

too constant a reference to the distinction of classes—as if people's consciousness of this matter were not (as one may say) chronic, but permanently acute. It is true that, if Trollope's consciousness had not been acute, he would, perhaps, not have given us Lady Lufton and Lady Glencora Palliser. Both of these noble persons are as living as possible, though I see Lady Lufton, with her terror of Lucy Robarts, the best. There is a touch of poetry in the figure of Lady Glencora; but I think there is a weak spot in her history. The actual woman would have made a fool of herself to the end with Burgo Fitzgerald; she would not have discovered the merits of Plantagenet Palliser—or if she had, she would not have cared about them. It is an illustration of the business-like way in which Trollope laid out his work, that he always provided a sort of underplot to alternate with his main story—a strain of narrative of which the scene is usually laid in a humbler walk of life. It is to his underplot that he generally relegates his vulgar people, his disagreeable young women; and I have often admired the pertinacity with which he unfolds this more depressing branch of the tale. Now and then, it may be said, as in "Ralph the Heir," the story appears to be all underplot and all vulgar people. These, however, are details. As I have already intimated, it is difficult to specify in Trollope's work, on account of the immense quantity of it; and there is sadness in the thought that this enormous mass does

not present itself in a very portable form to posterity.

Trollope did not write for posterity; he wrote for the day, the moment; but these are just the writers of whom posterity is apt to take hold. So much of the life of his time is reflected in his novels, that we must believe a part of the record will be saved; and they are full of so much that is sound and true and genial, that readers with an eye to that sort of entertainment will always be sure, in a certain proportion, to turn to them. Trollope will remain one of the most trustworthy, though not one of the most eloquent, of the writers who have helped the heart of man to know itself. The heart of man does not always desire this knowledge; it prefers sometimes to look at history in another way—to look at the manifestations, without troubling about the motives. There are two kinds of taste in the appreciation of imaginative literature: the taste for emotions of surprise, and the taste for emotions of familiarity. It is the latter that Trollope gratifies, and he gratifies it the more that the medium of his own mind, through which we see what he shows us, gives confidence to our sympathy. His natural rightness and purity are so real that the good things he projects must be real. A race is fortunate when it has a good deal of the sort of imagination—of imaginative feeling—that had fallen to the share of Anthony Trollope. Our English race, happily, has much of it.

Henry James.

THE PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED.

A FEW years ago, Philadelphia was the worst governed city in the United States. This statement will call to the reader's mind the condition of New York under the Tweed Ring; but maladministration was at no time so completely and intelligently systematized by Tweed and his associates as it was in Philadelphia by the little group of men who, for ten years, managed the affairs of the Quaker City; nor was it difficult to overthrow. New York, as a rule, is a Republican State, and the Tweed Ring was Democratic; consequently, when a Republican legislature was sitting, the suffering citizens were able to get some relief from the State capital, in the way of amendments to the city charter which took some of the city departments out of the hands of the plunderers. The Philadelphia Ring shrewdly attached itself to the party in power in the State, and, by furnishing

fraudulent majorities in the city to sustain that party in close contests, made itself necessary to the politicians managing the party machine in the State, and by the aid of the large delegation sent to Harrisburg from the city districts obtained a shield and ally in the legislative power. Besides, the members of the Philadelphia Ring were shrewder, more cautious, more dexterous, less openly indecorous, and, to put it bluntly, less hoggish than the rascals who robbed New York. They subsidized the press whenever they could, instead of defying it; they put able and outwardly respectable men in the higher offices instead of coarse ruffians; they behaved quietly in their private lives instead of flaunting their wealth and vices in the face of the public; they held closely together and never let the people know of their quarrels over the spoils. The Philadelphia Ring, like the old New York

Ring, had a large foreign and ignorant native element in the city's population to manipulate at elections; but the former had the disadvantage, in comparison with the New York Ring, of having to deal with upper and middle classes which could more easily be rallied to oppose them, and were often strongly moved by civil pride and local patriotism. A Philadelphian is proud of his city; a New Yorker rarely shows any of the old burgher spirit. To prevent, for ten years, the intelligent, tax-paying classes in Philadelphia from combining to expose and crush the Ring required no small amount of tact and cunning.

