

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Lincoln on the Spoils System.

CIVIL-SERVICE reform had not made its appearance in American politics when Mr. Lincoln was President, but there is evidence that he was at heart a disciple of it, and would have been one of its most vigorous champions, had he lived. The descent of the office-seekers upon him was stupendous. Colonel John Hay, in his "Life in the White House in the Time of Lincoln," published in *THE CENTURY* for November, 1890, says that "in the first days after the inauguration there was the unprecedented rush of office-seekers, inspired by a strange mixture of enthusiasm and greed, pushed by motives which were perhaps at bottom selfish, but which had nevertheless a curious touch of that deep emotion which had stirred the heart of the nation in the late election. . . . The numbers were so great, the competition was so keen, that they ceased for the moment to be regarded as individuals, drowned as they were in the general sea of solicitation." Colonel A. K. McClure gives a similar picture in his personal recollections, saying in reference to the condition of affairs in Washington at the beginning of Lincoln's administration:

The place-seekers swarmed in numbers almost equal to the locusts of Egypt, and the President was pestered day and night by the leading statesmen of the country, who clamored for offices for their henchmen. I well remember the sad picture of despair his face presented when I happened to meet him alone for a few moments in the Executive Chamber as he spoke of the heartless spoilsmen, who seemed to be utterly indifferent to the grave dangers which threatened the government. He said: "I seem like one sitting in a palace assigning apartments to importunate applicants while the structure is on fire, and likely soon to perish in ashes."

The reform is moving on surely. It would be expedited if those who believe in it would live up to it. As we have said before, one trouble is that people are good-natured, and when their friends want places under a new administration,—that is, places not vacant, and only to be made vacant by the demands of the office-seekers,—these good-natured people allow themselves to become part of the pressure for the places, by their recommendations and solicitations. It must sometimes look to the appointing powers as if the whole country rose up and demanded not civil-service reform, but positions in the civil service.

There is such a thing as rushing a reform ahead of public opinion, and thus injuring the reform; and there are many positions which are political in the true sense, and should be taken possession of by the party of the majority after every election. But it is the duty of every citizen to do his share in eliminating not only the spoils system, but the spoils idea, from politics; to press upon the authorities the necessity of continually extending the merit system, and of acting according to its spirit outside of the classified service. For it is no exaggeration to say that the evils of the spoils system are illustrated in every sinister career in the history of modern American politics; every disgraceful "success" is to

be laid at its doors; every corrupt ring has here its origin. It is the menace and enemy of honest administration in every community in the country; it degrades our legislatures, State and national; and the cause of good government triumphs only when this pernicious system is thwarted or overcome.

Two Values of the Silver Dollar.

THE following letter of inquiry comes to us from a reader in Lincolnville, Kansas:

Your answer to a letter from Arkansas in the January number encourages me to ask a question in the hope of having it accorded similar courteous and instructive treatment. And it is with no hostile critical object that I ask it, for I am inclined to think your position on the money subject the right one. It is this: Why, if a 66-cent dollar will buy only 66 cents' worth of goods, can we go into any store in the land and, laying down five silver dollars, as readily get five dollars' worth of goods as if we had offered a five-dollar gold piece?

The reason why this can be done is because the country is on the gold standard, and the credit of the United States government is behind every silver dollar. Our inquiring friend in Lincolnville can take his five silver dollars to his local bank and ask to have them exchanged for five gold dollars, and the bank will grant him his request. The bank will do this because its officers know that they can send the silver dollars to their correspondent bank in the East and get gold dollars in exchange. The Eastern bank will oblige the Western one in this transaction because it in turn can effect a similar exchange with the United States Treasury. It is knowledge of the ability of the United States Treasury to do this which induces the local banks, and, through them, all tradespeople, to receive silver on equal terms with gold.

The United States government is able to do this only so long as the coinage of silver is limited, or only so long as the supply of gold in the Treasury is sufficient to meet all demands upon it. Unlimited coinage of silver, or very large currency inflation brought about by the issue of legal-tender notes by the Treasury in payment for silver bullion, tends to drive gold out of the country, and thus to diminish the Treasury supply. When this gold supply becomes so reduced that the Government can meet its obligations only by paying out its hoarded silver, and cannot exchange that silver on demand for gold, then the five silver dollars of our inquiring friend will drop instantly to their real value,—of about 64 cents each at this writing,—and he will be able to buy only \$3.20 worth of goods with them.

The drop from the gold to the silver standard would come with astounding suddenness at the very first whisper that the Government could no longer exchange silver dollars for gold dollars. The bank in Lincolnville, like the banks in every other part of the land, would get the news instantly, and from the banks it would spread to the tradesmen, who would instantly mark their prices up to the requirements of the silver standard—that is, more than a third above their former

level. The local tradesmen would have to do this because the merchants in all the large cities from whom they purchase their supplies would do it the moment the country slid from the gold standard. But while prices would be advanced instantly, wages of all kinds would advance at a much more moderate pace, and the result would be the same that it always is in such times of inflation—the wage-earner and the poor man generally would be the chief sufferers from the change.

The Government has two remedies at hand when its gold reserve—which it keeps in its treasury as a guarantee of its pledge to redeem its legal tenders in gold—begins to melt away. It can stop the issue of legal tenders, or it can issue gold bonds, which amounts to buying gold at a premium. In regard to the legal tenders, which have been issued on silver bullion purchases at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces per month since the passage of the Sherman Act of 1890, these can be stopped by the repeal of the act. Under that act the Government had, up to February 1 of the present year, bought 129,926,785 ounces of silver, paying therefor \$127,237,410, and issuing legal tenders to that amount. Under the Bland Act, which preceded the Sherman Act, the purchases cost \$305,135,497, making a total outlay for silver, during fifteen years, of \$432,372,907. The market value of this silver on January 25 of the present year was \$351,457,257, showing a total loss to the Government, since the silver purchases began, of \$80,915,650, or an average of more than \$5,000,000 a year.

To understand the difficulties which confront the Government in maintaining a gold standard, it should be borne in mind that since January 1, 1879, there had remained intact and undisturbed in the Treasury, down to the beginning of February last, a gold reserve of \$100,000,000, as a fund pledged substantially to the redemption of the outstanding legal-tender notes, or greenbacks, amounting to \$346,000,000. The addition of over \$331,000,000 in silver certificates to the volume of legal tenders, taken in connection with the Treasury notes and other outstanding Government promises, raises the total of such legal tenders and promises to \$813,000,000, for which there is a redemption fund of only \$100,000,000. For redemption purposes the millions of hoarded silver in the Treasury, coined and bullion, are of no use whatever. It could not be sold for gold, for the mere offering of it would start a panic in the silver-market, and send the price far below its present level. Its presence in the Treasury is a constant menace to the financial and industrial stability of the country, and to the welfare of the people. The continuation of the policy which has led to the accumulation benefits nobody, except the mine-owners who have silver to sell, and for whom the United States now generously creates a market at an annual expense to the American people of \$5,000,000. It would be much better for the country to pay them the five millions as an annual bounty, and stop taking the silver, for we should then escape the peril which is aggravated by every fresh issue of silver certificates.

Why Our Corrupt Practices Laws Fail.

The first trial of the Massachusetts Corrupt Practices Act, which is unquestionably the best of the few similar laws thus far adopted in this country, revealed

many merits and several serious defects. As we pointed out in our discussion of this law in this department of *THE CENTURY* for November, 1892, it is an improvement on the New York law in several respects, notably in the requirements for sworn publication after election of all receipts and expenditures by campaign committees as well as by candidates. These requirements have proved valuable and effective in practice, for they gave to the public for the first time full, itemized accounts of the money which the State, county, city, and town committees received, the sources from which it came, and the uses to which it was put. This was valuable information for the public to receive, and the knowledge that the revelation must be made undoubtedly exercised a restraining and wholesome influence upon both contributors and dispensing agents.

The publication of the sworn returns of the two State committees of the leading political parties showed that the politicians in both had been quick to discover a defect which enabled them to conceal the sources of their largest contributions. The law requires full accounting for all contributions received inside the State, but for those coming from outside the State no such accounting is required. The returns of the committees showed that they had their heaviest contributors forward their money to the national committees at New York, which had in turn sent it back to the State committees at Boston. In this way it could be set down in the sworn returns as having come from the national committees. Thus the report of the Democratic State Committee showed an expenditure of \$53,000, of which \$23,000 was recorded as having been received from the National Democratic Committee, and the report of the Republican State Committee showed that of \$59,000 spent, \$23,000 had come from the Republican National Committee. No names of contributors were given for these amounts, so that the intent of the law in that particular was defeated. It is difficult to see what remedy there can be devised for this evasion, which is a practical one only in Presidential election years.

But a more serious defect in the law was revealed when its penalty clauses were examined. These impose a fine of one thousand dollars upon candidates, and the same fine, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, upon the treasurer of a committee, for violations of the law, but it is made nobody's duty to bring offenders to trial, or to enforce the law in any respect. This is a defect common to other American laws of the kind, and it is the one which is mainly responsible for their indifferent success in practice. Then, too, if by chance a successful candidate were to be convicted and fined, he would still be able to hold the office to which he was elected, a condition of things which would amount to a public scandal.

For guidance in remedying these and other defects, we must go to the English Corrupt Practices Act, the remarkable efficacy of which has been demonstrated anew by the contested cases growing out of the last parliamentary election. There was an unusual number of these cases, and they resulted in the unseating of five members. In each of these five cases the member was deprived of his seat for offenses which it would be impossible to prove under any existing American law. One member lost his seat, and was

disqualified from being again a candidate before the same constituency during the existing Parliament, because his son, who was acting as his agent, had made an "illegal payment" for 6000 hat-badges bearing the candidate's portrait, which had been distributed among the voters. Such expenditure is forbidden in the law, together with payments for "bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction," because in former times, before the enactment of the present law, vast sums used for corrupting the voters were set down as having been expended for these purposes, and it was feared that if such payments were not expressly forbidden the practice would be continued under the law. It is a noteworthy fact that in the county and town committee reports in Massachusetts, a very large proportion of the total expenditure is set down to "flags," "campaign uniforms and torches," and similar items.

Another of the English members was unseated, and disqualified as a candidate for seven years, because his agent had paid bills amounting to £326 for various "treats" to the electors, in the form of picnics, excursions, etc. His agent was fined £100, and disfranchised for five years. Another was unseated, and disqualified as a candidate during the existing Parliament, because his agents had been guilty of treating and corrupt practices, he bearing the consequences of their acts, though pronounced personally innocent of all knowledge of or complicity in them. His agents were condemned to pay the costs of the prosecution, and were disfranchised for five years. Two others lost their seats for districts in Ireland, and were disqualified for seven years, because the Catholic Church had exerted its spiritual power, through its priests, in their behalf.

All these English cases were brought into court under the provision of the law which enables any qualified elector to petition for the unseating of a candidate against whom illegal practices are charged. This makes the enforcement of the law an easy and assured thing, for practically all the electors of one party are lying in wait for the candidate of the opposite party, and are accumulating evidence for unseating him in case he carries the election by illegal methods. The law is so minute in its specifications of what acts constitute illegal offenses that the accumulation of incriminating evidence is a comparatively easy task, and the fact that all petitions are tried before a regular court of two judges makes a fair and non-partizan verdict certain. Nobody ever thinks of questioning the verdicts in these cases, any more than in non-political cases.

The lessons for Americans to draw from English experience are very plain. First, let us make our laws as specific, as comprehensive, and as rigorous as the English law. Let us also imitate it by placing a maximum limit to all expenditures. Then let us change our penalties upon offending candidates from fine and imprisonment, which experience has shown cannot be enforced, to loss of office, and disqualification to be again candidates for a period corresponding to the magnitude of the offense; and inflict upon offending agents and committeemen the penalties of fine and disfranchisement for a definite period. Finally, let us give every qualified voter the privilege of filing petitions for the purpose of bringing offenders to trial.

When these things shall have been done, we shall still need to take a further step before the reform will be complete: we must have the decision of all contested election cases transferred from our legislative bodies to the courts: In this way alone can we have a penalty of loss of office enforced against successful legislative candidates who violate the law. In other words, we cannot hope for thorough reform unless we adopt thorough measures for bringing it about. If we continue to adopt half-way, defective, and ill-considered measures, what reason have we for either surprise or discouragement when they prove partial or complete failures in practice? Should they prove anything else, there would be genuine cause for wonder.

American Boys and American Labor.

SHALL American boys be permitted to learn trades, and, having learned them, shall they be permitted to work at them? These are apparently simple questions, and the answering of them is an apparently simple matter. Most persons thus interrogated would reply at once: "Certainly they should. Why do you ask such unnecessary questions?" We ask them because under the present conditions of trade instruction and employment in this country the American boy has no rights which organized labor is bound to respect. He is denied instruction as an apprentice, and if he be taught his trade in a trade school, he is refused admission to nearly all the trade-unions, and is boycotted if he attempts to work as a non-union man. The questions of his character and skill enter into the matter only to discriminate against him. All the trade-unions of the country are controlled by foreigners, who comprise the great majority of their members. While they refuse admission to the trained American boy, they admit all foreign applicants with little or no regard to their training or skill. In fact, the doors of organized labor in America, which are closed and barred against American boys, swing open, wide and free, to all foreign comers. Labor in free America is free to all save the sons of Americans.

These are neither idle nor exaggerated statements. They are sober, solemn truths, expressed with studied moderation. So-called American labor to-day is a complete misnomer, as far as the trades are concerned. How has it come about that the United States, alone among the nations of the earth, has not merely surrendered possession of her field of mechanical labor to foreigners, but acquiesces when the foreign possessors exclude from that field her own sons?

THE CENTURY has been so strongly impressed with the evils of this anomalous situation, so unjust to American boys and so fraught with danger to the national welfare, that it has instituted a thorough inquiry into the causes which have produced it. The results of this inquiry will be set forth in subsequent articles, each devoted to a particular phase of the question. It will be shown that the two great causes have been the passing away of the old apprentice system, and the enormous immigration to this country from all parts of Europe. It will be shown that all the trade-unions of this country are controlled by men of foreign birth; that nearly all of them have such rules against the employing of apprentices that American boys can no longer, in any of the large cities of the country, learn a trade

by working in shops with journeymen; that such boys as learn trades in trade schools are refused admission to the unions not because they are not well taught, but because they have not served apprenticeship according to union rules, and are boycotted and persecuted if they attempt to work as non-union men.

