CHAPTER XXIII.

Origin and Rise of Anarchism—Its Theory and Practice—
—Aims to Overthrow All Lawful Government—Assassinations From Alexander II. to President McKinley.

THE civilized world looked on aghast when the apostles of disorder, the believers in the "rights of the people" as they phrased it, seized Paris in the name of the Commune on March 17, 1871, and held it until the rightful government of the republic regained control of the capital on May 27. The frightful excesses of these two months have never been surpassed in the annals of war, and without knowing it the civilized world was beholding a demonstration of what government and social existence would be like under the supremacy of a set of revolutionists, known later as "anarchists," but who then had no such convenient sobriquet to designate themselves or their beliefs.

Neither Communism nor Anarchism originated during the Commune. On the contrary, the general idea which took a most violent shape in the Slav and Latin countries in the 80's grew out of the revolutions of 1848. Proudhon in France and Karl Marx in Germany, and, above all, Michael Bakunin, a Russian, all ardent social reformers, were the real creators of the interna-

Bakunin was born in Russia, 1814, and died in Berne, in 1876. He took part in the German revolutionary movements of 1848, and was the founder of Nihilism in his own country. He was exiled to Siberia in 1851, but escaped to Japan, got back to England by 1861, and in 1865 he was one of the organizers of the "International Association of Workingmen," a pet project of Worl Mark

Bakunin, Marx and all other reformers of all grades, from philosophic idealists to downright cut-throats, carried on the propaganda of the International Association until 1872, when there was a split, and at the Hague conference the Socialists proper,

who believed in orderly reform and governmental methods, drew apart from the extremists, who met in what was really the first Anarchist congress in the world, held the same year at Saint-Imier, Switzerland.

By this time, 1872, the extremists were well organized in most of the leading States of Europe, particularly in Russia, and the Latin countries. In Italy, Counts Caffiero and Malatesta were followers of Bakunin and leaders in the movement. They had a large following, and the name by which they were known was Internationalists, and they constituted the "Federazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori" (International Federation of Workers), with the motto, "Atheism, Anarchy and Collectivism," which was the Italian branch of Karl Marx's London organization, but which from the first, owing to the disturbed state of things, politically and economically, in Italy, had taken a more radical turn. Marx might believe in a constructive, peaceful revolution of society.

FLOURISHED IN ITALY.

Not so the Italians, who were anarchistic at the start. Consequently from 1872 to 1880 the anarchist movement flourished in Italy, while in other and freer countries it languished, save in Spain, and the Italians were at the head of every workers' association for economic purposes. In 1876 they took possession of the town of Benevento. Amongst the revolutionists there were Caffiero, the Russian revolutionist and writer, Stepniak, and others; but the movement was immediately suppressed by the government, which realized for the first time that Italy as well as Europe was confronted by a new and very dangerous social movement.

This early propaganda of anarchism was largely due, it must be said, to the missionary work of those who took part in the so-called Social Democratic Alliance, which Bakunin founded at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1868. The Alliance, like the International Association, was divided into a central committee and national bureaus. But together with this division went a secret

organization. Bakunin, the pronounced enemy of all organizations in theory, created in practice a secret society quite according to the rules of Carbonarism, a hierarchy which was in total contradiction to the anti-authority tendencies of the society.

According to the secret statutes of the "Alliance" three grades were recognized: (1) "The International Brethren," 100 in number, who formed a kind of sacred college, and were to play the leading parts in the soon expected, immediate social revolution, with Bakunin at their head; (2) "The National Brethren," who were organized by the International Brethren into a national association in every country, but who were allowed to suspect nothing of the international organization; (3) lastly came the Secret International Alliance, the pendant of the public alliance, operating through the permanent central committee.

BECAME MORE VIOLENT.

The Alliance as an open organization did not last long, as it was amalgamated with the "International" in 1869, the extremists and conservatives all working together until their final separation in 1872. During the latter part of the 70's the extremists in all parts of Europe—Latins, Slavs, Teutons—became more and more violent, and it was about this time that the Governments of Europe began to look into the question of anarchism, though it had not yet revealed itself in all its true colors, for though Bakunin was an extremist he had not himself invented the propaganda "by the deed," which later on led to the series of attacks on the rulers of Europe, which respected no one were he autocrat or a parliamentary sovereign.