When the Philadelphia Ring was at the height of its power, it controlled all branches of the city government, and by its partnership with a State Ring, whose field of operations was the Legislature and the State offices, it was able to make or unmake laws as suited its end. The streets of the city were paved with cobble-stones and were in a shocking condition, dirty and full of ruts and holes, in spite of the large sums nominally spent upon them each year. The tramway companies, though required by their charters to keep the roadways occupied by their tracks well paved from curb to curb, paid no attention to the law, finding it cheaper to cultivate the friendship of the officials whose duty it was to call them to account. The police force was made up of unscrupulous ward politicians, whose first duty was understood by them to be to pack caucuses and conventions and carry elections as the Ring ordered. The officers of the gas-works,—public property in Philadelphia, and called by law the Gas Trust,—charged exorbitant prices for gas, and made enormous profits, which were diverted from the public treasury, and found their way by concealed channels into private pockets. The Delinquent Tax office, by authority of an outrageous statute, extorted a princely revenue from the poor for the benefit of the Ring. The sheriff's fees were double the salary of the President of the United States, and the subordinates in the sheriff's office grew rich on the proceeds of "fixing juries." Political influence filled the public schools with inefficient teachers. The governing bodies of the municipality, the Select and Common councils, were the chief seats of jobbery and corruption. Even the prisons paid tribute to the Ring; and the almshouse was a sink of iniquity, where pauperism was plundered in its last resort. The mayor was a servant of the Ring and a member of a select organization of its members and chief dependents, known as the Pilgrims' Club. The city's representatives in the State Legislature were, with few exceptions, disreputable strikers and tricksters from the low-

est sediment of ward politics, and were commonly known at Harrisburg as "roosters," a term of their own adoption. Corruption entered the courts. Elections were a mockery, and voting a useless trouble, since the Ring regularly manufactured whatever majorities it needed by a system of false counting.

A great change has recently been brought about in this wretched condition of affairs by the sincere, courageous, and persistent efforts of a few business men acting in the field of politics but outside of party lines. These men successfully appealed to the conscience, self-interest, and public spirit of the best classes of their fellow-citizens. They converted opposition to the Ring from a sentiment into an organized effort. They began and carried forward a work of municipal reform, so honest, so thorough, and so efficient, that it deserves to be studied and imitated wherever gross abuses exist in city governments.

The Philadelphia Ring was organized during the war of the rebellion. People's minds were too much occupied with the tremendous struggle for the life and unity of the nation to concern themselves much with their municipal affairs. The nation's extremity was the rogues' opportunity. Besides, the Ring attached itself to the patriotic party carrying on the war. Philadelphia, unlike New York, was an intensely loyal city. Its manufactories were busily employed making goods for the army and navy. In no other city were there so many people working for the Government. The power of the political machine was necessary, in order to carry the city for the Republican party and to carry the State, for, without a considerable majority in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was in danger of going over to the Democrats. Under these circumstances, good citizens were disposed to shut their eyes to what was going on in the municipality. When the fate of the Republic was hanging in the balance and depending on the turn in a battle at the South, or the result of an election in the North, how could they bother about paving contracts or the management of the gas-works or the building of a reservoir? So the Ring grew and prospered, and for more than a decade held the city in absolute control. During those years, it levied a tax of from thirty-five to forty-five cents, on the hundred dollars, heavier than the present rate; it added an average of \$3,000,000 a year to the city's debt; and it made not a single important public improvement. The work of reform has reduced taxation over forty-five cents on each \$100 of valuation, stopped the contraction of debts, made some needed improvements, and shows at the year's end a surplus of about

a million. Contrasting the expenditures under the present reform administration of the city's affairs with those of the Ring administration, it is a reasonable estimate to say that the plunder and waste of the Ring aggregated the enormous sum of five millions of dollars a year. Most of this sum was diffused among hundreds of little sub-bosses, whose support had to be bought by the chiefs of the Ring. In its inner circle, the Ring was composed of six men, who parceled out the principal municipal offices among themselves, or put obedient tools in them to pay over the profits. These six men made up the Republican ticket for city offices as regularly as an election came around. One would say, "I want the sheriff's office this time"; another, "It's my turn to have a whack at the city treasury." Sometimes they would quarrel among themselves over the spoils. Then the nominating convention would be put off for a week or two; but in the end they always agreed, because they could not afford to come to an open rupture. They controlled the primaries and nominating conventions through the police force, made up of men who were actively and shamelessly their servants, and through the contractors and their employes. Under the contract system the Ring had many thousand men in its pay, all expert politicians, so distributed over the city as to operate at canvasses and elections in every ward and voting precinct.

There never was so perfect a political machine. The police and the contractors and their men prevented the nomination of any man for office who was likely to be hostile to the Ring. When a ward was Democratic, the Ring dealt with the local Democratic politicians and purchased their support with place and patronage. The corrupt men of both parties served it with equal zeal. Nobody could be elected to any office in Philadelphia who was not pledged either to active support or passive tolerance of the Ring. Even the men who represented the city in the Congress of the United States declined to take active part against it.

