

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, August 17, to THURSDAY, August 23, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

SECRETARY FAIRCHILD has given instructions for a chief of division in his office to make a thorough investigation of the administration of immigration affairs at the port of New York, to be made particularly with reference to the treatment and care of immigrants and the general business methods employed by the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York.

Secretary Whitney has promised that the navy shall be adequately represented at the forthcoming centennial of the ratification of the Constitution at Philadelphia, and that the Navy Department shall be instructed to make practical demonstration of the advance in naval construction and armament in the last one hundred years.

A court-martial has been ordered by Commander Sampson, Superintendent of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, to try a third-class cadet who is accused of hazing a fourth-class cadet.

The United Labor party of New York in convention at Syracuse, August 19, nominated for Secretary of State Henry George of New York; for Comptroller, Victor A. Wilder of Brooklyn; for Treasurer, Patrick H. Cummins of Amsterdam, Montgomery County; for Attorney-General, Dennis H. Feely of Rochester; for State Engineer and Surveyor, Sylvanus H. Sweet of Albany. The Socialistic delegates from this city who made contests for seats in the Convention were not admitted, and recognition was refused to a committee of the Socialistic Union Labor party which recently held a State Convention. The main feature of the platform is the plank favoring Mr. Henry George's theory of State-ownership of land and of railroads, telegraph-lines, and the like.

The Republican Convention of Pennsylvania on August 17 nominated Wm. B. Hart for State Treasurer and Judge Henry Warren Williams for Judge of the Supreme Court. The platform adopted favors a protective tariff, the creation of an American marine by the provision of bounties upon exports and discriminating duties upon imports in American bottoms, and the distribution of the surplus by an extension of the pension lists. A resolution was adopted recommending Mr. Blaine for renomination for the Presidency.

A mass-meeting of anti-prohibition Republicans was held at Des Moines, Iowa, August 19, to nominate independent candidates for the Legislature. About 125 well-known Republicans participated in it, and candidates were nominated on a platform pledging them to support the repeal of prohibition and the enactment of local-option and high-license laws. Seven hundred names are signed to the pledge to support these nominees.

The Virginia Republican State Committee, of which Senator Mahone is the dominating spirit, has issued an address in which the Democrats are denounced for their failure to make an agreement with foreign bondholders. Concerning the Democratic desire to have the Treasury reimbursed for the territory granted to the United States by Virginia, and for the loss that was caused by the separation of West Virginia, the address, after pointing out the late Gov. Wise's and Mr. Blaine's mention of this project, says: "If it is ever given effect, it will be in opposition to the narrow views of Federal power entertained by the Democracy, and through the liberal construction contended for by the Republican party."

The last dollar in the general fund of the State Treasury of Indiana was paid out August 19, and no money can be had before next December. In the meantime \$200,000 will be needed to pay the current expenses of the State Government and public institutions. The

Treasurer has announced that he will call upon the counties to advance funds voluntarily. Work upon State institutions, several of which are now in course of erection, will be suspended.

The Committee of the New Hampshire House of Representatives on National Affairs has reported adversely on a resolution endorsing national aid to education and instructing the New Hampshire delegation in Congress to support Senator Blair's bill providing for it.

The American Bar Association was in session at Saratoga August 18-19. The Committee on Commercial Law made a report, which was adopted, recommending the regulation by a Congressional enactment of inter-State commercial transactions, including the protection of creditors against the unjust preference of other creditors and against the operation of unreasonable exemptions of property from the payment of debts. Mr. Henry Hitchcock of St. Louis delivered the annual address, wherein he made an argument for uniform laws in the States concerning corporations. A resolution was adopted instructing the Committee on Jurisprudence and Law Reform to report at the next meeting whether it be desirable to promote the enactment in the several States of some uniform law (and if so, in what form) to regulate the marriage of their citizens in foreign countries, and the proper authentication and registration of such marriages in this country.

Mr. Adolph Sutro has declared his intention to present a colossal statue of Liberty to the city of San Francisco. The figure will be of stone, and, including the pedestal, will be forty feet high. At the base will crouch a figure representing Anarchy. The statue is to be erected on the summit of one of the hills in the city, overlooking both the Pacific Ocean and the Bay of San Francisco. The electric torches will be 1,000 feet above the level of the sea.

