

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

George Washington and Memorial Day.

THE intrusion of a mass of new Washington material into a number of THE CENTURY intended to be in especial keeping with the sentiment of Decoration, or Memorial, Day, is surely not an inappropriate or unwelcome intrusion. In bringing out, just a year after the Centennial of Washington's inauguration, these relics of the first President, it is well to recall once more the salutary fact that the first soldier of the New World remains also its first citizen.

As a soldier, it is easy now to see that his greatness consisted largely in the way he received disaster. He proved his nobility in rising above defeat, in wrenching success from failure; in keeping an immovable front against reverse, detraction, and infamous abuse. His life was one long struggle; not, as to a superficial view it might seem, a series of mere fortunate successes. High character, rather than "good luck," was his immortal equipment.

But it is as a citizen that Washington gives what may be thought to be the most valuable lesson of his career — the lesson of absolute honesty, absolute disinterestedness. Let those who preach, who teach, who vote, make the contrast on all occasions between the tone of Washington and that of every public man of to-day who falls below his standard. The standard is not too high for any man. Washington was no angel, saint, or demigod. We have a right to exact from every man who takes public service equal public virtue. The people do this theoretically, if not practically, already; but we will not have city, State, or national government what it should be till we make the demand in practice as well as in theory.

To the veteran of our day the lesson of Washington's citizenship applies with special force. Does not every true and manly ex-soldier know that not every one who fought for the Union a quarter of a century ago has frankly re-assumed his citizenship — without boast or insistence or unmanly demand? And yet what noble examples of self-respecting, unselfish return to private life and civic duties have been afforded by our disbanded armies. All honor to the dead who died in the time and act of war; all honor to the true soldiers who have died in the succeeding years of peace; all honor to their worthy living comrades! And how fortunate that the sentiment of reunion across the lines is already an old and trite story — that the blue and the gray so often unite to decorate the graves of those who, living, bravely and honestly contended.

The New Movement in Education.

THIS generation is witnessing a widespread and intelligent interest in the subject of popular education such as even Horace Mann never dreamed of. A profounder appreciation of what citizenship implies and involves is leading to more strenuous efforts to remove the blight

of illiteracy, and to give to every child at least an elementary education, in order that he may not be wholly unprepared for the opportunities and responsibilities of manhood. It may be that many of these efforts are ill-timed and misdirected, but they are all earnest and actuated by lofty motives. In countries where the educational administration is national, and therefore centralized, these new movements produce an effect quickly. Where the local communities must first be reached effects follow more slowly, but, perhaps with the more complete indorsement of the common people, and consequently with a greater chance of permanence.

In the United States the organization and supervision of public education is, without exception, a function of the State governments. The United States has a Bureau of Education, but it is only advisory; the municipalities and townships have Boards of Education and school trustees respectively, but they act by virtue of State legislation and under limitations and restrictions similarly imposed. We have, therefore, in this country no national system of education in the sense that such a thing exists in Prussia or in France, but rather forty-two systems of education. The points of difference between these various systems are almost as many as the points of agreement. Yet, while each State has its own educational laws, and raises, appropriates, and distributes its school funds as it sees fit, there is a well-defined movement in each State to learn by the experience of the others; and slowly but surely that uniformity which the Constitution neither imposed nor provided for is brought about by the action of the States themselves.

Perhaps no single agency contributes as much to this end as the frequent gathering of teachers and educational administrators in associations and conferences. The number of these bodies now meeting regularly to study and discuss the various phases that the problem of public education presents is quite beyond calculation. Undoubtedly the most effective of these associations, and the one that carries most weight with the general public, is that known as the Department of Superintendence, National Educational Association, which held its annual meeting a few weeks ago in the city of New York. This body is composed of the State, county, and city superintendents of schools throughout the country, and for many years past has considered and debated those educational questions that seemed to possess the most immediate and practical interest. Having no official existence, and consequently no legislative responsibility, the Department of Superintendence enjoys a certain freedom of speech and action which is as unique as it is beneficial in a body constituted of such representative men. Almost every educator of note in the country has at some time or other spoken before the Department. At the recent meeting, for example, the presidents of Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, and Rutgers colleges, as well as the

United States Commissioners of Education and of Indian Affairs, appeared upon the programme. The presence of such men is a warrant that the discussions will be lofty in tone and practical in character.

It is not easy to select from the many topics touched upon at the New York meeting those which are of the greatest general interest. A very able discussion was called out by the subject of "The Education of the Negro in the South," and no mere comment could do justice to it. At another session the place that education should occupy in any international exposition that may be held in 1892 was clearly indicated, and a host of valuable suggestions placed at the disposal of those who may be charged with the organization of an educational exhibit. In one of the most forcible papers of the session, Superintendent Maxwell of Brooklyn discussed city school systems,—which, as every one knows, offer very serious problems peculiar to themselves,—and pointed out that the only power which can be relied upon to check and uproot the evil forces that have crept into the municipal administration of education is the State Department of Public Instruction. The sentiment of the majority of the meeting was in favor of Mr. Maxwell's very cautious and conservative suggestions, though the representatives from New England, where the town is still the political unit, were unable to indorse them fully. President Eliot presented with marked ability and success the subject of secondary education in this country. His opinion of its present condition will be gathered from the following adjectives which, among others, were applied at various points in the paper, either to the secondary schools themselves, or to the instruction which they offer: "defective, disjointed, and heterogeneous," "deficient in number and defective in quality," "feeble and distracted." Not least in importance of the occurrences at this meeting were the unanimous indorsement by the Department of the International Copyright Bill and the resolution calling for the reorganization of the National Bureau of Education as an independent Department, such as that of Agriculture used to be, and that of Labor now is.

The Lingering Duello.

THAT remnant of savagery, the single combat, including the duel, the street-fight, "posting," and every form of provocation to single combat, has had its day in most parts of our country, and that from influences of all kinds. There were times in New York City when the duel was an admitted possibility of politics; when De Witt Clinton could publicly style his opponent, Swartwout, "a liar, a scoundrel, and a villain"; when in the duel which followed, after five shots had been exchanged and Swartwout had been wounded in two of them, he sat up and pleaded vainly for another round; when it was charged publicly that the young men of the Burr faction were endeavoring to "pick off" their political opponents by relays of challenges. All this led up to the killing of Hamilton and the sermon of Dr. Nott thereon, one of those sermons which have stirred our people's hearts to the core. From that time, in this part of the country, every provocation to a duel has been largely neutralized by the knowledge that the jury's oath and the judge's charge would be conditioned largely by Dr. Nott's sermon. There have been duels among army and navy officers, until the

growth of public sentiment has suppressed them. There have been historical duels, such as those of Lincoln and Shields, or of Terry and Broderick; but Western legislation has found summary means for suppressing them.

In one part of the country public opinion is still too strong for either law or gospel, and maintains, in opposition to both of them, the right and duty of the individual to defend his own position, if need be, by some form of single combat. No doubt it is a remnant of militarism: just as the military classes of modern Europe insist upon the duel as a class privilege, the upper classes of Southern whites, who used to maintain slavery by a semi-military organization, retain this mode of militarism, though slavery is gone. Those of us who live in other sections of the country are beginning to learn something of the severity of the problems which slavery has left behind it, and the curious complication of forces which makes the solution of one of these problems seem for the time to be worse than useless. We have felt for a quarter of a century that the negro was not a political man until his place in the jury-box was assured to him. The influential classes of the South, to do them justice, have gradually come to the same conclusion, and we have had a spectacle well calculated to bring Governor Hammond out of his grave in protest—a "chivalrous" white man tried for his life in Charleston before a jury of which a majority were negroes.

And yet the immediate results were very far from good. The case only showed that the negro juror was quite as demoralized as his white colleague; that "boss" and "massa" were still as supreme with one as "chivalry" was with the other; and that the duello in the South rested not on the support of unthinking whites alone, but of unthinking blacks also. The brutal case of murder resulted in an acquittal.

Is this untoward event to close the efforts of those who have carried the negro thus far on the road towards equal manhood? Are they to decide that their own race needs conversion first, and that the negro must, until then, be left to himself? To do so would be to forget that every taint of slavery in the status of the negro means the survival of militarism and the duello among the whites. How much this means is well worth the serious thought of those who are remaking the South. Are they to rely upon the natural wealth of their region, upon its iron and other metals, upon its cotton and cotton-seeds, and upon the coming in of men from other sections to claim a share of all this wealth? They will be relying upon a broken reed. Bankers, mill-owners, superintendents of factories and railways, do not work, if they can help it, in an environment which compels the use of the pistol-pocket. Northern manufacturers and business men, who realize the intensity of the competition which is some day to come upon them from the South, will do their work with less present apprehension so long as any lingering remnant of the duello shall wind its tentacles around Southern business.

Of course there is no real belief or desire in the North and West that the welfare of their sections should be founded permanently upon the crippling of competition in the South; one section cannot be crippled but that the others shall feel it profoundly. On the other hand, the suggestions offered are to the thinking men of the

South, who have emancipated themselves from the enslaving notions of "chivalry"; who have learned at least that clerks and farmers' boys are none the less men for their contempt of a country which retains any vestiges of the "code." It is such Southern men who have given their section its progress since 1865, and they should not despair of the Republic now. The shouting mobs of unthinking men, white and black, are in the supremacy now. The thinking white men of the South and the black men whom they have taught to think and act with them, and to know how absolutely incompatible are "chivalry" and common sense, the duello and modern business—these are the men whose persistent, never discouraged influence will finally rid the South of every form of single combat.

The Churches and the Poor.

ONE of the noteworthy features of recent years has been the earnestness with which the relations of the Christian Church, and particularly of the various Protestant sects, to the poor have been discussed in all their aspects, religious, sociological, and even political. The general subject involves problems under all these heads the elements of which are so incompletely understood that the answers can as yet only be guessed at; and on the other hand it, with its possible or probable answers, forms an essential element in other social problems, the solutions of which will be very seriously modified by the shape which is finally given to this one. There is room, then, for temperate discussion representing every shade of opinion and belief: layman or cleric, Christian, doubter, or indifferent—all have some reasons for interest in the general question.

The discussion has been more temperate than has always been the case with kindred questions. The general feeling, even of those who have not felt or professed any sympathy with the supernatural claims of Christianity, has been that it has relations to the problems of poverty which deserve as calm and careful consideration as any purely scientific subject could receive; and this, in most cases, has given the tone to their share of the discussion. The clerical element has apparently been willing to consider the question of human instrumentality, of plans and methods, as well as that of purpose, as fundamental to the question. And the lay element of the Church, apparently encouraged by the attitude of its habitual opponents and of its pastoral superiors, has entered the discussion and contributed largely to its interest and to the value of its results. Few discussions of the kind have been so free from the *odium theologicum*, and the tone and temper of the parties have served to make many points of Church policy clearer than they had ever been before.

It is possible, then, that a secular magazine may point out one element of the problem that deserves consideration, at least. The religious side, the merely ethical side, the economical side, the political side, of the subject have received each its share of consideration; and it seems to have been assumed that a solution which could fairly cover all these points would be complete. There is, however, one purely material side of the question, which touches or qualifies each of the others—in this country, at any rate—and constitutes a secondary influence; that is, what might be called the social geography which is involved.

The drift of Americans into city life, resulting thus far in an urban population of at least twenty-five per cent., is a familiar fact. It has carried most of the "poorer classes" into the cities and kept them and their children there, so that the relations of the Church to the poor have become in our time a question of Church policy in our cities. Any influence, then, natural or artificial, which affects the distribution of classes in our cities, must have its effect on the problem under consideration. One influence of this kind might be found in the influence which facilities of water transportation have had on the location of American cities. The brilliant person who first noticed that Providence had caused so many important rivers to flow past large cities could hardly have found so many cases in point anywhere else as in the United States. Of course, there are cases of the kind everywhere. But many of the English cities, for example, date from a time when there was comparatively little intercommunication, and the presence or absence of a water-way was of far less importance than in later times. American cities all date from a time when intercommunication had fairly begun, and their founders looked of necessity to water-ways as an element in their location. Even in the case of cities which have been founded or developed under the influence of the railroad, the superior cheapness of water transportation has compelled attention.

The American city may have been built along the line of a single river or lake-front, as in the case of Cincinnati or Chicago; or in the embrace of two rivers, as in the case of New York or Philadelphia; or bays may take the place of rivers, as in the case of Boston or San Francisco. In any of these cases the water limitation will modify the social geography and social development of the city so as to make it reflect the type characteristics of its prototype, London. The "West End" of the American city will not be of necessity in the same direction. It may be developed on a bluff, away from the water, or "up-town," or on its "Nob's Hill"; but in any case it makes the social distance very great and marked between this quarter of the city and that given over to the lower and even to the middle classes. There must be some such interval in any city, but it is much greater by reason of the immovable boundary than in a city which is free to expand in *any* direction. This is especially the case with those city locations which have rivers on two sides, New York City being the best example. The confluent streams compress the city to a point; and the wealthier class, as it enlarges and seeks more room for the establishment of its own neighborhood, is pushed "up-town" very much farther and farther than in cities in which a lateral expansion is possible. However much this tendency may be relieved by ferry and railway systems and by suburban development, it cannot but have its peculiar effect in widening the modern distance between rich and poor.

And the consequent social geography of the American city must have its influence on the problems involved in the relations of the Church to the poor. How, for example, are the rich and the poor to meet together in the same house of worship when circumstances have driven their habitual residences much more than a Sabbath-day's journey apart? Is it quite fair to say that it is the architecture, the upholstery, the millinery, of a "fashionable up-town church" which keeps the

poor out of it? or to assume that a "free-pew system" is all that is needed to bring the poor into it? The building might be as barren of architectural effects as the early colonial churches; the pews might be bare boards, and open to all the world; the members might limit their wardrobes to the dress of Sisters of Charity; but the poor would not come in. Even the region in which the building is placed is almost a *terra incognita* to the poor; they live many squares to the southward, or off on the East or the West side; the public opinion of the up-town church, on such a subject as that of spending Sunday at Coney Island or up the Hudson, has no interest or importance to them; and many of them have personal objections even to the substituted relationship of the mission church. If the rich will not go to the mission church, and the poor will not go to the up-town church, how is the widening chasm be-

tween the two classes to be closed or bridged? That is the problem which is one of the results of the modern development of cities, particularly in our own country.

Our purpose is not to suggest any solution of the problem, only to ask attention to the cumulative natural forces which tend to make it continually more difficult of solution for the future. Hardly any question of our times better deserves attention. One need not even be a believer in Christianity to appreciate its gravity; it is only necessary that he should appreciate the part which Christianity has hitherto played, merely as a social force, in Germanic development. The segregation of the people into classes is always a peril in a democracy; will it be made less noxious by the failure of a social force which for so many centuries has been preaching the equality of man?

OPEN LETTERS.

The G. A. R. as seen from the Inside.

IN 1874 a Massachusetts soldier, General Charles Devens, addressing the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic as its fourth Commander-in-Chief, spoke warmly of the plans and aims of the new order, and his words, though intended only for the hour when they were spoken, served as an outline for the future of the fraternity of veterans. He said that if old schoolmates and classmates delight to keep up the happy ties of former days, surely that affection which unites men who have suffered together must be no ordinary one. Soldiers cannot be insensible to the merits of comrades who stood with them in the ranks of war, and upon whose fidelity and courage their own lives often depended, and it would prove a grateful duty to do justice to the memory of those who have fallen, and to guard the welfare of the living, also. Whatever the public may do, he continued, either through general or State laws, for the survivors who become dependent, there must still remain many cases calling for individual assistance from private hands, and the associated veterans, while strengthening and brightening the friendship that began in the ranks, would support those private charities of which the distressed and broken might be in need.

The views of General Devens were the popular ones at that time among those who adhered to the association, but the movement was just emerging from the experimental stage, and the veterans generally considered its future as uncertain. At the present date the Grand Army has probably reached its highest limit in point of numbers and influence, and its record has been made chiefly within the last fifteen or sixteen years. The six thousand posts that now constitute it are so many local clubs devoted to those deeds of friendliness outlined by General Devens, and which are symbolized in the well-known motto, Fraternity, Charity, Loyalty. The posts of the Grand Army owe their existence entirely to the impulse of the veterans who maintain them, and are located almost wholly in the northern belt of States extending to, and across, the Missouri River, and on the Pacific coast. In the older communities, and more especially, perhaps, in the great

cities, liberal provisions for relief have been called out by the numerous cases of destitution, while the multitude of social attractions in these localities have inclined the veterans to sociability in their gatherings, and works of charity and fraternal enjoyments now distinguish the order in the East. In the newer communities the question of relief is regulated by the urgency of the need and the means that are at command to meet it; but there fraternity has the deeper meaning, and it becomes on occasions another mystic tie, showing its power alike in public and commercial circles, and in social life. Loyalty is a factor that admits of no variableness, since every one who claims the privilege of the order, or receives any of its benefits, must have been a Union soldier, or must be known to have a dependent relation to one who wore the blue.

The G. A. R. organization is shaped after the plan of an enthusiast, Dr. B. F. Stephenson, who organized the first local society, or post, at Decatur, Illinois, in 1866. Dr. Stephenson had been a surgeon in the Western army, and having while yet in the service conceived the idea of forming an association of old comrades when the war should end, he began the agitation in 1865 by correspondence with his former camp associates. As a result of this agitation a ritual was prepared from models taken from the Masons and the Odd Fellows, and Post No. 1, Department of Illinois, was instituted. Although it was intended by the founders to make the movement a national one, the causes which led to the rapid growth of the order throughout the North were quite outside of those that were operating from the little center at Decatur, Illinois. By 1866, in several States the Union veterans had already formed associations for mutual benefit. Kansas had a "Veteran Brotherhood"; Wisconsin, several independent Soldiers' and Sailors' leagues; Massachusetts, a "Grand Union Army and Navy Veterans'" association, and a "Soldiers' and Sailors' Union"; New York, a "Soldiers' and Sailors' Union"; Pennsylvania, an association called the "Boys in Blue," and Connecticut, a "United Service Club." The avowed object of all these societies was the advancement of the true interests of the soldier; in other words, the accomplishment of a work of brother-

hood. The problem was a difficult one, especially as the meetings were held in open convention; and experience gained in other fraternities suggested to the veterans that they abandon the convention method, unite under a strong vow, and adopt a system of instruction. In the winter of 1866-67, the Grand Army of the Republic, which had started out with those features, a solemn oath, and an impressive ritual, was brought to the attention of the soldiers throughout the North, and the veteran societies then existing were rapidly changed into posts and departments of that order. The idea was very popular, and at the second annual encampment of the order, held at Philadelphia in January, 1868, there were representatives from twenty-one States. The strength of the movement lay in the West, and the delegates from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio constituted one-half of the assembly. An Illinois veteran, General John A. Logan, was elected commander-in-chief. This encampment was successful, and decided two very important questions for the new association of veterans. It would be national and absorb all others; it would be secret and non-partisan. The exact lines on which so vast an organization would develop could not be fixed by resolutions or by-laws. Dr. Stephenson's ideas of secrecy and fraternity were sustained by a large following in the West, and the rules and the ritual that had originated with him were retained with some amendment. Some common impulse was needed, and it was found at length in the noble instinct of charity. The general regulations which were formed at that time made it binding upon each post to have a relief fund for the assistance of needy veterans and their widows and orphans.¹

In some favored localities the relief fund was looked upon at first as a sentimental hobby that would never be called into real service; but it appears from the reports of the Department of New York for 1872, that the posts of the State had generally founded such funds, and put them to practical use. Some of the posts in large cities had paid out in relief during the year amounts averaging ten dollars for each post member, and the surplus on hand for relief in these posts averaged twenty dollars for each member. The amount reported officially for the whole country during three years past has averaged nearly \$250,000 each year, and an equal sum, by a narrow estimate, is distributed in a form of private charity that is not entered upon the post records. The three annual reports referred to also show that about one-third of the beneficiaries during those years did not belong to the order. It is but just to state here, too, that so far as the members of the order are themselves concerned in receiving relief from the post funds, it is in a large measure the return of "bread cast upon the waters." The recipient has at some time, and perhaps regularly, and for a long period, contributed to the fund which succors him in his need.

The committees having in charge the work of relief

¹ The application of the fund is not restricted to members of the order, and a call is made at each post meeting on behalf of any soldier or his dependents who may need relief. The methods for sustaining the fund are left to the selection of the posts. Usually it is done by direct donations and the use of balances in the post treasury. The amount of fees payable upon initiation to a post or upon transfer from one post to another, and also of the annual dues for membership, is determined by each society, and in addition to these revenues, which are regular, the relief fund may be increased by a general assessment.

² It is a fact also not generally known, that any member, or post,

act also as employment committees. In large cities, particularly in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, and Buffalo, there is a central employment bureau, and all posts within the limits cooperate with it. Relief committees generally have full power to aid all worthy applicants who are in immediate distress, and if any applicants are entitled to admission to institutions of relief the committees can at discretion place them there. The "Woman's Relief Corps" and the "Ladies of the G. A. R." have for a number of years supplemented the labors of the Grand Army in the work of immediate relief. The Relief Corps has expended an average of \$70,000 a year for three years past. The "Ladies of the G. A. R." is an independent society, devoted to special work in attending suffering comrades of the Grand Army.

In some States where soldiers' homes were needed, the Grand Army founded them before asking help from the State governments.

Aside from the distinct features of benevolent work, there are attractions in the G. A. R. for men who are eligible. The vow, with the exception of what it demands for fraternity and charity, is an exceedingly simple one for a United States citizen to make, and it leaves entire freedom in politics and religion and in all civic and social duties.²

There has been scarcely a period in the career of the Grand Army not marked by progress, and from time to time it has overcome the evils that have threatened its usefulness and stability, the chief of which has been the desire of partisans and others to use it for political or private ends. The *personnel* of the order has been changed throughout many times, and the earliest adherents would hardly recognize the methods at work to-day.

Of the features that have been instituted in advance of the original purposes of the society the most prominent, and probably the most important, is memorial work. The Memorial Day is now honored in nearly every Northern State; but the chief feature of the observance, the marching columns of veterans, will soon decline, and then the festival will lose its impressiveness. Some more enduring memorial will be required to perpetuate the story of the war. In many places the Grand Army has undertaken to build monuments and memorial halls, and the preservation of war relics and historical documents. The vast work of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association has been inspired and supported by veterans and posts of the order. Ohio has several memorial buildings; Indiana, a \$25,000 monument; Vermont, a monument under way. Rhode Island is moving for a memorial hall, while New York is trying to secure a monument in Central Park, and also to erect a Grant Memorial. The Department of New York has secured a room in the Capitol at Albany for the preservation of documents having historical value and of relics of the battlefield and of the service.³

The labors of the Grand Army veterans have been

or department, is free to criticize and to oppose the action of any committee, local, State, or national.

³ The efforts in this direction of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, a veteran society composed of ex-officers of the Union army, may be appropriately mentioned here. The District Commanderies of Washington, Boston, and Philadelphia, and the Grand Commandery of Ohio, are doing much to perpetuate the glory of American soldiers, and eventually to elucidate historical points. The Ohio Commandery published recently a valuable collection of papers read before the society under the title of "Sketches of War History."

so important in results that the question often arises whether the work shall rest where they leave it, or whether it shall be handed down to a younger generation with like impulses of charity and patriotism. The "Sons of Veterans," an independent military order now numbering about eighty thousand cadets, are preparing to receive the mantle whenever their elders shall summon them as worthy to bear it.

George L. Kilmer.

Martial Epitaphs.

A STROLL through any of our national cemeteries will suggest the idea that the War Department has official knowledge of but one elegiac poem. Quotations from this one poem are repeated over and over, at the gateways and on painted boards at the turns of the avenues among the graves. In Antietam cemetery one might pick up and put together almost the entire production from these inscriptions. Some stanzas are striking in imagery, as well as perfect in technique, especially the quatrain oftenest quoted:

On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
But Glory guards, with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead.

But the poem—at least for the purpose to which it has been so ostentatiously put—has a radical and fatal fault. It lacks all moral character. Its sole argument is, These men were killed in battle, therefore they are to be glorified, no matter whether they were making righteous or unrighteous war. The elegy would be quite as appropriate for Tecumseh's mercenary braves at the Thames, or the Sepoys that were blown to shreds at Lucknow, or the Zulus that fell at Rorke's Drift, or the Tae-pings at Canton, or the Mahdi's dead in the Soudan. You may chant the same dirge for the Dyaks and the Maoris that fell in their murderous forays.

If this were the best we could say for the men that saved the Union, however musical the lines in which we express it, I, as an American citizen, should be heartily ashamed of American letters; though we hardly had a right to expect more from this poem, since it was written to commemorate volunteer soldiers who had lost their lives in an unholy war, that with Mexico—known to be so at the time, and since pronounced so by the most illustrious man that took part in it (see Grant's "Memoirs," Vol. I., p. 53). Let me broaden the proposition. If the cause of the Confederacy was just, or if its advocates thought it was just, this poem, it seems to me, is not worthy of being quoted over the graves of those who fell in the vain attempt to establish it.