This idea of violence grew slowly as compared with the purely political idea that anarchists should in no way encourage any orderly form of government even if they were in power. For instance, the Congress of Berne, which followed Bakunin's death in 1876, under the leadership of Elisee Reclus, officially blamed the Paris Commune of 1871 for constituting itself into an organized government. As irresponsible as the Commune had been, it had not been irresponsible enough for men like Reclus.

Moreover, it was at the Berne convention that Count Malatesta, one of the evil geniuses of anarchy, who represented the Italian extremists, who at that time were one of the most powerful groups in Europe, took the step that has made anarchism the "red terror" ever since; for, in the name of the Italian Federation, he declared the necessity of joining the "insurrectional act" to the other means of propaganda.

In 1878 the congress of Fribourg (in Switzerland) definitely adopted the propositions of Reclus explaining why its members were revolutionists, anarchists and collectivists; and it pronounced unanimously for the "collective appropriation of social riches, the abolition of the State under all its forms, for insurrectional and revolutionary action, and against the use of the ballot as a mischievous instrument incapable of realizing the sovereignty of the people."

BREEDING REVOLUTION.

The propaganda of revolution was carried on throughout Europe with great vigor. In Russia it became allied with Nihilism, and everywhere it spread hatred of government and all political and economic authority. In Italy, France and Spain the movement was particularly vigorous, and Spain from the '70's had a strong influence in determining the orientation of the movement. But it was not until 1881 that the Spanish Federation for the first time positively shut out all the weak-kneed brethren who still clung to Socialist organizations and had not yet utterly broken with all organized society.

The propaganda of irresponsible individualism, of violence and of unreasoning hatred for any one in executive place, were he a devil or an angel, was openly advocated at the Anarchist congress held at Barcelona in 1881. This Barcelona congress was the first exclusively Anarchist congress, since there—for the first time—was no question of fraternizing even with those extreme revolutionary Socialists that still admitted some principle of State authority.

Whatever the Spanish Anarchists might have accomplished internationally, and there is no doubting their evil intentions, by

the irony of fate it was in peaceful London that the definite organization to carry out the philosophy of violence was put into effect. Ever since the early '60's London had been the rendezvous of all European revolutionists and agitators. Marx, Bakunin, Stepniak, Aveling, Kropotkin had made it their headquarters, and now, at a critical moment in the history of anarchism an extremist came on the scene who believed in putting into effect all the dreams of Reclus, Proudhon, Kropotkin and others, after the revolutionary

This man was Herr Johann Most, who had been expelled ideas of Bakunin. from Berlin in 1879, after Germany had begun to legislate against the Social-Democrats and all their ilk. Most soon took hold of the extremists of all nations then gathered in London and formed a secret "Propagandist Club," to carry on an international revolutionary agitation, and to prepare directly for the general revolution which Most thought was near at hand. For this purpose a committee was to be formed in every country in order to form groups after the Nihilist pattern, and at the proper time to take the lead of the movement.

HUE AND CRY FOR "FREEDOM."

The activity of all these national organizations was to be united in the Central Committee in London, which was an international body. The organ of the organization was to be the "Freedom." The following of this new movement grew rapidly in every country, and already in 1881 a great demonstration of Most's ideas took place at the memorable International Revolutionary Congress in London, the holding of which was mainly due to the initiative of Most and the well-known Nihilist,

Already in April, 1881, a preliminary congress had been held in Paris, at which the procedure of the "Parliamentary Socialists" Hartmann. had been rejected, since only a social revolution was regarded as a remedy; in the struggle against present day society all and any means were looked upon as right and justifiable; and in view of this, the distribution of leaflets, the sending of emissaries, and the use of explosives were recommended. A German living in London had proposed an amendment involving the forcible removal of all potentates after the manner of the assassination of the Russian Czar, but this was rejected as "at present not yet suitable."

The congress following this preliminary one took place in London, on July 14 to 19, 1881, and was attended by about forty delegates, the representatives of several hundred groups. It announced its principles as follows:

ANNIHILATION OF RULERS.