Richard and John Bean, a herdic driver and a hackman in Boston, and their sister, who is the wife of a member of the Springfield Fire Department, are heirs to \$10,000,000, left by their uncle, Thomas Bean, who recently died at Bonham, Texas.

A man has been arrested in Arkansas for passing counterfeit silver dollars, and apparatus for making them was found in a dense cane-brake five miles from a railway station.

A dinner was given to James M. Trotter, the colored Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, in Boston August 17, by leading colored citizens. Speeches were made full of expressions of political independence.

Travel and traffic are very heavy in southern California. The Central Pacific Road runs its overland passenger trains in two sections on account of the large fruit shipments, which are carried in cars attached to passenger trains, and several new lines to resorts and to fruit-shipment points are under construction.

A company has begun the erection of very large smelting and reduction works at Tacoma, W. T., which are to turn out 400 tons of ore daily.

There has for some time been a fire in one of the shafts of the Calumet and Hecla mine in Michigan. Great quantities of steam and carbonic acid gas have been injected in vain, and it is feared that it will be months before more copper can be mined.

One of the severest storms of recent years blew along the coast of North Carolina August 20. The apparatus for measuring the velocity of the wind at Kitty Hawk was blown away. Many small craft were injured, and much damage was done to property.

Most of the houses at Republican City, Neb., were blown down or unroofed by a tornado August 18. Two were killed and six others seriously injured.

The Coroner's jury which investigated the cause of the railway accident near Chatsworth,

Ill., whereby eighty-four people lost their lives, rendered a verdict which holds Timothy Coughlin, foreman of the section, guilty of neglect, and exonerates the company. The verdict says that the failure to patrol the track for six hours before the train came, and the habit of burning grass near the track are subjects for criticism. The foreman of the jury and some of its members are reported to be under obligations to the railroad company for passes and other favors.

At the Burnham Street crossing of the Naugatuck Railroad in Waterbury, Conn., recently the driver of a funeral coach was killed and a number of persons hurt. There was no gate nor flagman at the crossing. Suits have been brought against the railroad company for \$70,000. At the dangerous grade-crossings on the New York division of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, between Stamford and Bridgeport, nine persons have been killed within a week.

The late Charles Merriam of Springfield, Mass., the publisher of Webster's Dictionary, bequeathed more than \$50,000 to missionary societies.

Prof. Spencer F. Baird, head of the Smithsonian Institution and the United States Fish Commission, died at Wood's Holl, Mass., August 19. In 1850 he was elected Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and after the death of Prof. Henry he became its chief officer. In 1871 he was appointed by President Grant United States Commissioner of Fisheries, an office which added to his responsibilities, but not to his compensation. A chronological catalogue of his works, down to 1882, includes more than 1,000 titles. On the same day Alvan Clark, the renowned telescope-lens maker, died at Cambridge, Mass. Charles P. Miller, a well-known young lawyer of this city, and his wife died at New London, Conn., on August 19. Theodore E. Tomlinson and Josiah P. Fitch, two other well-known New York lawyers, are dead. Dr. N. A. Randolph, Professor of Physiology at the University of Pennsylvania, and one of the most prominent practitioners and medical writers in Philadelphia, was drowned while bathing at Atlantic City August 21. At Concord, Mass., August 22, John B. Moore, one of the most prominent pomologists and horticulturists of New England, died; and on the same day Aaron J. Vanderpoel, the well-known lawyer of this city, died suddenly of apoplexy in Paris.

FOREIGN.

Mr. William Henry Smith announced in the House of Commons August 18 that the Government would abandon the Tithe Rent-Charge Bill, the Technical Education Bill, Mr. Goschen's Revenue-Collection Bill, the Irish Constabulary Bill, and other minor measures. On the report of the Land Bill Mr. Balfour said that the Government accepted the House of Lords' amendment relating to town parks, and his motion to accept it was carried—206 to 164. Mr. Gibson, Attorney-General for Ireland, moved that the House confirm Earl Cadogan's amendment, which provides that the revision of rents be based upon the difference in prices in 1887 as compared with prices from 1881 to 1885. This was opposed by Mr. Parnell and other Irish leaders. A motion to adjourn the debate was defeated, and by the application of closure the Cadogan amendment was adopted—215 to 161. On Mr. Balfour's motion to adopt the remaining Lords' amendments the House disagreed, and a committee was appointed to draw up the reasons for the disagreement.