It will be shown also that while the unions combine in this effective conspiracy against American boys, they admit freely to their organizations foreign workmen who have not served full apprenticeships, and who have only a slight knowledge of their crafts, and instruct them to a fuller knowledge while obtaining for them full pay as journeymen. It will be shown also that the bulk of foreign laborers who come to America are the poorest of their trades in Europe, the best workmen always finding abundant work and satisfactory pay at home; that in addition to being indifferent workmen, they are in many instances men of inferior moral training and instincts, frequently of turbulent and anti-social proclivities and practices, and are often without sympathy for American institutions, and have no regard whatever for the country's welfare. It will be shown also that in addition to the foreign laborers who take up their abode here and possess the field, there are many thousands of others who come here in every busy season, work while that season lasts, and return to their homes when it is ended. It will be shown that while these "harvesters," as they are called, are admitted to the unions and are given work on equal terms with union members, the union authorities refuse American boys as apprentices and journeymen on the ground that the labor-market is crowded, and the interests of labor will be harmed if Americans are allowed to come in.

We shall set forth these and other points with evidence drawn from official and other authentic sources, and shall illustrate them with incidents and occurrences drawn from actual experience. Our object in so doing will be to call public attention to what we believe to be a question of paramount national importance. Statistics show that one fifth of our able-

bodied male population are engaged in the mechanic arts, and are what are known as skilled workmen. This great body ought to be one of the most conservative and steadfast elements in our system of popular government. In the earlier days of the republic the American mechanic was everywhere known as one of the sturdiest representatives of American character. He was an honest man, a good workman, a loyal, faithful citizen. To-day he is an almost extinct species. As a nation we lead the world in mechanical skill, yet we are the only nation in the world that has almost ceased to produce its own mechanics. We not only take the great mass of ours from other countries, but we accept their poorest specimens, and, having accepted them, we allow them to control the field against our own sons.

The consequences of this policy, already momentous, are destined to become more so as time advances. We are not only bringing up our sons in idleness, not only depriving our experiment in popular government of the invaluable support of a great body of conservative citizens of American birth, but we are accepting in place of such a body one that is composed of and controlled by men of foreign birth, whose instincts and character are not merely un-American, but oftentimes anti-American. This body, acting frequently as a unit throughout the country, is able to paralyze all business and industry, and to bring the nation itself almost to the brink of social revolution and industrial war. Is it not time that Americans began to think seriously of these things? Have not the developments of the past few years in the so-called conflicts between capital and labor been portentous enough to give pause to all patriotic Americans? Could anything else have been reasonably expected from a policy which is so full of injustice to our own countrymen, and consequently so humiliating to us as a people? Is there any remedy save in a reversal of that policy? These are questions which we shall consider and answer in subsequent articles, beginning with one in an early number upon the present condition of the apprentice system.

OPEN LETTERS.

What the Phonograph will do for Music and Music-Lovers.

LOOKING at the phonograph from the point of view of a person professionally interested in music, I cannot see room for doubting the tremendous rôle which this extraordinary invention is to play in the future of music and musicians. Few people seem to realize that the phonograph, even in its present stage,—which is admitted to be one of imperfection as compared with what may be expected before many years have passed,—has really title to be called a musical instrument. My own skill with the phonograph is certainly not that of an expert, and yet I get no little enjoyment from the dance-music and the operatic fantasias which it reels off in the evening for the amusement of the family, while people less pampered than I am in the matter of music are filled with enthusiasm over its performances. It is really music, and not a mere suggestion of music. The different instruments employed are per-

fectly distinct, while the time is of course perfect. Taking, for instance, a chord of the piano, not only are the notes of the chord heard, but the after-vibrations, lasting for several seconds. When a small funnel is used to magnify the sound, every person in a large room can hear distinctly, and the music is almost loud enough to be used for dancing. In one of the phonograms, as the wax cylinders are called, the rounds of applause, the hand-clapping, the pounding of canes upon the floor, which followed the spirited performance of a popular melody at Mr. Edison's Orange laboratory, have been allowed to appear, making most people start with amazement as, after the last chords have died away, come these sharp cries of "Bravo!" and the confused rattle of applause from the audience.

Such being the case,—and every musician familiar with the musical doings of the phonograph will admit that the foregoing is a moderate statement,—what may the phonograph, as a music-maker and -teacher, not do

for the world? Bear in mind that these phonograms do not deteriorate by constant use, the same music coming out the hundredth time as perfectly as the first; also that, by the duplication through a special electrotyping process, facsimiles of a good phonogram can be made in large numbers at almost nominal cost. If each phonogram turned out required the actual performance of music for its production, the output would be restricted and costly; it would be like setting anew the type for every copy of a book. Again, if the phonogram could be used only a few times, as was the case with the zinc-foil sheets used in the crude form of the instrument, the apparatus would remain a toy for the rich. Conceding its power of musical reproduction by means of wax cylinders, which are both cheap and lasting, the imagination may run riot without exhausting the field opened before one. Besides giving musical pleasure past present computation to the million, it will do wonders for the musician. First, it will offer the composer a means of indicating his wishes concerning time and expression compared with which the metronome and all printed directions and expression-marks of the present are but the clumsiest of makeshifts. Secondly, it will become a great teacher of music, as even the phonographic echo of the piano, of singing, or of orchestral work, will be sufficient to furnish pupils with precise models. In the third place, it offers a means for solving tone problems too delicate for the powers of the human ear, and heretofore beyond solution.

At Herr von Bülow's farewell concert in this country, two years ago, a phonograph was employed to make a record of the whole concert, and particular care was taken with Beethoven's symphony, the "Eroica." The learned conductor left the country before the phonograms, the results of the evening's work, could be prepared for his hearing, but these results surprised and delighted a host of musical experts. Musicians of repute have confessed to me that, whereas they had looked upon the stories concerning the phonograph's musical achievements with incredulity, what they heard far surpassed the promises made by the advocates of the invention, and showed possibilities for the device as a help to the musician of the future which would set every musician a-dreaming. It may be granted without discussion that the phonographic record of our music will give for all future time the exact wishes of our composers and performers with regard to *tempi*, shades of expression, phrasing, dynamic gradations, and all the niceties of interpretation which no written marks, however minute, can begin to convey. The metronome has until now been the only means of marking the time or pace at which a composition is intended to be played by the composer. As contrasted with the phonographic guide to correct time, it is crude enough. The worst phonograph will at least give a faithful record of the exact time of a piece, and for every bar — in fact, the exact length of every note in the score. The experiments made with the records of piano-playing show that, so far as accuracy is concerned, no limit can be placed upon its possibilities as an echo. Every minute change of time, every shade of expression, is heard in the echo as plainly as in the original. It is no exaggeration to say that an expert can distinguish between the playing of two pianists as reproduced in the phonograph.

There are certain things about piano-playing — indeed, about all musical performances — that cannot be

taught. Pianists, violinists, and singers are apt to surpass themselves under certain conditions, due perhaps to the applause of a great audience, perhaps to peculiar personal conditions favorable to artistic expression. Effects are produced which escape analysis, and cannot be reproduced at will or for the benefit of pupils. The artist may not ever be able to do again what has been done once, and the exact elements or constituents of an effect are lost. The niceties of phrasing cannot be indicated by written marks; they must be left to the musical instinct or intelligence of the singer or player: yet expressive phrasing constitutes an important element of all fine musical work. The half-dozen notes of a bar may each one have a different length and different power, and yet be all alike on paper. If we can obtain at trifling cost a perfect echo of any musical performance, it is highly probable that, when the phonograph is found in every house, a phonographic version of every piece of music will accompany the printed sheet. The latter will give the actual notes, while the phonogram will give the reading of some great player. Or, perhaps, inasmuch as the phonograms can be reproduced for almost nothing, the readings of half a dozen artists will follow the printed page. For instance, the music-shops might sell with Beethoven's pianoforte concertos the phonographic readings of the same concertos by Rubinstein, Bülow, and Saint-Saëns. The whole need not cost more than a few cents, so far as the phonograms are concerned.

Some persons have expressed a fear lest the wide distribution of an apparatus capable of echoing all sorts of music, in a more perfect fashion than any music-box, might lead to the gradual extinction of piano-playing or violin-playing except for purposes of public exhibition, the phonographic echo of some great performer's work being so much superior to what most people could hope to accomplish. It seems to me that the contrary would be the result. Cheap phonographs, giving more or less perfect echoes of music, might make superfluous the painful attempts — painful to others as well as to herself — of the unmusical young woman to master impossibilities. To the person of real musical instinct and capacity, the wealth of good music would certainly prove an incentive. When the phonograph goes everywhere, and phonographic music is cheap, the housewife can listen to Rubinstein as she darns the stockings in the evening, and get superb lessons at the great fountains of musical art, if she has any taste that way. There is no reason to suppose that it will be any more difficult to record a performance of "Die Meistersinger" than a recitation by Coquelin, or a Beethoven symphony under Bülow's baton. There is a good time coming for the poor man of good taste.

An interesting question, perhaps to be solved by means of the phonograph, concerns the differences between a good and a bad performance, whether of a piano piece or of an opera. It has often been remarked that a particular performance "would not go." In the case of a soloist's work, failure to produce the desired effect might be attributed to the shortcomings of the soloist. But operas and plays sometimes fail signally when, according to all rules, they ought to succeed. Every music-lover will remember certain performances which ought to have been superb, but were nothing of the kind. Opera-goers of the city of New York will be pretty sure to cite the memorable performance of "Faust" which

opened the Metropolitan Opera-House in the autumn of 1883 — memorable because of its bitter disappointments. A faithful phonographic record of that performance contrasted with a record of some of the succeeding successful performances of "Faust" by the same artists might disclose interesting features. It might show that success, or artistic effect, lay in taking one part of this chorus a trifle slower and another part a trifle faster, in emphasizing the bass part here or the soprano part there.

A few years ago there was a performance of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde" that was also curiously ineffective. The opera had already been given half a dozen times that season with remarkable success; it was the musical achievement of the winter. A repetition was announced for the last night of the year, and the house was well filled. The singers were those who had already made so great a success in Wagner's masterpiece—Fräuleins Lehmann and Brandt, Herren Niemann, Fischer, and Robinson. The conductor was Herr Seidl. Yet long before the evening was over people wondered what the matter was. It may be suspected that the audience was tired out with Christmas shopping, and that the singers, finding no response to their efforts, grew discouraged and careless; the anti-Wagnerite may hint that after six performances of "Tristan," the long-suffering public turned upon its persecutors. But every one cannot have been tired out that New Year's eve. Every one's dinner cannot have gone wrong. Whatever the cause, whether the trouble was in the auditors or the performance, Herr Seidl was thoroughly discontented with the results, and one devoted Wagnerite, who had been known to rave over "Tristan" by the hour, said to me as we passed out of the Opera-House, "I feel as if I do not care to hear 'Tristan' again for the next ten years." A fortnight later there was another performance of "Tristan," which was as conspicuous for success as the one just mentioned had been for failure. A careful comparison of the phonographic records of these two performances might have shown wherein the fault lay. As the sublime is very near the ridiculous, so the impressive performance may be very near the dismal failure—only the phonograph, with its minute and faithful record, faithful beyond the power of human perceptions, can tell us how near.

The phonograph as a musical educator offers encouragement to the composer. His work, if it has value, will be known to millions where now it is known to thousands, and it will not take a generation for its worth to be recognized. It was not until twenty years after the production of "Tristan" that we New-Yorkers were enabled to hear its wondrous beauties; and the masterwork of the high priest of musical art, Wagner's "Nibelung" trilogy, was not heard here until more than ten years after all musical Europe had been ringing with it. In a very few years I fully expect to receive from Europe not only written accounts of the new operas of Berlin, Vienna, and Paris, but phonograms enabling me to hear them from end to end. As the wide distribution of literature which followed the cheap books of modern times has helped the author to a living income, so this wide distribution of music through the phonograph will probably do the same thing for the composer of good music. Then the future Wagner may perhaps receive as much for the

composition of a music-drama as the author of another "Silver Threads Among the Gold" gets for his glibberish—which has not been the way in our day.

Philip G. Hubert, Jr.

Indians Who Deserve Pensions.

I SAW recently in one of our prominent magazines a reference to what the writer was pleased to call the "murder" of Sitting Bull, the great Sioux medicine chief, who was for so many years the mainspring of hostility to the United States among the Dakota tribes, being even a greater bane to his own people than to ours.

Of course to speak of Sitting Bull's killing as "murder" is a piece of simple hysterics. Sitting Bull had always been an arch-plotter and stirrer-up of mischief. In the fall of 1890 various causes combined to bring about a condition of extreme unrest among the Sioux in North and South Dakota. Some of them were due to our own governmental mismanagement, notably to the parsimony of Congress in cutting down the needed appropriations for the Indian service, and to the working of the spoils system in thoroughly disorganizing the agency service. The main fault, however, was with the Indians themselves, or rather with that large minority of them constituting the heathen and hostile party. Among these an epidemic of ghost-dancing broke out, the leaders prophesying that a Messiah would shortly arise through whose agency the Indians would be restored to power and the whites swept off the face of the earth. Fierce, superstitious, fickle, and suspicious savages can very easily be thrown into a state of mind which inevitably results in war—a war certain to end in their own ultimate ruin, and only too apt in the mean while to entail untold suffering upon all the friendly Indians and all the white settlers roundabout. In this case the prompt action of the Government, and the skill with which large masses of troops were handled, together with the unflinching loyalty of the Indian police, and the fact that the majority of the Sioux remained steadfast in their attitude of peace, brought the war to a close with comparatively little loss of life. As always happens in an Indian contest, some of the lives lost were those of innocent non-combatants on the one hand, and of men the community could ill afford to spare on the other.

It is, however, a matter for congratulation, so long as lives had to be lost at all, that Sitting Bull's was one of the number. In 1890 he was active in fomenting the discontent, and was the most influential of the powerful chiefs who were inciting the reckless young men to hostilities. As the outbreak drew to a head, he gathered around him a band of hostiles on the Standing Rock reservation, and took up a position some forty miles from the military post, declining to come in. When it was learned positively that he intended to take all of the young men who were willing to go on the war-path, and to march overland to join the ghost-dancers at Pine Ridge, the commander, after consulting with the agent (who was himself one of the best agents in the service, with a long experience in dealing with Indians), decided to try to arrest him. Hoping to accomplish the arrest without bloodshed, it was arranged that it should be made by a party of the Indian police, a small battalion of white troops following some miles in

the rear, merely to give assistance if the police were endangered. A bloody skirmish followed. I give the facts concerning it as I gathered them from conversation with a number of Indians who were present at the fight, including both Indian policemen and members of the hostile party. For corroboration of their accounts I refer to the report of Captain Fechet of the Eighth Cavalry, commanding the battalion which came to the rescue of the Indian police.

