

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

International Copyright Accomplished.

IN every compromise there are two points to be considered: its propriety, and its wisdom or necessity—first, Is the concession to be made in the interest of a higher good? and, secondly, Will the concession, as a matter of probability, be likely to effect that good? The passage of the Copyright Bill, accomplished as it has been by concessions at one time or another on the part of nearly all concerned,—last of all, by the representatives of the Typographical Unions,—is a full justification of the Authors' League in uniting, four years ago, for the advocacy of what was substantially the present law. Had the measure failed, the authors would still have been conscious of their own devotion to the principle of the bill; as it has succeeded, they have the additional satisfaction, in having made a sacrifice of their preference, of having redeemed the literary fraternity from the charge of being "dreamers" and "impracticables."

Mr. Lowell, the President of the League, writing under date of February 19, 1891, accurately stated the position of American authors in general in saying:

I still remain of the opinion that it is wise politics to accept the good that is possible under the circumstances, secure that the mission-work of its practical application will give us something nearer to our ideal. The great thing is to get the principle admitted in our national legislation.

Both before and after the passage of the bill the difficulty has been to get attention to what the bill will accomplish rather than to what it will not. Ill-advised editorial utterances in England have already denounced the new law as a "fraud" and a "sham," as a measure wholly in the interest of American manufacturers, and of little benefit to English authors. Let us see.

First. The bill extends unconditional copyright to the producer of any map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, engraving, cut, print, painting, drawing, statue, statuary, or model or design intended to be perfected as a work of the fine arts. It is easy to forget that artistic property is not less important or sacred than that of the author. For a time during the campaign it was feared that adherence to a false analogy might lead the Senate to persist in its first thoughtless denial of copyright in artistic property, and it is not a small matter for congratulation that this calamity has been avoided. After July 1, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Mr. Burne-Jones, M. Saint-Saëns, and M. Gérôme will be as completely protected by our law as Mr. Dudley Buck, Mr. St. Gaudens, and Mr. Shirlaw.

Again, copyright is also granted to all producers of foreign literary property, upon a condition which, though it must be confessed to be a limitation upon the ideal right of property, is practically not an onerous condition upon the foreign author. The unsolved doubt in the English law as to whether the American author must be on English soil at the time of the publication of his book, and the requirement that the publication of the book in England must precede its appear-

ance in any other country—these conditions are also limitations on the ideal right of property; and so, for that matter, is the term-clause in nearly all copyright law. In the "evolution of copyright"—to quote Mr. Brander Matthews's suggestive phrase—it is difficult to determine where the principle of security to literary property merges into a question of public policy. But the main fact to be borne in mind is, that by the new law, if the English author choose, he can prevent the piracy of his book in the United States. *Our law no longer tolerates the literary "pirate."* This is the heart of the whole matter, and it would be sheer hypocrisy to pretend that because the American market for foreign books here copyrighted is in the main reserved for American workmen, there will not be substantial security to the literary property of foreigners. A little more of that most serviceable attribute of the mind, the sense of proportion, would have saved our English critics from this headlong error.

The gain to American letters and American prestige is incalculable. By doing justice to the foreign author the American spirit in literature will be reinforced, and before long a better day may be expected both for the author and for the reader. The main value of the law is that it raises a barrier against materialism by the encouragement it offers and the dignity it adds to the production of things of the mind. Art, music, and literature are no longer outlawed of our statutes, and may have a freer range of activity among us, with a fuller promise of admirable native products. Where before all seemed neglect or indifference, now

The astonished Muse finds thousands at her side.

The accomplishment of the reform, as Mr. Maurice Thompson has well said, "draws the nation into the atmosphere of honor in literary affairs." It arrests a widespread moral deterioration in the direction of a dishonest communism which had begun to affect many well-meaning people. It stimulates American patriotism by removing a just grievance which American authors have always felt against their country, and makes it unnecessary longer to apologize for our exceptional position as a nation. The friends of the reform may be felicitated upon its success, while its opponents may sincerely and without irony be congratulated on their failure to defeat a measure which is in the interest of the whole country and of a higher civilization.

Lobby Evils and Remedies.

THE most thoughtful students of the lobby evils as they exist in our national and State legislative bodies are convinced that effective remedial legislation must be of two kinds—first, in the direction of general laws for the control of special legislation, and, secondly, in the direction of enforced publicity of the acts of the lobby agents and their employers. The experience of England in this, as in many other political reforms, is of great interest and value. Fifty years ago the lobby, as we understand the term, was as pernicious an influ-

ence in the House of Commons as it ever has been in Congress or our State legislatures. During the great railway construction era in England Parliament was besieged by a powerful lobby whose members plied their trade in ways very similar to those employed in this country to-day. They were given enormous sums of money with which to secure the success of certain railway bills and the defeat of others. Opposition lines of railway were projected for the sole purpose of creating business for the lobby in buying them off. These were the forerunners of the familiar "strikes" of our day, which are aimed at every corporation which is suspected of the ability to pay to have undesirable legislation withdrawn. Instances are on record in which from £80,000 to £450,000 were paid to get railway bills through Parliament. The scandal became so great that radical means were adopted for the regulation of the lobby and the removal of special legislation beyond the reach of its influence. All private bills and special legislation were taken from the control of Parliament by the adoption of the quasi-judicial procedure which is observed at the present day. Under this all bills of a local and personal character are brought in on petition, notice of which must be given by advertisement nearly three months before the opening of Parliament. Copies of such bills must be deposited some weeks before the opening of the session. After their second reading in Parliament, if there is any opposition, these bills go to a private bill committee. "Public opinion," says Mr. Bryce in his chapter on the Lobby in the Appendix to the first volume of "The American Commonwealth," "has fortunately established the doctrine that each member of a private bill committee is to be considered as a semi-judicial person, whose vote neither a brother member nor any outsider must attempt to influence, but who is bound to decide, as far as he can, in a judicial spirit on the footing of the evidence tendered. Of course practice is not up to the level of theory in Parliament any more than elsewhere; still there is little solicitation to members of committees, and an almost complete absence of even the suspicion of corruption." Hearings for and against bills are held before these committees, and so complete is the confidence in their decisions that any measure which is reported favorably from committee to Parliament is almost invariably passed without question.

At the same time that Parliament adopted this procedure for special legislation it enacted a stringent rule, which is also still in force, by which every private bill or petition is required to be in charge of some known and recognized parliamentary agent. No person is allowed to act as a parliamentary agent until he has signed an obligation to observe and obey the rules and orders of the House of Commons. He must also give a bond of £500 and be registered, and must have a certificate of respectability from a member of Parliament or a member of the bar. Any such agent who misconducts himself in prosecuting any claim before Parliament is suspended or prohibited from practising by the Speaker. No written or printed statement can be circulated in the House of Commons without the name of the parliamentary agent attached, who will hold himself responsible for its accuracy. These regulations have worked so well in England that it can be said that lobby evils as we know them exist there no longer.

It has been wise, therefore, for the Massachusetts reformers, who are taking the lead in the movement against the lobby in this country, to follow in the footsteps of English experience. The law which the Massachusetts legislature passed last year requires all counsel and agents employed by any special interest to advocate measures before the legislature to be registered anew each year, and to file under oath, thirty days after the adjournment of the legislature, a "full, complete, and detailed statement . . . of all expenses paid or incurred . . . in connection with promoting or opposing in any manner, directly or indirectly, the passage by the general court of any legislation." Similar statements must be filed by corporations, through their president or secretary, in case they have employed counsel or agents. It is too soon to judge of the efficacy of this measure, but one good effect was at once apparent when the Massachusetts legislature assembled at the beginning of the present year. A great many lobbyists who had formerly appeared every year at the State House staid away, not wishing to register their names, though the regular agents of railroads and other corporations put their names on the lists. The law had thus operated to limit the size of the lobby, and, judging them not unfairly by their unwillingness to give an accounting of their doings, it seems safe to conclude that those who were cut off were the most objectionable of all.

There is nothing in the law which gives any such authority over lobbyists as the English rule gives the Speaker. Neither is there a bond required as in England. The penalty for failure to file the sworn statement specified, either by an agent, or counsel, or corporation, is not less than \$100 nor more than \$1000; and in case of an agent or counsel is accompanied also by disqualification to act in such capacity for three years from date of conviction. This seems to be inadequate, especially so far as a corporation is concerned, for the payment of even the maximum sum of \$1000 would be a comparatively easy escape from the revelation of the details of an extensive plan of legislative corruption. Another weak point in the law is that the requirement for publication thirty days after adjournment secures publicity, if at all, too late to affect pending legislation.

In his annual message of January last Governor Russell of Massachusetts, who had made the lobby question a leading issue in the campaign preceding his election, took the ground that while the present law, if fairly and thoroughly enforced, would result in good, still it falls short of being a sufficient remedy, since it "makes public the names of all persons employed, but not the acts of the lobbyist." To get at these acts, which may be performed in places far removed from the halls of legislation, he made a suggestion which is both novel and interesting. He argued that prevention by non-intercourse was improper and impossible because of the constitutional right of a constituent or any other person to have the freest access to a legislator; but he added: "Prevention by publicity is possible, and I would suggest for your consideration whether a remedy may not be found in this direction by making it easier than it now is publicly to investigate the methods used and money spent on pending legislation; and also by giving power to some proper officer, before a measure finally becomes law, to demand under

oath a full and detailed statement as to these matters. The fear of publicity, and, through it, of defeat, may stop improper practices by making them worse than useless." To this suggestion he added, as a further and fundamental remedy, the relief of the legislature from much special legislation by the enactment of general laws. Thus, while he would hold the fear of publicity over the lobby at all times, he would strike a more direct blow at its existence by removing from its reach a great deal of the legislation which now gives it its life and strength.

General laws must do for us what the quasi-judicial committee process does for England, for as long as our legislative committees are constituted as they are at present it is useless to hope for them to attain the judicial character of the committees of Parliament. Special legislation has attained with us a far wider range than it ever had in England, and our problem in regulating it is much more difficult in consequence. Our lobby evils have also grown to much more formidable proportions than theirs ever reached, for they have had an almost unrestricted field for growth both in Congress and in our State legislatures since their first appearance in the former in 1795, until they have attained a stage of development extraordinary in the ingenuity and intricacy of its ramifications. In most cases nowadays the lobby's real work is no longer done in the State House or Capitol, but in the primaries and nominating conventions at which the men who are to act as the lobby's agents in the legislative body are selected. The bargain for their services is made then, their election expenses are paid for them, and in ignorance of this corrupt compact the people elect them, supposing they are to be the public's servants. Neither is the work of corruption which may be necessary later, when the members are in session, done directly, as formerly, about the Capitol, but indirectly by means of banquets and receptions and in various other forms of personal solicitation carried on in quarters all safely removed from the publicity of the lobby precincts. In fact, nearly all the most pernicious lobby work at present is done elsewhere than at the State House or Capitol, and the only kind of publicity about it that will be dreaded, and therefore effective, is the kind which can be forced, as Governor Russell suggests, at the critical moment before a bill is to come up for final passage. If at that point every one concerned in the bill's welfare — author, sponsor, agent, corporation, lobbyist — could be forced under oath to reveal all that he had done for or against it, in and out of the halls of legislation, there would be publicity of incalculable value. This, combined with general laws removing all the private and special legislation possible of such classification from the control of legislative bodies, would free us as completely as England has been freed from lobby evils.

The National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

Now that altruism in one or another of its manifestations has come to occupy so much of the public mind, and the study of social questions may be said to be almost the fad of the hour, it is rather singular that the annual meetings of a body which is doubtless best entitled to speak with authority on subjects of philanthropy and penology have commanded very little of

public attention. Still more singularly the newspapers, usually so quick to apprehend the drift of events and to foresee, if they do not form, the public interest, have entirely failed to perceive the significance of these meetings, and seem to be totally unaware that their proceedings have been potent in influencing legislation, and that they are, though indirectly and without observation, an important factor in the formation of public opinion on the subjects which come within their scope.

This body, the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, has issued a call to its eighteenth annual meeting, to be held in Indianapolis from the 13th to the 20th of May, and since Indianapolis is a city peculiarly awake to sociological interests, and since the Rev. Oscar McCulloch, the president of the coming conference, is president of the organized charities of the city as well as pastor of one of its prominent churches, the conference is likely to be a notable one.

It will doubtless surprise our readers to be told that a large number of them are in all probability members ex-officio of this conference. There are, indeed, few intelligent men and women of our day who are not connected with some charitable or reformatory or other philanthropic institution as managers or trustees or members of committees, or who are not active workers in some organized form of benevolence, and all such, though they be as little aware of it as M. Jourdain that he was talking prose, are in fact entitled to a seat in this conference and to a voice in its discussions. The presiding officer is always a member of a State board of charities, and this official connection gives the needed stability and definiteness to a body which is otherwise one of the loosest and most flexible of organizations, being made up, as a matter of fact, of all who will come, members being bound by no constitution, nor subject to any duties, not even that of an annual subscription. That the proceedings of such a body as this are of such value as to be eagerly sought by public libraries not only in this country but all over Europe, the annual sale of the volume containing them forming the only and the adequate revenue of the association, is a sufficient proof of the standing and ability of those who take part in these meetings. Indeed, many of the members of the conference, though unknown to the public, are specialists of wide repute in their own lines.

The great task of the sociological reformer is to educate public opinion and to inform the public mind. As Bishop Gillespie said at one of these conferences, "Public abuses do not exist where there is public knowledge," and that public abuses do exist in such large numbers shows how much the community needs such a fountain of illumination as these conferences are. Many public abuses of long standing have indeed been abated as the direct result of the light shed abroad from these meetings. For instance, it was reported at the Boston Conference, several years ago, that there was a boy in jail; and within a year, through the exertions of members of that conference, a law had been passed making it impossible that there should ever be a boy in jail in Massachusetts. And very much of the wisest legislation in several States, especially with reference to the care and the reformation of dependent and delinquent children, is to be traced directly to this source.

It is evident that the knowledge to which Bishop

Gillespie referred is the knowledge not only of facts but of theories and of methods; it is that sociological culture which, like culture in its larger sense, consists, as Matthew Arnold has told us, in knowing the best that has been thought and said. And it is precisely here that these conferences are of value. The papers presented (reports of committees and others) embody the results of wide research controlled by large practical experience, and in the discussions which follow may often be heard some of "the best" which has ever "been said" on these subjects. In the coming conference, for example, in the reports of committees on public indoor and outdoor relief, prison reform, the commitment and detention of the insane, the public care of children, and other subjects, there will doubtless be brought forward such advanced and well-reasoned views, supported by such evidence of practical knowledge, as would secure, were the meetings attended by the great body of legislators and workers, that our entire system of charities and corrections would be placed upon a new basis of enlightened and efficient treatment. In these conferences the scientist and the humanitarian meet, and here at least it has long since become an axiom that there is no true science which is not humane.

But for the present, and perhaps for a long time to come, the best results of these conferences are to be seen in the improved work of officials who have to do with penology and charity, through the illumination and inspiration which they here receive. It is, of course, only the best class of these officials who attend these meetings, but through the knowledge and the enthusiasm which they thus gain the standard for all officials is being surely, if very gradually, raised. To look at the men and women, wardens and matrons of public institutions, who attend these conferences, to hear their utterances, and to note their devotion to their work, is to gain a new hope for the future of our dependent and criminal classes.

Not to be undervalued is the influence of these conferences on the cities where they have been held. This, though not adequately appreciated by the public, is realized by governors of States and mayors of cities, and strong efforts are always made to secure their presence, several cities usually contending for the honor of the next annual meeting. It only needs a wider public knowledge of the immense value and the deep interest of these conferences for them to become an acknowledged power in those sociological reforms for which the whole community is sighing.

An American Cheap Money Experiment.

We gave in the April number of *THE CENTURY* an account of the Land Bank experiment in England in 1696, as an object lesson from history upon the fatuity of seeking prosperity for either nations or individuals by means of "cheap money." We purpose this month to supplement that lesson with another drawn from American experience about a century later, which was based upon similar delusions, and which resulted in far more disastrous consequences.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the people of Rhode Island found themselves in extreme poverty and heavily burdened with their share of the national debt. The war had seriously crippled their trade, upon

which they were mainly dependent, and in their distress the people, instead of patiently waiting for relief to come by the slow process of rebuilding their trade, turned to paper money for relief. They began to clamor for a paper bank in 1785, and when petitions for such a bank were rejected by the General Assembly, a new party was organized with paper money as its chief principle. They went before the Assembly again in 1786, and their petitions for a paper bank were met with counter-petitions against it, signed by the merchants of Providence, and the project was defeated again by a vote of two to one. They then carried the question into the elections, and won a surprising victory, gaining control of the General Assembly by a large majority. This body assembled in May, 1786, and one of its first acts was the passing of a law establishing a paper-money bank of one hundred thousand pounds. The bills were to be loaned to the people on the principle of the English Land Bank, though on much less generous terms.

Every farmer or merchant who came to borrow money must pledge real estate for double the amount desired. The money was to be loaned to the people upon this pledge according to the apportionment of the last tax, and must be paid into the treasury at the end of fourteen years. Great expectations were entertained by the farmers of the beneficent results which were to follow upon this new influx of wealth. "Many from all parts of the State," says McMaster in a very interesting chapter upon the subject in his "History of the People of the United States," "made haste to avail themselves of their good fortune, and mortgaged fields strewn thick with stones and covered with cedars and stunted pines for sums such as could not have been obtained for the richest pastures. They had, however, no sooner obtained the money and sought to make the first payment at the butcher's or the baker's than they found that a heavy discount was taken from the face-value."

The depreciation of the new money began literally with its issue. Every merchant and tradesman in the State refused to receive it for its face-value, and the holders of it refused to make any discount. The General Assembly came to the aid of the bank and sought to give its paper money full value by statutory enactment. A forcing act was passed subjecting any person who should refuse to take the bills in payment for goods on the same terms as specie, or should in any way discourage their circulation on such terms, to a fine of one hundred pounds and to the loss of his rights as a freeman. This made matters worse than ever. Merchants and traders refused to make any sales whatever, many of them closing their shops, disposing of their stock by barter, and going out of business. In fact, money almost ceased to circulate at all. Nearly all kinds of business was transacted by barter, rents were paid in grain and other commodities, and the only people who used the paper money were those who had borrowed it on their land. The chief cities of the State, Providence and Newport, presented a very remarkable spectacle. Half their shops were closed, their inhabitants idle, and their streets animated only by groups of angry and contentious men blaming one another for the blight which had fallen upon their business and industries. In order to retaliate upon the merchants and traders for refusing to take their money,

the farmers refused to bring their produce to market. A famine was so imminent in Providence because of this withholding of supplies that a town meeting was called to devise means for obtaining the necessaries of life. To provide immediate relief for persons in want of bread five hundred dollars was authorized to be borrowed and sent abroad to buy corn to be sold or bartered by the town council. In Newport a mob brought on a riot by attempting to force grain dealers to sell corn for paper money.

In August, about two months after the establishment of the bank, affairs became so desperate that a State convention controlled by the country towns adopted a report recommending the General Assembly to enforce and amend the penal laws in favor of paper money, and advising farmers to withhold their produce from the opponents of the bank. The General Assembly, convened in special session for the purpose, passed an additional forcing act, which suspended the usual forms of justice in regard to offenders against the bank, by requiring an immediate trial, within three days after complaint was entered, without a jury and before a court of which three judges should constitute a quorum, whose decision should be final, and whose judgment should be instantly complied with on penalty of imprisonment. The fine for the first offense was fixed at from six to thirty pounds, and for the second at from ten to fifty pounds. "This monstrous act of injustice," says S. G. Arnold in his "History of the State of Rhode Island," "was carried through the legislature by a large majority, and the solemn protest against it as a violation of every principle of moral and civil right, of the charter, of the articles of confederation, of treaty obligations, and of every idea of honor or honesty entertained among men," which a minority of the members presented was not allowed to appear on the record.

This second forcing act brought matters to a crisis. A butcher in Newport was brought into the Superior Court on a charge of refusing to receive paper money at par in payment for meat. A great concourse of spectators attended the trial, which was before a full bench of five judges. Leading lawyers appeared for both sides, and their arguments occupied an entire day. Two of the judges spoke against the forcing acts, and the other three were of the same mind. On the following morning the formal decision of the court was announced, declaring the acts unconstitutional and void, and dismissing the complaint. The wrath of the General Assembly at this decision was great. A special session was at once convened, and the judges were summoned, in language of incredible arrogance, to appear before the Assembly to assign the "reasons and grounds" for their decision. Three of the judges obeyed the summons, but as the other two were detained by sickness the hearing was postponed till the next session. At the next session four of the offending judges were removed. Before adjourning the General Assembly prepared a new act to "stimulate and give efficacy to the paper bills." This was called the Test Act, and it contained one of the most remarkable oaths ever prescribed to a free people. Every one taking the oath bound himself in the most solemn manner to do his utmost to support the paper bank and to take its money at par. All persons refusing to take the oath were disfranchised. Ship-captains were for-

bidden to enter or to go out of ports of the State, lawyers were not to be allowed to practise, men were not to be allowed to vote, politicians were not to be allowed to run for office, and members of the legislature were not to be allowed to take their seats until the oath had been taken. This was so stringent a measure that the General Assembly was afraid to take the responsibility of enacting it, and, after considering it, referred it to the people of the towns for approval. Only three towns in the State voted in its favor, all the others rejecting it.

This ended all efforts to force the people to take the money at par in ordinary business transactions. The General Assembly, in January, 1787, formally repealed the forcing acts, and then took the first step towards the repudiation of the State debt by ordering the treasurer to pay off one-fourth of it in the bills received for taxes, that is in the depreciated paper money, which, at that time, was circulating on the basis of six to one. By successive steps of this and similar kinds the entire State debt was extinguished, public creditors being forced to take it on terms prescribed by the State, or to forfeit their claims. The last instalment of the debt was got rid of in 1789, in a forced settlement, when the paper money which the helpless creditors received was worth only one-twelfth as much as coin. "Had a general act of insolvency," says Arnold, "relieving all debtors from their liabilities and the State from its legal obligations been passed in the first instance, the same end would have been more speedily accomplished, and the means would not have differed very widely from those that were actually employed. . . . It fell but little short of repudiation."

During 1787, when the value of the paper money ranged from one-sixth to one-tenth that of coin, bills in equity for the redemption of mortgaged estates were filed in large numbers in the courts. The Superior Court of Newport declined to try any case in which a large sum was involved. Suitors came to court with paper money in handkerchiefs, bags, and pillow-cases, asking to have the holders of their mortgages forced to take this at par in redemption of their lands. One bag, containing fourteen thousand dollars, was brought for the redemption of a single farm. But the court refused to try all cases of the kind. The value of the paper money dropped steadily till fifteen paper dollars were worth only one coin dollar. In August, 1789, the General Assembly showed its first sign of returning reason by suspending the operation of the tender law. It followed this by repealing the statute of limitations, because of the depreciation in the value of paper money, and by extending the time allowed for the redemption of mortgages from five to twelve years. Finally, in October, it repealed as much of the Paper Bank act as made the bills a tender at par, and debtors were authorized to substitute property, at an appraised value, for money in discharge of debts. The act which effected the repeal fixed the value of the paper bills at fifteen to one. This was the end.

Throughout this entire struggle to make money valuable by statute, by calling it a dollar and saying that it represented two dollars' worth of land, the bills had remained almost exclusively in the hands of their first takers. No one else was found who would receive the money, save those whom the State compelled to take it, or to forfeit their just claims. Absolutely nobody

had benefited by the experiment except the State, which had got rid of a large portion of its debt by dishonestly refusing to keep its obligations. Industry and trade of all kinds, as well as the State's good name, had suffered incalculable injury, and the State's material progress had been retarded so seriously that it required many years to regain what had been lost. The deluded people who borrowed of the bank on their land as collateral realized their desire of having more money in their pockets; they realized the dream cherished by the believers in "cheap money" in all lands and in all times, for a larger *per capita* currency in which they should share, but they very soon found out that none of the blessings which they had so fondly imagined would follow possession were destined to appear. What was gained by having plenty of money if it could not be used in payment of debts, if nothing

could be bought with it save at greatly advanced prices, and if it were to become less and less valuable as time went on?

They began their experiment with a firm belief that they could compel capitalists to share their wealth with them by exchanging their hated dear money with their own cheap money on equal terms, but they soon discovered that all the power of a State government, exerted with unscrupulous zeal, was not sufficient to compel a man to employ his capital in ways against his will. They might prevent him from collecting usury, but they could not interfere with him when he chose to keep his capital to himself and to make no use of it in trade, either by buying, or selling, or lending. Every "cheap money" experiment that has ever been made has resulted in precisely the same demonstration, and the same fate awaits all those of the future.

OPEN LETTERS.

Certain Criticisms of Certain Tales.

HUME'S rule of never replying to a critic was a good one, and it might have answered in the case of certain attacks which of late have been made upon me by Catholic newspapers for writing "The White Cow" and "Sister Dolorosa." It has been urged, however, that these criticisms ought to be met—hence publicity here given to very private affairs. But if I have to say anything I will say everything. To be silent under misrepresentation does no great harm; to make a poor defense—that is another matter. So that I am not to throw a ray of light upon my actions; I am to make the sun shine as at noonday.

It is charged, then, that I was admitted to the interior of the Trappist monastery, treated with every courtesy as a favored guest, allowed to learn much more than ordinary visitors do about the manners of life, rules, labors, fasts, and penances of the community; that afterward I repaid this confiding hospitality by "the ungentlemanly trick" of writing an extravagant, foolish romance, in which I distorted and misrepresented the Trappist monk and the Trappist rule.

It is charged, secondly, that I went to the convent of Loretto, was received with hospitality, unreserved kindness, and confiding charity; and for these I made the poor return of writing a tale which is fixed as a caricature and a stigma upon the Sisters.

My conduct is otherwise described as a very serious moral delinquency, a social offense, an impertinence, and a bearing of false witness against my neighbor.

The truth is this. Requested by THE CENTURY MAGAZINE to write an article on the Trappist monastery, I went to it and at once made known to the abbot the purpose of my coming. I staid several days; and upon leaving paid for my lodgment and entertainment a sum small indeed, but larger than the prior was at first willing to accept. Soon afterward I wrote the article which was published in THE CENTURY for August, 1888. A copy of this was sent to the abbot, was read aloud to the assembled community, and was said by the abbot to be the best article that had ever been written on the

Order. I received from him a special invitation to revisit the place. I received again and again from Catholics, known and unknown, words and letters of congratulations and thanks. It was even strongly hinted that I would turn Catholic. This is the way in which I discharged my obligation to THE CENTURY MAGAZINE and to the monastery. But of course all this need not be remembered by my Catholic critics at this time.

My obligation thus discharged, I was again in possession of my natural liberty and my imagination; and several weeks later, being still under the influence of the impressions received during my stay, I conceived for the first time the idea of attempting a short tale of Trappist life. "The White Cow" was the result. But I want it distinctly understood that in this tale there is not a shred of knowledge touching the rules of the Order that I did not myself get, or may not this moment be gotten by any one, from writings to be found in public libraries, and from books on sale in Catholic shops. Such works are "The Rule of St. Benedict," a copy of which the abbot gave me, and which is still in my possession; "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky"; "The Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx"; Chateaubriand's "Vie de Rancé"; and articles on the Trappists in old magazines—discoverable through "Poole's Index." If, then, any one wishes really to know the truth, he can thus find it out for himself. So far as knowledge of Trappist rule goes, the tale could have been written without my ever having visited the place; and I fail to see how my having visited it placed me under obligation not to use material which is the common public property of the reading world. Besides, it is idle to suppose that a person admitted to the abbey for the purpose of publishing an account of its life would have been told things that he should not tell.

After having written "The White Cow," I heard through friends of the convent of Loretto; and it was suggested that I write a descriptive article of it also. With this view I began the study of the Order and of early Catholic missions in Kentucky in two of the books named above—"The Life of the Rev.

Father Nerinckx," and "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky." While thus engaged I conceived the idea of the tale of "Sister Dolorosa"; and from these two books I drew what slight knowledge I possess of early Catholic life in Kentucky and of the foundation, history, dress, and rules of the Order of Loretto. Thus this second tale was framed and the material for it gotten long before I ever visited the convent; and it would have been written had I never gone thither. What my visit to the convent actually gave me was the impression of local color, and this I could have gotten merely by walking across the fields in that region and by looking at the convent buildings half a mile away.

But the facts of my visit are these. Presenting myself in company with a friend, I stated that I had written an article on the Trappist monastery, and that, if material existed, I wished to write an article on Loretto. To determine whether this material existed I asked permission to see the buildings and the grounds. We—my friend and I—were both promptly and politely conducted by two Sisters through the church and the school building and to certain parts of the grounds. In less than an hour we were gone.

This is the beginning, extent, and end of my visit, of the courtesy shown, of the obligation incurred. During my conversation with the Sisters, if anything worth remembering was said, it is forgotten now. Not an item of information was given that could have been used for them or against them. The next day—their Commencement—we returned and sat in the chapel among an invited public, listening to exercises; or we strolled over the grounds. No one so much as spoke to us, with none spoke we; dinner was served to a throng of guests, and we were not noticed; we tried to buy dinner, but could not, and went away.

The material for a descriptive illustrated article did not exist at Loretto, and the idea of writing it was dropped. Otherwise I should have written it, and should have done my utmost to make it as sympathetic as was the study of Gethsemane. But I went on with the writing of my tale; and I am still unable to see how my having thus visited the convent placed me under obligation not to write a story, the idea of which was already fixed, the material for which was already gathered. I am glad to say that my visit had this result—it enabled me to speak of the Sisters in a tone of more intelligent respect.

As to the charge that I gave Sister Dolorosa to the public as though I had drawn her from life, it can only be said that in the same way Mr. Haggard gives "She" to the public as though he had drawn her from life, and Mother Goose gives "Old King Cole" to the public as though she had drawn him from life.

But really this is little to the purpose. For, at bottom, my offense is not in having visited these places and then written the stories: it is the stories themselves. The question then arises, May the American writer avail himself of conventual and monastic life in America as material for his art? If so, his tales must be located somewhere; and if thus located, will they not give offense?

Perhaps this question has never yet been forced into prominence during the development of the national literature; but prominent sooner or later it will become, and it is not too soon to form and to agitate convictions on the subject. Certainly not now and here

may such a discussion be opened. But it is well, meanwhile, to remember that every form of Protestant belief in this country has been freely used, and without bringing upon the writer overcharged denunciations of a sympathetic religious press. Puritans, Quakers, Shakers, Dunkards, shouting Methodists, Hard-Shell Baptists—all have been freely used, neither for attack nor defense, but merely as furnishing material for tales. But the Quakers have never cried, "False witness"; the Methodists have never shouted, "Impertinence!" And the use that has been made of Protestant life in America has for hundreds and hundreds of years been made of Catholic life in every country of Europe. Balzac treats the character of a nun who lies to the Mother Superior that she may have an interview with her lover. She dies of love in the convent, and her body is carried off from the convent by her lover. But Balzac, himself a devoted Catholic, was not charged with wishing to fix a stigma on the Carmelites. Valera portrays in "Pepita Ximenes" a Catholic libertine studying for the priesthood; and yet Valera declares that the most orthodox Jesuit is pleased with his novel. M. Daudet represents a community as forcing a brother of the Order to continue the manufacture of the wine which is the source of its wealth, although he declares that he is drinking his soul to damnation because he cannot possibly make it without tasting it. So that every evening while they are praying for Father Gaucher's benefit at one end of the monastery Father Gaucher is going to the devil at the other. But M. Daudet was never charged with grave social and moral delinquency, nor with fixing a caricature on the White Fathers. Nobody ever supposed that Dumas meant to ridicule Cardinal Richelieu in "The Three Musketeers." And what of Von Scheffel's "Ekkehard"?

It has been understood in Europe for a thousand years that the writer is after tales, not sermons; but if a good tale makes a good sermon, so much the better. It was on the traditional privilege granted to the European writer that I based my own action in writing my own tales. But suppose that they were deliberately directed against these Kentucky institutions, as embodiments of the Catholic idea; what then? Is it not my right to oppose the Catholic idea in any form? For does not the Catholic consider it his right and his duty to attack the Protestant idea in any form? Has any Protestant ever denied to him the exercise of that right? And the right that he enjoys, will he not grant?

James Lane Allen.

The Negro in Nashville.

I HAVE long believed that of all places in the South the negro has had in Nashville, Tennessee, the fullest opportunity to show what he could make of himself, has there been more nearly than elsewhere accorded all that the law allows him. For some time, therefore, I have watched pretty closely his progress, and now offer some of the results of my observation, so far as I can without advancing any theory or pleading any cause.

It has doubtless been very fortunate for the negroes in Nashville that they have been in a decided minority, so that they have given less attention to politics than they might otherwise have done. Nashville is a city of schools and colleges and churches, of considerable culture, decided liberality of thought, a thriving place

where honest men can make a living and more, where the people like to own their homes and make themselves comfortable in them. It is a good place, therefore, for the negro to learn by contact.

The city superintendent of public schools says that the negroes show even more eagerness to get an education than the whites, and he claims that no discrimination is made against them in the appointments of their schools, which are now taught exclusively by negro teachers, thirty-six in number. To the credit of these teachers he mentions that at the last examination for teachers the highest marks were made by one or two negro applicants. Besides their public schools there are three negro colleges in Nashville—Fisk, Central Tennessee, and Roger Williams. Two decades ago the two older of these institutions were little more than primary schools, most of the pupils just beginning to read, some in the Fifth Reader, none beyond cube root in arithmetic. In 1888 the college department of Fisk numbered 42, the normal 46; in Central Tennessee, college 16, normal (in classes corresponding to Fisk) about 61; in Roger Williams, college 7, normal (in classes corresponding to those at Fisk) 21; total in Fisk (in all departments) 475, in Central Tennessee 541, in Roger Williams 192. All these students were perhaps as far advanced as were the farthest twenty years ago. At Central Tennessee there are also regular departments of medicine, dentistry, and law. Though the charge is just that the negro at his present stage needs Latin, Greek, and the so-called liberal studies less than anything else, surely 42 A. B. students out of 475 is not an excessive proportion. The ministry and other professions need already a larger ratio. The greater part of the remainder are simply getting the plain elements that are necessary to any man's or woman's well-being. Besides, these institutions pay considerable attention to industrial training. All boarding pupils are required to devote an hour a day to such forms of labor as may be required of them, and the cleanest school-building I ever saw is Livingstone Hall of Fisk University, which is kept clean by the pupils. A certain number of young men at Fisk learn printing every year, and others will henceforth learn carpentry and other useful handicrafts; while the young women are taught nursing the sick and the rules of hygiene, cooking, dressmaking, and plain sewing. The course of industrial training in Central Tennessee College and Roger Williams University is about the same.

The catalogue of Fisk University informs us where its graduates are and what they are doing. Of 62 college graduates 38 (or 61 per cent.) are teachers; 8 (or 13 per cent.) are preachers; of 48 normal graduates 32 (or 66 per cent.) are teachers; eight of the remainder are wives, leaving only eight (or 17 per cent.) for other occupations. Doubtless the great majority of all that study in any department become teachers at present.

Does this education lift up the negroes, as it usually does the rest of humanity? I visited lately, with the city superintendent, a negro school the average attendance of which is nearly eight hundred, in "Black Bottom," the very heart of the worst quarter of the city, and I saw there hundreds of negro children—very many of whom came from environments hostile to all that is good and elevating—with clean faces, for the most part neatly dressed, orderly in behavior, studious and attentive—in conduct equal to any school I ever saw. A

college president who has an exceedingly frank way of talking of the dark as well as the bright side of the situation says that of more than four thousand pupils in twenty years he has never heard of one in the penitentiary; and there had never been, so far as known, a case of unchastity among the pupils boarding at the college, such cases as had occurred being among pupils from the city. Other evidence will be given indirectly below.

Just here I wish to say that Nashville has been blessed in the character of the Northern men and women who have come to teach in these negro colleges. They have come in the truest missionary spirit; have patiently submitted to a kind of social ostracism; have endeavored to cultivate in the negro only such qualities as make for peace, patience, honesty, and good citizenship. They have "respect unto the recompense of the reward," but do not expect it here. They possess their souls in patience. The good men and women estimate their own trials and sacrifices as less than those of foreign missionaries, while those of their Southern neighbors who appreciate the situation know how much easier it is to go to China and Japan and Africa, and be considered heroes and heroines, than to do this home-mission work. They are the best friends of the Southern whites, as well as of the Southern negroes, but only the next generation of us will fully know it.

But the country knows more about the negro's education than about his efforts in business and how he lives at home. I have visited the places of business of a large number; *e. g.* a tailor's shop where from five to eight hands are employed; a shoe shop employing from eight to fifteen men, two of them white; a poultry and egg store having two branch houses in other towns and a trade extending into several States, the business amounting to 100,000 dozen eggs per month and a shipment of five car-loads of poultry per week, requiring seven clerks, two of them white bookkeepers; a feed store with a business worth over \$1000 per month; three furniture stores, new and second-hand; a coal and wood yard requiring four wagons; two undertakers' shops; the offices of three doctors, one of whom requires two horses and, though two-thirds of his practice is charity, collected last year \$2600, another a graduate of the Harvard Medical School and already after three months making a living; grocery stores and butcher shops; a livery stable; several offices of lawyers and real-estate dealers, to say nothing of hack drivers, owning from one to several carriages; barbers, and the like. I have heard white business men commend the character of some of them in a manner of which any man might be proud. The trade of most of them is mainly, or very largely, with the whites. They are only a few of the most thriving of the well-to-do negroes of Nashville; but of course the great majority are still only day laborers. A number of negroes told me with pardonable pride of their investments in real estate. One had made his first purchase with money saved while in a Government clerkship, and now his income from city property is \$100 per month. Most buy, I am told, with the view to building a home. The negroes realize already that nothing so elevates them in the eyes of the world as property, and the "business" fever among the young is so strong that one of the colleges has found it necessary to have

sermons preached against excessive eagerness to make money.