In the House of Commons, August 18, it was announced that the Government had made an arrangement with the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company by which the company would hold three new steamers and seven others ready for use as armed cruisers. For this service the Government pays £3,500 annually.

In the House of Lords on August 19 Lord Salisbury announced that the Government had proclaimed the Irish National League. Four members of the Privy Council and the Lord Lieutenant met at the Castle in Dublin and issued the proclamation, wherein it is declared that "whereas we are satisfied that there exists in Ireland an association known by the name of the Irish National League, and that the said association in parts of Ireland promotes and excites to acts of violence and intimidation and interferes with the administration of the law, now we, the Lord Lieutenant, General Governor of Ireland, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, by virtue of section 6 of the Criminal Law and Procedure, Ireland Act, 1887, and of every power and authority in this behalf, do by this, our special proclamation, declare from the date hereof the said association known as the Irish National League to be dangerous." This proclamation was published in the *Dublin Gazette*, and a printed copy of it was posted at every police station or barracks, and every place in which divisional police courts or petty sessions are held in Ireland.

The Irish members were very calm when the proclamation of the League was announced. A number of them who were not members are reported to have joined it. Their opinion is that it will be a bad winter for Ireland. "We are going to have a bad time of it, during the winter, or I am no prophet," said Michael Davitt. The Loughrea and Armagh branches of the League met August 21 and resolved to continue work, notwithstanding the proclamation. The Irishmen of Liverpool have adopted resolutions protesting against it.

On August 23 a very large meeting was held in Dublin, to protest against the proclamation, over which the Lord Mayor presided. So large was the attendance that there were two overflow meetings. Several English members of Parliament were present. A resolution was adopted "that this meeting of the citizens of Dublin denounces, in the face of the civilized world, the proclamation of the Irish National League as an unscrupulous attempt to drive the Irish people from the path of a peaceful and constitutional struggle for their rights, and to disarm them of an organization which has suppressed crime and outrage, and awakened English democracy to sympathy with the sufferings and aspirations of the Irish people; and that we hereby declare our determination never to submit to so gross an outrage upon our constitutional liberties."

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in a speech at Birmingham August 20, explaining the Liberal-Unionist dissatisfaction with the Government for proclaiming the League, said: "The Government is responsible, not we. If they think it imperative to use the powers conferred upon them by the Crimes Act, I do not blame them. But I claim also for myself and my colleagues that we shall continue to occupy the attitude we have hitherto adopted— independent friends of the Government. When we differ, as now, we shall express our differences in the usual way—by our votes in the House of Commons. I regret that the Government has proclaimed the League. When the Government asked for these powers, we agreed to give them, and now, if they consider it absolutely necessary to use them, that, doubtless, is the last resource; but it is for their discretion, not ours. As a matter of principle, I think it was right for the Government to have these powers, in order to hold them in reserve; but, as a matter of policy, I regret that the Government has thought it necessary to use them at the present time."

Mr. T. W. Russell, who left the Liberal-Unionist party because of the proclamation, has given this explanation: "The Government, in my opinion, have sped their last bullet, and have handed over Ulster to Parnell. I confess that my heart burned with indignation to see my friends sacrificing the Union and sacrificing loyal tenants to a handful of unrea-

sonable landlords deserving of nobody's consideration."

Mr. Gladstone has written a letter to Mr. Brunner, the successful candidate for Parliament in the Northwich election, in which he says: "Few will seek to disguise the unquestionable addition thus made to the evidence now rapidly approaching a demonstrative character, that the people of England intend to do full justice to the people of Ireland by confiding to them, in a spirit alike generous and wise, the conduct of Irish affairs. It is to be lamented that years of the precious legislative life of the country should have been spent in a controversy which can only end in one way. But while it is important that the nation's judgment be speedy, it is more important that when it does come, it shall be unequivocal and decisive."