The police, under the command of Lieutenant Bull Head, entered Sitting Bull's camp, or village, about daybreak on December 15, arrested Sitting Bull in his house, and were immediately surrounded by several times their number of furious hostile Indians. They used no violence, and did their best to persuade Sitting Bull to go with them quietly and without resistance. At first it seemed likely that he would do so; but the hostiles, including his own son, kept calling to him, and taunting him, and demanding that he ask them to rescue him. After going a few steps quietly with the police, he stopped, and began to call out to his followers to come to his assistance; and one of the latter, named Catch The Bear, shot the lieutenant of police, Bull Head. The latter immediately, and properly, killed Sitting Bull, and a desperate fight ensued, the police getting possession of the village, while the hostile Indians surrounded them under the cover of the adjoining woods and hills, and kept them prisoners until themselves driven off two hours later by the approach of the white troops. Eight of the hostile Indians were killed, including Sitting Bull, Catch The Bear, and Sitting Bull's son, Crow Foot. Seven of the Indian police were killed or mortally wounded, including their gallant leader.

The hostile Indians whom I questioned, and who had been present at the fight, substantially agreed to this account, although some of them asserted that the Indian police fired first, while others said that both the police and hostiles fired together. All agreed, however, that Sitting Bull was shot while resisting arrest, and while inciting his followers to rescue him from the hands of the police; and all agreed that he at first went quietly with the police, but was taunted by his son and other Indians until he halted, refused to go further, and began to call for help. A curious instance of the spread of our habits of thought among the Indians is to be seen in the fact that all those I interviewed, including both Indian policemen and members of the hostile party, were particular to request me to keep their names out of the papers, lest it should bring them into trouble.

Recapitulating, the testimony shows that in the first place Sitting Bull was inciting the heathen party to outbreak, so that his arrest was a matter of absolute necessity in the interests of the public peace; secondly, that with due warrant of law the Indian police tried to arrest him, acting without violence until forced to take arms in self-defense; and thirdly, that Sitting Bull was shot while resisting arrest and inciting his followers to rescue him, and only after one of the latter had himself shot the commander of the police. The killing was not only a most righteous deed, but was absolutely inevitable, and very beneficial in its results. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the loyalty and courage of the Indian police engaged, and I most earnestly wish that Congress would see that

the relatives of those who were killed while thus manfully doing their duty (in the interests not only of their own people, but of all the white settlers) should receive some pension or other reward. No white veteran, of no matter what war, can have a better claim on the Government.

Theodore Roosevelt.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1893.

A Hint in Municipal Reform.

Now that America is beginning to take an outside interest in her municipal institutions,—by an outside interest I mean a ratepayer's interest,—it would be worth while to investigate the various independent organizations through which English taxpayers control their civic representatives.

There are no more useful institutions in England than the Ratepayers' Protection Associations, that watch over the work and expenses of vestries and corporations, and at election times bring to bear upon the polls a powerful influence for the general good of wards, parishes, or boroughs, irrespective of politics. What American cities lack, it seems to me, is an earnest and practical interest in the doings of local governments. In England the ratepayers look into the expenditure of their representatives, consider every new movement belonging to the management of streets, sewers, pavements, all questions of improvement, and, indeed, every act of their local legislatures; and by public meetings, pamphlets, or the newspaper press expose any attempt at jobbery, or check any misdirected civic energy.

It is by the aid of such independent associations as these that the municipal machine in England works efficiently, not for cliques, not for "bosses," but for the people; and it is through the coöperation of the representatives of the ratepayers in the local legislatures with the societies outside that it has been possible for the municipalities to become the owners of the gas-works and water-works of various towns and cities. In this respect Bradford, Birmingham, and other great towns in the provinces are ahead of London; but the metropolis will eventually have to buy up the water and gas services. I can speak especially of Bradford, where the citizens not only are the owners of their gas and water, but get these commodities cheap, and still have a profit for the reduction of taxation.

I once discussed these subjects with a great New York merchant, who said: "The fact is, I pay city taxes for my street to be swept, and also for my premises to be watched; but all the same I pay, with others of my neighbors, a private cleaner and a private watchman. Why don't I see after the city's expenditure of the rates I pay? Why don't I combine with my neighbors and get up a ratepayers' protection society? Have n't time; would rather pay five or six hundred dollars a year for nothing than be bothered with trying to stop stealing."

What I would desire to emphasize is the fact that the American ratepayer, the American shopkeeper, merchant, and private citizen, take no part, as a matter of duty, in seeing that the men whom they elect to municipal power properly fulfil their obligations to their constituents; and they fail to organize themselves into independent representative bodies in opposition to the encroachments, not to say outrages, of mere capital.

Most English cities not only own their gas- and water-works, but are proprietors of the local cemeteries and horse-cars. Some of them own real estate, all control their police, and recently, by a new act of Parliament, have acquired power to buy land to be let to the people for gardening, in small allotments. I am writing without any means of reference at hand as to these privileges of the local legislatures; but they have many which are not dreamed of elsewhere; and they are rendered possible because the ratepayers are jealous of their liberties, and look after the proper administration of their affairs.

Joseph Hatton.

"Better United States Senators."

PERMIT me to call your attention to a not very material error in your interesting and timely article entitled, "How Can We Secure Better United States Senators?" in the March CENTURY. Speaking of the equal power of the States in the Senate, your writer says:

The smaller States will never consent to any diminution of their power, and as such diminution could be brought about only by a constitutional amendment, for the adoption of which a vote of three fourths of all the States would be necessary, they could defeat it easily.

The foregoing might have been put much more strongly, for, according to the Constitution, an amendment of the class suggested must have the acquiescence of every State whose representation would be reduced before it can become a part of our Constitution.

Article V. of the Constitution, after providing that amendments may be made by the concurrence of three fourths of the States, contains two exceptions. The first relates to the clause permitting the importation of slaves until 1808, and is therefore no longer in force; the second provides

that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Having ventured this much in criticism, let me add my belief that the subject is one of much importance, and intimately connected with the future welfare of the nation.

If there is any objection to the mode suggested of electing senators by the popular vote of the States which they are to represent, it is that this might foster a tendency to magnify the office at the expense of State officers voted for on the same ticket. It might happen that in a contest where both a senator and State officers were to be elected, the interest in the rivalry for the senatorship would so overshadow that in the governorship that it would leave a popular impression that to be the governor of a single State is insignificant in importance compared with a seat in the smaller branch of the national legislature. Further, such contests would offer new opportunities for the exercise of the arts of practical politics in trading votes for State officers in return for those for senator, and *vice versa*. These objections could, however, be met by holding elections for State and national officers on separate dates, which, with the further separation of those for municipal officers from either, is, I believe, a remedy for many of the evils at present so apparent.

Certainly no one who compares the *personnel* of the

present Senate with those of former days, when it was the arena of such titanic combats as those between Webster and Hayne, can doubt that there is somewhere a serious evil requiring on the part of patriotic men an earnest and thoughtful effort to discover the true remedy. In bringing about this result, and in directing the attention of serious men to the existence of the evil, I am assured your article will be of great benefit.

H. Turner Newcomb.

An American Theater in London.

It seems at first thought an odd coincidence that in this summer of 1893, when the best players of England and France are coming to this side of the Atlantic, and the art of the whole world, plastic, graphic, and dramatic, is expected to find a center, for the time being, at Chicago, the first American theater will be established in London. The foremost dramatic company of the United States—that organized and controlled by Mr. Augustin Daly—will, indeed, spend the greater part of the Columbian year in the capital of Great Britain. Without arguing too curiously, this may be considered a part, and an important part too, of our great national celebration; for it will serve to exhibit to many Englishmen who will not see the Chicago Fair the progress made in at least one branch of American art. Englishmen already know how good of its kind is the work of Mr. Daly and his players, what fine taste and skill are shown alike in the selection and production of the plays in the Daly repertory, and how well the players, guided by the ablest and most energetic stage director American actors ever had, contrive to give the lightest possible touch to the performance of modern farce and comedy, while in their treatment of the old masterworks they make poetry seem real, and yet do not crush the flower of it, or make discord of its melody.

The players of Daly's have acted in old and new comedy in London five seasons since 1884, and the great and growing success of these experimental visits has led to the building, in historic Leicester Square, in the neighborhood of many other popular playhouses, of the new Daly's Theater. The exquisite harmony of the acting of the troupe, in which Miss Rehan, Mrs. Gilbert, and Mr. Lewis are prominent members, has been cordially appreciated also in other cities of the British Isles, and in Paris and Berlin as well. There is no doubt of the warmth of the greeting they will get when they formally open, in June, their luxuriously appointed new theater, which hereafter they are to occupy half of every year.

This establishment in London of an international theater was inevitable, and Mr. Daly, above all other American managers, was the one to do it. For a quarter of a century he has been a theater manager in New York, and he has produced plays as a true artist paints his pictures, because he has felt those were the plays he ought to produce. He has thought of something besides money gains, and he has not missed substantial pecuniary rewards either, which surely proves that the theater-going public is not, collectively, such a fool as some managers think. The last season at Daly's Theater in New York reflected much honor on the American stage. The succession of poetical comedy revivals, beginning in December and ending in April,

and comprising works of Shakspeare, Sheridan, J. S. Knowles, Hannah Cowley, and Tennyson, all with pictorial settings of rare beauty and appropriateness, and with acting often of the highest order, and always excellently discreet and well finished, gave such satisfaction to cultivated men and women as they do not commonly get in the theater of to-day.

Edward A. Dithmar.

A Friend of the Kindergarten.

Died.: In Dresden, January 9, in her 82d year, Madame the Baroness de Marenholz-von Bülow.

THIS honored name has for many years been identified with the most progressive educational movement on the Continent, and also, through her writings, with the work in our own country.

Of noble birth and a most influential family, possessed of a rare intelligence united with an intense desire for practical usefulness in the cause she so dearly loved, it is not strange that the womanly intuition and perception of Madame von Marenholz should at once feel the power of Froebel's idea. In her "Reminiscences of Froebel" (translated by the late Mrs. Horace Mann), one finds a most delightful account of her first meeting with Froebel, and the quick grasp of the underlying thought of the old master's play with the little children in the meadow, which to the uninitiated was "foolishness," but to her was a key to the right understanding and development of humanity.

Through the influence of the baroness many of the most prominent educators in Prussia were made willing converts, and most heartily upheld Froebel's ideas of a "new education."

The edict in 1851 prohibiting the kindergarten in Prussia, because of its "socialistic and atheistic tendencies," was a sore trial to all of Froebel's friends; the more so, as the pamphlet which contained the dangerous germs feared by the Government was not written by Froebel, nor was it in any way authorized or indorsed by him.

Foremost among the noble little army whose faith in the cause never wavered, was Madame the Baroness, whose unremitting endeavors, especially with the minister of the "new era," finally succeeded in the abrogation of this law.

Madame von Marenholz has left many valuable works on education. Among the best-known are the "Reminiscences of Froebel," "The Child and its Nature" (translated by Alice M. Christie; also a "free" rendering of the same by Mme. M. H. Kriege), "Education by Work" (translated into English by Mrs. Horace Mann; also translated into Russian, French, and Italian), besides many most valuable contributions to educational and philosophical journals. Of one of her conversations with Froebel the baroness writes:

As we were speaking of the future life, he said: "Just as we know that the sun only apparently goes round the earth, and that the converse is true, so we shall some time know that the present life and the other life lie in the same universe, in which there is no real separation, and in which everywhere there exists the closest and most unbroken connection. Think of my words — separation is only for union there."

A. H. P.

CHICAGO, February 12, 1893.

The Kindergarten in Canada.

MR. WILLIAMS did not name Canada in his admirable article in the January CENTURY as one of the countries that have adopted the kindergarten. Canada has really taken a very advanced position in regard to the kindergarten. The province of Ontario was the first place in the world to make the kindergarten an organic part of its state system of education. Twelve years ago I had the honor of being appointed a commissioner by the Education Department of Ontario to prepare a report on the kindergarten system. In 1881 the Toronto Public-School Board decided to adopt the kindergarten, and there are now in Toronto thirty-five kindergartens, with an attendance of 2275. The Public-School Board provides all material used, and pays the kindergartners, so that the kindergarten is as free as any other part of the public-school system.

Five years ago the Education Department of Ontario made the kindergarten a part of the public-school system of the province. All training-classes are conducted under the direction of the department, and all assistants and directresses have to be examined by a provincial board of examiners. A special grant is made by the Government for kindergarten attendance. There are training-classes for kindergartners under governmental supervision in Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, Brantford, and London, and the system has been introduced by the school-boards of several other cities and towns throughout Ontario. The kindergarten department is recognized as one of the regular departments of the Provincial Teachers' Association.

In the other provinces the kindergarten is being established—in Montreal, Winnipeg, St. John, and Truro.

Mrs. Ada Marean Hughes of Toronto has been chosen to preside at the World's Kindergarten Congress in Chicago this year.

James L. Hughes,
Inspector of Schools.

TORONTO.

California's Presidential Electors.

IN our editorial article in the March number on "Direct Presidential Voting," it was stated that the failure of one Cleveland elector in California was due to the greater personal popularity of one elector on the Harrison ticket. We are in receipt of a letter from Mr. J. F. Thompson, the Cleveland elector referred to, and take pleasure in presenting his explanation of the failure of his candidacy. Mr. Thompson says:

I was nominated for the elector at large, and by all rules of right and of precedent should have had my name at the head of the electoral ticket; but through an oversight or blunder on the part of our State Central Committee, our electors' names were not arranged as they should have been, and the Secretary of State placed them on the ticket in alphabetical order, my name being last. Under the Australian system of voting, requiring each voter to stamp names voted for, the last two or three names on each ticket suffered, the last one being cut the most. I lost in the entire State 311 votes, or ran that many votes behind the head name on the ticket. In practically the same vote, Mr. Hanscom, the last Republican elector, lost over 500, or ran 529 votes behind the head man on his ticket. This came about in part by some voters placing only one stamp-mark after the group, some after the first name, others at or near the middle of the tickets,

and having that vote counted for only the man opposite whose name it was placed.

Mr. Thompson adds:

Mr. Bard did not defeat me on account of his great popularity. He is an estimable and wealthy gentleman of Ventura, and ran only a few votes ahead of his ticket at home; but many a voter placed the stamp after his name, intending to vote for all the Republican electors, and in some cases they were counted only for Mr. Bard. Thus he ran over two hundred votes ahead of the other members of his ticket. The system of voting is defective, and the Electoral College is also a cumbersome and useless appendage to a system that should be changed to allow a direct vote for President by the people.

Mr. Thompson's explanation gives us a view of the matter not accessible at the time of the preparation of our article, the reports from California at

that time having given basis for the theory of the editorial.

A Psychological Suggestion.