Had the Quartermaster-General taken the trouble to inquire of some one conversant with American poetry, he might have learned that there is no lack of appropriate verses having both poetic merit and moral character, with which he could at least have given some variety to the literature of our national cemeteries. Here is an instance:

They marched and never halted,
They scaled the parapet,
The triple lines assaulted,
And paid without regret
The final debt.

The debt of slow accruing
A guilty nation made,
The debt of evil doing,
Of justice long delayed,
"T was this they paid.

On fields where Strife held riot,
And Slaughter fed his hounds,
Where came no sense of quiet,
Nor any gentle sounds,
They made their rounds.

They wrought without repining,
Till, weary watches o'er,
They passed the bounds confining
Our green familiar shore,
Forevermore.

The poem from which these stanzas are taken was written by Theodore P. Cook, a journalist of Utica, who served in the 14th New York Artillery during the civil war. Here are eight lines from a poem written on the eve of the battle of Fredericksburg by Michael O'Connor, a sergeant in the 140th New York Infantry, who died in the service:

May all our boys who fall be found
Where men lie thickest at the front,
Where brave hearts bore the battle's brunt,
Contesting every inch of ground;
Though well we know dead men to be
But broken tools that Freedom flings
Aside, alas! as useless things,
In carving out her destiny.

From Henry Howard Brownell, one of the few famous poets that have actually participated in the battles they have described, might be chosen several appropriate passages—unless, indeed, his poetry is too vigorously loyal for the temper of the time. He was an ensign on the flagship *Hartford* when she led the fight in Mobile Bay. Dr. Holmes called him "our battle laureate," and wrote an article for "The Atlantic Monthly" to prove that he deserved the title. These stanzas are from the close of Brownell's "Bay Fight":

O Mother Land, this weary life
We led, we lead, is 'long of thee;
Thine the strong agony of strife,
And thine the lonely sea.

Ah, ever, when with storm sublime
Dread Nature clears our murky air,
Thus in the crash of falling crime
Some lesser guilt must share.

To-day the Dahlgren and the drum
Are dread apostles of his name;
His kingdom here can only come
By chrisn of blood and flame.

But never fear a victor foe—
Thy children's hearts are strong and high;
Nor mourn too fondly—well they know
On deck or field to die.

Nor shalt thou want one willing breath,
Though, ever smiling 'round the brave,
The blue sea bear us on to death,
The green were one wide grave.

For a briefer inscription, four lines from a poem by Rossiter W. Raymond, who served as a staff-officer, would be appropriate:

Whether we fight or whether we fall
By saber-stroke or rifle-ball,
The hearts of the free will remember us yet,
And our country, our country will never forget!

Benjamin F. Taylor, the poet and essayist, had a son in one of the Western armies, and himself followed that army as a press correspondent. These lines, from his "Cavalry Charge," are picturesque, sympathetic, and significant:

There are ragged gaps in the walls of blue,
Where the iron surge rolled heavily through,
That the Colonel builds with a word again
As he cleaves the din with his "Close up, men!"
And the groan torn out from the blackened lips,
And the prayer doled slow with the crimson drips,
And the beaming look in the dying eye
As under the cloud the stars go by.
But his soul marched on, the Captain said,
For the Boy in Blue can never be dead.

Richard Realf served for three years in the 88th Illinois Infantry, and some of his lyrics were written in the field, where he won promotion by his skill and gallantry. He was a friend of Lytle, the soldier and poet, when the general fell at Chickamauga. Here are two striking stanzas from Realf:

I think the soul of Cromwell kissed
The soul of Baker, when,
With red sword in his bloody fist,
He died among his men.
I think, too, that when Winthrop fell,
His face toward the foe,
John Hampden shouted "All is well!"
Above that overthrow.

And Lyon, making green and fair
The places where he trod,
And Ellsworth, sinking on the stair
Whereby he passed to God,
And those whose names are only writ
In hearts, instead of scrolls,
Still show the dark of earth uplift
With shining human souls.

Edmund Clarence Stedman, who was with the Army of the Potomac, wrote perhaps a dozen martial poems. From his "Gettysburg" might be quoted:

The bells that peal our triumph forth anon shall toll the brave,
Above whose heads the cross must stand, the hillside grasses wave.
Alas! alas! the trampled grass shall thrive another year,
The blossoms on the apple-boughs with each new spring appear;
But, when our patriot soldiers fall, Earth gives them up to God;
Though their souls rise in clearer skies, their forms are as the sod;
Only their names and deeds are ours—but, for a century yet,
The dead who fell at Gettysburg the land shall not forget.

These lines are from George H. Boker's "Black Regiment," and would be eminently appropriate in a cemetery where the dusky heroes of Olustee and Fort Wagner are represented:

"Freedom!" their battle-cry—
"Freedom! or leave to die!"
Ah! and they meant the word,
Not as with us 't is heard,
Not a mere party shout.
They gave their spirits out,
Trusted the end to God,
And on the gory sod
Rolled in triumphant blood.

During the last year of the war Edna Dean Proctor contributed to the publication of a sanitary fair a noble poem from which I take these stanzas:

Mother Earth, are the heroes dead?
Do they thrill the soul of the years no more?
Are the gleaming snows and the poppies red
All that is left of the brave of yore?

Are there none to fight as Theseus fought
Far in the young world's misty dawn?
Or to teach as the grey-haired Nestor taught?
Mother Earth, are the heroes gone?

Gone? In a grander form they rise!
Dead? We may clasp their hands in ours,
And catch the light of their clearer eyes,
And wreath their brows with immortal flowers.
Wherever a noble deed is done,
'T is the pulse of a hero's heart is stirred;
Wherever the Right has a triumph won,
'There are the heroes' voices heard.

A little "Dirge for a Soldier," by the Rev. Samuel P. Merrill, which has been much admired, contains these lines:

The heart so leal and the hand of steel
Are palsied aye for strife,
But the noble deed and the patriot's meed
Are left of the hero's life.
The bugle call and the battle ball
Again shall rouse him never;
He fought and fell; he served us well;
His furlough lasts forever.

John G. Whittier was in his fifty-fourth year when the civil war began, and could not have taken part in it even had he not been a Quaker. But as he had been mobbed for promulgating antislavery doctrines, on one occasion barely escaping with his life, he may fairly be said to have been under fire in the preliminary skirmishes. He wrote some of the finest poems that were inspired by the war, and this passage from one of them might properly find a place among our public epitaphs:

The future's gain
Is certain as God's truth; but meanwhile pain
Is bitter, and tears are salt: our voices take
A sober tone; our very household songs
Are heavy with a nation's griefs and wrongs;
And innocent mirth is chastened for the sake
Of the brave hearts that nevermore shall beat,
The eyes that smile no more, the unreturning feet.

James Russell Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" necessarily comes to mind in this connection. It has several passages that would grandly decorate our national cemeteries, perhaps none better than this:

Many loved Truth, and lavished life's best oil
Amid the dust of books to find her,
Content at last, for guerdon of their toil,
With the cast mantle she hath left behind her.
Many in sad faith sought for her,
Many with crossed hands sighed for her;
But these our brothers fought for her,
At life's dear peril wrought for her,
So loved her that they died for her,
Tasting the raptured fleetness
Of her divine completeness:
Their higher instinct knew
Those love her best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of dare to do.

As I rehearse one after another of these living lyrics, the land seems as full of poetry to-day as it was full of carnage a quarter of a century ago. If the War Department wants poetry, it need not make a requisition beyond its own rolls. The very men that won the great battle have themselves furnished the best elegies for the sacred dust of their fallen comrades.

Rossiter Johnson.

Public Relief.

THE BUFFALO "GUARD OF HONOR."

THE proper administration of public and private charity concerns not only the Church, but the philanthropic men and women of our larger cities. In the history of Christianity there never has been so much done for the amelioration of suffering as now, and the weak, the sick, and the indigent are cared for in the best ways that experience and good judgment can suggest. With every possible care, however, there is a class which by misrepresentation draws a subsistence from charitable people and receives its entire support through the agency of clever untruth. There is rarely a day passes that the impositions of women who belong to this class are not made plain to some clergyman or lay-worker among the poor, and many an avenue of charity is closed after some such experience. With the most earnest effort it is impossible to control this condition of things, and relief societies gratefully receive any suggestions which may assist in overcoming the evil. The institution of charity organizations has controlled public begging in a large degree, but the impostor still finds means to feed upon the community. The statistics furnished by almshouses, prisons, and penitentiaries show also that a large number of men throughout the country have no visible means of support, and from either drink or dissipation become dangerous paupers. These various classes are grouped under one head and called "tramps," which is a synonym for lazy, degraded, though often clever, men. The peculiarities of these men are that they have lost all moral sense, and evince a keenness of mind in carrying out their plans which would, if directed in another channel, provide them with a competent livelihood. It is to the condition and circumstances of these "tramps" that the Church and charitable institutions need to direct their best attention. They become the accessories of men who would destroy the law and order of every country, and especially of our own. How to reach these men, how to inspire in them a shame of their calling and direct them into a better life, is a serious problem. If, therefore, any experience justifies the belief that a reform can be instituted, let it be incorporated in the practical workings of every charitable effort.

There exists in the city of Buffalo an institution known as the "Guard of Honor Christian Institute," composed entirely of workingmen. This organization owns a building the use of which is to provide accommodation for those who need lodging at night other than that offered by the station-house. Applicants for this charity are received between the hours of seven and ten o'clock in the evening, but they are not required to show any card of recommendation or to pay any money. They are taken into the building at the discretion of the superintendent, who is himself a workingman and occupied during the day. Each applicant is obliged to take a bath, and before retiring to take off his clothes and put on a night-shirt. When these men are in bed the superintendent visits every room and sees that this rule is strictly enforced. At six o'clock in the morning these "lodgers" are called and assembled in the sitting-room of the institution. They are then each furnished with a card which reads as follows:

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

GUARD OF HONOR CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE.

THE bearer, M—, has applied to the Guard of Honor for work. He says he understands — and has had experience. Should you employ him, please use the inclosed postal to inform us of the fact, so that the society can keep a record of his faithfulness or unfaithfulness. Should you *not* be able to employ him, please sign the name of the firm on the *blue* card as a guarantee that he is making serious effort to procure work. The society knows nothing of the character or capabilities of the bearer, except that he appears quiet and sober, and seems anxious to secure employment.

(Signed,)

—, Committee.

In addition, the men are given a second card, bearing this printed certificate at the top:

This is to certify that the bearer has applied to us for employment.

Equipped with these the men are turned out of the building, and the institution is closed until seven o'clock in the evening. Many of the men who go out in the morning return at night and deliver up to the superintendent the cards given them. He examines what is known as the "blue card," to see how many names are signed upon it as a guarantee of the faithful efforts of the man to find work. If these cards do not contain a sufficient number of signatures, the man is told that unless he makes better effort on the coming day he will not be received into the institution at night. At nine o'clock in the evening a service of prayer is held, conducted by a workingman, a member of the organization, and each member shares in this duty. It is during this hour that probably the strongest influence for good is exercised upon these wayfarers. They are appealed to by men who understand precisely their present conditions, and who from experience comprehend the various causes which have led to their present condition. The cynic believes that all spark of honor dies within the breast of a man when he accepts charity and allows himself, through weakness of one kind or another, to become a pauper. This is a mistake. An appeal from a wealthy, prosperous man to a vagabond has very little effect, but the direct questions of one laborer to another are usually answered truthfully. Herein lies an enormous power, and the writer, after many years of experience, has seen its wonderful effects. A gratifying percentage of those who come under the influence of this body of workingmen are inspired to change their entire course of life and become self-supporting citizens. The plan has been in operation long enough to have it thoroughly tested, and it can be recommended upon a basis that has brought forth the best result.

Before closing, the writer wishes strongly to deprecate the custom of providing a comfortable "lounging-place" for men who will not work unless they are compelled to by hunger or cold. If a laboring man can work eight hours a day, the man who is in need of employment and really desires it should spend the same number of hours in looking for work. This he will not do when charitable institutions and Christian associations keep open house. The fear so often expressed, that if these places are not open the man will seek the congenial society of the saloon, is not well founded. The saloon-keepers will not have men hanging about their places of business who have no money to spend,

and these vagrants perfectly understand this. They are, therefore, absolutely compelled to seek work, and every effort made in this direction assists them to throw off the lethargy of laziness. There should not be one so-called "loafing-place" in our cities, and especially should the Church and Christian institutions understand that the severe rule which compels a man to discipline himself is the wisest in the end. The Guard of Honor has often been censured for turning the men out in the morning at seven o'clock, whatever the weather. Being an association of workmen, it is the intention to make these "lodgers" live by the same rules which control the members, and the plan works satisfactorily. The society provides no food except broken crackers, which prevent the lodger from going to bed hungry. The contemplation of a meal which consists of cold water and crackers is not sufficient inducement to a man to neglect to work, but it does prevent the hopelessness that accompanies hunger. A man coming drunk to the building is usually taken in for one night, but he is told in the morning that if he presents himself again in the same condition he will be refused entrance. The knowledge that he will have a clean bed, free of charge, if he refrains from drink, acts as a great restraint, and in many instances it has proved a means of overcoming the habit. Upon Sunday the building is open all day, for a man cannot seek employment then, and at evening a meal, consisting of coffee, bread and butter, and cold beans, is served free of charge—proving to the inmate that in enforcing strict rules the principles of Christianity are not forgotten.

Charlotte Mulligan.

The First Female College.

IN the October CENTURY, under the caption, "A New Collège for Women," occur these lines: "There have been three distinctly marked stages in the higher education of women in America: co-education pure and simple, first tested at Oberlin, in 1833; then separate colleges for women, in which line Vassar, in 1865, made the first departure,"¹ etc.

The charter for Oberlin was, according to a letter from the clerk of the Oberlin Faculty, dated March 13, 1889, issued in 1834: according to the same authority, the first diploma to a woman graduated there was dated 1838; but I have been unable to obtain anywhere the name of any woman who graduated at Oberlin in 1838, or even in 1839. If no error has been made in this matter,—and I do not intimate that there has,—the holder of the Oberlin diploma is entitled to the honor of the first diploma ever issued to a woman, and her name should be recovered and preserved to complete the record of one of the most interesting facts in the progress of civilization.

But the history of the first female college is less obscured, and is easy of access. After an agitation of the higher-education-for-women idea, extending through fifteen years, the Georgia legislature in 1836 chartered the Georgia Female College, and it was built at Macon at a first cost of \$80,000.

¹ The Wesleyan Female College of Ohio, incorporated in 1846, the Mary Sharp College, of Winchester, Tenn., founded in 1848, and Elmira College, Elmira, New York, which graduated its first class in 1859, all long antedate Vassar.

The State charter conferred full collegiate powers upon the institution. The first faculty was made up of eleven professors and teachers, and while the course does not compare with that of the same institution of this day, it was equal to that afforded by most contemporary colleges for men. Nor is the standard of the educational course then of moment now. The point of deepest interest is the enlightened thought that, finding public expression through legislative action and individual subscription, placed woman upon equal footing with man. This privilege was at once taken advantage of. Upon the opening of the college, January 9, 1839, ninety young ladies came forward and were enrolled. Eleven of these had been advanced in seminaries to a point that permitted of their entry with the senior class, and in the latter part of the same year they graduated. Their names were Misses C. E. Brewer, Sarah V. Clopton, Elizabeth Flournoy, Ann E. Hardeman, Martha F. Heard, Julia M. Heard, Sarah M. Holt, Matilda J. Moore, Harriet M. Ross, Mary L. Ross, and Margaret A. Speer. These are family names honorably connected with social and public life in Georgia for upward of a century.

When this class of eleven girls was drawn up in line to receive their diplomas, the advantage of alphabetical position brought Miss Brewer the first. Into her hands, therefore, went, it is confidently believed, the first diploma issued by a college exclusively for women—the first fruits of that growth which to-day is productive of so much for the womanhood of the world. This lady, with several of her class, is still living. In the summer of 1887 a semi-centennial celebration was held in the chapel of the college, and there were gathered much of the wealth, beauty, intellect, and culture of the South. Upon this occasion the "Miss Brewer" of nearly fifty years previous, now a gray-haired matron, Mrs. C. E. Benson of Macon, advanced in front of the trustees, bearing in her hand the very document she had received from their predecessors. With a graceful little speech, she returned to them the diploma for preservation among the sacred relics of the college, and to-day it hangs upon the walls, an object of deep interest to all visitors.

Not as pertaining necessarily to the topic, but yet of value and interest, I beg to add a few lines to this sketch. The Georgia Female College, coming into control of the Methodists, became, without interruption to its course or existence, the Wesleyan Female College. Indeed, the doors of the institution have never been closed but thrice in its history—two weeks during the passing of Sherman, two days during the occupation of Macon by General Wilson, and six weeks because of small-pox in 1873.

Through the generosity of George I. Seney, the noted Brooklyn philanthropist, the Wesleyan College was remodeled a few years since at a cost of \$105,000.

During the existence of the college it has sent forth 1990 graduates—girls who have gone into the life of the South. The majority of these girls, naturally, belonged to Georgia, and to their gentle and intelligent ministry is due perhaps, more than to any other cause, the proud title so justly won by Georgia—"The Empire State of the South."

Harry Stillwell Edwards.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Outlook for Wood-Engraving.

THE recent sale of proofs by the late Frederick Juengling, one of the most capable of American wood-engravers, would seem to indicate that the public interest in this branch of art has not suffered deterioration by reason of the widespread employment for illustrative purposes of the so-called actinic "processes," and that in general the popular taste for proofs of woodcuts may be depended upon by engravers as a new resource. While it cannot be said that at present the total amount of work done is sufficiently on the increase greatly to encourage new pupils to devote themselves to this branch of art, there are signs of a fuller appreciation of the best work of those who have made and are making wood-engraving, as a school, the chief distinction as yet of American art. This cannot fail to increase with the general growth and spread of the love of art, and one may confidently look forward to a commensurate increase of general excellence in the work produced. The Juengling sale, we believe, was the first auction of wood-engravers' proofs, as such, in this country, and when it is borne in mind that the proofs sold were not without duplicates, the prices paid (from \$2 to \$25, with an average price of \$8) may be considered not only a marked compliment to the individual excellence of Mr. Juengling's work, but also a very gratifying result to the craft in general, a number of whom, in fact, have lately offered proofs for sale with considerable success. Moreover the public, through magazines, periodicals, and books, have been educated to an intelligent knowledge of wood-engraving, which one would think might be depended on to support a market for artists' proofs.

Another evidence in the same direction is to be found in the interest excited by the recent exhibition of American wood-engravings made at the Grolier Club in New York. Here were 259 proofs by 25 exhibitors—a thoroughly representative show of work. Its nucleus was the American contribution to the Paris Exposition, which won for American engravers enviable honors from the International Jury of Award of the Fine Arts section, including the first gold medal for wood-engraving for Mr. Elbridge Kingsley, and other honors for Messrs. Davis, Closson, Putnam, Aikman, Wolf, Kruell, and Davidson. Among the proofs shown were also Japan impressions of the superb *édition de luxe* of the Portfolio issued last year by the Society of American Wood-Engravers. Not only was the exhibition largely attended, but, as we write, we believe the entire collection, by request, is to be taken to Brooklyn, to Cincinnati, to Chicago, and to St. Louis. Already in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the National Museum at Washington, and in national expositions at New Orleans and Atlanta, have been shown in temporary collections examples of what has been done in this branch of art; the willingness of engravers to dispose of proofs suggests that now is an opportune time (while most of the men are yet living who have given

a world-wide reputation to American engraving) for American museums to begin the systematic collection of a fuller historical exhibit of hand-proofs. We are sure that, where the proofs could not be found, the owners of the blocks would be glad to coöperate with art institutions in such a work, as far as might be practicable. Posterity should not be left to gather up in meager or incomplete examples the record of so marked an achievement.

Nor do we agree with those who think that wood-engraving in America has seen its best days, and is likely to be superseded by mechanical "processes." The nature of art is against such a conclusion. Moreover, while current periodical illustration has gained much by the various mechanical or actinic processes in vogue for the reproduction of photographs from nature, and for the reproduction of original pictures, the time still seems to be far distant when wood-engraving must retire in favor of "the process." The process is at its best in reproducing pen-drawings, though it sometimes lacks the delicacy of wood-engraving in that direction also. But while artists often prefer to suffer from the accidents of the process than from the dreaded lack of sympathy and knowledge of the individual wood-engraver, the fact remains that the engraver's art gives results that can be obtained only by the trained hand and the artistic temperament. One reason for this may be found in the fact that the process reduction of an original drawing or painting is not purely mechanical after all; the "touching up" of the plate by the process man is an interference between the artist and the public which may or may not be wisely and effectively and sympathetically conducted. Again, the mechanical reduction makes a new picture, with new problems of effect which the translator,—*i. e.*, the engraver,—if he understands his art, takes fully into consideration. Still, again, there is a satisfaction to the eye in an exquisite wood-engraving which is seldom if ever equaled by the result of any process.

The defects of mechanical agencies in the reproduction of the tones of a work of art are more manifest when one considers what would be the result of representing by any of the current processes such subtle and delicate originals as the Italian old masters upon which Mr. Cole is now engaged for THE CENTURY. The process can copy outlines, but it cannot interpret tones; it cannot think. How much of the beauty of these admirable cuts depends upon the temperament, the originality, the artistic skill, the "personal equation," so to speak, of the man behind the graver! Not a few other Americans have shown themselves capable of dealing successfully with similar tasks, and Mr. Cole's enterprise is the more remarkable simply because it is a systematic application of the services of one of the leading members of his craft to the education of the public in the qualities of the world's masterpieces, as they can be conveyed in black and white. It is fair to say that wood-engraving has not before been employed to a purpose of such lasting value. The success of the ex-

periment suggests that the mission of the art is not likely to be exhausted while there remain beautiful pictures to be represented and skillful artists to represent them. Looking ahead to the development of American painting and sculpture and the esthetic education of the people, there would seem to be a larger field for the engraver in the popular record which will need to be made of the achievements of art. For the present the magazines and weekly periodicals must remain the engraver's mainstay and stimulus. At first glance the illustrated newspaper appears to be militating against him; along with some admirably successful illustrative work it seems to be dulling the edge of popular taste with a deluge of pictures inferior in execution; but the reaction will be to his advantage in emphasizing by contrast the excellence of the art as he pursues it. Meantime, it must be remarked, there has been of late years not only no falling off in the character of work done by wood-engravers, but a steady increase in freedom, in variety, and in all the other qualities that go to make an artistic whole.

Nine Thousand Manuscripts.

DURING the past two years from eight thousand five hundred to nine thousand manuscripts were annually submitted to THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for publication. This is an increase over previous years, and does not include the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of propositions submitted with regard to articles. As there has been an increase in the number of periodicals published in America of late years, and as the newspapers are publishing more contributions than ever by writers not on the regular staff, it is evident that there has been an increase in literary activity at least in proportion to the increase in population.

Now out of nine thousand manuscripts a year THE CENTURY can only possibly print four hundred or less. It follows that editing a magazine is not unlike walking into a garden of flowers and gathering a single bouquet. In other words, not to accept an article, a story, a poem, is not necessarily to "reject" it. There may be weeds in the garden,—there must be weeds in the garden,—but the fact that a particular blossom is not gathered into the monthly bouquet does not prove that the editor regarded the blossom as a weed, and therefore passed it by. It would be impossible to sweep all the flowers into a single handful. The "rejected" or "declined" are naturally prone to gibe at sympathetic or apologetic words from editorial sources; so we present the above simile with considerable diffidence. There is truth in it, nevertheless! And it would probably be much easier for editors to make up a number of bouquets from the flowers at their disposal than to gather the single one for which alone they have room.

The general impression of a lifelong reader of manuscripts is that the quality does not deteriorate—that, in fact, it improves. Such a reader, moreover, is greatly impressed by the wide diffusion of literary ability. There are certainly very many more people who can write a good story, a good descriptive paper, a good essay, a good poem, than there were, say, twenty years ago. An old manuscript reader is inclined, in fact, to be very optimistic. Even Mr. Howells's recent extraordinary praise of current literature may not seem to such a reader as

so very far out of the way. But after the old manuscript reader has expressed himself thus optimistically he is entitled to his "buts." He may even permit himself to ask whether the literary artist of our day has not caught somewhat of the hurry, the immediateness, of the time; whether, indeed, the present age is not too present with us; whether there is the slow, determined, sure, artistic work which made the successful careers of the earlier generation of American poets, romancists, and essayists. There surely is such work, but is it as general as it should be? and, if not, is this one reason that there are not more literary reputations in the new generation commensurate with those of the old?

