

tional differences. Broadly stated (1) wherever the right in dispute will be determined by the ascertainment of the true facts of the case; (2) and where, the facts being ascertained, the right depends on the application of the proper principles of international law to the given facts, and (3) where the dispute is one which may properly be adopted on a give-and-take principle, with due provision for equitable compensation, as in cases of delimitation of territory and the like—in such cases, the matter is one which ought to be arbitrated.

"I doubt whether in any case a permanent tribunal, the members of which shall be *a priori* designated, is practicable or desirable. In the first place what, in the particular case, is the best tribunal must largely depend upon the question to be arbitrated. But apart from this, I gravely doubt the wisdom of giving that character of permanence to the *personnel* of any such tribunal. The interests involved are commonly so enormous, and the forces of national sympathy, pride, and prejudice are so searching, so great, and so subtle, that I doubt whether a tribunal, the membership of which had a character of permanence, even if solely composed of men accustomed to exercise the judicial faculty, would long retain general confidence, and, I fear, it might gradually assume intolerable pretensions. There is danger, too, to be guarded against from another quarter. If there be a standing court of nations, to which any power may resort, with little cost and no risk, the temptation may be strong to put forward pretensions and unfounded claims, in support of which there may readily be found, in most countries (can we except even Great Britain and the United States?), busybody jingoes only too ready to air their spurious and inflammatory patriotism.

"There is one influence which, by the law of nations, may be legitimately exercised by the powers in the interests of peace—I mean mediation. The mediator is not, at least, in the first instance, invested, and does not seek to be invested, with authority to adjudicate upon the matter in difference. He is the friend of both parties. He seeks to bring them together. He avoids a tone of dictation to either. He is careful to avoid, as to each of them, anything which may wound their political dignity or their susceptibilities. If he cannot compose the quarrel, he may at least narrow its area and probably reduce it to more limited dimensions, the result of mutual concessions; and, having narrowed the issues, he may pave the way for a final settlement by a reference to arbitration or by some other method. There is, perhaps, no class of question in which mediation may not, time and occasion being wisely chosen, be usefully employed, even in delicate questions affecting national honour and sentiment.

"In dealing with the subject of arbitration, I have thought it right to sound a note of caution, but it would indeed be a reproach to our nineteenth centuries of Christian civilization if there were now no better method for settling international differences than the cruel and debasing methods of war. May we not hope that the people of these States and the people of the Mother Land, kindred peoples, may in this matter set an example of lasting influence to the world? Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them"

* * *

Li Hung Chang.

THIS distinguished Chinaman, the "Grand Old Man" of the Celestial Empire, who has been making a tour of the world, visiting Courts and Capitals, and travelling in a style of Oriental magnificence that has afforded newspaper scribes abundant material for "copy," is now in the United States, and is expected to do Toronto the honour of a visit in the course of a few days. The mission of this statesman of many offices and high titles has been the subject of much surmise. It is quite possible that he has no public mission at all, and that his object is in no way different from that of many others who, in these days, venture to make the no

longer difficult tour of the world. But whether charged with a public mission or not, a man of Li Hung Chang's high position and fine intelligence cannot help seeing and learning a great deal; and if his official career is prolonged we may reasonably expect that his personal observation of Western civilization will not be without some effect on the more ancient, but unprogressive, civilization of China. We subjoin a brief sketch of the Viceroy's life, condensed somewhat, from the Boston Congregationalist:

Li was born in 1825 in Anhui, in the central province of Hunan. His being able to graduate as Siutsai, or P.A., in 1847, proves that his family must have been influential. His ancestors probably were of the mandarin class, for it was soon after graduating that he was first brought into contact with those of our race in the capacity of financial commissioner at Soochow. He proved his ability and personal courage during the Taiping rebellion, when he took an active part in restoring order. In 1858 he was the principal leader of the government against the Wangs in the valley of the Yang-tse. This led to his promotion, in 1859, to the governorship of Fuh Kien, and again in 1862 when he became Fu tai, or governor, of the rich province of Kiang-su.

It was at this time that Li was instrumental in securing the services of Capt. Charles Gordon, R.E., against the rebels, and a friendship began which lasted to the death of Chinese Gordon in Khartoum. There was, however, a serious interruption when Li, in violation of the promise made by Gordon, caused the leaders of the Taipings to be put to death. Li Hung Chang could not understand this keeping faith with an enemy, and considered it a mere Don Quixotism. But as Gordon had a sincere respect for Li as a statesman the chasm was bridged over, and the former pleasant relation was resumed. In 1867 Li, then viceroy of Hu-Kwang, was again in the field, this time against the Shantung rebels. His success led to his appointment of viceroy of the province of Chihli (of which Peking, the capital, is a part) and he removed in 1870 to Tientsin, where he has since resided.

Prince Kung, one of the ablest men of the empire, together with the late Empress Dowager, whose influence cannot be over-estimated, have been Li Hung Chang's steadfast friends. As Senior Grand Secretary of State, the direction of foreign affairs has been almost entirely in Li's hands, although the jealousy of his rivals at court has handicapped him in influencing home affairs. To this must be ascribed the disastrous and humiliating ending of all the international negotiations in which Li has been an actor. In 1878 China was compelled to submit to the annexation of the Loo Choo Islands by Japan. In 1885 she lost considerable territory in the south of the empire by the Li-Fournier Convention. Again she has been repeatedly compelled to pay heavy indemnities for murder and destruction of missionary property. Only a little over a year ago Li was obliged to leave his beloved country to sue for peace from the despised Japanese, and, while he escaped death by the assassin's bullet, he was forced to deliver beautiful Formosa into the hands of the hated Japanese.

To the outsider, then, it looks as if Li's career as a statesman has been a series of blunders or failures, or at least as scarcely compatible with the reputation he enjoys. But it must be remembered that Li Hung Chang, although essentially a Chinaman by birth, education and sentiment, has saved his country from far greater disasters threatened by the insolence and ignorance of his colleagues in the government. Every Chinese mandarin, without exception, is Conservative and opposed not only to foreigners but to any foreign innovation of whatever sort it may be. Poorly paid officially, the very existence of the magistrates of every rank is threatened by progress, and any proclivity toward that direction raises a storm of indignation and a cry of treason.

It is, then, very much in Li Hung Chang's favour, and proves the vast influence he possesses in his own immediate territory, that he was able to build and equip the railroad from Tientsin to the Taku Forts (at the mouth of the Peiho River), and to continue that line for a distance of sixty-seven miles to the rich Tungshan and Kaiping coal fields, which he owns. Chang Chih Tung, Li's great rival in influence and wealth, a man who hates foreigners with all the bigotry of