I HAVE received a letter from a Mr. D. L. Merrill of Union City, Michigan, which suggests an idea worthy of preservation. It is that the cases of double consciousness, such as I related, are simply instances of "twins," in which, instead of there being born two minds and two bodies, joined together, as in the case of the Siamese twins, two minds have been born into different parts of the same body, and that sometimes one mind gets ahead, and sometimes the other.

Trusting that your psychological readers will be stimulated to renewed studies by this novel and interesting thought, I remain yours truly,

H. C. Wood.

1925 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Reflections on Adversity.

GRIEF that is wild is not so serious a matter as the tame grief which follows the footsteps and rests in the bosom.

THE wisest of us do a great deal more grieving over vanished joys than we do of rejoicing over vanished griefs.

SWEET are the uses of adversity; but a superfluity of sweets is unwholesome.

WHAT seems to be adversity to you may look like prosperity in the eyes of another. The clay in the hands of the potter considers itself the mere tool of fortune; yet it is envied by the clay in the hands of the clay-eater.

IF you cannot learn to swim, learn to float; many have been drowned in the waters of affliction in plain sight of solid land.

ADVERSITY is not undiluted disagreeableness. Even adverse criticism gives pleasure to the writer.

IN this world we shall have tribulation; in the next world we shall have opportunities for wondering why we gave it a seat at the head of the table.

IT is true that life is short, but one may always have the consolation of making a long face over it.

WHEN poverty comes in at the door, love takes the pattern of her garment, and thinks it will not be so unbecoming, after all.

Ethelwyn Wetherald.

The Prig.

THOUGH genius clad you with a golden mist,
For him your verses would but lamely stammer
If in their texture should by chance exist
One least, unholy blemish of bad grammar.

Vainly for him the powers you would unite
Of Shakspeare, Dante, Molière, Lope de Vega,
If, quoting Greek, you once presumed to write
An omicron in place of an omega!

Edgar Fawcett.

Michael Will Not Be In It.

(A ST. PATRICK'S DAY EPIC.)

TO-MORROW will be the parade,
The parade of St. Patrick —
St. Patrick's day parade.
There will be many bands of music,
Horses gaily caparisoned,
File after file of Hibernians,
Mile after mile of high beavers;
Patrick and Lawrence,
Peter and Terence,
They will all be there.
But Michael —
Michael will not be in the parade.

They will march through Canal street, through Hester,
Through the Bowery, through Grand street —
Oh, how the Grand street girls — grand girls! — would
admire Michael!

For he is handsome and stalwart.
But Michael —
Michael will not be in the parade.

Michael's father was an army contractor.
Michael is rich, and can do as he pleases.
He loves fair women;
He is a leader of men.
He has a black horse, an Arabian charger;
No man who will march on the morrow
Would look so imposing as Michael.
But Michael —
Michael will not be in the parade.

For he, is he not a Russian?
Does he not live in St. Petersburg?
How has he ever heard of St. Patrick?
No; Michael —
Michaelovitch Papoff —
He will not be in the parade!

Charles Battell Loomis.

comrades talked in lower tones around the fire. Uncle Obadiah was not the only veteran asleep beside the fires, for the vigil had been a long one, and although the rain was falling steadily, there was just a perceptible graying of the darkness which betokened the near approach of day.

HARK! Miles to the east, where the next town lies, they hear the prolonged scream of a locomotive. Promptly the drum beats, but not so fast as the thumping hearts of the old soldiers.

"That 's Uncle Billy coming," breaks from every lip, and then every lip is still.

To the bugle blowing the "assembly," the veterans fall silently in line, dressed on the old flags at the center, the fires burning brightly behind them, and the rain falling steadily upon them. Each man is thinking his own thoughts. In the distance they hear the rolling of the train, but the sound is scarcely louder than the

hissing of the raindrops on the fires, or the tinkling of the bronze stars against the medals.

Now it has turned the wall of the intervening mountain. The great engine pants in furious crescendo. The swelling roar of the monster is like the coming of a great shell. The dazzling headlight glares through the trees. The iron rails, wet and slippery, turn to parallels of glittering gold. As if it were the passing spirit of their great commander, the fierce light flashes along the ranks of his old veterans, gleaming for an instant on bared heads and tearful faces, and gilding once more the fragmentary names of his battles on their ragged standards, and then leaves the old line in redoubled darkness.

And, through it all, there are two beside the fires whom the bugles and the drum-beats fail to waken. Of the two only one can be aroused, and that one Comrade Cist from Georgia.

William Henry Shelton.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A National Board of Health.

WE spoke in *THE CENTURY* for December last of the pressing duty that devolved upon the Congress which was beginning its final session at that time, to pass a law establishing a system of national quarantine. Congress spent much time in considering the subject, and finally passed a law which can be regarded only as a step toward such quarantine. The law does not establish full national quarantine in the sense in which its advocates understand it, but it does confer upon the surgeon-general of the marine hospital service powers which are sufficient to enable him, when sustained by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, to formulate and enforce uniform quarantine regulations throughout the country, and to overrule and supplant with his own agents all local or State quarantine officials who fail to carry out those regulations. This is at best a division of national and State authority, with all the possibilities of conflict and delay which have been found invariably to attend such division.

What Congress ought to have done, and what the people of the country ought to demand without ceasing till the request be granted, is not merely a national quarantine system, but a National Board of Health. Under such a board, quarantine would be merely a branch of the service, rising into primary importance only in exceptional cases, like the outbreak of cholera in Europe. Dr. Prudden, the eminent bacteriologist of Columbia College, shows very impressively, in the article which we publish from him in this number of the magazine, how far we are behind civilization in not having established such a board long ago, and what constant perils menace the public health by our adherence to ignorant and even barbarous methods for excluding and restricting contagious diseases. What he says of the duties which a National Board of Health should have to perform, and of the far-reaching benefits

to the health of the whole people which would follow, leaves no room for discussion. The case amounts to a demonstration. To refuse to do what he shows so clearly we ought as a nation to do without delay, is to throw doubt upon the national intelligence.

There has been at no time any difference of opinion among medical and sanitary experts as to the wisdom of a National Board of Health. Dr. W. H. Welch of Johns Hopkins University, a pupil of Professor Koch, and by universal consent the highest authority on bacteriology and infectious diseases in this country, said in September last: "I believe there should be a National Board of Health, something like that we had in 1878. There should be uniform quarantine laws for the whole country, and there should be uniform sanitary conditions. This is the system of England. While I am not ready absolutely to indorse the English system, I must say that the results have been excellent and satisfactory." Dr. E. O. Shakespeare of Philadelphia, a very high authority on quarantine matters, who has investigated European quarantines as official agent for our Government, said, about the same time, that he had always advocated national quarantine, believing that the "protection of the public health is a matter that interests not merely a narrow belt of sea-coast, but seriously concerns the whole of the vast territory between our shores." In December last, the Chamber of Commerce of New York, after receiving a special report which seven eminent physicians and specialists, including Dr. Prudden, Dr. Richard H. Derby, Dr. E. G. Janeway, and Dr. A. Jacobi, had made upon the conduct of the New York quarantine during the cholera cases of the preceding September, passed unanimously a series of resolutions in which it was declared that the "recent quarantine experience points with singular emphasis to the importance of national quarantine"; that since the Federal government is an indispensable factor in every quarantine crisis, it is only by giving

complete control to that Government that conflicts of authority can be avoided; and that the "Federal government in every crisis, through the various arms of the public service, is able to command an amount of expert coöperation entirely beyond the reach of a State department."

It would be easy to multiply evidence in this direction, but it is not necessary, since there is nothing to be cited in opposition save the worthless opinions of those persons whom Dr. Prudden calls the "flotsam and jetsam of the political ocean, from which too often strange, uncouth things are stranded in offices where misfeasance means death to some, disease to many." Concerning the construction of the National Board proposed there is a difference of opinion only as to details. All authorities agree that it should be composed of trained sanitarians who should be appointed by the President, should have a chief, and should include in their number the surgeon-generals of the marine hospital service, the army, and the navy.

One excellent suggestion, offered by an eminent and experienced sanitarian of New York city, is that the board be made up as follows: First, a chief appointed by the President, who should be paid a large salary and should reside in Washington; next, the three surgeon-generals of the army, navy, and marine hospital service; then, one sanitarian of established reputation from each of the following sections of the country: the yellow-fever district of Louisiana; the quarantine district of the East; the far West of California and the Pacific coast; the Northwest,—say Chicago,—because of its relationship to Canada; and the middle district of the country—say Kentucky or a neighboring State. Each of these also should receive a good salary. This would make a board of nine members, who would represent the interests of the whole country, and would give all sections the benefit of their combined sanitary knowledge and experience. This board should be given full legislative, judicial, and executive powers, such as are exercised by the Board of Health of New York city. It should devise measures, decide upon the method of their execution, and administer them without interference from any quarter. It might constitute as its executive committee the chief and the three surgeon-generals, who should be made the administrative force of the bureau. This would put the duty of executing the rules and regulations of the bureau into the hands of the only officials we have in this country who are especially fitted for the work; that is, officials who are permanent, who have no private interests, who are removed absolutely from all outside influence of any kind, political or other, who are trained in the work of discipline and organization, and who are accustomed to look to no other end than efficient service. The executive committee and the chief could really conduct the department, the other members of the board coming together on summons whenever their presence was necessary.

This plan seems to us well considered, though of course it is possible to improve upon it. The main thing is to get the National Board and to have it begin at the earliest possible moment the work which Dr. Prudden outlines as its sphere of usefulness. Of course the establishment of a National Board must be accompanied by the abolition of all State and local quarantines, but not of the State and local boards of health.

No political influence should be permitted to delay one moment the work of such a reform. It goes without saying that the question of the health and well-being of the whole country is of too great importance to allow the selfish greed of politicians or of political organizations to stand in its way. That any set of politicians should oppose such a necessary measure is an illustration of the spoils system which ought to startle the community.

Has Gold Appreciated in Value?

WE are in receipt of a letter from a reader in Norfolk, Virginia, asking the following questions:

By what authority, or for what reason, do you assume that gold remains stationary, or nearly so, in its intrinsic value, and in comparison therewith silver has fallen to an intrinsic value of 66 cents, as stated in your January number?

May it not be possible that, in comparison with some unchangeable standard (if such a thing were possible), gold has in reality, because of its scarcity, because of its demand in the arts, because of its increasing use as money from the adoption of a gold standard by nations heretofore using both silver and gold, risen above such standard, and that silver has, because of its demonetization and because of its increased production and decrease of cost, fallen below such standard?

Our correspondent asks several other questions, but they are all based upon the supposition that gold has appreciated in value because of the alleged scarcity of that metal; and the answer which we shall make to the two quoted will cover all of them.

The only way in which we can reach a decision on the question of the stability in value of gold is to institute an examination of the prices of various commodities in relation to gold. Coincident with the first movement for the demonetization of silver there began, curiously enough, a remarkable decline in the prices of the great commodities which the world buys and sells at wholesale. This decline had begun to manifest itself in the years antecedent to 1873, and has continued down to the present time. The highest economical authorities are agreed that the prices of 1885 and 1886, as compared with those from 1866 to 1876, show a decline of about 31 per cent., and that the average decline since 1886 has been at least 5 per cent. additional. Cotton, wheat, corn, leather, and pig-iron have touched during the past year the lowest prices known in history. The contention of most economists who have studied this remarkable decline is that it has been due to great improvements in methods of production and distribution, which have brought about great reductions in cost.

Within the two decades between 1873 and 1893 have been made all the great improvements in railway locomotion and construction, and in steamship navigation, which have greatly extended and greatly cheapened transportation. One of the chief effects of this improved modern system of transportation has been to compel a world-wide uniformity of prices for all commodities that are essential to life, and to put an end to local or merely national markets; for now every country is able to draw on the supplies of the whole world, and to get them at the prices set in the markets of the world. Thus the price of a bushel of wheat is not regulated by the size of the crop in a single country, but by the size of the aggregated crops of all countries. A scarcity in one country is offset by an abundance in another, and cheapness and speed of

transportation bring the total supply within the reach of all buyers. The reduction in railway freights during the period referred to has been very great, falling from two cents and more a mile in 1869 and 1870 to little more than half a cent a mile in 1893.

If the appreciation of gold had been the cause of this decline in prices, it ought to have affected all prices. This has not been the case. There has been no common ratio of decline. Some prices have fallen, but others have risen. Among the latter are those of labor, which is bought and sold more than anything else on the face of the globe. The prices of labor, of all the large class of products or services which are exclusively or largely the result of handicrafts, have greatly advanced. A given amount of gold does not buy more but less of domestic service and of manual and professional labor generally now than it did formerly. It buys no more of horses and other domestic animals, of cigars, of hand-woven lace, of cut glass, of pictures, of diamonds, or of malt liquors; and it pays no more of house rents, which depend largely upon the price of land. Retail prices generally have not fallen in proportion to the decline of wholesale prices. If there had been an appreciation of gold, due to a scarcity, all these prices ought to have shown a decline in common with others. Then, too, the decline should have been common in all countries, which is not the case, careful comparisons of price movements in different countries showing that the average fall in France and Germany has been less than in Great Britain, and greater in the United States than in any other country. In summing up the evidence on this point, which he gives with great fullness, Mr. David A. Wells, in his "Recent Economic Changes," to which we refer our correspondent and all others in search of exact information on the subject, says (pp. 204, 205):

It would seem, in the first place, that if the scarcity influence of gold on prices had originated and operated as the advocates of the theory claim, such influence would have been as all-pervasive, synchronous, irresistible, and constant as the influence of gravitation; and that something of correspondence, as respects time and degree, in the resulting price movement of commodities would have been recognized. But no such correspondence has been or can be established. On the contrary, the movement of prices since 1873, although generally downward, has been exceedingly irregular,—declining till 1878-79, then rising until 1882-83; then again declining to an almost unprecedented low average in 1886; and in the year 1887 exhibiting, in respect to some commodities, a slight upward tendency, which in 1888-89 was even more pronounced. It might also have been expected that the influence of the scarcity of gold would have especially manifested itself at or shortly subsequent to the time (1873-74) when Germany, having demonetized silver, was absorbing gold, and France and the Latin Union were suspending the coinage of silver. But the years from 1875 to 1879, inclusive, taking the English market as the criterion, were characterized generally by an excessive supply of money and currency of all kinds; and the same has been true of the period from 1880 to 1886-87, when, if the supply of money from gold was constantly diminishing, contrary results would seem to have been inevitable.