At least the old manuscript reader may, by reason of his age, if nothing else, be pardoned should he at times look over his spectacles at the young manuscript writer and say: "Young man, young woman, you have talent, you have industry, you have knowledge, you have a fine, large audience eagerly waiting for you; all you need is to respect still more highly your own unusual parts. Ponder over, perfect your work; be not in too great haste to bring it to the eye of the editor, to the eye of the public. Regard each poem, each story, as a step in your literary career; let it not leave your hand till you have done your very best with it. If you intend it to be a genuine work of art, make it so—if you can. This may seem a slow process, but it may prove the speediest in results; and after you have followed this advice, remember that even an editor is mortal, and, like every other mortal, entitled to his proportion of mistakes."

It is to be hoped that the word "career" incidentally dropped in the foregoing will not have a tendency towards making ingenuous youths selfish and self-conscious. Given a certain amount of skill and taste, literary art is only another name for literary conscience. Conscientious work is not necessarily artistic work, as many a poor devil has found out too late. But it may be. The heart comes first—a warm heart and a cool head, says Joseph Jefferson—the heart comes first, but heart without art is of no avail. The literary artist need not think sordidly on his or her "career," and yet may cherish that decent regard for repute, that love of artistic perfection, which will bring the rewards of conscience and of honorable fame. At the least the literary artist should be ashamed to do less well than in him lies. He should not niggle and polish for the love of nigging and polishing; but he should be remorseless in self-correction for the love of truth, and art, and beauty. And also, as already said, he should allow the editor that privilege of humanity, the right to blunder; remembering that the "declined" writer's revenge is the editor's own too vivid memory of mistakes—the ever-lengthening black list of errors in literary judgment which every old reader of manuscripts turns to in the secret place of his own mind for melancholy penance and warning.

Journalists and Newsmongers.

IN the days when Horace Greeley was looked upon as the dean of the faculty of journalists, the soul of a newspaper was its editorial page; a variety of information worthy of the attention of good citizens was not scorned; and the license of wit, the lash of criti-

cism, and the retort of the libel suit, testified to the officiousness, as well as the usefulness, of the men who were, with somewhat appropriate metaphor, called "knights of the quill." Their efforts, for the most part, had a public motive. The profits of their industry were in large measure public respect. What they received in money was derived from the industrial uses of the printing press. And they were measurably content.

We are far from saying that this race of journalists has died out. In many newspapers the old traditions are maintained with great ability, but frequently in association with the idea that "news" is mere merchandise. True, it is bought and sold; and in another place we offer an explanation of "What 's the News," which reveals the importance of its commercial aspect; but the point we wish to urge is that news, like electricity or steam, is force. Readers pay toll for the use of news, but they acquire no title in it as of merchandise; in fact, the purveyor of it has no such title to transmit. He has brought together experiences and opinions that belong to some men, for the purpose of enlarging the knowledge and directing the actions of other men. The reader is acted upon by the news as by a force; he uses it as a force. Like every other force, news is a power for good or evil, according to the way it is given out and handled. It makes and wrecks private fortunes, destroys the peace of mind of individuals, directs the thoughts of the multitude, and incites to suicide and murder. If a force that has the potency of great good to society is thus capable of doing so much injury to individuals, it would seem as though the shapers and purveyors of it ought to be conspicuous among men for their sense of moral responsibility. Those who exhibit that quality in their work answer to the stature and breadth of the men who, in the past, have won respect and fame as journalists.

Those who make mere merchandise of news, and even win wealth and notoriety thereby, are, of course, newsmongers. In the days before the cylinder-press, and the telegraph, and the steam-cars, the newsmonger was only a peddler of small-beer and scandal. Now he is often a dealer at wholesale in everything anybody is suspected of wanting to read, and in many things that a person of ordinary common sense would say nobody ought to read. He measures the value of news of the affairs of public or of obscure persons by the surprise it will cause to the many, regardless of the injury it may do to the many or the few. There is no barrier of right or decency that the more conscienceless man of his type will not use degrading means to pass if the news to be gained promises a sensation capable of enhancing his reputation for audacity and enterprise. Public men stand in awe of him, because, in one issue of his newspaper, he can give a hundred thousand blows to their one. Legislators shrink from stepping between him and the public, because, with all his disregard of the feelings of others, he is the most sensitive being on earth, and the most ruthless and vindictive in his revenges. When other men fall out, he makes sport of their folly; but the welkin is made to ring with his own private quarrels and petty jealousies. When he has set a libel traveling with seven-league boots, the best amend he can make is to follow it with silence; his apologies are more remarkable for brevity and magna-

nimity than for retraction. He evades or defies the power of the law, because the sentences and punishments that he inflicts are more swift and more annoying than the processes of public justice. Side by side with the sermon of the eloquent or the sensational preacher he prints the details of the Simon Pure or disguised prize-fight of the day. The law that punishes the bruiser who affords the illegal spectacle has no power over the newsmonger who fosters public interest in pugilism, and extends the brutalizing excitement of the ring to the family circle. Pugilists would not fight by stealth in obscure places if the newspapers were not allowed to flood cities with their bear-pit heroics of the battle. Side by side with the quotations of the markets, the newsmonger prints the illegal "odds" of the race-tracks and the bar-rooms at election time. Not satisfied with leaving every neighborhood to the contemplation of its own social cesspool, he makes each separate locality the dumping-ground of the moral filth of a whole continent. By a strange perversion of justice, where law-breakers sow tares the newsmonger reaps circulation and profits.

When these things are said of him, the newsmonger laughs and ascribes such criticism to lack of humor. He believes, in common with a forerunner of his class in the West, that "the mission of a journalist is to raise hell and sell newspapers." If any one affects to call that a low standard of professional taste, his apology is that it is the public which demands such a coarse interpretation of his duty. This is not strictly true, because, in competing with his fellow-newsmongers for the public patronage, he takes advantage of the weakness for sensation and scandal, common enough to human nature, and abnormally developed among our own people by the license adopted by prominent newspapers. Undoubtedly a lower standard than at present exists would be established as the average taste of the public if the laws against printed indecency, that are now so inadequate a protection, could be still further ignored without arousing a public mutiny. A new code of laws to meet the new conditions of journalism cannot be postponed indefinitely; but the legal protection that the individual citizen, rather more than society as a whole, is at present in need of will hardly be obtained until journalists of authority and conscience surrender, for the public good, something of the omniscience, infallibility, and privilege of meting out sentence and punishment which they have usurped as being essential to the power and authority of their class.

The worst present feature of American journalism is the apparent belief of our ablest journalists that in order to sustain themselves against the competition of the newsmonger they must, no matter in how small degree, imitate his methods. Some of the journals that have always led the moral and intellectual currents of the country, and are now, in those respects, perhaps the equals of any newspapers in the world, have little by little opened their columns to the very "news" that attracts the rabble of the prize and the betting rings. It is true that they offer fewer details, and clothe them in the language of good society; and some of them even bitter-coat the forbidden "news" with a moral groan. The newsmonger's theory that the first object of a newspaper is to entertain or amuse has been gaining ground in high quarters; one often looks in vain nowa-

days in the most serious journals for an adequate abstract of what is said in Congress, or in deliberative meetings bearing on public questions. The reporting of such debates may be as faithfully done now as it used to be, but after "copy" has passed through the hands of the sub-editor whose duty it is to eliminate everything that is not quarrelsome, impertinent, or funny, the part that gets into print is often a sorry record of what was actually said and done to influence public affairs.

On the other hand,—and the effect is more corrupting,—newsmongers realize that in order to reap the money benefit of pandering to trivial and vicious tastes they must at the same time play the *role* of the responsible journalist. Some of the more incorrigible of them do this with great success; they teach humility to the humble at the same time that they instruct brutes in brutality, or flog judges and law-givers for being remiss in their duty to the state. They are the product of new conditions and forces in life; even the more unscrupulous of them make themselves, by a certain intermingling of real service, of positive value to our modern civilization.

No doubt the present tendency towards trivialities and personalities will continue until private rights and public morals are better protected by the laws, and until the acme of size and profit in newspapers has been reached. In the race for expansion and power, the leader who has adopted the readiest means has often imposed his methods upon men who would choose the best means. The fault of a lower tone, here and there, is not properly chargeable to the great body of workers, for in the profession will be found to-day a high average of ability, and conscientious performance of duty; and never before our time have newspapers been able to command the trained intelligence and taste to enable them to do all they are now doing for the development of art and literature; all that the newspapers of to-day are doing for every good cause, and notably at this moment for that of good government. Capital and financial success are of course essential for the production of a great modern newspaper; but the public has a right to demand that those who bear the highest responsibilities of the profession should issue newspapers which they, as private individuals, would be willing to indorse, in every part, as men of character, refinement, and self-respect.

The Influence of Athletics.

MR. CAMP's article on track athletics brings to mind the remarks not long since made by a moralist who complained that the craze for athletics, having overthrown the only valid reason for giving up to college men four years of life already too short for solid attainment in the modern struggle for existence, seemed to be spreading its malign influence over the rest of mankind. One needed only to glance at one's paper, he argued, to see that athletics had become matters of great public interest. No newspaper is complete without its detailed account of contests and its rumors of the condition and relative skill of antagonists in contests yet to come. He could see, he added, a vast amount of feverish excitement, the loss of the scholastic peace so necessary to the student, the neglect of

duty, and the sapping of strength. He thought that something ought to be done about it.

Now it is probably true that there is often excessive indulgence, but that is not the logical result of the present widespread interest in outdoor sports. Over-indulgence in athletics produces reaction and eventually remedies itself; but he who is quick to see the strong hold that athletics have upon the young men in our colleges is very far afield if he fails to look beyond the shouts, the upborne victors, the depression of the vanquished. Though physical strength and endurance and skill receive their praise,—in the enthusiastic hour of victory perhaps more than is their due,—one should not forget that at least they do not walk side by side with dalliance and indulgence. Along with endurance and skill the student has begun to appreciate the advantage of self-control, steadiness, and temperance. There is no royal road to right living while the blood of youth runs warm in the veins, but he who has learned the value of restraint, the quick eye, the steady brain, the sure hand and foot, has gone far on the way. With the quickening of the athletic spirit has come a gain in studious qualities. The number of hard students have in no wise decreased, while the average scholarship has advanced rapidly within the past five or ten years. A manlier, healthier tone has everywhere prevailed, and the periodical outbreaks against college discipline which used to be altogether too frequent are now almost unheard of in the larger and better colleges. The policy of the wiser college faculties has been to leave mainly to the students the regulations of athletic affairs, while abating in no degree their demands upon the time and attention of the students under their control. The result has been a gain in confidence and respect on both sides. The evils are not beyond remedy, and will ultimately right themselves; the gains are great.

Careful statistics wholly disprove the oft-repeated assertion that the athlete must necessarily be a poor student, so much of his time is given to the preparation for contests. On the contrary, he has learned method and the advantages of regularity, and knows how best to husband his resources. For systematic training and discipline are never wasteful; and a capacity for self-restraint and obedience has never been found to be an unfitting quality for one duty and not for another. And when does one reach the point where sunlight and pure air, expanded lungs and clear brains, become drags upon intellectual life and activity? Elsewhere in this magazine Mr. Albert Shaw speaks of the marvelous tenacity and vitality of the English race in England, and one is tempted to ask how much England's national vigor may be due to the persistence for ages of her people in outdoor sports. How far may the spring in the step of the well-trained athlete project itself into the constructive energy of a people? What force, what dogged determination, may not generations of contestants in athletic sports impart to the intellectual achievements of a nation? At the close of the recent inauguration ceremonies of the new president of Columbia, a well-known professor in another famous college, himself a Columbia man, was expressing his high satisfaction with the impression the new president had made. "But then," he added with conviction, "he was a great foot-ball player in his day."

OPEN LETTERS.

Trade with South America.

IN the idea of the Pan-American Congress there is much that appeals to one's sense of "manifest destiny." It attracts us just as the Federation of the British Empire attracts Englishmen. The scheme is not wholly experimental, for it rests on the theory which was at the base of the German *Zollverein*, out of which came ultimately a united Germany. No one seriously dreams that from this Pan-American Congress may ultimately grow an American republic, although such an institution as an American court might easily be an outcome. It is hoped that commercial treaties will be the result, and that an enormous trade will spring up between the United States and the other American republics. But reasoning from my personal knowledge of the republic of Colombia, and assuming that what is true of that must be in some degree true of the others, I cannot take a sanguine view of the methods which have been so far proposed.

The South American delegates have been induced to come here, and they have been taken on a great sight-seeing trip. They have been shown our railroads, our grain elevators, and our mills, in the hope that they will tell their people that it would be well for them to sell their raw material to *los Americanos del Norte*, and in turn to buy goods from us. Is there an instance on record where commerce was manufactured to order in this way, or in which the laws of trade were in time of peace overridden by sentiment? Is it not true that trade has invariably passed through "the day of small things" before it became sufficiently dignified to be called commerce, and that in its inception it was the result of the efforts of one or more men who supplied to a people that which they wanted to buy? In other words, if our merchants want the trade of South America, must they not get it in the same way that trade has always been got, by carrying to other nations something they want and can afford to buy?

American manufacturers have been in the habit of forwarding to Colombia such goods as they thought the Colombians would buy, and have then been surprised to find they made no sales. Many of these goods were absolutely dead stock for the simple reason that the people had not an idea of how to use them or could not apply them. What is the use, for example, of shipping a McCormick reaper to farmers that grow no wheat? Some of the goods sent out could not be sold because, in a country of canoes and pack-mules, they could not be carried. For instance, the standard American white cotton is woven twenty-seven inches wide. This cannot be sold in Colombia, because with pack-mules the *carga*, or pack, must not be more than twenty-two inches long, as otherwise it will gall the hips and shoulders of the animals. American cotton can be roped on a pack-mule, with the bolts lashed vertically, but such a pack is very apt to get disarranged, and the *cargero*, or muleteer, charges more for the trouble he is put to. Naturally the merchants in the

interior of the country purchase English or German cotton, woven to forty-four and folding to twenty-two inches. Again, the Americans have shipped—and may still ship—colored prints to Colombia. These have been very bright and pretty, and have been such as have sold well in this country. They have not sold there except among a few of the ladies who have seen them. Why? Simply because the majority of Colombian ladies wear nothing but black and white, and the peon women do not want the new patterns. If there is any person on earth who is conservative, it is the peon woman. In colored prints she wants the same pattern and the same material her mother and her grandmother wore before her and which her daughter will wear after her. These patterns are not pretty, being chiefly purples with white spots, but, such as they are, they have been worn by the lower-class women in Colombia for centuries. Why should an American manufacturer try to overcome such a prejudice—if you like—as this? The Germans and English are wiser in their generation. They make the prints the peon women want, and they color them with the ugly purples these women admire, and they make them of a width that will pack easily on a mule, and of a weight that gives eight pieces as a mule's load. And then they sell them, and the trade grows to such a point that we are compelled to pay our Colombian bills for rare woods with exchange on England.

Mr. E. P. Pellet of Barranquilla, Colombia, at one time United States consul in that city, was so much struck with the absurdity of American shipments of prints that he procured samples of all the prints sold in Colombia. With these samples he prepared a table giving weight, width, and length, and the number of pieces of each imported through the Barranquilla and Carthagena custom-houses for one year. He mailed the whole package to the president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, advising him by letter of his action and saying he supposed the information would be of sufficient value to the Chamber to make it worth their paying the postage. This amounted to \$2.37. The president of the Chamber of Commerce that year did not consider the package worth \$2.37, and it was returned to Mr. Pellet, who thereupon paid the postage both ways. I have that package now, and I considered it very cheap at the \$5.00 which it cost me. They are poor cottons, full of clay and not well woven, but they will sell in Colombia better than the handsomest prints made here.

We believe, and with reason, that with our great wheatfields, our enormous mills, and our labor-saving machinery, we are in a position to command our fair share of the trade in breadstuffs. We sell flour to England and she makes "biscuits," called by us "crackers," and sells them to Colombia. There is no reason why we should not have this trade if our manufacturers would consider the necessities of the market. I saw in the little town of Zaragoza some *cargeros* packing a box of American crackers on a mule. As far as Zara-

goza the box had come by steamer and steamboat, but from this point to Remedios it was to travel on a pack-mule. The box was four feet long, two feet wide, and twenty inches thick. The *cargeros* procured a long gang-saw and cut the box, crackers and all, exactly in halves. Over the open ends thus made they tied raw-hides to protect the contents, and then lashed the two halves in place with the pack rope. Alongside of this American box was one from England. It measured 22 by 22 by 20 inches, the wooden sides, top, bottom, and ends were more closely joined, and it was just the right size to pack easily. Which box would bring its contents in better condition to Remedios after a six-days' trip through woods dripping with moisture from the heavy, nightly, tropical rains — the English or the American? What were the chances for those American crackers after they had traveled for six days under filthy raw-hide covers? Who would get the next order for crackers — the English or the American merchant?

There is another factor in Colombian trade which does not seem to be at all known here, and to which I have seen no allusions in the many articles that have been written in connection with the Pan-American idea. This is the credit system of the country, a system which is so strange as to excite the constant wonder of all North Americans who study it. In a country where for centuries the people have been obliged to rely wholly on canoes, animals, or men for transportation of goods, it has been impossible for country merchants to meet the importers often. One or two visits a year have been all that could be accomplished, and out of this has grown the custom of fairs. Twice a year the importers on the coast pack up their goods and travel to Maganguè. For many years Mompos had the fairs; but the river Magdalena changed its bed, and Mompos dwindled while Maganguè grew. During the fair weeks Maganguè is filled with people, and the amount of business transacted is enormous. The merchants from the interior come down the river, bringing with them the hides, ivory nuts, dyestuffs, or whatever else they have collected during the preceding year or six months. They square up their bills with the importers either with the articles themselves or with the money they receive for them, and lay in their new stock of goods. The whole trade of the country is done at these fairs, and at them all the exports and imports change hands. It must not be supposed, however, that all Colombian trade is done at Maganguè. There are fairs at Bogota and other cities, but that at Maganguè is one of the largest. Out of this system of fairs has grown that of credit. The importer, or jobber, of the coast sells his goods to his country customers on time, and this may vary from one to two fairs, six months or a year. In fact, it might be said that the importer, or jobber, does not get his pay until the raw material bought with his goods can be sent to him. It may be seen at a glance that such credits as these make large capital necessary, and it is by no means always the case that the importer on the coast has this capital of his own. He in turn relies on the support of his correspondent in England or Germany, who must be prepared to give credits varying from one to two years; and these correspondents are helped by the English and German banks. Now when we talk about changing the trade of South America and pouring it

into the laps of our own manufacturers, these things must be considered. I know importers in Carthagena and Barranquilla who sell an enormous quantity of goods each year, and who have many of the merchants of the interior as their customers. These customers are among the best in the country, they have large *clientes*, their trade is sure, and their credit is of the best. Yet if those importers could get American goods made and packed for the market, and if they had every desire to sell them in place of English or German articles, they could not. The American manufacturers could not give the necessary credits, for our manufacturers could not appeal to American banks to help them out. What bank in New York would advance money on notes signed by South American merchants? I venture to say that outside the foreign banking houses having branches in this city, there is not one that knows the standing of the merchants in Barranquilla or Carthagena. There are a few mercantile firms that have this knowledge, but it is not to be found in the banks. Under these circumstances, does not the idea that we can get this trade by holding a Pan-American congress, by making a big "hurrah," or by glowing speeches on the identity of republican government north and south,— than which no greater bosh can be talked,— sound ridiculous? The Congress is a good thing, and from it will probably grow many valuable projects, but it is not the way to get the commerce.

I know two young men in Colombia, one a German and the other an Englishman, who were sent to that country by manufacturing houses with instructions to study the trade, the conditions of supply, the credit system, and transportation. They were also directed to buy everything of native manufacture they could find which they thought their respective houses could duplicate. Each of them spent two years in this work without selling a penny's worth, but the third year the goods began to come over. The two travelers carried these to the interior towns, where the fairs were held, and sold them. This was in 1880. In 1885, when I last saw one of these men, he told me his sales that year would be over \$150,000, and I had no reason to doubt his word. Germany and England have no patent on this method of creating trade. There are two New York houses who nearly control the trade in their respective goods in Colombia. One of them controls its specialty so completely that German and English houses, although they have imitated the stamp, name, weight, shape, brand, and packing case, cannot wrest it from the Americans, simply because merchants from the interior demand a sight of the New York bills of lading before they will buy. The managing partner in this house said to me: "We have a man who does nothing but travel in new countries. We send him into a country with orders to buy every article of native manufacture in our line. These he brings back and we make up goods like them in weight, shape, size, and finish. We make about fifty dozen, and the next year he goes back. As he travels, he gives away samples wherever he finds a man whose opinion seems worth having. Then, about two years afterwards, we get our first order. It probably is a very small one, not more than two dozen, perhaps, but we make it up and send it out. From that it grows until, ten years after our traveler went in, we have the trade. Now the secret of success in this business is to give the people

what they want, not what you think they want; to give it to them better made and of better material, and to make your profit out of the difference between machine and hand work. You maintain the trade by always keeping your goods up to standard and never trying any experiments."

And look for a moment at what that profit must be. The English goods sold in Colombia pay the retailer in the interior, the *cargeros* who carry them, the heavy freight charges of the river steamboats, the rent of houses in Maganguè in fair time,—half the people in Maganguè live off the fairs,—the importer on the coast, the steamship companies, the manufacturer who makes them, and the banks that help the manufacturer to extend credits. Eight profits, besides the cost of handling and insurance, must be paid by the peon women who buy those hideous purple prints, or the peon men who, arrayed in cotton shirts worn outside the trousers, dance the *coombiamba* to the music of the tom-tom and the rattling gourd.

We cannot get this South American commerce away from the English and Germans unless we can offer equal or greater inducements and facilities, which cannot be created in a day or a year. In the mean time we may push the commerce, but the pushing must be done in South America, not in Washington. The Pan-American Congress will do good work and its value will be seen, but this will not take the form of a sudden rush of the golden tide into the coffers of our merchants and manufacturers. They can have the tide if they like, but they must get it for themselves.

Alfred Balch.

Christopher North.

IN THE CENTURY for February, page 625, in the article "Emerson's Talks with a College Boy," is to be found the following:

Of the author of "Noctes Ambrosianæ" he [Emerson] said: "I liked him; not as Professor Wilson, but as Christopher North. He was a man singularly loved. Hare, author of 'Guesses at Truth,' wrote his life, but it was incomplete. Then Carlyle attempted it, but he wrote too much with the air of a patron, too much condescension, as a teacher might say, 'Fine boy!'—too much pat-him-on-the-head in it. I wrote Carlyle I would rather agree with Wilson than himself."

There is something very misleading in this. No life of Professor John Wilson is to be found in the collected edition of Archdeacon Hare's works, and a long and tolerably intimate acquaintance with Carlyle's writings warrants me in saying that Carlyle never wrote a life of John Wilson.

In no part of Carlyle's works is John Wilson even referred to, save once, in the "Life of John Sterling," Vol. XX., p. 186, library edition, and then only in a very brief way, showing the high approval by Professor Wilson, "the distinguished presiding spirit of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' of Sterling's literary work." Still further, the index volume of Carlyle's works, one of the most conscientious pieces of index work in our literature, corroborates what I have said.

The effect of the misstatement is aggravated by making Emerson say that he wrote to Carlyle, "I would rather agree with Wilson than himself." In the "Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson" I have not been able to find a single expression of opinion about Wil-

son. In Vol. II., p. 210, is the following from Emerson's letter in regard to Carlyle's "Life of John Sterling," sent to Emerson by Carlyle: "Yet I see well that I should have held to his [Sterling's] opinion in all those conferences where you [Carlyle] have so quietly assumed the palms." But this has no more to do with John Wilson than with Mahomet.

In conclusion, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that Emerson could have made the statement attributed to him.

David B. Scott.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

An Anecdote of Admiral Farragut.

AT the time of the evacuation of Richmond I was at Point of Rocks on the Appomattox. Having visited Richmond, I was returning North on the boat from Fort Monroe to Baltimore when I was so fortunate as not only to be introduced to the Admiral, but also to spend a good part of the evening in listening to his shrewd but simple and unpretending conversation.

Referring to the cannon which lined the river's banks from Richmond down to Fort Darling, I said to him that I did not wonder that he did not care to try to reach Richmond by water. He replied that he did not care for the cannon, it was the torpedoes that he was afraid of. And then, in explanation of his contempt for the guns, he said that he had learned, in estimating danger, to rely much upon human imperfection, and that an experience which he had in youth taught him to do so.

That experience he went on to describe by saying that during the war with Mexico, the navy having nothing to do and getting rusty through inaction, he applied to the authorities at Washington to be allowed to take a ship or two and drop a few shells into Vera Cruz.