The Ring early took measures to subsidize the public press, and thus to prevent an exposure of its evil practices. Laws were enacted by the Legislature which enabled the city government to spend, through its various departments, an aggregate of a quarter of a million a year in advertising. A considerable portion of this sum was pocketed by the officials themselves in the form of drawbacks from the subsidized newspapers; the remainder enabled them to buy the silence of some papers and the pen-advocacy of others. To one they gave \$50,000; to another, \$25,000; to an-

other, \$10,000. Even the weeklies and the Sunday papers had a share. With several of these sheets the withdrawal of the city advertising meant immediate bankruptcy, and with more than one of the more respectable the difference between enjoying the favor of the Ring and having its enmity was the difference between a comfortable surplus and straitened circumstances. The club dinners, the drives in Fairmount Park, and the summers at Cape May of more than one Philadelphia editor were dependent on his services to the Ring.

Another law, passed early in the history of the Philadelphia Ring, gave it such control over the election machinery that it could count in or count out any ticket or any single candidate. This was the so-called Registry law, passed after the Ring had received a check through the election of a Democratic mayor and district attorney in 1868. The registry lists under this law were made up by the servants of the Ring, who put on or left off such names as they wished. From voting on fictitious names by gangs of repeaters, who went from poll to poll, the fraudulent election system finally progressed to the direct falsification of counts and returns, which was found to be the least expensive and most certain method of defeating the popular will. The inspectors of elections were the creatures of the Ring. Often their return of ballots cast bore no sort of relation to the votes taken from the boxes. When the fraudulent returns from the precincts did not produce the general result desired, there was a canvassing board, sitting with closed doors in the City Hall, which changed the totals. At one election for Governor, the members of this board and other attachés of the Ring made large bets in New York (nobody in Philadelphia was so ignorant of Ring methods as to bet against them) that the Republican candidate would have 20,000 majority in the city. When the returns came in, fraudulent in large part as they were, the majority only footed up a little over 16,000. Thereupon one of the board, commonly known as the "lightning calculator" from his expertness in this sort of rascality, deliberately changed 2000 to the wrong column. The bets were won, and the figures, as thus amended by the lightning process, went into the official returns of the State.

It would be a long story to tell of the struggle against the Philadelphia Ring, and perhaps if told here it would have only a local interest. It assumed many phases; now under the leadership of the Reform Club, an organization semi-social and semi-political; now under that of the Municipal Reform Association; abandoned at times in despair, and then renewed with fresh hope; associating it-

self with regular party politics at times, and then holding aloof; winning some notable successes, only to see their fruits slip away for lack of continuity of effort to retain them. At last, however, after ten years of gallant, spasmodic effort, an organization was evolved from the crying needs of the situation that not only did effective work but held on to all it gained in the direction of good government and made its successes levers to open the way to further achievements. This was the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, formed in 1880. The Committee was chiefly composed of business men, whose names were known to the whole city for their honorable connection with leading mercantile houses. Not a single member was a politician or an aspirant for office. Indeed, the articles of association of the body provide that no person holding any important office under the national, State, or city government shall be eligible for membership; and that any member becoming a candidate for office shall cease to take an active part in the affairs of the Committee, and if elected shall cease to be a member. The purposes of the Committee were concisely set forth at the outset to be: To maintain the purity of the ballot; to secure the nomination and election of a better class of candidates for office; to prosecute and bring to punishment those who had been guilty of election frauds, maladministration of office, or misappropriation of public funds; to prevent objectionable legislation, and aid in procuring such as the public welfare demands; to advocate and promote a public service based upon character and capability only.

In the short space of three years, the Committee of One Hundred has destroyed the power of the Ring, wresting one department of the municipal government after another from its grasp until now but few officials remain in place who are not faithful servants of the interests of the honest tax-paying citizens. Another year will probably complete the good work.

By the time the Committee had won two or three notable successes, the old politicians of both parties realized that here was a new power in municipal affairs which sneers and ridicule and personal abuse did not affect, and which went straight on to its ends without regard to party cries and shrieks about the country's being in danger. The leading idea of the Committee from the first was that national politics had no proper place in a city election; that a man's opinions on the protective tariff, or the national banking law, or the Bourbon régime in the South, were no test of his fitness to collect taxes or manage the gas-works honestly. The politicians found that, in this notion that faithful and competent

men were wanted to manage municipal affairs, without regard to their affiliations with national parties, the Committee had the support of a large majority of the voters of Philadelphia. Great was the consternation when this conviction was borne in upon the minds of the members and hangers-on of the old Ring. What should they do? Should they seek safety in election frauds? Unfortunately for this resource, the Committee followed up so sharply men found guilty of such frauds, and sent so many of them to jail, that the system once so successful could not again be put in operation on a large scale. Since February, 1881, the Committee have secured the conviction of twenty-seven men for violating the election laws.