As to the supply of gold in the world, it is not to be denied that the annual product has diminished largely during recent years. But while the annual product has diminished, the supply of gold is greater to-day than ever before. Statistics show that the monetary stock of gold and gold reserve in the treasuries and banks of the civilized world has shown an increase for every

decade since 1850, being at the end of 1885 nearly four times what it was in 1850, so that instead of there being a reduced supply as compared with former times, there is a greatly increased supply. It should be borne in mind always, in considering the supply and annual product of both gold and silver, that these metals are not like other commodities of which the greater part of the annual production is annually consumed. They are not consumed, but merely used, and the only consumption involved comes from loss and wear, which is comparatively trifling. They do their work over and over again, year after year, for decades and even centuries, and the supply is steadily growing with time. Then, too, the increased facilities for doing business, by which the trade of the world is carried on by credit and capital, have reduced greatly the amount of gold required in commercial transactions. "Never before in the history of the world," says Mr. Wells, "have there been so many and such successful devices for economizing the use of money." Says another authority, Nathaniel Cork: "A merchant may not hold ten sovereigns, but he may have capital and credit for ten millions." The "tendency of the age," says still another authority, Doctor Soetbeer, "is to use continually less and less coin in the transaction of business; and so far from there being any scarcity of gold, there never was a period in the world's commercial history when the existing quantity was so large as at present, in proportion to the necessity for its use or for the purposes it has to serve."

The Disappearance of the Apprentice System.

IN considering the question whether or not American boys shall be admitted to a share in American skilled labor,—outlined in the preceding number of *THE CENTURY*,—a statement at the outset of the present condition of the apprentice system is essential to a correct understanding of the case. That the system has ceased to exist in its original form, all authorities agree. Boys are no longer apprenticed as formerly to a master who takes them into his family and teaches them a trade in all its branches. In the old days the master was responsible, legally and morally, for his apprentice's advancement, worked beside him in the shop, and saw to it that he acquired full and accurate knowledge of his craft. The introduction of machinery and the subdivision of labor have been working together for years to make intimate supervision and instruction of this kind impossible. The master mechanic, instead of presiding over a small shop, and being a master of all branches of his trade, has become, in many instances, the master of merely a single branch of his trade. But whether master of whole or of part, he does not work with his men, and can give no personal attention to an apprentice. It has come about, therefore, that boys are hired to do the menial work of the shops, to sweep and clean, run upon errands; and, as part payment for this work, they are permitted to pick up only as much knowledge of the trade as the good nature of the foremen and journeymen will permit. Of system and thoroughness in the knowledge thus picked up there is none. From the menial nature of the employment, self-respecting boys regard it as degrading, and consequently refuse to enter upon it.

In addition to these obstacles, which are the natural

outgrowths of human progress, there is to be taken into account the antagonism of the trade-unions. These have been charged with far greater responsibility in the premises than belongs to them. They have helped to abolish the apprentice system, but it would have disappeared without their opposition, though not so soon. Their antagonism is based upon the belief that "if they did not limit the number of boys at trades, in a very short time they would be compelled to work for lower wages, if not forced into partial and possibly complete idleness." This statement of their belief is quoted from a very friendly authority, the former Labor Commissioner of the State of New York, Charles F. Peck, who, in his report for 1886, devotes much space to a discussion of the apprentice system, based upon a series of questions which he propounded to sixty-five selected labor-unions. These answers showed that the policy of the unions was practically one of exclusion, that their rules about apprentices were so drawn as to make it impossible for more than an insignificant number of boys to learn a trade each year, and that those who were permitted to learn received as little instruction as possible.

Mr. Peck's report on this subject is in fact one of the most valuable publications of the kind ever made, for he collected his information direct from the trade-unions, and collected it also as their friend. His comments are very valuable, therefore, because they give the trade-union side of the question, and cannot be charged with unfairness toward that side. He says, in summing up the answers that he received from the unions: "If the determination to close a trade against newcomers were exceptional, and limited to one or two trades, it would be unimportant, and would only be used as a case of unfraternal spirit or jealous self-interest. But the sentiment runs through all trades. In one trade, I believe,—steam-fitters,—each journeyman has a helper, because one man cannot do the heavy work, and the employer will not pay two men full wages. In other trades the returns show rules for one apprentice to three, four, five, sometimes as high as ten, men, with a narrower limitation for the whole shop. It is said that the employer in a few trades cannot put his own son or nephew to the bench or the vise except as a favor and concession."

What Mr. Peck has shown of New York is true of other States. Upon this point all authorities agree. President John D. Runkle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who has given a great deal of attention to the subject, says: "There is common testimony to the fact of the decay of apprenticeship." Edward Atkinson, an equally trustworthy authority, says: "We are training no American craftsmen, and unless we devise better methods than the old and now obsolete apprentice system, much of the perfection of our almost automatic mechanism will have been achieved at the cost not only of the manual, but also of the mental, development of our men." In all sections of the country, and in all trades, very few apprentices are allowed, and those that are allowed are taught as little as possible. The hostility of the unions to them is well nigh general. The legislatures of the various States are continually amending the apprentice laws, with the hope of making them more effective; but wherever these laws come in contact with the rules of the unions, they are of no practical effect. In fact, all our apprentice laws

are little more than dead-letter statutes. Mr. Peck says of his investigations on this point that "it was discovered that the apprentice law was practically a dead letter," and that the unions "kept up a quasi form of apprenticeship in an irregular and illegal manner" only in order to "control their special trades." An extreme example of the way in which this is done was furnished by the agreements which the Journeymen Plasterers' Union of New York city induced the employers to sign in 1890 and 1892. By the first agreement, signed in 1890, it was stipulated that no one was to be taught the plastering trade in the city for two years. This agreement was kept, and at the end of two years another was signed by which it was stipulated that no one should be admitted to the plastering trade who had not served an apprenticeship of five years. When these agreements were signed, plastering, like most of the building trades, was largely in the hands of foreign-born workmen. The effect of the two agreements, which are still in force, has been to exclude native-born Americans from a good trade for seven years. At the same time, foreign workmen who may not have worked at the trade over six months before coming here are admitted as journeymen. The effect of these agreements is to keep the trade entirely in the hands of foreigners.

As we have said, this is an exceptional case, but it differs only in degree from many others. In all the trades Americans are discriminated against as much as possible, and similar results to those accomplished in the plastering trade are reached by more mildly worded but no less effective rules. Thus, when an employer is allowed two apprentices, and the apprentice is required to serve four years, the employer can graduate only one journeyman every other year. The number of employers in any one trade is not large, and such restrictions amount virtually to an exclusion of American young men from the trades. At the sixth annual convention of the Pennsylvania Association of Master House-Painters and Decorators, held at Scranton in January last, one of the delegates read a paper on the apprentice system as observed in his trade, in which he said that after a personal investigation among "at least six hundred master painters and decorators of Philadelphia and vicinity," he had discovered that not an average of one in fifteen had a single apprentice in his business, and that "the larger the workshop or establishment, the greater seemed the abhorrence with reference to the employment of boys to learn the trade, many of the masters going so far as to say, and with an evident spirit of pride, that in all their experience as masters, extending from fifteen to thirty-five years, and employing from fifteen to fifty, and as high as eighty, workmen, they had never bothered their brains teaching a boy the business."

Evidence on this branch of the subject could be multiplied indefinitely, did space permit. We have quoted sufficient to show that the old apprenticeship system has passed away, and that no system of trade instruction has been permitted to take its place inside the trades themselves. We have also shown that one of the reasons for this, though not the chief one, is the hostility of the foreign-born workmen, who control the trades, to workmen of American birth. The nature and extent of this hostility will form the subject of our next article in this series.

OPEN LETTERS.

Women's Work and Wages.

THE act of the school board of St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1892, declaring that henceforth the same wages should be paid to teachers of both sexes in the public schools of that city, attracted much attention. I believe that it is the first experiment of the kind made in this country. It is certainly the first case in which a city has taken this step, though it may be that in this country, as in England, the same equalizing of pay has been put in operation in private or endowed schools, and in other isolated cases.

The question of why women receive less wages than men in the same employments has been exciting a great deal of attention of late, and is evidently destined to excite even more as time goes on. An interesting contribution to the discussion was made in "The Forum" some months ago by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, who cited many valuable statistics bearing upon it. He showed from the census returns for Massachusetts that there are now few lines of remunerative employment which are not open to women; that in domestic service she dominates the field; that in the trades she divides the field with the men in the proportion of nearly 1 to 2; and that in professional life "there is hardly a single field where we do not find her occupied, whether we turn to religion, medicine, literature, art, music, the drama, education, or science." As for wages, she is advancing in remuneration all along the line. Singers, artists, and other professional women are, in Mr. Wright's opinion, paid as well as men, or if not, "their compensation does not excite the sympathy or interest of the public."

In clerical work women are steadily occupying more of the field, and in some instances are receiving the same pay that men receive for like work. In the departments at Washington there is no distinction as to sex in the payment for clerkships. The women do not as a rule secure such high clerkships as the men, but for those which they obtain they receive equal pay with the men. In employments of lower grades, like type-writing, telegraphing, telephone-operating, bookkeeping, and the like, women are coming more and more to possess the field, and to regulate the price of their own labor by the law of supply and demand, while the men are leaving it for other and better-paying fields. In factory labor Mr. Wright showed by statistics that the wages of men and women are becoming equalized, and that, in the higher grades of work, requiring the most skill, the men and women are receiving about the same pay for the same work.

Mr. Wright gave several reasons why in most occupations women receive less wages than men, and why, in his opinion, they will continue to receive them in spite of social or economic or legislative considerations. In brief, these are, that woman is an entirely new economic factor in the industrial system; that she occupies a lower standard both in physical features and in mental demands; that she has an insufficient equip-

ment for life-work, due largely to matrimonial hopes; that she lacks the influence which comes from combination and association; and finally, that the entrance of women to the industrial field has created a supply out of proportion to the demand.

This idea that women could raise their wages by the aid of trade-unions has been advocated with much force and plausibility in England by Mr. Sidney Webb, but it has failed to meet the approval of one of the most zealous friends of women's work and condition, and one of the clearest economic writers of the day, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, who maintained, in an article in "The Economic Journal," that the cardinal fact regulating wages is the productiveness of the most productive kind of labor within the reach of each individual laborer. A man laborer of any grade has to be paid as much as he could earn in other employments that he would be able to take up. Because he has a wider training than a woman has, he has more of such employments to look to, and can, consequently, demand higher pay. "What women most want," said Mrs. Fawcett, "is more training, to enable them to pursue more skilled handicrafts, and a larger number of professional occupations."

On the question of equal compensation for school-teachers of both sexes, Mrs. Fawcett had some interesting facts to contribute. She said she had "always regarded it as an error, both in principle and in tactics, to advise women under all circumstances to demand the same wages for the same work as men," adding:

The London School Board pays its women teachers less than its men teachers, but the number of women applying for the posts is considerably in excess of the number required; whereas it is, I am told, difficult to get men enough to fill the vacancies for male teachers. The cry, "The same wages for the same work," is very plausible, but it is proved to be impossible of achievement when the economic conditions of the two sexes are so widely different.

Mrs. Fawcett gave an instance of the way in which the equal-pay experiment worked in an English school, which I trust will not prove to be a precedent for the St. Paul experiment. The governors of an endowed school in Hertfordshire started with the good intention of giving the same wages for the same work to all their teachers, whether men or women.

The result was that the women, attracted by the to them exceptionally favorable terms, were exceptionally well qualified for the work, while the men were mere average specimens of their profession. The equality was, therefore, only nominal; the same money bought a better article in the female labor market than it did in the male labor market.

This would have been a satisfactory outcome had it been true that women could in all cases do the work of men in the conduct of the school. The fact that women cannot in many cases do the work of men, even if mentally qualified for it, is too often overlooked in the consideration of the problem. So long as the supply of men for certain work is less than the supply

of women for the same work, the latter will have to be content with less wages than the former in all cases in which the work cannot be done entirely by women.

B.

Wanted—Specialists in Church Music.

I HAVE frequently been appealed to by churches for help in securing a competent and sympathetic manager for their music. What is wanted was thus expressed in one case:

Our church is hardly satisfied with our present music, more particularly as to its results in developing music in the congregation and among our young people. Can you direct our attention to an organist who is an earnest Christian and a good leader, who would take an interest in training the young voices in our Sunday-school, and in keeping the church music thoroughly in sympathy with the remainder of the service, and helpful to the worship of the congregation? To the right man we can offer an opportunity to do some good work, and reasonably good pay for it. The times are ripe for the man.

Many such expressions have come to me in letters and conversations. They all look the same way: Wanted—a Christian musician, trained, tactful, enthusiastic, bent upon stimulating and guiding the musical life of a parish so that it will contribute directly and powerfully to the prime objects of church life. A leading Western pastor says, "The need is great, and I imagine the demand will before long be strenuous."

Something should be done in the matter. We have seminaries for training pastors, schools for training lay teachers and helpers of various kinds, and numerous temporary classes and assemblies for studying all sorts of Christian work. But what about this uniquely effective arm of parish organization—the music? The problem is beset by undeniable difficulties—difficulties in the attitude of churches to their music, in the attitude of musical students not only to church music, but to Christian work in general, and in some of the practical details involved in any proposed solution. The following suggestions are feasible:

There is a noble opening for a school exclusively devoted to training *church musicians*. The conditions of admission should be simply genuine Christian enthusiasm, a declared intention to serve the musical needs of the churches, and reasonable musical aptitude. Courses should be provided for both organists and singers, but all should have minute discipline as leaders and teachers. The subjects taught should be (1) church music—theory and history—as a branch of Christian work; (2) sight-reading, as a stimulus to true musical sensitiveness, as an introduction to singing, and as a subject for popular instruction; (3) voice-building, with reference to both speaking and singing; (4) choral singing, as the central department of all music, especially of sacred music, to be extended to oratorio work, if possible; (5) harmony, for the organist an indispensable tool, for the singer a constant guide, and for all the key to the inner mysteries of musical construction; (6) analysis and criticism, both as an artistic discipline and for popular exposition; (7) organ-playing and solo-singing as specialties in church work. To these might be added several courses for more extended technical information and equipment.

The entire management should be in Christian hands. The aim should be immediate practical utility rather than artistic achievement. Instruction for those who do

not mean to be primarily church musicians should be left entirely to other schools. Courses should be so arranged as to permit students to accomplish much in a short time. Certificates should be granted for demonstrated attainments. To establish confidence and preclude misuse, the enterprise should be connected with some recognized institution, preferably a theological seminary, though sectarianism should be avoided.

That there is nothing like this now provided is, I think, a fact. Some of the teaching of what is called "church music" is only a menace to true devotional art. A different ideal, and a more radical specialization, are imperative for permanent success. Much might be added, if space permitted, to justify and fill out the outline of effort here suggested.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. *Waldo S. Pratt.*

The Australian Registry of Land Titles.