The negroes of Nashville have also made a promising beginning in the way of combining for church or benevolent enterprises. The only negro-church publishing-house in the world is located here, the building, five stories high, being situated on the public square. It was purchased with the contributions of the children of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. A home for aged and indigent negroes is the latest enterprise, while a shop for teaching mechanical trades was opened a year or so ago. The number of benevolent church societies is of course legion.

More interesting still were the discoveries I made in the homes of the negroes. Through the courtesy of a well-educated negro who works ardently for the welfare of his race I had the opportunity, in company with a friend, to inspect in one day more than twenty of the better class of homes. The list of representative homes we were to see included more than fifty; but the time was too short. Most were taken by surprise, but willingly showed their houses from cellar to garret. The result may be summed up as follows: The occupant was the owner in every case but one. In most parlors there were pianos, and handsome carpets on the floor, with other furniture to match; indeed the houses were generally carpeted throughout, while bedrooms, dining-rooms, and kitchens were remarkably clean. I noted with pleasure several bathrooms, and remarked how one thrifty pair had so arranged their handsome base-burner stove that it heated comfortably the whole house of four or five rooms at a cost of only a few cents a day. It was interesting to learn that in most cases where the heads of families were young they had been educated at one of the negro colleges in the city; where old, that the children had attended these. Let one example stand for all. A — is the janitor of one of the banks of the city. By working hard at the bank, while his wife worked and saved at home, he has graduated one son and two daughters at Fisk University, the fourth, and last, child being now there. His son, at first a teacher, is now in the service of the Pullman Company, one daughter is married, the other is a teacher. His house is comfortably furnished, and his lot extends one hundred feet in a very respectable street in the heart of the city.

Just two or three remarks at the close. First, I am quite sure that more comfortable and well-kept homes could not be found anywhere among the same number of whites of the same income, and the owners of these homes have the same interest in good government, peace, good morals, the well-being of society, as the better class of whites have. These well-kept homes are not only the best proof of the progress in civilization of the negro race, but they are also the best security for the welfare of the whites in property and in morals, and I have never had so much hope for the future of this region as since I learned these things. Granted that these may be the picked few, it is most hopeful that there is a picked few, whose example will inspire others to lift themselves up. Finally, an interesting fact which I have not found place for elsewhere — one of the daily papers of Nashville reports a circulation among the negroes of the city of more than eighteen hundred copies.

"Does Vivisection Help?"

I.

IN the October number of *THE CENTURY*, among the "Open Letters," will be found an article under the above heading which is well calculated to mislead a non-medical public.

One would judge from its opening that surgery had made no progress since the time of the ancient Hindus, but towards its end the author admits that "surgery has advanced with giant strides."

That surgical and dental instruments have been found in the excavations at Pompeii and in the ancient tombs in Egypt is true, but they are of the rudest patterns, and only foreshadow, as it were, the instruments of the surgeon of to-day. Other instruments, surgical appliances and procedures, are described in the *Susruta*, and by Hippocrates, Celsus, and others, but none of these are claimed by intelligent surgeons as "crowning glories of nineteenth-century surgery." Any one who will study into the history of surgery will see that "rhinoplasty" is of ancient date, and that the "operation for stone" was practised in Egypt as long ago as two thousand years. Even at that date specialists were recognized in Alexandria who confined themselves to the extraction of stone. These operations are not claimed for nineteenth-century discoveries, but the perfection of the methods employed in their performance is claimed for the surgeons of our century. While attempting to detract from the credit due the surgeon, the author is inclined to glorify the instrument-maker as a prime factor in the advancement of surgery. The multiplication of instruments is not the cause of the advances that have been made, for some of our best surgeons do their best work with the simplest instruments, and in all cases the instruments are made to fill the surgeon's needs. To whom is the credit due — to the architect who plans the structure or to the workman who follows his directions?

It is true that the ancients had some faint idea of the proper treatment of wounds, and that the good Samaritan carried out antiseptic principles when he poured oil and wine into the wounds of him who fell among thieves, but does this detract from the glory of Semmelweis and Lister, who formulated rules and perfected methods, the adoption of which has saved thousands of lives annually to the human race?

The author makes a mistake when he states that the "expectant plan of treatment" consists in "letting the disease severely alone." If such be the case, how can the great mortality in countries where no physicians exist be accounted for? How can we explain the fact that with increase of physicians the average human life has increased, in spite of the daily accidents attending the progress of civilization? A comparison of our century with the middle ages shows an addition of several years to the life of each individual that is born. The "expectant plan" consists in carefully watching the disease, and fortifying the system so that it will be able successfully to combat the evil influences with which it has to contend. Nature is always willing but not always able to effect a cure, and in these cases she must be assisted. But now we come to our question, "Does vivisection help?" It will perhaps make it clearer to a non-medical public to formulate the question thus — "What shall we vivisect?"

A glance at the statistics of different operators will show marked improvements in their results as the operations increase in number. This is noticeable in all operations, but more especially in operations in the abdominal cavity. Formerly one woman out of every three died who was operated on for ovarian tumors, while now the mortality has fallen to less than one in twenty!

To what is this improvement due? It is due to more perfect methods, greater boldness, and greater dexterity. And how can these requisites for success be acquired? Only by experience on the living animal, either man or beast. Hear what Dr. Senn, one of America's greatest abdominal surgeons, has to say on the subject. "The necessary diagnostic skill and requisite manual dexterity in the operative treatment of gunshot wounds of the stomach and intestines can be acquired only by experiments on the lower animals." Mr. Lawson Tait of Birmingham, who is so frequently mentioned in the former article, is one of the boldest and most successful of abdominal surgeons, and his diagnostic skill and manual dexterity have been acquired only by experiments on women! Listen to what Dr. Winkel, one of the most celebrated German surgeons, has to say while speaking of and condemning the unsexing of women. "One can scarcely furnish a sadder proof of these assertions than the statistics presented by Lawson Tait in August, 1881, before the International Medical Congress at London, of cases on which he had operated. They were, in fact, animal experiments on living women, and for that reason it is not strange that Lawson Tait is such an energetic opponent of vivisection."

Does the attempt then seem "barefaced" that was made some months ago to show the "wonderful success of Lawson Tait's operations in abdominal surgery the results of experiments on living animals"? (women). Why should not his operations be brought to the support of vivisection?

Alas! it is only too true that "the real history of surgery . . . teaches us that it was by Baker, Brown, and Keith" (and others), "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." But would it not have been better if Mr. Keith had gained from experiments on the lower animals the experience he has gained from the sacrifice of many female lives before he came to the conclusion that electricity, as applied by Apostoli, was better in the treatment of certain tumors than the application of the knife?

The author is pretty nearly right when he asserts that "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," for while "what is known as the scientific school of doctors" have been painlessly sacrificing a few of the lower animals so as to become more dexterous and better able to cope with the afflictions of the human race the antivivisectionists have been pandering to the tastes of a morbidly sentimental public and at the same time mutilating or destroying God's noblest creation.

The assertion that there is little analogy between the brain of man and the brain of the lower animals is utterly unfounded; and as far as locating the centers on

the surface of the brain which govern certain groups of muscles is concerned, scientists are sufficiently in accord for all practical purposes. This is shown by the successful operations, performed almost daily, for the removal of tumors, or the evacuation of cysts and abscesses of the brain.

The knowledge gained from accidents and injuries comes slowly, and frequently at the expense of the patient. This knowledge must be had before it can be applied; now, shall it be acquired slowly and at the expense of poor, suffering humanity, or rapidly, by sacrificing a few useless curs?

And what will these antivivisectionists do with the bacteriologists who are daily sacrificing thousands of animals on the altar of science?

Could Pasteur have discovered a remedy for hydrophobia without experimenting? Could Koch have made his wonderful discoveries which render probable the cure of consumption? These and many other diseases will probably become extinct or lose their terrors through the knowledge gained by experimenting. For advance, individual or general, experimentation is necessary. Shall it be on man or beast?

SCRANTON, PA.

Thomas W. Kay.

II.

I OFFER the description of a "vivisection" as an appendix to the above letter. It is taken from the notes of a justly horrified eye-witness.

"They seized a sentient animal, quivering with apprehension, bound it fast upon a table, and began their fiendish work by injecting a deadly poison under its skin. While the whole nervous system of the victim was still reeling under the assaults of this drug, an assistant completed certain manœuvres, which, in the diabolical phraseology of one of the most notorious of this class of criminals, 'dissected apart the nerve-centers, separating the so-called vital portions of the medulla from the hemispheres of the brain'; thus, it is to be presumed, leaving the latter in an unnatural isolation. And yet they dare pretend that the physiological conditions were sufficiently preserved to render the experiment useful!

"But to proceed with the horrid recital. The ruthless principal in the crime now advanced, glittering knife in hand, and at a single stroke ripped up the belly of the poor beast, and plunged his hand among its smoking entrails. Not a gleam of compassion lightened his fixed eyes; not a sign of reverence for the shrine of life, whose sanctity he thus dared to violate. Then from the body of the helpless, inarticulate creature prostrate before him this demon in man's form literally tore out a vital organ — or rather an organ far more precious than those which merely conserve individual life, for it contained the countless germs of future generations. It was a symbol of immortality! This Sacred Thing was tossed carelessly into a basin, and the bloody work went on.

"At this point I, at least, hoped to see the unfortunate animal put to death — receiving the last meed of mercy yet possible. But no! The gaping wound was only partly closed; through it was plunged a glass tube into the vital parts, and there left as a festering source of irritation. The subject of the fearful experiment was then borne away and left for days to toss about in

agony. And this — Heaven save the mark! — is modern science! Let us pray rather for medieval ignorance."

These notes will be more intelligible to the general reader when it is explained that they accurately, if somewhat too fervently, describe an ordinary surgical operation for removing diseased ovaries. The "deadly drug" injected is morphine; "the maneuver" which serves to dissect apart nerve-centers is the inhalation of ether, which removes the consciousness of the brain while leaving intact the cardiac and respiratory centers of the medulla; the animal — *i. e.*, the sick woman — is absolutely unconscious and free from pain during the operation; the cystic ovary removed has ceased to be capable of normal functions, and has become a focus of painful disease, constantly threatening death.

The one essential difference between the human operation and one performed on animals under the same condition of anæsthesia, is that the operator expects to benefit the human being and to sacrifice the life of the animal for the ultimate benefit of a human being. From one point of view, therefore, the laboratory ranks with the surgical operating-room; from another, with the well-legitimized slaughter-house, where animals are daily sacrificed by the thousand for human food, and only the vegetarian or the Buddhist objects.

NEW YORK CITY.

Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D.

Homeopathy and "Expectant Treatment."

In the October CENTURY appears an "Open Letter" under the caption, "Does Vivisection Help?" The letter will attract, I trust, as it deserves, much attention among physicians and the general mass of readers as well. That it voices the judgment of the majority of both classes concerning the oft-repeated experiments upon living animals there can be but little room for doubt.

But that the writer of the letter in question, while apparently so well equipped with facts, should have attempted to strengthen his position by assuming and proclaiming a relationship between homeopathy and "expectant treatment," seems unfortunate.

While it may be a fact that "expectant treatment" is the flower — perhaps I should say the nearest approach to *fruit* — of modern "scientific" medicine, remaining between it and the grave, it is not true that "expectant treatment" and homeopathy are identical, nor that "the success of homeopathy is simply the success of the expectant treatment." The merest tyro among the disciples of Hahnemann can bear witness to the absurdity of the statement above quoted.

If homeopathy offers nothing more than "the art of letting the disease severely alone," — that is, "expectant treatment," — why should there be better results attending the let-alone policy when administered by the strict homeopath than when that policy is adopted by his "old school" brother in the same class of cases?

C. H. Oakes.

BRIC-À-BRAC.

Observations.

NO man is accountable for the mistakes of his friends.

DON'T call a spade a spade when it is a shovel.

NO man ever yet minded his own business who did n't get into trouble.

HOWEVER great some men's abilities are, their liabilities are always greater.

A MAN is frequently known by the company he keeps out of.

HONESTY is the best policy, because it is the only policy which insures against loss of character.

DON'T lose sight of an honorable enemy; he 'll make a good friend.

THE soaring hawk has no ear for music, and rates the cry of the partridge above the song of the nightingale.

AFTER a while the king will do no wrong, because he will never have a chance.

THE man who believes in ghosts may be a better citizen than the one who does not believe in his fellow-creatures.

FASHION and decency should be always on good terms.

Friend and Lover.

WHEN Psyche's friend becomes her lover,
How sweetly these conditions blend.
But oh, what anguish to discover
Her lover has become — her friend!

Mary Ainge De Vere.

To a Thermometer.

O SLENDER, silver thread,
Whose proud or 'minished head
Marks truly heat and cold,
The genial summer's glow
Or wintry winds that blow
Your rise and falling show
In figures bold.

Yet, all to what avail!
Your puny forces fail
To tell what fain I 'd learn.
I ask, most weatherwise,
What subtle force there lies
Within my lady's eyes
To freeze and burn?

For more uncertain she
Than weather e'er can be,
Or April day.
Mark now her sunny mood,
Then her cold attitude,
And tell me, pray,
Is drought, or wind, or snow,
More deep and hard to know
— Or woman's way?

W. D. Eltwanger.

Ashes.

BESIDE the blazing log, at eventide,
He read his glowing lines with honest pride.
In the gray dawn he read the lines anew.
The log was ashes — and the poem, too.

J. C. Miller.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Modern Cheap Money Panaceas.

IN the two numbers of THE CENTURY immediately preceding the present one we have set forth the details of two historical schemes for making money cheap and plentiful, that of the Land Bank in England in the latter part of the seventeenth century and that of the Paper Bank in Rhode Island at the close of the Revolutionary War. We intend now to consider some of the plans with similar purpose that are put forth by the leaders in various kinds of cheap-money movements which have gained headway in the Western States during the last few months. With this consideration in view we have been making a collection of plans as they have been advanced from time to time in speeches and interviews. We append the more striking of these, giving the exact language in each instance, numbering them for convenience of reference, but withholding the names of the originators in order that our subsequent remarks may be free from all appearance of personality.

1. I am not stuck on silver and gold as circulating mediums. A piece of paper is my ideal. Geologists have things so fine that they can estimate the quantities of silver and gold in the mountains, and the Government should issue silver certificates to an amount equivalent to that estimate. It would be far safer, as it would be easy for a foreign nation to capture the coin in the treasury vaults at Washington; but the mountains they could not remove, even by all the faith they could muster.

2. People do not care whether a silver dollar contains seventy cents worth of silver or not, so long as it will buy a dollar's worth of sugar or coffee. For fifteen of these [holding up a copper cent] a man can buy copper enough to make two dollars, yet it is good money.

3. We [speaking for the Farmers' Alliance] believe in the people making their own money; we believe in the Government, which is simply the agent of the people, issuing their money directly to them without going around Robin Hood's barn to find them.

4. If the people had twice as much currency in their pockets as now, their prosperity would be greatly increased.

5. I am in favor of more currency. We have n't enough currency *per capita* to do the business of the country. If we cannot increase the currency, I think somebody ought to issue more collaterals. There is usually enough money if a man has the collateral.

6. Under a free-coinage system I think people who have small quantities of silver would be more apt to deal directly with the Government, and the coin, flowing out of the mints to them in smaller individual amounts, would quickly find its way into the channels of ordinary trade. The rich speculators who now do most of the handling of the metal take their big sums that they receive from the Government, and use them in further speculation. Little enough of it ever gets out in petty sums for circulation among the masses of the people.

7. My monetary system eliminates from money both the element of intrinsic value and the power to limit or control the value of things of use. I propose that the Government only shall issue money for the public use. In order to do this, I would have it issue immediately 500,000,000 new treasury notes of the denomination of one dollar each. So much of this amount as was necessary the Government should loan to the people; ten per cent. of each loan to be paid back each year, nine per cent. to be applied to the extinction of the principal, and one per cent. covering the interest. In that way it would be possible to redeem every mortgaged farm in the land within fifteen years.

8. Banks should not be allowed to issue notes. These should be printed and put out by the Government. The

tariff should be reduced till there is a deficit in the treasury, and then greenbacks should be printed and issued to pay all claimants. These should not be redeemable in metal money. Each bill should bear the legend, "One dollar, receivable for all dues and debts." This would make it receivable for all taxes and import duties, and a legal tender. This would keep it perpetually at par.

9. Tens of thousands of our farmers have been unfortunate, and can never get out of debt without special relief. I would enact a law stopping the big interest they have agreed to pay, and substituting a debt at one per cent. interest. It would be done in this way. Suppose I owe you \$5000 and accumulated interest on my farm. This new law would direct you to add the interest to the principal, and go to the treasury of my county and file the mortgage and an abstract of the property, and get a check on the nearest bank for the entire debt. That would satisfy you. Then the county treasurer makes a draft on the United States treasurer for the money, and gets it in crisp, new bills. That satisfies him. The United States treasurer accepts the mortgage on the farm,—providing it is worth the amount of the mortgage,—and sends word to me when the one per cent. interest is due. Is not that simple? It is the first news I have had of the transfer of the debt. That ought to suit everybody.

These nine plans can be grouped into two general classes, those which preserve for the proposed cheap money some intrinsic value, and those which eliminate such value entirely. Of the former it is to be said that they are similar in character to the plans of the English Land Bank and the Rhode Island Paper Bank in that they propose the issue of money on land as security. The proposition for issuing notes against the estimated amount of silver and gold in a mountain is of course a proposition to issue them on the value of the land. They could be no more kept at par than the Rhode Island notes based on farm values could be, but would drop at once to a level of their own, which would inevitably be below the gold standard of value. As for the plans in the second group (those which favor paper money with nothing to fix its value save the Government stamp), they all contemplate a currency which the author of one of the plans (No. 8) says would be "perpetually at par"; that is to say, at par with itself. This was the peculiarity of the Continental, the Confederate, and the Rhode Island paper money, of the French assignats, and, in fact, of all inconvertible paper money ever issued. It is surely unnecessary, in view of unbroken human experience in testimony of the folly of such money, to enter into a formal argument against it at this late day. We shall continue to show its complete failure in practice in subsequent articles upon experiments with it in various countries.

When we come to examine carefully these various plans we find that the advocates of all of them are more or less perplexed as to the methods by which the money, when it shall have been made plenty by act of the Government, shall be got into the "pockets of the people." This is the shoal upon which many a fair cheap-money panacea has been wrecked. The primal cause of every cheap-money agitation is the same—a desire on the part of people who are suffering from a scarcity of money to possess more. They have nothing additional to offer in return for more,—that is, merchandise, or goods, or labor, or product of any kind,—but they imag-

ine that the scarcity from which they are suffering is due to the dearness of the money itself, or to the financial policy of the Government in limiting the amount issued, or to some other cause than their own inability to raise more, either by actual sale of something, or on credit. When they are asked how they are going to get possession of a share of the more plentiful supply, and are held down to a specific answer, their ingenuity is greatly taxed, and they turn to their leaders for a solution of the difficulty. The different ways in which the leaders, whose plans we have collected, have met this demand furnish most instructive material for study.

In the first and second plans this point is not touched upon. In the third the author says he favors issuing the money directly to the people, which seems to imply a free and unlimited distribution. In the fourth plan the incontrovertible assertion that "If the people had twice as much currency in their pockets as now, their prosperity would be greatly increased" is not accompanied with any suggestion as to how this doubling process can be accomplished. In the fifth—and this point we shall touch on later—the searching suggestion is dropped that perhaps an increase of collaterals is as much needed as an increase of currency. In the sixth the curious idea is brought forward that free coinage of silver would put money into the pockets of the people by enabling them to take what silver bullion they might happen to have on hand to the mints to be coined. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth plans an unlimited issue of inconvertible paper by the Government is advocated to be loaned to the people at one per cent., sometimes with land security and sometimes with none at all.

Of the relief which might come to the people by allowing them to have their own bullion coined, it is only to be said that it would depend entirely upon the amount of bullion which they had on hand and of the value of the silver dollars after they were coined. If the farmers of the west have bullion in considerable quantities stored about their premises, the fact is one which has not been suspected. Concerning the various plans for government loans of paper money at one per cent., the same comment can be made upon all of them. They would undoubtedly put money into the pockets of the people, but what would the money be worth? The farmers of Rhode Island had plenty of money put into their pockets in 1789, but they found that they could not buy anything with it save at heavy discount, could not use it in payment of mortgages and other debts, and that it paralyzed the commerce and industry of the State, and brought irreparable shame upon its honor. If the Government of the United States were to go into the business of lending money to the farmers in return for mortgage security, as some plans propose, or in return for no security, as others suggest, the only results would be that the entire farm mortgage debt of the country would be unloaded upon the Government, that farmers and all other people would have a lot of debased money in their pockets, and that in the end the credit of everybody, including that of the Government itself, would be undermined, if not completely destroyed.

The real need of the times is the one mentioned in the fifth plan; that is, for more collaterals. When the author of that plan says that "there is usually enough money

if a man has the collateral," he shows that he has been a close and accurate observer. Collateral, as defined by "The Century Dictionary," is "anything of value, or representing value, as bonds, deeds, etc., pledged as security in addition to a direct obligation." An advocate of cheap money was once going about Wall Street complaining of the scarcity of money, and saying that all existing industrial, commercial, and financial woes came from a too small supply of currency. When he was told that there was plenty of money to be borrowed at low rates of interest, he retorted, "Ah, but that is only on first-class security." Money is always obtainable on that kind of security, and few people are ever to be found who wish to loan it on any other. The man who calls for more collaterals means to call for more first-class securities, for upon no others does any prudent man care to lend money. In other words, every man who has something of value to sell, or to lend, can get money of value in return. He can compel no man who has money to lend to lend it on any other than good security. As the value of the collateral goes down the rate of interest goes up, until it reaches the prohibitive point. If a loan which has been granted on condition of interest and principal being paid in sound or "dear" money be repaid, under legal authority, in "cheap" money, the inevitable effect is always to make it more difficult for any one to borrow on any except the most stringent terms thereafter; that is, on the best security, and with principal and interest payable in gold.

Judicial Control of Contested Election Cases.

THANKS to Senator Saxton, New York has the honor of leading American States in a most important reform movement. His resolution, providing for the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment removing from the legislature the power to decide contests over seats in its own body and vesting it in the courts, was passed by both branches of the legislature last March. It must be passed again by the next legislature and then submitted to the people of the State for adoption or rejection. As Mr. Saxton's proposed amendment is the first of its kind, so far as we know, to receive even partial approval in an American legislative body, its provisions are worth quoting, so far as they change existing law. The words of the State Constitution empowering each house of the legislature to be the "judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members" are stricken out and the following inserted:

The election, return and qualifications of any member of either house of the legislature, when disputed or contested, shall be determined by the courts in such manner as the legislature shall prescribe, and such determination, when made, shall be conclusive upon the legislature. Either house of the legislature may expel any of its members for misconduct; but every person who receives a certificate of election as a member of either house according to law shall be entitled to a seat therein unless expelled for misconduct, or ousted pursuant to a judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction.

This is a very radical remedy, since it not only takes from the two houses the control of contested cases but deprives them of all power to reject the judicial decisions. In various bills, not amendments, which have been introduced in Congress, providing for such decisions, power has always been reserved for Congress to ac-

cept or reject them at its pleasure, on the ground that Congress could not divest itself of a power conferred by the Constitution. That could only be done through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States similar to that which Senator Saxton proposes to our State instrument. It has been urged by advocates of these Congressional bills that Congress does have the power to refer such cases to the courts for preliminary trial, and that by acquiescing in these judicial decisions for a time it would soon establish the practice of accepting them without question, and that thus the reform would be accomplished without the formality and delay of a constitutional amendment. For States, Senator Saxton's method is by all odds the most desirable, whatever may be thought best in Congressional procedure.

The constitutional right which all our legislative bodies have to determine their own membership was derived from the English, and dates back to a time in which there was no other place in which a power so susceptible of abuse could be lodged. As the Speaker of the last Congress, Mr. Reed, pointed out a few months ago in an interesting article in the "North American Review," the "crown could not have it, for the House of Commons often represented a people entirely antagonistic to the king, and always a people who on some points differed from him, and whose control over taxation could not be suffered in any way to be taken from them. The power could not be vested in the judges, for in those days the judges were but representatives of the king himself, doing his work by his appointment and holding office at his will. Hence there was in early days no place where the right to judge of the elections could be lodged except with the elected body itself."

As we derived the idea from the English, we cannot do better than to follow in their footsteps in reforming the abuses which have sprung from the use of it in practice. Previous to 1770 all contested election cases in the House of Commons were tried by the whole House and determined by majority vote, but in that year dissatisfaction with the method became so great, since nearly every contest was decided in a partizan manner, that what is known as the Grenville Act was passed, which selected by lot all committees for the trial of election petitions. A few years later the law was amended so as to have the jury for these cases obtained by taking a ballot for thirty-three members, then striking from this number eleven for each party, the remaining eleven constituting the elections committee with final power. This system was continued in use with slight changes till 1848, when dissatisfaction with it led to the adoption of a law which put all contests into the hands of a committee of six members appointed by the Speaker, subject to the approval of the House. The members of this committee were usually men of high character and attainments, yet after twenty years' experience with their findings the House of Commons was informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868 that this method of deciding contests was a failure, that expenditures had been increased, corrupt practices had not diminished, and decisions had been uncertain and contradictory. In concluding his statement the Chancellor struck for the first time straight at the root of the evil by saying, "There is something in the principle upon which the

jurisdiction of the House in regard to election cases rests which is essentially vicious."

With this declaration as a guide the House of Commons went into a long debate upon the matter, the result of which was the passage of a law which transferred the jurisdiction of contested cases to the courts. Decision of all such cases was placed absolutely in the hands of judges, one from each of the great divisions of the law courts, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, others to be added in case of necessity. One judge without a jury was to sit in each case, and, if he saw fit, might conduct the investigation at the place at which the election occurred. The judges were to certify their decisions to the Speaker, and they were to be accepted as final. The system has been in use since 1868 and has given perfect satisfaction. The judges were averse to having the power vested in them, and protested against such disposition while the bill was pending, but they have used it with such complete freedom from partizan influences that their decisions are never questioned.

Our problem to-day is precisely what theirs was in 1868, and Mr. Saxton's proposition is the first step towards meeting it with a like remedy. All authorities agree that our present method of deciding contests, first by a partizan committee on elections, and afterward by a partizan vote of the whole House, is unsatisfactory. In fact, so partizan is the use made of it in all cases in which the party majority in a house is small, that we have by common consent fallen into the habit of calling it "seat-stealing." So high an authority as ex-Speaker Reed admits this. In the article from which we have quoted above he said: "The committee usually divide on the line of party, when they divide at all, and the House usually follows in the same way. To any thinking man this is entirely unsatisfactory. The decision of election cases invariably increases the majority of the party which organizes the House and which, therefore, appoints the majority of the committee on elections. Probably there is not a single instance on record where the minority was increased by the decision of contested cases." To comprehend the full significance of this testimony to the evils of the present method, it should be borne in mind that in the Congress of which Mr. Reed was the Speaker a majority of seven was increased to one of twenty-four by a series of partizan decisions of the character which he depicts. Equally emphatic testimony is furnished by the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, member of Congress from Massachusetts, who said in a newspaper interview, published in December, 1889:

Indeed the House is rarely thoroughly and violently partizan except when it sits in a judicial capacity to try an election case. The present system offers a constant temptation to candidates defeated at the polls who happen to lose their election by a narrow margin to make contest on frivolous grounds, in the hope, too often fulfilled, that their party associates will be induced to seat them. To expect absolute impartiality from political representatives on questions which involve a gain or loss of votes in the House is to expect something of which human nature is not capable, and therefore it is desirable to substitute some less interested tribunal for the trial of these questions. To save the public time, to reach impartial decisions in election contests, and to reduce the number of such contests are the leading reasons for this measure, which I believe would be of very great benefit to the country as well as to the House. The courts to which we cheerfully confide the power of making decisions affecting the life, property, and character, which, as

we know, in all these grave matters render substantial justice, can certainly be trusted to decide impartially, in accordance with the law and the facts, conflicting claims to a seat in Congress.

In addition to the partizan consideration, there is also to be urged against the present method the expense and time which its operation involves. Mr. Reed estimates that the contests of the last eight Congresses have cost \$318,000, an average of nearly \$40,000 each, and that each contest consumed more than two days in the House, and much more in the committees.

It is clearly time for us to realize, as our English reformers in the same field realized in 1868, that there is something in the principle upon which our present method rests "which is essentially vicious." We ought to "reform it altogether," as they did, by removing the power of decision to the courts, leaving it there absolutely. That is what the Saxton amendment does. There is no reason for thinking that our courts would not be equal to the exercise of it with the same impartiality as the English courts have shown. In Congressional cases the circuit judges of the Supreme Court of the United States could be assigned in such numbers as were necessary for the duty. The recent increase in the number of these judges makes such service by them possible without serious interference with their regular duties. In the States the higher courts could be drawn upon. The danger of partizan influences affecting the decisions by such judges would be very small, even at the beginning of the practice, and would diminish with every successive case.

Law or Lynching.

WHY was it, when the news of the New Orleans lynching was sent over the country in March last, that nine people out of ten applauded the work of the mob, calling it justifiable and salutary? Why was it that so many law-abiding members of society were to be heard saying that if they had been in New Orleans they themselves would have joined the mob? Finally, why was it that in New Orleans itself a mob of such extraordinary character was collected, organized, and led to the execution of such barbarous work? The mass meeting from which it sprang was called together by a proclamation published in the newspapers and signed by the names of nearly one hundred prominent and respected citizens. The men who addressed the meeting were lawyers eminent in their profession. The mob itself was led by these same lawyers, and in its ranks marched other lawyers and merchants, men of wealth and position. This mob, so organized, composed, and led, marched to a prison, forced an entrance, seized and put to violent death eleven men. Its members then dispersed quietly to their homes. When their work was known, the entire press of the city, its exchanges and other organized bodies, and all other respectable elements of the city population, expressed approval. In the country at large the nearly unanimous voice of private approval was echoed in many reputable newspapers, and in London, the foremost representative of English public opinion, "The Times," gave the deed hearty commendation.

There was something so remarkable about this spectacle of civilized intelligence approving conduct which

was a subversion of the laws of civilization and a reversion to those of barbarism, that an examination into its causes has been going on in thoughtful minds for the past few months. If it is true, as all approvers of the lynching contend, that this was absolutely the only adequate remedy for the case, how did it happen that it was the only remedy? If the legal machinery for dealing with crime and punishing criminals had broken down completely, what had been the causes of its breaking down?

These are questions which go to the root of the matter, and in seeking to answer them we shall touch upon points to which we have more than once called the attention of the readers of *THE CENTURY*. We published in this department of *THE CENTURY*, in April, 1884, an article under the title of "Mob or Magistrate," in which the tendency in certain parts of the country to resort to lynching when there had been a failure of criminal justice was discussed and deprecated. In that article we said: "It cannot be too often nor too strongly proclaimed that these lynchings themselves are crimes; . . . that they furnish a remedy which is worse than the disease. . . . Nevertheless, the failure of criminal justice, which makes room for mobs and lynching, is a greater disgrace than the savagery of the mobs." That article, which was in the main a condemnation of the methods of criminal lawyers in twisting and torturing the law into a protection for undoubted criminals from the just penalties of their crimes, had scarcely been published when the country was startled with the news of the court-house riot in Cincinnati—a riot more nearly resembling that at New Orleans than any other in our history. It was caused, it will be remembered, by the fact that there were twenty murderers in the city jail who had, for one reason or another, escaped trial. Out of seventy-one prosecutions for murder and manslaughter in the courts of the county during two years, four resulted in acquittal, two in quashed indictments, six in imprisonment, and fifty-nine were still pending. In the presence of such a paralysis of justice public indignation gradually reached the point at which it found vent in a riot, provoked thereto by the failure of a jury to convict a murderer of unusual brutality and undoubted guilt. The mob attacked the jail, burned the court-house, and filled the streets of the city with fighting and bloodshed for several days, killing none of the murderers, but causing the death of more than fifty innocent persons, destroying valuable records and property, and bringing the good name of the community into reproach the world over. This was due to the presence of a set of criminal lawyers, astute and unprincipled, who by means of an absurd jury law were able to prevent the conviction of almost any criminal.

Back of the failure of justice in New Orleans there looms one great cause which of itself makes the search for others unnecessary. The State has a reckless naturalization law which allows immigrants to vote in State elections as soon as they have declared their intention to become citizens. Here we put a finger upon the root of the evil of defective justice in every city in the land, for we find in this haste to get votes the corrupting and demoralizing touch of "politics." The Italian consul at New Orleans, after speaking of the large number of his countrymen who are orderly and useful citizens of Louisiana, goes on to say in an interview published shortly after the riot:

This does not exclude the fact that there are among them about a hundred criminals escaped from Italian prisons, most of them long since naturalized as Americans, mixed up in the city and State politics, and carressed and protected by politicians through whose support several have obtained important political places. Their especial occupation was to naturalize the newly arrived Italians here.

Is it any wonder that, under such conditions, the whole system of criminal detection and prosecution became so paralyzed that nothing but a mob could restore the reign of justice and order? And who was responsible for the power which the criminals had gained in the community? Was it the criminals or the men who had received them with open arms and nourished and petted them into power?

Here is the point for every American to consider, and to keep on considering until it shall arouse him to the necessity of bearing his part of the burden in the government of the community in which he lives. In how many of our large cities has the machinery of criminal regulation and prosecution escaped all taint of the same kind as caused the uprising in New Orleans? In how many does it poison every branch of the municipal service, beginning with the police and running up to the highest executive and judicial officers? Is it not notorious that "politics" is at the bottom of all our naturalization laws, and that if it were not for the greed of the politicians for more votes in elections, we should have far more stringent regulations for admitting foreigners to the suffrage? In how many of our cities is the police force absolutely free from the control of "politics," and is there any large city in which the contact between the political bosses and the criminal and semi-criminal classes is not so close as to compel, to a greater or less degree, the protection of the latter from the vigorous and fearless administration of the laws? In how many of our large cities are the police justices, who sit at the fountainheads of justice, upright and just and fearless magistrates,

and in how many are they the agents of "politics," and the friends and protectors of the criminals whose support is valuable to politics?

Let us ponder these questions, and ask ourselves whether we are prepared to do in other cities what has been done in Cincinnati and New Orleans. Let us ask ourselves if we are prepared to tolerate the evils of misgovernment which we know to exist, and which we refuse to take a hand in correcting, until they so completely destroy our lawful methods of government as to force us to destroy them in turn by the unlawful and barbarous methods of riot and lynching. Shall we sit quietly and slothfully by and allow our boasted civilization to become a failure, and then try to set it right by hanging to the lamp-posts or shooting like dogs the miserable creatures whom our own negligence or indifference has permitted to get control over us?

These are the real lessons to draw from the New Orleans riot. It may be that our immigration laws are too lax or too poorly enforced; it may be that we ought to exclude more rigorously than we do the swarms of people who come to us from Europe, but our worst evils in government are not due so much to bad immigrants as to native indifference, or connivance, or cowardice, which permits or encourages ignorant or vicious immigrants to be put to base uses for political ends. If we are content to allow our cities to be governed by the least intelligent and least moral elements of their population, we must not complain if they make and administer laws to suit their own tastes; and we must be prepared to face, sooner or later, the crisis which will come when the laws cease to give the community that protection upon which its very existence depends. If we are going to do this, and are inclined to depend upon lynching to set us straight when the crisis arrives, it would be wise to have some system of martial law in readiness for use, for that would be at once a more effective and a more civilized method than that of a mob.

OPEN LETTERS.

Female Education in Germany.

ALTHOUGH the education of women has never been a subject of such widespread interest in Germany as it has been in western states, particularly England and America, a tendency towards reform is nevertheless present as a steady factor of the intellectual movement of the day. One small class of educational reformers, under the late jurist Holtzendorff, hold advanced and radical views as to the claim which the female population has upon the state for higher education. A larger and more moderate class, led by the famous and successful Lette, claim for German women such advantages as may be had in the common school, in special training schools, and in the domestic school. But the mass of Germans still hold to the conservative and traditional idea founded upon their belief that home is woman's true sphere. Between the three there are naturally many combinations. Giving the great majority of female schools over to the last-named

class, there remain the Victoria Lyceum as a type of the extreme advance that reform has made in Germany,—an almost isolated case,—and the female industrial schools of Nöggerath and Clement, in Brieg and Berlin, the cooking-school in Cassel, the domestic school in Neviges, and the public household school for factory girls at Pforzheim, as examples of the successes that have followed in the wake of the Lette Union. The latter school, which was called into life in 1865 by the personal efforts and writings of the statesman and economist, President Lette, enjoys the patronage of the Universal German Women's Union and its numerous branch unions. The Victoria Lyceum is a separate and independent institution, like Vassar or Wellesley.

My own experiences as a student were gathered at the Victoria Lyceum and at the Empress Augusta Seminary, in Charlottenburg, Berlin,—an advanced conservative school,—after my graduation from a New Jersey female college. The earliest stages of a German girl's education I have not gone through, therefore;

but the observation which I have given to the methods and ideas of instruction, as I have seen them applied in families, has been considerable, and, as a house-keeper, I have had opportunities for detecting the results of the German common-school education on the lower classes of society.

