.



JOHN W. FOSTER, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.



WILLIAM W. RUSK, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.



LEWIS D. WHITE, WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

SOME recent minor changes in Uncle Sam's foreign diplomatic service, and rumors of more important ones to come, serve to recall the days, happily now past, when the ocean steamship companies profited largely from conveying American diplomats and their entourages to and from foreign capitals with a frequency that has gone so far out of fashion since civil service reform became operative. Until recent years no American diplomat named for a foreign mission during the latter part of a Presidential Administration could get up much enthusiasm over the appointment. He realized that his chances to hold over were exceedingly vague, and the possibility of a speedy return to private life made the effort and the expense hardly worth while.

There is at least one notable exception in this rule of frequent changes in the case of George P. Marsh, the distinguished philologist who was selected for the Italian mission by Abraham Lincoln when he first came into the Presidency, a few days after his inauguration. Mr. Marsh went to Italy in 1861 and remained there as American representative until 1869, the year of his death. Thus he retained the office during five Administrations—those of Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes and Garfield—and would have come down as an inheritance to Grover Cleveland, had not his death, at Valmonroia, Italy, compelled President Arthur to appoint a successor, William Waldorf Astor.

That continuous service of more than 30 years is in striking contrast with the brief tenure of office enjoyed by many diplomats during the earlier Administrations. Washington had a comparatively easy task in his selection of foreign representatives, since at that early period the new republic had established diplomatic relations with only three European nations—Great Britain, Spain and France. Thomas Pinckney and Rufus King were Washington's appointees to the mother country and Gouverneur Morris, James Monroe and Charles C. Pinckney in turn had charge of the French mission after Thomas Jefferson returned to America. William Short, of Virginia, a personal friend of Washington, was first American minister resident to Spain, but he soon wearied of the position and Thomas Pinckney, who had been trying his hand at diplomacy in London, relieved him. The dons were not appreciative of the South Carolina diplomat and David Humphreys, a Connecticut Yankee, took his place.

John Adams was so impressed with the diplomatic fitness of Rufus King that he left him in undisturbed possession of the British mission during his entire Administration. The French mission was not disposed of so easily; no less than six eminent Americans had a finger in that pie during Mr. Adams' term. Thomas Jefferson sent James Monroe to London, and three years later, appointed William Pinckney, of Maryland, to act jointly with him. Charles C. Pinckney had been diplomatic representative in France, and Jefferson sent him to Spain, at which court Americans were not then popular. Pinckney failed to check the French sentiment against the Government and soon retired, leaving the business in charge of his secretary, G. W. Erving, a Massachusetts man, who remained on the job until the relations between the two nations were broken off in 1808. Six years afterward, when intercourse was resumed, Erving was sent by President Madison to Madrid as minister resident.

First Minister to Russia.

It was during Madison's Administration that the mission to Russia was established, and John Quincy Adams was the first minister resident. General Jackson seems to have had considerable trouble in keeping this mission in working order, making three appointments—one of his appointees being James Buchanan—and then having the post vacant most of the time, in charge of the able first secretary, John B. Say, of Pennsylvania. Jackson also made three appointments to the French court, but it was not until Lewis Cass assumed the management that matters moved smoothly for several months in succession.

The Austrian mission was established during Van Buren's Administration, and from that day to this the office has held its place beyond the official life of the President who named him, with the exception of Robert S. McCormick, who was minister to Austria during the administration of McKinley and was retained a few months until William W. Rusk became first Ambassador, and the present incumbent, Charles S. Francis, who is a Roosevelt selection.

Nor are instances of those who have represented Uncle Sam at the seats of government of the seven European great powers for a period beyond that of the official careers of the Presidents who sent them of frequent occurrence. Among the 39 men who have been at the head of the Russian mission since it was established, in 1809, only three held over—Henry Middleton, chosen by James Monroe and replaced by John Quincy Adams, and John W. Foster, who served both Hayes and McKinley, and Charles M. Pinckney, appointed by McKinley and inherited by Roosevelt.

At the court of St. James, Rufus King served both Washington and Adams, and George M. Dallas, appointed by Franklin Pierce, was good enough for Buchanan; Johnson felt for Charles Francis Adams and retained him until he could substitute Reverdy Johnson; James Russell Lowell, appointed by Hayes, served Garfield and Arthur, and Joseph H. Choate, made Ambassador by McKinley, held office until the appointment of Whitelaw Reid, who has been retained by the present Administration.

In the French mission five men have served two Presidential masters—Lewis Cass, Jackson's last appointee, being retained by Van Buren; William C. Rives, appointed by Taylor, holding over through Fillmore's short official career; Levi P. Morton, Garfield's choice, continuing under Arthur; Horace Porter, McKinley's man, holding office for a short period under Roosevelt, and Henry White, appointed by Roosevelt, holding over for

a brief period under Taft, being succeeded by Robert Bacon.