A REPLY TO MR. EDWARD ATKINSON'S ARTICLE IN THE CENTURY FOR FEBRUARY, 1892, BY THE DEAN OF THE LAW SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND PROFESSOR OF THE LAW OF REAL ESTATE AND CONVEYANCING.

THE objections to the adoption in the United States of the Australian registry of land titles are two:

(1) The Constitution of the United States forbids the United States, or any State, to deprive any person of property without due process of law; that is, without a course of legal proceedings including the establishment of a competent tribunal, the service of process requiring the appearance of all parties whose rights may be affected by the judgment in the particular cause, and an opportunity to such parties of a hearing before judgment. No indefeasible title could result in the United States from a public registry upon the Australian plan, for the title of an adverse claimant could not be concluded until the statutory period of limitation had barred his claim.

(2) The operation of the system would require the appointment of a large number of government employees, and it would compel the Government, national, State, or municipal, as the case might be, to engage in a business—that of insuring titles—which can be better and less expensively done by non-official agencies.

Registry laws requiring the recording in public offices of conveyances of, and liens and encumbrances upon, land have been in force in this country from the earliest colonial days. Any one who is familiar with the expense, delay, and danger of English conveyancing, and with the comparative inexpensiveness, speed, and safety of American conveyancing, will see the advantages of the American system, which practically compels the recording of all dealings with land *inter vivos* by postponing the unrecorded deed or lien to that which has been recorded, and which yet protects an unrecorded title against all parties having actual notice.

But the system is not perfect, because it does not cover devises or descents of land, and because there are dangers of false personation in acknowledgments, and of forgery, and because land is not as readily transferable as a ship or a share of corporate stock. The recording system should be amended in the following respects:

(1) All conveyances of, and encumbrances upon, land within each county of a State should be registered in the same public office.

(2) At the death of the owner, all land should vest in a realty representative, whose recorded conveyance should alone vest title in the devisee or heir.

(3) The statutory period of limitation should be reduced to a short period,—say seven years,—and there should be no exceptions for coverture, lunacy, or infancy.

(4) Deeds should be acknowledged only before a limited class of public officers, and real, not nominal, proof of the identity of the grantors should be required.

(5) The original conveyance should be filed of record and remain in the public office. Upon filing a conveyance, or registering an encumbrance, the party filing the same should receive a certified duplicate of the paper filed (Hon. Thomas M. Cooley's paper on the "Recording Laws of the United States"; "Vol. IV., Reports of the American Bar Association," p. 199). But such certified copies should not be admissible in evidence in legal proceedings as primary proof, but only as secondary proof; *i. e.*, only upon proof of loss of the original paper.

(6) Short and compulsory statutory forms of conveyance and mortgage should be provided, naming the grantor and grantee, describing the land, and setting forth the estate or interest therein conveyed or encumbered, the consideration, the manner of its payment, and brief trusts and covenants, if necessary.

C. Stuart Patterson.

REJOINDER.

In rejoinder to Professor Patterson's exceptions to the adoption of the Australian System of Registering Land Titles in this country, I beg to submit the following extract from the message of Governor William E. Russell to the Massachusetts legislature (House Document, No. 94, A. D. 1891). The governor says:

Under the Torrens System an official examination of title is substituted for an unofficial one, and the result when once sufficiently ascertained is given conclusive effect in favor of the owner, and his title is made perfect against all the world. In effect, under the Torrens System the State provides a proper court in which any one can have his rights in relation to a piece of land declared and established, not only as against particular persons who may have an adverse interest upon special notice to them, but also as against everybody. The principle of basing decrees upon general notice to all persons interested already prevails in our probate law. Laws providing for the removal of clouds upon title to land after general notice to all unknown defendants exist in many States of the Union, and the validity of decrees made under such laws has been established by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I should not myself attempt to pass upon questions of law in this matter. I have dealt with the subject purely from the economic standpoint; but as the matter has been made the subject of very close investigation by the governor, himself an able member of the bar, and by the most acute and skilful conveyancers in Massachusetts, I assumed that any technical or constitutional objections might be met.

In respect to other objections taken by Professor Patterson, I beg to submit that they may resemble the hypothetical objections which may always be raised in respect to any very considerable change either in the methods of legislation or in methods of business which

have run in a customary rut for a very long period. Suffice it that in this matter the long experience of the Australian colonies, coupled with the more recent experience of British Columbia, gives the conclusive answer. *The system works, and the hypothetical objections which have been raised to its adoption have not been sustained.*

The business of insuring the title by the State does not prove to be costly; in fact, the fund has seldom been drawn upon in any colony, and never in some of the colonies. Moreover, it is not such an integral part of the system that the system must stand or fall by it.

Edward Atkinson.

American Artists Series.

CHARLES SPRAGUE PEARCE. (SEE PAGE 275.)

IN the list of American painters who have made their mark in the art world, who, in the French phrase, are *arrivés*, there are few more distinguished than Charles Sprague Pearce. Like Alexander Harrison, Ridgway Knight, and many others, he is ours only by the fact that he was born among us, a condition in which he and the others named have the advantage of the most brilliant of them all, Sargent, who is of foreign birth, though of American parentage.

Mr. Pearce was born in Boston in 1851, and Europe has been his home since he was fifteen years of age—naturally enough, if his bent was toward art; for what had his native country to give him? The National Academy of Design has done its work faithfully, according to its light; but even its most ardent friend would hardly say that it has kept abreast of the times. Opportunities for genuine art study in the United States were almost *nil* until the last fifteen years, and even now, when art schools are multiplied to an almost alarming extent, the status of the American artist is not settled. He seems to occupy a place "a little lower than the angels," the angels being the imported works—no matter if they are "pot-boilers"—of distinguished foreigners.

A fair illustration of this is the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, in which the works of native artists, unless they have the seal of French or German approval, are hardly to be found. As has lately been said: "Should a foreigner arrive here, and want to know what American artists have done, he would naturally go to the Metropolitan Museum. Judge his surprise when all he would find there would be the works of foreigners, and the works of Americans better known abroad than in their native land."

Mr. Pearce is without doubt the peer of the large concourse of modern artists, great as these are great, and only in this degree. He is fashionably correct. His composition and drawing are excellent, his color is up to the standard—the standard of a year or two ago. To appropriate French phraseology once more, his pictures are in a "*jolie note grise*"; that is, agreeably gray.

Mr. Pearce was a pupil of Léon Bonnat, and later spent much time in Algiers sketching and painting from nature. He received honorable mention in the Paris Salon when thirty years of age, and a medal of the third class two years later.

W. Lewis Fraser.

the United States, *as an English-speaking people*, might thus grant to Russia, *would be of peculiar value.*"¹ The significant reference to the "peculiar value" which the "moral support" of an "English-speaking people" would have for Russia, when she should begin her "movements" along the Persian frontier, shows clearly that it was against Great Britain that such movements were to be directed. The Government of the United States virtually said to the Government of Russia, "You supported us against Great Britain at a critical moment in our history, and now we will support you against Great Britain when you begin your march toward India—'our enemies are the same.'"

From this brief recital of the facts of the case it will be seen, I think, that the attitude taken by Russia toward the United States in 1862-63 was dictated by self-interest rather than by friendship. But even if it were not so, even if Alexander II. and the group of men who constituted the Government of Russia at that time were actuated by the most generous and disinterested motives, the debt of gratitude which we should owe to them would not be payable to Alexander III. and the group of men who constitute the Russian government of to-day. The rulers of Russia thirty years ago were comparatively liberal and enlightened men, and they were engaged, at that very time, in a work of regeneration and reform which promised to bring happiness and prosperity to their people. The rulers of Russia to-day are oppressors, religious bigots, and reactionists,

¹ "Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor," Vol. I, pp. 411, 412. The italics are my own.

whose chief aim seems to be the complete destruction of all the liberal institutions that their predecessors founded. We might properly have felt sympathy with the reforming Russian government of 1862; but with the reactionary Government of to-day, which gags the provincial assemblies, limits the right of trial by jury, persecutes the Jews and the Stundists, flogs the people by thousands for non-payment of taxes, and maintains itself by the rigorous enforcement of martial law, we can have nothing in common. If there is to be any "disinterested alliance" between the United States and Russia, it should be based upon some nobler feeling than hostility to Great Britain. If there is to be any "bridge of sentiment" between the Republic of the West and the Empire of the North, it should stretch not from the State Department to the throne of the Czar, but from the hearts of the American people to the hearts of the men and women beyond the Vistula who share our love of freedom, but are unable to attain it, and who look to us for sympathy while they wait for the dawn of a brighter day. Russia will not always be a despotism. Sooner or later the authority of the autocrat will give way to the authority of the people; and when that time comes I hope we may be able to say to the free citizens of a free Russia that if, in their time of need, we did not give our moral support to them, we at least withheld it from their oppressors. As for me, my sympathies are with the Russia of the people, not the Russia of the Czars; with the Russia of the provincial assemblies, not the Russia of the secret police; with the Russia of the future, not the Russia of the past.

George Kennan.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Origin and Growth of the Spoils System.

MR. CARL SCHURZ, in his interesting address at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, in April last, gave some very instructive facts about the attitude of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams toward appointments to and removals from office. He showed that Jefferson during his two terms made only thirty-nine removals, that Madison during his two terms made only five, that Monroe during his two terms made nine, and John Quincy Adams during his four years made only two. Because the number of Jefferson's removals was four times as great as that of any other President during the first forty years of the Government, he has been accused of introducing the "spoils" system into American politics. There is little or no foundation for this charge. The spoils system was in full operation when he became President, and although his election

brought a new party into power, and although the offices were filled almost entirely with members of the defeated party, he made very few removals except for good cause, and resisted strong importunities to make what is known as a modern "clean sweep." His utterances, as Mr. Schurz showed in his address, were strongly in favor of what are now the recognized principles of civil-service reform, and in all but an insignificant portion of his removals and appointments he lived up to his utterances. Of Madison's five removals, three were of defaulters, and the other two were for good cause. Monroe, coming into office, like Madison, without party change, and coming in also under the mollifying influence of the so-called "era of good feeling," had no excuse for making many changes, and all his nine removals were for good cause.

With the second Adams the case was quite different. He had been subjected to bitter personal opposition, and had been elected under such peculiar political

conditions,—owing his success mainly to support from an opposite political party,—that he had strong provocation for using public office to build up what he needed very much—a personal following. He offered his chief cabinet positions to men who had either been his opponents or had voted against him, and his chief diplomatic appointment to a man who had never been his friend. From the beginning to the end of his administration he was actuated by what he had written in his memoirs five years before becoming President: "There is something so gross and so repugnant to my feelings in this cormorant appetite for office, this barefaced and repeated effort to get an old and meritorious public servant turned out of place by a bankrupt to get in, that it needed all my sense of the allowances to be made for sharp want and the tenderness due to misfortune to suppress my indignation." He refused to take advantage of the four years' limitation law, and to introduce the principle of rotation in office, and sent messages to the Senate renominating every officer whose term was expiring. His rule of conduct as set down in his diary was, "I determined to renominate every person against whom there was no complaint which would have warranted his removal." And, later, "I have renominated every officer, friend or foe, against whom no specific charge of misconduct has been brought." His two removals were for good cause.

The spoils system had no foothold whatever in national politics at the close of Adams's term. The public service was not filled with men of one political party, but with men of opposite political creeds who had been retained because of their fitness. There was no excuse for removals in order to establish an equilibrium between the parties, for such equilibrium existed already. But Jackson waited for no excuses of any kind. Under pretense of reforming the service, he began to make removals by wholesale, conducting the first "clean sweep" the country had ever seen. Miss Lucy M. Salmon, Professor of History in Vassar College, in her valuable "History of the Appointing Power of the President," to which we are indebted for most of the information contained in this article, says: "It was impossible to obtain official record of the changes made. No one knew whose turn had come, whose turn would come next. Clerks who had been appointed by Washington and Jefferson, and had grown gray in the service, were dismissed without warning. There had always been an understanding that so long as an officer was faithful and capable he should retain his position. Clerks were now told that no complaint had been made against them, but that their places were desired for others." The collectors of customs at the leading ports of the country, most of whom had been long in the service, were removed, and partizans of the President were put in their places. The subordinates were changed also, and at the same time new "places" were created. In the post-office department there were 491 removals, the greater number of them in districts where the service had been especially good. The department had been self-supporting under the previous Postmaster-General, but soon after the changes were made it was announced that there would probably be a deficit of \$100,000 during the first year. In all, it was estimated that two thousand removals were made during Jackson's first year, and the places thus vacated were filled, in nearly

all instances, with extreme partizans, few of whom had any fitness. During Jackson's first two years no fewer than fifty-five editors of partizan newspapers—"editors of the foulest press," Adams styles them in his diary—were given office.

When Van Buren succeeded Jackson the same policy was continued, and the fruits of it were beginning to be harvested. "At the close of Mr. Adams's term," says Miss Salmon, "a deficit of two thousand dollars in the accounts of a treasury assistant had branded the officer as a criminal, and in the eyes of the opposition the President became a sharer in the crime. Now, mismanagement and corruption in every department of the government service formed a painful contrast to the general honesty and purity of the pre-'reform' period." The people demanded a change, and General W. H. Harrison came into office pledged to give it to them, but he died too soon to have it known whether or not he would have been able to keep his promises. He made many removals, but these were made necessary by the fact that the service was filled so largely with dishonest and incompetent persons. It is interesting to note that the "rush for office," of which we have had such sad accounts in recent years, began as the first fruit of Jackson's policy. Seward, in writing of the inauguration of Harrison, says in his autobiography: "At the White House, the office-seekers literally took possession, some, it is said, even sleeping in the halls and corridors, in order to have the first chance in the morning. Day and night Harrison was besieged by the crowd." Tyler made few or no efforts to resist the spoilsmen when Harrison's death put him in power. He made as "clean" a "sweep" as Jackson did, removing by wholesale, appointing partizans and editors, and toward the close of his administration using the offices openly to insure his own reelection.

Polk came into office as an avowed spoilsman, and conducted himself accordingly, making more than two thousand removals in the post-office department alone. Taylor followed a similar course, for the spoils theory had now become thoroughly established, and new Presidents were no longer expected to make opposition to it. Public sentiment itself had become so demoralized that it supported the view that the offices of the Government were the just perquisites of party victory.

What civil-service reform is doing in our day is the restoring of public sentiment to the healthy condition it was in during the first forty years of the Government, before General Jackson began his work of perverting it. As Mr. Schurz pointed out, the reform agitation has resulted in removing more than one quarter of the 180,000 officers now under the National government from the reach of partizan control by placing them within the classified service, where they are subject to civil-service regulations. *Public sentiment not only sustains this progress, but demands far more.* At no time since Jackson's day has there been so little popular support as there is at present for a "clean sweep," or for a looting of all the offices, because a new political party has come into power. On the contrary, one sees on every hand a deep popular disgust with the quadrennial "rush for office," and a general contempt for persons engaged in it. The spoils system has lived through two generations, but before a third passes away the

last traces of it will be eliminated from our national politics. Public sentiment will compel this reform in spite of the opposition of the professional politicians and spoilsmen.