The cultivated middle class is said to be the best educated, and I am willing to believe it, although it was in the family of a Göttingen professor that my Greek and Latin text-books fell under the denunciation of the father of the house, and I was directed to look to the daughters — who knew nothing but French and English, some history and music, a great deal of religion, and a little botany — as models of what females should be. Your German girl is taught to knit at her mother's knee. Knitting and sewing, indeed, are the earliest and the latest lessons which she takes and practises. Lessons are given regularly twice a week in knitting and sewing, and much time goes in practising, especially in the long evenings of north German winters. At the Empress Augusta Seminary the pupils, who had Wednesday afternoon and Saturday afternoon, instead of the whole of Saturday, for a holiday, spent the time sewing and knitting; and in the evening, after study hour, each sat in her chair knitting, while a governess read aloud. I judge that we averaged nearly thirty hours a week in this employment, not counting Sunday afternoon and evening, when we sewed or knitted for ourselves. The result of the weight laid on sewing is a land full of skilful needlewomen — and likewise of debilitated girls.

Another principal factor in girls' education is held to be religion. Three hours a day are devoted to religious instruction during the eight years of education from the infant age of six years until confirmation. In the public, or state, schools priests instruct Catholic pupils, and rabbis teach Jewish girls, the instruction of the latter including the original Hebrew text of certain prayers and formulas. The American girl, who gets what she knows of religious history and dogmas from the Sunday-school, a course in Butler's "Analogy," and private reading, will wonder how so much time can be filled up, and what there is then to be learned. This religious course includes biblical history, the geography of Palestine, the histories of festivals, of the divisions of the canonical year, of church music, of the covenant, and of the Reformation, together with the committal to memory of a large number of hymns and psalms, of extracts from the Bible, Bible narratives, and Luther's catechism, which is explained. Confirmation is the closing act of a girl's schoolhood. The daughters of the poor are put through the catechism in herds. Often country girls walk long distances to the pastor, and, fasting, are catechized in the cold half-daylight of damp, stone vestries. Among the upper classes the mothers of families often accompany their children to the lessons of the pastor in order to talk the better with them on the subjects their minds are filled with. Very commonly, also, girls are sent for half a year or a year, or even two years, to a boarding school for completing the act in the society of congenial comrades. And pious natures often are stirred at this period with the profoundest and purest sentiments of their lives. Confirmation is the German revival — the only revival tolerated by opinion and conducted by the state.

After religion, the lessons which girls are taught most insistently are those in German. Since the political and military victories of 1866 and 1870, very great stress has been laid upon the German language in schools, and girls' seminaries include courses in German literature that are fuller than those in foreign literatures — an important advance over the old method, where French was more cultivated than the native tongue. In the prospectus of the Hirschberg Seminary, for instance, from four to eight hours per week are quoted as being devoted throughout the whole school course to German; that is, to reading, grammar, composition, and literary history. And here again a marked feature in opposition to the American method of literary instruction is the very considerable quantity of verse drilled into pupils' memories. During the course of a single year in Berlin we were examined on thirteen songs and odes, the long poem of the "Bells" by Schiller, and a portion of Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea," besides forty or fifty other poems that had been committed in the lower classes. German girls do not quote more than American girls, — quoting has gone out of fashion here as elsewhere, — but they have a facility in writing verse that is astonishing. They also learn musical compositions by heart. And it is my opinion that the charm of family musical evenings in Germany is so complete chiefly because each member knows a full quantity of ballads, and knows them to the end. As I have never had a chambermaid who could not sew, so I have never found a nurse-girl, however low, who did not sing a modest stock of harmless songs. Indeed, among the lower classes, the hymns drilled into the memory in youth remain as a spiritual and sentimental solace to the end of life.

French is the branch that comes next in interest in the higher schools. Less time is devoted to English. But it is to be said of German instruction in the languages that, at the end, pupils are really practical masters of them. At the Empress Augusta Seminary a different language was spoken at each meal, and governesses saw to it that we spoke French during the hour of our daily promenade.

For the rest, however, German schools for girls offer little that is worth emulation. They cannot compare with most western models. The standard for attainment in mathematics and the sciences is low. Profit and loss and cube root are objects of instruction for the graduating class (see the catalogue of the normal school in Liegnitz). Algebra, geometry, and trigonometry are not taught, as a rule, even in their first elements. Botany is always a part of the plan of study; the elements of zoölogy and of chemistry are generally taught; philosophy rarely, geology extremely seldom, astronomy and philology almost never. Callisthenics are practised, and so are singing and drawing. The instruction in music is excellent.

The discipline in schools is severe, and in carrying it out several customs hold place that differ extremely from American ideas and ways.

The common school begins in winter at eight o'clock in the morning, in summer at seven, except in large cities and towns; and this rule is followed in families and in seminaries. A full hour of time is devoted to each lesson or exercise. In fact the German word *stunde* is identical for the two, lesson and hour. At

the Empress Augusta Seminary we rose in summer at six o'clock. Our beds stood in sections of large dormitories, and near them were iron washstands. A regulation existed as to how, and how much, we should be allowed to wash, and during the process a governess wandered constantly about to see that we followed it. We drew on our uniform dresses in silence, and at the next signal of the bell hurried into the main corridor. Here stood the directress. Each kissed her hand with a good-morning greeting,—according to the German code of manners the young must greet the old first,—and then took our given places in a file for marching down into the dining-hall. Here we stood at the back of our chairs at table while a morning prayer was read by the directress. This done, she seated herself; the governesses resumed their places, and finally we pupils took ours. I committed the mistake, I remember, of thinking the first morning that the butter before me was meant for the rolls; so that I took some. The matter created a stir down along the whole table. Nor did the governess venture to set me right of her own accord. It was left instead to a private interview between the directress and me for opening my eyes to the fact that butter was only eaten by our superiors. We pupils had to soak our rolls in our coffee and eat them so, two cups of coffee and two wheaten rolls composing our breakfast. After breakfast we had free time to put our wardrobes in order for inspection, to study, or to talk, until eight o'clock. School lasted from eight in the morning until six o'clock in the evening. At ten in the forenoon occurred a recess of fifteen minutes for eating a sandwich (without meat); at twelve we walked for an hour in the open air; at one we dined. After dinner we adjourned with a governess into the dormitories for washing our teeth and hands. At four in the afternoon we drank coffee, or, if it were the birthday of some one of us, delectated ourselves with chocolate and cake. We ate supper at seven. After supper came sewing until bedtime. The directress's hand was then kissed again, and a governess conducted us into the dormitories.

I remember that although the school was genteel, being founded especially for the daughters of officers, certain hygienic precautions were conscientiously carried out. Every newcomer, for instance, was examined by the doctor of the seminary, and at night one of the maids washed her head and combed it. The doctor, in truth, was a familiar figure. He was by even when the shoemaker's wife brought shoes for us to try on, and gave the decision as to which size should be retained and worn.

The governesses were resident teachers. There were four for every twenty pupils: one French governess, one English, and two German governesses.

No man was allowed to live in the establishment except the porter. And this personage owed the high preference which he enjoyed to his ugliness. May you live long, Herrmann, for your likeness will be hard to find—halt as you are, wanting in teeth, and one eye altogether, while the other eye is bleared. The pastor who preached Sundays in the little chapel came from the town, and the professors from other schools. The governesses gave few lessons; they sat by in the room while the professors taught. In ultra-conservative schools for daughters of the aristocracy female teachers are excluded from giving any lessons except in needle-

work. It is rare where they are employed anywhere except for languages and the elements of reading, grammar, and religion; except, of course, in convents, a national prejudice exists against female instruction in earnest studies. Nor will a consideration of the type of school where governesses and teachers are fitted out—and this of the Empress Augusta Seminary is one, and an advanced one at that—be likely to make a foreigner think the prejudice is without good ground. As a matter of fact the German woman is inferiorly trained. The tendency in all this teaching is towards strengthening a single faculty of the brain—memory. The logical faculty is as good as ignored. Drilling cannot be praised too much; but drilling, as it is carried forward in German girls' schools, relentlessly upon a minimum of topics, blunts all intellectual vigor and enterprise. The long sittings upon one theme—to go further into a single detail of discipline—is uncommendable. Consider the listlessness of half-grown girls when being held to the abstract subjects of the catechism for an hour at a time. Their minds necessarily lose tension, and the latter half of the hour is as good as lost. In the few years of a girl's school life these half hours make up an appalling quantum. Shorter lessons extended over longer terms would, I am persuaded, reach better results.

The physiological law of the refreshment that comes with variety and the need of repetitions of impressions upon the brain, especially in the young, certainly point to such a reform. The entire subordination which girls are taught, the want of rough-and-ready exercise, the lack of encouragement to act alone and to exercise their own wits—all these are minor deficiencies of the German method. They show themselves in the lower mettle of German girls.

An excellent trait that partly balances these deficiencies is the habit, which they are kept to, of industry.

Intellectual ambition, on the other hand, cannot be expected where the intellect is so little stimulated. The nation evidently considers this condition of intellectual deficiency in the daughters and wife at home as normal; witness the novels of the celebrated Gustav Freytag. The state and private female schools of the type I have described respond to the supposed needs of German home life.

But while the people generally cling with tenacity to the traditional educational standard, there is a growing desire for better teaching, which is bearing fruit in the establishment of various types of new schools. Of these the industrial schools that exist offer some novel traits, but in the main they resemble American schools of the same type. The Victoria Lyceum, however, differs too remarkably from Vassar, Wellesley, and similar colleges in America to be passed by quite undescribed. It has not the constitution, the dotation, or the stability of a university, but its original character resembled a piece broken off from such an institution more than a college or school. All lessons were given in the form of lectures; no examinations were held; the course followed was a matter of individual choice; the rooms in the building were arranged as lecture-rooms, and professors walked in, assumed their desks, and at the close of an hour or two hurried out, precisely as at the university. The themes lectured on were modern history, the history of Greek and Roman art, German literature, and the literature of

France. The pupils were mostly young ladies of the leisure classes, and numbered in my day (1873) about ninety or a hundred, the lyceum having opened in 1869 with seventy or less.

The originator of the idea of the lyceum, and its first directress, was Miss Archer. She broke loose from England, and came, as many of us have come, to Germany as the land of learning, only to find that if learning was here, it was not for girls. The instruction she found in the Lüneburger Seminary was no better than she had had at home. But she went through it, and passed a governess's examination, as is required by law, to enable her to teach. She then came to Berlin. Her means were very limited. To support herself she gave lessons in English; in the evenings, in pursuance of her object, she studied Latin, Greek, mathematics, physics — all, in short, that had been left out of the instruction in schools. If Miss Archer's experience had not been of a kind to make her respond passionately to the desire for higher education, the idea that formed itself in her mind of establishing a college must have collapsed in view of its extreme difficulty. And, in truth, it is to be added to the lists of wonders that this obscure little governess, unbefriended in a great foreign city, should have accomplished such a task. She succeeded in having herself introduced from one patroness to another, upward in the social scale, till she got acquainted at last with the governess of the royal children, and later, through the countess, with the Crown Princess Victoria. Miss Archer's plans were matured, and she laid them before her Highness. In spite of the difference in their ranks, the two countrywomen understood each other. Going to lectures was a popular fashion, and, as no great scheme was practicable, it was determined to begin by adopting the current usage, only seeing that the courses of lectures were exhaustive and systematically adapted to the stage of the pupils' mental development.

When Miss Archer died, in 1882, the lyceum had attained a form somewhat different from its early compass, and essentially that which it now presents. The courses of lectures are retained, and included, during the winter semester of 1888-89, history of painting among the peoples of the Occident, Grecian plastic art, ancient art, furniture of houses in ancient and modern times — the last three courses being held in the royal museums face to face with the objects of art described. A second group of lectures included, besides the early themes of history and literature, a course in logic. And, finally, a third group grapples with the natural sciences — physics, geology, botany, and geography. The prospectus gives the whole number of lectures read as nearly twelve hundred and fifty for the year 1888-89, and the number of listeners to them as over nine hundred. The price per lecture is thirty cents.

To the lectures are added regular and exhaustive courses of instruction, and it was in these courses that Miss Archer introduced the study of the Latin tongue. They include — besides the modern languages, history, literature, and art — botany, physics, and ethnography. It is worthy of note, perhaps, that the teacher of the latter science as well as that of art history is a woman.

Pupils of the courses of instruction bind themselves

to regular attendance for three years, and to fulfil whatever exercises may be set.

In 1885 their number reached two hundred, many of whom were common-school teachers and governesses.

A union, as it is, of school and university, the lyceum in Berlin embodies the highest advance which reform of female education has made in Germany.

Countess v. Krockow.

Gettysburg and Waterloo.

As the battles of Waterloo and Gettysburg, from their size, bloodiness, and decisive importance, have so often provoked comparison, it may be of interest to readers to compare the force and loss of the combatants in each. I take the figures for Waterloo from the official reports as given by Dorsey Gardner in his "Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo"; and the figures for Gettysburg from "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," and from Captain William F. Fox's "Regimental Losses in the American Civil War."

Unlike Waterloo, Gettysburg was almost purely a fight of infantry and artillery; the cavalry, which did good work during the campaign, played no part in the battle itself, the bulk of the horse of the two contending armies being at the time engaged in a subsidiary but entirely distinct fight of their own. The troops thus engaged should not be included in the actual fighting forces employed at Gettysburg itself, any more than Grouchy's French and the Prussians against whom they were pitted at Wavre can be included in the armies actually engaged at Waterloo. The exclusion will be made in both cases, and the comparison thereby rendered more easy.

Even making these exclusions it is impossible wholly to reconcile the various authorities; but the following figures must be nearly accurate. At Gettysburg there were present in action 80,000 Union troops, and of the Confederates some 65,000. At Waterloo there were 120,000 soldiers of the Allies under Wellington and Blücher, and 72,000 French under Napoleon; or, there were about 150,000 combatants at Gettysburg and about 190,000 at Waterloo. In each case the weaker army made the attack and was defeated. Lee did not have to face such heavy odds as Napoleon; but, whereas Napoleon's defeat was a rout in which he lost all his guns and saw his soldiers become a disorganized rabble, Lee drew off his army in good order, his cannon uncaptured, and the *morale* of his formidable soldiers unshaken. The defeated Confederates lost in killed and wounded 15,530, and in captured 7467, some of whom were likewise wounded, or 23,000 in all; the defeated French lost from 25,000 to 30,000 — probably nearer the latter number. The Confederates thus lost in killed and wounded at least 25 per cent. of their force, and yet they preserved their artillery and their organization; while the French suffered an even heavier proportional loss and were turned into a fleeing mob.

Comparing the victors, we find that the forces of the Allies at Waterloo consisted of several different kinds of troops, and together with the losses can best be presented in tabulated form. Wellington had under him 68,000 English, Germans, and Dutch-Belgians, while Blücher had 52,000 Prussians.

| | Number. | Killed and wounded. | Missing. | Per cent. of killed and wounded to force engaged. |
|-----------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------|---|
| Wellington's British | 23,991 | 6,344 | 592 | .26+ |
| " Germans | 25,886 | 4,006 | 478 | .15+ |
| " Dutch-Bel- gians | 17,784 | 1,000 | 3,000 | |
| Blücher's Prussians | 51,944 | 5,612 | 1,386 | .11- |
| | 119,605 | 16,962 | 5,456 | .15 |

The figures for the Dutch-Belgians, who behaved very badly, are mere estimates; probably the missing numbered more than 3000, and it is very unlikely that the total killed and wounded went as high as 1000.

At Gettysburg the Northerners lost 17,555 killed and wounded and 5,435 missing; in other words, they suffered an actually greater loss than the much larger army of Wellington and Blücher; relatively, it was half as great again, being something like twenty-two per cent. in killed and wounded alone. This gives some idea of the comparative obstinacy of the fighting.

But in each case the brunt of the battle fell unequally on different organizations. At Waterloo the English did the heaviest fighting and suffered the heaviest loss; and though at Gettysburg no troops behaved badly, as did the Dutch-Belgians, yet one or two of the regiments composed of foreigners certainly failed to distinguish themselves. Meade had seven infantry corps, one of which was largely held in reserve. The six that did the actual fighting may be grouped in pairs. The Second and Third numbered nominally 23,610 (probably there were in reality several hundred less than this), and lost in killed and wounded 7586, or thirty-two per cent., and 974 missing; so that these two corps, whose aggregate force was smaller than that of Wellington's British regiments at Waterloo, nevertheless suffered a considerably heavier loss, and therefore must have done bloodier, and in all probability more obstinate, fighting. The First and Eleventh Corps, who were very roughly handled the first day, make a much worse showing in the "missing" column, but their death rolls are evidences of how bravely they fought. They had in all 18,600 men, of whom 6092, or thirty-two per cent., were killed and wounded, and 3733 missing. The Fifth and Twelfth Corps, of in the aggregate 20,147 men, lost 2990, or fifteen per cent., killed and wounded, and 278 missing.

Thus of the six Union corps which did the fighting at Gettysburg four suffered a relatively much heavier loss in killed and wounded than Wellington's British at Waterloo, and the other two a relatively much heavier loss than Blücher's Prussians.

In making any comparison between the two battles, it must of course be remembered that one occupied but a single day and the other very nearly three; and it is hard to compare the severity of the strain of a long and very bloody, with that caused by a short, and only less bloody, battle.

Gettysburg consisted of a series of more or less completely isolated conflicts; but owing to the loose way in which the armies marched into action many of the troops that did the heaviest fighting were engaged

for but a portion of the time. The Second and Third Corps were probably not heavily engaged for a very much longer period than the British regiments at Waterloo.

Both were soldiers' rather than generals' battles. Both were waged with extraordinary courage and obstinacy and at a fearful cost of life. Waterloo was settled by a single desperate and exhausting struggle; Gettysburg took longer, was less decisive, and was relatively much more bloody. According to Wellington the chief feature of Waterloo was the "hard pounding"; and at Gettysburg the pounding—or, as Grant called it, the "hammering"—was even harder.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Ernest L. Major.

SOMETIME in 1884 those art students of New York whose lack of resources forbade any hope of their ever completing their studies in Paris, read with much interest that a fund had been placed in the hands of trustees, the increase of which was to be devoted to the maintenance in Paris for three years of a student from the art schools of New York. Later this interest was somewhat abated when it was learned that some years must elapse before the increment of this fund would yield an amount large enough for the purpose. The same year one of the large publishing firms of New York announced that an art competition for which it had offered a prize had failed to bring out any work which its judges deemed worthy, and that it would add the amount of this prize to the fund, and so make it possible to send a student abroad that year. The judges and trustees of this combined Hallgarten and Harper prize were to be three well-known artists—Augustus St. Gaudens, T. W. Dewing, and William M. Chase.

The successful competitor was Ernest L. Major, a pupil of the Art Students' League—whose picture, "Springtime," exhibited at the National Academy of Design in the fall exhibition of 1890, is printed on page 229 of this number of THE CENTURY. Mr. Major was born in Washington in 1864. He began the study of art under E. C. Messer at the Corcoran Art Gallery. In 1882 he entered the Art Students' League of New York, and was a pupil of William M. Chase until his good fortune sent him to Paris in 1884. There he came under the criticism of Boulanger and Jules Lefebvre at the Académie Julien. His first *envoi* to the salon was in 1885, a landscape. His second, in 1888, was an important figure-subject, "Ste. Geneviève," since exhibited in America in the cities of Chicago, New York, and Boston.

It is yet too soon to predict Mr. Major's future,—he is still three years on the youthful side of thirty,—he is a good draftsman, his composition and technique are above the average, and his color is pleasant and harmonious. He is possessed of a good deal of artistic individuality, evidenced by the fact that the pictures he has painted since his return to America show little of the styles or mannerisms of his masters.

William Lewis Fraser.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A Nation for a Mortgage.

WE have in previous numbers of *THE CENTURY* set forth the details of two notable historical efforts to lighten the burdens of the people and to increase their wealth by making money cheap and plenty. In *THE CENTURY* for April the Land Bank experiment in England in 1696 was considered, and in that for May the Rhode Island Paper Bank experiment of 1786. In the June number we turned aside for a moment from the historical record to consider some of the modern cheap money plans, in order to enforce upon our readers, while the English and the Rhode Island failures were fresh in their minds, the fact that these modern plans sought to repeat in our own times the disastrous experiments of one and two centuries ago. From that list of modern plans we purposely omitted one which may be said to have been the inspiring cause of nearly all those which we named. We refer to the Land Loan scheme of Senator Stanford of California. This in brief is, that the Government shall lend an unlimited amount of money for twenty years at two per cent. interest on land pledged as security at half its value; that the value of the land shall be fixed by appraisers appointed by a land loan bureau in every county in which a loan is applied for, their services to be paid by the mortgagees; that there shall be no limit to the amount of the money issued as loans, except the needs of landowners, and their ability to pledge the land; and that the bills so issued shall be receivable for all taxes and all debts.

This is in substance the Rhode Island experiment over again, but lest some one shall say that that experiment was made in a State only, and not in a nation, and hence had not the wealth of the whole country to guarantee its success, we shall not rely upon it as constituting a complete demonstration of the fallacy of Mr. Stanford's ideas. What was attempted in Rhode Island in 1786 was merely an imitation, on a small scale, of what was done in France in 1718-20 under the inspiration of the notorious adventurer and gambler, John Law. The history of his famous performances constitutes so perfect an answer to the economists of Mr. Stanford's school that we shall make it the subject of the present article in our series.

John Law was the son of an Edinburgh jeweler and money-changer. After a career of gambling, dueling, and reckless adventure in every capital in Europe, he turned his ingenuity to the invention of schemes of finance and banking, and went about from capital to capital seeking acceptance for them. Having had no success anywhere else, he appeared in Paris in 1716, just after the death of Louis XIV., when the regent, the Duke of Orleans, was confronted with a national debt of more than three billions, which made national bankruptcy imminent. He listened earnestly to Law when the latter assured him that the prosperity of a nation depended entirely upon the size of its circulating medium; that Holland with its wretched soil and dangerous shores was the richest country in the world simply

because of its immense circulating medium; and that France by doubling its capital would enormously increase its wealth and resources, pay off its debts, and become the richest nation in the world. How could France double its capital? Why, easily enough. All it had to do was to establish a bank on the basis of all the actual property of the State.

A private bank which Law established succeeded very well, its bills being accepted by the Government. It really laid the foundation of credit in France, since it was the first bank of circulation and discount. Its success turned the heads both of Law and the regent. If with a small capital they could by means of credit circulate a volume of notes several times the size of the capital, what might they not do with the whole of France for capital? The private bank was dissolved in 1718, and the Government established the Royal Bank with Law as its director-general. He at once began to put into practice his idea of uniting all the wealth of France into one great mass, and using it as a basis upon which to issue an illimitable volume of notes. "He had conceived the idea," says Blanqui in his "History of Political Economy," "of combining into one common association all the capitalists of France, and putting under their control, as a loan, all the elements of public wealth, from landed property to the uncertain ventures of colonial trade. What could be a finer mortgage than France!"

As a part of his great "Company of the West" he included his famous Mississippi scheme. The Chevalier La Salle, in his travels down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, had taken possession of all the territory through which it flowed in the name of the French king, calling it, in honor of Louis XIV., Louisiana. Law obtained a concession of this district, gave dazzling accounts of its unlimited mineral and agricultural wealth, and founded a commercial company upon it with a capital of one hundred millions, divided into two hundred thousand shares of five hundred francs each. Other trading companies, the Canadian, Senegal, East Indian, and China were also taken into the bank, and each made a "basis" for the issue of notes. Then one after another the royal mint, the business of collecting the government taxes, and the receipts of the royal income were included. Law's idea was to get all the receipts and all the issues of the nation into the same hands, and then upon this vast basis, this fine mortgage of France, to issue notes at will.

The shares of his company were eagerly bought. He began the issue of paper money guaranteed by the Government, and based upon the value of all national property. "Bills issued on land," he said, "are in effect coined land. Any goods that have the qualities necessary in money may be made money equal to their value. Five ounces of gold is equal in value to £20, and may be made money to that value; an acre of land is equal to £20, and may be made money equal to that value, for it has all the qualities necessary in money."

As a beginning, Law had notes to the amount of one hundred and ten millions of pounds sterling struck off and circulated. They were receivable in taxes, nominally redeemable in coin, and made a legal tender. A great wave of instantaneous prosperity seemed to rush over France. The parliament of Paris, alarmed by the furor which seized the whole people, tried to check it by legislation, but was overborne at once. Law even threatened to abolish it for presuming to stand in his way. This bank lent the king twelve hundred billions of francs to pay off the debt. An eye-witness of the scenes in Paris, writing at the time, says: "All the town is in convulsion over the shares; the capital is thrown into a kind of state fever; we see the debt diminish before our eyes; private fortunes are made out of nothing." From all parts of France men poured into Paris to speculate. The street in which the bank was situated was crammed day and night. The shares rose to forty times their value in specie at the time of their issue. Everybody seemed to be getting richer, nobody poorer. The bank continued to pour forth paper money till its issue reached 3,071,000,000 francs, 833,000,000 more than it was legally authorized to emit. Its issue of shares at the extreme market value when the craze was at its height was twelve billion francs, which had been built up on an original issue of less than two millions.

M. Thiers, in his account of the situation at this time, says: "The variations of fortune were so rapid that stockjobbers, receiving shares to sell, by keeping them one single day had time to make enormous profits. A story is told of one who, charged with selling some shares, did not appear for two days. It was thought the shares were stolen: not at all; he faithfully returned their value, but he had taken time to win a million for himself. This power which capital had of producing so rapidly had brought about a traffic; people lent the funds by the hour, and exacted unprecedented rates of interest. The stockjobbers found, moreover, a way to pay the interest demanded and to reap a profit themselves. One could even gain a million a day." Law himself reaped a colossal fortune in paper, which he turned into land as fast as he could. He bought no less than fourteen titled estates in France, a fact which is cited as evidence that he had faith in his own schemes, for had he been a swindler he would have invested his profits in some other country.

Of course such a condition of affairs could not last. Scarcely had the whole system been made complete before the inevitable collapse began to threaten. People began to sell their shares for land, houses, coin, or anything that had stable value. Prices rose enormously, and gold began to be hoarded. The shares began to fall and the paper money to depreciate. Then Law, like his imitators a half-century later in Rhode Island, began to try to save his paper money from destruction by edicts or forcing acts. It was forbidden to convert the notes into gold or silver, and decreed that they should bear a premium over specie. It was decreed that coin should be used only in small payments, and that only a small amount of it should be kept in the possession of private persons. Any one keeping more than 400 or 500 francs in specie was to be fined 10,000 francs. The wearing of gems and diamonds was prohibited. Nothing made of gold was to weigh over one ounce. Old specie was confiscated, and domiciliary vis-

its were ordered to discover it. Of course these signs of desperation only hastened the end. The shares, which had been fluctuating wildly, began to go down steadily. This was in February, 1720, less than two years after the founding of the bank. When all the violent edicts failed to stop the decline, the Government decreed in May that the value of the shares and notes should be reduced one-half. This was the end. The great bubble collapsed, for credit had been completely destroyed. The bank stopped payment, and the whole nation gave itself over to rage and despair. Law's life was in danger, and that of the regent was threatened. The bank was abolished; its notes were reconverted into the public debt, leaving it as it was when the bank was established; Law's estates were confiscated, and by November of 1720 not a trace of the bank or its various companies remained. Law himself remained in France till the end of the year, when he became a wanderer on the face of the earth, dying at Venice in 1729 almost a pauper. "Of all the industrial values produced under the hot atmosphere of Law's system," says Blanqui, "nothing remained but ruin, desolation, and bankruptcy. Landed property alone had not perished in the tempest."

This is the experiment which Senator Stanford proposes should be repeated in the United States. It is the same experiment which Rhode Island tried with similar results in 1786. It is the same experiment also which the Argentine Republic has been trying within the past five years, and the results which that unhappy country is now reaping from it we shall make the subject of our next article in this series.

The New York of the Future.

THE first formal statement of the proposition to consolidate New York, Brooklyn, Staten Island, and other adjacent territory into one great city was made over twenty years ago. In 1868 Mr. Andrew H. Green, in an official communication, called attention to the "important subject of bringing the city of New York, and Kings County, a part of Westchester County, and a part of Queens and Richmond, including the various suburbs of the city, within a certain radial distance from the center, under one common municipal government, to be arranged in departments, under a single executive head." In that communication Mr. Green placed the number of people comprehended within the area of the city and its immediate neighborhood at "more than one and a half million, all drawing sustenance from the commerce of New York, and many of them contributing but little to the support of its government." In a very valuable bulletin issued from the Census Bureau at Washington under date of April 17, 1891, entitled "Urban Population in 1890," the Superintendent of the Census, Mr. Robert P. Porter, puts down the number of people living "within a radius of fifteen miles of the city hall on Manhattan Island" as being "considerably in excess of 3,000,000, or two-thirds that of London." His estimate includes, of course, parts of New Jersey, which are excluded from the consolidation scheme; but a fair estimate of the total population within the proposed consolidated limits places it at about 2,750,000. Thus it appears that during the twenty-three years in which the consolidation project has been under discussion the population of the communities concerned has nearly doubled.

It cannot be said that the discussion attracted much attention till within the last few months. In 1890 the State legislature passed a bill creating a commission "to inquire into the expediency of consolidating the various municipalities in the State of New York occupying the several islands in the harbor of New York." This commission organized with Mr. Andrew H. Green as president, but little interest was taken in its proceedings till in April last it sent a report to the legislature, favoring consolidation, defining the limits of the greater city, and recommending the passage of a bill empowering the commission to frame a charter for the city's incorporation, government, and administration, to be submitted to the legislature for approval at some future date. This formal action commanded the attention of the press, with the result of arousing more public interest in the subject than had previously been felt. The passage of the bill by the upper branch of the legislature added to this interest perceptibly, so that it could for the first time since the discussion began be said that the matter had really become a public question.

The one point upon which all commentators are agreed is that the consolidation is inevitable at some time or other. This being the case, the date of the consolidation will be hastened or retarded by the strength or weakness of the arguments which are brought forward in its behalf. It is conceded that all the localities concerned owe their existence to their nearness to New York and draw their sustenance mainly from it. They have been built up by the overflow from the narrow confines of Manhattan Island. Whether union would result in good or evil, to one or all, whether there would be wiser, more intelligent, more economic government in the united city than there has been in the separate municipalities, are questions upon which there is the widest difference of opinion. Probably it would be more accurate to say that there is as yet very little real opinion to be found, for few persons have given any except the most superficial thought to the matter.

The magnitude of the subject is likely to stagger even the most thoughtful examiners. The total land area of the future New York, as defined by the commission, would contain nearly 318 square miles, or over 203,000 acres. The present city contains about 39 square miles, so that the new city would cover more than eight times the space of the old. New York would thus, both in population and area, be larger than any other city in the world with the exception of London. In order that its size may be fully comprehended let us compare it with the leading cities of the world, both as to population and acreage, and also as to number of inhabitants per acre:

| | Acres. | Population. | Persons per acre. |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|----------------------|
| New York (now)..... | 24,760 | 1,515,301 | 60 |
| New York (future).... | 203,000 | 2,750,000 | 13 |
| London | 441,587 | 4,764,312 | 11 |
| Paris | 19,200 | 2,269,023 | 117 |
| Berlin | 15,500 | 1,315,287 | 85 |
| Chicago | 96,200 | 1,099,850 | 11 |
| Philadelphia | 83,200 | 1,046,964 | 12 |
| St. Louis | 49,000 | 451,770 | 11 |
| Boston | 23,661 | 448,477 | 19 |

It thus appears that New York at present is the most crowded city in the world with the exceptions of Paris and Berlin, and that even if its limits were to be extended as proposed it would still have more persons to each acre than London has at present, with nearly

double the population which the enlarged New York would have. If the past ratio of increase in New York be maintained, as there is every reason for believing that it will be, the population of the greater city will reach 10,000,000 by the middle of the twentieth century, or an average of forty-nine persons per acre.

It is not strange that the student of municipal government should find it difficult to form any opinion as to the kind of rule to be expected from a municipality of such colossal proportions. What reason is there for thinking that the union of New York and Brooklyn would result in giving us any better government for the two together than each is able to get separately now? Would union induce the intelligence and morality of the community to take any more active part in political matters than they have taken heretofore? We can make up our minds upon one point, and that is that the activity of the professional politicians would not be diminished. It is urged in favor of consolidation that we should be able to get a better system of wharves and docks, should be able, in fact, to construct a water-front worthy the foremost city of America, if we were to bring all the various municipalities at present owning parts of that water-front together and give them a common interest in its improvement. New York has had the sole interest in the greater part of it for many years, but she has shown little desire to make it worthy of her position as one of the greatest commercial ports of the world. If consolidation would arouse civic pride in her citizens in this or any other direction, it would be an unspeakable blessing.

If, however, there be no assurance of better things in government in the greater New York, it is perhaps equally true that neither is there assurance of worse things. The new territory would, by greatly enlarging the number of voters, make it very difficult for any central political organization like Tammany Hall to maintain control of a majority. The danger of internal dissensions among the political bosses in the various parts of the municipality would be increased as the size of the masses each was expected to control increased, and in such dissensions there is always opportunity for reform movements; but the amount of patronage and the opportunities for jobbery would at the same time be greatly increased, so that the greater possible good is counterbalanced by the greater possible evil. The limits of New York and other American cities have been extended many times within the past few years, but we have yet to hear that the enlargement of area has in a single instance led to a diminution in the evils of misgovernment.

It is, in fact, misleading to expect that consolidation, which is certain to be effected within a few years, will do much to solve the problem of municipal misgovernment, which is becoming more and more every year the most serious problem that confronts American sagacity. The Census Bulletin to which we have referred, gives very striking evidence of the rapidly increasing tendency of our population, in imitation of that in older countries, to congregate in the cities. It shows by the figures of the new census that nearly one-third of the entire population of the country is now living in cities, against about one-fifth in 1870; that while there was only one city which had over a million inhabitants in 1880, there are now three; that while there were only fourteen cities which had over 100,000

inhabitants in 1870, there are now twenty-eight; and that while the total city population has increased nearly sixty per cent. since 1880, the total population of the country has increased only twenty-five per cent. This increase in city population has been accompanied by a steady increase in municipal misrule, if the amount of attention and anxiety devoted by all thoughtful minds to that subject affords satisfactory evidence, and we believe it does. Surely, therefore, this tendency to make not only New York but all our cities larger ought to give all patriotic Americans a fresh and powerful incentive to grapple with the problem of municipal government and to solve it in the only way in which it can be solved; that is, by separating municipal affairs completely from State and national politics, and conducting them, as the citizens of Berlin, Glasgow, Birmingham, and Manchester conduct theirs, upon a thoroughgoing, non-partisan, business basis.

"Journalists and Newsmongers" Again.

A YEAR ago we printed a suggestive array of facts under the title "What's the News?" which revealed the vast importance in a commercial sense of the expenses and revenues of a great modern newspaper. As the author, keeping within his purpose, had no call to discuss the moral side of the business of gathering and selling news, we thought his paper made a fit occasion for commenting editorially on the distinction which ought to be drawn between "Journalists and Newsmongers."

In effect we described a Journalist to be a responsible editor or publisher who seeks public support for a medium of important news, of trained judgment on public questions, and of unselfish criticism of persons and things that are prejudicial to the public welfare. Whatever he offers under those heads is an appeal to healthy intelligence and not to depraved taste; he measures these things by his own judgment and not alone by what he imagines to be a public craving. He recognizes that news is a force and not a commodity; a force that brings happiness and injury or punishment to thousands of fellow beings every time he sends it broadcast over his community; and that his license to lend this force is his moral acceptance of the duty of seeing that it is true and that it does not wantonly invade the rights of private persons. In so far as he is a purveyor of useful information and a wise and helpful censor of public affairs, his newspaper gains in influence, circulation, and business prosperity. He is a self-constituted public servant who is herald, soldier, statesman, and judge; his work, even with honest purpose, is colored by human qualities; but the evils of his faults are trifling compared with his enormous services to society. The Journalist of this pattern is numerous and honorable among us.

On the other hand the Newsmonger was described as an editor, or publisher, who looks upon the public functions of a journalist as the opportunity and cover of making merchandise of other people's affairs to satisfy the curiosity of those who will buy. He recognizes in the public a depraved taste as well as a healthy intelligence, and caters to both; he measures the influence of his journal by the number of copies he can sell and not by the effect of his teachings; his public, so far as "news" should satisfy it, is any class, vile or

innocent, whose interests may be cultivated. He lashes law-breakers on one page, and on another (maybe in his advertising pages) supplies them with the information that is a part of the tools of their lawlessness. While a doctor of divinity, perhaps, is assisting him with moral views in one department of his newspaper, a companion of ruffians is entertaining dog-fighters, pugilists, pool-sellers, and other law-breakers in the column alongside. And why? Because his self-constituted mission is to print whatever will sell, and because the news of vice is interesting, not alone to its professors, but also to thousands who are ashamed to practise it. He excuses his traffic in heartless gossip of weak or unfortunate persons, and in records of immorality and unlawful amusements, by saying that the public wants such news or it would not buy, and therefore if he did not take the profits of the sale himself somebody else, less scrupulous, would do so. He likes to wield the power of the press as much as does the Journalist, and is oftener tempted to abuse his facilities for dealing out private as well as public vengeance. Modern expansion of the means and ends of journalism gives him a power over the reputations of private individuals and public officers and law-makers that is the greatest tyranny of the time, and provides him with a capacity for self-defense which laughs at the few and superannuated restraints of the law. The Newsmonger of this pattern is also known among us, and the worst of his influence is the temptation to shade off into his methods which he offers to Journalists, by dint of his material success.