"The revolutionaries of all countries are uniting into an 'International Social Revolutionary Working Men's Association,' for the purpose of a social revolution. The headquarters of the association is at London, and sub-committees are formed in Paris, Geneva and New York. In every place where like minded supporters exist, sections and an executive committee of three persons are to be formed. The committees of a country are to keep up with one another, and, with the central committee, regular communication by means of continual reports and information, and have to collect money for the purchase of poison and weapons, as well as to find places suitable for laying mines, and so on. To attain the proposed end, the annihilation of all rulers, ministers of State, nobility, the clergy, the most prominent capitalists, and other exploiters, any means are permissible, and, therefore, great attention should be given specially to the study of chemistry and the preparation of explosives, as being the most important weapons. Together with the chief committee in London, there will also be established an executive committee of international composition and an information bureau, whose duty is to carry out the decisions of the chief committee and to conduct correspondence."

This congress and the decisions passed thereat had very farreaching and fateful consequences for the development of the anarchism of action. The executive committee set to work at once, and sought to carry out every point of the proposed program, but especially to utilize for purposes of demonstration and for feverish agitation every revolutionary movement of whatever origin or tendency it might be, whether proceeding from Russian Nihilism or Irish Fenianism. How successful their activity was, was proved only too well by now unceasing outrages in every

Most and Kropotkin were now apparently agreed that the time had come for adding what is known as the "propaganda of the deed" to words and writing. In fact Kropotkin, although to-day he poses as a philosophic Anarchist, had already, in 1879, advocated the doctrine of action in France, and it was after his incendiary discourses at the London congress that he was expelled from Switzerland. Four years previously he had migrated from Russian nihilism to international anarchy and begun the publication of its first organ in company with Paul Brousse, another disciple of Bakunin, and now, strange to say, the mildest of Socialists. It was Prince Kropotkin who shortly afterward induced the members of the party to drop the word "Collectivist." TWO GROUPS.

At a congress in Paris, also in the same year, the Anarchists were quite excluded from the company of the International Socialists, and from this time on the Anarchist and Socialist groups may be said to have become wholly distinct, while the Anarchists, themselves split up into two sections, the one led by men like Professor Reclus in France and Prince Kropotkin, both said to be the wildest mannered of men who ever associated with bomb-throwers, and the other section led by men like Herr Most and Count Malatesta, Bakunin's great disciple, who believed in violence, and still believes in it, as was shown in an interview after the assassination of Humbert on July 27, 1900. Kropotkin at times, however, has urged insurrectionary movements, and his hands are not so free of blood as he claims.

It was but natural that after all these years of revolutionary movements, actual and philosophical, that the era of violence should soon set in and it came in Italy, Spain, Germany and Russia, in which countries, during the latter part of the 70's several attempts to assassinate those in power were made, the effort in Russia culminating in the killing of the Czar Alexander II., in St. Petersburg, on March 13, 1881.

From this time on the European governments realized that they were dealing with a formidable enemy of modern society and most of the stricter monarchical governments made every effort to stamp the organization out. The Anarchists, revolutionary and philosophical, however, found an asylum in Switzerland and in Great Britain and in the United States and the plotting of the various groups went on without much interruption save in Russia, where the police ruled with an iron hand.

INFAMOUS PLOTS.

In the early 80's the United States had been the rendezvous for a large number of German and Slavic, Russian, Poles and Swiss refugees driven out of Europe by the repressive measures following hard upon the assassination of the Czar. These revolutionists settled down in New York and Chicago chiefly where they formed two large groups, devoted to plotting against the Government and any of its agents, and encouraging discontent. One of the most conspicuous of these agitators was Most, who came over in 1883, having found London too hot for him. He kept up a red-hot agitation and was fond of saying that the time had come for bullets and not for ballots.

In Chicago the group grew very bold and when an effort was made to break up one of their meetings held in Haymarket Square, on May 4, 1886, at which they were proclaiming revolutionary doctrines, a bomb was thrown and seven policemen were killed, and a large number injured. Seven of the ringleaders were arrested, tried and convicted and four were executed on November 11, 1887, two others being imprisoned for life, and the third sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary. This outbreak made a profound impression on the public mind and by reason of the summary execution and the general hostility the open avowal of anarchy was for the moment suppressed.

