

"THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

(By Prof. E. P. Evans, published in "Die Allgemeine Zeitung," at Munich, April 20, 1899. Translated from the German by Miss Emma Morton.)

Under this title the famous Anglo-Indian author, Rudyard Kipling, has published a poem in which he summons the United States to follow England's example by extending its power on a magnificent scale over the dusky, half-civilized, or savage inhabitants of foreign lands. This exhortation, couched in pithy, forcible language, seems to have made a strong impression on many Americans, and to have promoted the imperial policy of the party leader now at the helm of state in Washington, who is indiscreetly steering in a new course, leading over unknown, dangerous obstacles and unsuspected shoals. The demand and importunity of the poem impress the reader as being so very peculiar and in part so presumptuous that he is at first inclined to consider it sarcastic, and to believe that the author has torn away the veil of humanity from England's colonial policy, and pilloried it in its naked brutality and loathsome selfishness. But this is not so. Mr. Kipling assumes that the Americans have deliberately set a trap for the Filipinos and caught them, and now he demands in all seriousness that these maliciously subjugated, childlike, trusting races,

"Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child,"

shall be guarded, tamed and civilized. So he sets up England as a model of the noblest and most unselfish efforts, intent only on making all the sons of earth participants in the blessings of civilization, and perfectly free from selfishness and greediness, working for the good of mankind,

"To seek another's profit
And work another's gain."

It is now urgently demanded of the American republic, no longer a minor, that it shall follow in this direction in the footsteps of the old mother country, who has heretofore proved herself only an illwilled and selfish stepmother. This summons is given out of pure love to the kinsmen beyond the sea, to whom England wishes to give an opportunity to participate in the dissemination of mental culture and Christian civilization in the obscure portions of the earth.

English Self-Sacrifice.

Mr. Kipling confesses, and is even quite proud of the fact, that Englishmen have, by these magnanimous efforts, everywhere incurred the hatred of the natives,

"The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard."

But "ingratitude is the world's reward," and the odious tendency everywhere visible to repay good with evil,

benefits with malevolence, only proves how benighted these races are, and how much they need improvement and refinement. This the experienced English perfectly understand, and they grudge no trouble in the fulfillment of their beneficent mission to the world. The greatness of their philanthropy is especially evident in the indefatigable zeal with which they contend for positions in the Indian service. With joyous self-sacrifice they go into exile,

"To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild,"

and deem themselves fortunate in performing the hardest and most degrading labor, "toil of serf and sweeper" for the benefit of the "dull, sullen peoples." It cannot, however, be denied that these eagerly-sought positions in the Indian civil service are very lucrative. The incumbents draw a good salary, and, at the expiration of a comparatively short term of service, receive a large pension. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the English so willingly assume this form of "The White Man's Burden," and are displeased with natives who presume to touch such burdens, even with a finger. The Indian who desires to hold any office whatever in his native land is obliged to betake himself to England and there pursue his studies and pass the required examination. By like favoring of English competitors in the arrangement of orders, all possible hindrances are placed in his way, and the attainment of his object is made extraordinarily difficult. In England the average revenue is 800 marks, in India only 30 marks per individual; nevertheless India has become for England an inexhaustible source of wealth. Notwithstanding this the poorer land is obliged to pay all the costs of the administration of the government, as well as to defray the expenses of the military. India was obliged to pay for the palatial and magnificently furnished building of the "India office" in Whitehall; and when the Sultan of Turkey visited London the enormous expense of an official ball given in his honor was coolly charged to the Indian budget, because the kingly guest was an Oriental ruler. The British did not hesitate to relieve themselves of this inconvenient burden by throwing it upon the already heavily-laden Hindoos, who had not the slightest interest in this act of courtesy, by which England alone profited. According to Mr. Kipling, the white man appropriates the lands of his swarthy brethren and keeps them under his authority in order to protect them with gentle hand from hunger and famine, and to eliminate these evils from the earth:

"Fill full the mouth of famine,
And bid the sickness cease."

India's Famines.

It is to be deplored that these so well considered efforts, combined with such

great self-sacrifice have been crowned with such insignificant success. In the course of the present century India has been visited by famine more than twenty times, and, three years ago, one of the most terrible of these scourges carried off 8,000,000 of human beings. Individual generosity in England and America joined in fighting this famine and accomplished much good; but the money, granted and advanced by the British government, was laid as a burden on the Indian exchequer, and considerably increased the national debt of India. As far as the plague is concerned, it has become endemic; the cholera recurs, often with great virulence and, recently, the Delhi boil, which always rages there, seems to be increasing and threatens to spread and attack the dwellers in the Occident.

We do not dream of denying or belittling the services of the English in India, nor those of the Hollanders in Java, as pioneers of progress and advancers of civilization. During the twenty years which the southwest coast of the Malay peninsula has been under the British protectorate, good macadamized roads have been made and railways built where almost impenetrable thickets and fever-breeding swamps formerly existed. The jungle, once infested by tigers and poisonous serpents, has been in part changed into coffee and spice plantations. During the last decade the population has tripled itself; the public revenue has increased from 4,000,000 to 83,000,000, and the export trade from 24,000,000 to 213,000,000 marks, and the yield of the tin mines has materially increased. This vast material and industrial development of the country has, without doubt, considerably improved the condition of the natives; but the principal share of gain falls to the enterprising, business-like English. It is right that this should be so, and, under the circumstances, no other result would be either possible or just; but it is quite preposterous to consider this lucrative business activity, this zeal for gain in commercial pursuits as purely philanthropic, and to dream of "The White Man's Burden" as being what Kipling represents it. This burden is certainly quite heavy, but it consists principally of booty, part of which he has lawfully acquired by industry, part taken from the native by force or fraud, and in either case he promptly withdraws it from the colonies and takes it to England. Ralph Waldo Emerson finds in the Anglican bishop only a merchant in a surplice; through the fine linen of the priestly garment, he sees the coarse waistcoat of the tradesman. Rudyard Kipling, on the contrary, covers every avaricious merchant and every ambitious political adventurer who seeks to make a fortune in the colonies with the beautifully adorned mantle of an evangelist of philanthropy "in partibus infidelium." A brilliant ex-