These views drew from the author of "What's the News" an explanation on behalf of certain prominent publishers, which is printed in "Open Letters" and is called by the writer "Conscience in Journalism." It is valuable for its candor, for the proof which sensitiveness gives of good intentions, and for the illustration it affords of the ascendancy of the business idea among American conductors of newspapers. For it is clear that by the word "publisher" the author means the man who gets the profits of the newspaper, or who represents those who do, and who is therefore first of all responsible for its business success; it is equally clear that it is this business thinker (who may or may not be, also, the writing thinker) who is the maker of the tone and policy of the newspaper. He is represented as the employer of paid and unpaid scouts whose purpose is not alone to inform him as to the kind of news his public are prepared to buy, but also in part to help him determine how much idle gossip and prurency must be supplied if he would not alienate some part of his daily patrons.

The men who revolt at this idea of the responsibility of a conductor of a newspaper are referred to as critics who are ignorant of the internal workings of a newspaper office. On the contrary most of the censors of the Newsmonger are men who are familiar with every sort of work on a newspaper, from setting type to writing editorials, except the sharing in the division of the net profits of the counting house. They know how salaries are earned; they realize the value of accuracy even in handling the details of a shop-girl's love affair, that otherwise might involve the owner in damages for libel; when they are sent to ask impertinent questions as to the private affairs of a man or woman, they are aware of the fact that their mission is infamous, and that

their employer, who is interested in having the "news" that he may sell it, would readily forego the profits if he were obliged to be his own inquisitor. We state an extreme case within which all shades of minor and proper inquisition adjust themselves. For it is well known that in general the part played by the reporter in the modern newspaper is alike most honorable to him and most useful to the public. When he is laboring heart and hand with a Journalist his task is elevating; it is only when he answers the behest of the Newsmonger that his work is degrading.

We are frankly told that "newspapers are run as the miller runs his mill, the miner his mine, the farmer his farm." But the Newsmonger counts as grist all that can be brought to his hopper; he dumps on the market the unrefined ore, and he sows tares with the grain; while the Journalist knows that he is working under a sacred trust to grind only what is wholesome, to bring to light only that which has the true ring, and to separate the chaff from the wheat. We are informed that in journalism "sentiment does not pay," which has a family resemblance to the remark of the Western editor, when he named a sum that would secure a reversal of his political policy, that "he was not running a newspaper for his health." But neither does the Journalist try to make Sentiment pay. With him Sentiment is a luxury that for his own manhood he may to some extent afford; while it is Sense that he relies upon to pay.

Because "newspapers are rapidly coming under the control of corporations," and "require vast sums of money for their conduct," we are told that "they are worked as other money-making corporations are worked — for all the profit they can be made to yield," and that "there is no other way to work them." This condition of modern journalism, which may be a positive strength and need not be a weakness, is nevertheless the Journalist's temptation and the Newsmonger's necessity. Through a certain rivalry for readers these types have been known to approach each other, and even to become merged in the "money-making corporation." Some of the greatest Journalists of this power-press age have been servants of newspaper corporations, and yet have held their masters to their own high standards, whether the business might have been made to yield larger revenues or not. But as a rule the master-mind in a newspaper corporation is a single person owning a majority of the stock. He it is who determines whether the influence of his journal shall tend upward, or downward. In our view he is *not* carrying "the standard" of "public taste" "forward as fast and as far as the public permits" him. He is pursuing honor or gain, or both, according to his tastes and his lights. His newspaper is as much an expression of his mental and moral personality as the atmosphere of the *mephitic* or the clover-breathing kine is of its distinctive habits and nature.

OPEN LETTERS.

Conscience in Journalism.

THE publication of my article "What's the News?" in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for June, 1890, brought me, in substance, the following request from upwards of a score of publishers, no less than seven of whom bear national reputations: "Many say the newspaper press is sensational; some declare journalism to be below the mean of the public taste; a few charge journalists with this, and only this, aim: 'To raise hell and sell newspapers.' Will you, through THE CENTURY MAGAZINE if possible, set forth the true position of the journalist."

The chief points of newspaper management that have been attacked are: The subject selected to be printed as news; the style in which the news is written; the head-lines with which the news is labeled. In what follows I endeavor to define the journalist's position, employing in my language the material furnished me for this purpose by the publishers referred to, who, to begin with, lay down these propositions:

1. We publish the misdeeds of mankind, not as examples, but as warnings; not for imitation, but for correction.

2. We aim at attractiveness in the presentation of news, not at sensationalism, and we give, not as many sensational details as we often might, but as few as the public will be satisfied with.

3. We know the public taste, and, while we cater to it, we likewise undertake, by the only practicable means we know of, to elevate it. Our critics neither know the public taste, nor take any practicable means to improve it.

The usual argument of those who speak for the publisher is the declaration that the newspaper is a business enterprise, dependent upon public support for its existence, and therefore bound to give the public that which the public will pay for. I shall not argue by this declaration, because, while business of most other kinds is conducted upon this level, the newspaper, with all its faults, is not. For example, the manufacturer makes and the merchant sells the machine, the fabric, the pattern, the style that the public will buy. The machine may be poor, the fabric shoddy, the pattern homely, the style old; but if the public, being warned only so much as by a reduction in the price, do but buy, the manufacturer and the merchant count their duty done.

Not so the publisher. His goods must be neither stale nor shoddy, no matter how cheaply he offers to sell them. It is not claimed, however, that newspapers even approach perfection. Some, it is frankly admitted, go farther in forbidden directions than they ought, but with this admission can be pointed out the rapidly diminishing number of journals of this class — not because the public refuses to support them, but because honest journalism has made them disreputable by comparison.

Publishers have to depend upon employees to whom the temptation to exaggerate, to pry into private affairs, to invent sensations, is peculiarly great. This lightning age demands that the news of the world be collected and printed between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and three o'clock the next morning. Errors creep in; mistakes of judgment are made; but woe to him who errs or misjudges purposely. The re-

porter who begins by bringing in unfounded sensations, gross exaggerations, and false interviews soon ends in disgrace, and were the critic to enter the ranks of the newspaper makers and follow the rules which he appears to think govern there, he would see the back-door before he would reach the second floor of journalism.

Publishers have not failed to recognize the public obligation imposed by the character of their wares. They do not follow the rule unhesitatingly followed by the manufacturer and the merchant—to give the public that which the public will pay for. Whatever the critic may demand, the public demands sensation. Every such demand must be carefully examined. The publisher must consider its legal aspects, its moral bearings; the rights of those involved, as well as the rights of the public to be served.

If he decide upon publication—and he many times decides not to publish, although he knows the public would read the story with zest—the publisher must give the facts, and only the facts. To do so uniformly is not easy, for be it remembered that few men and women, however high their standing, hesitate to make false statements to reporters, if it be strongly to their interest to do so. Publishers invariably go to first hands for news, verify it to every extent that money, training, and limited time admit, and publish it with a freedom from opinion, from personal animus, and from sensational discolor, possible only to experienced chroniclers of events; and with a freedom from exaggeration that not one person in a hundred, having occasion verbally to repeat it, is able to command.

In party journalism it is true that political opponents are often charged with serious, sometimes criminal, frequently absurd, offenses, but these are excusable, in a measure, through the stress of party strife. Besides, these charges never hurt—mark that I say they never hurt—unless they are true. Party and personal journalism, in an offensive sense, will before long be things of the past. The journal of the future, almost of the present, is independent of the party whip.

In the case of crimes, of scandals, of political charges, the corrective principle is never lost sight of. Mere wrong, because it is wrong, is never retailed. Just as nations endure war that they may have peace, so newspapers expose wrongs against the public, that the public may correct them, and right prevail.

The demagogue in politics, the knave in office, the trickster in business, the wreckers of families, the beaters of wives, the charlatans in the professions, the upstarts in orders, the daubers in art—this vast horde are ruined by publicity. In their eyes the sin lies not in the sin itself, but in the public's discovery of it. Hence the newspaper, which discovers the sin to the public, comes in for abuse that is loud and prolonged. Sympathy is aroused, and even good people are often found lending their ears and their influence to this denunciatory harangue. In the midst of the muss a reputation is lost. How? Certainly not through the acts of the newspapers, for they never professed and never possessed such power. It was the truth that killed.

Do not understand me to say that newspapers are conducted solely upon sentiment. They are not. Why should they be? What obligation rests upon the dealer in news that does not likewise rest upon the dealer in flour, in meat, in iron, in real estate, to un-

dertake the elevation of the standard of public morals? Newspapers are run as the miller runs his mill, the miner his mine, the farmer his farm. Sentiment does not pay. Newspapers are rapidly coming under the control of corporations, like railways and financial institutions, and they require vast sums of money for their conduct. Hence, they are worked as other money-making corporations are worked—for all the profit they can be made to yield. There is no other way to work them.

The newspaper critic demands flesh of one business man, fish of another, and fowl of a third. Without any obligation resting upon them above that resting upon other men of equal ability and opportunity, the men who make their money at publishing news are daily, weekly, monthly bringing wrong-doers, both private and public, to justice; serving their political party and their country by making it impossible for bad men to remain long in power; battling for better laws, better schools, better streets, better morals, better government; while the men who make their money at selling dry goods, groceries, clothing, coal—what are they doing in these desirable directions? Speaking for the majority, nothing. If they be wealthy, and therefore able to exert more than the average influence, they generally neglect to attend primaries, go abroad in the heat of the campaign, and steadily refuse to serve on school, reform, and similar committees because of an alleged press of business cares. It is the very excellence of the newspaper that has made the newspaper critic possible.

While newspapers are not conducted upon sentiment, their conductors, following a precedent that is as old as the newspaper itself, give part of their time and much of their energy to the battle for public and private improvements. Did the first American hotel-keeper lament the lack of general intelligence, and set about extending it? Did the importers of Benjamin Franklin's day, any more than the importers of our day, regularly give part of their time and money to the public good? Did the theatrical managers of Hezekiah Niles's time undertake to see that government officials were honest, not dishonest? Did even the lawyers of Thurlow Weed's period, any more than now, go out of their way that we may have better schools, better charities, and fewer Tweeds?

The publisher's time is as precious and his business as exacting as those of the landlord, the importer, the theatrical manager, or the lawyer; and yet, since the days of William Bradford, the publisher has led, and that in two senses: He has worked for the public taste while other men have worked chiefly for themselves, and he has slowly raised that taste, while other men, speaking as a class and barring the clergy, have been dead weights in the scales.

Conductors of great newspapers do not "go it blind." They leave that course to the critics. Men responsible for the conduct of properties worth millions, and compelled to earn dividends upon the sixty-fourth part of a cent profit, are required to have rules of action, and to follow them. They have a reason covering every item they publish. It is not a general reason. It is a particular reason. It dictates, not alone the length, the tone, the form, but every phrase and sentence. Other items are not in their papers—a circumstance for which specific reasons likewise exist.

Upon what basis do publishers act? Upon the same basis that a general directs the movements of his army—his knowledge of the "lay of the land." And he gets this knowledge by the same method that a general does—from "scouts." Every publisher has about him persons whose duty it is to ascertain the drift of public opinion, and report it to him. These persons are not reporters. They are not known as employees. Sometimes they do not themselves know the functions they fulfil. Hardly ever do they number less than a score; oftentimes, if the publisher be a live one, they number several hundreds. Some are paid in money, some get a free copy of the newspaper, and some are not paid at all.

Thousands of persons do not know news when they see it—unless, of course, they see it in the newspaper, properly labeled. Hence, when you seek news experts you must take them where you find them. Thus it happens that newspaper scouts are likely to be either the apple-woman at the street corner or the society belle; either the policeman or the railway president. In short, they are anybody and everybody who can and will undertake the work.

These publishers' outposts ask persons in all walks of life and in all sorts of business, their opinions of this and that newspaper; whether they like political news; are they fond of sports; why, if they express a liking for a certain journal, they hold the opinion they do; what they read first, and what last; do they enjoy details of murders; do they read religious news, society gossip, and editorials?

Publishers try the plan of hiring persons acquainted in the town or neighborhood to ask these questions, that they may get opinions of value. Then they send strangers into the same locality—and compare results. Occasionally persons are found with novel ideas, for originality, like the law, is no respecter of persons. A farmer who had never been beyond the limits of his county, and knew no more about conducting a newspaper than about commanding a ship, gave a bit of advice to a newspaper that saved it from bankruptcy—every one of you would know the journal were I to mention its name—and so completely changed its character that almost every journal in the country observed and commented upon it.

A newsboy furnished the suggestion that the large four-page sheets in general use a few years ago be changed to the eight-page form, on the score of convenience, and the newsboy's suggestion, having been acted upon, altered in the course of about five years the form of nearly every leading daily in America.

Every letter bearing upon the newspaper's contents is sent directly to the publisher's desk. And the critics, by the by, should read these letters. There are hundreds of them. Just such letters as you would expect? Not a bit. The leading lawyer wants more particulars about the church congress; a clergyman complains of the meagreness of the report of the murder trial; the politician criticizes, not the political news, but the account of the lawn fête; the banker wants to know the cause of the error in the report of the number of "put outs" in yesterday's ball game; and the up-town woman asks that a certain stock be quoted in the financial news. There they are, scarcely one containing the query or the criticism you would expect, if you looked first at the signature.

The publisher who constantly receives reports from two or three hundred "scouts," and daily peruses as many letters setting forth, as they set them forth to no one else, the wants, the vanities, the craving for puffs, the thirst for notoriety, the ambitions, the love for scandal, the threats, the idiosyncrasies, of people in all walks of life, including the very highest, has a knowledge of the public taste that is at once certain and positive.

Hundreds of publishers, sitting at the focus of these multifarious public demands, struggle year after year, sacrificing money, time, and peace of mind, with the knowledge that they can at any moment increase their circulation and their profits by lowering the moral and literary standards of their publications. Why do they not lower them? There are many reasons. The publisher finds in his hands a powerful lever. It is a lever of better private and public morals; of better laws; of better public service; of detection for the wrong-doer; of wider education; of purer literature; of better chances for the weak; and the publisher bears all the weight upon this lever that a not-high public taste will let him. He does so because he is conscientious, because he is patriotic, because he is ambitious, because he seeks an honorable name, and because the traditions, the precedents, the contemporaneous newspaper comparisons demand that he shall do so.

The newspaper of to-day—I speak of the ninety and not of the ten—is above the mean of the public taste which it serves. And this is true, whether the journal be published in the new communities of the West or in the old communities of the East, in the mining towns of Colorado and Idaho or in the college towns of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

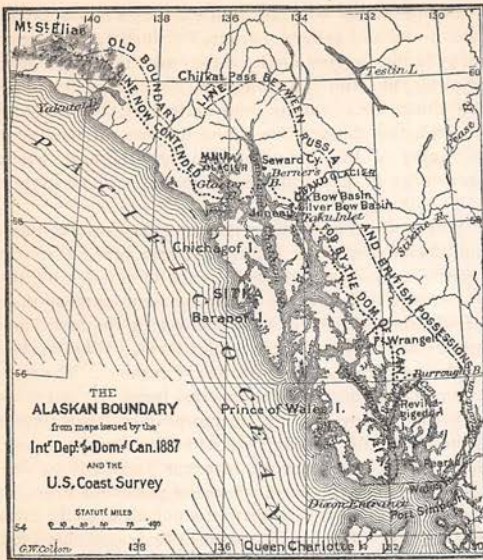
Publishers have acted with singular wisdom, rare public spirit, and remarkable unanimity. They ascertained the public taste, and then placed their standard as near the front of the column as possible. They do not go on ahead of the column, as their critics would have them do. Instead, they remain a part of the public demand, while leading it. In doing so they accomplish two things, impossible of accomplishment in any other way: they educate the public taste to their standard, and they carry that standard forward as fast and as far as the public permits them.

Eugene M. Camp.

The Disputed Boundary between Alaska and British Columbia.

THE boundary line between the United States and the British possessions in North America once more threatens to become the subject of international dispute, conference, and arbitration. A half century ago "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" was a campaign cry, and the coming controversy begins at that line, from which President Polk retreated, the once northern boundary of Oregon Territory being the southern boundary of our territory of Alaska. The discussion of the ownership of Revillagigedo, Pearse, and Wales Islands, and of the line of the Portland Canal, will rival the contest over San Juan Island and San Rosario or De Haro Straits, decided in favor of the United States by the Emperor of Germany as arbitrator, in 1872.

Each year that the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia remains in question increases the difficulty of determining it. Each year settlements are



increasing in numbers, more private interests are involved, and the region in dispute becomes more valuable to either claimant. There is great indifference to the question on our side of the line, but in the Dominion it is well understood, and Parliament and public opinion have taken their stand. Canadian maps now differ from United States maps of that northwestern region, and this boundary question promises to provoke more international bitterness than the present Bering Sea dispute concerning the interests of a single company of fur-traders.

By his ukase of 1821, forbidding all foreign vessels from approaching within one hundred Italian miles of his possessions on either shore of the North Pacific, the Emperor of Russia purposely brought about the conferences of 1824 and 1825. Then were adjusted the claims of Russia, England, and the United States to various sections of the northwest coast of America. As the result, Russia was secured in the possession of the coast and adjacent islands, from the Arctic Ocean down to the line of $54^{\circ} 40'$, on the ground of Russian discovery and settlement, together with the northernmost third of the uninhabited and useless interior.

All overtures from England for the purchase of "the thirty mile strip" of coast accorded to Russia and now known as Southeastern Alaska were refused, but the tract was leased by the Russian government to the Hudson's Bay Company until 1867, when the Treaty of Washington, consummating the Seward purchase, once more defined its boundaries:

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth, to wit: The eastern limit is the line of demarcation between the Russian and the British possessions in North America, as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain, of February 28-16, 1825, and described in Articles III and IV of said convention, in the following terms:

"Commencing from the southernmost point of the is-

land called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and the 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

"IV. With reference to the line of demarcation, laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

"1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia" (now, by this cession, to the United States).

"2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit to the possessions ceded by this convention) shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

The first contention as to the position of the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia arose in 1873-74, when thousands of miners of different nationalities rushed to the Stikine River and the Cassiar region at its head-waters. Gold commissioners, customs officers, and sheriffs were alike defied; mining camps on the Stikine were first under one flag and then under another; the custom house was moved from place to place, and criminals escaped trial upon mere technicalities, until a temporary and approximate line on the thirty mile basis was agreed upon by the British Columbian officials and the United States military authorities, then in control of Alaska. The custom house and Hudson's Bay Company's post still remain, as then placed, at a distance of sixty miles from the mouth of the winding river.

Since 1878, prospectors, often to the number of five hundred in a single season, have crossed the Chilkat Pass to the rich placer regions along the Upper Yukon. Coarse gold and dust to the value of \$40,000 or \$50,000 have been carried out each year. A few seasons since, the Canadian gold commissioner visited the camps on Forty Mile Creek to collect fees and prevent unlicensed miners from working. The men claimed that they were within Alaskan boundaries, and as they were a rough and muscular set the commissioner retreated, and the question of miners' licenses in that region was waived until the two governments should determine and mark the line of the 141st meridian, which there forms the international boundary line.

The official Canadian map of 1887 places Forty Mile Creek that many miles within British limits. Although no official publication has been made, returning miners have brought word that the Turner and McGrath parties of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey have determined that the meridian line crosses the Yukon almost at the mouth of Forty Mile Creek, leaving those rich placers in Alaska.

During the sessions of the Fisheries Conference at Washington, 1887-88, an informal discussion of this boundary question was arranged by Secretary Bayard and Sir Charles Tupper. Dr. W. H. Dall of the Smithsonian Institution and United States Geological

Survey, and Dr. G. M. Dawson of the Dominion Geological Survey were chosen as conferees, both being personally acquainted with the region in dispute. Dr. Dall is the most eminent authority on Alaskan matters, his close connection with the territory dating from his camping on the Upper Yukon in 1866-68. Dr. Dawson has for almost the same time devoted himself to surveys and scientific work in British Columbia.

By the Canadian interpretation in 1887 of the treaty's phrases, a considerable portion of the "thirty mile strip" which Russia had declined to sell to Great Britain, and which had always been mapped as Russian or United States possessions, is now claimed as British territory. Dr. Dawson's arguments were reinforced by a report and map made by Major-General R. D. Cameron of the British army, and parliamentary instructions had been given him to insist upon General Cameron's lines and yield nothing. Dr. Dall's report and memoranda of the discussion, including the papers and charts pertaining thereto, were published as "Extra Senate Document No. 146, 50th Congress—2d Session," and there the subject was dropped.

The official Canadian map of 1887 shows General Cameron's lines, which disregard the old acceptance of the meaning of the treaties' clauses, previous maps, and even British admiralty charts. Dr. Dawson claims that "the crest (or summit) of the mountains situated parallel to the coast" means the summit of the first range of precipitous foot-hills, "everywhere rising immediately from the coast and which borders upon the sea . . . and probably at an average distance of considerably less than five miles from it." The phrase "Ten marine leagues from the coast" is never considered, and as the coast presents no windings nor indentations to General Cameron's eye, he draws his line from Mount St. Elias southward without regard to such irregularities, or to the explicit instructions that the boundary line should run parallel to those windings. The Cameron line leaps bays and inlets, and breaks that portion of the Alaska coast into alternating patches of British and United States territory. This line does not even follow "along the channel known as Portland Channel" (to quote the treaty), but along Clarence Strait, Boehm Canal, and Burroughs Bay, thus including within British limits Revillagigedo and many smaller Alaskan islands, and a great peninsula as well.

By this picturesque method of partitioning Alaska, the boundary line would cross almost at the mouth of Glacier Bay, of Lynn Canal, and Taku Inlet; and on the Stikine River the boundary line would slip fifty miles down stream. Were it accepted, many canneries and settlements, the mining camps of Berners Bay and Seward City, the rich Silver Bow and Dix Bow basins back of Juneau would pass under the British flag, and the Muir, Taku, and other great tide-water glaciers—our most unique scenic possessions on this continent—would be taken from us.

On the first of July, 1891, the citizens of Alaska may, for the first time, enter town sites, purchase and obtain titles to their holdings, other than mineral claims, and legally cut timber; and this recent extension of the general land laws will rapidly attract settlers and investors into the region claimed as part of British Columbia. The completion of the Nowell tunnel and other costly pieces of mining engineering,

opening basins back of Juneau, the erection of new stamp mills in remote cañons, and further discoveries of gold placers and silver leads must invite the attention of the Canadian authorities to all this unlicensed mining, if the Dominion is to contest its claim. No one knowing the American miner, prospector, and frontiersman doubts that there will be forcible resistance to British officers, if necessary.

In any appeal to arms, the United States would be at every disadvantage in protecting Alaska, the impossibility of defending that possession being the chief reason for Russia's sale of it. There is no military force in Alaska, and no telegraphic communication beyond Nanaimo, British Columbia; there are no complete charts of its intricate water-ways, no lighthouses, and only one small man-of-war at Sitka. The British Asiatic squadron of twenty-four modern ships can reach Bering Sea in five days from its summer rendezvous at Hakodate, and Sitka but a few days later; and their naval force at Esquimault is sufficient to close Puget Sound and the inside passage northward.

To illustrate the importance which British and Canadian officials attach to an early settlement of this boundary dispute, it will be remembered that Sir Charles Tupper and his colleagues were instructed to discuss this matter with Secretary Blaine at the informal conference concerning a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, which these commissioners had hoped to hold in Washington in April, 1891.

Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore.

Similar Musical Phrases in Great Composers.

I HAVE thought it interesting to note some curious instances of the same musical phrase being conceived by different great composers. Those, that to the best of my knowledge I imagine to have been the first, I have put in the original key:

MENDELSSOHN, "If with all your hearts." "Elijah."

SCHUMANN, Berceuse.

WEBER, Aria, "Der Freischütz."

WAGNER, "Tannhäuser" March.

WEBER, "Oberon," Finale No. 15.

MENDELSSOHN, "Midsummer Night's Dream."
In this instance, the harmony differs somewhat.

how it is, but I 'd like to stay with him awhile and do something some way for religion, you know, the real thing. Yes," in answer to a question, "I suppose I 'll come back and go in the circus after my money 's all gone. They 'd never want to support me as if I was a real missionary. I would n't be worth it; but they 'll let me be a Christian there."

We shook hands with Teddy Catty at the door of Burlington House, and I saw him no more; but when I called on the missionary he confirmed the story of these queer plans.

"Yes," he said; "Teddy seems so little capable of the ordinary ways of entering into and feeling about the religious life that I don't know what channel of usefulness would be open to him here. He wants to come with me, and it seems to me it is a good step; things are simpler out there. About his coming back—I don't think he 'll come back. I think in time

he can be taken fully into the work. If he does return, why, he 'll have a fuller religious experience than he has now to fall back on."

And so, thanks somewhat to two highly modern young women professing grave philosophical doubts of the wisdom of foreign missions, this curious transaction came actually to pass, and the only circus clown I ever knew, without renouncing what I shall call his art, sailed away to China as a Christian missionary.

No philosophical doubts could stop us from bidding him God-speed, nor have they quenched, since that day, a high degree of interest in Chinese missions.

Teddy Catty has not yet returned. We feel it would be piquant to see him again fill his place in the ring, but, withal, other than artistic sentiments will make us contented if the missionary's prediction comes true, and the circus knows him no more.

Viola Roseboro'.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Argentine Cheap Money Paradise.

IN many respects the experience through which the Argentine Republic is passing, in an attempt to increase the general prosperity by making money cheap and plentiful, comes closer to the American people than any of the similar efforts in other countries which have been described in previous numbers of *THE CENTURY*. The government of the Argentine Republic is closely modeled upon that of the United States. It is a country of almost boundless natural resources, whose development has been so rapid as to be almost without parallel in history, and whose growth in wealth, prosperity, and commercial importance has been so nearly approached by no other country in the world as by America. Its people are an energetic, buoyant, self-confident race, full of pride in their country and inclined to the belief that it is capable of withstanding any strain that may be put upon it. Yet, rich and prosperous as they were, these people conceived the idea, when a slight check to their development was felt a few years ago, that what they needed in order to attain the full measure of their prosperity was to make money "cheap and plenty." Perceiving the importance of their experience as an object-lesson for our own country, bearing as it does directly upon discussion and propositions current here, we have gone thoroughly into the matter, examining all available sources of information, and have thus been able to prepare for our readers what we believe to be the most complete as well as accurate account yet published.

In 1873 there was established in the capital city of the Argentine Republic, Buenos Ayres, the Hypothecary or Mortgage Bank, whose main object was to make loans on all kinds of landed property. The principles upon which these loans were to be made were much the same as Senator Stanford is advocating as a basis for similar loans by the United States Government. Any person owning landed property in the province

could go to the bank and secure a loan for half its value, which was to be fixed by the bank's appraisers. The bank gave him a mortgage bond, called a *cédula*, which was to run for twenty-four years, at from six to eight per cent. interest, two per cent. amortization, and one per cent. commission. The interest was payable quarterly, and there were coupons attached for the twenty-four years. The *cédulas* were issued in alphabetical series, beginning with A and running to P. They were bought and sold on the Bolsa or Stock Exchange, and from their first issue became an important element in speculation. The first issue of series A was between \$13,000,000 and \$14,000,000, the Argentine dollar being about ninety-six cents of our money, being based upon the unit of the French monetary system. These remained at par for only a short time after issue. They were quickly followed by others, until series A closed with a total issue of \$27,394,000. Then came series B with an issue of \$1,092,000, series C with \$813,000, series D with \$288,000, all at seven per cent. Then came series E with a total issue of \$15,830,000 at six per cent., and F with a total issue of \$6,100,000 at seven per cent. Ten years after the bank's establishment over \$100,000,000 of these *cédulas* had been issued, all based, be it remembered, upon the landed property of a single province. They had from the outset been used for speculative purposes, and every year this use became more wild and reckless. A ring was formed between directors of the bank and certain favored brokers for the absolute control of the successive issues. No one could obtain concession for a loan who did not make application through these brokers, and in order that all the members of the ring might reap their share of the profit, the value of the property upon which the loans were placed was raised to extravagant figures.

The fictitious prosperity which the Hypothecary Bank brought to Buenos Ayres infected the entire republic, and in 1884 Congress passed a law annexing a National Hypothecary Bank to the National Bank.

which was the fiscal agent of the government and of all the provinces except Buenos Ayres. The issue of cédulas on the landed property of the nation was authorized, for fifty per cent. of its value, at interest from six to eight per cent., with two per cent. amortization and one per cent. commission, no single loan to exceed \$250,000, and all payable at the end of twelve years. The issue of cédulas was at first limited to \$40,000,000, but this was extended from time to time so that in November, 1890, six years after the National Bank began the experiment, it had out no less than \$204,000,000 in gold, all bearing interest. The Buenos Ayres Bank had increased its issue of cédulas so that at the same date it had out no less than \$330,000,000, but these were in paper, making the grand total of money which had been loaned upon land in the republic during seventeen years, \$534,000,000, or over \$140 for every man, woman, and child.

When the National Bank went into the hypothecary business in 1884 paper money was at par with gold. Several severe checks to the national prosperity were felt during that year. Cholera made necessary a rigorous quarantine against Mediterranean steamers and checked immigration. Heavy floods during the fall delayed the shipment of crops from the interior to the seaboard. A new government loan of \$90,000,000 was to be placed, but the European market which was expected to take \$10,000,000 of it was so nearly sated with Argentine investments of one kind or another that it declined to take more than \$3,500,000.

In January, 1885, a run began upon the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres, and compelled it to suspend specie payments. Whereupon the President of the republic declared the national currency a legal tender. Gold rose at once to 17 per cent. premium, and then to 20 per cent. In February it had reached 33 per cent., and it continued to rise steadily till at one time it was at 300 per cent. That is to say, \$400 in paper was worth only \$100 in gold. From the moment that the gold standard was abandoned, the demand for more paper money began to be heard, and it was poured out by the government in almost unlimited volume. Under the pretense of creating a sounder financial system and securing a more stable currency, a law was passed in November, 1887, establishing a system of State Banks, forty in number, similar to our National Banks. These started with a capital of \$350,000,000, and began to issue paper money, not being required, as our banks are, to be able at all times to redeem their notes with gold. When the premium on gold had reached 40 per cent. the government took the position that the increase was a trick of the brokers, and not in any way an outcome of currency inflation, and issued a decree allowing the banks to issue currency practically without limit. At the same time the government, to satisfy the demand for gold, and prove its belief in its own contentions, threw \$30,000,000 of its gold reserves on the market. The gold premium continued to rise with no perceptible check, and as it rose the banks poured out more and more paper money in a frenzied attempt to check its upward flight.

It was discovered after a time that, through trickery, there were several millions more of this irredeemable paper money in circulation than had been supposed. A provision of the national banking law required that all banks reorganizing under it should withdraw and cancel

their old notes when they put their new ones in circulation. Several banks, in collusion with dishonest officials, violated this requirement, and kept a large part of their old issue in circulation with the new. At one time the amount of this fraudulent money, based on nothing whatever, amounted to \$60,000,000. Some of this was afterward destroyed, but the latest official estimate put the amount still in circulation at over \$35,000,000. As the latest attainable total of the regular paper issue of the banks places it at \$345,000,000, the grand total of paper money in circulation in March of the present year, worth about 25 cents on a dollar, was \$380,000,000, all irredeemable, and decreasing in value every day. This was a *per capita* circulation of \$100 for every man, woman, and child in the republic. That ought certainly to have put "plenty of money in the pockets of the people," for \$100 is the highest sum *per capita* our wildest cheap money advocates have ever demanded.

With the entry of the National Bank into the business of loaning money on land, the whole country plunged into a wild debauch of speculation, which closely resembled that through which France passed when the same financial experiment was made under John Law's inspiration, as described in the preceding number of THE CENTURY. All kinds of property acquired a fictitious value, and were made the basis for loans at that valuation. The government, departing with complete abandon from all the limitations of legitimate government, helped on the popular furor by giving its aid and sanction to all kinds of mushroom banking, building, and colonization enterprises designed to "boom" the value of property and increase its loanable capacity. The country was sprinkled all over with banks pouring out millions of paper money which could never be redeemed, and thickly studded with inflated joint-stock companies with millions of capital on paper, whose business it was to get from the banks loans for many times the real value of the property upon which they were based. When the banks had exhausted all their capital in loans, the government, assuming their indebtedness, gave them millions of gold with which to continue the issue of cédulas. The business of speculating in gold became enormously profitable, and private banks made fortunes. Men made 10 per cent. per week in the business, and 20 to 24 per cent. per annum was the usual profit. A Bank of Construction was conceived and put in operation by a German Jew, which, in collusion with dishonest government officials, bought vast amounts of property, improved it, obtained exaggerated loans upon it, and sold it in such dishonest ways that the interest on the loans could never be collected. The Jew made a colossal fortune; the stock of his bank went to enormous figures on the Bolsa but, when the tide turned, fell 100 points in a single day, carrying ruin to hundreds of men who fancied themselves rich.

Many of the early cédulas had been sent abroad, and their ready sale in London, Paris and Berlin had encouraged their further issue. About \$15,000,000 in all were taken abroad, and more would have been bought had not the European market been flooded with Argentine loans between 1881 and 1890. These were instituted or backed by the Argentine government, and consisted chiefly of loans either to the government or to provinces or to cities. They were for nearly every conceivable purpose, railways, harbors,

street paving, public buildings, school-houses, markets, tenement-houses, bridges, theaters, hospitals, boulevards, public squares, and drainage. In December, 1889, the aggregate of these loans, taken largely in England, was over \$122,000,000 for the republic and over \$193,500,000 for the provinces, and the total amount of gold which had to be exported annually from the Argentine Republic to pay the interest on its foreign indebtedness, and dividends on railway, bank, and other stocks held abroad, was over \$75,000,000. With a foreign debt of \$315,500,000, there had been accumulated at the close of 1889 an internal national debt of \$207,000,000, and an internal provincial debt of \$44,000,000, making at the close of that year a grand total debt of \$566,500,000. This has since been increased to \$772,500,000. As the population of the republic is about 3,800,000, the debt is over \$203 for every inhabitant.

It is small wonder that under this mountain of debt the national government is bankrupt, having neither money nor credit, and that it anticipates a deficit for the current year of over \$17,000,000. The provincial deficit for the current year is estimated at between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000, making a probable deficit in the whole republic of nearly or quite \$22,000,000. Affairs have been going from bad to worse since the crisis of 1890. Credit practically collapsed in the spring of that year. After that time the provincial banks were not able to meet their obligations. The lands upon which loans were based became unsalable, *cédulas* dropped to 50 and even 35 cents on the dollar, which was equivalent to 13 and 9 cents respectively in gold. The paper dollar was worth about 25 cents. The Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres, which was the savings bank of the working classes, stopped paying its obligations in 1890, and the National Bank passed its dividend. A revolution broke out, and though the government quelled it the President was forced to resign.

Investigations instituted by the new government into the condition of the banks revealed astounding rottenness and corruption. The whole power of the government was exerted for several months to prevent the National Bank and the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres from being publicly declared insolvent, but on April 8, 1891, the President gave up the struggle and issued a formal decree for the liquidation of both, all payments being suspended till June 1. The time was subsequently extended twenty days by Congress, and then extended indefinitely. This was the end, and the wreck of the banks was complete. In 1886 the National Bank had a capital of £10,000,000 sterling, and the Provincial Bank one of £8,000,000 sterling. Not a penny of the latter remained. The National Bank had lost £8,800,000 of its £10,000,000, and owed the government £14,000,000. These two banks had lost, therefore, during five years' experience with cheap money based on landed property, about £30,000,000 sterling, a sum more than double the capital of the Bank of England.

When the collapse came the nation gave itself over, as France had done two centuries earlier, to rage and despair. Men who were believed to be worth millions found themselves paupers. One man who had been worth \$20,000,000, which he had accumulated during a lifetime's devotion to honest industry, but who had been tempted to venture it in speculation, lost every

dollar. He had just completed the building of a house of palatial magnificence, costing \$180,000, but had never entered it, when the crisis came and it was taken to pay his debts. A United States minister to a South American government, who was in Buenos Ayres at the time, thus describes the condition of the nation :

In six months the people have passed from commercial activity and enthusiasm to depression; from happiness to misery; from confidence to despair. They have taken a Niagara plunge, from which they will not recover in a generation. The worst of the scheme was that it offered irresistible temptation to bribery. It made it possible for any man who owned real estate to get almost any quantity of money, if he would only swear falsely. An acquaintance of mine had a nice farm there which he valued at \$15,000. The law would give him a loan to one-half of the value—that value to be fixed by the official appraisers. He "saw" the appraisers, and he obtained a loan of government money—*cédula*—amounting to \$250,000, the maximum loan permitted by law to one person. Think of it! And the money was indorsed by the Barings, the great London bankers! Of course the appraisers got half of it, but the people have it to pay. And they are now in debt more than \$100 for every, man, woman, and child—hopelessly bankrupt.