He was met with objections, and was told, among other things, that he would be blown out of the water by the guns of San Juan de Ulloa. "But," said he, "I told them I was not afraid of guns; and as a reason for not being afraid I gave them an account of my youthful experience. I was a midshipman on board the *Essex Junior*, under the command of Commodore Downes, a brave but somewhat reckless officer. It was during the war with Great Britain, and no vessel was allowed to enter New York harbor in the night without giving certain signals. Downes knew that there was such an order, but in haste to enter the harbor, and yet not having the signal, ventured in in the evening rather than wait till morning. When we came within range of the guns upon the shore, they opened upon us so warmly that we were obliged to lie to and send a boat ashore to explain matters. Some accident happened to the boat, delaying it so that we were under fire for half an hour within easy range, and yet were not hit. The incident made such an impression upon me that I made up my mind that there was no need of being afraid of cannon.

"At this point in my narrative," said Farragut, "De R——, who was present, exclaimed, 'The devil! Were you in that vessel? Why, I was in command at New York at that time!'

"'Ah!' said I, 'that probably accounts for our not having been hit.'"

The evening passed away in such pleasant chat, in

which the hero talked with those whom he had never met or heard of before as familiarly as with old acquaintances.

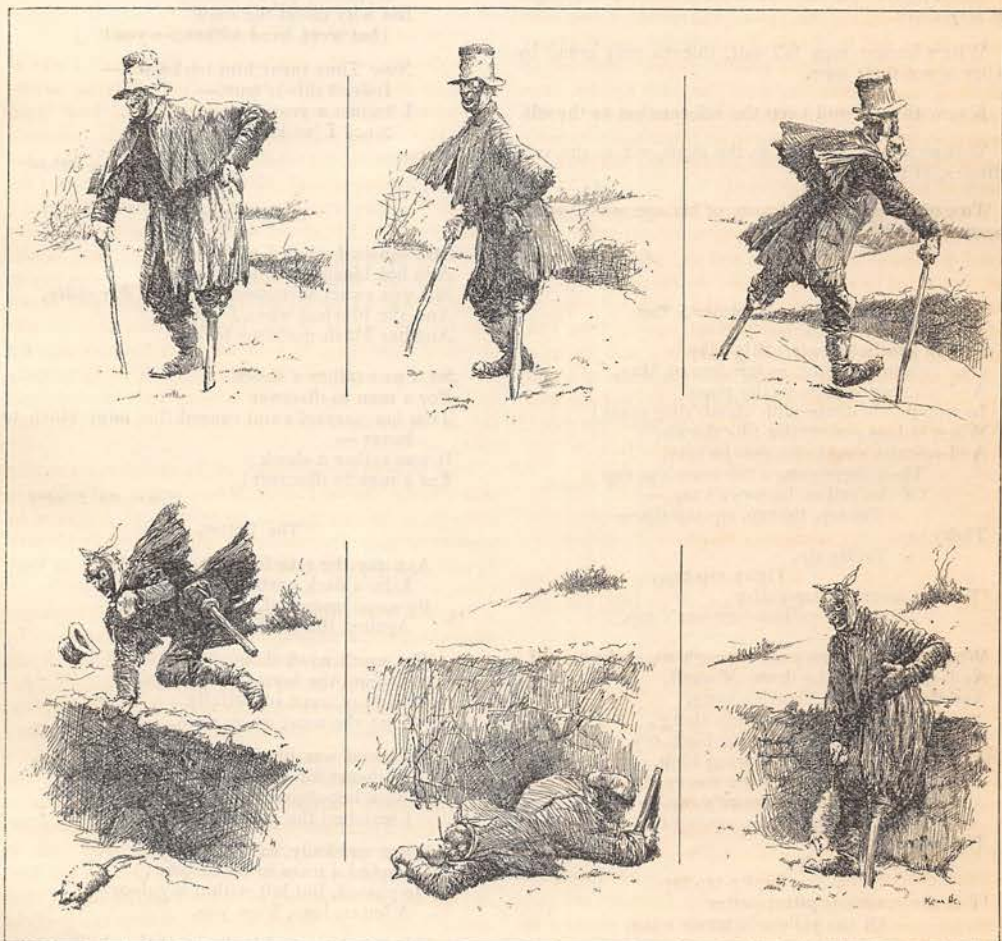
Among other subjects he referred to the position of England, towards which nation the feeling of the North

was very bitter, and said that the navy would like nothing better than a war with England.

Being asked whom they would wish for a leader—"Oh!" said he, "they would follow me as soon as any one."

A. E. P. Perkins, D.D.

BRIC-À-BRAC.



THE 'FOSSUM HUNT.

Observations.

IF the world were a whispering-gallery, it is hard to say whether one would experience the more concern about the things he spoke or the things he heard.

THE man of tact and courtesy will not talk above the head of his less gifted friend. It is easier for the one to come down than for the other to climb.

THE sluggish man wastes his time, while the man who keeps in too great a hurry tries to dispense with it altogether.

THE oracle that speaks in riddles is of no use to a man whose house is on fire.

THE robes of humility often deceive; and the shoemaker's downcast look may indicate simply a wish to find out how long the wayfarer can go without ordering a new pair of shoes.

CONSCIENCE flourishes best on continuous hard service, and should not be allowed to take a holiday for a single afternoon.

SINCE a man's thoughts must be his lifelong companions, he should strive to keep them bright and agreeable.

IT is better to represent the big end of a short pedigree than the fine point of a long one.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

On Lack of Conscience as a Means of Success.

A LITTLE experience in life makes it plain that one element of what is called "success" consists in a certain toughness of the conscience. By "success" we mean, of course, worldly success under the present conditions. We do not mean the true and high success, the conduct of one's life in all honesty, with the rewards of a pure fame and the better rewards of conscious clarity of purpose, and fairness of action. We mean that men of business who are trying to live up to an ideal are very apt to find less scrupulous men passing them at certain points, and sometimes permanently outdoing them in the mere race for wealth, from the fact that the latter are less hampered at critical moments by conscientious considerations.

It is true that "honesty is the best policy" in the long run, and as a rule even in ordinary business affairs; and it is true that many men make a complete failure in life by disregarding this maxim. It is true that honesty is one of the forces of worldly success; it is also true that dishonesty is one of the forces of worldly success.

The honest reader will perhaps ask, why this praise of dishonesty. But we are not praising dishonesty; we do not think it commendable in any way: on the contrary, we think, just as the honest reader thinks, that it is in every way condemnable and contemptible. We are, however, stating a palpable and provable fact—namely, that in the present constitution of society a lack of conscience may be an important, even a deciding, element of worldly success.

The point that we are getting at is this: namely, that it is easier to reap a certain kind of worldly success without conscience than with it; and that, therefore, the conscienceless man who reaches enormous wealth or high worldly position is not nearly so clever a fellow as his admirers think he is and proudly proclaim him to be.

We believe this to be particularly true in political life. Under the thoroughly un-American system of spoils and patronage, and by means of the prevailing system of corruption at the polls, it has been of late years prominently demonstrated that some of the highest public positions can be reached in America by men of well-nigh the lowest character. Now one reason that these men succeed is that "nothing succeeds like success"; and that even men themselves personally honest have a certain admiration for the ability of the conscienceless man of success. Our present effort is to remove a part of the credit of the successful rogue. If he is less admired perhaps he will be less successful; and if he is better understood perhaps he will be somewhat less admired. Well, then, it is a fact that the successful rascally politician, while doubtless having a certain amount of natural "smartness," is, in reality and upon close examination, not nearly so "smart" as he superficially appears to be. Under the spoils system, which is only partly abrogated in the United States, it does not take—how

ridiculously true it is that it does not take—great abilities to insure success in the corrupt manoeuvres of the political field. The only wonder is when, under present conditions, a thoroughly scrupulous leader appears in local or general politics. To win success without resorting to the usual unscrupulous methods,—that is the test of real force,—there should be the focus of admiration.

The principle is true in ordinary business; it is true in politics; it is particularly true in the journalistic world. It is a harder task, it requires more genuine ability and greater "staying power," to reap worldly success in this field scrupulously than unscrupulously.

The fact is that there is altogether too much reverence for rascals, and for rascally methods, on the part of tolerably decent people. Rascality is picturesque, doubtless, and in fiction it has even its moral uses; but in real life it should have no toleration; and it is, as a matter of fact, seldom accompanied by the ability that it brags.

One proof that the smart rogue is not so smart as he thinks, and as others think, is that he so often comes to grief. He arrives at his successes through his knowledge of the evil in men; he comes to grief through his ignorance of the good in men. He thinks he knows "human nature," but he only half knows it. Therefore he is constantly in danger of making a fatal mistake. For instance, his excuse to himself for lying and trickery is that lying and trickery are indulged in by others—even by some men who make a loud boast of virtue before the world. A little more or less of lying and trickery seems to make no difference, he assumes,—especially so long as there is no public display of lies and tricks,—for he understands that there must always be a certain outward propriety in order to insure even the inferior kind of success he is aiming at. But, having no usable conscience to guide him, he underrates the sensitiveness of other consciences,—and especially the sensitiveness of that vague sentiment called "public opinion,"—and he makes a miscalculation, which, if it does not land him in the penitentiary, at least makes him of no use to his respectable allies; therefore, of no use to his semi-criminal associates; therefore, a surprised, miserable, and vindictive failure.

New York's Reformed Electoral System.

THE State of New York has now the most thoroughly reformed electoral system of all States in the Union. The enactment of the Saxton Ballot Act, after three years of discussion and repeated failures, was the first step, and the enactment of Saxton's Corrupt Practices Act, the first American imitation of the English act of that name, was the second, though curiously enough the second step was taken first. The new ballot law, though the outcome of a compromise, is really an excellent measure. It differs from other American ballot laws in several respects, but only in relation to methods of operation. The vital principle of a secret

official ballot, printed and distributed at the public expense, is retained inviolate.

In nearly all other American laws, which, like it, are adaptations of the Australian system, the names of the various candidates are printed upon one large ballot. In some of these laws the names are arranged in party groups with the party name or title or sign printed above each; in others, the names are arranged in alphabetical order under each office, with the politics of each candidate indicated after his name. Under the New York law the names are arranged in party groups upon separate ballots, but with no party names above them, and with nothing to indicate the politics of the candidates, after their names. The voter will receive a set of ballots, numbering as many as there are parties or factions or movements making nominations, and a blank ballot containing only the names of the offices, but all will be printed in exactly the same manner, with no distinguishing mark as to their political character. Each ballot will have a coupon attached to it upon which the ballot clerk must write his initials before he hands the ballots to the voter, together with the voter's number, which is also entered upon the tally list. The voter must take his ballots into a secret compartment and there prepare one of them for voting. He can paste or write upon it any name he pleases, can paste on it a complete ballot, or can write an entire new ticket on the blank ballot. When he has finished, he must fold all the ballots in such a way as to conceal their identity and leave the coupons exposed, and emerging from the compartment must present the ballot which he wishes to vote to the clerk in charge of the ballot-box, who, after identifying him by the numbers on the coupon and tally list, must tear off the coupon and deposit the ballot. The unused ballots, after their coupons are removed, must be deposited in a locked box provided for the purpose.

This is the secret official ballot in all its simplicity and perfection. No ballot can be voted save one received inside the polling place. No ticket peddler or other electioneering agent is allowed within one hundred and fifty feet of the polling place. A boss or a briber may give a voter a "paster" and get the latter's promise to use it, but he cannot follow him to the polls to see if he keeps his bargain. All ballots are to be printed and distributed at the public expense; so that there will be no longer any excuse for heavy "assessments" upon candidates for election expenses, including the hiring of large gangs of ticket peddlers and "heelers." The law provides for nominations by petitions, so that one thousand men by favoring the same candidate for governor, or the same candidates for an entire State ticket, can have the name or names of their candidate or candidates printed upon all the ballots and distributed in all the polling places on equal terms with the nominations of the regular political organizations. Three hundred citizens of New York City or Brooklyn can, in the same way, secure a nominee for mayor, or any other city or county office. Here is a weapon ready at hand for use at any time against caucus tyranny, which is destined at no distant time to abolish the caucus entirely — at least in its old and most pernicious form.

With a ballot law of this kind as a basis for electoral reform, a Corrupt Practices Act which aims to abolish bribery of all kinds from elections can accomplish a

great deal, provided it is a comprehensive and adequate measure. Mr. Saxton's act of that name, which became a law before his ballot act did, cannot be called such. It had a serious defect, which was at once revealed at its first trial after a municipal election in Albany. It required the sworn publication after election of all campaign receipts and expenditures, by candidates or their agents, but neglected to make the same requirement of campaign committees. The result was that the candidates evaded the law by simply stating the sums they had paid to the committees. The governor recommended an amendment extending the provisions of the act to campaign committees, which passed the Senate but failed in the Assembly. This Corrupt Practices Act is very interesting as constituting the first application to American methods of the principles of the English act which were discussed in *THE CENTURY* in February last. It is a decisive and important step in the right direction, and can be briefly summed up in three parts.

1. *Provisions against the briber.* These are very minute and specific and the penalties are very stringent. Any person is forbidden, either directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person, to influence the vote of another in any possible manner, either by bribery, loan, persuasion, promise of money or office or anything of value, intimidation, threat of loss of employment or reduction of wages, use of so-called "pay-envelopes," betting, coercion, restraint, or any means whatever. Any person is forbidden also to induce another, by any means whatever, to refrain from voting. Any candidate convicted of bribery or undue influence of any kind mentioned in the law, either by himself or through an agent, will be liable to imprisonment of not less than three months nor more than one year, and will be obliged to forfeit his office in case of election.

2. *Provisions against the bribed.* These include all the forms of bribery and influence mentioned as unlawful for the briber to practice, and forbid any voter to submit to them, either by himself or through another, either in voting or in refraining from voting. The penalty for violation of these provisions is imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than one year, and exclusion from the right of suffrage for five years.

3. *Provisions for sworn publication of campaign expenditures.* These can best be given by quoting the text of the law, which is as follows:

Every candidate who is voted for at any public election held within this State shall, within ten days after such election, file, as hereinafter provided, an itemized statement, showing in detail all the moneys contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person, in aid of his election. Such statement shall give the names of the various persons who received such moneys, the specific nature of each item, and the purpose for which it was expended or contributed. There shall be attached to such statement an affidavit subscribed and sworn to by such candidate, setting forth in substance that the statement thus made is in all respects true, and that the same is a full and detailed statement of all moneys so contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person, in aid of his election.

It will be observed that not only every candidate who is elected, but "every candidate who is voted for," must file these sworn statements. The law goes on to specify that all candidates for State office must file their statements with the Secretary of State, and all

those for local offices, with the county clerk. Failure or neglect by any candidate to file such statement will be a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment of not less than three months nor more than a year, and, in case of an elected candidate, by forfeiture of his office also.

The chief defects in the bill are its lack of an express prohibition of assessments or levies upon candidates by political organizations as the price of their nomination; its failure to require sworn publication of expenditures by all campaign committees as well as by candidates; its failure to put a maximum limit to campaign expenditures, as the English law does; and its neglect to fix a penalty for making false returns. The assessment evil is a very serious one; and while it may be mitigated by the requirements of the Saxton law, it cannot be wholly destroyed. Publication of the receipts and disbursements by campaign committees is fully as important as that by candidates. The bill which passed one house of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1889 required such publication both by candidates and by committees, and fixed a penalty for false returns. It is much to be regretted that Senator Saxton did not imitate it in this respect. In most other respects his law is superior to the Massachusetts proposal. As for a maximum limit, it may be found that that feature of the English law cannot be put in practical operation here. We have so large a number of offices that a limit in each case would be very difficult to fix.

The great point gained by the Saxton law is publicity of expenditures. We have never had this before in this country, and its possibilities of good are illimitable. In regard to "assessments," it will be extremely difficult for New York City candidates, who have heretofore paid from \$5000 to \$25,000 for a nomination, to conceal that payment among the items of a sworn statement in which they are required to give "the specific nature of each item, and the purpose for which it was expended or contributed." In short, publicity, the most deadly enemy of corruption in government everywhere, will under this law be brought to bear upon corruption in elections, and the result is certain to be in every way beneficial.

A Recent Sermon.

SUCH sermons as that preached by the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, on the "National Sin of Literary Piracy," and one recently preached by the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, touching upon the present condition of New York municipal affairs and the consequent duty of Christians, help to keep alive the respect of the world for the office and calling of the Christian ministry. We have already spoken of Dr. Van Dyke's most clear, eloquent, and patriotic restatement of the eighth commandment in connection with intellectual property.

Dr. Parkhurst's sermon happens to apply to the state of things in a single city, that city, in shame be it spoken, the "chief" one of America. But how many cities in America are governed in a manner which represents the wishes, the tone, of the more decent inhabitants? and in how many American cities would the preacher's words apply with stinging effect? The earnest preacher describes the group of men who permeate the public offices of New York City in lan-

guage as accurate as it is damning. Let us hope that nowhere else would just this description prove true, but let us acknowledge that in scarcely any American city where it is largely profitable to steal are all the offices manned by men of such character that private moneyed institutions would select them for positions of similar responsibility.

Dr. Parkhurst says with regard to the men who dominate New York municipal life that "their only title to candidacy was their devilry, and their only apology for being elected the apathy of the saints and the subserviency of respectable men to political bossism." He adds:

We maintain in this city schools of the prophets, we ship missionaries to all countries, and we annually export tons of Bibles and evangelical literature, and yet there is not concrete holiness enough on Manhattan Island to insure us against a system of political brigandage that excels even the organized outlawry of Italian banditti in the monstrousness of its demands and the frank cheerfulness of its methods.

It is as much a Christian's duty to love his country as his God. To an American the Stars and Stripes ought to be as much of his actual religion as the Sermon on the Mount. It is as much the duty of a New York Christian to go to the polls on election day as for him to go to the Lord's Table on communion day. What is needed is a Christian conscience vital and real enough to damn iniquity even when it would be more convenient to have it taken up into glory. So that if you are a Democrat and hear a Democrat lie, you will be prepared to brand it as a lie then and there. If you are a Republican and know a man is a bribe-giver, you will be prepared to brand him as a bribe-giver, even though he be a Republican and worth a good deal to his party.

If a Christian minister, with noble frankness, thus must needs remind members of Christian churches of their civic duties, need the churches be surprised if those who are not actually within their fold, but whose whole hearts are engaged in the attempt to establish really free institutions in the New World, look with astonishment upon the lukewarmness of professed Christians in matters of such vital and enormous import? Every Christian church is a society for the cultivation of the highest and purest ethics; every community in the United States has at least one of these societies; the larger communities are crowded with them. Are these numerous, these busy and well-equipped, these dominant societies having the effect they should have upon the standard of public morals? Do known scamps constantly get to be aldermen, mayors, legislators, governors, representatives, senators—here where hundreds and thousands of these societies for the culture of the highest ethical standards are sprinkled thickly through the land? Are men of known lack of conscience openly intrusted with the management of local or general elections and election funds? And are political tricksters and notorious corruptionists associated with, trusted, supported, by prominent members of these ethical societies, these Christian churches?

If these things are so,—if Dr. Parkhurst is right,—to what influence shall we look for the purification of public morals? "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets," like Dr. Parkhurst, "and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them."

Tom-toms in Politics.

WHILE the din of party strife is for the moment unheard, let us do something to encourage urbanity in politics, though it be no more than to turn our thoughts

in that direction. Let us think "malice towards none, with charity for all," even when the campaign is on and kindly sentiments are drowned by the tom-toms of the politicians and the party newspapers.

To be sure, party warfare is the natural condition of representative government. Men will always struggle for political principles and for the honors — and the spoils — of office only less fiercely than on the battlefield for national existence. And a more personal element enters into the question: men will fight just as desperately for their good names as for their lives. When the political tom-toms sound false abuse, tom-toms are sounded in reply, and the opposing forces, with unseemly noise and hideous masks hiding their better natures, go forth to defeat and victory.

Mental qualities, personal tastes and temperament, undoubtedly do much to place a man in this, that, or the other party; and some men are so constituted as to be repelled by the idea of absolute allegiance to any party. The latter prefer to solve the issue for themselves, and to train, for the time, with the party they think is in the right or is provided with the safest leaders. They are a useful class of citizens, and are more conscientious than ambitious, because it is their part to serve, not to play the master. When they announce a choice the leader of their present alliance says, "Well done"; but the leader they have turned from sets the tom-toms ringing with execration. So soon as their conscience carries them again in the other direction, praise and penalties are reversed. It is as true in politics as in business and in war that the strong leader who welcomes accretions is most ruthless in his feelings towards the cooled partisan or the withdrawing ally.

These personal traits, that help to determine a man's politics, draw him naturally into certain social sets and business relations. His amiabilities, therefore, are in danger of being cultivated on partisan lines. Though

kindly in heart and courteous by nature he is capable of treating a political opponent with insolence expressed in the words of a blackguard. His feelings may be more or less involved in the abuse, but the leading motive is the time-honored necessity of beating the tom-toms. Public meetings and political clubs (and no matter how generally cultivated and high-toned the members of the latter may be) indorse and cheer resolutions that stigmatize the opposing party as base in principle and motive; and they even find it within their dignity to throw low epithets at the names of "the enemy's" leaders, even though in doing so they may be dishonoring the very public offices it is the object of their efforts to fill with their own leaders. Men seem to lose the inbred manners of civilization in beating the political tom-tom.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself" is a rule that appeals as little to a political opponent as it applies to him — when the campaign is on. And even in the lull of political strife the Republican is prone to wonder if his Democratic fellow-citizen is kind to his horse; and the Democrat, on his part, has a suspicion that his Republican neighbor supports his "style" by neglecting to pay his bills; and each respects the Independent only because, perchance, he is lending his vote, and while he is lending it.

In arguing for better thoughts and kindlier manners in political life we are, of course, paying tithes to Utopia; yet it will do good to remind ourselves after our party has been abused, and our chosen leaders defamed, that the only weapon that fills the commonplace void of routine politics is the childish tom-tom, strident and smarting perhaps, but not death-dealing, and that public men and public bodies are to be respected in proportion as they refrain from beating it. The world, by this time, ought to be too old for barbarous methods in the exercise of the duties of popular government — the most civilized of all human actions.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination.

THERE is a chapter in the history of the Chicago convention of 1860 that nominated Abraham Lincoln which has never been written. A majority of the delegates elected to this convention were favorable to the nomination of William H. Seward. That he was the favorite of the party there was no doubt.

At this time it was admitted that there were four doubtful States — New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In order to elect their candidate it was necessary for the Republicans to carry three of these States. A majority of the delegates from the doubtful States were of the opinion that neither one of these States could be carried by William H. Seward if he should be nominated by the convention. This opinion was freely expressed among the delegates, and was generally believed, and it was this belief that prevented his nomination.

The State conventions of Indiana and Illinois had each instructed their delegates to vote for Abraham

Lincoln; a majority of the delegates from Pennsylvania presented the name of Simon Cameron; while those from New Jersey were desirous to secure the nomination of William L. Dayton. These names were urged because the delegates from these States were satisfied that William H. Seward could not be elected if nominated, and were of the opinion that some other candidate could.

The fact that William H. Seward could not carry the doubtful States was pressed strongly upon all the delegates, and they were told that his nomination would surely defeat the party, and insure the success of the Democratic candidate and the party's policy for the extension of slavery.