The United States mission to the German empire dates from the Administration of General Grant, and of the 12 men who have been at the head of it by regular appointment only two have served under two Presidents—Andrew D. White, who took office under the Roosevelt Administration until the appointment of Charles M. Pinckney as his successor, and David J. Hill, present Ambassador, sent to Berlin by Roosevelt and kept there by Taft. With the exception of George P. Marsh, whose long service in the Italian mission was unique in the history of diplomacy, no American representative to the Roman court has held office for more than one Presidential term. George Von L. Meyer, appointed by McKinley, and now Secretary of the United States Legation in Berlin, succeeded to the office of minister resident at Madrid by McKinley, remained there until he was transferred to Vienna by Roosevelt.

Half a Hundred Living Representatives.

As a sequel to all this diplomatic shifting, which seems to be on the decline, there are now living more than 50 men who have been at the head of Uncle Sam's diplomatic business in European capitals. At least 25 of them have been or are now Ministers or Ambassadors to the seven great powers—Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Spain. Only two of the Presidents who sent their names to the United States Senate for confirmation are still in the flesh, although the date of the appointment of the oldest among them, John Bigelow, was 1864, and the man who selected him for the French mission was Abraham Lincoln. Two years later Daniel E. Sickles, who had been secretary of the American legation in Great Britain in 1863, was appointed Minister to Holland and declined. Three years from that time he declined the mission to Mexico, but a few weeks later accepted the office of minister resident at Madrid. These two veteran diplomats, who live almost within a stone's throw of each other in New York City, are the oldest living repositories of many of the diplomatic secrets of that eventful period marked by the Civil War.

Next in point of official seniority come two men who held foreign diplomatic appointments under Rutherford B. Hayes. These are John W. Foster, who was sent as Minister to Russia in 1889 and was retained by Garfield and succeeded by Arthur's nominee, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, and Andrew D. White, sent to Berlin in 1879.

There is only one of Garfield's appointees to the European service now living—Levi P. Morton, who was sent to France in 1881, and served until the close of Arthur's Administration. Two of the latter's appointees are still with us—William Waldorf Astor, accredited to the Quirinal, and John W. Foster, sent to Madrid to fill Hannibal Hamlin's place. Four of Cleveland's representatives to the great powers are living—Clifton R. Breckinridge, appointed to the Russian mission in Cleveland's second term, Bartlett Tripp, of South Dakota, Minister to Austria, for the second term; Perry Belmont, Minister to Spain during the first term, and Hannis Taylor, Minister to the same court during the second term. No less than nine of Benjamin Harrison's appointees to the major European missions survive—Andrew D. White, Minister to Russia; Robert T. Lincoln, Minister to the court of St. James; Frederick D. Grant, American representative at Vienna; Whitelaw Reid and T. Jefferson Coolidge, Ministers to France; William Foster, Minister to Italy, and Thomas W. Palmer, E. Burd Grubb and A. London Snowden, Ministers to Spain.

The first American representatives to foreign governments with the rank of Ambassador were appointed by Grover Cleveland—Thomas F. Bayard to Great Britain, James B. Eastle to France, Thomas R. Bayard to Germany and Wayne MacVeagh to Italy, after J. J. Van Allen had declined the honor. With the exception of Mr. MacVeagh, none of these first American Ambassadors is living. President McKinley named the first Ambassador to Russia, the late Elihu Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri. Mr. Roosevelt made William W. Rusk the first Austrian Ambassador.

John Bigelow's Conspicuous Service.

When it comes to the question as to which one among these surviving American Ministers has done the most conspicuous service for his country, the part played by John Bigelow in preventing a rupture between France and the United States during the Civil War must not be overlooked. One of President Lincoln's first official acts was the selection of Mr. Bigelow to take charge of the Paris consulate, from which he was afterward transferred to the post of Minister. In the light of subsequent events, Mr. Lincoln's choice showed his grasp of the situation and his amazing prescience.

On arriving at his post the new representative discovered at once that the puzzle of his life confronted him. He found Napoleon III in amicable communication with the secret service men of the Confederacy, while among Frenchmen universally an illotical estimate of the situation in America prevailed. Bigelow realized that a campaign of education was absolutely necessary to correct the popular misapprehension of the matter and that it would require the shrewdest exercise of diplomatic tact to steer clear of shipwreck. It occurred to him that the only way to make the French nation wise to the actual conditions which obtained in America was to print and circulate a statement of the case. With that end in view, he wrote and published his "Les Etats Unis d'Amérique en 1864," a work that went far toward retarding the zeal of French officialdom for the dismemberment of the Union. Another good service rendered by that book—secondary and indirect, but unmistakably efficient—was in shaping the events which led to the overthrow of the Napoleonic dynasty and the establishment of stable republican government in France.