Mr. E. L. Baker, the United States consul at Buenos Ayres, to whose valuable reports we are indebted for much of the information contained in this article, says under date of Nov. 17, 1890 :

The collapse has come, and come with a vengeance. Lands unsalable at any price; national banks gutted and left without a cent in their strong boxes; stock companies with fraudulent entries in their records and without anything to show for the pretensions they set up; merchants unable to meet their liabilities in bank; notes protested and extensions granted; the general business at a standstill; the banks hesitating to discount; and nobody able to say whom it is safe to trust—such is the picture which the country presents to-day. . . . Every business, every industry, every new enterprise feels and suffers from the tremendous reaction which has taken place. Everybody is confounded and stands aghast, looking at the stick which but yesterday, as it were, was a flaming rocket. . . . The truth is the Argentine Republic is suffering from a paralysis of credit. . . . The "fool's paradise" in which the Argentine people have been living for the last few years must be wiped out of existence. Inflation must give place to "hard pan." . . . It has been the general boast among those who were pushing on the "boom" that this was an "exceptional country," and that the ordinary laws of trade, currency, and banking, however requisite to be followed in such countries as England or the United States, had no significance or applicability in the Argentine Republic. Here, it was insisted, all manner of violations of economic principles could be practised with impunity, and the country would flourish by the outrage. The present prostrate condition of both public and private credit shows the inherent fallacy of such an assumption. I only fear that the country will for a long time have to walk in the valley of humiliation and endure a protracted period of business and financial depression before it will again be able to hold up its head and present that buoyant and triumphant look which it has heretofore so proudly worn.

This is the experiment which men imbued with Senator Stanford's ideas are seeking to have the United States undertake. They are advocating it with precisely the same kind of talk which Mr. Baker quotes as having been heard in the Argentine Republic. They are calling the United States an "exceptional country" which is so great and prosperous that it can defy not merely economic laws but the teaching of all human experience. The consequences of the Argentine experiment were felt not only in that republic, but they convulsed the financial centers of three great European countries and virtually ruined the first banking house

of England. The effect was so severely felt in this country that a panic was imminent nearly every day for several weeks, while all branches of trade suffered a mysterious and numbing paralysis.

In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim,

says Lowell, and of nothing is this more true than of the observance by a nation of the great laws of common honesty and fair dealing which lie at the foundation of all economic science.

The Lottery's Last Ditch.

THE determined fight which Governor Nichols of Louisiana is making against the proposal to give a new lease of life to the lottery in that State deserves the moral support of the whole country. It is a fight for the rescue of the State and its people from the clutches of an evil which has been driven from every other American State, and which the American Government has by formal legislative enactment declared to be so pernicious that the mails cannot be used in any manner in its behalf. Kentucky, which for some time shared with Louisiana the bad distinction in being the only other State in which lotteries were permitted, has abolished them and put into her new constitution a prohibition against their reestablishment. An effort was made in 1890 to introduce them into the new State of North Dakota, but was defeated by the vigorous opposition of the Governor.

Lotteries have at one time or another been employed by all modern governments as a source of revenue, but though they have proved to be a ready and sure means for replenishing a depleted treasury, they have in all cases been found to exercise a mischievous and demoralizing influence upon the people, and to do harm especially to the poor. Between 1816 and 1828 they were in use by the French Government and yielded an annual income of 14,000,000 francs. They were suppressed in May, 1836, and in January following it was found that 525,000 francs more were on deposit in the savings banks of Paris alone than had been there in the same month of the previous year. Parliamentary lotteries existed in England from 1709 till 1823. Their harmful influence began to attract attention in 1819, but so strong were they that it took four years of agitation to secure their suppression. They appeared in the United States very early in its history, and were used for the aid of all kinds of enterprises. Through their agency colleges, hospitals, and churches were built, and roads and bridges and other public works constructed. The first movement for their suppression began in Pennsylvania in 1833, and extended so rapidly to other States that by 1875 no fewer than twenty-six States had adopted laws suppressing them and making the advertisement of them or of foreign lotteries a penal offense. At the present time, as we have said, Louisiana is the only State in which they are allowed.

A general law was at one time on the statute-books of Louisiana forbidding lotteries, but during the "carpet-bag" régime in 1868 this was superseded by an act granting a charter to the Louisiana State Lottery for a term of twenty-five years at an annual license fee of \$10,000. In 1879 a bill for the repeal of the charter was passed by both houses of the legislature, but as part of the license fee for that year had been

paid the company raised the point that the repeal was invalid, since it was a violation of a contract with the State. The question was carried into the constitutional convention which was sitting in that year, and as a result the new constitution which that body adopted had two curiously conflicting clauses, one declaratory, to the effect that the repeal legislation was invalid because violating a contract between the State and the lottery company, and the other prohibitory, ordering that all lotteries should cease after January 1, 1895. This same constitution, while declaring gambling to be a vice and ordering the legislature to enact laws for its suppression, authorized the granting of other lottery privileges and charters in addition to perpetuating the charter of the Louisiana State Lottery. Various explanations are given for these contradictory provisions of the constitution, but students of the pernicious character of lottery influences think there is no mistaking the real cause.

This action of the convention destroyed all hope of repeal of the charter before its expiration, for it implanted it firmly in the constitution of the State. The company was secure till 1893, at which time its charter would expire. In the spring of 1890, when the waters of the Mississippi were most seriously threatening the levees, the lottery company made its first move for a new lease of life by sending to Governor Nichols an offer of \$100,000 to be used for levee purposes. The Governor returned the money on the same day on which he received it, saying that as it was generally known that the company would seek a new charter at the approaching session of the legislature in May, he would not consent to place the State under any sort of obligation to the company. When the legislature met, the Governor, in anticipation of the application for a new charter, gave up a large portion of his annual address to an earnest and eloquent protest against granting it. We quote some of the more striking passages:

A legalized lottery is forced into taking a constant, active interest in the movements of not only one, but all political parties, sending its paid agents among the masses to corrupt and deceive them, buying up, throttling, silencing, and muzzling the press whenever and wherever it can be done, in the cities and in the country, breeding treason and dissension among friends and among leaders, fomenting faction and independent movements when faction suits its purposes, using all expedients and halting at nothing necessary to compass its ends.

I have already alluded to an appeal to be made to the members of the General Assembly to avoid responsibility by permitting the people of Louisiana to vote themselves for the adoption or rejection of the proposed amendment. Such an appeal will be nothing more or less than an appeal to give the lottery company the opportunity to go into the next campaign (fortified, as it will claim to be, by the approval of this General Assembly), and by and through an immense corruption fund mass all the bad elements in the State, white and black, and by their united vote endeavor to ride rough-shod over the respectable and worthy people of this State. Let no man deceive himself, and let no man be deceived by others in this matter. This is precisely what this appeal means. The occasion is too serious to mince matters. I am addressing men of Louisiana, who know as well as I do the value of my words, when I say to them that, should this lottery get firmly planted in this State, it will own and hold the purchasable vote solidly in the hollow of its hands, forever, and through it and by it the liberties, the property, and the honor of the people of Louisiana are at its feet. It would make and unmake governors, judges, senators, representatives, commis-

sioners of election, returning officers, assessors, and all other officials, at its will. Merit would be disregarded and the test of office would not be ability, integrity, public spirit or worth, but subserviency to the behests of that company. Virtue would be the very best bar to official position.

The manner in which the lottery company went about the business of securing its desired new charter confirmed the Governor's declarations about its insidious and corrupting methods. A bill was introduced in the legislature providing for the submission to the people of the State of a constitutional amendment, in which a new charter was granted to the lottery company for twenty-five years in return for the sum of \$31,500,000, to be paid in annually to the treasury of the State, in the following amounts: For the public schools, \$350,000; for the levees, \$350,000; for charities, \$150,000; for pensions to Confederate soldiers, \$50,000; for the city of New Orleans for drainage and sanitary purposes, \$100,000; and for the general fund, \$250,000. This was indeed a bribe of enormous proportions — \$1,250,000 a year for twenty-five years offered to the people of the State to induce them to put gambling into their constitution, and thus make their State a partner in a gigantic gambling corporation. When the measure came up in the two houses it passed in each by exactly the two-thirds vote necessary. This was sufficiently clear evidence of careful and systematic work in its behalf. It was sent to the Governor, and promptly returned with a veto message in which he reiterated his former views, and made an eloquent plea against committing the State to the disgrace involved in the enactment of such a bill. He pointed out that the State had no need of such aid, that it had not been since the war in a better condition, and that it was moving forward to an era of assured prosperity. He declared that the company, composed of seven men, of whom the name of only one was known, was asking the State to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage, and thus solemnly adjured the legislature to do its duty:

I call upon it to pause before it takes finally that step and plunges this State into untold trouble. Is there nothing significant in the vote by which this bill has passed, the exact two-thirds vote in each house, and nothing deeply significant in the twelve of the votes in the house and four of the votes in the senate by which that exact majority was reached? Is not the future foreshadowed? To me it most certainly is.

I say to this General Assembly in all earnestness that should this measure be passed we shall enter upon a period of strife such as has never been seen before in Louisiana, and should this contemplated corporation ever be forced upon us, an era of corruption and degradation will follow, beside which the era of reconstruction will appear as one of honor and happiness.

Not the least impressive portion of the veto message was a passage in which the Governor expressed his conviction that if the charter were to be granted the ultimate result would be the pauperization of the State. "Extravagance, profligacy, and corruption will as surely follow the result as the night follows the day," he said; and then proceeded to argue that there would be an immediate falling off in legislative appropriations for all purposes for which the lottery money was given, depreciation in the State credit, and increase in the State's interest-bearing debt, with the result that at the end of twenty-five years a vast amount of interest would have been paid out unnecessarily, improperly, and illegally, and the State's poverty would be so ex-

treme as to furnish a far stronger claim than it does at present for a continuation of the lottery.

The lower house passed the measure immediately over the veto by the same vote as before, and it went to the senate. Before a vote was reached in that body, one of the senators who had voted for it on its first passage died, and there were not two-thirds in its favor. The company then had the senate shift its ground, sending the bill back to the lower house with the claim that it did not require the Governor's signature in order to be ready for submission to the people, and that hence the veto was of no account. The house rescinded its vote, and the clerical officers of both houses were directed to certify all proceedings upon the bill to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State did not include the act in the printed journals of the legislature promulgated in book form after the adjournment, on the ground that it did not belong there as it had not been passed in accordance with legal requirements. A mandamus was obtained to compel him to promulgate it, and, after argument on both sides, the Supreme Court decided in April last to make the mandamus peremptory, thus sustaining the lottery company in its course. This decision sends the amendment before the people for their approval or disapproval at the election in April of next year, and makes the lottery issue the absorbing one of that contest. Governor Nichols's successor and a new legislature are to be chosen at that time, and the campaign is certain to be the most exciting that the State has witnessed since it overthrew the carpet-bag régime in 1877. What the lottery company will do in order to carry the day is foreshadowed in the passages from Governor Nichols's message which we have quoted above.

The interest which the whole country has in the struggle, aside from the moral aspect of it, is emphasized by the declaration of the lottery company that only three per cent. of its revenue comes from the people of Louisiana; the rest is drawn from the country at large. It was to shut off the greater part of this ninety-seven per cent. that Congress passed the law which went into effect last year, excluding newspapers containing lottery advertisements from the mail, and prohibiting its use for sending tickets, collecting money, and distributing prizes. The lottery company is contesting the constitutionality of this law in a suit which is pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, and which is to come up for hearing at the October term. The company's contention is that the act is an abridgment of the freedom of the press, and an attempt on the part of Congress so to pervert one of its legitimate powers to an illegitimate use as to accomplish a purpose entirely outside of Federal jurisdiction, that is, to suppress a business within a State. If the court shall uphold the constitutionality of this law, the power of the lottery company for evil, even if it succeed in obtaining its new charter, will be greatly lessened. Indeed it is difficult to see how, without the aid of the United States mails, the company will be able to do business enough to enable it to pay over to the State its annual bribe of a million and a quarter of dollars.

"Orthodoxy and Liberty."

NEVER in our generation, perhaps never in America, were questions of creed and of church discipline crop-

ping out in so many new ways, places, and humors, as at this moment. Creed revision, accusations of "unsoundness" or actual "heresy," discussions in the pulpit and in the so-called religious and so-called secular press, are with us continually. It is idle to say that the whole matter is a specialty and that the opinion only of specialists is of any account. Matters of religion are vital to every soul, and the pew as well as the pulpit must make up its mind,—the priest and the layman, the scholar and the unscholarly. We must all know and do something about it; we cannot, at the very least, help thinking about it; and we cannot be altogether blamed if sometimes we "think out loud."

Now this matter of *thinking* brings us straight to a point which some of those in ecclesiastical or official place seem sometimes to lose sight of. The modern world is too much in the habit of doing its own thinking to look without amazement at any apparent effort to put a stop to this highly sane and sanitary habit of the human mind. If it should get to be understood that in any branch of learning, in any historical, philosophical, moral, or religious system, in any society or group of scholars, or teachers, or preachers, fearless and unbiased investigation, and the frank acceptance of the results of such investigation,—in other words, honest, earnest, and independent thinking,—was at a discount, was, in fact, to be peremptorily, and hopelessly, and forever limited by some fixed and ancient formula, why, then there would arise a suspicion of—shall we say a contempt for?—that system, or that group, which would militate against its intellectual and moral influence to an extent beyond all computation.

We know well the honesty, the honor, the devotion, and the deep conviction of many of those active in stemming what they regard as "the tide of infidelity," which appears to them to be perilously invading, in our day, the most sacred places. But it seems to us they should welcome an outside view which they may at first deem entirely and impertinently secular, when that view is a warning as to the effect upon the world at large of what might have the appearance of persecution of preachers and teachers known in their various communities for a genuine, a glowing, a most helpful, a most passionate Christianity.

Nor should these questioners of the faith of others spurn the opinion of that world at large as an opinion unsanctified and worthless. The world at large is made up of separate souls to whom it is the mission of the Church to bring the food of the spirit. The Church, therefore, should seek—should it not?—to remove, so far as possible, every barrier that separates it from those it would succor and uplift—every barrier moral, spiritual, and intellectual. There are minds that do not wish to do their own thinking, that are happiest when utterly relieved of that duty; but there are others—and in the modern world the number is increasing—who can no more cease to think than they can cease to breathe. It would be moral and intellectual death in the first place as surely as physical death in the second. The motto, "Leave thought behind, all ye who enter here," over the door of any church or any institution of any kind of learning—what would be the effect, think you, of such a motto upon the young, curious, active, and earnest minds of this generation? And it is just such minds that are

needed now no less imperatively than at any former epoch to carry on the work not only of evangelizing the world but of christianizing christendom.

But is it a mere secular warning? A little while ago one of the leading divines of the country was elected to a chair in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Before entering upon his new duties the Reverend Henry Jackson Van Dyke passed suddenly away from the scene of a helpful, noble life. It is a great loss; yet many useful years in the important position to which he had been just called might not have had a wider or deeper influence than certain words of prophetic warning spoken by him a few days before his death. "If we cannot have orthodoxy and liberty," said Dr. Van Dyke, "let us have liberty, and go without orthodoxy!"

It is a general principle of which we are speaking; we do not desire to judge of particular events, of decisions made in this case or that. In every society, in every institution, there must be limits to individual action; even to the results of individual thought, when those results lead too far away from assumed standards or self-imposed obligations. The individual surrenders something of his individuality when he seeks certain advantages which can come only by association. And, too, the question must inevitably arise in the conscience of the individual, as to how far he may grow to differ with his surroundings—with the creeds, and rules, and obligations of his position—and still honestly maintain his original formal relationship to those surroundings.

It is therefore, we repeat, not our desire to refer to special occurrences, or to any details with regard to these occurrences—save a single one. When the question recently arose of the official confirmation of the election of a certain eminent Episcopal clergyman to the bishopric of his own diocese, one of the objections urged to the confirmation was, to quote the exact language of protest, "the presence" of the great preacher "at the so-called 'ordination' services" of another eminent preacher of the same Gospel of Jesus Christ—a preacher belonging, in other words, to another denomination of orthodox Christians.

When the study of ecclesiastical history can lead a good and conscientious Protestant ecclesiastic—along with many other good and conscientious and intellectual men and women—to conscientious and painful doubts of the propriety of making a bishop of one whom they acknowledge to be "great," "the prince of preachers," "a king among men," because he with other priests of his church takes a less strenuous and technical view of the "historical episcopate," and one that permits him to extend the right hand of fellowship to other pure, able, and devoted preachers of the word of God; when such a seeming perversion of Christianity is proclaimed to the world at large as of the essence of the Christian Church—the world looks at such a spectacle with an indignation, or a levity, that should turn instead to awe and wonder at the laws that govern the human mind and that involve such astounding inconsistencies in the intellectual processes of the good. And in the end this awe and wonder should breed that finest and most Christlike flower of the spirit of toleration—namely, the tolerance of intolerance.

OPEN LETTERS.

"Valor and Skill in the Civil War."

IN THE CENTURY for May, 1890, there appeared an exceedingly interesting article entitled "Valor and Skill in the Civil War." The article was divided into two parts, the first written by Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge of the United States Army, the second by Charles A. Patch of the United States Volunteers. The whole article is in so friendly a spirit that we are obliged to believe in the intention of the writers to be fair. Yet in the part written by Colonel Dodge occur some very misleading and erroneous statements. It is the purpose of this article to call attention to some of these statements, but without any design of discussing the question "Was either the better soldier?" In arguing that the Southern Confederacy was not as greatly overmatched as some nations that had been more successful, Colonel Dodge says:

If we will turn back to our own Revolution, we shall find that the population of the United Kingdom alone was five times as great as that of the colonies. And yet Great Britain was unable, after seven years of staunch effort, to reduce these revolted colonies to obedience. If we will go back a half generation further, to old Frederick, we shall find that in the Seven Years' War the population of the allies was twenty times as great as that of Prussia. And yet the allies failed in those seven years to wrest Silesia from the iron grip of this "Last of the Kings." . . . If a hundred years ago Great Britain, with more than five times their population, failed in seven campaigns to subject the colonies; if Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, and the Imperial forces combined were unable, in seven campaigns, to overwhelm that grim old Brandenburg monarch, surely we may feel that our work was not ill done, if in five campaigns, with a population of but three and a half to one, we succeeded in crushing out the rebellion of 1861.

Colonel Dodge seems to overlook the fact that the broad Atlantic, separating Britain from her revolted colonies, was worth to the cause of America thousands of men. He also leaves entirely out of the count France, Spain, and Holland, which powerful nations all combined against Great Britain. At Yorktown the allied armies of France and the United States more than doubled the effective force under Cornwallis, and, besides, a powerful French fleet made certain the victory which secured American liberty. In the war of the Revolution Great Britain was the party over-matched and not the United States. Again, in the Silesian or Seven Years' War Frederick had as his allies Britain, Hanover, and Hesse, whose combined army, under the able leadership of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, did splendid service for the Prussian king. When at the close of his sixth campaign all subsidies from England were stopped by the Earl of Bute (after George II.'s death), Frederick was reduced to as great straits as was the Southern Confederacy at the close of 1864. Prussia was at her last gasp; but the death of the Czarina converted the most powerful of Frederick's enemies into a fast friend, and the Czar Peter III. joined his army to that of Prussia, while Sweden also retired from the alliance against him. Thus by timely help when all seemed lost Frederick was saved. Alone and unaided the Confederacy struggled for four

years against a foe whose population outnumbered its own in the ratio of three and one-half to one, and whose armies were swelled by thousands of recruits from the nations of Europe. Again, Colonel Dodge says:

Owing to its extraordinary exertions, the South had under arms, until the last third of the war, an average of about three-quarters of the force of the North. And we shall see that at the point of actual contact the forces of the North and the South were not far from equal up to 1864.

To prove this statement he introduces the following extraordinary

TABLE OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FORCES UNDER ARMS.

| Date. | Federals. | Confederates. | Per cent. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| January 1, 1861.. | 16,000 | Arming. | |
| July 1, 1861..... | 186,000 | 150,000 | 80 |
| January 1, 1862.. | 576,000 | 350,000 | 60 |
| March 1, 1862.... | 637,000 | 500,000 | 80 |
| January 1, 1863.. | 918,000 | 690,000 | 78 |
| January 1, 1864.. | 860,000 | 400,000 | 47 |
| January 1, 1865.. | 959,000 | 250,000 | 26 |
| March 31, 1865.. | 980,000 | 175,000 | 18 |
| May 1, 1865..... | 1,000,000 | None. | |

From what source did Colonel Dodge get the above figures? In the greatest war-history ever published, viz. "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," we find, Vol. IV., p. 767, an article entitled, "Notes on the Union and Confederate Armies." In these notes we find, taken from the official records, a table showing the number of men enlisted in the army and navy of the United States during the civil war. This number amounted to 2,778,304. There is another table, also taken from the official records, showing the whole number of men enrolled—present and absent—in the active armies of the Confederacy on each 1st of January:

| Jan'y 1, 1862 | Jan'y 1, 1863 | Jan'y 1, 1864 | Jan'y 1, 1865 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 318,011 | 465,384 | 472,781 | 439,675 |

The writer of the "Notes" adds:

"Very few, if any, of the local land forces, and none of the naval, are included in the tabular exhibit. If we take the 472,000 men in service at the beginning of 1864 and add thereto at least 250,000 deaths occurring prior to that date, it gives over 700,000. The discharges for disability and other causes and the desertions would probably increase the number (inclusive of the militia and naval forces) to over 1,000,000."

Now, every one knows that the Confederate armies were much smaller in 1864 than in 1862 or 1863, and in 1865 they were smaller still. Hence it is evident that the absent list included sick, disabled, prisoners of war, and deserters. Every soldier knows that in an active campaign the absent from proper causes soon number a large proportion of the force enrolled, and that in garrison duty there is always a large proportion of sick. On page 290, Volume VII., "Southern Historical Society Papers," Adjutant-General Cooper, of the Confederate army, says: "I can only state from general recollection that during the two last years of the

war, the monthly returns of our armies received at my office exhibited the present active force in the field nearly one-half less than the returns themselves actually called for, on account of absentees by sickness, extra duty, furlough, desertions, and other casualties incident to a campaign life."

Of the 439,675 *present and absent* on the first of January, 1865, the Army of Northern Virginia is credited with 155,000 and the Army of Tennessee with 86,995. Now it is a well-known fact that at that very time the Army of Northern Virginia had less than 60,000 effectives for the field and the Army of Tennessee could not have mustered 20,000 effectives. At this rate the total available force of the Confederacy at that time must have been less than 150,000 men. Now the official records show conclusively that the Confederacy never at any time had 690,000 men enrolled present and absent; 472,000 present and absent is the largest number enrolled at any time, and that, too, on the 1st of January, 1864, when everybody acquainted with the facts knows that the Confederate armies were smaller than in either of the previous years. The writer of "Notes on the Union and Confederate Armies," as we have seen, estimates that, inclusive of the militia and naval forces, there were enlisted in the Confederate armies from first to last more than a million men. When we consider that the militia consisted of old men, boys, and disabled soldiers who had already been once enrolled, 100,000 would be a liberal estimate for the militia and naval forces of the Confederate States, which would bring the total number of enlistments considerably below a million. But suppose we concede the correctness of the estimate of the writer of the "Notes." Then, if 2,700,000 enlistments in the Union armies give as the largest force under arms at any one time only one million men, surely 1,000,000 total enlistments in the Confederate armies ought to give as the largest force under arms at any one time only a little over 370,000 men, inclusive of militia and naval forces.

We also think that Colonel Dodge's list of battles contains several mistakes. At Fort Donelson the Confederates did not have over 15,000. Grant brought against them about 27,000, of whom, he claims, 6000 or 7000 were guarding trains.

At Cedar Mountain, Virginia, Banks had on the field from first to last 17,900 men instead of 7500, and he was driven entirely from the field. Jackson, who had 20,000 men with him, held the field and buried the dead, and on the second day after the battle retired behind the Rapidan to wait the arrival of Lee. At Perryville, Kentucky, Buell had, according to the official records, 54,000 men, about half of whom were actually engaged, and Bragg 16,000. Each side claimed the victory, but Bragg's loss was only three-fourths that of Buell. At Murfreesboro', or Stone's River, Tennessee, according to the official records Rosecrans had 43,000 men, while Bragg had 37,000 instead of 47,000. At Antietam, or Sharpsburg, according to McClellan's report the Union army numbered 87,000, and about 60,000 took part in the actual fighting. According to Lee's report the Confederate army numbered less than 40,000. If Malvern Hill, from which the Union army retired at night without waiting for the renewal of the Confederate attack, was a Union victory, then most assuredly Antietam, where Lee repulsed nearly twice his numbers and

offered battle all the next day without being attacked, was a Confederate victory.

Colonel Dodge also makes the following statement: "As regards brilliant assaults upon regular works, the Confederates were never called on to show such devotion as was manifested by the Federals at Fredericksburg, the several assaults at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg."

How about the persistent and successful assaults of the Confederates upon McClellan's fortified lines at Richmond, their successful attack upon Hooker's entrenched lines at Chancellorsville, their attack upon a force equal to their own behind strong field-works at Corinth, their brilliant but hopeless assault at Knoxville, and their brilliant and almost successful assault upon superior forces strongly posted at Gettysburg?

The aim of this article is merely to get at the facts of history. The Union and Confederate soldiers made each a noble record of heroic deeds, of which all Americans may well be proud.

Joseph T. Derry,
Formerly of the 1st and 63d Georgia Regiments.

COLONEL DODGE'S REJOINER.

I DID not suppose that my article would provoke controversy; I awaited criticism. Mr. Derry has stated his objections fairly. They are hard to answer, because, whether he is right or wrong, my conclusion remains unimpeached. What I sought to show was that, after all is said, the business of suppressing the insurrection of the South was fairly well done by the United States, compared with the military work of other times and countries; and that, taking the actual fighting done, there was not much to choose between Yankee and Southron. Suppose the table of forces under arms to be corrected to conform to that in Vol. IV. of the "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," it will not change the conclusion that, "compared, then, with what other nations have accomplished, it may be claimed that the statistics of our war abundantly demonstrate that the North did the business of suppressing the Rebellion in a workmanlike and respectable, not to say handsome, manner, leaving, under the circumstances, no great room for adverse criticism." Suppose each emendation Mr. Derry makes to the list of battles to be allowed, it will not alter the percentages so as to invalidate the conclusion "that the Confederates . . . opposed to the Federals fully equal numbers at the point of fighting contact; and secondly, that of the combats during the entire struggle the Federals had their full share of victories." If we should allow that statistics exhibit an excess at the point of fighting contact of ten per cent. on the side of the Federals, it does not seem to me that the conclusion would be altered one jot. What I wrote and my statistics tend to show *substantial equality*. In such a case, ten per cent. might be disregarded. We should call two armies of ten and eleven thousand, or fifty and fifty-five thousand men, respectively, substantially equal; and had my figures, when tabulated, shown an excess of ten per cent. in favor of the Federals, I should have considered the case proved, as I should if, out of fifty battles, either side had an excess of three or four.

My article was written in Florence early in 1887, without ready access to records or statistics. I think that Vol. IV. of "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War"

was not then out. I had not seen the War Records table. It must of course be taken as accurate, and mine, made some years ago, as faulty. I could not now exhume the sources of the Southern items of my table. The Northern items are from the Provost-Marsh-General's accounts. My table was first published in 1883. The table referred to in Vol. IV. of "Battles and Leaders" does not include "local land forces" of the Confederacy. Taking these at ten per cent. of those at the front, "the South had under arms, until the last third of the war, an average of about three-fifths the force of the North," and not "about three-fourths," as stated in my article. Or, throwing out "local land forces" entirely, "the South had about fifty-five per cent. of the force of the North." While this error in my figures is not thereby excused, the argument is in no material degree weakened by the variation. By a fair allowance for garrison work which the North had to do and the South had not, the original statement of three-quarters would stand.

At the time of making my battle-estimate I corresponded with the War Records Office, asking it to make for me the figures of men at the point of fighting contact in the battles tabulated; but the Bureau was practically unable to do so without taking indefinite time and more pains than I could ask. No official records, that I am aware of, have been made of the men at the point of fighting contact. I made mine by taking the brigades and divisions known to have been engaged, and estimating their force as well as possible when it was not given by some good authority. The numbers were set roundly. My premise depends strictly on estimates of men *at the point of fighting contact*, and I think my estimates are very close. For instance, if Chancellorsville were taken as an example, we would have a total of one hundred and thirty thousand men pitted against about fifty-eight to sixty thousand. But the men who actually fought were, not to count the assault on Fredericksburg Heights:

| | | | | |
|------------------------|--------|------------------|--------|-----------|
| May 2d, at Dowdall's, | 22,000 | Confed's against | 10,000 | Federals. |
| " 3d, at Fairview, | 37,000 | " " | 32,000 | " " |
| " 3d, at Salem Church, | 10,000 | " " | 9,000 | " " |
| " 4h, at Banks's Ford, | 25,000 | " " | 20,000 | " " |

This makes a very different showing. Every Northerner who fought at the front recognizes the brilliant gallantry of the South. Many of us carry ever-present mementos of their hard fighting. The higher the Southern capacity to fight, claimed or proved by statistics, the better the work done by the North in carrying the war through to a successful issue. I do not insist on every item of my figures being beyond dispute; but it still seems to me that "no reasonable or admissible variation will alter the conclusion which must be drawn from them."

Mr. Derry points out fairly the difference between the conditions of the contestants in our Revolution and in our Civil War. There can be no exact historical parallel found. To illustrate my point, the one I chose remains good, especially as Anglo-Saxons were concerned in both wars.

Is not Mr. Derry inaccurate in what he says of Peter III. and Frederick? The Russian alliance with Frederick was terminated by Peter's death some four months after it was made. The help was timely and useful, but it was neither that which saved Frederick,

nor the withdrawal of Sweden from among his enemies. The work of Ferdinand of Brunswick, while excellent, was of negative value in the campaigns of Frederick. Mr. Derry is right in saying that neither the Revolution nor the Seven Years' War is a close parallel; but each is illustratively good.

Mr. Derry's rule-of-three estimate of forces is ingenious, but I doubt if it will work in practice. Very slight difference in the methods of organization or of raising troops North and South would throw out this calculation.

While it is "impossible to argue the question to a satisfactory conclusion on theories and opinions," and while I owe an apology to the readers of THE CENTURY for not correcting my table of forces up to date, the primary value of the statistics is to prove or disprove "either to be the better soldier." *Quoad hoc*, I do not see wherein the figures given have been falsified, nor do I think the premises capable of alteration so as to draw any other than my conclusion.

I thank Mr. Derry for his frank and kindly criticism.

Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

"Does Vivisection Help?"

IN the May number of THE CENTURY Mr. Thomas W. Kay endeavors to weaken my case against vivisection as a method of advancing the healing art. He asks, "How can the great mortality in countries where no physicians exist be accounted for?" and goes on to urge that the increase of doctors always implies increase in the average of human life.

His question and his answer are alike beside the mark, so far as my argument is concerned. I merely explained what the "expectant treatment" was. I do not imagine that it is very largely followed by those who are chiefly responsible for the health of the community. As a fact, it is found that people do get well *without* doctors, just as they die *with* them. Of course the presence of a number of doctors in any country means a certain amount of civilization, and this means, in its turn, good sanitation, and improved hygienic conditions. With these things vivisection has nothing to do. I do not attach much importance to medical or surgical statistics. A famous and witty American physician (was it Dr. Bigelow?) once said, "You can tell as many lies with figures as with words, and bigger ones."

Mr. Kay says the improvement in modern surgery is largely due to greater dexterity in operating, which dexterity is "obtained by practising on the living animal, either man or beast." I do not know what goes on in American schools of surgery, but I am positive that no English surgeons learn dexterity in operations on human beings by practising on animals. I was for four years a pupil at the largest hospital in London, and I never knew a single instance where a surgeon attempted to fortify himself for an operation on a patient by practising on a beast. Mr. Kay says that Mr. Lawson Tait has acquired his manual dexterity and his diagnostic skill only by experiments on women. In a certain sense every surgical operation is an experiment; but there are experiments and experiments. There are operations which are so uniformly fatal that it is merely another sort of murder to perform

them. There are others which have been so marvelously thought out, so admirably planned and carried out with such skill, that they are almost lifted from the region of experiment and elevated into certainties. Of this class are Mr. Lawson Tait's particular operations. A woman operated upon by Tait is rather safer than if she were traveling on certain lines of railway, if we may trust statistics.

It is refreshing to read the quotation which is given from Dr. Winkel, the German surgeon who complained that Lawson Tait's operations "were, in fact, animal experiments on living women." Is Saul also among the prophets? Does a surgeon, and a German one especially, come forward to denounce animal experiments on living patients? Have I been asleep for a long spell and awakened to find the hospitals reformed? And was it in the remote past that "Dying Scientifically" and "St. Bernard's" set the world talking of the horrors that went on in the hospital wards of England? And was it so very long ago that Mr. Erichsen said, "Will the surgery of our time record surgical triumphs or operative audacities?" And was it in such a very ancient medical journal that Dr. Jackson, lecturer on surgery at the Sheffield School of Medicine, proposed to use the word "atrocities" instead of "audacities"?

Was it in 1886, as I thought, or in a more distant age that the "Lancet" said, "It is doubtful whether some of these operations have resulted in adding to the sum total of human life; the prolongation of a life here and there does not compensate for *the cutting short of that of many others*"?

I could "tell an I would" of a great surgeon who could not finish his operations in many cases because he always liked to let his patient die in bed rather than on the operating-table! Of another, too, whose name is now before me, who said of his experiments that "Death seems to begin from the time of the operation, or, rather, during it." Are not these things written in the volumes of the "British Medical Journal" and the "London Lancet"? And do not their reporters say, "We have no right to rush our patients into such a fearful risk, yet this is done every day"? And the "British Medical Journal" in which this is recorded (p. 1837) was dated December 10, 1887. Yet here, in what I took to be 1891, I find doctors making charges against Professor Lawson Tait for experimenting on living women!

There was once a great German surgeon who went to Mr. Tait to ask him "to what he chiefly attributed his great success in abdominal surgery?" And Mr. Tait, glancing at his questioner's fingers, replied, "To always taking care to keep my finger-nails clean." Some unforgiving men would have spoken ill of Mr. Tait after this; perhaps this one did.

I have seen so many evil results of tampering with the brain by the surgeon's knife that I am skeptical as to the whole business of brain localization, so far as its application to surgery is concerned.

Mr. Kay asks, "What will these antivivisectionists do with the bacteriologists who are daily sacrificing thousands of animals on the altar of science?" I would inoculate them with the filthy products of their own cultivations, and let them have a taste of the sufferings they inflict on the animals.

Mr. Kay asks, "Could Pasteur have discovered a

remedy for hydrophobia without experimenting?" I do not know, but I do know that he has not discovered anything of the kind by his experiments.

Once more Mr. Kay demands, "Could Koch have made his wonderful discoveries which render probable the cure of consumption?" What, ask this question in May, 1891? No! I have not been on the Catskill Mountains asleep with Rip van Winkle. I am, and have been, wide awake. I know this Koch; he comes from Berlin, and is going into oblivion.

Edward Berdoe, M. R. C. S.

LONDON, May 5, 1891.

Alexander Harrison.

THOMAS ALEXANDER HARRISON was born in Philadelphia in January, 1853, and while engaged in work on the United States Coast Survey on the Pacific slope in 1875-76 became sufficiently interested in the fine arts to think of taking up painting as a serious pursuit. He entered the schools of the San Francisco Art Association, and worked there two or three years. He went to Paris in 1878, and became a pupil of Gérôme in the École des Beaux-Arts. He has since resided in France. He visited New York the past winter, when an exhibition of some of his work was held, including among other pictures "Le Crépuscule," engraved in this number of THE CENTURY. Mr. Harrison's first success dates from the Salon of 1882, when he exhibited there a picture called "Castles in Spain," which attracted much attention from artists and critics. He has been a constant contributor to the Salon exhibitions since that time, and last year, when the division in the Society of French Artists occurred, he was made a member and juror of the new Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, which has given two brilliant exhibitions at the Champ de Mars. He received at the old Salon an honorable mention in 1885. At the International Exposition at Paris in 1889 he was awarded a gold medal in the American section, and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and an Officer of Public Instruction by the French Government. He has received various medals and prizes at exhibitions in the United States where his works have been shown, and is a member of the Society of American Artists. Some of his most noted pictures are "Arcady," "Le Crépuscule," "The Open Sea," and "The Wave." He is best known as a painter of marines, though he has signed excellent landscape and figure studies. "Arcady," an outdoor effect of sunlight striking through the foliage of willow trees growing in a meadow on the border of a stream, with three nude female figures, is one of the most remarkable canvases the modern *plein air* movement has produced. Mr. Harrison's pictures of the sea are noted for their beauty of color and individuality of treatment. He is an artist who has studied nature with great conscientiousness, and has sought for truth in a direction that is enough his own to stamp his creations with an unmistakable personal character. It may justly be said of him that he is one of the ablest of modern painters, and he is one whom we are glad to honor for the sake of American art.

William A. Coffin.

The Treatment of Inebriates.

MEDICAL experts in the treatment of insane persons have for many years protested against the inhumanity of efforts to cure dipsomaniacs and confirmed inebriates by fines and imprisonment.

We now have almost literally no discrimination in our treatment of persons arrested for being drunk. The lad arrested for the first time and the old "rounder" who faces the court for the hundredth time are served alike. A fine is imposed; if not paid, they are sent to work it out in the correctional institution. In a few cases where friends of means and influence interest themselves the inebriate is treated in a private asylum for inebriates, or some lunatic hospital; but the great body are all classed together: fine follows fine, and imprisonment follows imprisonment, and the man or woman who enters upon the career by a first arrest seems bound to continue in it until the community and the victim are both relieved by the drunkard's death.

Nearly all medical testimony is to the effect that a certain class of inebriates have passed the point where their inebriety is a vice or a crime, if it is ever so, and reached a condition of disease which they can no more control than the typhoid-fever patient can control his fever. This class needs curative and reformatory treatment; for such we should have special hospitals to treat such cases and no other. Persons of this class are never properly sent to correctional institutions, either for longer or shorter periods; neither should they be sent for treatment to lunatic hospitals or insane asylums.