The convention was appointed to meet on Wednesday. On Tuesday a committee from Massachusetts and some of the other New England States, with John A. Andrew at its head, visited the delegates from the four doubtful States. Mr. Andrew was the spokesman for his committee. He stated that it was the desire of all that the party should succeed;

that he and others from New England were in favor of William H. Seward, but that they preferred the success of the party rather than the election of any particular individual; and when it was made apparent to them that William H. Seward could not carry the doubtful States and that some other man could, they were willing to give up Mr. Seward and go for the man who could make victory certain. "You delegates all say that William H. Seward cannot carry the doubtful States. When we ask you who can, you from New Jersey give us the name of William L. Dayton, a most excellent and worthy man in every way, and entirely satisfactory to us; but when we go to Pennsylvania they name Simon Cameron; and Indiana and Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Now it is impossible to have all these three candidates, and unless you delegates from the four doubtful States can agree upon some one candidate, whom you think can carry these States, we from New England will vote for our choice, William H. Seward of New York; but if you will unite upon some one candidate and present his name, we will give him enough votes to place him in nomination." The talk of this committee made a profound impression upon the delegates from the four States, and the necessity of uniting upon some one candidate was felt by all. If they could unite on some one, then there were men enough ready to nominate him. If the four States did not agree, but persisted in putting forward the three candidates, then William H. Seward would be nominated and the party defeated. This was the manner it was presented to them, and certainly a very large majority of all the delegates from the four States so regarded it. The responsibility of the situation was felt, but the difficulty was not an easy one to overcome. Most of the delegates had been instructed, or at least had been elected with the understanding, that they should vote for one of these candidates. To break from them and vote for some one else was not a very easy or pleasant thing to do. This was the situation when the convention assembled on Wednesday. The writer of this was placed on the committee on resolutions, and after the adjournment on Wednesday took no part in the convention until Thursday noon, at which time the committee on resolutions had agreed upon their platform. He then learned that a sub-convention of the delegates from the four doubtful States had been called at the Cameron rooms in Chicago, and that it was then in session. He proceeded there at once and found it organized, with Governor Andrew Reeder of Pennsylvania in the chair. Much discussion was going on, and it was very evident that nothing could be agreed upon in this sub-convention. The writer proposed to Mr. Judd of Illinois that the matter should be referred to a committee of three from each State to be selected by the States. Mr. Judd made this motion and it was carried, and the delegates from each State appointed its committee. The writer cannot remember all the names of the different committees. From Illinois a committee of three was appointed with Judge David Davis at its head; from Indiana, a similar committee with Caleb B. Smith. From Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, William B. Mann, and Judge Purviance were appointed. From New Jersey Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Ephraim Marsh, and Thomas H. Dudley. This committee met at David Wilmot's rooms the same evening (Thursday) at six o'clock. The whole

committee of twelve were present. They remained in session from six until eleven o'clock in the evening. At ten o'clock the white head of Horace Greeley was thrust into the room. He asked if anything had been done, and was told that nothing had been. It was then, under the belief that the committee had failed to agree to anything, that he telegraphed to the "Tribune" that William H. Seward would be nominated the next day on the second ballot. This telegram appeared in the paper on Friday. Thus it is that "man proposes, but God disposes." After Greeley had left, one of the committee from New Jersey proposed that they should ascertain, so far as they could, the vote that each of the three candidates, Lincoln, Cameron, and Dayton, could command in the convention. This canvass was made, and it was found that Lincoln was the strongest candidate; that he could obtain more votes than either of the others in the convention. This fact being ascertained to the satisfaction of all the committee, one of the delegates from New Jersey asked the committee from Pennsylvania, if New Jersey would give up Dayton and vote for Lincoln, whether the friends of Cameron would also agree to support Lincoln. The committee from Pennsylvania stated that they had no power to bind their co-delegates, but that they were prepared to recommend it, providing the committee from New Jersey would do the same. After some discussion this was agreed to, and Abraham Lincoln, so far as this committee of twelve from the four doubtful States was concerned, was agreed upon as the candidate for the Presidency. The understanding was that the three committeemen from Pennsylvania were to submit the conclusion of the committee to the delegates from that State and urge upon them its adoption, and the committee from New Jersey agreed on their part to submit the matter to the friends of Judge Dayton, and to urge upon them the ratification of the action of the committee to vote as a unit for Lincoln. A meeting of the delegates from New Jersey who were friendly to William L. Dayton was called at the Richmond House the same night at one o'clock. All of Judge Dayton's friends were present, and after they had been informed what had been done by the committee of twelve, they ratified it and agreed that after the complimentary voting was over they would vote for Lincoln. The Pennsylvania delegates met the next morning (Friday) at nine o'clock, and after hearing the report of their committee agreed to cast their votes for Abraham Lincoln, after giving complimentary votes for Simon Cameron. The committee of twelve, before they adjourned after agreeing upon Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for President, consulted upon the question of Vice-President and selected Henry Winter Davis of Maryland; and Judge Davis of Illinois, his first cousin, was appointed to telegraph him and ask if he would accept, if nominated. An answer was received from him the next morning that he would not accept. But for this refusal Henry Winter Davis would have been placed upon the ticket with Lincoln. Before the committee of twelve adjourned it was agreed to keep the proceedings private, except to those who were immediately interested. In consequence of this injunction, the action of the committee was not generally known among the delegates when the convention assembled on Friday morning. The States were called alphabetically.

cally. New Jersey was called before Pennsylvania, and on the third ballot, when this State was called, the writer, who had been selected to make the break, arose and stated that on that ballot he should vote for Abraham Lincoln, and he was at once followed by all the other friends of William L. Dayton, who voted for Lincoln. On the same ballot when Pennsylvania was called the delegates from that State voted for Lincoln, as had been agreed upon. This gave Lincoln the four doubtful States and virtually nominated him. As soon as this was seen, some of the States that had voted changed their votes, and others that had not voted cast their votes for Lincoln, giving him a majority of the whole convention and thus nominating him. I am not aware that this part of the history of the convention has ever been made public. It is but right and proper that it should be given to history.

CAMDEN, N. J.

Thomas H. Dudley.

University Extension and the Science of Teaching.

IN failing to give direct instruction on the education of children the universities and colleges are guilty of a great wrong in thus neglecting that training which fits for the greatest responsibility of life. The indifference of the higher institutions of learning to the subject of education is also greatly responsible for its being the one great subject about which educated men generally are most ignorant.

As influences upon the lower orders of society must come from the higher orders, it is almost useless to expect any more general interest in education until the universities set the example and give to its study the prestige and the means for research and investigation given to other and less important subjects. In thus reaching out to help the teaching profession to a broader and deeper knowledge of educational principles, the universities will be brought to see their own needs and their neglect of the most important thing in life—the bringing up of children.

It is a mistake to think that a knowledge of the philosophy and science of education belongs only to the teacher. The teacher's influence and power is very great, but it is small compared with that of the parent: therefore how important to the parent is the knowledge of child-nature in its physiological and psychological aspects; the value and order of certain studies; the respective worth of educational practices and the principles upon which they are based, etc. The overwhelming amount of evil that is due to ignorance of these things on the part of parents, together with the irresponsible and unthinking way the duties of parenthood are as-

sumed, demands the attention of thinking men, and calls for some solution—some instruction from the centers of thought and learning. However, the growing need for educational knowledge will continually force on the higher institutions of learning the necessity for giving to educational research and study the moral support and the opportunities it so fairly deserves.

The world needs teachers, great ones, teachers for children and teachers for the people, and it is the university that should supply these by widening its functions and becoming, as it should, the great teacher of the people. University extension in this country is only in its infancy, but its value and practicability as demonstrated in England and Scotland assure a large and vigorous growth. University extension, too, is suggestive of such a wide scope of activities and influences that it is to be hoped that through this means will be begun in the near future some work for humanity, some work for the enlightenment and the moral uplifting of the masses. The extension of university privileges and influences to the school and to the people is a sign that the university is beginning to assume its proper sociological function.

"THE TEACHER."

Mary Hargrove Simpson.

Bloodhounds and Slaves.

IN the March CENTURY I notice an interesting article, "Bloodhounds and Slaves."

Many a Southerner will smile as he reads: "I suppose it will hardly be believed, but, as a fact, dogs were rarely used in the South for tracking human beings. I never knew of a case where they were used in Virginia. . . . I saw but one pack in Georgia, . . . and I never heard of a pack in Alabama." This only shows what Mr. Nelson knew, saw, or heard, and proves nothing as to facts. His conclusions are misleading. I, too, lived many years in Alabama, and knew, saw, and heard of many packs that were kept and trained to follow the trail of runaway negroes, and I knew several men who made it their principal business to capture fugitives.

I have often seen dogs on the trail, and have seen the runaway brought in as the result of the hunt. These dogs were not bloodhounds, though often so called. Nor were they *little* foxhounds, from which there was no danger, but they would bite, and, as a pack, would tear a man down. Safety for the pursued was in taking to a tree.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Observer.



she moves him at her pleasure, so 't is freely said. An ill woman to quarrel with."

"An ill woman to be friends with; say that, my Lady. And as for holding Kelderby at any one's pleasure, I trust you know better than that. There is One that orders both kings and women. I would n't be put about for nothing. And it is ill luck to speak of ill. My mother used to say to me, 'Jael, my lass, say no ill of the year till the year be past.'"

"Well, well! Put down the blind, Jael, and let me sleep, and so forget for a little that I live. Surely we shut our bedroom door and rehearse death every night."

"I know not, my Lady. Sleep has its own life. Will dead folks dream?"

She was pulling down the blind as she spoke, and she paused in the act, and, looking upward, said softly, "There 's a fine new moon, God bless her!"

(To be continued.)

Amelia E. Barr.

GUILIELMUS REX.

THE folk who lived in Shakspeare's day
And saw that gentle figure pass
By London Bridge,—his frequent way,—
They little knew what man he was!

The pointed beard, the courteous mien,
The equal port to high and low,
All this they saw or might have seen—
But not the light behind the brow!

The doublet's modest gray or brown,
The slender sword-hilt's plain device,
What sign had these for prince or clown?
Few turned, or none, to scan him twice.

Yet 't was the king of England's kings!
The rest with all their pomps and trains
Are moldered, half-remembered things—
'T is he alone that lives and reigns!

Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Distaste for Solitude.

EACH census emphasizes the disproportionate growth of the population of cities and towns in the United States as compared with that of the country at large. Every decade marks a stronger tendency on the part of those born in thinly settled rural districts to seek homes in places where there are large numbers of people.

There has been a prolonged discussion as to the causes of this phenomenon. Much stress has been laid upon the changes which were inevitable under the development of immense manufacturing and business enterprises in a nation which at the start was engaged almost exclusively in agricultural pursuits. Undoubtedly economic influences of this sort have had great effect, but, no one can give any thought to the problem without seeing that they do not suffice to solve it. It seems only reasonable to conclude that a motive power may be discovered in the operation of some law of human nature. Is not one explanation to

be found in a distaste for solitude which has been growing during the past generation?

Farm life necessarily involves to a large extent the separation of the farmer from the community. In any agricultural region it is inevitable that a large proportion of the families must live isolated lives. The village is usually a considerable distance from the farm, and the nearest neighbor is often a mile away. The highway which passes the house is not likely to be much traveled; indeed, the house may be on a neighborhood road which accommodates only a few families, or at the end of a private way. Father, mother, and children go to the village church on Sunday, and perhaps two or three times a week some member drives in for the mail or to buy something at the store. But during the warmer months the pressure of work leaves no leisure for social intercourse, while in the winter season the severity of the cold or the bad condition of the roads often keeps the family from seeing any outsider for days at a time.

Such has been the mode of life among the farming

population of New England, and of the Northern States generally, as the tide of population flowed westward from the Atlantic. It was a régime which made solitude the rule, and association of any sort with one's fellow-men the exception. It threw people upon their own resources, and tested their capacity to find in themselves enough to occupy and amuse their minds. It was a test which generation after generation stood well. For a long time there were few large cities in the whole land, and in the days of the stage-coach the nearest of those few was far remote from the average farm. The weekly journal contained little that was calculated to arouse discontent with the simple life of the country, for life in the cities was comparatively simple, and, even had it been otherwise, the newspapers had not yet learned the trick of making "spicy reports." The farmer accepted a large measure of isolation as the common lot, and brought up his boys and girls to consider such a mode of life as the natural one.

The railroad dealt the first blow at the old régime. It rendered it easy to get away from the farm and to the cities, which in turn the railroad made constantly larger and more numerous. The real attractions of the city grew rapidly, and, what was still more important, the popular conception that the city was full of attractions grew ten times as rapidly. The adventurous youth who had deserted the parental farm to try his fortune on a larger field returned on a visit to the old homestead richer than any man in the town, and the newspapers were constantly telling still more wonderful tales of successes achieved by poor country boys in the city. The whistle of the engine, coming perhaps faintly over miles of meadow and cornfield, was suggestive of wealth, or, if not of wealth, at least of crowds and distractions, in the city towards which it sped. The great world had been before so remote from the farm that it seemed inaccessible; it was brought now almost within hailing distance. Solitude had appeared almost as natural as it was inevitable; but now that it could be escaped, it began to grow intolerable.

One need not carry his investigations far to discover that the desire to escape the solitude of the farm is often the most potent motive in drawing people to the city. The hope of bettering one's fortunes actuates many, but not a few will frankly confess that they have no such hope. The man who abandoned a farm up the Hudson, which had been in the family for generations, and came to New York without having any particular vocation in view, and who was found by an old neighbor some time afterward serving as conductor on a horse-car, was a type of a large class. Apparently it had never occurred to him that the position he occupied as the employee of a corporation which might turn him off any day without a moment's notice was far inferior to that of the independent farmer. What impressed and satisfied him was the fact that he had become a part of the rushing life of the great city.

In like manner it is often the dread of solitude which keeps in the city those born and bred in its poorer quarters who might better their condition immensely by going into the country. "I could n't stand the quiet," "I should be so lonesome": such are the protests which one hears, over and over again, when

offering opportunities of higher wages and greater comfort; hears, moreover, from those who have no strong ties of family or friendship to bind them to the city, but who are held only by the subtle attractions of the crowds, the street scenes, the petty incidents which must always diversify the course of events where there is a great aggregation of people. It is the simple truth that thousands of men and women would prefer scanty food and poor lodgings in a large city to abundant fare and good quarters in a small village, or, worse still, in some comfortable but isolated farm-house two or three miles from a village. A philanthropic New Yorker, interested in a tenement-house family which was always more or less dependent upon charity, secured them a farm in New Jersey rent free and established them upon it. They made a living, and were, as he supposed, enjoying their independence, when, not a year later, he discovered that they had abandoned the farm and returned to their wretched existence in the city. Finding the mother, he asked why they had not remained where they were so well off. "Well, there was n't much company there." This was the sole reason she had to give.

Nor is this phenomenon confined to the United States. The same disproportionate growth of the cities and towns, at the expense of the rural districts, is observable in England and on the Continent, and may be traced to the same causes there as here. People flock from the country into London and Paris as they do into New York, not merely because they are badly off in the country and hope to better themselves in the city, but also because they "can't stand the quiet" of a monotonous existence, and are willing to risk the loss of present comfort in order to secure change of scene.

Has the whole world, then, wearied of solitude, grown intolerant of quiet, become enamored of crowds and noise? That would, indeed, be a melancholy conclusion. Happily there is another side to the picture. The most noteworthy development of the vacation season during recent summers has been the growing disposition of city people to seek privacy when they go into the country. Great hotels at seaside resorts and in mountain retreats there still are, and of course always must be, but the proportion of all the summer visitors which they secure grows less year by year. There is an increasing class of people who long for retirement, and who find in the great summer hotel too many reminders of the city noise and confusion from which they fled. If the charms of nature or the pleasures of association draw them to the neighborhood of such a caravansary, they seek in preference a cottage. But best of all they like a spot where the crowd never has come and never is likely to come — some one of the thousands upon thousands of such retreats which possess not only the beauty of nature, but also the charm of quiet. Often it is the old homestead to which the mind recurs as the most attractive of all places because it insures the very solitude, now longed for, which once seemed so hard to bear.

These are welcome signs that the pendulum is beginning to swing back, and that human nature is recovering its equilibrium. The reaction which has set in from the city affects the country in turn. The summer visitor comes to feel an interest in the future of the village where he spends the pleasantest months of

the year, and wishes to make it a more desirable place of residence for those who inhabit it all the months. He helps in the starting of a library, he aids in reviving an academy, he encourages the formation of a village improvement association. Perhaps he puts up in his birthplace a library building or some other edifice which both serves a utilitarian purpose and elevates the taste of the community. In one way or another he displays his appreciation of the village, and in turn the villagers themselves come to appreciate its charms. If it is so beautiful a spot that it draws people from the city early in the season and holds them late, it cannot be so dreary as it had once seemed. And it is not; for the dreariness too often had come chiefly from the decline of public spirit, and the consequent dying out of the higher life that is always possible to a rural community. Revive this higher life, and the village may again have its attractions, as it once did, for those who were born in it. The city may thus repair some of the harm which its own growth has done the country, and sounder ideas of society and of solitude may come to pervade both.

The New School of Explorers.

It was a suggestive coincidence that the project for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America should have been under discussion when the great African explorer was again returning to civilization from his latest plunge into the Dark Continent. That the names of Christopher Columbus and Henry M. Stanley should thus be on people's lips together seems both natural and proper, for the American of the nineteenth century belongs to the same type of the world's great men as the Genoese of the fifteenth. But the striking feature of the collocation is the fact that Stanley is really the last representative of this type. In other words, the explorer has now had his day in the history of the world, and passes from the stage.

It is but a little while since the earth was a mystery to its inhabitants. Vast spaces upon the map were frankly confessed by the geographer to be utterly unknown to him. The immense island of Australia, so large as almost to demand the title of continent, which some bestow, had not been visited by civilized man. Vast tracts of Asia were hardly distinguished by name. Africa was virtually a sealed book. Even our own country scarcely more than a generation ago still offered opportunities for the explorer; and people in middle life recall the strange impression made upon the childish mind by the expression, "The Great American Desert," which covered so large an area west of the Mississippi. In short, when men and women who do not call themselves old were young, the earth still remained full of unknown lands.

We have changed all that, along with so many other things. The map of the United States no longer contains any vast unknown waste, and the Great American Desert has shrunk away before the advance of civilization. The Old World has yielded up one after another of its mysteries. Last of all, a flood of light has been thrown upon the Dark Continent itself. With Africa opened up, the globe, for the first time in the history of the human race, ceases to have its dark corners. Man finally knows what sort of place the earth is, and henceforth the explorer's rôle on an heroic scale

is impossible. There remain, to be sure, many regions about which we know comparatively little, but there are few regions in any part of the world about which we know nothing — if we except the poles; and even there the approach has been so near that what remains is rather the glory of achievement than the satisfaction of a baffled curiosity. This is not to say that there is nothing left for the information and entertainment of the public in the fuller knowledge that we shall constantly gain of remote regions, for there is here a great field which will richly reward careful cultivation; but what remains must be the prolonged work of many, rather than the brilliant dash of one or another great spirit. Stanley is the last of the school of explorers to which Columbus belonged.

It must be admitted that the world has lost something by its gains. The charm of mystery and the zest of adventure are gone when there are no longer trackless seas to sail or pathless continents to thread. It is a somewhat prosaic reflection that we have done away with the mystery of unknown regions, so that the map-maker need no longer use any of those vague terms for large areas which once piqued curiosity and fired the imagination. Indeed, one may almost feel a grudge against the explorers when he realizes how much of poetry they have banished by substituting knowledge for the unknown; and may envy those more fortunate generations who lived and died enjoying the pleasures of speculation about parts of the earth which were practically almost as remote and puzzling as the moon. Fortunately the loss is not irreparable. A world which man knew all about would indeed be a tiresome sort of world. But the explorers, who have shown us what the geography of the globe is, have, after all, only scratched the surface. The realm of mystery, so far from dwindling into nothingness, has really widened. The field for the imagination's play has grown immeasurably. The range of possible discovery has spread from the globe to the universe.

The new school of explorers is glad not to be obliged to waste energy in what is at best the essentially commonplace business of finding out "the lay of the land" or the bounds of the sea. Its field of study is those forces of nature which the old explorer, however clear-sighted, never saw, or, seeing, comprehended not. It analyzes the elements; it searches out motive power; it makes electricity its servant. The earth, the sea, the air, all invite its investigation, and one discovery only serves to stimulate the search for others. It sets no bounds to its ambition, and the imagination has a boundless play in contemplating the possibilities of its achievements. The telephone, the phonograph, the electric motor — these are hints, but only hints, of its future work. Thus it happens that, as the old explorer disappears, a new appears upon the scene, and the type of which Henry M. Stanley is the last representative is succeeded by the one personified in Thomas A. Edison. We should name with men like Edison and Thomson and Bell also the psychologists and philosophers — those who are prying into the mysteries of the human spirit: a slow and laborious and baffling quest, but surely not the least interesting, or, to the possessors of souls, the least important. Latitude and longitude circumscribed the scope of the old explorer, but the time can never come when the new will have sounded all the depths of the universe.

Provence.

THE author of the exquisite translation of Mistral's "Miréio," and the writer of those delightful essays on Provençal poetry, is "at home" in describing "A Provençal Pilgrimage" in this and in the July number of THE CENTURY. If Miss Preston's paper and Mr. Pennell's pictures send to that enchanted and unhackneyed part of Europe a procession of Passionate Pilgrims, not a little happiness will be added to the sum of human joys.

The Rhône of to-day must be something like the Rhine of fifty years ago, though much less voyaged now than that was then. Miss Preston rushed into this Italy in France by rail. Another time she should find out whether the boat is running from Lyons, take it there in the early spring morning, and arrive in the magical evening at Avignon. The only permanent quantity of the company on the open-decked little steamer may be a couple of German tourists; its fluctuating components scarcely a dozen peasants and one much-attended cow. But what a panorama of medieval quaintness, grandeur, and unimagined beauty; what

lonely castles overlooking from unknown heights what pictured towns of what unfamiliar names; what glorious river sweeps; what rushing waters; what chattering and adventurous landings!

From Lyons to Avignon — a day's journey from the new world to the old; a transition all the stranger because it is the same country, and still not the same. Here are not only the Middle Ages of France but of Italy, with ancient Rome outspread as a background. Here too are the new troubadours. Aubanel, alas, is gone now; but here still are Roumanille, Mistral, Matthieu, Gras, the adopted *filibre* Bonaparte-Wyse, Madame Roumanille, and Mademoiselle. Is there any other modern community where not to be a poet needs apology? where the poet is not hiding his calling half the time, as the girl who enlists in the army needs must hide her maiden breasts?

We spoke above of a "procession," but it was only of Passionate Pilgrims. The fashionable tourist has no call to Provence; and if he really lingered there he would, thank Heaven! find himself both uncomfortable and bored. It will be many a long day before Provence is spoiled.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Siberian Exile Petition Movement of Philadelphia.

THOSE who have read THE CENTURY MAGAZINE articles, by Mr. George Kennan, on the Siberian Exile System of Russia, will be gratified to know of the work of the Association formed in Philadelphia for the purpose of distributing as widely as possible a carefully prepared petition to the Czar, in which his attention is called to the intense interest the citizens of the United States are taking in the system of punishment in vogue in Russia, and pointing out, in a frank but courteous manner, the lack of harmony in that system with civilization's advanced ideas of humanity.

The Philadelphia Association was formed late last year after hearing one of Mr. Kennan's lectures in Association Hall. At the close of the lecture the Rev. William Neilson McVickar, D. D., arose, and asked with deep feeling: "Cannot something be done for the relief of these people? Cannot the conditions of these political prisoners and convicts sent to Siberia be ameliorated? Shall we not do something?" The questions were like the powerful precipitant in the chemist's laboratory. All the elements of deep feeling throughout the country were in solution, and this one drop of warm heart blood precipitated the elements into forces of action. An association of influential people was formed, with Dr. McVickar as president.

The question of reform and relief was discussed in all its aspects. The cruelties and injustices practiced were, of course, the most prominent things before the minds and in the hearts of those interested when the Association was formed, and many felt in the face of these like doing something exceedingly radical — protesting, denouncing, and even threatening the Russian government. But this, while quite satisfactory as an expression of feeling, did not seem likely to produce any great results as a method of reform. It was sometimes felt in the course of the discussion that the remedy lay in urging

certain radical changes upon the government, but this was completely outside any efforts an association of citizens in the United States might justly make, although the power of public opinion in the United States might indeed aid in bringing about such a change. State interference was even suggested, but this was dismissed at once as leading to state complications.

The Association had to contend with people of various minds and opinions — the radicals and the conservatives; and it felt deeply the necessity in this great work for humanity of unifying sentiment in the United States so as to add force to the protest. After much discussion with wise and conservative men — diplomatists, ex-ministers, and others well versed in Russian affairs — it seemed best for the first effort to send the Czar a petition couched in friendly and courteous terms, calling his attention to the points of interest and contact between the two countries, recognizing the traditional and almost sentimental friendship that has existed between the two countries, and so in a brotherly fashion, while recognizing our own defects, calling upon him to look into some of his methods of punishment, and, if possible, revise them. Such a petition, the Association felt, the Czar would be able to receive, and still retain his self-respect. If, however, he refused, he would lay himself open to the condemnation of the whole world.

The Association believed that such a course was more likely to produce beneficial results. A petition so framed has certainly a better chance of consideration, and most men feel justified in going thus far and in doing this much, even though there are crying evils in our own Government and State institutions and in our methods of dealing with the penal classes. They believe that we are doing well in our efforts in these matters in our own country; and they believe that we shall do still better if we remember the chained hands

held out to us from far Siberia. In any event we cannot, as a Christian nation, pass by on the other side and allow our brother to suffer without bearing our testimony. The question of interference is of minor consideration as compared with the evil.