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech in Wales on August 16, strongly advocated a channel-tunnel. The *London Times* thereupon made an attack upon him, accusing him of advocating a new heresy for the sake of winning the votes of those anxious to promote a channel-tunnel enterprise.

Lord Tennyson, replying to an inquiry as to whether Mr. Gladstone's home-rule policy, if carried out, would produce separation and disaster, wrote on August 19 that he thinks a closer union of every part of the empire would be for the better.

The British Cabinet have decided to hold an autumn session of Parliament.

Mr. Robert Bannatyne Finlay, member of Parliament for the Inverness District, it is reported, will become a member of the British Cabinet in the autumn.

A memorial to President Cleveland and Congress praying for the establishment of a Board of Arbitration between England and America has been signed by 200 members of Parliament. It will receive many more signatures, and be presented at Washington in October.

Threatening comment on Prince Ferdinand's occupancy of the Bulgarian throne has been made every day recently at some of the European capitals. The Russian papers declare that his proclamation is "a veritable act of defiance, and an exhortation to Bulgarians to evade all their engagements." The *North German Gazette* has said that Germany cannot approve his course. It has been officially announced that the Russian Government has sent a circular to the Powers declaring that it is unable to recognize the validity of Prince Ferdinand's election, and the *Moscow Gazette*, which has predicted his retirement, says that if he does not leave Bulgaria, Russia will renounce her obligations under the Berlin Treaty, which "she has always regarded as a bitter deception after a glorious war." But Prince Ferdinand has issued a general order assuming the chief command of the Bulgarian Army; he has refused to grant unofficial interviews to foreign consuls, and it is reported that the Bulgarian Government has ordered 200,000 repeating rifles from an Austrian firm.

The Russian Minister of War, after making a tour of inspection, has reported to the Czar that the troops and fortifications in the Caucasus and Transcaucasian territory are in an excellent condition, and are prepared to fulfil any duties that may be imposed upon them.

The German Government has expelled two Russian families who lived near Berlin.

The American expedition to Russia to take observations of the eclipse of the sun on August 19 was disappointed. At the place of the greatest obscuration, clouds prevented the work that had been projected. The eclipse was not observed at St. Petersburg for the same reason. At Klin the sun was obscured, but an aged professor named Mendeleieff, made a balloon ascension alone, so as to get above the clouds and take an observation. He descended in safety near Moscow, forty miles distant.

On September 23 and October 8 Prince Bis-

marck will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his assumption of the office of Prussian Foreign Minister and Prussian Prime Minister respectively, and the Minister of Public Worship and Instruction has commissioned a sculptor of Stuttgart to make a colossal bust of him in marble at the expense of the Government.

Emperor Francis Joseph's birthday was celebrated throughout the Austrian Empire, August 18.

The Austrian Government has withdrawn the Pasteur subvention to the General Hospital, the treatment having proved a failure.

Premier Rouvier presided at a dinner given by merchants in Paris August 19, and in a speech reviewed the work of the parliamentary session and spoke about projected legislation, mentioning in particular a scheme for the better distribution of the burden of taxation. He said that the Government was considering the question of the sale of spirituous liquors, and would endeavor to reduce taxes thereon. He deprecated any brusque movements in the direction of the separation of Church and State, and he repeated his statement that if ever 200 Republicans voted against the Government, the Cabinet would resign.

Gen. Ferron, French Minister of War, has gone to the Alps to establish definitely the defenses of the southeastern frontier and to organize a new Alpine corps.

Four fatal accidents to Alpine tourists were reported from Zurich, August 17, making eighteen deaths in the Alps within a month.

The steamship *City of Montreal*, which sailed from New York on August 6 for Liverpool, was burned at sea on August 11. There was a heavy sea running, and it was with great difficulty that the life-boats were kept from overturning, but all the passengers and crew escaped from the steamship, and all were rescued soon afterwards by the *York City* and carried to Queenstown, except the thirteen occupants of one boat, who pulled away from the steamship contrary to the Captain's orders. The fire is supposed to have caught in cotton in the hold.