But neither in this country nor in Europe was there any real cessation in the movement and the revival of anarchistic attacks in France, culminating in the death of Carnot in 1894, had been a marked feature of the latter part of 1893, when Paris was in a regular panic, owing to a number of bomb throwings, which French outbreaks had been the natural consequence of the upheaval in Spain, which had resulted in the Barcelona horror, when, on November 8, 1893, thirty people were killed and eighty injured by a bomb thrown by the Anarchists in the Lyceum Theater. This Barcelona attack had been preceded by an effort to kill General Campos on September 24, 1893, by a bomb, while in Chicago a half-crazed man assassinated Mayor Carter H. Harrison on October 28th.

ORIGIN AND RISE OF ANARCHISM.

PARDON FOR ANARCHISTS.

A maudlin sentiment had, however, developed in this country on the subject of anarchism, and this was taken advantage of by Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, who, on June 26, 1893, pardoned the three anarchists, Fielden, Schwab and Neebe, who were still serving out their terms for their complicity in the Haymarket murder of 1886. This action of the Governor of Illnois and the demagoguery of Populist orators so encouraged anarchy in this country that a convention of avowed anarchists was held during the World's Fair.

After the outbreaks of 1893, and the murder of Carnot, on June 24, 1894, there was a lull in anarchist activity until Senor Canovas del Castillo, the Premier of Spain, was assassinated by Golli, an Italian anarchist, on August 8, 1897. This was followed a year later by the brutal, wanton murder of the Empress Elizabeth, by Luccheni, also an Italian; and this, after a two years' interval, by the murder of King Humbert, at Monza, Italy, by Angelo Bresci, an Italian, who had lived at Paterson, N. J., where the plot to kill the king was hatched.

Although up to this time in most American communities the anarchists had been German or Slavic, the Italian groups were fast taking the lead in agitation, and the action of Bresci was the

natural outgrowth of the undisturbed existence of these groups in and about New York.

The assassination of King Humbert warned all governments that the time had come to combine against the anarchists, but a year had not gone by before an Italian boy, named Sipido, tried to kill the then Prince of Wales while he was entering a railway car in Brussels, and the craze seemed to be unabated, the situation thus developed at the beginning of the twentieth century forming a problem which Europe has tried to deal with collectively, but in vain, as all plans at concerted action have come to naught, though the view is gaining in Great Britain, as well as in the rest of Europe and in the United States, that something must be done to scotch those who boldly proclaim themselves, whether as dreamy philosophers or actual plotters, the enemies of all human society.

FIRST MARTYRED PRESIDENT.

The first time that the American people were called upon to mourn for an assassinated President was when Abraham Lincoln fell by a shot from John Wilkes Booth's pistol, in Ford's Theatre, at Washington, on the night of April 14, 1865. Mr. Lincoln had attended a Cabinet meeting on that day, and in the evening, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, of Albany, and her half-brother, Major Henry R. Rathbone, had gone to the theatre to witness the performance of "Our American Cousin."

While the play was in progress a shot was heard, and a man was seen to jump from the President's box on to the stage, brandishing a pistol. Those who sat near the stage heard him shout in a theatrical manner, "Sic semper tyrannis—the South is avenged!" He rushed to the rear of the building, mounted a horse, which had been kept in waiting for him, and dashed away. The President was carried to a house opposite the theatre, where he passed away, surrounded by his family, on the morning of April 15th.

On the same night that he was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an assassin entered the room of William H. Seward, who lay ill

abed, and stabbed him and wounded Secretary Seward's son, who attempted to stay his hand. The murder of Vice-President Johnson, Secretary Stanton and General Grant was contemplated by the conspirators, who succeeded only in assassinating the President.

The assassin was tracked by a squadron of cavalrymen, and twelve days after the assassination he was found in a barn, where he had secreted himself, and from which he was taken after having been mortally wounded. The people in the Northern States at that time were rejoicing over the termination of hostilities with the South, peace seemed to be near at hand, families looked for the return of the men who had gone to the field in the service of their country, and every city, village and hamlet was decorated with flags and bunting.

FLAGS IN MOURNING.

There were no orders issued to that effect, but by common consent edges of mourning were sewn around the flags, the streamers were covered with crepe, and within a few hours after the news of Lincoln's assassination had come nearly every house in the loyal States was draped in mourning. The body of the assassinated President was taken to the Capitol on April 20th, and a great concourse of people viewed it before the funeral train started for Springfield. In every principal city along the line the train halted, and at Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland and Chicago catafalques were erected, and weeping multitudes looked upon the face of the dead emancipator.