All persons arrested for drunkenness should be detained before trial long enough to make a complete investigation of their antecedents. If found to belong to the dipsomaniac class, they should be sent to the hospital especially provided for the cure of that disease; if arrested for the first time, and it appears that they are regularly employed, they should be allowed to go free as soon as they have become sober, with an admonition not to be arrested again; for a second offense a little longer detention should be inflicted, and some effort should be made to place the person under the restraint of some friends or of a probation officer; for a third offense, within three years, the defendant should be committed to an institution where he could be compelled to labor for a period of at least three months. Such institution should have officers fitted to bring moral influence to bear upon the inmates, to build up their will-power, that they may be able to withstand temptation when released.

For those who have been committed more than five times within three years a sentence of not less than two years should be imposed, to still another institution, where labor and mental and moral discipline are rigidly enforced. For the hardened offenders who spend eleven months out of every twelve in our institutions, who are never sober for more than a few days at a time, there should be no question about shutting them up for long terms, instead of arriving at a similar result by a dozen different arrests and convictions in a single year as now. By putting this class away for long terms society will protect itself in many ways: it will relieve itself from the danger which their presence in the community threatens; the assaults, breaches of the peace, thefts, burglaries, and murders they may commit would be prevented, society would be saved from their tainted offspring, and the tax-payers would save the

considerable difference between their treatment upon this plan and under the present system.

The writer is not a medical expert, but is situated so as to be a constant observer of the working of the present system of treating drunkards in one of our larger cities, and feels no hesitation in saying that he believes if the authorities were to endeavor to invent a scheme for permanently destroying the usefulness of every person who happens to be arrested for drunkenness for the first time, they would labor long before they could improve upon our present system.

L. Edwin Dudley.

"The Confederate Diplomats."

A DENIAL FROM MR. EDWIN DE LEON.

WE have received from Mr. Edwin De Leon indignant denial of the statements concerning him in the following paragraph from Mr. Bigelow's article on "The Confederate Diplomats" in our May number:

He was regarded by Slidell from the first rather as a spy upon him than as an auxiliary, and that they would not get on harmoniously together needed no prophet to foresee. Besides, De Leon's curiosity got the better of his judgment, and he fell into the habit of opening Slidell's despatches, a practice eminently fitted to strain the relations between these "high concocting powers."

Mr. De Leon says: "I distinctly pronounce both these assertions to be as untrue as they are insulting. Of the former, Mr. Bigelow never had an opportunity of judging, and my earlier relations with Mr. Slidell were, for nearly two years, of the most friendly character. My intercepted despatches, published in a New York journal, then caused a coolness between us."

With regard to the second charge, that he "fell into the habit of opening Slidell's despatches," Mr. De Leon declares it to be "as absurd and impossible as it is untrue," and says: "To support it, Mr. Bigelow cites, from what purports to be a despatch from Benjamin to Slidell, such an allegation, which he (Benjamin) refers to as having been made by Slidell to him at that time—twenty-seven years ago. I declare, upon my honor, that there never was the shadow of such a suspicion attaching to me, as far as I have known, up to the moment of reading this alleged despatch of Benjamin's and Mr. Bigelow's comments thereon; and that each and all of these are slanderous and false." EDITOR.

The Steamboat "Ariel."—A Correction.

ON the first page of the June CENTURY, in the article on "Colonel William Byrd of Westover, Virginia," there was mention of the steamboat *Ariel* which plies between Richmond and Norfolk. As some of our readers might infer from the allusions that the steamer was perhaps not entitled to the public confidence, we take pleasure in saying that since the appearance of the June CENTURY, the annual inspection certificate of the *Ariel* being about to expire, the United States steamboat inspectors, as required by law, made a "thorough examination of the *Ariel's* hull, boiler, engine, and life-saving equipment, and found all the requirements of the law complied with, and that the *Ariel* was in good and safe condition in every department. The inspectors thereupon issued their certificate accordingly, which is her official passport for another year from date." EDITOR.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Sub-Treasury Cheap Money Plan.

THE sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance is in many respects the most extreme form in which the cheap money delusion in this country has manifested itself. It is so extreme, in fact, that many of the Alliance leaders have refused from the outset to give it their approval, and others of them who at first viewed it with favor, after examination and discussion of its provisions, have withdrawn their approval. At first it made great headway in the South, but earnest, intelligent, and courageous exposure of its dangerous fallacies by leading politicians and newspapers has so far educated the people upon the economic principles involved that it has been losing ground perceptibly during the past three months. A veritable campaign of education has been in progress in several Southern States, with this scheme as the text of public discussion, and the beneficial results afford a striking illustration of the high patriotic service of courage and conviction in politics and journalism.

The sub-treasury scheme made its appearance in the last Congress, when a bill embodying its principles was introduced in both houses, having been prepared by the National Legislative Committee of the Farmers' Alliance. Briefly summed up, it provided for the appropriation by the Government of \$50,000,000 to be used for the erection of warehouses in various parts of the country for the storage of cotton, wheat, oats, corn, and tobacco. Every county which had an annual production of these staples exceeding \$500,000 in gross value was to be entitled to a warehouse. A petition was to be sent to the Secretary of the Treasury asking for its establishment, accompanied by the title of a suitable site to be given to the Government. The Secretary of the Treasury was to appoint a manager, who should give bonds for the faithful performance of his duties, and should receive a salary of not less than \$1000 and of not more than \$2500, proportionate to the business done. Any owner of cotton, wheat, corn, oats, or tobacco might take his crop to the nearest warehouse, deposit it, and receive in return eighty per cent. of its market value in treasury notes, the manager deciding what that market value should be. These treasury notes were to be specially issued for this purpose by the Secretary, no note to be less than \$1 nor more than \$1000, to be legal tender for all public and private debts, and good as part of the lawful reserve of national banks. The manager was to give a receipt for every deposit of produce, showing its amount, grade, or quality, value at date of deposit, and amount advanced upon it, with rate of interest one per cent. per annum, and with insurance, weighing, warehousing, classing, and other charges deducted. These receipts were to be negotiable by indorsement. Produce deposited might be redeemed at any time by a return of the receipt and money advanced on interest, and the payment of all warehousing charges. The money returned was to be destroyed by the Secretary of the Treasury. If

there were no redemption of a deposit within twelve months, a sale was to be ordered for the reimbursement of the Government.

Let us see how this would work in practice. The warehouse managers, who are to decide upon the market price of the produce, would, in nearly all instances, be appointed through political influence, which is tantamount to saying that they would have little expert knowledge of the duties which they were to perform. These men would have absolute power to decide upon the sums of which the Government was to advance eighty per cent. There are, for example, eleven full grades of cotton, and about as many half grades, and there are about thirty grades of wheat. The manager must decide not merely the grade but the price as it is fixed in the markets of the world at the time. If he is an honest man and fairly capable, the opportunity for serious blunders would be very great. If he is a dishonest, or ignorant, or prejudiced, or malicious man, can any one estimate the evil and injustice of which he might be capable? He could overrate the produce of all his political and personal friends, and underrate that of all his enemies or rivals, and there would be no appeal from his decisions. The impossibility of having a just and uniform basis for the eighty per cent. advance in all the warehouses, or even in one of them, would from the outset throw fatal doubt upon the value both of the treasury notes and of the certificates of deposit, giving them at once a depreciated and uncertain standard.

The farmers who are misled into favoring the scheme think that they would receive at once a loan of eighty per cent. of the full value of their crop at only one per cent. interest, but they would pay much more than that. The warehousing, insurance, and other expenses for cotton, for example, are usually between eight and nine per cent. of its value. This would have to be paid to the Government, and would bring the interest up to nine or ten per cent. On wheat and other products there would be similar expenses, which would raise the interest on deposits of them to nearly or quite the same limits. The rate of interest, therefore, is not low enough to be beneficial to farmers who hope by this means to pay off existing debts at legal rates of interest. What a farmer would receive would be a loan for one year from the Government at the rate of nine or ten per cent. of a sum amounting to four-fifths of the total value of his crop paid to him in money of uncertain value. For the remaining fifth he would receive a certificate whose value would depend entirely upon what he got for it in open market. No buyer would ever offer him the full price as fixed by the warehouse manager, for there would be too many uncertainties about the crop's redemption to make the certificates a safe investment for anybody. They could only be negotiated at a heavy discount at best, and in many instances would scarcely be negotiable at all.

If warehouses were established, there would be a tendency among all farmers seeking an immediate market to put their produce into them. One of the advocates of the scheme estimated before a committee of the

Senate that the deposits would be so large as to require an addition of one thousand millions of dollars to the currency in January and February of each year. This flood of currency, all of which would be based upon uncertain and varying bases of valuation, would be accompanied by another flood of certificates of deposit. The Government would turn out these notes and certificates, and their receivers would at once put them in circulation. Their value would depend entirely upon the popular estimate which should be made of their purchasing power. The fact that the notes had been declared a legal tender would not add a particle to their value. The people would make their own estimate of the prospect for the fulfilment of the promise upon which they were based, and that estimate would fix their value.

What would be the prospect for this promise to be fully kept? If prices went down after the deposit, the produce would be left there till the very end of the year and sold for what it would bring. The effect of throwing a great mass of produce upon the market at one time would be to lower still further the price, and the result would be a great loss to the Government which must be made good by taxation. As the farmers of the country pay about half of the taxes, they would thus have to pay half of the cost of their own folly. From the nature of the case a falling-off in value would be almost inevitable, for speculators and purchasers would be interested in waiting for a forced sale, being thus certain of buying at a lower price. In case there should be a general rise after deposit, the chances would be that the farmers most in need of profiting by it would not be in a position to do so, for the poorer ones would have parted with their notes as soon as received, in payment of their debts, and would have also sold their deposit certificates at the first opportunity. Whatever rise there might be, therefore, would go to the advantage of the speculators in certificates.

As for the depreciated value of the notes issued in such volume, there can be no doubt upon that point. It would be fiat money of a more worthless kind than any which has hitherto been issued. It would be more worthless than the land-bank money of Rhode Island, because that was based upon the land of the State. It would be more worthless than that of John Law's bank in France, for that was based upon all the property of France. It would be more worthless than that of the Argentine Republic, for that was based upon all the landed property of the nation. In all these instances the fiat money was declared to be a legal tender and to be payable for public and private debts. In all of them it was issued for a term of years. But this warehouse-deposit money is based upon nothing except the arbitrary judgments of an irresponsible body of political appointees as to the value of products a year hence, and is to be destroyed at the end of a year. Nobody would ever consent to take it at its face value in payment of a debt, or in payment for goods, and it would be confined, as the Rhode Island paper money was, almost entirely to transactions among its original holders. It would enormously inflate prices in the communities in which it circulated, and thus make dearer everything that the farmer had to buy. But it would never be received elsewhere except at a discount, and consequently would have no effect in raising the price of the products of the farmer, which have to be sold in the markets of the world.

Then, too, each period of enormous inflation would be followed by a period of sudden and almost paralyzing contraction, for at the end of each year all the notes and certificates must be destroyed.

We have said nothing about the unconstitutional aspect of the proposition for the Government to go into the business of loaning money and speculating in crops — a form of paternalism the most extreme ever proposed in this country. One of the advocates of the measure, when asked at a hearing before a Congressional committee why its authors had not included wool, hops, rice, and cheese with the other produce specified for deposit, made answer that those staples were protected by a high tariff, 75 per cent. on wool alone, and were not entitled to further aid from the Government. Whatever virtues may reside in the protective system, it is unfortunately true that to the arguments advanced in defense of a high tariff we owe the impression, so strong among many portions of the population, that it is the duty of the Government to render assistance to all industries and occupations whose members are in distress.

Notable Civil Service Reform Gains.

WHILE the past year has not been marked by as much progress for civil service reform as its advocates hoped to see, there have been some advances made which are of great value. The first of these came in the form of two decisions by the New York Court of Appeals sustaining the constitutionality and validity of the State civil service law. The second was the order of Secretary Tracy, issued in April last, directing that the working forces of the chief navy yards of the country should be placed under civil service reform regulations.

The decisions by the Court of Appeals were on suits brought by the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association to compel the municipal authorities of that city to obey the law and enforce faithfully its requirements. Two inspectors, one of streets and the other of health, had been appointed in utter disregard of the civil service law, and the city council had refused to allow the mayor's estimate for salaries and expenses attending the execution of the civil service law, cutting it down from \$1000 to \$50. The Civil Service Reform Association obtained an injunction restraining the inspectors from drawing any pay. The case was tried by the Supreme Court and decided in favor of the association. An appeal was taken to the General Term with the same result. The case was then carried to the Court of Appeals, and the judgments of the lower courts were affirmed without dissent. When the city council refused to allow the mayor's estimate for salaries and expenses, the clerk of the civil service commission, who had been appointed by the mayor, brought suit against the city to recover his salary. He also won his case in the lower courts, and the judgments were affirmed by the Court of Appeals, without dissent, as in the other case.

In delivering the two opinions in these cases the judges of the Court of Appeals took occasion to express their approval of civil service reform principles in the warmest terms. The opinion in each case was written by Judge Rufus W. Peckham, and as it was concurred in by all the other judges, it stands on the record as the unanimous expression of the views of the highest judicial body in the State. As such it is worthy of careful consideration, as showing the deep impression which the reform has made upon thoughtful and trained ju-

dicial minds. The opinion in the case of the two inspectors began with a comprehensive statement of the growth of the civil service reform movement, in which, after describing the condition to which the public service had been brought by adherence on the part of the appointing powers to the "semi-barbarous maxim that 'to the victors belong the spoils,'" the need of a better system was impressively stated as follows:

The chief reason for an appointment was the political work done by the applicant, and his supposed power to do more, and thus an appointment to an office in the civil list was regarded as a fit and proper reward for purely political and partizan service. No one can believe that such a system was calculated to produce a service fit for the only purpose for which offices are created, viz., the discharge of duties necessary to be performed in order that the public business may be properly and efficiently transacted. The continuous and systematic filling of all the offices of a great and industrious nation by such means became conclusive proof in the minds of many intelligent and influential men that the nation itself had not in such matters emerged from the semi-barbarous state, and that it had failed to obtain the full benefits arising from an advanced and refined civilization.

Seldom has the uncivilized aspect of the spoils system been more graphically portrayed than it is in this passage. Passing on to the steps which had been taken to secure laws bringing about reform, the court said:

The fact must be fully recognized that the duties connected with the vast majority of offices in both the Federal and State governments are in no sense political, and that a proper performance of those duties would give no one the least idea whether the incumbent of the office were a member of one political party or another.

And again, in speaking of the reform laws which had been enacted:

If the system were to be carried out to its fullest extent by appropriate legislation, and if the laws thus enacted were to be enforced *bona fide* and with cordial heartiness by the men to whose hands it would necessarily be confided, it has been confidently predicted that the improvements in our entire civil service would be such that no unprejudiced citizen would ever give his consent to return to the old order of things.

These are declarations whose truth no intelligent man can dispute, and it is of the highest public service to have them put forth from a body of such commanding influence. Reasoning from these premises, the court went on to overrule several specious pleas which had been advanced against the constitutionality of the civil service law, upholding the law at all points, and insisting upon its rigid enforcement.

In the case of the refusal of the city council to allow the appropriation for salaries and expenses, the opinion decided many questions of wide interest in connection with efforts which have been made in various legislative bodies, including Congress, to defeat the reform by cutting off appropriations for its maintenance. The court held that the refusal of the common council to place in the tax budget a merely nominal sum for carrying out the provisions of the law did not remove from the city its liability for the salary of an officer legally appointed under the law. On this point it held:

A failure between the mayor and common council to agree on any sum cannot and will not absolve the city from its obligation to pay a reasonable compensation for services thus legally rendered. . . . If it (the council) make the appropriation, well and good. If not, the officer can sue the city for the amount due, and may recover a judgment, which can be enforced like other judgments against

the city. . . . What an alderman of a common council might in good faith think was a reasonable sum is altogether too vague a basis upon which to rest a right to be paid what in fact is a reasonable sum. The proper enforcement of this general law cannot be made to depend upon the conduct of the common council or upon its consent to appropriate a sum sufficient to carry it into effect. The city may raise the proper amount if it choose to do so. It has the necessary machinery at hand for the purpose. If it choose otherwise, the law must still be executed, and, as has been seen, there is no other way so adequate or effectual for that purpose as to permit the institution of such an action as this and the recovery of a judgment with the inevitable costs and expenses which accompany such proceeding. The result will probably be that the members of a common council will in the end see that the laws of the State are certainly to be enforced, although they may run counter to the views or wishes of such members, and that the only effect of a persistent attempt on their part to obstruct or prevent their enforcement will be added expense to the municipality whose interests they misrepresent.

This emphatic and stern notification that the civil service law was not different from other laws, but must, like all others, be enforced strictly, was one which the professional politicians everywhere had long needed. They had from the time of the law's enactment looked upon it as being in some curious way a kind of statute which nobody need obey, and for the violation of which the courts would inflict no penalty. In Buffalo the city council had not only appointed the two inspectors in disregard of it, had not only refused to make appropriation for salaries and expenses under it, but for two years, while the suits growing out of their conduct were pending in the courts, they had refused to confirm veterans of the war who had passed the civil service examination and were entitled to appointments in the municipal service. As soon, however, as the decisions of the Court of Appeals were announced, all opposition to the law ceased, and from that time it has been enforced without serious antagonism in all branches of the service within its jurisdiction.

In regard to Secretary Tracy's order placing the navy yards of the country under civil service reform regulations, the effect of that and the need for it can best be stated in his own words. In a speech in Boston, delivered a few days before the order was issued, he said:

For fifty years the employment of labor at the navy yards has been the one weak spot in navy administration. Whatever the party in control of the Government, it seems hitherto to have been powerless to exclude political influence in the employment of navy yard labor. It is not enough apparently that the mechanics and workmen in the Government shops should be Republicans or Democrats; they must wear the collar of the ward bosses who run the local political machine. The practice is a source of demoralization to any party that attempts to use it, destructive to the Government services, and debauching to local and national politics. It is an ulcer on the naval administrative system, and I propose to cut it out.

In order to cut out the ulcer, the Secretary issued an order placing the force in the Brooklyn Navy Yard under the reform regulations after June 1, and the forces in the Norfolk, Portsmouth, Washington, and Mare Island navy yards after July 1. All positions of foreman and master mechanic were declared vacant on those dates, and were filled by men who passed the best examination designed to test their especial fitness for the work. The examinations were open to all American citizens, former employees entering upon the same footing as other competitors. It is obvious

that this extension of the civil service regulations, if carried out faithfully and made permanent, as there is every reason to believe will be the case, will prove to be one of the most important advances which the reform has made.

Progress of Ballot Reform.

THE year 1891 will be a notable one in the history of ballot reform, for it will mark the enactment of new ballot laws in fourteen States, bringing the number of States which have such laws up to twenty-nine, two-thirds of the entire number. We append the full list, with date of enactment and character of each law :

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| Arkansas.....1891 | Good. | New Jersey.....1890 | Poor. |
| California.....1891 | Bad. | New York.....1890 | Bad. |
| Connecticut.....1889 | Poor. | North Dakota.....1891 | Good. |
| Delaware.....1891 | Good. | Ohio.....1891 | " |
| Illinois.....1891 | " | Oregon.....1891 | " |
| Indiana.....1889 | " | Pennsylvania.....1891 | Bad. |
| Maine.....1891 | " | Rhode Island.....1889 | Good. |
| Maryland.....1889 | Fair. | South Dakota.....1891 | " |
| Massachusetts.....1888 | Good. | Tennessee.....1889 | " |
| Michigan.....1889 | " | Vermont.....1891 | " |
| Minnesota.....1889 | " | Washington.....1890 | " |
| Missouri.....1889 | " | West Virginia.....1891 | " |
| Montana.....1889 | " | Wisconsin.....1889 | " |
| Nebraska.....1891 | " | Wyoming.....1890 | " |
| New Hampshire.....1891 | " | | |

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| Whole number..... | 29 |
| Enacted in 1888..... | 1 |
| " " 1889..... | 10 |
| " " 1890..... | 4 |
| " " 1891..... | 14 |

In characterizing these laws as "good," "poor," "bad," and "fair" we have followed a very simple method. All the laws denominated "good" are modeled closely upon the original law in the series, that of Massachusetts, and are careful and thoroughgoing adaptations of the Australian system. They have the secret, official, blanket ballot, and they place independent and third-party nominations upon an equal footing with those of the regular parties. Fifteen laws follow the Massachusetts method in arranging the names of candidates in alphabetical order on the ballot, with the politics indicated after each name. Eleven arrange the names in party groups, with the title of the party at the top. There are twenty-three of the "good" laws, so that genuine ballot reform is an accomplished fact in one more than half the States of the Union. The Michigan law provided originally for separate party ballots to be distributed both in and out of the polling-places, but at the last session of the legislature it was amended so that at present it provides for the registration blanket ballot of the Australian system obtainable only inside the polling-places.

The remaining six laws we have put into three classes, that of Maryland being set down as "fair," those of Connecticut and New Jersey as "poor," and those of New York, Pennsylvania, and California as "bad." The Maryland law is good so far as it provides for a secret, official, blanket ballot, but it is defective in allowing any foreign voter to take a friend or interpreter into the booth with him to assist him in preparing his ballot, and in certain other provisions which are calculated to prevent entire secrecy in voting. The Connecticut and New Jersey laws are in no sense the Australian system, since they provide official ballots, but allow them to be circulated elsewhere than in the polling-places, and do not provide blanket ballots. The

Connecticut law is the cruder of the two, and it was to the defective and confusing character of its provisions that the prolonged contest over the governorship in that State, growing out of the last election, was mainly due.

The laws of New York, Pennsylvania, and California, which differ in many other respects, have the common characteristic of discriminating so heavily against independent and other third-party nominations as to pervert completely the leading principle of ballot reform. They mark a turning-point in the tactics of the professional politicians in opposition to the reform. Not venturing longer to resist the popular demand for the reform, its enemies pretend to grant it, but in doing so insidiously introduce modifications which destroy its vital principles. The foremost principle of the Australian system is that which places independent and third-party nominations on an equal footing with those of the regular parties. It was to give all candidates equal and exact facilities for having their ballots printed and distributed at the polls that the work and expense of the printing and distributing were taken from the political organizations or machines and put into the hands of the State. When the machines did the work and paid the cost they had such power over the ballots that independent nominations were beset on every side with obstacles which made their success at the polls virtually impossible except in the rare instances when they were sustained by great popular uprisings. So long as the machines paid the cost of the work it was difficult to deprive them of this dictatorial and corrupting control. By removing from them the expense and putting it upon the State, the way was open for removing from them also their exclusive control. Nobody presumed to say that they should be relieved of the expense and still be allowed to retain their control. In order to destroy their control the principle of nominations by petitions was introduced, and its justice was universally admitted. The people of the State were to bear all the expense of the election, and the State was to assure to all the people equal and exact rights under the system of voting by which the election was to be conducted.

The New York, Pennsylvania, and California laws seek to destroy this principle by placing such restrictions upon its exercise as are practically prohibitive. We speak of the New York law as it was amended at the last session of the legislature. In its original form it did not discriminate against independent nominations. We said of it, after its passage in 1890, that though it was the outcome of a compromise, it was "really an excellent measure," and that, taken in connection with the law requiring the publication of campaign election expenses, it supplied the State of New York with the "most thoroughly reformed electoral system of all the States in the Union." We did not mean by this that New York had a completely reformed electoral system, or one that could not be improved. It had the only corrupt practices act which had been passed, and a ballot law which gave the State a secret official ballot and put independent nominations on an equal footing with regular party ones. At its first trial in the election of November last the law worked well, and the chief point of criticism was the provision requiring a separate ballot for every party, instead of a blanket ballot for all. This provision led to a confusing number of

ballots, and there was a general demand for its repeal. It had been put into the law to satisfy the demands of opponents of the Australian system, and had been yielded reluctantly by the advocates of that system, who had grave doubts of its usefulness.

Instead of repealing this provision, the legislature passed a series of amendments, raising the number of signatures required for independent nominations, repealing a provision of the law which allowed an independent candidate to have his name printed upon the ballots of the regular parties as well as upon a separate ballot of his own, and substituting a provision which forbids him to have it printed upon more than one ballot. Another amendment permits any regular candidate to file a caveat forbidding the printing of an independent nomination upon his ballot. The combined effect of these changes is to make an aggregate of 10,000 signatures necessary for the nomination of a complete independent state ticket, and to make the nomination of independent candidates for separate offices in various parts of the State practically impossible, for such nominations will have to stand by themselves upon an incomplete ticket, which no voter ought to be asked to deposit.

In the Pennsylvania law the discrimination is brought about in a different but scarcely less effective manner. The signatures of three per cent. of the voters of the portion of the State over which the office to be filled extends

are required for any independent nomination, and all independent nominations must be filed so far in advance of election (49 days) as to be practically prohibitive. Then, as a still further obstacle, all independent and third-party nominations must be arranged together in alphabetical order at the end of the blanket ballot, while the regular party nominations are arranged in groups with the party title at the top. As the voter can indicate his choice for a party ticket by simply placing a mark opposite the title, but must check every name in the list of independent candidates in case he wishes to vote for them, it is obvious that the regular parties have all the advantages. The California law makes the number of signatures necessary for independent nominations five per cent. of all the voters, and requires all such nominations to be filed thirty days before election. This percentage is of itself tantamount to a prohibitive enactment.

These three laws, in fact, instead of aiding independent nominations, make them nearly or quite impossible, and thus destroy the leading principle of ballot reform, which is the facilitating of such nominations. These laws give the regular party machines a greater power than ever, for while, under the old system, they could make the printing and distributing of independent ballots difficult, under the new, as these laws pervert it, the use of all such ballots at the polls is practically forbidden by law.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Question of Pensions.

I.—A SOLDIER'S VIEW.

HAVING read with great care the article relative to pension matters prepared by Mr. Sloane and others, and published in the June number of your magazine, allow me to submit a few suggestions relative to that important topic as viewed from a pensioner's standpoint.

The article in question seems to be directed mainly against the action had in allowing arrears of pensions, and in passing what is generally known as the Dependent Pension Bill of June 27, 1890, and appears to be intended to convey the impression that our comrades who accepted the moneys granted as arrears, and those who accept the relief granted under the recent act, are unpatriotic. On their behalf I respectfully demur to the indictment.

As respects the first class I shall only ask to be shown why the comrade who waited from the time of his discharge until 1880 before asking for the pension due him at his discharge, and each year thereafter up to the time when he applied for it, and then accepted the amount found to have been due him under the law and the rulings and ratings fixed by the Department, without an allowance of one cent of interest on the amount which was legally due him during each of the several years since his discharge, is any less patriotic than I who applied for my pension promptly after my discharge in 1866, and have drawn it regularly since?

Many a comrade failed to apply from motives of the purest patriotism. He would not ask for a pension so long as he was able to support himself and family by his own exertions, because he knew that the nation was carrying an enormous debt, and its enemies were doing all they could to injure its credit and bring about the repudiation of the obligations issued during the war. After years of toil, by reason of increasing disabilities due to advancing age, he finds himself unable longer to continue the struggle unaided. He then asks for, and receives in a lump payment, the sum which is due him, and which would have been paid quarterly during the several years since his discharge had he seen fit to apply for it within one year after his discharge.

What is there unpatriotic in that case?

Nay, more; I personally know comrades to-day who were disabled during their army service, and who could be placed on the pension-roll at any time by simply filing a claim with proof of service and identity, and appearing before any examining board of surgeons north of Washington, who have never applied for pensions, and probably never will, because they know that the national debt is not yet paid, and they have been, and are, able to care for themselves and dependent ones without aid from any quarter. If the author of your recent article has any extended acquaintance among the survivors of the Union army, he doubtless knows of many such cases.

As regards the merits of the act of June 27, 1890, allow me to submit a few facts relative to the practical

working of that act which appear to have escaped entirely the notice of Mr. Sloane.

We will first note the existing conditions which prompted the action embodied in that bill. The lapse of years, the infirmities incident to age, and casualties of various kinds, had rendered large numbers of our old comrades incapable of self-support. The county poorhouses and other refuges were becoming crowded with such inmates. Their disabilities, being of a nature not directly connected with or chargeable to their army services, or perhaps due to accidental injury received since discharge, left them without the pale of relief afforded by existing pension laws. Hence the burden of their support was falling directly on the surviving comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic and other charitable organizations, and on the taxpayers of the several counties where these disabled ones had been forced to seek shelter in the county-houses.

In this manner the citizens of such counties as had been most patriotic and had furnished the largest quotas of their able-bodied sons for the defense of the nation were now being rewarded (?) by the assessment of extra heavy taxes for the support of their county poor. It was the intent and design of the act of June 27, 1890, to lift that burden from the shoulders of the taxpayers of such counties and place it upon the shoulders of all taxpayers, to the end that those who had made no sacrifice of life, blood, or treasure might contribute at least equally with those who had given of their best and bravest for the maintenance of the national life.

The practical working of the act is good. Many a comrade who had been forced to seek shelter in the poorhouse now finds that with the aid of the modest sum allowed under that act, and with what he is still able to do towards his own support, he can once more resume his place as a citizen and become again a worker among his fellows.

As the sums granted under said act cannot exceed \$12 per month, and no veteran is placed on the roll unless he is disabled to the extent of two-thirds of total disability and therefore entitled to a rating of \$6 per month or more, there appears to be but little chance for the undeserving or the malingerers to be successful in an effort to secure pensions thereunder. No pensions of from \$72 to \$100 per month can be paid thereunder to men who are able to earn salaries in positions worth \$4000 per annum, as occasionally happens under other pension acts, special and general.

It is not alone in the benefit conferred upon the disabled comrades included in the terms of this act, and upon the taxpayers resident in the several counties where they reside, that the most beneficent effects of this legislation are found. The widows of this class of comrades — where the death cause is not chargeable to their own vicious habits — are now promptly granted a pension of \$8 per month, and many are thus enabled to keep their children about them and to raise and to care for them as mothers. Otherwise they would be obliged to break up their homes, and see their children sent to charitable institutions or abandoned to the care and custody of strangers.

It is true that the large majority of our old comrades are poor men; as respects the accumulation of wealth, the man who gave from three to five of the best years of his life, generally between the ages of twenty and thirty, on returning to civil life found himself handi-

capped in the race. Where there is one among us with wealth enough to care for him and his, and also to share to aid a destitute comrade, there will be found in any large gathering of old comrades thousands who, like myself, are wholly dependent upon their pensions and their daily earnings for the support of their dear ones. It is dire necessity, not want of patriotism, that has at times prompted the "demands" for equitable pension legislation that are so severely animadverted upon by Mr. Sloane and his coadjutors in your recent article.

With a word as to my right to speak as a representative soldier I will close this already long protest. I served continuously from early in April, 1861, until July, 1866, during the late war; was shot through the lung at Antietam, in September, 1862, and lost a leg at Gettysburg in July, 1863. The first ten years after my return to civil life were spent in the office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury Department adjusting the claims of our comrades, their widows and orphans, for arrears of pay, bounty, etc. The next ten years were spent in the General Land Office adjudicating contests arising between the different claimants under the railroad grants, and the contests between the settlers on the lands within the granted limits and the railroad companies, etc. Numbers of those settlers were soldiers. Since then I have been employed as a special examiner of the Pension Bureau in the investigation of cases requiring special examination. I have worked in many different States both east and west of the Mississippi, and in Florida, Alabama, and Georgia; have always belonged to the G. A. R. since it was established, and have met many thousands of veterans at State encampments and G. A. R. camp-fires, etc. East, West, and South, and in the regular course of my business and duties. I have had ample opportunity to become well acquainted with the feelings and aims of my comrades of the late war, their desires, hopes, and aspirations. Having thus passed thirty years of my life in the service of my country and my comrades, I feel that if I am not, *I ought to be* qualified to speak as an expert on this matter.

I know that while it is true that some comrades will be found at times who are clamorous for the passage of a service pension bill, there are but few who will not listen to reason, and upon receiving an explanation of the probable expense and the increased taxation which would be necessary in such a case, and the fact that such a measure is in conflict with the very genius of our institutions, in that it tends to create a privileged class, etc., and that if we once admit the validity of a claim for pensions for service in the army, no valid objection can be made to a claim for distinguished service in the diplomatic corps or other branches of the Government service, and thus our nation would soon be burdened with a pensioned "civil list," as the British Empire is at present — when these facts are clearly placed before them, even the most thoughtless will promptly admit that it is safer to adhere to the governing rule, as heretofore established, and make disability the basis of all pension legislation. And *all* will admit that they do not want a service pension if it is to endanger the pensions allowed to their disabled comrades, or to the widows and orphans of those who have been mustered out and are now awaiting the final roll-call.

As a survivor of the late war I cannot but feel deeply when I see the motives of my comrades impugned, and

if I have used too strong language in their defense, I hope it may be pardoned. I frankly admit that I do feel proud of my comrades and their record in the war for the Union. The humblest one who volunteered and followed the old flag has thereby earned the right to have his name inscribed upon the roll of honor and to be cherished and remembered through all time and eternity; yea, even until the "heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll," and the universe shall be dissolved in showers of star-dust never again to be gathered.

Frank Bell.

II. — REJOINDER BY PROFESSOR SLOANE.

YOUR readers will doubtless admire, as I do, the repression and good temper of Mr. Bell's letter, but they cannot fail to note exactly the same unmoral pleas to which the article on "Pensions and Socialism" called attention.

1. He admits that right-minded veterans have not drawn the pensions they might legally have secured under the Arrears Act because disability through army service was not such as to prevent their earning a living for themselves and their families; but he can see no difference between these patriots and those who, taking the law as their only standard of right, clutch what they can get, without caring whether their disability was due to military service or to hereditary ailments and the ordinary risks and toils of the times of peace between the close of the war and 1880.

2. He also admits with creditable frankness that soldiers enfeebled by age, or sickness not due to military service, are, under the act of June, 1890, the recipients of alms disguised under the name of pension. But he says nothing of the dismay of the honest pensioner who sees the name prostituted to cover quite another thing, nor of the well-used opportunities for dishonesty which the bill created. I cannot hear of a single rural community where public morality has not suffered by the tolerance in it of men known to be drawing pensions (*sic*) they have not deserved, secured too often, alas! by false swearing.

3. It is not true that the soldier who returned from the war in good health was handicapped in the race. (The preference of veterans in the public service is well illustrated by the case of Mr. Bell himself.) On the contrary, the life of the moral soldier was a wholesome life; the training of the army made him more adaptable for all uses than other men, and it is generally believed that most of the fighting and exposure throughout the war fell on less than one-third of the total number enlisted. The general poverty of the so-called veterans to which Mr. Bell refers, if it exists at all, and its existence is certainly doubtful, is due to causes utterly unconnected with the war.

4. Your readers will also observe the phrases, "due him under the law," "legally due him," at the beginning of Mr. Bell's letter, and the very different ones, "inscribed upon the roll of honor," "cherished and remembered . . . until . . . the universe shall be dissolved in showers of star-dust," etc., which occur at the close. To him there appears to be some connection between them, as if the latter were the climax of the former. My object was to show that in yielding to temptation and taking advantage of public sentimentality and a fallible human law, the claimant so far destroyed his

own claim to either respect or honor, and, more heinous still, dragged in the mire the very name of veteran so cherished by the honest soldiers and the nation at large.

The generation of men now coming into the ranks of public service, while too young in 1861 to enlist, knew well the questions at issue and the horrors of the war. It yields to no older one in devotion to the principles for which the army fought, and cannot endure to endanger or lose those very jewels thirty years later by weakly yielding either to the threats of sturdy beggars or to the unconsidered requests of honest and honorable feebleness, which takes refuge too often with the former class instead of seeking help where alone it can be had without dishonor, among the Christian philanthropists who are abundant in all American communities, and who would gladly pay millions for their country's honor, but refuse one cent for tribute even to their loved veterans. It would be very instructive to print the letters which have been sent me within the last month by soldiers who fought for three years, or more or less, actually demanding the repeal for their sakes of the acts which disgrace their true manhood; but the space at my disposal of course forbids me to do so now.

William M. Sleane.

Weakness and Danger of the Single Tax.¹

FIRST.—The advocates of the single tax on land values, with one accord, emphasize the epithet "single." Their distinguished leader has declared all other taxes to be either stupid or unjust or both. To make room for this exclusive plan all existing ways and means of raising revenue, national, State, and local, must be cleared away. The tariff, the internal-revenue imposts, the liquor licenses of States and cities, any existing taxes on franchises, on railway receipts, on successions—all must be abandoned, and no other projects for raising revenue, such as an income tax, must be entertained. The single tax is nothing if not "single"; it is not one which might be engrafted upon the stock of an existing system, whose elements might gradually give place to its expanding efficiency. It calls for the obliteration of all our traditions and ideas regarding taxation; such as the idea that as all persons are under the protection of the state, so all persons may, if the public needs require, be called upon to contribute not only their services but their wealth to the support of government and its reasonable purposes. The single-tax doctrine is not to touch persons as such, but only as they are receivers of the public in the income and profit of land. There is an idea that as all forms of property are protected by the state, they may all be, of right, subjected to taxation, if the public needs require. The single-tax men know of only one kind of property which may be justly taxed. Again, there is the idea that as all industries and employments are protected by the state, the government may, if public needs demand, collect some fraction of the income and profit of industry. There is no possible room nor justification for an income or succession tax under the single-tax régime.