Another rumor was started of Henry M. Stanley's death in Africa, but it is discredited. Sir Francis de Winton, President of the Emin Bey Relief Committee, thinks that Stanley has by this time reached Emin Bey.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company on August 20 obtained an injunction against the provincial authorities in the Northwest Territory and against contractors of the Red River Railroad, the construction of which these provincial authorities are encouraging so as to make connection with railroads in the United States. The Red River Road will open a line in competition with the Canadian Pacific. The provincial authorities have paid no heed to the injunction, and a clash between them and the Dominion Government seems imminent.

The Bank of London, Ont., suspended payment August 19. It had a subscribed capital of \$1,000,000, of which \$223,588 were paid up. Very little loss is anticipated by bill-holders.

At Halifax on August 20 the *Galatea* won the thousand-dollar jubilee cup. The *Davoutless* won the American cup.

A statue of the last of the Aztec Emperors was unveiled in the City of Mexico August 21. Very few Mexicans of Spanish descent were present, but thousands of Indians, many of whom came from miles around the capital, bringing with them great quantities of flowers, attended the ceremony. When President Diaz unveiled the statue, the spectators cast flowers upon the pedestal in such profusion as almost to hide it. An address was delivered in the Aztec language.

The Peruvian Cabinet has resigned, and a new one has been appointed, consisting of Mariano Alvarez, President of the Cabinet and Minister of Finance; Carlos Elias, Minister of Foreign Relations; Señor Borgono, Minister of War; Señor Torrico, Minister of the Interior; and Señor Sergarcia, Minister of Justice.

THE UNITED LABOR PLATFORM.

Economists of all shades and everywhere, and practical business men and real-estate holders without exception, regard Henry George's taxation shibboleth as a fraud on the human intellect, a cheat and a delusion, and not an economic theory in any sense. It rests on a confusion of ideas as its basis, and when this confusion of thought is dissolved, the supposed economic proposition disappears with it. "It proposes," says the Syracuse platform, "not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title," but "to devote to the common use" (*i. e.*, to expropriate from the owner and make public property of) "those values which, arising not from exertion of the individual, but from growth of society, belong to the community as a whole." Here it is asserted that certain values in land, now held by a private title, are to be devoted to the common use by taxation without disturbing the private title and holding. Both these promises cannot simultaneously be kept. Either the man who expects his private title to remain undisturbed must be cheated, or the man who expects that such of the values of land as "arise from the growth of society" are to be "devoted to the common use" must be deceived. For "use" cannot be had without "title." The only object of "title" is to obtain use, and whatever effectually transfers the use of land, or of its values, from its present owners to new ones transfers the title. Two centuries of the history of English legislation consisted in efforts to render possible the vesting of title to land in one person while another should have the use. It ended by declaring that to whomsoever the use had been effectually conveyed, in him also vested the title. Hence the first assumption of Henry George's main proposition, *viz.*, that owners will retain their titles intact, but that the values of real estate will vest in the State, is not a principle or theory of any kind. It is a flat self-contradiction, and a political humbug of no use except to impose on the understandings of those who want to be imposed upon.

The second humbug underlying the main proposition of the Syracuse platform is that it is possible, under any form or system of taxation, to "abolish all taxes on industry or its products, and leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion." The Government, not being itself a producer of exchangeable commodities, can only derive means for its own subsistence by taking part of the fruits of the exertion of those who do produce them. The officers of Government eat, drink, and are clothed out of the aggregate supply of commodities produced by the people. The promise of Henry George to feed, clothe, and shelter the officers of the Government, and still "leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion," *i. e.*, to collect no taxes which are paid by deduction from the proceeds of the joint exertions of labor and capital in organized industry, is an economic impossibility. It is based on the assumption that the State can continuously and perpetually derive support out of the annual taxation levied on values which have become its own, thus deriving an annual interest from a fund of

which it is in the constant possession. It has usually been assumed in finance that a State could not derive a revenue from taxing its own values or property to which it has the title and use. How a State could grow rich by withdrawing taxation from the property of all private citizens, or "producers," and concentrating it on its own State-house, canals, court-houses, jails, highways, lands, and other State property, is not apparent. And yet the Syracuse theory is, that all the land values which are due to society at large are to be taxed until the capitalization of the annual tax will be equal to the value of the land. When so taxed, the former private owner will have no interest in remaining the nominal owner of these "values," but will be in the condition of a mortgagor whose interest payable on a given piece of real estate equals his rent receivable. Such property, if the scheme could be reduced to legislation, would be remitted to the State, as the great tracts of land in the Adirondack wilderness have periodically been, because the taxes payable thereon equal or exceed the income derivable therefrom.