I have space here only to speak briefly of the methods employed by the Committee of One Hundred to carry on its work. These methods may perhaps be fairly summarized as follows:

First. Every voter is appealed to personally by circulars sent to him at his residence. These circulars are models of brevity, directness, and force. They tell in the plainest language the reasons for opposing this candidate and supporting that. In pointing out corruption and maladministration, they call a spade a spade. Before an election every voter receives at his house the ticket recommended by the Committee.

Second. The Committee never rests its case on rumors or general belief. Specific charges are made against each city department whose management it assails. Facts, and not mere arguments, are presented to the voters. For example, when the Highway department was attacked, the Committee had the work on the streets examined and measured, and compared their own figures with the contracts and bills of the contractors.

Third. The Committee does not meddle with State or national politics. The tickets it sent out last fall were of three kinds: One headed by the Republican, one by the Democratic, and one by the Independent State nominations,—the city nominations of the Committee appearing on all. Thus the voter could take his choice of State tickets, and he saw that the Committee's only object was to secure his aid in reforming abuses in the municipality.

Fourth. A definite, well considered plan for re-organizing the city government, reducing the number of departments, concentrating responsibility, cutting down extravagant salaries, and turning into the treasury the excessive fees which furnish political corruption funds, is adopted in the form of a bill to go before the Legislature, and every candidate for the Legislature obtaining the Committee's indorsement pledges his support to the measure.

Fifth. Efficient local work in the wards and election districts is secured by a system of ward associations acting in concert with the Committee of One Hundred.

Sixth. There is a special committee of the Committee of One Hundred on election frauds, which offers rewards for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons guilty of violating the election laws. The work of the committee has terrorized the whole gang of ballot-box stuffers, personators, repeaters, and false counters, and by vigilant watching of the polls has made honest elections possible.

Seventh. The cost of bad government to the individual citizen is plainly shown in dollars and cents. If he be a taxpayer, the amount added to his taxes is figured up; if he rents a house or only a few rooms, he is informed that he pays a certain amount monthly in the way of increased rental because of the corrupt and wasteful management of municipal affairs.

THE Committee of One Hundred has of late been sustained by a number of the leading newspapers of Philadelphia. When the Reform work was first begun in that city only one daily journal sustained it. With the awak-

ening and organization of public opinion has come about a better state of affairs in the press, and in the last contest at the polls most of the influential dailies were on the side of the Committee. In converting the people to faith in the need and feasibility of reform the Committee have converted the press, so that reputable papers are no longer silenced by advertising bribes.

The history of the Committee of One Hundred in Philadelphia shows that the evils of extravagance and corruption in municipal administration, so common in American cities, are not the necessary concomitants of universal suffrage in communities made up in considerable part of the ignorant and the irresponsible; that such evils grow out of the inactivity, indifference, and easy-going tolerance of the intelligent, property-owning classes; that by proper effort a majority can always be obtained for honest men and good government, even under the most discouraging conditions; and that the strongest, best organized, and most firmly seated ring of politicians that ever systemized plunder and misrule can be broken and destroyed by the persevering attacks of plain business men without experience in the arts of politics.

E. V. Smalley.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE JOHN BROWN RAID.

BY A VIRGINIAN WHO WITNESSED THE FIGHT.

STORER COLLEGE, at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, a flourishing institution "for the education of colored youth of both sexes," owes its existence to the philanthropic gentleman of New England whose name it has taken. At its fourteenth annual commencement on May 30, 1881, Frederick Douglass, who is undoubtedly the most gifted orator of his race, delivered a eulogistic address on old John Brown, in which he claimed for him "the honor" of having originated the war between the Northern and Southern sections of our Union,—summing up his conclusions on this point in the following expressive language: "If," said he, "John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places, and men for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia,—not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry and the arsenal,—not Major Anderson, but John Brown began the war that ended American slavery, and made this a free republic. Until this blow was struck,

the prospect for freedom was dim, shadowy, and uncertain. The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes, and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared,—the time for compromises was gone,—the armed hosts of freedom stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union, and the clash of arms was at hand."

These words, uttered with an emphasis belonging to a strong conviction of their truth, will be accepted by the public as an authentic but somewhat tardy confession of one who, as a confidential coadjutor of Brown in his conspiracy against the South, is understood to have been fully acquainted with his plans and purposes; and the avowal thus frankly made by him is sufficiently confirmed by the contemporaneous facts to which it refers. For, when a complete and impartial history of our late civil war shall be written, it will be seen that the "John Brown Raid," at Harper's Ferry, in the latter part of 1859, was indeed the beginning of actual hostilities in the Southern States; that then and