The spirit of humanity in this our day has grown so strong and spread so widely that it is awake to all imperfections in every part of the body of humanity, and by each new success at reform, in whatever part of the body, learns wisdom and takes courage for other efforts in other places. The power of a great moral movement of this kind is something that is not quickly realized by busy, energetic, practical people. Such people do not see at once that the force of such a movement as this is quite as much in the constant registering of the disapproval of the great American people as in the presentation of a piece of paper with a certain form of words upon it at the end of the work. This is the constant dropping which must wear away the indifference and inhumanity of the Czar and the bureaucracy by which he is surrounded. For the progress of the movement, there can be little doubt, is being constantly reported to the Russian government through its representatives and the European press; and that fact is of infinitely greater importance than the presentation of any form of petition in the future. Public opinion moved in this country is being freely noted by the European press, and is giving hope and courage to the oppressed, while at the same time it forces the question of reform upon the minds and hearts of those who have the power of reform in their hands. From various reliable sources we know that the movement has the sympathy of the highest Russian officials, as one of them lately wrote, "This movement in Philadelphia will do more to bind the hearts of the Russian and the American people together than a whole century of diplomacy."

The petition movement, then, appeals above all to the supreme court the decisions of which are expressed by the united public opinion of the world. And to this court every sufferer may appeal, and its verdict, no potentate, at least in this our century, can afford to despise. The harvest of sympathy and interest is likely to be a splendid expression of public opinion.

Over thirty thousand petition sheets have been sent out up to this time, and they are now being mailed at the rate of from five hundred to a thousand per day, while from twelve to eighteen hundred signatures are being returned in the same space of time.

The Central Bureau in Philadelphia urges the formation of local committees or auxiliary associations in all towns and cities, so that the distribution of the petition may proceed in a systematic manner among the societies, clubs, churches, etc., of the community, and so that matters of advertisement may be decided upon, and contributions received for the printing, posting, and clerical work of the Central Bureau in Philadelphia.¹

In urging this movement the Association feels that the reactive influence of such a great expression of public opinion on a question of humanity upon the minds and hearts of our own people is not the least of

the good results likely to follow. It asks the cordial cooperation and sympathy of every citizen of the United States.

Alfred J. P. McClure.

THE PETITION.

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE CZAR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS :

We who petition your Majesty are citizens of the United States of America.

We belong to a people who have long been bound by the natural ties of sympathy and gratitude to the great Russian nation, and to the Czars clothed with her majesty, who wield her power and shape her destiny.

It is your Majesty's province to do for Russia what we, in a certain sense, do for ourselves; and though the methods of governmental action are different, the aims of good government are the same: the strength and true grandeur of the state and the welfare and happiness of the people.

For these things nations are organized, and laws are decreed and executed; for these things great princes in the fear of God exercise imperial sway, and presidents are appointed.

Differ though they may in outward form, your government and our government are brothers in their noble duties.

Nor are our fraternal professions an empty feeling: we remember, and we can never forget, how the Czar, by his faith in the stability of the American Union and by the presence of Russian ships in the harbor of New York, strengthened the Republic when it was supposed, by less far-sighted sovereigns and statesmen, to be on the verge of ruin. Our danger, then, arose from an evil which your illustrious father, Alexander II., by his example, helped our illustrious president, Abraham Lincoln, to remove; and the great prince who liberated the Russian serfs and the great citizen who freed the American slaves, by kindred deeds of humanity, linked their countries together by enduring ties.

Sharing, therefore, as the past has taught us to do, in the thoughts that concern the glory and happiness of your people, we have been moved to bring to you, with good greetings, this petition:

That your Majesty will personally take note of a widespread interest, among us, in the workings and effects of the Siberian exile system.

We do not forget the penal reforms already accomplished in the Russian Empire. We are not blind to the mental and physical sufferings that of necessity are a part of any system of punishment for crime against individuals, society, or the state; nor are we unmindful of the need of reforms which are actively engaging the attention of philanthropists in our own methods of dealing with convicts. In this we are giving expression to the feeling of a friendly people, that in the punishment of some of her subjects Russia, whether from causes peculiar to her people, or on account of ancient custom, is not in harmony with the humanizing sentiments of the age. It is our wish that, by the wisdom and power of the Czar and the favor of God, Russia may grow in the admiration and sympathy of the American people and of the whole civilized world.

Forests and Streams.

IN the April CENTURY there is an article by Major Powell entitled "The Non-Irrigable Lands of the Arid Region." The article is largely devoted to the forests of the arid regions of the West. As far as accepted scientific forestry is concerned Major Powell's positions are revolutionary. His only attempt to sustain with any data or proof views at variance with those now received is an indefinite citation of certain alleged investigations in the Wasatch Range and elsewhere.

To set up such a bald and vague statement against the experience and writings of every prominent forestry man of whom we have knowledge is certainly extraordinary.

¹ The Central Bureau of the Association is at 1407 Locust street, Philadelphia, and the officers in charge are: Rev. W. N. McVickar, D. D., President; Mr. J. P. Mumford, Treasurer; Rev. Alfred J. P. McClure, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. W. F. Jenks, Recording Secretary.—EDITOR.

We have indeed found in California that trees immediately about a spring or directly upon a water-course do not always increase the flow of water, and may even diminish it, either by such a detention as allows the percolation of the water into the soil or by leaf evaporation.

With us riparian trees are gross water users and usually deciduous, such as sycamores, alders, willows, cottonwoods, etc. But upon the mountains the trees are of a different class, and their effect is, without known exception, beneficial to irrigators and water users in the valleys below.

Major Powell says (p. 920) that forests may be useful on river-courses in humid countries to prevent the streams from being too large and creating floods, but that in arid countries the trees take up and evaporate about forty per cent. of the rainfall into the air; that the snows melt faster in forests, and that the volume of water in a stream will be larger if its watershed be bare than if it were wooded. "For all these reasons the forests of the upper regions are not advantageous to the people of the valleys, who depend on the streams for the fertilization of the farms."

Such authorities as J. E. Brown, Becquerel, Marchand, Siemoni, Hummel, Piper, W. C. Bryant, Marsh, Van Reenan, Surell, Ladoucette, Cantegril, Wex, Berg-haus, Maass, Grebenan, Ebermayer, and a host of others are all, without an exception known to me, opposed to this view of Major Powell's. Time, place, and instance have been cited over and over again to show that the denudation of mountain districts is followed by increased torrent or flood action and diminished regular flow in springs and streams, often by the entire desiccation of these. In my reading, as in my observation as a forest officer, I have never read or known of an instance to warrant Major Powell's theory. It is at variance with all the known facts.

In regard to Major Powell's statement that the evaporation from a forest surface is greater than from denuded hillsides, I can say nothing because I know nothing. But a very considerable number of reliable experiments are accessible to show that Major Powell's inferences are totally wrong. According to Ebermayer, for instance, the following percentages of the rainfall were found in the summer at the depth of one meter:

	With Litter.		Without Litter.	
In open ground.....	19	19	14	11
In the forest.....	52	72	65	36
Difference.....	33	53	51	25

Every one with the most ordinary powers of observation and any experience knows that the soil remains humid longer in a forest than on bare open lands. So also snow remains longer under trees than in the open.

Here in California instances are already piled up for the inquirer. Some of these may be found in the first report of the State Board of Forestry. When the forests are destroyed the streams diminish. We have in such case our streams alternating between violent and destructive torrents and dry beds of sand and boulders.

Powell confutes himself, for he says, a few lines farther on, in speaking of the proposed storage reservoirs, "Storm waters wash the sands from naked hills and mountains, and bear them on to the creeks and rivers, by which they are carried to the storage basins."

Here the major describes torrent action, but he stops

at reservoirs and does not descend his detritus-laden stream to the farms below. As soon as such a stream leaves the steep grades of the mountains it drops its load, fills its bed, and changes its course. No one is safe in the bottom lands. I can show a number of instances of this sort of action in California alone.

Abbot Kinney.

LAMANDA PARK, LOS ANGELES CO., CAL.

The Case of Miss Carroll.

In the general legislation on the pension question it is not a little remarkable that no conclusive action has as yet been taken upon the claim of Miss Anna Ella Carroll, a claim of which perhaps not one in a thousand of the readers of THE CENTURY has ever heard.

Here is a cultivated and intelligent woman, the daughter of ex-Governor Carroll of Maryland, and now at an advanced age and in an invalid state, who presents to the House of Representatives *prima facie* evidence of having rendered distinguished and unusual services to the country during the civil war.

Three military committees of three Congresses have declared in favor of her claim, as below epitomized, and yet it has been neither satisfied nor rejected. Meanwhile Miss Carroll suffers the penalty of having generously withheld—for prudential reasons, in a time of peril—her claims to the authorship of plans of great importance.

The military and historical value of the point at issue puts this claim upon a basis different from one solely personal, and gives to it a wide national interest.

At the third application, made in 1881, Miss Carroll's claims were brought before Congress, and a military committee was appointed to inquire into them. General Bragg, as chairman of the committee, submitted a report, which was printed by order of Congress. It is headed:

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPORT 386.

The principal points in this report are as follows:

1. In the autumn of 1861 the great question as to whether the Union could be saved, or whether it was hopelessly subverted, depended on the ability of the Government to open the Mississippi and deliver a fatal blow upon the resources of the Confederate power.
2. That the plan then proposed of descending the Mississippi was an unwise and incapable one.
3. That Miss Carroll devised a wise and capable plan, which she induced the Government to substitute for the unwise and incapable one.
4. It is also conclusively shown that no plan, order, letter, or telegram, or suggestion of the Tennessee River as their line of invasion, had ever been produced except in the paper submitted by Miss Carroll on the 30th of November, 1861, and her subsequent letters to the Government as the campaign progressed.
5. That this campaign prevented the recognition of Southern independence.
6. That the campaign defeated national bankruptcy, then imminent.
7. That the wisdom of the plan was proven by the absolute advantages which resulted, giving the mastery of the conflict to the National arms, and evermore assuring their success, even against the powers of all Europe should they have combined.
8. It is further shown that the able and patriotic publications of the memorialist in pamphlets and newspapers, with her high social influence, not only largely contributed to the cause of the Union in her own State, but exerted a wide and salutary influence on the border States.

9. That these publications were used by the Government as war measures, and that Miss Carroll was the first writer on the war powers of the Government.

The report then mentions the two previous decisions which had been made in Congress to the same effect, and concludes :

In view of all these facts this committee believe that the thanks of the nation are due to Miss Carroll, and that they are fully justified in recommending that she be placed on the pension rolls of the Government as a partial measure of recognition for her public services, and report herewith a bill for such purpose, and recommend its passage.

Besides the remarkable list of distinguished men whose testimony had been alluded to, the following letter from the Hon. B. F. Wade, Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was appended to the report :

Dear Miss Carroll: I had no part in getting up the Committee [on the Conduct of the War]. The first intimation to me was that I had been made the head of it. But I never shirked a public duty, and at once went to work to do all that was possible to save the country. We went fully into the examination of the several plans for military operations then known to the Government, and we saw plainly enough that the time it must take to execute any of them would make it fatal to the Union.

We were in the deepest despair, until just at this time Colonel Scott informed me that there was a plan already devised which, if executed with secrecy, would open the Tennessee and save the National cause. I went immediately to Mr. Lincoln and talked the whole matter over. He said he did not himself doubt that the plan was feasible, but said there was one difficulty in the way : that no military or naval man had any idea of such a movement, it being the work of a civilian, and none of them would believe it safe to make such an advance upon only a navigable river, with no protection but a gunboat fleet, and they would not want to take the risk. He said it was devised by Miss Carroll, and military men were extremely jealous of all outside interference. I pleaded earnestly with him, for I found there were influences in his Cabinet then averse to his taking the responsibility, and wanting everything done in deference to the views of McClellan and Halleck. I said to Mr. Lincoln, "You know we are now in the last extremity, and you have to choose between adopting and at once executing a plan which you believe to be the right one, and save the country, or defer to the opinions of military men in command, and lose the country." He finally decided that he would take the initiative; but there was Mr. Bates, who had suggested the gunboat fleet, and wanted to advance down the Mississippi, as originally designed; but after a little he came to see that no result could be achieved on that mode of attack, and he united with us in favor of the change of expedition as you recommended.

After repeated talks with Mr. Stanton, I was entirely convinced that if placed at the head of the War Department he would have your plan executed vigorously, as he fully believed it was the only means of safety, as I did. Mr. Lincoln, on my suggesting Stanton, asked me how the leading Republicans would take it — that Stanton was

fresh from the Buchanan Cabinet, and many things said of him. I insisted he was our man withal, and brought him and Lincoln into communication, and Lincoln was entirely satisfied; but so soon as it got out the doubters came to the front. Senators and members called on me. I sent them to Stanton and told them to decide for themselves. The gunboats were then nearly ready for the Mississippi expedition, and Mr. Lincoln agreed, as soon as they were, to start the Tennessee movement. It was determined that as soon as Mr. Stanton came into the department then Colonel Scott should go out to the Western armies and make ready for the campaign in pursuance of your plan, as he has testified before committees. It was a great work to get the matter started; you have no idea of it. We almost fought for it. If ever there was a righteous claim on earth, you have one. I have often been sorry that, knowing all this, as I did then, I had not publicly declared you as the author. But we were fully alive to the importance of absolute secrecy. I trusted but few of our people; but to pacify the country I announced from the Senate that the armies were about to move, and inaction was no longer to be tolerated. Mr. Fessenden, head of the finance committee, who had been told of the proposed advance, also stated to the Senate that what would be achieved in a few more days would satisfy the country and astound the world.

As the expedition advanced, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, and myself frequently alluded to your extraordinary sagacity and unselfish patriotism, but all agreed that you should be recognized for your most noble service, and properly rewarded for the same.

The last time I saw Mr. Stanton he was on his death-bed; he was then most earnest in his desire to have you come before Congress, as I told you soon after, and said that if he lived he would see that justice was awarded you. This I have told you often since, and I believe the truth in this matter will finally prevail.

B. F. WADE.

General Bragg prepared the following bill to accompany the report :

Be it enacted that the same sum and emoluments given by the Government to the major-generals of the United States Army be paid to Anna Ella Carroll from the date of her services to the country in November, 1861, to the time of the passage of this act, and the further payment of the same amount as the pay and emoluments of a major-general of the United States Army be paid to her in quarterly instalments, to the end of her life, as a partial measure of recognition of her services to the nation, and recommend its passage.

S. E. Blackwell.

NEW YORK.

"A Study of Consciousness."

DR. H. C. WOOD in his article "A Study of Consciousness," in the May number of THE CENTURY, through a "lapse of consciousness" wrote, "a man named Yellowlees," instead of, as he intended, "a case reported by Dr. Yellowlees." Dr. Yellowlees is the genial Medical Superintendent of the Glasgow Royal Asylum for the Insane.

BRIC-À-BRAC.

The Negro in the Overflow.

DE warters keeps er-risin' an' er-risin' on de bank,
De lebies keeps er-breakin', an' de plows am in
de wet,
De niggers all vamousin' ter de dry lan' ever'whar',
But dis nigger hain't er-gwine ter leab de ole planta-
tion yet.

De young uns all kin make new homes an' prosper,
anywhar',
An' 'buse de lan' dat borned 'em, w'en dey moves out
f'om de State,
But de years is w'arin' on me, an' dar's sumpin' I cain't
tote
Hid upon de ole plantation here, an' here I gwine ter
wait.

ciate of Major Savage, and his reply only serves to show the errors into which the old pioneers had been led. Mr. Cunningham said, "Boling's and Kukendall's company's first trip to Yosemite Valley, according to Mr. M. B. Lewis's adjutant's report, was early in April, 1851." The fact is, Kukendall's company was never in the Yosemite, but was on duty on King's River and in the Kah-we-ah, or Four Creeks country. I had, previous to this correspondence, been induced to take up the subject of the discovery by seeing numerous errors concerning it, and had written to Adjutant-General L. H. Foot of California for any records in his possession. The reply of General Foot was, "The records of this office, both written and printed, are so incomplete that I am not aware, from consulting them, that the organization to which you allude [the Mariposa Battalion] had existence." This reply decided me to record the events which led to the discovery of the valley, and my book, "The Discovery of the Yosemite," is the result.

In his valuable work, "In the Heart of the Sierras," Mr. J. M. Hutchings, after giving me full credit in the preface, says, "I have been able to supply the missing links needed for the completion of the historical chain of events so much desired and so unavailingly sought after by Dr. Bunnell concerning some of the valley's earlier history." Mr. Hutchings then introduces some valuable documents obtained from the journals of the California legislature, and quotes from Elliot's "History of Fresno County," with the idea of being accurate in his historical work. On page 56, referring to our first entrance into the valley, he says, "This was on May 5 or 6, 1851, although Dr. Bunnell incorrectly gives the latter part of March as the date."

An old California pioneer, as Mr. Hutchings is, should have remembered that the rainy season is over by May 5 or 6, and that with the exception of mountain storms no severe or long-continued ones occur so late. Our waiting on account of the rain at our camp in the foothills below Mariposa could scarcely have occurred in May, or have been forgotten by any of the expedition. Our major was talented, but unlettered,

and was dependent on his adjutant for all written communications, and these were frequently made long after the events to which they related. At the date of the discovery of the Yosemite our adjutant was not with us. As we were broken into scouting squads, an adjutant would have been no more useful in hunting Indians than would have been a drum-major, and consequently he was left at headquarters. Viewing the valley under snow and through a clouded sky, disappointed in his search for Indians, the only one found being an old squaw, our major seemingly had no appreciation of the Yosemite. Adjutant Lewis was a most genial, kind-hearted gentleman, but I never knew of any duties he performed in the field. The character of Major Savage's reports may be judged by his official estimate of the number of Indians engaged in hostilities (23,000).

Mr. Hutchings says, "The Mariposa Battalion was mustered out of service July 1, 1851." I have, however, an official statement from the War Department, Washington, D. C., that it was mustered out of service on July 25, 1851.

On page 272 the Mariposa Indian war is represented as the war of 1851-52. The first attack upon James D. Savage was made in May, 1850, his men were killed at the Fresno, in December of that year, and hostilities ceased with the capture of Ten-ei-ya and his band in June, 1851. Lieutenant Treadwell Moore, U. S. A., caught and executed five Yosemite murderers in 1852, but no war followed.

Comrade Starkey, of our old battalion, was murdered in 1853. His murderers were pursued by Under-sheriff James M. Roan, also a comrade, and when overtaken three of them were killed, and the others put to flight. Mr. Moore was compelled to notice the criticisms of the press, and in doing so, in 1854, became the first to draw attention to the wonderful character of the Yosemite scenery.

In 1855 Mr. Hutchings first visited it, and since that date has done more to bring the valley into public and appreciative notice than any other man.

HOMER, MINNESOTA.

Lafayette H. Bunnell.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Amateur Management of the Yosemite Scenery.

THE articles by Mr. John Muir in the present and preceding numbers of THE CENTURY on the Yosemite Valley and the proposed National Park will have failed of their natural effect if, in addition to exciting the wonder of the reader at the unique beauty of waterfall and cliff effectively portrayed in Mr. Muir's picturesque descriptions, they do not also stimulate the pride of Californians to an active interest in the better discharge of the trust assumed by the State in its acceptance of the Yosemite grant.

Mr. Muir shows abundantly how desirable it is to reserve for public use, under national supervision, contiguous lands, only less rich in natural wonders than the Yosemite. The reservation is not only desirable for its intrinsic value, but also because incidentally it will attract attention to the valley itself, and especially to the dangers to which it is exposed from the lack of

skill and knowledge in the commission which should be its most intelligent guardian. On this point Mr. Muir, who in California is recognized as the best authority on matters relating to the Sierra, adds his testimony to that of many other unprejudiced observers and lovers of the valley. He says:

Ax and plow, hogs and horses, have long been and are still busy in Yosemite's gardens and groves. All that is accessible and destructible is being rapidly destroyed—more rapidly than in any other Yosemite in the Sierra, though this is the only one that is under the special protection of the Government. And by far the greater part of this destruction of the fineness of wildness is of a kind that can claim no right relationship with that which necessarily follows use.¹

One might multiply testimony as to the injury already done to the floor of the valley were not the later boards²

¹ See p. 667 of the present number of this magazine; also "Destructive Tendencies in the Yosemite Valley," THE CENTURY for January, 1890.

lack of respect for the plainest principles of the treatment of landscape already notorious in California through testimony before an investigating committee of the California legislature — testimony abundantly supported by photographs of the injury done.

These later sins of commission might long ago have been avoided were it not for the sins of omission of earlier boards. Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, the distinguished landscape forester, and a member of the first Yosemite Commission, was once officially invited to suggest a plan for making the valley available to the public. Mr. Olmsted's suggestions contemplated as little alteration to the natural growth as would be consistent with a public use which would not impair the sentiment of wildness and grandeur characteristic of the valley. His suggestions, however, though formally presented, were not only not adopted, but were never even printed in full. Had these been followed, visitors to the Yosemite in the past few years would not annually have seen the spectacle of the most phenomenal of the national pleasure grounds ignorantly hewed and hacked, sordidly plowed and fenced, and otherwise treated on principles of forestry which would disgrace a picnic ground.

Following Mr. Olmsted, another distinguished member of the first board, Prof. J. D. Whitney of Harvard University, for several years State Geologist of California, made further efforts to place the valley under systematic and proper supervision. Of his success Professor Whitney has lately written :

As chairman of the executive committee of the Yosemite Commission for several years, thwarted in every effort to carry out liberal, honest, and Christian ideas in regard to the management of the valley, finding my path blocked at all times by legislatures and courts, I have no confidence that anything could or would be gained by making any further conveyance of United States property to the State of California. If the Yosemite could be taken from the State and made a national reservation I should have some hope that some good might be accomplished. I have no idea that the State will ever manage the matter as it ought to be, and I should regret to see the limits of the grant extended.

A member of the present commission made very clear the issue between the friends and the enemies of reform when he said that he would rather have the advice of a Yosemite road-maker in the improvement of the valley than that of Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted. Since the Yosemite is unique among pleasure grounds, it is at one time assumed by this commissioner that Mr. Olmsted would make the valley a marvel of potted plants, and at another time that his love of wildness would lead him to import decayed and picturesque tree trunks; the fact being that no member of the commission has shown any conception of the principles upon which the modern treatment of nature in making it available to man is professionally carried on. The protest of the friends of reform is clear enough, and is not capable of being mistaken. It is simply that the Yosemite Valley is too great a work of nature to be marred by the intrusion of farming operations or of artificial effects.

Judging from the published reports of the meeting of the Yosemite Commission in the valley in June of the present year, steps are now being taken to put into operation a scheme to uproot and destroy the undergrowth, brush, and trees of the last forty years — a

policy which Mr. Olmsted has declared would result, if carried out, in "a calamity to the civilized world." It is difficult to believe the commission sincere in the exaggerated fear of a conflagration in Yosemite, which is given as the reason for this policy; for, as the reader will see by reference to the illustrations of Mr. Muir's article in *THE CENTURY* for August, there has been permitted a pernicious system of trimming up the young conifers to so considerable a height as to destroy the beauty of the trees, while the dry brush and the lopped limbs have been left lying upon the ground, where the writer of this article saw them in June, 1889. Assuming the danger from fire to be an actual one, it would seem to be better to spend one's energies in preventing the beginning of a conflagration than to destroy the beauty of the valley by cutting out what at most would be but a small part of the combustible material. But even if it were necessary to make extensive alterations by means of the ax, does this lessen to any degree the necessity for expert knowledge in the operation? Members of the commission have publicly discussed the matter as though the question to be considered were the stoutness of the axman, and not the effect of his work to the eye. After this, the qualifications of the "experienced foresters" whom they expect to consult in their avowed policy of slaughtering the young growth in the valley may easily be imagined; they are certainly not such as will commend themselves to the respect and confidence of the public.

So far *THE CENTURY* has confined its protest against Yosemite management in this matter solely to the lack of expert supervision of the scenery. As to the causes which lie behind, and have for years preceded, the lamentable condition of affairs in the valley, Californians have every reason to be intelligent. It is devoutly to be hoped for the good name of the State that it will not be necessary to transfer to the halls of Congress the scandals of California's capitol. If this shall not be necessary, it will probably be due to the fact that the next legislature of the State will be awakened to a sense of its responsibility in the matter. Meanwhile it is easy to see that the fire which endangers the Yosemite is not so much the unextinguished embers of the wandering camper as the all-consuming flame of politics, which nowhere burns with a fiercer or more withering heat than in the noble State of California.

Misgovernment of Cities.

WHY are American cities so generally misgoverned, and what is the remedy? These are questions which have been discussed almost constantly for many years, and the discussion has produced many plans for reform, some of which have been tried, but none of which has resulted in the establishment of anything more than a temporary and limited improvement. One set of reformers has maintained that the only way by which approximately good government could be secured was by the concentration of power in the hands of one executive, or at most of an executive and a few heads of departments. Another set has maintained that such concentration would lead surely to an aggravation of all our worst evils, and that the only road to reform lay in division of responsibility and power among the executive and legislative and administrative branches. Others have maintained that local rule was bad under

any conditions, and that the only way by which honest government could be secured was for the State to take virtual control and rule the city through its legislature. Still others have advocated some system of minority representation as the only infallible panacea for all municipal ills.