There is another idea which has played a great part—
¹ The reader is referred to a discussion of "The Single Tax," by Henry George and Edward Atkinson, in *THE CENTURY* for July, 1890.—ED.

in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, embodied in the epigram, "No taxation without representation." Defiance of this immemorial tradition cost one of the Stuart kings his crown, and his head to boot. "No taxation without representation" was the cry which nerved the hearts and steadied the aim of the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord. Long usage has settled the import of this maxim. It imports not merely that they who are not represented are not to be taxed, but also that they who are *not taxed* ought not to be *represented*. In conformity with this established usage, and in obedience to universal sentiment, the framers of the national Constitution provided that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned according to population, and not according to property or values of any kind. Representation and direct taxation are, in the national code, coextensive and inseparable.

These ideas are embodied in our State constitutions, some if not all of which provide specifically that taxes shall be as nearly "equal" as may be. It will take a long time to persuade American taxpayers that "equal" may mean the laying of all taxes upon some one class of people or some one kind of property.

Supposing, however, that all such ideas and traditions had been by some magic eradicated, and a single-tax scheme to have been actually formulated, how would it work under a system of government as complicated as our own? We have three systems of taxation working side by side, and two independent government agencies of tax administration. We have a national system of indirect taxation by means of imposts on imported merchandise, and by internal-revenue excises on certain selected articles. We have State taxes and local taxes, mostly direct, administered by a mixed agency of State and local officials. The single-taxers demand a revolution of these systems. Suppose that possible, the question arises, What agency do they propose to employ? There would be no sense in using two or three agencies for administering a single-tax system. Some one of these must be made the primary agent for obtaining the single-tax revenue, and be required to pay over to the other one or two their respective shares as the same may be ascertained. Would the State government subordinate itself to town and city authorities in this matter? On the contrary, the power of local taxation by cities and towns would vanish away, and the municipalities would have to content themselves with such moneys as the legislature would dole out to them. Local government, the pride of American and Anglo-Saxon freemen, would of consequence disappear.

But how would the State governments fare when it came to the question whether they or the national Government should be primary collectors of the single-tax revenue? Does not every school-boy know that we changed the government of the United States one hundred years ago from a confederation to a national union chiefly because the States could not be persuaded nor compelled to collect and pay over the "single tax" on improved lands provided for in the Articles of Confederation?

The framers of the Constitution applied themselves to make a national government which should not need the interposition of any State to raise and collect its revenue. They put into that document a power to raise revenue, absolute, unassailable, irrevocable, and this

power has been defined and supported by a long course of supreme adjudication. The single-tax scheme, if worked at all, must be executed by the general Government and its agents, and the States and all municipalities throughout the States will enjoy only such revenues as Congress may see fit to apportion and pay over. Under such a scheme the forms of democracy might indeed survive, but the state and the government would, in essence, be imperial.

For these reasons, (1) the impossibility of clearing away at a single sweep all existing taxes, (2) the persistence of ancient custom and doctrine, (3) the peculiar and complicated nature of our American government — for these reasons, not to mention others, the exclusive tax on land values has no claim to consideration as a practical working scheme in this country in our day.

SECOND.—If the single tax be examined as a mere theory it will be found that its advocates make certain tacit assumptions which, when expressly stated, are seen to be false. They assume, for example, a state of universal and continuous peace. Deprived of every means of raising extraordinary revenue for war purposes, the nation, invaded and beleaguered, must lay down its arms and accept the terms of the foe at the point where the single-tax receipts shall have been exhausted. Were that the doctrine of the world, one single nation not so scrupulous about collecting taxes from persons, chattels, incomes, franchises, and successions, might soon dictate the conditions of existence to all the rest. The single tax thus endangers, if it does not deny, the right and power of nations to maintain their organized existence. The old common-law doctrine is safer and better, that a free and brave people may "rob the cradle and the grave" to recruit their defensive force, and throw the last dollar they can wring from the orphan and the widow into their military chest.

These single-tax dreamers assume the continuous and universal advancement of society—population always on the increase and evenly so, wealth increasing, intelligence and virtue always abounding more and more. The world does move, has moved, but never on any continuous line of advance by steady and unbroken march. The lot of civilized man in general has been painful and stormy. The progress of particular nations has been "by fits and starts"; periods of depression succeed epochs of advance as by a kind of rhythm. There have been times in the history of this country when the rental value of land in some States would not have paid the salaries of the town clerks. Fortunately our "unjust and stupid" taxes on imports and incomes, on property of many kinds, saved us from political marasmus.

The progress of wealth and population is not uniform in different parts of the country. Population shifts and industries migrate. Rents go down in New England and go up in the Dakotas. The census returns show that the population of counties in the older States, and even in some of the newer ones, is declining from decade to decade. In such counties the revenue from a single tax on land values might be a minus quantity. It may however be expected by the single-tax advocates that the great national taxing machine will in some way compensate for such inequalities.

The enthusiasts again make no allowances for those disasters which in every generation wreck cities, dis-

mantle provinces, and even involve continental areas in vast loss and ruin. Famine is chronic in India and China. In the latter empire only three years ago 1,500,000 people were homeless or starving from the overflow of a single great river. Would an exclusive tax on land values be the only appropriate source of revenue for the provinces thus desolated? It is only a few years since several counties of a Western State, on the eve of a promising harvest, were visited by the red-legged grasshopper and swept as clean of vegetation as the pavements of a city. Would the doctrine of the unearned increment have been a solace to those stricken farmers? Would a single tax on city lots have been a convenience and a boon to the people of New Ulm and Rochester and Sauk Rapids after they had been swept by the tornado? States, like men, do wisely not to carry all their eggs in one basket. It is a principle of taxing systems to distribute the burden so that no one class, nor any one kind of property or industry, shall be ruined in case of disaster. There is no safety-valve to the single-tax boiler.

Passing by a group of other assumptions of interest to economists, such as that land is the only form of wealth which increases in value as population swells, that value and utility are interchangeable terms, and that value is a result of production and not an outcome of exchange, we reach the fundamental postulate of the single-tax optimists, which is that all land belongs to everybody. This statement is only the exaggeration and caricature of a doctrine that is true, but only true within reasonable limitations, and as understood by reasonable persons, who know the inadequacy of language to express all that is in the minds of men. We assert the equality of all men, and we understand that word in a certain reasonable way. We say, for example, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and the statement is true, but only true in a reasonable sense. The words do not import that any individual or clique or party may withdraw consent, refuse to pay taxes or to serve on juries, nor that resident aliens, minors, paupers, and idiots may vote. The state in a certain true sense owns all its territory, but that truth does not conflict with the right of citizens also to own lands. The doctrine that the land of the world belongs to God's children is a harmless truism of no practical efficacy; "void," as lawyers phrase it, "for uncertainty." Property is an institution, an inheritance, not a theory. Rights, practical, reasonable, legal rights, do not descend from the clouds; they have grown up out of human experience and the nature of things. Finally (under this head), these amiable proselytes neglect to take any account of the probable political consequences of their scheme, provided it were possible to clear the way for it.

It is a common experience of nations that changes in their economic institutions are followed by totally unexpected consequences: so short is the sight of the wisest men. But there is one consequence of the scheme under discussion which experience may warn us from pursuing. Put all your taxes on any one class of persons and you at once consolidate the members of it into a compact body, ready either to embarrass and to oppose the government or to take possession of the powers of the state and to dictate the laws. If the class selected be the land-holding people,—and that class embraces a large majority of the voters,—all ex-

perience teaches that they will surely and rapidly establish themselves as the ruling class in the state. In this day of large production, when the fashion of large farms worked by machinery is coming so widely into vogue, we should not have long to wait before a landed aristocracy showed its powerful grip upon our legislative departments, placed its best man in the executive chair, and filled the bench of our supreme tribunal with judges whom it could depend upon. Mr. George himself suggests the best reason of all for expecting this result. On page 384 of "Progress and Poverty" he says: "The tax on land values is the only tax of any importance that does not distribute itself. It falls upon the owners of the land, and there is no way in which they can shift the burden upon any one else." He was thinking at the moment as an economist, not as a politician. Lay the taxes on landlords and you may trust the real-estate lawyers to find them a political way of escape from the burdens.

It is with difficulty that the people now submit to direct taxation in amounts sufficient to support the institutions which modern states must needs maintain. The public schools are ill equipped, the teachers poorly paid. Would things be bettered if the fortunes of the state were placed in the hands of the land-holding class? That class would name the assessors, dictate the rates and valuations and the purposes to which revenue should be applied, or human nature will have undergone a new creation.

THIRD.—Finally, the single-tax plan is not a plan of taxation at all in the proper and accepted sense of the word, and it was not originally proposed as a plan of taxation proper. There are two ideas inherent in the word tax, or rather two phases of one idea. The word, at bottom, means to apportion by cutting, and we have the principle on the one hand that taxes must be *proportioned* to the public needs, and on the other, *apportioned* equitably among the people who are to pay. These principles are reasonable, of universal acceptance, and of immemorial usage. No free people will for a moment consent that their agency, the government, may assess and collect taxes *ad libitum* and without regard to the purposes and duties of government. Nor will a wise people, by imposing the burdens of the state on any one class, lay the foundation for a claim by that class to rule the state. Exactions of money, goods, or services not proportioned to public uses, and not apportioned to private ability and interest, are not, in any just sense of the word, taxes. The proposed single tax is but a piece of remedial social policy. Its advocates hold that under existing conditions human progress is and must continue to be accompanied by poverty—deepening, widening, irremediable poverty. They refuse to admit that such means as better government, better education, better habits, coöperation, and so on, can have the least effect in counteracting this tendency, whose cause they find in the private ownership of land. Private property in land they declare to be a "bold, bare, enormous wrong, like chattel slavery"; for this alleged wrong they see but one remedy—the utter abolition of private property in land.

Mr. George is of opinion that it would be socially just and economically advantageous to abolish all private titles by a single stroke of legislation, but thinks it better to "accomplish the same thing in a simpler,

easier, and quieter way." In "Progress and Poverty," on page 364, he says, "It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent." Here we have the core and essence of the single-tax philosophy — confiscation, frankly and for the moment boldly, confiscation: confiscation of rent, because that will lead to virtual confiscation of land. Thus without jar or shock land would "be really common property." How genial the suggestion of doing things in a simple, easy, and quiet way, instead of resorting to the honest but rough-and-ready plan of universal eviction!

Mr. George is indeed so mild-mannered a mutineer that he will not scare his fellow citizens with a naughty word. He hastens to replace that malodorous term with another which may hold up its head in any respectable circle. These comfortable words may be read on the page just quoted: "What I therefore propose as the simple yet sovereign remedy which will

raise wages,
increase the earnings of capital,
extirpate pauperism,
abolish poverty,
give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it,
afford free scope to human powers,
lessen crime,
elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence,
purify government, and
carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is

to appropriate rent by taxation."

Is this honest? Is it candid to say "appropriate rent by taxation" when confiscation of land is meant? Confiscation and taxation are not synonymous and interchangeable terms. They are diverse and irreconcilable terms. Taxation implies apportionment to public needs and private ability. Confiscation means seizure to the public treasury in an arbitrary way. In this case it is specifically insisted that the collection of rental value is not to be gauged by the regular and usual demands of the state. The whole or "nearly" the whole rental is to be extorted; for if not, the object in view, which is not revenue, but virtual confiscation of land, will not be effected. If more than a scintilla of rent remains in the hands of the landlords, they will have the advantage of society. It is admitted that the rental value of land "in well-developed countries" is now more than enough to support the government, and will increase with the progress of society. Confiscation, however, is to go on, and the swelling surplus is to be disposed of by the establishment of "public baths, libraries, gardens, lecture-rooms, music and dancing-halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting-galleries, playgrounds, gymnasiums, etc." The end of the socialist is to be reached without alarm or violence. In a matter involving a revolution in government, the reconstruction of society, and the abandonment of immemorial institutions, the idea of effecting the object by indirections and the use of smooth words is amusing, not to say nauseous. No one will be deceived. The four millions of farmers in the United States, before they cast their ballots for "appropriating rent by taxation," will understand just as well as the most ardent apostle of the single tax that "this simple device of placing all taxes on the value of land" will "be in effect putting up the land at auction to whoever" will "pay the highest rent to the state." The object of this paper being simply to expose the true nature and original purpose of the so-called single tax, it is not necessary

to enter upon any defense of the institution of property in land, nor to apologize either for defects in our existing land laws or for acknowledged evils in our present system of taxation for revenue.

William W. Foltwell.

A British Consul's Confidence in the Union Cause.

THE following despatch (for a copy of which, made from the original in the British Foreign Office, THE CENTURY is indebted to Lady Archibald) was written by Sir Edward Archibald, Consul-General at New York, to Lord John Russell, "Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State," eleven days after the fall of Fort Sumter and three months before the first battle of Bull Run. It is remarkable for its estimate of the temper and resources of the North, for its prediction of the ultimate failure of secession, and for its advice to the British Government that from motives both of humanity and policy it should ally its influence and sympathies with the Union cause.

BRITISH CONSULATE, NEW YORK, April 24, 1861.

MY LORD: I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that there has been no communication by mail or telegraph to or from Washington since Friday afternoon. During the last two days we have had rumours that the authorities of the State of Maryland had undertaken to restore the railroad communication through Baltimore, and reestablish telegraphic communication with the national Capital; but thus far nothing appears to have been done in this respect, and as, in the sadly disturbed state of the country, the special messenger with Lord Lyons's despatches for this packet may possibly fail to arrive before her departure, it may perhaps be needful that I should give Your Lordship a brief review of the startling events of the past few days, and a report of the existing condition of public affairs in this country.

Your Lordship will have learnt from Lord Lyons of the bombardment of Fort Sumter by the forces of the Confederate States, and of its evacuation on Sunday the 14th instant. A full knowledge of the whole of this affair leaves no shadow of doubt that Major Anderson, and the very slim garrison under his command, displayed great courage and gallantry, and succumbed only when deprived of the capability of further resistance. Why the naval expedition sent from this port for the reinforcement of the Fort did not coöperate with its defenders or send them assistance has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

On Monday the 15th President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling out a militia force of 75,000 men to aid in executing the laws, and ordering the combinations of lawless men in the seceded States to disperse within twenty days, and at the same time summoning Congress to meet on the 4th July next in special session.

The ambiguity of the President's inaugural address, the subsequent vacillating and apparently objectless policy of his Government, and the useless efforts of the Peace Conference at Washington and of the Virginian Convention to establish a satisfactory basis of reconstruction of the Union, had combined to produce a state of apathy and indifference in the public mind, which seemed almost introductory to a recognition of the Southern Confederacy as the readiest solution of the complicated condition of public affairs.

But the attack upon and capture of Fort Sumter, followed by the President's proclamation, caused a sudden and complete transformation of public sentiment. The ulterior revolutionary designs of the Confederate leaders, and the sedulous preparation they had made to accomplish them, were now fully comprehended; and the stinging insult which had been inflicted on the national flag by the merciless bombardment of Fort Sumter and its starving garrison roused such a feeling of intense indignation throughout the entire North and West that the President's proclamation was responded to with an enthusiasm for which he himself could not have been prepared, and which it is hardly possible adequately to describe.

The whole population of the free States, as it were one man, sprang to its feet on the instant, determined to sustain the Government, vindicate the honour of the national flag, and effectually quell the rebellion. Political differences of every kind were at once hushed, and there was but one heart, and one voice, in the unmistakable declaration that not only should the Government be upheld, but the Union be preserved, at whatever cost of blood or treasure.

During the whole of the last week, and up to the time I now write, the most vigorous and energetic efforts have been made to push forward troops for the defense of the national Capital and other assailable points. The enrolment of volunteers has gone on without ceasing. The question is not who shall join the army, but rather who shall remain at home?

The most liberal contributions of money and means of all kinds have been made by public bodies and by private individuals.

This city has been, for the time, converted into a military camp. Business of every kind has given place to the needful military preparations. The clergy, the bench, the bar,—all classes,—men, women, and children, are fired with a patriotic ardour which the newspapers, filled as they are with details, still imperfectly describe. On Saturday a public meeting in support of the Government was held in this city at which not fewer than 100,000 persons were present, presided over by the leading and influential members of the community, and at which complete unanimity prevailed. A report of the proceedings and resolutions will be found in the newspapers which I transmit herewith. Day after day has only added to the excitement and to the earnestness of the movement.

To revert to the order of events, the President's proclamation was followed by one from General Davis inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal against Northern commerce. This in its turn was followed by a proclamation of President Lincoln, dated the 19th instant, establishing a blockade of all the ports of the seceded States; and instructions have now been issued to the collectors of customs forbidding the clearance of any vessels for ports in the seceded States.

On or about Wednesday the 17th instant, the Convention of Virginia in secret session resolved to secede without submitting any ordinance for ratification by the people, as required by the Convention itself; and the leaders of the revolution in that State at once proceeded vigorously to coöperate with their more southern allies by organizing a large force, and seizing on Federal property. A body of some 2500 men despatched to seize the important United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was defeated in its purpose only by the burning and blowing up of the arsenal by the detachment in charge of it, which then with difficulty effected its retreat.

Meantime Fort Pickens at Pensacola has been closely invested by the Confederate forces, augmented by some of those released from Charleston.

This fort was without doubt reinforced more than a week since by troops sent in the United States ship *Brooklyn*, and is said to be capable of effectively resisting the efforts of its besiegers. No intelligence whatever has been received from that quarter for several days, but it is believed the bombardment of the fort is now being prosecuted, and, whether successfully or not, it will be attended with great loss of life. Rumours prevail this morning that the fort has actually been captured. On the other hand, most serious apprehensions have been, and still are, entertained for the safety of Washington. The rapid advance of such a force as was known to be at the command of General Davis, with the active coöperation of the Virginians, it was fully feared might overpower the small body of troops defending that city under the command of General Scott. That this was the chief stroke of policy in the plans of the Confederate leaders is now well understood. The possession of the national Capital, and the belief of the existence of an extensive sympathy throughout the North with the Secessionists, or, at all events, of an indisposition to act coercively against them, were relied on to secure for the Confederate leaders such an ascendancy as would enable them to dictate the terms of the reconstruction of the Union.

I send inclosed a slip or two from the papers of to-day giving the latest reports from Baltimore and Washington. From these it appears that the Capital is yet in a critical condition. I have also addressed to the Foreign

Office the New York morning papers for the last four days.

In the absence of any positive intelligence of the movements of the disunionists, owing to the interruption of the telegraphs and mails, it remains at this moment uncertain whether they may not make, and possibly succeed in, an attack on the Capital. It is believed, however, that their delay before Forts Sumter and Pickens, the indecision of the Virginian Convention, and, above all, their entire miscalculation of the sentiments of the people of the North, have somewhat marred their plans; and it is hoped that by the forces already at the command of the President they may be kept in check until the overpowering numbers fast hurrying to the Capital can be mustered there.

The unexpected outbreak of the war had found the North and West, though abounding in men, money, and a spirit of hearty loyalty to the Constitution, still greatly unprepared in armament and equipment. Among the plans of the Secessionist leaders long since preconceived and executed, and now openly boasted of in the South, was the removal from the free States of arms and munitions of war. Already there is discovered an alarming deficiency of even small arms for the militia and volunteers.

The first movement of troops on the call of the President was from Massachusetts, followed by large levies from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and this State. On Friday last, while passing through Baltimore, a portion of a Boston regiment was attacked by a very numerous mob of sympathizers with secession, when the troops were enabled to force their way through the city only after a riot and a combat in which two soldiers and eleven citizens were killed, and many wounded on both sides. The city from thenceforth hitherto has been entirely under the control of the Secessionists, and mob law rules. The railway bridges in the neighbourhood of the city have been burnt or cut down, the telegraph seized and interrupted, and all regular communication through Baltimore with Washington suspended.

It appears to have been a preconceived but not suspected plan of the Confederate leaders to prevent, at the proper moment, the sending of any reinforcements to Washington through Maryland, in which State the Union party is for the present overpowered and silenced. In proof of this plan a body of some three or four thousand Virginians passing round by Harper's Ferry are reported to have advanced into Maryland, to overawe and operate in that State, but which, at last accounts, had not yet approached Baltimore. This unruly city is now kept in terror of bombardment from Fort McHenry, which is in possession of an adequate force of Federal troops. A few days, however, will see the Baltimoreans brought to their senses, for (from what is manifest of the deep indignation of the North at this obstruction of their highway to the national Capital) a further persistence in such a course of proceedings would, I verily believe, lead to the bombardment and probable destruction of the city.

Fort Monroe, commanding the mouth of the James River, one of the strongest forts of the country, and an important strategical position, has been fully garrisoned by Federal troops. The navy yard and stores at Norfolk, however, being incapable of defense, were the day before yesterday destroyed, and all the ships of war there were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. At this port (New York) all vessels are prevented from proceeding to sea between sunset and sunrise, and guard-boats are stationed at the outlets to see that no provisions or munitions of war are allowed to be sent to the enemy's ports.

The ships at the navy yard at Brooklyn are being equipped for sea with all possible speed. These consist of the *Wabash* and *Roanoke*, screw steam frigates, and the *Savannah*. The *Perry* brig went to sea yesterday. Orders have been given to fit out a large number of gun-boats of light draft; and the merchants of the Northern ports will supply numerous effective vessels to aid the blockade of Southern ports, and act in union with the Federal naval forces.

But now that this war has been provoked by the leaders of the secession movement, it is, I think, quite certain that the North will not allow it to be terminated until they have completely crushed the rebellious uprising against the authority of the Government, and either coerce the seceded States back into the Union, or dictate the terms and conditions of their separation from it.

Although the North has been taken at a disadvantage, has been by the wily plans and prearrangements of the Secessionists stripped of arms, of which they are now in great want for their volunteers, there cannot be a question that they will, nevertheless, effectually suppress the rebellion. They have, after long and patient forbearance, entered upon the struggle forced upon them with a determination never to bring it to a close until they shall have effectually prevented the possibility, for a long time to come, of the recurrence of any similar attempt to subvert the Constitution of the Republic.

For my own part, in this view of the case, I believe that the most merciful course and, in the end, the most salutary results will depend on the Federal Government placing itself as speedily as possible in such a commanding attitude of power as to render further resistance to its authority utterly hopeless. I believe that the escape of the white population of the South from the horrors of servile insurrections (of the commencement of which there are already rumours) renders it necessary that the Federal Government should put out its whole strength, as it is preparing to do, at the earliest moment, and thus anticipate the useless wasting by the Southern States of the strength and means which they will now, more than ever, require to keep their slave population in subjection.

The national honour vindicated, the Constitution upheld, and the Government established in its supremacy, I have no fears that the Southern States will be unfairly dealt with. Motives of interest, no less than magnanimity, under such circumstances, will secure to the Southern States, whether they continue in the Union or a separation be agreed on, everything to which they have a just right or claim.

A prolongation of the contest, I need hardly say, will be attended with most disastrous consequences to other nations, and especially to our own commercial interests. In view of this certainty, and under the consciousness of the vast importance of the crisis, pardon my presumption, My Lord, if I venture to suggest the consideration of the expediency of a prompt interposition by Her Majesty's Government by way, if not of a mediator (which perhaps would hardly now be accepted), then by affording to the lawful Government of the United States such a consistent and effective demonstration of sympathy and aid as will have the merciful effect of shortening this most unnatural and horrid strife. It is unnecessary to waste a word on the many considerations which I believe would influence Her Majesty's Government to adopt such a line of policy in so far as it consistently may; but of this I feel assured, knowing what I do of the American people of the North and West, that, whether countenanced by England or not, they will never lay down arms until they have entirely subdued and extinguished this rebellion. The issue raised, in fact, is one which leaves them no alternative; while, on the other hand, I need not say how adverse and revolting to the spirit and feelings of the age and of our own nation would be the triumph of the principles on which the founders of the new Confederacy have based their government.

Praying Your Lordship's pardon for these observations, which have run to greater length than I intended, I have, etc.,
E. M. ARCHIBALD.

A Brotherhood of Christian Unity.

ON the evening of April 20 a meeting was held in Orange, New Jersey, to consider the subject of Christian Unity. I had become so impressed, or, I may say, oppressed, by the lack of united feeling and united effort among the churches that I asked some friends to join me in issuing a call for such a meeting. It was not largely attended, but an earnest spirit was evident in those who were present. In the essay which I had prepared for the occasion I suggested as a possible solution of the difficulty, or as an effort at least to attempt to translate sentiment into some form of action, the formation of a Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Dr. Lyman Abbott, hearing of my plan, asked me to present it in the columns of "The Christian Union." In the editorial department of the issue of June 11, containing the article, Dr. Abbott wrote as follows:

Mr. Seward's article on another page affords another and a somewhat striking indication of that growing tendency towards the unity of faith which is characteristic of the present age. It is peculiar in that it distinctly recognizes and proposes to leave wholly undisturbed the difference in creed, ritual, and government which separates the denominations, and simply furnish a testimony to the unity of faith which is deeper than any creed. It is also peculiar in that it is based upon the principle that loyalty to Christ, not adhesion to a series of intellectual propositions, is the true and adequate basis of Christian Union. To what Mr. Seward's plan may grow it is not possible to foretell. It may be born before its time, and be only a precursor of a movement on similar principles, but possibly different in form, to follow hereafter. In any case the suggestion cannot be in vain, for it is never in vain for a prophet to familiarize the public mind with new ideas which it is not yet ready to receive. We commend Mr. Seward's simple pledge to the consideration of our readers as one step towards a realization of a fellowship which now has no symbol. Let them read his plan and then answer to themselves the question, Why not?

The response of the public to the suggestion is truly remarkable. Letters of inquiry pour in from all directions and from people of every Christian sect and of no sect. It indicates that the feeling of dissatisfaction with the present bondage to creeds is widespread and deep. Those who write usually express the opinion that the plan of a Brotherhood of Christian Unity is a practical movement in the right direction without undertaking too much. As its title implies, it is a fraternization rather than an organization. It is not proposed, at least for the present, to have any constitution, officers, or funds. Its purpose is merely to enable individuals to place themselves more definitely under the law of love. It goes back of the ecclesiasticism of the past eighteen centuries and accepts the creed of Christ and of the first century—love to God and love to man. It gives an opportunity for members of the Christian Church in all its various branches to acknowledge one another as brethren of one family, and not as belonging to distinct factions. It also gives an opportunity for those who are out of the churches and out of sympathy with the church creeds to step upon a Christian platform. The only qualification of membership of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity is signing the following pledge:

I hereby agree to accept the creed promulgated by the Founder of Christianity—love to God and love to man—as the rule of my life. I also agree to recognize as fellow Christians and members of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity all who accept this creed and Jesus Christ as their leader.

I join the Brotherhood with the hope that such a voluntary association and fellowship with Christians of every faith will deepen my spiritual life and bring me into more helpful relations with my fellow men.

Promising to accept Jesus Christ as my leader means that I intend to study his character with a desire to be imbued with his spirit, to imitate his example, and to be guided by his precepts.

I have prepared a pamphlet treating the subject more fully, which will be sent with two copies of the pledge for ten cents (to cover expenses). One pledge is in certificate form, illuminated and printed on bond paper. The other is note-size, to be signed and returned as a means of recording the membership.

EAST ORANGE, N. J.

Theodore F. Seward.

W. L. Dodge.

WILLIAM LEFTWICH DODGE, the painter of "David and Goliath," reproduced on page 665, is in his twen-

ty-fifth year, having been born in Virginia in the spring of 1867. His mother, herself an artist of talent, early discovered the boy's inclination towards art, and removed with him to Munich, and thence to Paris, where at the age of sixteen he entered the École des Beaux-Arts. During his school career he took several prizes, passed Number One in the competition for entrance to Gérôme's class, and six months after his admission won the third medal in the Concours d'Atelier. The next year he obtained an honorable mention and another medal, and in the third year (1888) the first prize, Prix d'Atelier.

Mr. Dodge first became known to Americans by his picture "The Death of Minnehaha," painted during the third year of his student course, and when he was but nineteen years of age. This picture was exhibited at the Prize Fund Exhibition of The American Art Galleries in 1886, and was awarded a gold medal. "David and Goliath" was painted in the year in which the artist achieved his majority. It was exhibited in the Salon in the spring, and at Munich in the fall of 1888, and received a medal at the Paris Exposition of 1889. The next year Mr. Dodge exhibited the largest picture and most important composition he had undertaken (36 x 18 feet)—"The Burial of the Minnisink"—in illustration of Longfellow's poem, together with a very clever study of the nude in sunlight, called "Water-lilies."

He returned to this country in the autumn of 1889, and in 1890 gave at the American Art Galleries an exhibition which awoke much criticism. It is but fair to say, however, that most of it was of a friendly nature, the critics probably bearing in mind that it was hardly to be expected that a boy twenty-two years of age would handle compositions covering hundreds of square feet of canvas, and in some cases containing more than fifty figures, without laying himself open to some adverse criticism. While it is true that art knows neither age nor nation, the fact of this lad having successfully handled pictures of such a size is certainly remarkable. I think that Mr. Dodge is far from having reached the fullness of his development, and that, could he be given large wall spaces to work on, we

should probably have in him an artist who would make his impression on the nation. He is versatile, and, although his facility of execution occasionally carries him away, is an excellent draftsman, ingenious in his arrangement of groups, and with a good eye for the discernment of character.

W. Lewis Fraser.

Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln.

UPON looking over the table of contents of the July CENTURY, just received, my eye fell upon "Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln—an unpublished address." I at once turned to it to see if it was the lecture I heard Mr. Greeley deliver in Washington a few years after the war. I looked first at the opening paragraph, for I had a distinct recollection of the pun on the words "attempts at the life of Abraham Lincoln." Sure enough, there it was, but with the foot-note doubting whether it was ever delivered. There is no doubt of it, and I presume you will receive other testimony to the same effect.

JAS. M. HUDNUT.

348 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, July 1, 1891.

MR. G. H. CRAWFORD writes to say that Mr. Greeley delivered the Lincoln lecture in New York, he thinks, about 1870.

MR. ROBERT E. DEYO points out an error on pages 373 and 379 of the Greeley lecture in the July CENTURY, where the name of Congressman Daniel Gott is printed Galt.

MR. SAMUEL SINCLAIR calls attention to a typographical error on page 375, in which the inauguration of Pierce is referred to the year 1856. Mr. Greeley properly wrote 1852.

Erratum.

THE picture on page 176 of the June CENTURY in Mrs. Harrison's article on "Colonel William Byrd of Westover, Virginia," was incorrectly entitled "The Hall at Westover," it being in reality a picture of the hall of the house of Dr. E. G. Booth, at the Grove, in James City County, Virginia. The mistake arose from its general resemblance to the hall at Westover.

EDITOR.

BRIC-À-BRAC.

To Jessie's Dancing Feet.

HOW, as a spider's web is spun
With subtle grace and art,
Do thy light footsteps, every one,
Cross and recross my heart!
Now here, now there, and to and fro,
Their winding mazes turn;
Thy fairy feet so lightly go
They seem the earth to spurn.
Yet every step leaves there behind
A something, when you dance,
That serves to tangle up my mind
And all my soul entrance.

How, as the web the spiders spin
And wanton breezes blow,
Thy soft and filmy laces in
A swirl around thee flow!
The cobweb 'neath thy chin that 's crossed

Remains demurely put,
While those are ever whirled and tossed
That show thy saucy foot;
That show the silver grayness of
Thy stockings' silken sheen,
And mesh of snowy skirts above
The silver that is seen.

How, as the spider, from his web,
Dangles in light suspense,
Do thy sweet measures' flow and ebb
Sway my enraptured sense!
Thy flutt'ring lace, thy dainty airs,
Thy every charming pose—
There are not more alluring snares
To bind me with than those.
Swing on! Sway on! With easy grace
Thy witching steps repeat!
The love I dare not—to thy face—
I offer, at thy feet.

W. D. Ellwanger.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

"The Century" a National Magazine.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE with the present number closes its twenty-first year, and announces in its advertising columns some of the main features of the new year, which begins with November. While THE CENTURY'S main lines of policy will be adhered to, our readers will, we think, find a certain novelty in the new announcements.

Fiction in great strength and variety is a special feature of these announcements. The one partly foreign story, that by Messrs. Kipling and Balestier, is in fact, if anything, the most American of the four principal serials. Aside from these serials we have waiting for the new year a great number of shorter stories of American life, most of them single-number stories, which cover a large part of the continent in scene, and which in depiction of character and social phenomena seem to us to be very remarkable, and to prove again the truth of most of those appreciative and enthusiastic things said by American and foreign critics of the American short story—or short-story, as Mr. Brander Matthews calls it.

In the best of ancient and the best of modern art the new volumes of THE CENTURY will be especially strong. Mr. Cole's "Old Masters," engraved from the originals in the European galleries, have now reached their culmination in the work of Michelangelo, Titian, Raphael, and others of the greatest. No process of equal artistic results can yet reproduce for the masses of the people the great masterpieces of the world's art as can the exquisite engravings on wood of a master of his own craft like Mr. Cole—the American engraver who for so many years and with such devotion and intelligence has studied the old Italian painters. As for modern art it will be our chief concern to keep before the public the best attainable examples of American paintings and sculpture, along with the finest of modern European art.

If we were presenting here a summary of the new announcements we should have to dwell upon the papers having to do with the coming Columbus celebration, and upon the various series on farming, music, poetry, etc. But this was not our intention. Rather we would speak of a peculiarity of THE CENTURY with which its older or more continuous readers are well acquainted, but which is sometimes lost sight of by casual inspectors of its contents. This peculiarity, if so it may be called, resides in the fact that THE CENTURY is a national magazine—not an international, not a sectional magazine. As between East and West it knows no difference; as between North and South it knows no difference. And yet in being national it assumes on the one hand that America has a great deal to do with Abroad, and on the other that *America is a nation*. It assumes this against the few and far between, but extremely excitable, Southern irreconcilable. It assumes this also against the exuberant Northern irreconcilable. It assumes this in the range of discussion and narration it allows its contributors, and in its own

editorial puttings-forth. Meanwhile it sometimes has the amusement of reading the simultaneous remarks of the Southern and the Northern irreconcilable to the effect that THE CENTURY is the enemy of the South, and of the North, and of Heaven only knows what.

The Southern irreconcilable disregards, or is ignorant of, the "Great South" papers of THE CENTURY, entered upon at a time soon after the war, when, in the interest of the whole country, the Southern States most needed just such recognition. He ignores the well-known relations of the magazine to the brilliant group of writers of the New South; he ignores the fact that it was THE CENTURY that spread before the whole civilized world, in its war series, the story, by Southern generals, of the prowess of the Southern soldier in the civil war; and, too, the fact that THE CENTURY has not shrunk, in fairness, from allowing Southern soldiers to give—along with a fearless depiction by Northern prisoners of the horrors of Andersonville and other Southern prisons—their own views of the inside of the prisons for Confederates in the North. The Northern irreconcilable sometimes shows an equally culpable ignorance or narrowness when he forgets that always and everywhere THE CENTURY has stood against sectionalism and for the Union; has upheld the fame and the honor of the Union general and the Union private, and has placed Lincoln and the cause for which he labored and died before the American people, and the world at large, more fully, accurately, and effectively than was ever done before. And both these irreconcilables forget that THE CENTURY has constantly appealed to the broadest patriotism, and love for the reunited nation, by preaching the duty of the day and the hour, the setting aside of sectional and past issues, and attention to present and necessary reforms, and to all the immediate and pressing duties of good citizenship in this our great and common country.

After all, it speaks well for the fairness, good feeling, and common sense of the reading public of America that the illustrated magazine that deals most constantly with recent and mooted periods of domestic history, and with the burning questions of the day, has the wide, we may say the phenomenal, reception in every part of the country which is so generously accorded to THE CENTURY.

A Cheap Money Retrospect.

THOSE of our readers who have followed the series of articles upon cheap money experiments which have appeared in this department of THE CENTURY during the past eight months cannot fail to have observed that we have arranged the order of the series upon a cumulative plan. We began in March last with a plain exposition of the imperative need on the part of the people of this country of a clear conviction that no money except the best was worth the having, and that "cheap money," in any and all forms, is a delusion from which all people should pray to be delivered.

From this we passed to a historical survey of the more notable of the many experiments which have been made in various countries and times to improve the condition of States and nations by making money cheap and plentiful. We purpose now to recapitulate briefly the chief points in this survey in order that the full moral force of its teaching may not be missed.

We should say, perhaps, at the outset that no formal reply has been made to numerous letters that have come to us questioning in one way or another statements which had been advanced in some of the earlier articles of the series, for the reason that all the objections raised by these letters have been most effectively answered by subsequent articles. For example, when objection was made that we took too emphatic ground in favor of the best money and too extreme ground against "cheap money," it seemed to us better to show by human experience that our position was the only safe or tenable one than to argue that it must be so. So with other objections that the first historical cases which we cited covered only a part of the problems of our own country to-day. We preferred to answer these by giving further citations which did cover the points of the problem not reached by the first.

The first historical experiment recalled by us was that of the English Land Bank of 1696. This was the most formidable project ever broached for the establishment upon private capital of a bank which should lend money on land as security. The Government granted a charter on condition of the requisite amount of capital being subscribed, and the King subscribed £5000 as an example to the nation; but beyond that the Government was in no way identified with the bank. The subscription-books were opened with entire confidence that the necessary £1,300,000 would be obtained within a few days. At the end of the period allowed for raising it only £2100 had been subscribed by the entire nation. It was thus shown that private capital was not eager to enter into the business of lending money on land. The country gentlemen, who had been eager for the establishment of the bank, were not in position to subscribe to its capital, since their sole purpose in wishing for it was to be able to borrow money from it on their land, and, wishing to borrow, they of course were not able to lend. The capitalists would not put their money into it because its avowed object was to injure them by lowering the rate of interest and lessening the demand for existing money. The result was complete failure to establish the bank.