The conspirators who were responsible for the assassination were tried by court martial at Washington, and four, namely, Payne, Harold, Azerodt and Mrs. Surratt, were hanged; the stage carpenter at Ford's theatre who turned out the lights to facilitate the escape of Booth, the man who held his horse at the stage entrance, and Dr. Mudd, who set the limb which Booth broke in jumping from the box, were sent to prison for long terms.

Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, was sworn in as Presi-

dent of the United States on the morning of April 15, a few minutes after the President had passed away. The death of Abraham Lincoln wiped out party feeling in the Northern States to a great extent, and among the eulogies that were delivered some of the best were spoken by members of the Democratic party, who for years had opposed Mr. Lincoln and his policy.

The only other occasion when the American people were called upon to mourn for an assassinated President was when General Garfield passed away in consequence of the wounds inflicted on him by a crazy assassin.

The President was leaving Washington, on July 2, 1881, on a trip through New England, having nothing specially in view beyond the commencement exercises of Williams College, Williamstown. He had had a season of more than ordinarily hard work and much vexation over a fight in the Republican party of the State of New York, which had originated through his appointment of a Collector for the Port of New York. At a Cabinet meeting held July 1, the day before his departure from Washington, he told some of the members of the Cabinet that he looked forward with great pleasure to his coming vacation, that he needed rest, was going to take it, and not allow affairs of State to bother him.

GARFIELD ASSASSINATED.

As he was passing through the waiting room of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad station, the next morning, leaning on the arm of Mr. Blaine, an assassin approached him and fired point blank upon the President. The first ball passed through his coat sleeve, whereupon the President half turned and received the second shot in the back. The bullet fractured a rib and lodged so deeply in the body that it could not be extracted at that time. The wounded President was carried back to the White House, where, for ten weeks, attended by the best medical skill available, and having all the comforts that love could procure, he lingered between life and death. His cheerfulness and fortitude awakened the sympathy and commanded the admiration of the whole world.

Bulletins announcing his condition were published daily in

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every city in the Union and in all the capitals of Europe. A day of national supplication was set apart while the President lingered at Washington, and it was sacredly observed. For a time his physicians were hopeful, and the bulletins for a period led the public to believe that the President would resume his duties, but when the torrid weather of midsummer came the patient failed perceptibly, and although it was done at great hazard, he was removed on September 6, 1881, by a special train to Elberon, N. The invigorating sea breezes seemed at first to have a beneficial effect, but on September 15 unmistakable symptoms of blood poisoning were discovered, and on the nineteenth, after a few hours of unconsciousness, he died.

Three days later a special train, heavily draped with emblems of mourning, passed through crowds of reverent spectators to Washington, and the body was placed in the rotunda of the Capitol, where it lay in state for two days.

HUNG FOR THE FOUL DEED.

His murderer, Charles Jules Guiteau, who was caught as soon as he committed the crime, suffered the death penalty in the jail in Washington-after his trial and conviction.

It was announced from Washington that active measures would be taken to stamp out anarchism, in which all civilized nations would be expected to join. The following is from a wellknown newspaper correspondent:

"As a result of the assassination of President McKinley, there will be a renewal of the international effort to bring about the suppression of anarchists. The few diplomats in Washington were greatly shocked by the news from Buffalo, and there was a unanimous expression of the view that the several governments should reach an international agreement to stamp out anarchy as swiftly as possible.

"Minister Wu is the only diplomat of envoy rank in the city. When I saw him to-night he expressed the utmost horror at the assault upon the President. 'It is a great calamity,' he said. 'I am shocked beyond expression by the news What

could have prompted the purpose to kill such a good man as Mr. McKinley, who has governed the country so wisely and so well? And, in any event, why should an attempt be made to assassinate a President of a republic when his term of office is for four years and his successor can then be lawfully and peacefully elected?'

"I suggested to the Minister that the President's assailant

proved to be an anarchist.

"'The anarchists should all be hanged,' he responded. 'They should not be allowed to commit such dastardly crimes. It is a shame, a shame. I cannot say how deeply grieved I am.'

