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GREAT~~R~~ AMERICA

BY
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"CHINA IN TRANSFORMATION" ETC.

WITH MAPS



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PREFACE

IN calling this book *Greater America*, the author is aware that he challenges comparison with a far more important, studied, and weighty work. No other title, however, conveys so successfully the main idea of this book.

It is not only the territorial magnitude of Greater America, her innumerable problems of race and policy, and her resources, wealth, and progressive theories which are the motive of this book—it is rather Greater America as a world-power, the American peoples, and the American ideal in the cosmogony of the world.

An attempt is here made—it is believed for the first time — to present American evolution as a whole, to treat her history from the stand-point of its wide national significance, to show to what point she has progressed, to indicate what her future may be. To do this in one comparatively short volume involved an amount of compression and elision which must, perforce, lead to a certain abruptness; it was impossible, in many cases, to do more than indicate a line of thought or suggest a train of ideas.

What does Greater America mean?

PREFACE

If we could answer that question succinctly, if we could estimate the direction in which this huge dynamic force will be exercised, we should be able to take a long look into the future. But America — so it seems to the author — is at a critical period in her history. Very much depends on the spirit infused into her national life, both at home and abroad, during the next few years.

As these lines are written comes the news of the final burst of the war cloud in the Pacific, and although long expected, we are not yet able to estimate what it may mean to the rest of the world. Nearly twenty years ago the writer of these lines predicted the shifting of the centre of gravity* of world affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.¹ Ten years later he embodied the same idea in a book which urged the cutting of an isthmian canal under American auspices.² Finally, in his last book, published two years ago, he was able from personal knowledge to describe the principal features in that change which already had come over the Pacific.³

The three great factors in the transformation of the Pacific are the advance, overland and over-sea, of the two great expansive powers, Russia and America, and the regeneration of Japan. We see the embroilment of two of these in a struggle

¹ R. U. S. Institution, 1885.

² *The Key of the Pacific*, 1895.

³ *The Mastery of the Pacific*, 1902.

PREFACE

which may have far-reaching consequences, not merely for either or both, but for the whole world.

What part will Greater America play in the drama?

It is with intention that the writer has to a certain extent ignored domestic politics in this study of Greater America, and has dealt chiefly with problems of imperial importance, which affect not the United States alone but Greater America as a whole. The questions of foreign relations, of alien peoples, of national defence, of government of dependencies—these are the matters which are of vital importance to the future of a great expansive nation, but on one domestic question—that of efficiency and purity in the administration—so many of these wide questions ultimately depend that it must be given a foremost place. The character of such a work as this is rather critical than descriptive. It is less of a travel-book than any yet attempted by the author, although he has visited, and in some cases revisited, almost every part of Greater America. If he seems, at times, to be bent on picking out weak spots, he asks his reader to believe that it is in no unfriendly spirit. A nation imbued with so many elements of greatness as the Americans, and with so large a measure of success behind them, needs criticism far more than lesser peoples.

In writing both for the British and American

PREFACE

publics, the author was met by a difficulty in avoiding what might, at times, seem unnecessary explanation, since matters which are simple to the one are often cryptic to the other. The American reader must, therefore, exercise indulgence in reading such chapters as that on "How Greater America Is Governed," while the Briton will perhaps forgive the dissertations on our Civil Service and the government of India, when he reflects that these are frequently the subjects of misconception on the part of even enlightened Americans.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that, in using the term "America" to the exclusion of the qualifying prefix "United States of," the author is not only avoiding circumlocution but is technically correct. The citizens of the United States of America must be called Americans, since they have no other word to express their nationality, whereas the Canadians, Brazilians, or Mexicans, geographically Americans, have a distinct national name. The term United States, so frequently used, might be with equal correctness applied to other than the North American States, but there is no other people who claim the name Americans, and no other country which could be spoken of as America. It may not be out of place to mention here that, although some of the subjects raised in this book are not new to the author, they are all studied afresh in the light of the most recent developments, and that no

P R E F A C E

part of the book has appeared previously in any form on either side of the Atlantic.

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank the many friends, British and American, who have assisted him in his task in various ways, and more particularly the courteous officials at Washington, who gave him every assistance in their power in obtaining information.

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A

The following comparative tabular statement indicates the numerical strength of the fleets of the powers named.

BUILT

	Great Britain	France	Russia	Germany	Italy	United States	Japan
Battle-ships (1st class).....	42	10	13	12	12	10	6
Battle-ships (2d class).....	4	8	4	4	—	1	—
Battle-ships (3d class).....	2	1	1	12	5	—	1
Coast-defence vessels.....	2	14	13	11	—	15	2
Cruisers, armored.....	18	9	8	2	5	2	6
Cruisers, protected (1st class)...	21	7	6	1	—	3	—
Cruisers, protected (2d class)...	51*	16	5	8	5	11	10
Cruisers, protected (3d class)....	32†	17	—	10	11	2	8
Cruisers, unprotected.....	10	1	3	20	—	11	9
Torpedo vessels.....	34	16	9	2	14	—	1
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	112	14	48	28	11	14	17
Torpedo boats.....	85	247	132	93	145	27	67
Submarine torpedo boats.....	5	15	—	—	1	3	—

* Including three partially protected.

† Including one partially protected.

BUILDING

	Great Britain	France	Russia	Germany	Italy	United States	Japan
Battle-ships (1st class)...	{ 12 3* }	7	8	8	6	{ 9 5* }	{ — — }
Battle-ships (2d class)...	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Coast-defence vessels.....	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Cruisers, armored.....	{ 19 4* }	{ 13 1* }	—	{ 3 1* }	1	11	—
Cruisers, protected (1st class).....	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Cruisers, protected (2d class).....	2	—	2	—	—	6	2
Cruisers, protected (3d class).....	{ 4 3* }	—	—	{ 5 2* }	—	—	1
Scouts.....	{ 4 4* }	—	—	—	—	—	—
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	{ 19 15* }	{ 19 4* }	6	{ 4 6* }	2	6	2
Torpedo boats.....	5	{ 18 25* }	7	—	8	4	18
Submarine torpedo boats.....	{ 4 10* }	{ 25 18* }	2	—	3	5	—

* To be laid down—1903-1904.

Diagram showing the financial record of the Spanish-American republics during the years 1883-1903 (excepting Brazil and Bolivia). [From *Financial News*, January 23, 1904.]

	ARGENTINA	CHILE	COLOMBIA	COSTA RICA	ECUADOR	GUATEMALA	HONDURAS	MEXICO	NICARAGUA	PARAGUAY	PERU	SALVADOR	URUGUAY	VENEZUELA	
1883		Public funds in default											Conversion		1883
1884		Public funds resumed													1884
1885															1885
1886				Conversion				Long service	Loan issued	Conversion					1886
1887															1887
1888						Conversion									1888
1889												Loan issued			1889
1890															1890
1891	Public funds resumed														1891
1892	"				Conversion								Conversion	Interest suspended	1892
1893	"														1893
1894					Interest resumed									Interest resumed	1894
1895						Conversion								Interest resumed	1895
1896									Interest resumed	Interest resumed				In Cash	1896
1897			Conversion		Interest resumed									In Cash	1897
1898					Conversion into Railway Bonds										1898
1899															1899
1900															1900
1901		Public funds resumed													1901
1902															1902
1903															1903

NOTE.—The periods of default on external debts are marked by shading. The "conversions" were nearly always arrangements imposed on the bondholders, accompanied by a more or less heavy reduction of their rightful claims.

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