Passing from this failure of 1696, we took up a notable attempt which was made in Rhode Island about a century later to establish a Land Bank as a State institution, which should lend money on land as security, and pledge the faith of the State for its redemption. We showed that from the outset this experiment was a failure; that the money which the State declared to be a legal tender for public and private debts never circulated at par, but was depreciated from its first issue; that it paralyzed the industries and commerce of the State; that the whole power of the State Government was not sufficient to make it circulate at par; that it led to the repudiation of the greater part of the State debt, giving to Rhode Island the name of "Rogues' Island" throughout the land; that it dropped steadily during the three years of the bank's existence till one

dollar in coin was worth fifteen of the Land Bank issue, and that the end was a collapse of credit and business so complete that years were required for the State to recover from it.

Criticism was made upon our citation of the Rhode Island experiment that it was attempted in a small and struggling State, at the close of the exhausting Revolutionary War, and that it could not be taken as a criterion of what would be the outcome were the United States Government to go into the business of loaning money on land. It was argued that the wealth of this mighty and prosperous nation was so great, as compared with the resources of Rhode Island, that any attempt to make the experience of one apply to the other was absurd. As an answer to this objection we cited the famous John Law experiment in France in 1718. This was the Rhode Island principle applied to a great nation, and, as a basis for its operation, the entire property of the nation was brought into the bank and used as security for its loans. Law's idea was to have all France as a mortgage, and he carried out the idea to its fullest extent. Our readers have not forgotten the details of his experiment as we set them forth in *THE CENTURY* for July. Only two years were necessary for him to lead the nation at a headlong gallop to overwhelming disaster, in which all credit was destroyed, all industrial values ruined, and everything except landed property left worthless.

Finally, lest some critics might say that all these unsuccessful attempts had been made in times long past, and under different economic and industrial and commercial conditions from those which obtain in our own time, we took up the case of the Argentine Republic, giving in much detail the efforts of that country to obtain prosperity under the same system of finance that had failed in Rhode Island and in France. That it was the same system was recognized in Buenos Ayres by sound financial thinkers, who opposed its adoption. After our article on Law's experiment was in press, and the article upon the Argentine experience had been completed, we found in the "*Buenos Ayres Standard*" an editorial article upon John Law from which we quote the following passages:

The calamity brought on France by John Law was the most tremendous that can be imagined; it has no parallel in history except the present crisis in Buenos Ayres. But in many respects Law's crisis was less disastrous than that which has now commenced in our city, the outcome of which nobody can venture to predict.

If Argentine statesmen really believe that they can issue notes at will, they will find that they are sadly mistaken. We must come, some day, to a grand wind-up, and the convulsion that must ensue will eclipse anything before seen in the world. Men and women will go mad in the streets, and no government will be able to face the hurricane of popular indignation.

We cannot resist the wish to send all our shipplaster advocates to Venice, to end their days in obscurity, like Law. It is only fair to Law's memory to say that he admitted the error of his theories before his death, and regarded shipplasters as a calamity of the greatest magnitude.

In the September number of *THE CENTURY* we showed that the sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance was more dangerous than Law's, because the money which it called for would be issued upon a far less certain and stable foundation of values than his plan provided. In future numbers of *THE CENTURY*

we may recall the experience of other States and governments for the purpose of showing still more plainly that human experience has been uniform in this matter. Michigan's experience with "wildcat banks" between 1837 and 1843 is very instructive, and we shall make it the subject of our next article. Like every other cheap money experiment which has been made, it ended in disaster. In every case the final result has been ruin, and the wider the field of trial, the more desolating has been the calamity. The Argentine Republic believed itself an exceptional nation, rich and powerful enough to change this unbroken current of human experience, but its people know now how terribly mistaken they were. We do not believe it possible that the American people will ever be capable of such folly.

Presidential Voting Methods.

No student of our system for the election of President and Vice-President can fail to be impressed with its lax and antiquated character. In fact, from the earliest period of our Government we have gone about this most important of all our elections in a happy-go-lucky style which has more than once brought us to the verge of serious complications. The electoral college system was the outcome of a prolonged and earnest discussion in the convention of 1787 which adopted the Constitution. Upon no other subject was there greater diversity of opinion. Hamilton favored the selection of President by secondary electors, chosen by primary electors, chosen by the people. Gouverneur Morris wished to have the President chosen by popular vote of the whole people *en masse*. Another delegate favored giving the power of selection to the governors of the several States. Another favored popular election by districts. Another wished the power to reside in Congress. Popular election and choice by electors were both voted down on one day, and choice by Congress adopted. These votes were reconsidered subsequently, and choice by electors chosen by the State legislatures was adopted. This in turn was reconsidered, and choice by Congress again adopted. Finally the convention reconsidered this vote, rejected all former plans, and adopted the present system, introducing for the first time the office of Vice-President.

The language of the provision of the Constitution in which the final verdict of the convention was set forth precludes all doubt as to the meaning of the system's framers: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress," etc. That leaves no possibility of doubt that the convention gave the absolute control of the appointment of electors to the State legislatures, for, as Alexander Johnston says in his history of the system, "the words 'in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct' are as plenary as the English language could well make them."

When, therefore, the last legislature of Michigan passed a law providing for the choice of presidential electors by districts,—twelve of them by the congressional districts, and two by districts dividing the State on a line running through the center, north and south,—it was exercising an undoubted right given it by the Constitution. In fact, in the first quarter of the pres-

ent century many States chose electors by popular vote in the districts precisely after the Michigan plan. In other States, including New York, the legislature chose all the electors. New York followed this practice as late as 1824, when she changed to the plan of election by popular vote in the districts, observing it only in the election of 1828. South Carolina maintained election by the legislature as late as 1860, and Maryland maintained election by popular vote in the districts as late as 1832. But after the election of 1832 all the States except South Carolina adopted the present plan of choosing all the electors on one ticket by the vote of the whole State.

There is nothing in the Constitution, therefore, to prevent all other States in the Union from following the Michigan example. Neither is there anything in it to prevent the legislature of any State, New York for example, in case there be a legislative majority and a governor of the same political faith, from reverting next winter to another old method and appointing outright by legislative act all the State's electors for the Presidential election of 1892. If any State were to do that, it would be impossible to contest successfully the legality of its action. The only restraining influence is the knowledge that such arbitrary and partizan action would arouse an amount of popular disapproval which might prove fatal in the national election to the prospects of any party which should be guilty of it. In this, as in many other respects, the conduct of our electoral system is regulated by usage and restrained by public opinion and not by law. There is no penalty to be inflicted upon electors for improper performance of duties, or for refusal to perform them at all. If there should be a general refusal of all the electors, or of a majority of them, to perform their duties, the election of President and Vice-President would devolve upon the House of Representatives and the Senate respectively, but the defaulting electors could not be punished save by popular disapproval. If an elector who had been chosen to vote for Republican candidates were to betray his trust and vote for Democratic candidates, or *vice versa*, there would be no legal penalty and no method by which his vote could be changed. It would have to be counted as cast, and in casting it he would be exercising his constitutional rights in precisely the way in which the first electors chosen under the system exercised them. Usage has changed the method of carrying out the system, but the system itself is unchanged. It is a signal evidence of the faith of the American people in their own honesty and fair dealing that they are willing to continue to conduct their Presidential elections under a system so lax as this.

The return to an old method of choosing electors in Michigan attracts great attention because of the effect which it has in unsettling calculations about the next Presidency. It makes certain a division in the electoral vote of the State, preventing the candidates of either party from getting the entire fourteen. Under the new apportionment the electoral college of 1892 will have 444 members, making 223 necessary for a choice. If all the States which voted for Mr. Cleveland in 1884 were to be carried by the Democrats in 1892, the total Democratic electoral vote under the new apportionment would be 225, just two more than a majority. With the vote of Michigan cast by districts the Democrats are certain of getting at least two electors from

that State, hitherto solidly Republican, a gain which might be of great importance to them in a close contest. In short, it is easy to see how it would be possible for a Presidential election to be decided by the divided vote of Michigan.

At the first glance it might appear that the election by popular vote in districts was a step towards election by popular vote in the whole country. This would be the case were the congressional districts not so often laid out on gerrymandering principles. There are many States so completely "gerrymandered" that they have a majority vote in favor of one political party, and a congressional delegation with a majority in favor of another political party. It is unnecessary to point out that in States of this kind an election by congressional districts would be less of an election by popular vote than one under the system of a State electoral ticket. Suppose, furthermore, that in 1892 all the States were to follow the Michigan plan. One effect would be to give the Farmers' Alliance or some other third party an opportunity to secure several members of the electoral college, for while such a party might have much difficulty in carrying any entire State, it might succeed in carrying a considerable number of congressional districts. Let us, for example, suppose that one party, say the Republican, secured 222 electors, one less than a majority, that the Democratic party had 210, and the Farmers' Alliance had 12. The result would be that neither of the great parties would have a majority; the election would devolve upon Congress as elected last fall; the House would choose a Democratic President, and the Senate a Republican Vice-President. Results of this kind would be possible in every election, for the district system would always work in the interest of third parties.

There has been perceptible, in the discussion aroused by the Michigan law, a growing tendency to advocate the election of President by popular vote. This would be a complete abandonment of the fundamental idea of the present system, which is that the States vote as individuals and have absolute power as to the manner in which they shall vote. A change to popular vote by the whole country could of course be made only by constitutional amendment ratified by two-thirds of all the States. It is to be said of this change that if the whole country were to vote *en masse*, the States serving merely as great election districts for the counting of the votes, there would probably be an end at once of all efforts to influence the result by corrupt or unworthy means. When the vote of no particular State could be said to have a deciding weight in the result, there would be no effort made to carry any State by dishonest means. The whole country would have to be appealed to by open arguments and methods, and the manifest impossibility of close calculations as to the division of a poll of such gigantic proportions would preclude all idea of either side seeking to purchase a majority. On the other hand, it is to be said that until all parts of the country can be heard from within about the same period after election, decision by popular vote might introduce a new and serious element of uncertainty. Three or four weeks are usually required, for example, to obtain full official returns from Texas, and the vote of that State is sufficiently large to have been the deciding factor in every Presidential election that we have had in recent years if the election had been decided by popular vote.

The Key to Municipal Reform.

It was made evident by the legislation of the year now drawing to a close that an unusual amount of attention was given to the subject of reform in municipal government. Many of the State legislatures passed new charters for their larger cities, and many others spent much time in the discussion of such measures. In Ohio home rule was granted to all the large cities of the State, and new charters, embodying that and other important principles, were granted to four of them, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Springfield, and Youngstown. In Indiana a new charter was granted to the city of Indianapolis. In all these cities confident hopes are entertained that the new forms of government will sweep away some abuses, modify others, and give the people better government than they have hitherto enjoyed.

It is not our purpose to enter upon a discussion of the provisions of these new charters, or to consider the relative merits of their leading features. Some of them aim at divided responsibility, others at concentrated power and direct responsibility. In these and other respects they are like charters which have been tried in other cities, and the results attained under them will not differ much from those attained hitherto elsewhere. In the last analysis the character of the results will be determined by the character of the men who administer the system. No charter has been drawn, or can be devised, which will give a city good government when its offices are in the hands of incompetent and dishonest men.

As the readers of THE CENTURY are aware, we have for a long time held the opinion that the only way by which reform in municipal government can be secured is by getting it into the hands of intelligent, honest, and experienced men. The system which will put men of this character into office and keep them there is the only one that will meet the emergency. Is there such a system, and what are its leading features? What is wanted is, in the first place, fitness combined with character, and, after that, permanent tenure. This is civil service reform in its essence, and it follows that we can never have genuine and lasting municipal reform until we put the entire municipal system of government upon a civil service reform basis.

The unwillingness of the better classes of the community to enter into active political life is notorious. Not only do they decline to take any part in the primaries and nominating conventions, but they refuse to accept nominations for office. It frequently happens that a promising reform movement is delayed and its enthusiasm hopelessly chilled by the failure of its promoters to find an eminent and suitable person who is willing to make the sacrifice of becoming its chief nominee for office. This indifference and unwillingness cannot be overcome by appeals to civic pride and sense of public duty, except in very rare instances, for reasons which are not difficult to find. Public life offers only temporary and uncertain occupation, and the man who enters it must do so at the peril of being left without means of support at the end of his first term of office. We cannot expect that young men of talent and character will enter into the public service until they are offered inducements to do so which are, to some extent at least, as attractive as those offered by professional and

business life. What every man who is of any account in the world seeks at the opening of his career is a profession or calling which promises to give him sure employment with a prospect of wealth, or at least a competence, as the years go by. If he could find such promises in the public service as are held out in the model cities of Berlin, Paris, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, he would enter into it eagerly enough. As Mr. Shaw pointed out in his Paris and Glasgow articles, and as we have repeatedly pointed out in this department of *THE CENTURY*, in these cities the highest expert talent is sought for the heads of departments, is paid handsomely, and is kept in office for life or during good behavior. It is this policy which gives the city good government and at the same time secures the interest of the intelligent and moral portions of the community in public affairs.

In American cities the opposite policy prevails. Not only is no inducement offered for expert intelligence to seek place in the public service, but every obstacle is raised to prevent its finding an entry there. If by chance any man possessing it gets office, he is certain to be turned out at the end of a very brief period. The result is that every young man of first-rate intelligence shuns political life and public service and seeks for his occupation in other directions; while the men of inferior intelligence, unstable character, and flabby morality turn to politics as offering them a better chance of success than they could hope for in the severer competition of private occupations. It is not surprising that under such conditions we have had municipal rule in all our large cities; that municipal indebtedness rolls every year into larger and more portentous dimensions, and that all efforts to bring about a better state of affairs, by amending existing charters or enacting new ones, result in failure or only partial and temporary improvement. Reform of a thorough and lasting kind will be attained only when we get a system which will give us in all the departments of our municipal service the kind of officials which Mr. Shaw in his article on Paris, in *THE CENTURY* for July, described as controlling the police department of that city. "Every one of the numerous bureaus," he said, "is manned with permanent officials who have entered the service upon examination and who are promoted for merit." This system prevails throughout the service, making every bureau of the executive municipal government, according to Mr. Shaw, "a model of efficiency." The same system would produce similar results in American cities, making them as well governed as any in the world, instead of standing, as at present, among the worst governed in the world. It will be a slow and arduous task to educate public sentiment to a realization of this truth, but it must be accomplished before we can hope for genuine municipal reform.

James Russell Lowell, Poet and Citizen.

No name among those familiar to the late generations of Americans has done more to make our country respected and believed in abroad and to uphold the faith and courage of patriotic Americans than that of James Russell Lowell. It behooves us not so much to grieve for his untimely death,—for he was the youngest of the distinguished New England group of men-of-letters, and yet not the last to go,—but rather

to rejoice at the noble, salutary, and inspiring career of the great poet, humorist, essayist, scholar, diplomatist, politician, statesman, and citizen.

As a poet, whatever comparisons may be made with his predecessors or contemporaries, at home or abroad, whatever just criticisms may be recorded, we believe it will be found at the end that a large part of his verse has passed into literature, there to remain. The originality, vitality, intensity, and beauty of the best of it are self-evident. Although a true, spontaneous poet, his life had other strong interests and engrossing occupations, and the volume of his verse does not equal that of others whose careers have extended beside his own; his impression as a poet upon his time has not equaled that of others. It may, indeed, be said that if as strongly poetic in nature as they, he would have been dominated as exclusively as were they by the poetic mood. However this may be, the quality of his genius, as shown in his best work, was, we believe, quite as fine as that of any poet writing English in his day. No one can read his last volume of verse without being impressed anew by the vigor, variety, and spontaneous character of Lowell's poetic gift. Even his literary faults are of such a nature as to testify to the keenness of his thought and the abundance of his intellectual equipment.

But, after all, perhaps the most striking thing in Lowell's career was not the brilliancy of his mind, his many-sided and extraordinary ability,—but the fact that in every department of his intellectual activity was distinguished the note of the patriot. He loved letters for art's sake; he used letters for art's sake—but also for the sake of the country. His poetic fervor, his unique humor, the vehicle of his pithy and strenuous prose, his elegant and telling oratory—all these served fearlessly the cause of American democracy, of which he was the most commanding exponent in the intellectual world of our day. His keen sense of the responsibilities of citizenship, added to his native genius, made him from early life—in the true and undegraded sense of the word—a politician, and an effective one, as well as a statesman whose writings are an arsenal of human freedom.

A few years ago, as our readers will remember, it was the good fortune of *THE CENTURY* to bring out the record of Lowell's relation to Lincoln. It will be remembered that he was one of the first, in fact he himself believed that he was the very first, of the so-called "Brahman class" of New England to discover and widely proclaim the peculiar virtues and political abilities of Lincoln, at a time when many, even among the good, were suspicious or scornful of "the rail-splitter." Cordial recognition of good intent, as well as of natural gifts, was, indeed, one of Lowell's most admirable traits. American literature and American politics owe much to him, not only for inspiration and example, but for most cordial encouragement, both private and public.

Lowell passes from us in the very year of the establishment in America by statute of the principle of International Copyright, a cause of which he was the official leader as the president of the American Copyright League. He brought to the agitation all the stored-up wealth of his great reputation, the total result of a spotless and noble life, all the forces of his literary skill, his biting wit, his oratory, his moral en-

thusiasm, and his statesmanlike judgment. His appearance in person before a committee of Congress in 1886 was a great historical event of the triumphant war for the rights of the intellect before the law. Unlike other and younger literary men, it was not necessary for him to spend laborious and continuous days, weeks, or months in the conflict. Such was the power of his name, and the trenchancy of his occasional blows, such

the cumulative impulse of his fame and abilities, that his work, though done with apparent ease, was great and effective.

And now this immense intellectual and moral force is with us only as a memory and a record. Yet for many a day and year the name and words of Lowell will light the path of the republic of which he was the lover and laureate.

OPEN LETTERS.

"Laurels of the American Tar in 1812."

I. CRITICISM BY MR. POWELL.

THE article written by Edgar S. Maclay on the "Laurels of the American Tar in 1812" which appeared in THE CENTURY for December last is well written and well illustrated, but contains several statements needing correction.

1. It fails to set forth the great difference in size, 40 to 50 per cent., which prevailed between the combatants in most of the actions. For instance, the American 44-gun frigates which severally captured three British 38-gun frigates in single fight were each superior in size to their adversaries. The "load displacement" of the *Constitution* is always stated in American navy lists at 2200 tons, but the load displacement of British 38's was only about 1500 tons. As to the "tons burden" there is a large mistake in that entered to the English frigates in Emmons's "History of the United States Navy." It is almost ludicrous to compare the action of the *Levant* and the *Cyane* with the *Constitution* as at all between equal forces. The two small British ships only averaged 500 tons burden each, and the American over 1500; the short carronades of the former were nearly useless against the heavy long guns of their opponent.¹

2. The statement that English shot always were of full weight, and American generally seven per cent. under weight, is more than doubtful. Simmons in Heavy Ordnance, 1837, states that English shot were under the nominal weight, and Colonel Owen, Professor of Artillery to Woolwich College, gives tables showing that when the shot, long after the war of 1812, had been rather increased in size, they were still below weight, so that an eighteen-pound ball weighed, even then, only seventeen pounds and eleven ounces. Sir Howard Douglas in "Naval Gunnery" remarks that the English cannon had more windage than the French and American; hence the ball would be rather smaller.

3. It is exceedingly improbable that the *Guerrière* in 1812 would have on board French guns and shot since her capture so long before as 1806. The utmost precision and uniformity in the naval and military services is necessary for supply and mutual exchange and support with cannon, shot, ammunition, etc., and those

¹ The official records of the English Admiralty and of the French Marine have clear evidence of the exact size of their 38- and 40-gun frigates at the commencement of this century; the large national collections of naval models in London and in Paris agree with these records, and the scientific works of both countries on naval architecture support the same facts. Adding the historical works of James and Brenton, we get an accumulation of evidence which must be absolutely conclusive to unbiased minds. Thus all this evidence has the remarkable quality of entire agreement as to the dimensions of the frigates, which are

points are carefully attended to in all regular services. How could one ship supply another with guns or shot if they did not exactly match the regulations?

4. Mr. Maclay, again, has not mentioned the respective complements of men. The American large frigates had 470 men; the British 38's had but 300 regular complement, all told; as often less as more. He is mistaken in giving the *Chesapeake* only 340; Admiral Preble, U. S. N., writing in the American magazine "United Service," acknowledges she had 390, but he overrates the crew of the *Shannon*. The total number of persons on board the *Shannon* of every grade was 330, and there is no mystery how it was composed, namely 300 full complement, 8 lent by her consort, and 22 Irish laborers or passengers only just pressed out of a merchant ship. Owing to Captain Broke's being wounded and temporarily unable to attend to business, his friends wrote the official report for him, and unfortunately were not sufficiently precise in their inquiries; but the report, notwithstanding, is abundantly correct for all practical purposes, the errors being of no importance. It is alleged by James that the *Chesapeake*, far from having a "scratch crew," retained on board the greater part of the men that had served the two years on her previous voyage, and the officers were most fastidious in picking out none but the best men to fill up with. See, in Mr. Maclay's own article, his reference to "picked seamen," page 207. It seems unlikely that when sailing out to meet the *Shannon* the men would dare to annoy Captain Lawrence with an ill-timed application for the prize money of the previous cruise, unless the spokesman at all events represented a large proportion of the complement. Out of the *Shannon's* "52 guns" four were mere boat guns or exercising pieces, and two of those fitted as stern-chasers were not once fired in the action.

5. The artist has taken poetical license in depicting the American ships as rather smaller than the British instead of much larger; the *Constitution* is drawn with three or four ports on the quarter-deck instead of eight or nine.

6. I refuse to believe that the *Constitution* in two or three hours' close action with the *Java* was hulled only four times. The official report allows 34 killed and

given as varying from 150 to 155 feet long and most nearly 40 feet or 12¼ meters in extreme breadth. Some recent transatlantic writers make the length more by measuring in the projection of the counter; but that is contrary to rule. Any one who really understands the subject of tonnage is invited to explain how such dimensions could possibly give a total of much more than 1100 tons Congress measure or 1030 Philadelphia measure. But the American frigates by the former rule, being of 1576 tons, were 43 per cent. larger than British or French.—H. Y. P.

wounded, and the British account says many more. Professor Frost in his history of the United States Navy says "the shattered and decayed state of the *Constitution* required her return to port." What does "shattered" mean? By the way, Fenimore Cooper remarks that Captain Hull wrote two reports of the action with the *Guerrière*, and suggests the other should be published also. Why not?

I shall not attempt to deny that the British in 1812, after twenty years of victories, had become careless and over-confident, while the Americans exhibited much efficiency in profiting by prearranged superiority of force, a superiority more generally confessed now than at the time of the war itself.

Not wishing to occupy too much of your space, I will only refer readers who wish for further evidence to the "Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine," London, for September, 1890; to the "Army and Navy Journal," New York, during the autumn of 1889; to the new appendices to the last edition of James's "Naval History," 1886, Volume VI, and to Colburn's "United Service Magazine," London, of April, 1885.

LONDON, January, 1891.

H. Y. Powell.

II. MR. MACLAY'S REJOINER.

IN answer to H. Y. Powell's criticism on my article I will say in brief (referring to his numbered paragraphs):

1. The "load displacement" is not a fair comparison because the American frigates were more heavily built, had heavier stanchions, thicker masts, heavier armaments, etc., all of which, of course, made a greater "load displacement," but does not show that there was "40 to 50 per cent." difference in size. I call Mr. Powell's attention to an article written by himself in the September (1890) number of the "Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine" of London, in which he says that the American 44-gun frigates were about 175 feet long and 45 feet beam while the British 38-gun frigate of the war of 1812 was 155 feet length and 40.3 feet beam. This certainly is not the "40 to 50 per cent." difference in size which Mr. Powell speaks of. But according to American accounts the *Constitution* was only 12 feet longer and had a trifle more beam than the *Guerrière*. I frankly admitted in my article that the American frigates were much better, perhaps "40 to 50 per cent." better, if Mr. Powell chooses, but I do not admit that difference in size as commonly understood.

I also call Mr. Powell's attention to Captain Dacres's opinion of the relative force of the two frigates, and I think Mr. Powell will admit that Captain Dacres is something of an authority on the subject, as he commanded the *Guerrière* when captured by the *Constitution*, and afterward was many days in the latter frigate, thereby having a better opportunity than either myself or Mr. Powell could ever have of judging the two ships. I think also Mr. Powell will admit that Captain Dacres had far more interest in discovering a "40 to 50 per cent." difference between the two frigates, if such difference existed, than either Mr. Powell or myself. That before this engagement Captain Dacres considered the *Guerrière* of sufficient size to capture the *Constitution* is seen in the following challenge:

Captain Dacres, commander of His Britannic Majesty's frigate *Guerrière*, presents his compliments to Comman-

der Rogers of the United States frigate *President* [sister ship to the *Constitution*], and will be very happy to meet him, or any other American frigate of equal force to the *President*, off Sandy Hook, for the purpose of having a social tête-à-tête.

British commanders were fully aware of the size of American 44-gun frigates at the time of this challenge. That up to the time of this action Captain Dacres had not changed this opinion is seen in the following: On the 10th of August, or nine days before the engagement, the *Guerrière* captured the American brig *Betsy* commanded by Mr. Orne. Mr. Orne was aboard the *Guerrière* when that frigate met the *Constitution*, and relates: "I soon saw from the peculiarity of her [*Constitution's*] sails and from her general appearance that she was, without doubt, an American frigate, and communicated the same to Captain Dacres. He immediately replied that he thought she came down too boldly for an American, but soon after added, 'The better he behaves, the more honor we shall gain by taking him.'" (See Coggshall's "History of American Privateers.")

Even after the action, when Captain Dacres and his officers had been several days in the *Constitution*, thus having an excellent opportunity of comparing the two ships, he still entertained the same views, and immediately on landing wrote that "the loss of the ship is to be ascribed to the early fall of her mizzen-mast." (See Official Report of Captain Dacres.)

This opinion is still more forcibly stated by Captain Dacres several months after the event. In his defense before his courtmartial he says: "Notwithstanding the unlucky issue of this affair, such confidence have I in the exertions of the officers and men who belong to the *Guerrière*, and I am so well aware that the success of my opponent was owing to fortune, that it is my earnest wish, and would be the happiest moment of my life, to be once more opposed to the *Constitution* with them under my command, in a frigate of similar force to the *Guerrière*."

Such is the opinion of Captain Dacres in reference to the comparative size of the *Constitution* and *Guerrière*, expressed after having had unsurpassed opportunities for inspecting both ships, and uttered after mature deliberation. Neither he nor any of the frigate commanders of this war claimed that the American frigates they fought were "40 to 50 per cent." larger; such claims being the work of Mr. James, whom Mr. Powell seems to follow.

2. As to this point I do not see that any answer is needed. In my article I gave three or four authorities, both English and American, which were contemporaneous with the battles in which the ammunition was used. Mr. Powell refers to an authority in 1837, and to Sir Howard Douglas, who was later yet. What happened to the shot in 1837 or later I in no way discussed. I treated of shot in the war of 1812 only, so that Mr. Powell's two rather *post-bellum* authorities do not affect my argument in the least.

3. As to this point I dealt in facts and gave my authorities in the article. An officer *actually weighed* the *Guerrière's* shot, and that is better evidence than probabilities or improbabilities.

4. I showed in my article that the American crews were superior, both in numbers and quality. I do not see that I am mistaken in giving the *Chesapeake* 340 men. My authority is official, being none less than

Emmons's "Statistical History of the United States Navy," p. 66. This is the United States Government record of the navy. The same number is given by all recognized naval historians. Admiral Preble never pretended to be an authority on the war of 1812. What he wrote in some magazine article is liable to error, and, as regards the crew of the *Chesapeake*, is in disagreement with all the naval authorities of that period.

I have in no place said that Captain Broke's forged official report was not "abundantly correct." My point was to prove that at least one letter was an absolute forgery. This I did. This—taken in connection with the fact that there are other official letters which the Admiralty refused me the privilege of inspecting, and which are said even by British writers to be "garbled" so as to reduce the humiliation of British defeat—forms evidence amounting almost to proof that official reports of other British commanders have been so garbled as to detract from the American victory, and affords us ample ground for questioning some of their figures.

"Picked seamen" in my article referred to the earlier part of this war. It is a well-known fact that by June, 1813, many American privateers and seamen had been captured by the British, and as the Admiralty refused to exchange prisoners (thereby hoping to check American enterprise on the sea) seamen became very scarce. My authorities for saying so are Washington Irving, Cooper, and Niles's Register, besides others. On the 45th page, Volume II, "Spanish Papers," Washington Irving says: "It was only with great difficulty that any men could be induced to enlist in her [the *Chesapeake*]."

As to its being "unlikely" that the *Chesapeake's* crew should "dare to annoy Captain Lawrence with an ill-timed application for money," Washington Irving and the Rev. Dr. Brighton, the English biographer of Captain Broke of the *Shannon*, say that the crew mutinied, and "that a scoundrel Portuguese who was boatswain's mate demanded prize checks for the men" (Irving's "Spanish Papers," Vol. II, p. 47; also Brighton's "Memoirs of Admiral Broke," p. 165).

My authority for placing the *Shannon's* guns at 52 is none other than James (Vol. VI, p. 53), who says she carried "28 long 18-pounders, 4 long 9-pounders, 1 long 6-pounder, 16 short 32-pounders, and 3 short 12-pounders." And in this I will observe that James has departed from the figures in the official report of Captain Broke, which gives the *Shannon* only 49 guns. James says: "The *Shannon* certainly mounted 52 carriage guns," and "mounted" does not mean placed in a boat where they could not be used, had that side of the ship been engaged. As for the guns that were not "once fired" the *Chesapeake* had a whole broadside she did not fire; so did the *Shannon*, but that does not show that she did not carry those guns.

5. I do not see that Mr. Davidson, the artist, has taken any "poetical license." The only picture where two frigates are fully compared is that of the *United States* and *Macedonian*. Here the *Macedonian* is made higher out of the water because she, being relieved of the weight of masts and spars, and the consequent heeling over from pressure of sails, naturally would look higher. In this Mr. Davidson has discovered great skill.

The *Constitution* carried from ten to twelve guns on her quarter-deck, which required six ports at the most to a side; not "eight or nine," as Mr. Powell says.

6. I regret Mr. Powell refuses to believe that the *Constitution* was hulled only four times by the *Java*. Such, however, was the case. The best of the matter is, the British commanders at that time were so confident of capturing all American frigates that they took especial pains not to fire into the hull, but directed all their shot at the rigging so as to prevent the Americans from being able to make sail in escape. They did not wish to injure the hull as it would only be so much more damage for them to repair after the capture.

Professor John Frost wrote a "Book of the Navy," but I have never before known him to be quoted as an authority. I also must confess that I do not know why Captain Hull's second report was not published.

Edgar S. Maclay.

III. COMMENTS ON MR. MACLAY'S REJOINER.

DISPLACEMENT is indeed a fair comparison between ships of the same general description, and is now adopted by naval architects, officers, and government officials in every nation. The American 44's exceeded the British 38's by more than 7 per cent., nearer 12 per cent. linear dimensions (or as 174 to 154 in length), in fact more in depth, and consequently at least 40 per cent. in cubical bulk.

The complements of men afford a test of size, 470 to 300 all told.

I consider my evidence is good that English shot were most generally underweight as well as American. I have a letter from the Manager of the Carson Co., which cast shot and cannon in the war time. Sir H. Douglas's authoritative work on "Naval Gunnery" gives the exact size of English shot in 1815, and we find that after being enlarged in 1837 they still weighed rather less than nominal weight.

About the *Guerrrière's* guns I read Fenimore Cooper to mean that *perhaps* they were French, retained on board the six years. He often guardedly writes "it is said."

As the American navy consisted of so very few vessels in 1813 I see no reason to think there was the least difficulty in getting first-class seamen for the *Chesapeake*—James says boat-loads were refused. Truly the *Chesapeake* had a whole broadside that was never once fired in the engagement, but the same remark applies to the *Shannon*. Each vessel fired twenty-five guns of a side, the *Shannon* a trifle less weight of shot. The *Chesapeake* was pierced for fifty-four guns, besides chasers, according to a model, carefully made to scale, on view to this day at Greenwich (Hospital) College. There is a similar model of the *President*, also of the *Macedonian* class of frigate, etc.

I think (without referring) that Theodore Roosevelt allows the *Java* fought chiefly at rather close quarters, certainly well within range of musketry. I do not believe that she fired intentionally high, but inefficiently, from having a raw crew not trained in gunnery; most likely many shots went in the water as well as in the air. Still thirty-four men were killed or wounded on board the *Constitution*, and it is not likely many of them were aloft.

H. Y. Powell.

IV. "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!"

IN the article in the December CENTURY entitled "Laurels of the American Tar in 1812," in speaking of the engagement between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, the writer states that doubt has been cast upon the accuracy of the report of Captain Lawrence's last words. As bearing upon this matter I offer the following evidence.

My father, Dr. William Swift, was one of the surgeons on board the *Chesapeake*, in her engagement with the *Shannon*, and was in attendance on Captain Lawrence after he was wounded; and my mother has often heard him tell the story, and quote the last words of the dying commander: "Don't give up the ship!"

Before his death, Captain Lawrence gave his belt to Dr. Swift, who presented it to the Naval Lyceum at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, accompanied by the following memorandum:

Dr. Swift has the honor to present to the Naval Lyceum the belt worn by Captain Lawrence in the action between the United States Frigate *Chesapeake* and the British Frigate *Shannon*, on the 1st of June, 1813, and which was loosed from his waist the moment previous to his uttering the memorable words, "Don't give up the ship!"—*Naval Lyceum*, BROOKLYN, February, 4, 1834.

Dr. Swift was made a prisoner, and sent to Halifax, whence he returned home with the wounded.

In 1820 he was detached from the *Ontario* and sent as acting consul to Tunis, where he remained sixteen months. In 1836 he was on the *North Carolina* as fleet surgeon of the Pacific squadron, and on his return in 1839 was stationed at New York, Boston, and Newport for different periods. In 1862 he was at his own request placed on the retired list, having spent fifty-one years in the service of his country. He died in 1865 at the age of eighty-four.

William J. Swift, M.D.

Mr. Kennan's Reply to Certain Criticisms.

[WE presume upon the intense and continued interest in Mr. Kennan's Siberian papers which many of our readers have manifested, to make the following extracts from the preface of his forthcoming volume.—ED. C. M.]

Some of the criticisms that have been made upon the articles on Siberia and the exile system published in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE have been based apparently upon the assumption that a survey of any one particular department of national life must necessarily be incomplete and misleading, and that the fair-minded investigator should supplement it by taking into the field of vision a quantity of unrelated facts and phenomena from a dozen other departments.

"Your articles," certain critics have said, "give a false impression. Your statements with regard to Russian prisons, indiscriminate arrests, and the banishment of hundreds of people to Siberia without trial may all be true; but there are in Russia, nevertheless, thousands of peaceful, happy homes, where fathers and brothers are no more in danger of being arrested and exiled to

Siberia than they would be if they lived in the United States. Russia is not a vast prison inhabited only by suspects, convicts, and jailers; it is full of cultivated, refined, kind-hearted people; and its Emperor, who is the embodiment of all the domestic virtues, has no higher aim in life than to promote the happiness and prosperity of his beloved subjects."

The obvious reply to such criticism as this is that it wholly mistakes the aim and scope of the work criticized. I did not go to Russia to observe happy homes, nor to make the acquaintance of congenial, kind-hearted people, nor to admire the domestic virtues of the Tsar. I went to Russia to study the working of a penal system, to make the acquaintance of exiles, outcasts, and criminals, and to ascertain how the Government treats its enemies in the prisons and mines of Eastern Siberia. Granted, for the sake of argument, that there are thousands of happy homes in Russia; that the Empire *does* abound in cultivated and kind-hearted people, and that the Tsar *is* devotedly attached to his wife and children; what have these facts to do with the sanitary condition of a tumble-down *étape* in the province of Yakútsk, or with the flogging to death of a young and educated woman at the mines of Kará? The balancing of a happy and kind-hearted family in St. Petersburg against an epidemic of typhus fever in the exile forwarding-prison at Tomsk is not an evidence of fairness and impartiality, but rather an evidence of an illogical mind. All that fairness and impartiality require of the investigator in any particular field is that he shall set forth, conscientiously, in due relative proportion and without prejudice, all the significant facts that he has been able to gather in that selected field, and then that he shall draw from the collected facts such conclusions as they may seem to warrant. His work may not have the scope of an encyclopedia, but there is no reason, in the nature of things, why it should not be full, accurate, and trustworthy as far as it goes. An investigation of the Indian question in the United States would necessarily deal with a very small part of the varied and complex life of the nation; but it might, nevertheless, be made as fair and complete, within its limits, as Bryce's "American Commonwealth." It would, perhaps, present a dark picture; but to attempt to lighten it by showing that the President of the republic is a moral man and good to his children, or that there are thousands of happy families in New York that have not been driven from their homes by gold-seekers, or that the dwellers on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston are refined and cultivated people who have never made a practice of selling intoxicating liquor to minors, would be not only illogical but absurd. If the gloominess of the picture is to be relieved, the proper way to relieve it is to show what has been done to remedy the evils that make it gloomy, and not by any means to prove that in some other part of the country, under wholly different conditions, a picture might be drawn that would be cheerful and inspiring.

In the present work I have tried to present impartially both sides of every disputed question, and to deal as fairly as possible both with the Government and with the exiles. . . .

George Kennan.