"The Chinese Minister was asked what would have been the procedure in his country. He answered with his usual promptness:

"'We would give him the death of lin-chi. Do you know what that means? His family and realtives would also be held to account for the education of such a monster. The crime, however, would be impossible in my country. Besides a deep-rooted respect of the Emperor, there are sufficient guards, and promiscuous receptions and handshakings are not tolerated; but if by any possible chance such a criminal should arise, he would be condemned to the lin-chi and his relatives called to account.'

A HORRIBLE DEATH.

"The lin-chi is the death of a thousand cuts. The Minister says it is a statutory punishment for certain crimes so heinous that the imagination is appalled to contemplate them in the abstract. Among these are the murder of a father or mother.

"Mr. Thomas Herron, the Colombian Charge d'Affaires, dwelt upon the President's character and acts throughout the world. 'His benevolence of character robbed him of personal enemies,' Mr. Herron said. 'He is a great and good man, and Colombia will join the United Sates in the prayer for his recovery. Society should protect itself by taking measures for the suppression of anarchists. The tragedy at Buffalo may have the effect of bringing this about.'

"Suppression of anarchists has engaged the attention of governments of Europe for years, but up to this time no concerted action has been taken. The United States was invited several years ago to attend an anti-anarchistic conference, but declined the invitation, because it was unable to bind itself to observe any course of procedure that might be determined upon because of the safeguards thrown by the Constitution around personal liberty and personal rights. One of the great causes of complaint by Europe against the United States is the liberty with which anarchists can hatch their conspiracies in this country.

"Immediately after the assassination of King Humbert of Italy the Italian government made representations to the United States contemplating the punishment of all anarchists at Paterson, N. J., who were involved in the crime. The evidence was furnished to the State Department, but the Federal government was unable to do more than refer the matter to the Governor of New Jersey, with the request that he make a thorough investigation, and if the law could be applied to any persons suspected of complicity to begin the proper legal measures.

ACCOMPLICES ESCAPED.

"Insufficient evidence and the difficulty of finding a law to fit the charge of conspiracy against the life of a foreign sovereign permitted the escape of the accomplices of King Humbert's assassin. Italy was compelled to acquiesce in the failure of the United States to destroy what she was convinced was a nest of conspirators at Paterson, but naturally she was deeply exercised over what she regarded as the inexplicable attitude of the Washington government.

"It is generally believed in diplomatic circles that the recall of Baron Fava, the Italian Ambassador, was the outgrowth of the American policy of non-action. Italy now will doubtless appreciate that the American government was as powerless to protect its own Chief Executive as it was to prevent a conspiracy against the life of her sovereign. It is believed by the diplomats that Europe will consider the present moment opportune to revive the proposal of an international understanding for the suppression of anarchists.

"In official circles it is said that an amendment of some kind to the constitution would have to be made, as it was at present impossible to punish a man participating in a conspiracy against the life of a foreign sovereign. Until the authorization is therefore given to the Executive, it is likely that the State Department would be compelled to observe the precedent already established and decline the invitation tendered.

"Senor Calvo, Minister from Costa Rica, expressed the greatest horror of the terrible outrage upon the President. 'Such things occurring in a free Republic are terrible,' he said. 'The crime itself is atrocious on all occasions, but when directed against the life of such a kindly and righteous President as Mr. McKinley it surpasses the utmost credulity.'

SEDITIOUS PUBLICATIONS.

"Mr. Calvo continued: 'I am surprised that the rigid postal laws of the United States should permit the circulation of seditious matter. It is treason to counsel the destruction of the ruler of a country, yet these virulent anarchistic sheets must pass freely through the mails in order to be circulated. Your laws are properly stringent against publications or writings inciting fraud or immorality. No avowed anarchist should be permitted to receive or mail letters. His ebullitions should be confiscated wherever found. This is a matter of public safety.'

"Kogoro Takahira, Minister from Japan, has returned to Washington deeply affected by the tragedy. He said: 'Nobody could expect that such a good President of the United States should become the victim of such an appalling and dastardly crime. It is hardly possible to express one's feelings on such an occasion, but we join the people of the United States in receiving the sad news with surprise and indignation, and our sincere and honest wishes are that he should recover speedily and permanently; and in this statemen I am confident that I voice the sentiment of my government and my people throughout all Iapan.'

"Mr. Takahira further said that he would never forget the