Of course the primary end of every reform system is the getting of fit men into the offices, and the fundamental reason for the common failure of the systems which have been tried is that they have one and all failed in accomplishing this purpose. Occasionally one of them has succeeded in doing it at one election, but the gain has been only temporary. The question naturally arises, Is there any system to be discovered which will infallibly put the right men in office and keep the unfit men out? If not, is it not time that we looked for relief in other directions?

We are sure that many of our readers remember the valuable article by Mr. Albert Shaw upon the government of the city of Glasgow which we published in the *MARCH CENTURY*. He gave us in that a picture of a model city government, and also the reasons why it was so. Its town council, which rules it, is composed of members, he said, who "come chiefly from the ranks of men of business, and are upright, respected, and successful citizens"; they serve without salary; the office is deemed an honor; "party lines are seldom very sharply drawn in municipal elections. An efficient councilor may, in general, expect reelection for several terms"; and "the seat of a satisfactory man who asks reelection is in a majority of cases not contested at all." All the great departments in the Glasgow administration, that of public buildings, that of health, that of street cleaning, that of law, are occupied for life by men who are among the highest authorities on their several subjects that are to be found in the British Empire. A government thus constituted gives the city precisely the kind of administration which the same men would furnish were they placed at the head of a great private enterprise, and the result is a well-paved, clean, orderly, handsomely built city, with the rights of every citizen protected at every point, economical to live in, with cheap gas and water, low rents, and no breath of scandal throughout all its departments. Is it the system which does this for Glasgow, or the men who administer the system? Would Glasgow under the same system have a model government were its offices to be filled with such men as we put in charge of our American cities? Again, if the Glasgow system

were to be adopted in any great American city, would it of itself result in the election of the kind of men who hold the offices in Glasgow?

There are other European cities which can give us light on these points. Berlin, Birmingham, and Manchester are as well governed as Glasgow, but none of them has the same system. The first has for the foundation of its administration a great municipal assembly of 126 members, while Birmingham and Manchester have a form of town council similar to that of Glasgow, but not identical. The one peculiarity which all have in common is that they put the best men attainable into office, without regard to their political affiliations. There is not one of them which depends for the success of its system upon the system itself. First of all it looks to the character and fitness of the men who are to administer the system. Does anybody doubt, if this example were followed in America, that we are capable of producing the same results? Are we less honest, less intelligent, less fitted for self-government, than the people of foreign cities are?

It cannot be denied that our unrestricted suffrage makes the problem more difficult here than it is abroad; but the difficulty is not insurmountable, and it is not, as it is often claimed to be, the chief cause of our troubles. We are in the habit of charging all our worst evils to the combined ignorant and corrupt vote, but there is not a city in the land in which that vote is not many thousands less than the combined intelligent and honest vote. The trouble is that the latter vote, misled by party names and party issues which have no bearing upon questions of municipal rule, is about evenly divided in most municipal elections, and is thus deprived of nearly all its influence. When the happy day shall come that the respectable voters of our cities join hands and say that henceforth they will know no politics in the administration of city affairs, and will only ask of a candidate whether or not he is fit and honest, then there will no longer be any danger to apprehend from the combined ignorant and vicious vote. It will make very little difference what kind of a system we have upon which to govern the city when this spirit shall have entered into the election of its officials, but until we can secure that spirit in the elections it will be useless to hope for reform under the most perfect system which the human mind can devise, for an ideal system administered by ignorant and corrupt men cannot produce intelligent and honest government without performing a miracle.



TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Partisan Recognition of the Independent Voter.

OF late years attention has been directed to a class of voters supposed to be unique. Party and partisan considerations have been so engrossing that the Independent Voter has seemed to the popular mind a new development. Investigation will prove, however, that the independent voter has been abroad from the earliest days of the Republic; that he is the natural product of free institutions and universal suffrage; and that his power has been felt with effect long before he was given a distinctive name.

A review of the course of party history ought to convince even the most bitter partisan that every party, whether in nation or state, has appealed to the independent voter for his support, and that party supremacy has generally been decided by this vote. By the independent voter we mean not only the voter who avows no party allegiance whatever, but also the thoughtful citizen who, while believing in parties as means of effective political action, still holds principle above the shibboleths of political nomenclature, and will bravely follow his convictions across the lines of partisan organization.

Our political history naturally divides itself into periods when important or vital issues have come up for settlement. Most of these have been of local or temporary interest. No single question has divided parties from the beginning, in 1787, down to the present. It is often asserted that some of the issues of Washington's or Jefferson's time still remain unsettled. But this is not true. Not one of these has remained without question the peculiar property of the various parties that have succeeded each other, and whose adherents at different periods and for different reasons have ranged themselves on one side or the other of the tariff question, the States' rights question, or the question of strengthening the national authority. The interests of persons or of sections have shifted from time to time, and have demanded a changed interpretation.

Besides, such issues have never presented the same face at different periods. So, while it is common to refer all our divergences of party opinion to these questions, the truth is, this has been a forced construction. Most of the temporary issues which have been settled in one way or another had only the remotest relation to rival fiscal theories, or to States' rights, or to centralization. In truth, these principles, supposed to lie at the basis of all the politics we have, and to be the cause of party division, have been lost sight of so constantly that men have often been compelled to cross party lines in order to find congenial associations or sympathy for their peculiar opinions.

The Federal party, organized as the bulwark of the Constitution, afforded the independent voter an opportunity to exercise his privilege. When the necessity of giving up the Confederation became apparent, public sentiment was far from being unanimous in favor of the proposed grant of power by the States to the Federal Government. As a majority could not be com-

manded, there was nothing to do but win it by appeal to the country. If the Federalists had refused to ask for aid, or to accept it when tendered, they could never have created a sentiment in favor of the Constitution, which, even with this assistance, was neither adopted nor ratified without a contest. Its friends did not hesitate to make their appeal to the people, and it is nowhere recorded that they asked any questions about the former opinions or affiliations of their converts. They not only used arguments, but they invoked aid in the names of Washington and the fathers of the Republic then living. They won, because they were able to get the support, not of their own followers or sympathizers alone, but of the independent voters of that day; and in doing this they created a precedent since followed.

In due time the influences that had surrounded Washington and the founders were no longer potent. The fortunes of the party were intrusted to leaders who lived in the past, or used their power unwisely, or put undue confidence in the affection and credulity of their followers. So a new appeal was made. The Republican or Jeffersonian party did not trust to its own resources, or give the least hint of an intention to drive voters away because of any previous differences of opinion; on the contrary, it asked patriotic, thinking, and independent men to come over and help it. Enough of them did so not only to give it the power and responsibility of the government, but to send a once victorious party to death and oblivion.

The independent voter was again appealed to during our second war with Great Britain, after Jefferson and Madison, by vacillation or mistake, had to some extent forfeited the united support of their own party followers. Especially in the Middle and Southern States the remnants of their old opponents, the Federalists, then came to the support of Madison during his second term, and thus created a public sentiment which not only carried the war to a successful conclusion, but completed the enfranchisement of the country. The remainder of the Jeffersonian régime—the eight years of Monroe—is the history of commonplace, or of drifting with the tide, only to be followed by the four years of John Quincy Adams, too brief and unsubstantial greatly to impress the country.

The popular impression seems to be that the Jackson period was a purely partisan one. Filled as his administration was with things to be criticized, it must be admitted that voters were attracted to the man who could formulate a decided policy and carry it out with courage and perseverance. Owing partly to the fact that he was fiercely challenged, he could command for himself the most loyal support ever given a President of the United States, and bequeathed his power to his chosen successor unimpaired.

But General Jackson was not without rivals in his appeal for general or independent support. The great Whig leaders of that day, by ability and character, drew to themselves and their party thousands of the former supporters of Jackson and his party. These

men had not only their own strong personalities, but they conjured in the name of the American system, internal improvements, and the enlargement of the powers of government, all of which were potent to fascinate. So in that time, as in others of activity, or passion, or strong leadership, the independent voter was compelled to give heed to the demands and the promises of a vigorous partisan.

The next period of interest to show the value of the independent voter may be termed the era of national expansion. Great personalities had disappeared or lost their power and influence, and great national policies were to be settled. This was the period from 1845 to 1860, when the admission of Texas, the Mexican war, the discovery of gold in California, Manifest Destiny, fiscal reform, and industrial development became engrossing. It was during this time that the abolition of slavery, a great moral question, competed with questions of purely material import for the support of the independent voter. This competition broke down or reconstructed party lines, and carried even leading men from the ranks of one party into those of the other. At no period in our history has party discipline been more severe, and yet there has been none when men of intelligence and independence broke away from these trammels in greater numbers, or responded with more zeal and alacrity to the appeals made to them.

The Lincoln period, or the era of national preservation, gave the independent voter a golden opportunity. A President elected by the votes of less than two-fifths of the people was dependent for the success of his administration upon men who had voted against him and his party. He was able to command support from these voters, not because he bought it with offices, or gave pensions to them or the class they represented, or recommended large appropriations for rivers and harbors or public buildings. He gained them because he represented the conscience of the country, because he stood for its preservation and safety. When the crisis had passed, many who had come to his assistance returned to their old allegiance. They had done their work as independent voters, and having supported a cause deemed it their duty to renew their old associations.

It was not until the last two periods mentioned that the party platform came to have its modern authority. Appeal was made to the intelligence or independence of voters upon the action of parties in Congress and the utterances of leaders. About the time that the slavery question began to project itself into discussion the distinctive declaration of principles became more and more important. It is interesting to note how the great political parties which between them have divided the allegiance of Americans for more than a generation have appealed to the independent voter. Putting entirely out of the account those third party movements which have caused many voters to break away from old attachments, it will be found that existing political organizations, instead of contemning the voter with real independence, have at all times, in both national and State conventions, vied with each other in asking his help.

The National Democratic Convention held in Baltimore in 1848 nominated Lewis Cass as its candidate for President, and declared that it placed its trust "in

the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people." In 1856, when the convention was held at Cincinnati, James Buchanan was nominated as its candidate, and it made its appeal anew in the same language.

The Republicans at their first national convention, in 1856, nominated the late General Frémont as their candidate, and in their platform invited "the affiliation and coöperation of *the men of all politics*, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared." The convention of 1860, by which Abraham Lincoln was nominated, made its declaration of principles and invited "the coöperation of *all citizens, however differing on other questions*, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support."

In 1868, when the issues of the war period were still unsettled, the Democrats in national convention appealed to patriots and conservative men for their support, and declared that "to all such, to *whatever party they may have heretofore belonged*, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such, coöperating with us, as friends and brethren."

The Liberal Republican Convention of 1872 invited and cordially welcomed "the coöperation of all patriotic citizens, *without regard to previous political affiliations*."

In 1876 the Democrats emphasized the urgent need of reform, and in order to secure it appealed to their "*fellow-citizens of every former political connection*" to undertake with them this duty.

In 1880 the Greenbackers asked the "coöperation of all fair-minded people," and the Prohibitionists in national convention in the same year invited "all voters, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system."

The Democrats in 1884 declared that "the great issue of reform and change is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and capital, and the general welfare of the whole country."

In 1888 the Democratic party submitted "its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people." In the same presidential canvass the Republicans invited "the coöperation of patriotic men of *all parties*."

Not only has appeal been made to the independent voter in the platforms, but he has been invited in the formal calls for these conventions. In 1876, 1880, and 1884 the National Democratic Committee asked all "Democratic, conservative, and other citizens of the United States, *irrespective of past political associations*, . . . to join in sending delegates to the national convention."

But if such appeals have been made by the national representatives of the parties, those in the States have been even more solicitous to gain independent support. This is due to the fact not only that political initiative must begin in State conventions, but that, in addition to questions of national policy, those of State interest must be considered and settled there. In many cases a party finds that the policy of its leaders on a given local or State issue has had a tendency

to imperil its success in what are generally deemed the more important questions of national policy; and in order to overcome this defection it must draw votes from other elements.

The appeal to the independent voter, which has been answered so emphatically during late years, had its first open development just after the close of the presidential canvass of 1872, when the war issues began to pall on the public mind. The party then in power had been forced to meet an open revolt, in which many of its ablest and best men had taken part. It had succeeded in overcoming this and had barely escaped defeat. Even this was due to the refusal of a large number of men in the Democratic party to cast their votes for a lifelong opponent. But it had scarcely won the victory when its leaders in many States recognized that it could not long maintain power unless it corrected the abuses which had developed within it. In order to do this it became both necessary and desirable to bring back to its ranks the men who had deserted it. No effort was made to do this by subjecting them to severe criticism, or by refusing them recognition. Just the opposite policy was adopted, and what was known as "reform within the party" was attempted. Once begun, this movement soon extended to both parties, and the highest professions of morality became the fashion in party platforms at State conventions.

The credit of beginning this movement must be given to the Republicans of Connecticut, under the leadership of Joseph R. Hawley, now a United States senator. On February 5, 1873, they incorporated in their platform the following sweeping condemnation of their own party:

We denounce corruption of men of all parties in high places. We have no apology for those of our own, but desire the fullest investigation and demand the punishment of the guilty, conscious that the Republican party is strong enough to purify its own ranks, that it cannot be strong if it neglects its duty in this respect, and that it can only continue to commend itself to the confidence of the country by purging itself of unworthy elements.

The Republicans of Ohio followed on May 21, with the sweeping declaration: "We demand pure official conduct, and the punishment of unfaithful public men, State and national, who, having betrayed the confidence freely extended to them, shall not be shielded from the disgrace of their acts by any partisanship of ours." And the Republicans of Minnesota, two months later, adopted as their own the same declaration.

On June 25 the Republicans of Iowa went a step beyond their brethren in other States, and announced that, "to make an end to bad men forcing their elections by securing a party nomination, we declare it the duty of every Republican to oppose the election of a bad and incompetent candidate, whether he be a candidate upon our own or upon any other ticket."

The Democrats, not to be outdone by their opponents, adopted the same policy. It first found expression in the West. On July 30, 1873, the Democrats of Ohio came together in convention, in response to a call issued by the Democrats of Allen County. Among the declarations of party doctrine was the following: "We declare against the infallibility of party, and that when the caucus or the convention fails to present

fit candidates for office it is the high privilege, as well as the bounden duty, of all good citizens to withhold their votes from such candidates, and, regardless of party affiliations, to support the best men presented for official position."

This had a decided effect upon the regular organization, which, in its convention on August 6th, resolved, "We earnestly appeal to the patriotic men of every class, *without regard to party names or past differences*, to unite with us on terms of perfect equality, in the struggle to rescue the Government from the hands of dishonest men." The Democrats of Maine and Pennsylvania adopted this sentiment as expressive of their opinions.

The Democrats of Maryland, then, as now, in power in their State, pledged themselves to "a careful scrutiny of official conduct, and the prompt and vigorous punishment of all official delinquencies." The Democrats of Iowa declared, "We will not knowingly nominate any bad man to office, . . . and will at the polls repudiate any candidate known to be unfit or incompetent." In Massachusetts the Democrats resolved, "We invite the coöperation and welcome to full fellowship in political action all patriotic citizens who agree with us in these principles."

The habit of appealing directly to the conscientious and independent voter was not dropped. In nearly every State, South as well as North, he was made to know his own power. The Democrats of New York in 1875 again invited "the coöperation of every true Democrat, every Liberal Republican, and *all our fellow-citizens, of whatever party name*." The Republicans of the same State in their convention to choose delegates to the national convention of 1876 asked everybody to unite with them in carrying out their declared purposes. In the same year the Democrats of South Carolina resolved, "We call upon all patriot sons of South Carolina to join us"; and in the following year the representatives of the same party in Mississippi declared, "We invite the coöperation of citizens, *without regard to past differences*, in support of the candidates nominated by this convention." The Massachusetts Democrats appealed to "all good citizens, *regardless of their politics or party associations*"; while the New York Republicans issued a summons to "all good citizens" to unite with them.

In 1878 the Democrats of Connecticut asked the support of "all voters," and those of Massachusetts called upon "all citizens, *of whatever political views*," to unite with them. In 1879 the Maryland Democrats, after commending their ticket to their own followers, asked the "approval of all other good citizens." In 1882, when, after many years of exclusion from power, the Democrats of Pennsylvania elected their State ticket, they did so after having formally invited "the coöperation of all honest citizens."

It is not necessary to quote further from party utterances to show that the independent voters have not come unbidden to the political feast. Their course needs no defense. At many a crisis in the politics of the separate States and of the United States these same voters, the men who have refused slavishly to follow corrupt or designing party leaders, have proved themselves the saving power.

Whenever the dominance of a party depended merely upon the momentum given it by some great leader, or

attachment to some great principle, formulated under past conditions, then a large and influential body of voters have been ready for independent political action. So long as parties have remained intelligent as well as active and aggressive, they have been able to divide the allegiance of thoughtful and unselfish voters; but when an earnest and living patriotism in one party has been met by supineness or trust in party traditions in the other, the independent voter has uniformly disturbed the balance of politics. It is this, universally recognized above all the clamor of partisans, though not always confessed, that has made ours the most conservative government in the world.

A Test of Good Citizenship.

THE people of New York are so used to having their city elections and their city government run for them by groups of interested persons; they are so accustomed to the expert rule of the Bosses and the Boys, that it affords a good deal of amusement, even outside of the Boys themselves, when a company of reputable citizens go to work, in an entirely disinterested spirit, to try to get fit men elected and appointed to the public offices—in other words, to rescue the city government from private to public uses.

"Reformers" are always sneered at by the professional politicians and their friends (and sometimes by people who would not like to be classed among the "friends" of the Boys) as nothing but "amateurs"; somewhat as if an honest citizen called upon to defend his house against a burglar should be giped at by the burglar as nothing but an "amateur" who ought to be sleeping quietly in his bed, and not thus clumsily interfering with the accomplished industry of "professionals."

It may be suspected that neither the ridicule nor the mirth of the professional politician, and of his journalistic, business, or social partner, is quite as self-comforting and hilarious as it seems; for though the cynic is always underestimating the virtue inherent in the individual and in the community, he yet occasionally has an unexpected lesson as to the weight of the kick of that mysterious beast Public Opinion, and thus a thread of anxiety is often woven in the warp of his happy humor.

The giping cynic with his sense of humor is, moreover, quite apt to underestimate the sense of humor of others. Indeed, the reformer himself may be possessed of quite as much of this saving sense as his critic; and then the public, too, have a funny-bone which if struck by the Boy, or the Boss, may result in sudden and terrible disaster to the striker. There is no more "practical" element in a campaign than the deadly humor of the cartoonist—and there is a humorous aspect to such "rings" as those which have at various times possessed our city government, which the cartoonist and the newspaper wit have brought out with tremendous effect.

At the time of writing this the programme of the People's Municipal League of New York has not been fully announced, but it would seem probable that every voter in the city will be forced at the next municipal election to a test of his public spirit, and often of his moral courage. The rogues alone could never debauch our city, State, or national politics; they get their opportunity and power through the

weak acquiescence of "respectable" citizens. So if the government of New York remains, as now, largely in the hands of a sordid group who run it for what they can make out of it, it will be by the action of men who claim to be "good citizens," but who are, in point of fact, the efficient allies of the most depraved elements of the community. We confess to more respect for the "toughs" who fight in politics only as they have been taught from youth up, than for their "gentlemen" allies who fear lest their own personal success may be interfered with should they seem to break with their party or party friends, or stand opposed to some influential ring, by voting on city affairs without regard to national issues. But until such voting is the rule in New York our municipal government will be a reproach to republican institutions.

The Merit System in the Fifty-first Congress.

NOT since the passage of the Pendleton bill, in 1883, have there been such important legislative contests over the merit system of making appointments in the civil service as have just occurred in the first session of the present Congress. There are now nearly a hundred and fifty thousand offices in the gift of the National Government; and under the old vicious spoils or patronage system there are, in whichever party is dominant for the time being, for every one such office at least three or four office-seekers, clamorously demanding the reward of their political activity. In other words, there are half a million office-brokers and office-seekers, patronage-mongers and patronage-cravers, who are directly interested in breaking down and discrediting the merit system as the chief obstacle in their way. Taken as a whole, they believe that "the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in politics"—in other words, that lying, theft, and bribery are legitimate adjuncts of what ought to be the great and noble work of national self-government. They trust much to the indifference and apathy of the great mass of voters, whose interest in the maintenance of the reform legislation is merely that which all good citizens feel in seeing any just and righteous law upheld.

This half-million or so of men who wish to treat the Government service as so much plunder are of course especially active when the administration at Washington is changed. It is at such a time that they are sure to make their chief efforts to overturn the law. Naturally, therefore, during the present session of Congress these adherents of the old spoils system—the self-seeking politicians, both on and off the floor, and their allies among the newspapers, together with all the honest men who were puzzle-headed, and all the men whose instincts inclined them to go wrong even when they had no interest in the matter—united to make a resolute push against the merit system. They had neither the power nor the courage to attempt an open repeal of the law; and so they made their attack in two ways—they attempted to defeat the annual appropriation of money to carry the law into effect, and they attempted by charges as false as they were foolish to discredit the commissioners to whose hands its execution was intrusted.

The battle was thus joined in the lower House of Congress. In both attacks the enemies of the merit system suffered complete defeat. They were beaten

two to one in the fight over the appropriation bill; and they failed, utterly and ignominiously, to sustain their charges of corruption and wrong-doing when an investigation was ordered. Under the circumstances the composition of the House Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service was of the utmost importance, and Speaker Reed deserves great credit for having made up an excellent committee, of whose members more than a working majority were staunch upholders of the law. Moreover, the cause was very fortunate in the standing and ability of the congressmen who were its especial champions in committee and on the floor.

The Massachusetts and South Carolina members supported the law and its administration with practical unanimity. The leading part in its defense was taken again and again by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who was the first to take the floor on its behalf, and to stem the tide which, at the moment, seemed to be flowing strongly against it. His colleagues from the same State, Messrs. Greenhalge and Andrew, likewise gave it hearty support. That Mr. Dargan of South Carolina should be one of its foremost champions was to be expected.

To no one, however, is a greater debt due than to Mr. Butterworth of Ohio, his exceptional brilliancy as a debater, his parliamentary skill, and the high regard in which he is held by the entire House rendering him able to do invaluable service. Space does not permit the mention of the many others who stood up manfully for a clean and non-partisan system of governmental administration; but particularly effective work must be credited to Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania,

Mr. Lehlbach of New Jersey, Mr. McKinley of Ohio, Mr. Henderson of Iowa, Mr. Hopkins of Illinois, Mr. Moore of New Hampshire, Mr. McComas of Maryland, Mr. Tracey of New York, Mr. Blount of Georgia, Mr. Boatner of Louisiana, and Mr. Dockery of Missouri.

The defenders of the merit system on the floor of Congress represented in their attitude on this question both the virtue and the common sense of the country. The spoils system is as absurd and unreasonable as it is demoralizing. As Mr. Lodge ably shows in his *CENTURY* article, it really has no right to exist in a free country. Personally, we cannot agree with every comment made by Mr. Lodge in his present article, but we think it contains one of the strongest, most spirited and convincing statements yet made in favor of the merit system and in opposition to the system of spoils; which he clearly proves to be "a system born of despotisms and aristocracies," "a system of favoritism and nepotism, of political influence and personal intrigue," and "as un-American as anything could well be."

The remarks of this Republican leader are most interestingly supplemented by the Open Letter by the Democratic member of the United States Civil Service Commission, the Hon. Hugh S. Thompson of South Carolina, who was twice governor of that State, and who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland. Every disinterested citizen who reads these powerful pleas for fair play and business-like dealing in connection with our public service will wish to put his shoulder to the wheel and push forward the reform to its utmost limit.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Merit System.

AN OPEN LETTER BY COMMISSIONER THOMPSON.

THE civil service, as the expression is now generally used, is taken to mean that portion of the public service to which entrance is obtained under the provisions of "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," which was approved January 16, 1883.

This use of the term civil service is misleading. All branches of the Government except the military and the naval service are in the civil service, without regard to whether appointments in them are filled under the patronage system or the examination system. The proper term to designate the latter is the merit system. The service covered by this system includes all places in the classified civil service—about thirty thousand in number—to which admission is obtained through examinations intended to test the merits of applicants regardless of their personal or political influence. This service now embraces the ordinary clerkships in the departments at Washington, in eleven of the largest customs districts, in forty-five post-offices, and in the railway mail service.