Compulsory Public Service.

CERTAIN students of the problem of municipal government have lately advanced, among other remedies for its defects, compulsory voting and compulsory office-holding. It is urged in support of these remedies that since one of the chief reasons for municipal misrule is the abstention of the "best men" from active politics, and their refusal frequently to accept nominations for office when requested to do so, compulsion in these two directions would be certain to bring the much-desired reform. Failure to vote in an election, or refusal to stand for office, would be punished by fine, and possibly other penalty, compulsion being enforced as it is in the jury system.

Both forms of compulsion were tried in small communities in the early history of this country. Governor Hill of New York, in his annual message of 1889, cited one of the civil laws in force in the town of Southampton, Long Island, in 1643, in which it was decreed that every man in the town should "give his vote and suffrage either for or against" every matter submitted to the public for approval, and should "not in any case be a neuter." In New England towns, in the early days, compulsory office-holding was in force, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in an address which he delivered at the anniversary exercises at the close of the first century of the town of Quincy, cited the experiences of his own ancestor, John Adams, who was confronted with the choice of accepting the town-meeting nomination for surveyor of highways or paying a fine. In small communities both forms of compulsory public duty were easy of enforcement, but it is noticeable that both were abandoned when the towns became larger.

It is not our purpose at this time to enter upon an exhaustive discussion of the merits of these proposals, or to consider the probabilities of their success in practice. The great difficulties in the way of enforcing compulsory voting in large communities are obvious to the most superficial observer. It would be necessary in the first place to compel every citizen to register, and again to compel him to go to the polls. To do this in New York city, or Boston, or Chicago, would require an army of officials. Then, when the unwilling voter had been brought to the polls, and put in the voting-booth with his ballot, he could not be compelled to vote. He could deposit his ballot blank, and nobody could punish him for it, since it would be a violation of the secrecy of the ballot to ascertain how he had voted. It would be the old story of leading the horse to water.

As for compulsory office-holding, our municipal troubles do not come so much from the refusal of good men to accept nominations as from the refusal of the political machines to offer them. It is true that in some instances nominations are declined by men who would make most efficient public servants, but theirs are exceptional cases, and even if we were to force them into the public service, we should still be a long way

from a thorough and lasting reform of our municipal government evils.

It seems to us that the true remedy lies not in forcing the "best men" into a defective and often bad public service, but in reforming the service itself, and making it attractive to the "best men." Once make your public service a desirable and permanent calling for men of ability and character, and there will be no need of compulsion to induce men to enter it. In the model cities of Europe,—Berlin, Glasgow, Birmingham, and others,—the municipal service offers inducements which are equal to those offered by any private profession. A young man of character and intelligence, who seeks a calling which will give him permanent employment, with a prospect for comfortable living, and perhaps a competence, finds it in various branches of the municipal service; for he sees that in that service expert ability is sought after and rewarded with handsome remuneration and life tenure.

Our municipal service offers nothing of this kind. It offers a brief and most uncertain tenure, and it offers, usually, a higher reward for incompetence than for expert ability. Few young men who desire to live lives of usefulness, to win livelihoods for themselves and families by perseverance and industry, choose the public service as their calling. They go into business or the professions, because they find therein the inducements which attract them. Sometimes, it is true, an excellent young man who is in some way related to a powerful boss will get into municipal office through "influence," and make a good record; and sometimes circumstances do bring other scrupulous and honorable men into civic offices. But it is too often the case that the idle, shiftless, more or less unprincipled men, who have neither the ability, nor the character, nor the inclination to compete for a livelihood or supremacy in business or professional life, go into politics and the public service, because talents of their kind are best rewarded there.

So long as this is true, it seems to us that compulsory office-holding would be not only an inadequate remedy, but that it would involve also an injustice to the citizen. Why should a man be forced to accept a public position for a brief interval only, when to do so he must sacrifice his private interests and incur possibly serious loss? What right has the public to compel this sacrifice? And when it has been compelled, and the term of service is ended, what guarantee does the public have that his successor will be a fit man for the place? What kind of private business could be well and successfully conducted by the process of forcing one man after another in the community to take charge of it for a brief period?

It is the old question of conducting public business upon the same simple principles as those upon which every successful private business is conducted—that is to say, the old question of civil-service reform. When we get our municipal service thoroughly and surely established upon that basis, we shall need neither compulsory voting nor compulsory office-holding to give us intelligent, economic, honest, and creditable government. The only way by which to get good men into the public service, and to keep them there, is to make it worth their while to go there, and that can be done very easily by giving them assurance of permanent employment and just reward for ability and faithfulness.

Hostility of Foreign to American Labor.

In the preceding article of this series, on the American boy's right to learn a trade, we discussed the passing of the apprentice system, showing that one reason, though not the chief one, for its decadence was the hostility of the trade-unions. We purpose to show in the present article that this hostility extends to manual-training and trade schools as methods of teaching boys the trades which they can no longer learn as apprentices, and that what it really amounts to is a determination upon the part of the foreign workmen who control all the trade-unions to exclude American youths from American trades. Most of the evidence which we shall cite on this point will be drawn from official sources, and mainly from the utterances of the members of trade-unions.

In his annual report for 1886, Mr. Charles F. Peck, Commissioner of Labor for the State of New York, presented a large collection of views, obtained from labor-unions in all parts of the country, on the subjects of apprentices, manual-training, and trade schools. We quoted some of his conclusions on the apprentice evidence in our preceding article. The substance of them was that the trade-unions have adopted such regulations in regard to apprentices as to make it practically impossible for American boys to learn trades in shops controlled by trade-unions. We shall now show from his report that the same hostility that is exhibited toward American boys as apprentices is exhibited toward them as graduates of manual-training and trade schools, and that the reason of this hostility is a desire to maintain possession of the labor field in America for the exclusive benefit of foreign workmen. We quote first some opinions obtained by Mr. Peck in response to inquiries as to the attitude of trade-unions toward trade and technical schools. The secretary of the State Finishers' International Association wrote:

I believe in all journeymen and apprentices being connected with the unions. If a boy become a full-fledged mechanic in a technical school, he would not know anything about unions, nor would he have any sympathy with their objects and regulations. I believe in thorough labor organization.

A carpenters' union of Memphis, Tennessee, made this response:

No, we do not favor manual training, as it would give the boy an idea, and there are too many ideas now. We want them to know the trade, and then we will not have so much trouble.

A carpenters' union of Ithaca, New York, took a like view, as follows:

We are not in favor of upholding or of approving manual-training, trade, and technical schools. Boys, after a course in the schools, think they know it all, and it is a damage to the trade-unions.

A local assembly of Knights of Labor, composed of printers, said:

A technical trade-school would be a menace at all times to the trades. Not that a boy could learn a trade theoretically to the damage of the skilled workmen, but that the employer would be able to tide over strikes, etc., by the aid of this half-educated labor. We have already had too much technical knowledge. We want practical mechanics.

The committee of a bricklayers' union wrote:

We believe that the present manner of producing mechanics through the instrumentality of trade organizations and foreign immigration is fully adequate to the demand.

These are all extreme views, and are selected from a large mass, many of which are favorable to the trade and manual-training schools. But the favorable views come largely from individuals, and do not represent accurately the attitude of the trade-unions as a whole, though they do so represent a few of the less powerful of them. The general attitude of the labor organizations is unquestionably one of hostility. This was shown in a striking manner by the action of the Bricklayers' Union of Pennsylvania in going before a committee of the legislature last spring to oppose a bill making an appropriation for the establishment of a trade-school in the State Reform School, giving notice to the committee that, through the trade-unions of the State, they would endeavor to defeat the bill. It was shown also in some comments, published in 1888, which prominent labor leaders made upon Colonel Auchmuty's trade-schools and their graduates. These speak sneeringly of both the training of the schools and of Colonel Auchmuty's motives. Thus Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, dismissed the whole question of the American boy's right to learn a trade, in spite of the trade-union's prohibitive apprentice rules, by saying:

The great trade and labor organizations which dot the land decided long ago that the limitation of the number of apprentices was the best method of meeting the question. The opinion of the myriads of men and women who belong to these organizations, I submit, is entitled to a little more weight than Mr. Auchmuty's *ipse dixit*.

Edward Conkling, of the Progressive Painters' Union, said:

I doubt if Mr. Auchmuty takes as much interest in the "American boy" as some people think. He represents a certain class who abhor labor organizations. They care very little about the American boy or his father. Their plan is not to fit the American boy for the trades, but to fill the market with a surplus of indifferent workmen who may be used as a club against organized labor. That is their policy.

In October, 1890, National District 210 of Paper-Hangers, Painters, and Decorators, in New York city, condemned the Auchmuty trade-schools because they "turned loose a lot of incompetent and cheap workers."

In commenting upon the unfavorable replies in his report, Mr. Peck says that a "very unpleasant and prominent feature of them is the avowed objection to bringing the boy into competition with adults. It will be noticed by reading between the lines that the great difficulty to the trade-unions is as to where all the boys and youths are ultimately to find work, the men finding it difficult to obtain it now. This trouble extends to all organizations which are strong enough to limit apprentices."

It is just here that the anti-American aspect of the hostility we are discussing most clearly reveals itself. The trade-unions, which all authorities agree are controlled by foreigners, object to apprentices, and to trade and manual-training schools, on the ground that there is not sufficient work now for the men in the trades, and that to increase the number of laborers by allowing boys to learn trades will be still further to deprive the men of work. Yet these same trade-unions admit

freely all foreign workmen who come into the country, and admit temporarily hundreds and thousands of such who come here to remain only during the busy season, returning to Europe at its close. If they are not opposed to the boys because they are Americans, why do they not refuse admittance into their alleged crowded ranks to these foreign recruits? Why they prefer foreigners to Americans is revealed with sufficient clearness in the replies which we have cited above. They are afraid of American independent ideas in their unions, knowing, as they do, that American workmen are not so servile, and not so easily led, as the more ignorant foreign workmen. This fear shows itself plainly in all the replies. One of the most experienced and thoughtful observers that we have in this country upon this and kindred labor questions, who has devoted many years of earnest and painstaking study to the question of methods for teaching American boys useful trades, says:

Only one reason can be found for this hostility of the unions, or rather of the union leaders, to our young countrymen, and that is that Americans are not wanted in the trades. They, particularly if well educated, would not obey orders unless convinced of their wisdom, or pay assessments without an accounting. A union under American control would become a miniature republic, instead of being, as it is at present, a one-man-power affair.

As direct evidence on this point, coming from the trades themselves, we cite the following from the large collection of opinions published by Mr. Peck in his report for 1886.

From a master carpenter of New York city:

Under the present régime they [foreign laborers] object to teaching our young men trades; therefore we must go abroad to find labor, while our young men are growing up in idleness and filling our prisons.

From a printer of New York city:

Artistic and skilled native workmen are becoming scarce, and foreign mechanics are taking the lead in our workshops.

From a carpenter of Marinette, quoted in the "Report of the Wisconsin Labor Bureau for 1886":

We poor native-born citizens are just pulled around same as dogs by foreign people. We do not stand any show, and it seems as though everything is coming to the very worst in the near future unless immigration is stopped.

Finally, as a last word on this subject, let us quote the following testimony of a Hungarian (cited by Mr. Peck in a chapter on foreign labor in his report for 1885) who had been giving an account of the fortunes which his countrymen made in America by coming here to work for a few years:

I go back to Hungary a rich man. There I live like a baron. I get married and enjoy myself for all my trials here. America will soon make laws to stop immigration. So many foreigners come in to work cheap that American workmen after a while will be so poor they will come to the level of foreign workmen. Capital in America wants protection. America had better protect its native-born poor workmen. I have got enough for myself. Now I can tell the truth. I don't care.

The evil is not merely one of immigration, but of allowing the immigrants to control the labor field against our own sons. If the latter were admitted to the field, and were occupying it with their more intelligent, superior, and orderly labor, there would be less inducement for the foreigners to come in. As to the character of those who come, their complete control of the labor-market through the unions, and their influence for evil in our national affairs—these are subjects which we shall discuss in future articles of this series.

OPEN LETTERS.

Who Wore the Laurels.

WERE our judgment of the poets laureate of England to be based upon the current opinion of them and their work in literature, we should be inclined to consider that it was their great misfortune not only to be poets laureate, but that fate imposed upon them any compulsion to be poets at all. Since the death of Tennyson more attention has been paid to the past history and to the probable future of the English laureateship than ever before. The explanations of the origin of this important office which have been given in the daily press have, however, been conflicting, and much confusion has been thrown into the discussion. But upon one point the majority of those who have written about the poets laureate agree, and that is in sounding a note of disparagement in regard both to the office and those who have held it.

But what these laureates have suffered at the hands of the critics of the present time is not to be compared to the abuse which was lavished upon them by their contemporaries. The literary history of England is full of the records of the burlesques, the lampoons, the coarse wit and satire, which have been directed against any poet who has struggled into notice, and won dis-

tingtion above his fellows. The poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were especially exposed to these satirical assaults.

The prevailing opinion is not always the true or the just one, though, of course, it has a measure of truth and of justice as its foundation. The prevailing opinion in regard to these poets of England who were crowned with the laurel is more often based upon the satires and lampoons of which they were the occasion, than upon the nature of their own poetical work. People read Dryden and Pope instead of Shadwell and Cibber; but the Colley Cibber of the "Dunciad," and the Thomas Shadwell of "MacFlecknoe" are not the true Cibber and the true Shadwell. The laureates have been more assailed by satire than other poets, and this not because they were necessarily poor poets, but because their very position excited envy. Though men like Gray and Scott refused the appointment of the laureateship, the position was often eagerly sought. When the unfortunate Richard Savage failed to receive the appointment for which he sued with so much servility, he called himself the volunteer laureate, and in that capacity wrote a number of odes for the queen, services which she liberally rewarded.

Being appointed a poet laureate did not always in the

past, nor would it at the present time, imply that such a poet was greater than his fellows. To suppose this is to misapprehend the nature of the office. It must always be remembered that the laureateship was a court appointment, an office in the gift of the Government. Hence the laureate was a court poet, and one who of necessity must be in sympathy with the monarch and all monarchical measures. That this misapprehension of the laureateship is very common is proved by the numerous newspaper remarks upon the subject. A recent writer, in expressing the usual cant about these laureates being such sorry poets, says, "Think of Southey being laureate while Byron was alive!" We might retort, "Think of Byron, the poet of revolution, writing a 'Vision of Judgment' in which an infamous king was canonized; or Byron being in a position where odes like Southey's on the negotiations with Bonaparte, or the visits of the king to Ireland and Scotland, were expected!"