That book worked wonders toward transforming French animosity into something far less troublesome to the Washington Government, but that was not all that John Bigelow did to further the Union cause abroad. Shortly after he became Minister, he discovered that four iron steamers were being built in French shipyards under the pretense that they were designed for a new line of packet ships to ply between San Francisco and China. Mr. Bigelow was confident that these vessels were actually intended for Confederate cruisers. When armed and equipped these cruisers would be more formidable than any warship in the Northern Navy, and should they appear on the American coast, New York and the other great seacoast cities would be in danger.

First Mr. Bigelow tried to avert the impending danger by ordinary diplomatic measures. With court influence he secretly favored the Confederacy, he could accomplish nothing in that way, and again he resumed his campaign of education. After repeated failure, he succeeded in securing the publication of an article denouncing the building of the suspected steamers. It was a strong appeal to international justice and it was so outspoken in its demands for consideration that the French government became alarmed, backed down from its original intention and sold three of the vessels to the United States. The fourth, which was in the hands of the Confederates, but owing to numerous delays brought about by Mr. Bigelow's shrewdness, this vessel, the Stonewall, did not reach America until after peace had been concluded.

Another never-to-be-forgotten service rendered to his Government by Mr. Bigelow before he retired from the post of American representative to France was his skillful conduct of the negotiations which resulted in the expulsion of the French army from the American Continent at the time of Maximilian's ill-fated attempt to start a Monarchy in Mexico. And, finally, perhaps his greatest achievement in France was that he was never anything less than persona non grata at the Imperial court, despite the French Emperor's more or less unfriendly feeling for this country and the well-known zeal of the Minister in thwarting the hostile designs of the French government. As he recalls his ticklish position during those history-making years, Mr. Bigelow, now in his 84th year and in full possession of his mental faculties, wonders how he did it.

General Sickles' Important Service.

Now in his 86th year and still the well-remembered hero of many a dramatic episode, General Daniel E. Sickles is of the opinion that the most valuable diplomatic service he ever performed for his Government was done at Madrid when he was American Minister to the short-lived Spanish republic, from 1869 to 1874. There are documents in the State Department at Washington which will sustain him in his belief. According to those long-neglected state papers, it was due to pressure brought upon the courteous but wavering President Castelar by the American Minister that the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico was effected and the law providing for gradual emancipation in Cuba was put into operation. And whenever the General speaks of this he almost always supplements it by saying that if he could have secured the co-operation of the Washington Government at the time Cuba might have been ours at half the expense we have been to in giving the island self-government.

Some of his friends do not agree with General Sickles in his estimate of his greatest diplomatic achievement. John Bigelow is one of those who maintain that the General's successful negotia-

tion of his special secret mission to the isthmus of Panama, in February, 1885, was more distinctly a service, from a diplomatic viewpoint, than anything accomplished by Sickles during his sojourn in Spain. It was a mission demanding the most delicate treatment, and Secretary Seward intrusted it to the man who, as secretary of the American legation in London, had shown such diplomatic fitness in earlier many years the nature of Sickles' errand to the isthmus was unknown outside of State Department circles, but Secretary Seward's mandate of silence has long been inoperative. Briefly stated, the account of Sickles' mission to the isthmus runs thus: When the United States guaranteed the sovereignty of New Granada it was agreed that Uncle Sam should have the right to cross the isthmus in any way he chose—on foot, by railway, canal or otherwise. From the start Uncle Sam had been disturbed in the right of transit. Originally these interferences were not malicious and were regretted by the country which became Colombia, but during the Civil War, taking advantage of our absorbing troubles at home, Colombia forbade passage to our troops. Sickles was instructed to go to Bogota with all possible speed to inquire into the matter. The diplomat found that the objection was not local. The Panamenses were perfectly willing to observe the treaty rights, but the central government had seized the opportunity to be disagreeable, rashly concluding that Uncle Sam had his hands too full at home to resent impertinences from without. Secretary Seward's agent found it extremely difficult to do business with the Colombian government. "It was always tomorrow and some other official," he related. After three months of this nothing policy, he resolved to play his trump card. He made his appearance one morning at the Colombian Foreign Office and informed the amazed official in charge that he had been directed by the Washington authorities to notify the Colombian government that unless the desired privilege of transit across the isthmus were granted and a new written guarantee furnished, the United States would take immediate possession of the isthmus. It was a herculean bluff, but it worked like a charm. When Sickles left Bogota he had everything he wanted in his dispatch bag.

Andrew White's Strongest Effort.