It is not proposed in this article to discuss the relative merits of the patronage system and of the merit system. It may safely be assumed that whatever modifications may be made in the merit system as it now exists its essential features will remain unchanged. It

may suit the taste and temper of the opponents of the merit system to decry it and denounce it as un-American; but the people at large, who are more interested in the purity and efficiency of the public service than in the individuals who fill the offices, will rebuke sternly every attempt to return to the spoils system. Hereafter no political party will dare enter a contest for the Presidency avowing as its purpose in the event of success to restore the patronage system, the inevitable tendency of which is to corrupt the public service. A distinguished opponent of the merit system said recently that his confidence in the members of the Cabinet was such that he preferred to trust appointments to them rather than to have them made through the machinery of the Civil Service Commission. The fact is, however, that under the spoils system selections for appointment are made not by cabinet ministers, but by influential persons in sympathy politically with the party in power, and usually as a reward for zealous party services. It would be impossible for any member of the Cabinet to give the time and attention needed for the selection of his subordinates, even if the place-hunters and their friends permitted him to do so. A correct understanding of the merit system will contribute to its growth, to the great benefit of the public service and therefore of the people of the country. A brief statement of the methods and of some of the results of this system will, it is believed, be useful at this time.

The Civil Service Commission is composed of three persons, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same political party. The giving representation on the board to both political parties is a wise provision, intended to insure non-partisan action by the Commission. It is essential to the proper working of the merit system that the examinations be fair and impartial as well as practical, so as to test the fitness of applicants for the work which will be required of them. There are three steps in the examination. First, the application, which must be in the handwriting of the applicant, giving in answer to carefully prepared questions a brief history of himself, accompanied by satisfactory evidence that he is a citizen of the State or Territory in which he claims residence, and by certificates of persons residing in the same State or Territory as to his character and reputation. An applicant for the position of railway mail clerk must also file the certificate of a physician as to his physical condition. The second step is the scholastic examination, which is wholly in writing. Each applicant signs his examination papers with a number, and the name of any applicant who makes known his number before his papers are marked by the examiners is stricken from the rolls. The papers of all applicants are marked by a board of examiners composed of members of both political parties, the names of those who obtain eligible averages — seventy per cent. — being entered upon the register in the order of merit as shown by the marks. When vacancies occur in the classified service they are filled by promotion, or by selection from the eligible lists of the Commission. In the latter case, upon requisition of the appointing officer the names of the three persons standing highest upon the register from which certification is made are submitted to him from which to make a selection. From these names he must choose one, though he may, if the needs of the service require it, appoint all three. Each eligible is entitled to three certifications during the period of his eligibility, that period being one year, except in certain special cases. The third step in the examination is the probationary appointment, which forms the practical test of the fitness of the applicant. The officer under whom a probationer is serving is required to keep a record and to make a report of his punctuality, industry, habits, ability, and aptitude, and if the probationer's conduct and capacity are satisfactory he receives absolute appointment at the close of his probationary term, which is six months. No probationer can receive absolute appointment until all these requirements have been complied with, but he may be dismissed at any time if he should prove incompetent or his service is unsatisfactory. That the three steps thus described have been found in practice well adapted to testing the qualifications of applicants is shown by the fact that ninety-eight per cent. of the probationers certified by the Civil Service Commission have received absolute appointments. The utmost vigilance is exercised to prevent fraud in each step of the examination. The chances that fraud will be practiced successfully are very small, and are certainly no greater than in any other department of the Government in which important transactions are made daily, based upon the confidence which superior officers must repose in their subordinates. Fraud in the examinations can rarely, if

ever, be committed except by collusion between an applicant and all the members of a board of examiners. These boards are composed of men carefully selected because of special fitness for their work, whose character and qualifications furnish every guarantee that their duties will be discharged honestly and efficiently. Besides the well-devised checks against deception which the Commission and the examiners employ, there is another and a very strong one furnished by the applicants themselves, who will be quick to discern and ready to expose any wrong-doing by those with whom they compete. Between the vigilance of the examiners on the one hand and the jealous watchfulness of the candidates on the other, fraud will rarely escape detection.

What has been said of the examinations refers specially to those held at Washington. It does not apply equally to the examinations held at the custom-houses and post-offices. This arises not from fraud, but from the fact that it is not possible to select the members of the local examining boards with the same care as is exercised in choosing the central board at Washington. The local boards are generally composed of clerks who, even if they have the ability and training, seldom have the time for the satisfactory performance of the duties of examiners. The remedy for this evil is to increase the clerical force of the Commission so as to permit the marking of all examination papers at Washington. In this way alone can accuracy and uniformity in marking the papers of applicants for positions in custom-houses and post-offices be attained. This additional force would cost about \$32,000 a year, an insignificant sum when compared with the importance of the work.

There is probably nothing in the merit system which gives its opponents more apparent concern than the character of the questions asked of applicants. On this subject no joke is too old to meet with hearty favor, no story too absurd to find willing believers. The constant aim of the Commission is to make the questions practical, and the best evidence that in this respect a good measure of success has been attained is found in the fact that the questions of which complaint is made generally have no existence except in the imagination of the complainants. In the Sixth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission is a frank and fair statement of the character of the examinations, and a complete answer to those who charge that the questions used are not "practical."

Exceptionally good opportunities for observation justify me in asserting that the following are among the benefits to the public service resulting from the merit system.

(1) It has taken the appointment of about 30,000 of the minor clerical positions out of politics. The appointing officer does not know who will be certified to him to fill vacancies, and therefore he can have no motive except the good of the service for making removals.

(2) It secures a fair distribution of appointments on the basis of population. Under the spoils system appointments were made because of personal or political influence without regard to population. The unfair distribution of the offices now existing in the departments at Washington is one of the evil results of the spoils system which the merit system was designed to correct, and which it is gradually correcting.

(3) It furnishes a better class of clerks, and consequently a better public service. This is especially true of those branches of the service requiring technical skill and knowledge.

The average age of those who pass the ordinary departmental examination is twenty-eight years. This fact is the best answer to the oft-repeated assertion that the examinations are especially suited to boys fresh from school or college. Through the merit system the Government secures the services of persons who to at least a fair common-school education have added some experience in business.

(4) It insures that permanence in office which is essential to good administration. An officer of high character who has been for many years in the civil service of the Government recently gave it as the result of his observation that under the patronage system the period intervening between the election and the inauguration of a President was marked by demoralization of the service which diminished the efficiency of the ordinary clerk at least fifty per cent. Employees of the Government, uncertain of their future, neglected their duties to seek influence to secure their retention or promotion. What percentage of removals usually followed a change of administration cannot be stated, but it may safely be asserted that it was greater under the spoils system when the different administrations were of the same party than under the merit system, which within the last five years has stood the crucial test of two changes as between the two great political parties. The records show that of those who entered the classified service through the merit system the removals and resignations under the administration of President Cleveland averaged from three to eight per cent. a year, and that in one year of the administration of President Harrison similar changes averaged a little less than eight per cent. These figures teach the valuable lesson that retention and promotion in the classified departmental service depend upon merit, and not upon the personal or political influence which employees can bring to bear upon an appointing officer. The resulting benefit to the public service is obvious. Mr. Secretary Windom in his last annual report to Congress found time amid the exacting duties of his great office to bear testimony to the value of the merit system. I quote only a part of what he said on this subject.

"It is my belief that the personnel and efficiency of the service have been in no way lowered by the present method of appointments to clerical positions in the department. The beneficial influences of the civil service law in its practical workings are clearly apparent. Having been at the head of the department both before and after its adoption, I am able to judge by comparison of the two systems, and have no hesitation in pronouncing the present condition of affairs as preferable in all respects. Under the old plan appointments were usually made to please some one under political or other obligations to the appointee, and the question of fitness was not always the controlling one. The temptation to make removals only to provide places for others was always present and constantly being urged by strong influences, and this restless and feverish condition of departmental life did much to distract and disturb the even current of routine work. Under instrumentalities which are now used to secure selections for clerical places the department has some as-

surance of mental capacity, and also of moral worth, as the character of the candidates is ascertained before examination."

I trust it will be deemed pardonable State pride if I call attention to the record of my own State with reference to the merit system. On the 22d of December, 1884, both houses of the legislature of South Carolina adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the general assembly of the State of South Carolina did, at the regular session of 1880, adopt a concurrent resolution, to wit:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That our senators and representatives in the Congress of the United States be requested to urge Congress to take such measures as may be expedient for the reformation of the civil service, so that the tenure of office under the General Government may no longer be dependent upon party success nor subject to levy by means of forced pecuniary contributions to any political party, and so that capacity and character shall be the test of fitness for office and the sole but certain guarantee of its tenure";

And whereas this general assembly, in view of the change in the administration of the National Government, desires to reiterate and reaffirm the principles and policy of the said resolution:

Be it now resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That this general assembly adheres to the same, and tenders to the administration of the President-elect the approval and support of the people of this State in carrying out the provisions of the law in regard to civil service reform.

Resolved, That his Excellency the governor is hereby requested to forward a copy of this resolution to President Cleveland when he shall have been inaugurated.

These resolutions were passed after the election and before the inauguration of President Cleveland by a legislature a majority of whose members in both branches were politically in sympathy with him. They express briefly and forcibly the cardinal principles of the merit system. I do not claim that the opponents of that system are necessarily corrupt politicians, nor that its advocates have a monopoly of the political virtues, but I do claim that it is thoroughly American and in perfect harmony with the theory of our government, in that it recognizes the equality of all men before the law, and makes merit the sole test for public office.

Hugh S. Thompson.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Does Vivisection Help?

IT may not be out of place to reëxamine the foundation for some of the great claims now made for recent advances in medicine and surgery. Some light may be thrown upon this subject by other discoveries—the discovery, for instance, in Sanskrit and classical literature of full descriptions of certain medical and surgical methods and appliances in use among the ancients.

In some cases, as, for instance, from the excavations at Pompeii, instruments have been found, both surgical and dental, almost identical with our own. In others, as in the works of Hippocrates and in the "Susruta," a commentary on the "Yajur Veda" of the Hindus, full descriptions are given of more than a hundred surgical instruments of steel; of many kinds of bandages; and the specifications for a splint, like the patented bamboo splint now in use by British army surgeons. Susruta also describes surgical operations which are claimed as crowning glories of nineteenth-century surgery. The

surgical operation for the stone, and the rhinoplastic, or that which consists in making an artificial nose from flesh and skin taken from the patient's own forehead, were fully known and practiced by the ancient Hindus.

And finally, the antiseptic treatment of wounds, one of the glories of modern surgery, is proved to be a re-discovery. Hippocrates, in his book on wounds, which is a small manual on this method of treatment, describes it, and calls it by the Greek word for non-putrescible. The plain truth seems to be that the ancients knew pretty nearly as much as we do about surgery and medicine; for it unfortunately happens that with all our increased scientific knowledge of disease, its etiology, its diagnosis and prognosis, we have arrived at the conclusion that the "expectant treatment," or the art of letting the disease severely alone, is the most scientific way of curing it—in other words, nature will effect the cure herself if we do not meddle with her. Certainly we run less risk of being killed by the doctors nowadays than at any other period of the world's history, but this can scarcely be claimed to the physicians' credit. The success of homeopathy is simply the success of the expectant treatment, just as the success of the so-called antiseptic treatment is due to the high ritual of perfect and microscopic cleanliness. Even educated surgeons could not be brought to see the necessity for absolute cleanliness in their operations till Professor Lister, with the genius of a great discoverer, elevated it into a dogma with a Greek name, and elaborated a ritual as complicated and significant as that of the Roman Church. Looking round the dirty wards of the ill-managed hospitals, where patients lay festering and rotting in their own discharges, where noxious emanations from ill-dressed wounds poisoned the atmosphere and penetrated all the walls and ceilings, Professor Lister made up his mind that doctors and patients should be compelled to wash and be clean; to ventilate, scour, purify, and scrub, though a ceremonial as troublesome and costly as the Jewish should have to be invented for the purpose.

If, however, this microscopic cleanliness can be reached more simply and directly, so much the better; the point is that absolute cleanliness shall be secured, the means by which it is attained being comparatively unimportant.

All the nonsense talked about the experiments upon living animals which enabled Lister to discover and perfect his new system did not blind the eyes of the great surgeons of the old school to the fact that plain water efficiently used was every whit as good as the carbolic-acid dressings, which killed the wonderful "germs" said to be the cause of the pyæmia and surgical fever which kills the patients. The plain truth is that experiments on animals had no more to do with these improvements in modern surgery than they had to do with the successful means used by the farmer's wife in securing the best results of her churn and milk dishes. Experience taught her that the scrubbing-brush and soap must unremittingly be used on all her vessels and implements, or her butter and cheese would infallibly spoil. The microscope taught the doctors that microbes and bacteria must be ruthlessly fought with similar weapons. Vivisection had no more to do with turning out the dirty surgeon, with his contaminated tools and ligatures, than it had to do with washing the pails and tiling the walls of the dairies of the Ayles-

bury Dairy Company. Hear Mr. Lawson Tait, the greatest abdominal surgeon in the world, on this.

BIRMINGHAM, October 9, 1889.

DEAR DR. BERDOE: You may take it from me that instead of vivisection having in any way advanced abdominal surgery, it has, on the contrary, had a uniform tendency to retard it. This I show to be particularly the case in operations upon the gall bladder, and refer you to the current number of the "Edinburgh Medical Journal," where in an article I point to the fact. As to the use of the antiseptics of Lister, it increased our mortality, prevented recoveries, and did a vast deal of harm by retarding true progress.

Yours very truly,
LAWSON TAIT.

Hear also Sir William Savory, late President of the Royal College of Surgeons, than whom no better surgical authority exists. Speaking at the Medical Congress held in London in 1881 he said: "If you examine the records of surgery in recent years, the fact that most impresses you is the very sudden and prodigious improvement which has taken place in certain quarters. At a single spring, as it were, they have passed from a frightful mortality to a very fair amount of success, and this because the mischief of filth and foulness from putrefaction has been recognized. Surgical wards, not long ago hotbeds of poison, are now made fairly safe for patients. . . . Still, no doubt, some startling novelty of practice was necessary, or at least greatly advantageous, to this end, yet I cannot doubt that the same end might have been reached by an adequate improvement in simple sanitary arrangements." ("Transactions of the International Medical Congress." Vol. II., p. 347. London, 1881.)

The great improvements during the last twenty years in the manufacture of the microscope, coupled with precise methods of cultivating minute organisms—microbes and bacteria,—have enormously increased our knowledge of diseases caused by "germs"; and though doubtless many experiments have been performed on animals in this connection, it is not correct to attribute to such methods successes which have been achieved through quite other means. It seems, however, that with what is known as the scientific school of doctors no practice or mode of treatment which is not founded on experimental research on the lower animals is worth much attention.

To the general public, not versed in the peculiar methods of controversialists, especially of those who, to use an American phrase, have "an ax to grind," nothing is more surprising or annoying than the way experts have of manipulating facts and figures to suit their particular contentions. The world was rather startled the other day to read some statistics which went to prove that drunkards live longer than total abstainers; but even this barefaced attempt to "make the worse appear the better reason" has been eclipsed within the past few months by an attempt to make the wonderful success of Mr. Lawson Tait's operations in abdominal surgery the result of experiments on living animals. In a late article on "Recent Progress in Surgery" the author says, "The most remarkable statistics recently published are those of Mr. Tait, and a mere statement of his percentages will go far to convince the non-medical public of the correctness of the above statements, startling as they appear to one unfamiliar with modern surgical progress." To drag in Mr. Tait as a witness in a long and elaborate argument

on behalf of vivisection, as the letter just quoted as well as his published articles will prove, is about as honest as to make Luther speak in defense of the Papacy. Mr. Tait is unwearied in protesting that none of his successes can in any way be attributed to experiments on living animals. He published a few years ago an exceedingly clever treatise entitled "The Uselessness of Vivisection upon Animals as a Method of Scientific Research." He says that he never witnessed a single experiment on a living animal in the whole course of his medical education, and to the present moment has never found it necessary to instruct his pupils by any such method. He is equally skeptical as to the advantages of Listerism, and thinks cleanliness *plus* carbolic acid and high ritual no whit better than cleanliness *plus* common sense. Yet his statistics are so important in every argument relating to the triumphs of modern surgery that they must be made to do duty on the other side whether he will or no. Happily abdominal tumors, the kidney, spleen, and gall-stones can now be removed with every promise of success, and because Gross and others experimented on dogs in this direction it is the fashion to say that suffering humanity owes its relief from abdominal maladies to the operations on the animals; but the *real* history of surgery — not the romance history — teaches us that it was by Baker Brown and Keith, working by experience on the indications offered by human patients, that the mortality of the abdominal operations was so reduced that surgeons were emboldened to attempt what they now so nobly and bravely carry out. It is not because spleens, kidneys, and portions of intestines were successfully removed from dogs that surgeons learned to operate on these organs in man, but because the bold dexterity of Keith and others in dealing with abdominal tumors suggested the practicability of dealing successfully with organs lying in the region of the abdomen. We should have been precisely where we are now in this respect if a surgeon had never opened the peritoneal cavity of dog or rabbit. It is the fashion to deny this, but there is plenty of proof for the statement.

Then, as to the surgery of the brain, it is constantly stated "that without vivisection the exact localization of cerebral tumors and other such lesions, which is one of the chief glories of the present day, would be impossible." And then we are told of the wonderful works in localization of brain functions done by Ferrier, Schafer, and Horsley in England, and Fritsch, Hitzig, and Goltz in Germany. What we are not told is that these vivisectioners are not at all in harmony with each other, and that it is highly improbable that either would allow another to localize his brain functions for him with a view to operating in case of necessity for surgical interference with his skull and its contents. Dr. Watts said that "Birds in their little nests agree," but nothing of the sort could be said of the physiologists we have named, for they anathematize one another like rival theologians, though, like them, they endeavor to conceal their disagreements before the heathen, with more or less success. Between the speaking brain of man and the dumb brain of the animal there can be but little analogy, as Professor Charcot has pointed out. Even if there were an actual similarity, it would still be useless to use the brains of animals for experiment, as accidents and inju-

ries to the human head have afforded surgeons abundant opportunity of localizing brain function, with sufficient approximation to precision, so far as operations for the relief of abscess, tumors, and injuries are concerned. It required no experiments on monkeys to teach the ancients to use the trephine for relieving pressure of depressed fracture of the skull; the symptoms were carefully noted, and the position of the depressed bone indicated the area with whose interference they were concerned. MacEwen of Glasgow achieved astonishing success in this department of surgery long before Ferrier's cruel experiments on monkeys set surgeons to work on the lines of his localizations. Surgery has advanced with giant strides; how much credit is due to the makers of surgical instruments, whose activity and ingenuity have done so much to aid its progress, we are not likely to learn from the transactions of any medical society or congress, but the fact remains that we are indebted to a great number of very humble artificers for much of it; and for the rest let the patient workers in methods which do not dazzle by their fashionable appeal to vulgar preconceptions have a place in the history of medicine, though their names are not yet recorded in its calendar.

Edward Berdoe.

An Anecdote of Sheridan.

WHILE the United States was engaged in the great civil war, France and Austria took advantage of our comparatively helpless condition to attempt the conquest of Mexico, with a view to construct a new empire there under Maximilian. General Grant was strongly opposed to this policy, and after Appomattox sent Sheridan with an army to the lower Rio Grande to observe the movements of the foreigners and to be in readiness to intervene whenever Congress gave permission. A colonel who was present with that portion of our army which was posted at Brownsville, opposite Matamoras, related the following incident, which can be recorded now; but which, if it had found its way into the newspapers of that day, would probably have led to international complications.

An orderly woke the colonel soon after daylight one morning and urged him to go down to the bank of the river, as something remarkable was going on there. The colonel did so, and had the gratification of seeing a combat — it could hardly be called a battle — between the national troops, the adherents of Juarez, and the Mexicans who were serving under the banner of Maximilian and who were in possession of Matamoras. The object of the Juarez troops was, of course, to drive the enemy from Matamoras and hold the place, as, owing to its proximity to the United States forces, it was a very important point. Each side seemed to be fortified, and was engaged in a contest at long range, which was neither very exciting nor destructive. The next morning the orderly came again to wake the colonel, and assured him that he would see some genuine fighting. The colonel hurried down to the bank, and there he saw the Juarez men leave their intrenchments, advance with the utmost intrepidity, storm the works at Matamoras, and drive the adherents of Maximilian through the town and far beyond out into the open country. Of course Sheridan could not send a force to the other side of the river without the authority of

Congress and the War Department. That would have been an unheard-of proceeding. *What he did do was to give one of his brigades a leave of absence, and that settled the question so far as Matamoras was concerned.*

A few days afterwards an Austrian staff officer came over and paid our troops a visit. After a critical examination he went back and reported to his chief that there was nothing to be done but to give up the contest and go back to Austria.

Abner Doubleday,

Bvt. Major-General, United States Army.

MENDHAM, MORRIS CO., N. J.

McClellan's Candidacy with the Army.

REFERENCE having been made to General McClellan as a presidential candidate in 1864, on page 638 of the February CENTURY, I ask a few words in which to express the feeling in the ranks of the Army of the Potomac.

No one denies that while the army was commanded by McClellan the rank and file hurrahed at every appearance of a major-general, and particularly so when the "little general" appeared, but no more so than afterwards at the sight of Meade, Sheridan, and Grant. The name of McClellan gradually dropped, other names grew brighter, and Lincoln's name was revered.

When the two parties had their candidates before the people in 1864 provisions of law had been made giving the soldiers the privilege of voting, and many would cast their first vote. They remembered that in legislative bodies the supporters of McClellan had voted against the "soldier suffrage." They had read of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," and they knew every one of them advocated McClellan and was an enemy of Lincoln. They had read of the draft riots in New York, and had seen regiments leaving the army to enforce the laws in the chief commercial city of the Union. They read of the burning of negro orphan asylums, of the dragging through the streets and hanging to lamp-posts of citizens of that city, and the soldiers knew that they who led the mob were supporters of McClellan.

They knew that Governor Seymour protested against the enforcement of the draft to fill their thinned ranks. They read the proceedings of Congress, and knew that the minority who voted against appropriations and levies of men were hurrahing for "Little Mac." They had read how the governor of Indiana was obliged to prorogue the legislature and borrow money from friends of the Administration to supply Indiana

soldiers with ration and uniforms, and that every filibuster was vociferous for the Chicago candidate.

They knew that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution failed of a two-thirds vote, and that every "nay" was by a clamorous friend of McClellan. The Wisconsin soldiers knew that the legislative appropriation of their State to organize and equip new regiments, and to give the soldiers in the field the right to vote, was opposed by legislators who were noisy for McClellan.

They read the daily papers in camp and on the picket line in close proximity to the Confederate vidette, describing McClellan processions with banners bearing the motto, "The war is a failure," and exhibiting Lincoln painted as a baboon.

The soldiers knew of General Sheridan's successes in the Valley, that General Sherman had reached Atlanta, that Admiral Farragut had passed the forts guarding the harbor of Mobile, that Grant was extending his lines to the left; they knew that the thinned ranks made by the battles in the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and all along the line in front of Petersburg were not in vain, and that all the sacrifice of human life that summer was necessary, and that the war was not a failure.

The writer spent a day late in October, 1864, in hospitals in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, with comrades from Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, and other States; and every one with whom he spoke, lying on cots, emaciated and weak with fever and with wounded bodies, was anxious to vote for Lincoln. They could read the signal from the army, "We are all right"; that with a "little more grape" the war would end; that the flag they had followed so long and fought for and suffered for and bled for would float everywhere, with the Union cause triumphant and the war not a failure.

The night after the election news of the result was wired to army headquarters. It soon reached the negro quarters, where loyal and fervent prayers went out for the great emancipator. Quickly the news went from tent to tent, from camp to camp; the glad tidings were carried to the picket line, where the sentinels in their loneliness commenced firing, and in language unmistakable informed the Confederates that Lincoln was elected.

The following is a summary of the vote of Wisconsin soldiers in the Army of the Potomac: Lincoln, 1408, McClellan, 266. The 2d Wisconsin, which had fought from the first Bull Run, cast one vote for McClellan.

VIROQUA, WISCONSIN.

Earl M. Rogers.

BRIC-À-BRAC.

To my Lost Luray.

IN a box with his brother,
Each solacing the other,
The puppy left Virginia by express,
A gift to me. He knew my first caress,
And made me love him by his puppy pranks,
His roguish bites and barks and kissing thanks.

The pretty little fellow
Had paws of tawny yellow,
And nose and chops the same; and two tan spots
Above his hazel eyes, that seemed like dots
Of thought upon his forehead; and for the rest,
In sable, shiny black, Luray was dressed.

I thought him so much better
Than any puppy setter,
I took him to the Dog Show; with his eyes—
I know it was his eyes—he won the prize.
(He was the only entry in his class,
Some friends took pains to say—but let that
pass.)

As soon as he grew older
His fluffy puppy shoulder
Stood high and gaunt; his loins began receding;
In every line and point he showed his breeding.
The time has come, said I, to test his grain,
And now, if ever, to begin to reign.