Up to the period at which the property should be remitted to the State, there would be some residuum of "value" in the owner which the taxation would have failed to extinguish. To that extent the promise would not have been kept of devoting all the value which arises from society to public use. And when the property is remitted to the State, in confession that the last vestige of "socially caused value" has been extinguished, the State, having become the owner, can no longer levy taxes on it, but must proceed, if at all, to work or use it as owner, and depend for revenue on the profits of so working or using it. But these "profits" would not be "taxes" in any sense. They would be, like all other profits of capital, whether managed by the State or by individuals, dependent on the skill and foresight of the State as a manager of production.

Another delusion is, that there can be "taxation of land values to the exclusion of improvements." We can understand what is meant by confiscating ground rents, if this phrase is a euphemism for that operation. As applied to agricultural land in this country, the conception is in the last degree *outré*, for the reason that the improvements are so mixed with the soil that they cannot be separated. As to all such land, the proposed system of taxation is not an idea or a theory of any kind, any more than *Portia's* proposal to permit the pound of flesh to be cut, provided no blood were drawn, was an idea or principle. As to all other land, it is, as Mr. Shevitch affirms, Socialism pure and simple.

The Syracuse Convention shows not a little demagogic skill on the part of its managers in denouncing Socialism and Socialists in form, while elevating all the pith and substance of Socialism into a Host to be worshipped throughout their camp and made the one test of loyalty to their party. Supposing it to be practicable to make the taxing power an engine for divesting all land values from private owners and vesting them in the State, without running athwart the present fundamental principle that private property shall not be taken

for public use without just compensation; evidently, so far as the engine works out its results, it devolves upon the State the same responsibility as to employing these confiscated "values" profitably, as it "disestablishes" from the present owners. To make these values earn a profit, the present owners are compelled to keep them embarked in all the risks and subject to all the losses of active business. In this manner only, and for this motive only, do the owners of capital become the employers of labor. When the engine of State taxation should have transferred these values to the State, a like necessity would devolve on the State to make these values earn a profit, and to this end the State would have to embark as enterpriser in all the industries of which private land-owning capital now has control. The Syracuse platform demands such a system of taxation as would eventually vest all the means of production in the State. It leads up to a crisis in which the State would inevitably become the director of enterprise, the one and only capitalist, the sole profit-maker and employer of labor. Yet it denounces Socialism as foreign to our institutions and absurd, and "does not propose that the State shall attempt to control production or conduct distribution." This crowning self-contradiction is worthy of the others.

PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICANS.

THE guarded approval which the Pennsylvania Republican Convention has given to Mr. Blaine's candidacy in 1888, recalls an anecdote which is told of Mr. Beecher. At one of his Friday evening "talks," a gentleman arose in the audience, and asked him to say whether a man who had lived an upright and strictly moral life, but who was a professed unbeliever in Christianity, would, upon dying, go to heaven or to hell. Mr. Beecher responded promptly, "He would have my best wishes wherever he went." Ever since the Ohio Republican Convention gave its emphatic approval of Senator Sherman's candidacy, a few weeks ago, the idea has been carefully spread abroad that, when the Pennsylvania Republicans came together, there would be a shout sent up for Mr. Blaine which would start the Blaine ball for 1888 rolling at irresistible speed. It was natural to expect such action from Pennsylvania, for that State has been for years the starting-point of the quadrennial Blaine boom. It is also the banner Republican State, and the nursery and stronghold of American protection, undiluted and unlimited. But instead of the ringing shout promised, what do we hear? Why, simply the unimpassioned remark that "the Republicans of Pennsylvania, the native State of the Hon. James G. Blaine, will view with high pleasure his nomination for the Presidency in 1888"; and the consoling information that "accident cannot abate the love of a great party, nor the admiration of a great people, for a statesman true alike to his convictions and to his country." In other words, "Whatever happens, you have our best wishes."

Compare this for a moment with Mr. Sherman's Ohio endorsement, in which, after a fervid tribute to his record as a "statesman of