Perhaps the most profitable diplomatic service ever performed by the veteran Andrew D. White was his successful combatting of the anti-American sentiment so universal in Germany at the breaking out of the Spanish-American war. At that time Germany affected a profound disdain for American methods of carrying on war, and when hostilities began Spanish success was looked upon as a matter of course. It did not seem possible to the military-overridden German public that a nation so poorly equipped, both from a military and naval viewpoint, could put enough men on a war footing to overcome the large standing army and rather respectable navy of the dons.

The situation was one that required

most patience and dignity. Already irritated by the commercial disadvantage to Germany worked in many instances by the American tariff, the press and public of the empire seized upon the Spanish war as the opportunity to ventilate their spleen. Mr. White had been scarcely a year at his post before he realized that he was confronted by a nation intensely hostile and making no pretense of wishing well for America.

It was not a comfortable office to stand between two great nations apparently distrusting and even disliking each other. But Mr. White was prepared for the work by his knowledge of German and the Germans and his experience as a legislator at home and a diplomat abroad. He had been Minister to the German court in succession to Bayard Taylor, under Hayes in 1879, and was now a full-fledged Ambassador. Before the close of the short conflict that ended in Spain's submission, he had worked a complete change of sentiment in the German public. That was diplomacy of the highest type.

The most valuable diplomatic service to the credit of John W. Foster was not performed during his ministerial career, but it was the ability which he exhibited during his three foreign appointments—he was Minister to Mexico in 1873, Minister to Russia in 1889 and Minister to Spain in 1892—that led President Harrison and Secretary of State James G. Blaine to choose him as a special agent to negotiate reciprocity treaties in 1901.

It was not until the Bering Sea controversy, one of the most intricate international puzzles of modern times—he was chosen to conduct the case of the United States before the arbitration tribunal. That his reputation as a diplomat is international was proved by his selection to the literary piracy so prevalent in those days. I wanted all that was coming to me, you know." Coming from the inheritor of an estate of \$200,000,000 this was a pleasant surprise.

John W. Bigelow, appointed by Mr. Roosevelt as Ambassador to Russia and succeeded by William W. Rockhill, Mr. Taft's choice for the mission, had the somewhat rare distinction in American diplomacy of being bred to the profession

and of having practiced no other. After obtaining his degree in arts at Harvard, Mr. Riddle entered L'Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris and at the conclusion of his diplomatic studies in that city received a certificate of proficiency in the Russian language from the College de France. Then he was Secretary of the United States Legation to Turkey for seven years. He has also been diplomatic agent to Egypt, envoy and Minister to Roumania and Serbia, and in 1906 became Ambassador to Russia.

One of the most picturesque American representatives ever sent to a European court was Clifton R. Breckinridge, selected for the Russian mission to succeed Andrew D. White, by President Cleveland. At the time of his appointment much was said and printed concerning his apparent unfitness for the position. An opposition newspaper went so far as to predict that he would be "as much out of place at the court of St. Petersburg as one of his old Arkansas cotton carts—Mr. Breckinridge is a cotton grower—would be in the brilliant pagoda of the Nevski Prospect."

The interesting feature of the business is that, although Minister Breckinridge was somewhat overshadowed by his distinguished predecessor, the scholarly and polished Dr. White, he proved to be a very good man for the place, and served his term to the satisfaction of the President who named him and to that of the court to which he was sent.

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GERMANS TO GET BENEFIT

Bismarck's "Godanken und Erinnerungen" to Be Published.

BERLIN, Jan. 7.—(Special).—The third volume of Bismarck's "Godanken und Erinnerungen" is again the subject of public discussion.

In reply to a statement made by a Liberal member of the Reichstag to the effect that the German people have been defrauded of this volume, Messrs. Cotta, to whom the manuscript has been entrusted, have declared that the work will, as presented by its author, be published at the appointed time.

The "Hamburger Nachrichten," the old Bismarckian organ, says that this latter fact is so well known, that it is in no danger of being raised. It considers, however, that it is well that the German people have been reminded that they have still to receive a present from the rich heritage, which the creator of the Empire and the Empire has left behind for them. This gift, says the "Nachrichten," will undoubtedly be among the most valuable bestowed on them by the great man during his life or after his death.

Jesus, Brother of Jesus.

New York, Independent.

"Is not this the Carpenter's Son?"—Matt. Jones, the brother of Jesus, plodded from With never a vision within him to glorify his clay.

Jones, the brother of Jesus, was one with the heavy cloud.

But Christ was the soul of rapture, and soared like a bird, and the God; Jones, the brother of Jesus, was only a worker in wood.

And he never could see the glory that Jesus, his brother, could.

"Why stays he not in the workshop?" he said, the Lehighon cedar, imparting to woods their stain?

And deeming whoever surpassed him either a knave or a fool.

For he never walked with the prophets in God's great garden of bliss; And of all the mistakes of the ages, the saddest, methinks, was this: To have such a brother as Jesus, to speak with him day by day.

But never to see the vision which glorified his clay.