In 1619—some authorities say 1616—James I. granted to Ben Jonson letters patent making him poet laureate. Charles I. had been king five years when he reconsidered this appointment of his father. He issued new letters patent to Ben Jonson, which for the first time made the laureateship a permanent institution. Since then there have been fourteen poets laureate in unbroken succession. Of these fourteen only two or three could be called true poets. When the Restoration came English poetry received a blow from which it took over a hundred years to recover.

The Augustan age of Anne, which gave us Pope and Swift and all that brilliant circle, though it was rich in prose, produced no great inspired, natural poet. Inspiration, naturalness, and a high poetic ideal seem to have vanished until Cowper and Burns appeared. Dryden, with all his facile skill, his command of the resources of language, and his brilliant wit, produced no work which was the outcome of an exalted mood. His work lacked dignity and moral strength, and was wholly without those finer influences which tend to inspire and elevate humanity. Warton, noble poet as he was, stood half-way between the school that was going out and the school that was coming in. He scarcely felt the force of the tide which was bearing English poetry on to new regions of thought. For twenty-three years Henry James Pye wore the wreath of laurel; but the new revelation which had come to men like Wordsworth and Coleridge and Shelley, the new spirit which was animating English poetry, touched the laureate lightly.

In many accounts of the laureateship there is not sufficient distinction maintained between those poets whose claim to the title was shadowy and intangible, and those who had authentic right to the honor. Some authorities, in speaking of Chaucer, or Skelton, or Spenser as laureates, often neglect to explain just how they came to be so called. The idea of the laureateship appears to have assumed form gradually; but this much is certain, that, as it now exists, it began with Ben Jonson. It was not until 1630 that it became a definite and permanent institution. It was then that Charles I. ratified the appointment which had been conferred upon Jonson by James I. The annual pension which had been given before was increased to one hundred pounds, and a butt of wine from the king's cellars. When this great poet and dramatist was thus formally recognized as an officer of the royal household, he un-

doubtedly occupied the first place in the world of letters. Before Ben Jonson's time, however, there were court poets who sang the praises of their sovereigns, who celebrated in heroic verse the victories which exalted the nation, and who were rewarded for their services with pensions and emoluments.

It had been from very early times the custom in Italy, Germany, England, and even Spain, to crown certain poets who were considered preëminent. Virgil and Horace were both crowned with the laurel wreath. There seems to be considerable uncertainty in regard to the origin of the term poet laureate as applied to a member of the royal household of England. Warton asserts that the universities conferred the honor as a degree upon those graduates who excelled in rhetoric and Latin versification.

Warton describes several interesting instances of these degrees in versification being conferred at Oxford. One student received the laurel on condition that he compose a Latin comedy and one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university. We see in this perhaps the beginning of the custom of linking to the honor of laureation certain conditions which made it somewhat like a mercantile transaction. Caxton, in a work printed in 1490, mentions "Maister John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the university of Oxenford." Skelton had been crowned with the laurel probably in 1489, and four years after he was permitted to wear the same badge also at Cambridge. This is the cause of Skelton's signing himself "Poeta Skelton Laureatus."

It had been the custom among the ancient Greeks to crown their poets with a wreath symbolical of both appreciation and reward. The Romans imitated the Greeks of course in this as in so many other things. The universities of the middle ages must, in their turn, have derived their custom of laureation from the well-known crowning of Petrarch by the Roman senate. Many universities on the Continent blended with the poetic distinction a reference to theology quite characteristic of the age.

Thus in the early times there were many poets laureate. They were not court poets, but the custom must gradually have arisen for English monarchs to choose from among these laureates one who would be present at court, and would on stated occasions sing the praises of his country and his king. Many times this poet was called simply king's versifier, and there are a few instances on record of this king's versifier being chosen when he had never received from Oxford any laureate degree; though, as a rule, the appointment was conferred because the recipient had already received the laurel crown for skill in Latin versification. It was customary also for the court poets to write in Latin, as the English language was regarded with universal contempt. Warton is of the opinion that the royal laureate did not begin to write in English till the Reformation had begun to diminish the veneration for Latin.

Chaucer, by his close relationship to John of Gaunt, to whose influence he owed some official appointments, has often been styled poet laureate to Edward IV., but there is no evidence whatever that he had any right to the title. He was simply a great poet who was often at court, and who received certain rewards for definite political, not poetical, services. After Richard II. met

Gower rowing on the Thames, and asked him straightway to book some new thing, Gower called himself the king's laureate; but Skelton, while praising both Gower and Chaucer, said "they wanted nothing but the Lawrell." We hear of John Kay, a court poet who lived over fifty years later than Gower, addressing himself to Edward IV. as "hys humble poet laureate." But the title was wholly self-given. Henry VII. is said to have granted to Andrew Bernard, poet laureate, a small salary till he should obtain some employment which would insure him the same sum; but there is nothing very permanent in this. Skelton aspired to be court poet as well as the laureate of Oxford. By his keen and pungent satire he must have been a power in helping on the Reformation. He was connected by the whole scope of his literary purpose with the reign of Henry VIII., and in that reign the idea of religious liberty became manifest with irresistible power.

The portrait of a great poet—the immortal Spenser—has been placed recently in a periodical beside that of Chaucer, and both are called poets laureate of the past; but there is no evidence whatever to justify the statement. Edmund Spenser was pensioned by Queen Elizabeth, but there are even doubts whether this pension was paid more than once. When Southey was appointed laureate he wished to magnify his office, and he thereupon wrote some poetry about it, and by poetic license spoke of that

wreath which in Eliza's golden days
My master, dear, divinest Spenser wore;

but in plain prose Southey admitted that none of the poets of whom he sang had, with the exception of Ben Jonson, any right to the title of laureate. It was given to them, he says, not as holding the office, but as a mark of honor to which they were entitled. Among these volunteer laureates whom Southey thus praised were Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton. Daniel held important posts at court, and was much beloved there; but when the courtiers of James I. began to concern themselves with the production of the masques which were becoming so popular, it was considered that Ben Jonson was the poet best fitted to be responsible for their management. Daniel therefore retired from court. Drayton's portrait has come down to us, his brow encircled by the wreath of laurel. This is owing to the poet's secret wish, and was also the tribute of his friends. We find in every case that, prior to the era of Ben Jonson, the claims of any poet to the title of laureate cannot be sustained, unless that poet had received the honor from the University of Oxford.

Kenyon West.

NOTE BY EDITOR.—The following is a list of the poets laureate:

Ben Jonson	1630-1637	Colley Cibber	1730-1757
William Davenant	1637-1668	William Whitehead	1758-1785
John Dryden	1670-1688	Thomas Warton	1785-1790
Thomas Shadwell	1689-1692	Henry James Pye	1790-1813
Nahum Tate	1693-1715	Robert Southey	1813-1843
Thomas Rowe	1715-1718	William Wordsworth	1843-1850
Lawrence Eusden	1719-1730	Alfred Tennyson	1850-1892

How Shall We Educate the Children of the Dependent Poor?

THE dependent poor, in New York as in London, are one tenth of the population. Not a large proportion

of these are hereditary paupers; not many of them are willingly dependent until they become trained to pauperism by charity or sink into it from discouragement. For the most part they are people who would work if they could, and who did work until some untoward physical or industrial event interfered. Even under existing conditions it is possible, in almost any given case, to do away with this dependence, as the history of friendly visiting, the world over, shows; but the conditions remaining, a new supply of dependents unfailingly appears. We want to do for the children of that entire working-class which is only one week away from dependence what the friendly visitor may do for the individual—so educate them that they may find themselves, in this regard, superior to conditions.

No one who knows anything of tenement-house life can wonder at the inability of those who share it to cope with the emergencies of life. That first necessity of human endeavor—a true home—simply does not exist. There is no room in a tenement apartment for the expansion of love, for the growth of sympathy; there is none for the practice of the common arts of life. Gregarious to the limit of existence, these people are essentially solitary; they have no community of interest with their neighbors, and therefore no realization of the solidarity of society. Their recreations are as little fitted to reveal it to them as is their home life, for their recreations are eminently unsocial, notwithstanding the large numbers who may share them. This is no less true of the children than of their parents. It is pitiful to see, as those who lately opened the first children's playground in New York did see, how early these little ones lose the faculty of play; it is a fact most awful, when we consider what it means, that these children are never blithe, glad, glad, unconsciously happy, as it is the nature of young creatures to be. They are boisterous, boorish, destructive, or they are apathetic, listless, dull, taking their pleasure not sadly, but brutally or stolidly.

Children lose far more than happiness in losing the faculty of play, though happiness no one can afford to lose. They fail of that habit of sustained endeavor which develops into industry, of that spontaneity which becomes versatility, of that tact and insight into character which lay the foundation of the art of living with others. Children learn these things through play, and these things, important to all classes, are to the working-class most important. It is the lack of the power of sustained industry, far more than a lack of skill, which peoples our almshouses; it is a want of versatility which plunges men and women into dependent poverty the moment their one vocation feels the touch of industrial disturbance. It is ignorance of the art of living with others that—to give an instance well known to friendly visitors—forbids two widows, or an aged and a younger woman, to save rent and release the time of the more active or competent from household care to bread-winning, by occupying one apartment together. It is for want of courtesy, that key to social difficulties, that a skilled workman out of employment (and this is often the case, whatever economists may say) cannot be established in a home industry which shall be beneficial to his neighbors, and thus a source of income to himself. The end of all such arrangements is sure to be a quarrel, if not a fight.

The essential needs of the dependent poor, it thus appears, may be summed up in one word—character.

Where is the school that will give them this? It must be done in their earliest years, before they have come under the fatal fascination of the streets, or have been forced by necessity into some catchpenny industry; it must be done, too, while yet they are susceptible to teaching. By the time these children are six or seven years old the experiences of the street and of the tenement-house have made them at once restless and dull. They can neither be kept quiet nor roused to interest. They have lost that faculty of grave attention which is so enchanting an attribute of childhood, and with it that susceptibility to impression which is its prophecy of future power.

Their salvation, then, must be found in the kindergarten. If the kindergarten is the luxury of the children of the rich, it is the vital necessity of the children of the poor. Its personal touch is the best substitute for that which home ought to give them, but cannot. Its methods develop individuality, its occupations train to dexterity, and awaken that solemn joy of duty done which is the best guarantee of persevering industry. Its plays teach the control of impulse, develop imagination, and ally it with conduct, as Matthew Arnold has taught us that the social order requires. More than all, these plays are a revelation of joy, that divine experience without which perfection either of conduct or character cannot be attained.

And what shall we say of those sweet affections, those mutual forbearings, those glad ministrations, that simple reverence for things holy, which are the very soul of the kindergarten system? Simply these alone are exclusive of that kind of dependence which is unworthy of human nature.

Here, then, in the kindergarten we find a ground of hope for the child of the tenement-house: an awakened intelligence which, better than all truant laws, will secure his further education; a delight in duty which will keep him steady at his work; a stability of character which will fortify him against temptation; a warmth of heart which will keep him true to family and social pieties; a sense of obligation which will make him a conscientious citizen; an awakening to joy which restores to him his birthright as man. Not that life will thereby become an easy thing. Life, for nearly all the children of the poor, must continue to be a bitter struggle until the children of the rich awake to a sense of the obligation of privilege. But the struggle for an independent, self-respecting manhood will no longer be against desperate odds. For the three years of kindergarten, with the subsequent training which they alone make possible, are enough to awaken to life that character which makes a man master of himself and of the conditions that environ him.

Louise Seymour Houghton.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

In the Wings.

THE play is Life; and this round earth
The narrow stage whereon
We act before an audience
Of actors dead and gone.

There is a figure in the wings
That never goes away,
And though I cannot see his face,
I shudder while I play.

His shadow looms behind me here,
Or capers at my side;
And when I mouth my lines in dread,
Those scornful lips deride.

Sometimes a hooting laugh breaks out,
And startles me alone;
While all my fellows, wondering
At my stage-fright, play on.

I fear that when my *exit* comes,
I shall encounter there,
Stronger than fate, or time, or love,
And sterner than despair,

The Final Critic of the craft,
As stage tradition tells;
And yet — perhaps 't will only be
The jester with his bells.

Bliss Carman.

Biography.

"The great Mississippi of falsehood — biography."

SHE was envied and courted and fêted,
Her portion was genius and fame,
Her newest bon mot was related,
And "poet" affixed to her name.

She died, and they gave her the glory
And tribute were due to her worth;
They heaped her with praise, and her story
Was told from the day of her birth.

Too busy to dream of a lover,
Too deep in her work and her art,
No one of them all might discover
The secret she hid in her heart.

No one of them guessed she had given,
As only the best of us can,
Her love and her heart to be riven
By one shallow, commonplace man.

For who of them all could have thought it,—
The marvelous womanish whim,—
Her verse and the passion that wrought it,
Its pathos and strength were of him!

And he, as he idled in Baden,
And smiled well content with his lot,
Read her death, took a turn in the garden,
Thrice murmured her name — and forgot.

Elizabeth C. Cardozo.

AUGUST.

THE heaty, stinging outcry, sharp and high,
The one-keyed insect's, is the music now ;
The buckwheat, corn, and oat have from the bough
Lured down the splendor and the melody.
The sparrow sings, and—oh, so tenderly! —
The yellow-bird. The field and air allow
Clear piping yet, but on the wood the vow
Of silence is, mute bliss of memory.
From time to time there comes a voice, but, filled
With thought on what has been, oft'ner grave Day
Stands bowed and speechless. Hill and vale are stilled,
The chatty winds have little left to say ;
All busily the thrifty spiders build,
And, one by one, the late birds slip away.

John Vance Cheney.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Foreign Control of Labor-Unions.

THAT nearly all the trade organizations of the country are controlled by foreigners is so generally admitted that proof of it seems almost unnecessary. In order, however, that there may be no dispute on this point, we will make some citations from official sources bearing upon it, before proceeding to show what the character of this foreign control is. In the report of the New Jersey Labor Bureau for 1887, statistics are given which show that of the total membership of 158 labor-unions in that State 52 per cent. was foreign-born. The chief of the bureau, commenting on these statistics, says:

Our calculations hardly give a fair idea of the influence of the foreign-born element, which is said to be far more favorable to organization than the native-born. The parents of very many members classed as American-born were immigrants. Generally speaking, the native-born mechanic gives way to the foreign-born, so far as trade-union membership is concerned, as we proceed from South to North.

The report of the Labor Bureau of Illinois for 1886 gave the proportion of American-born in the labor organization of that State as 32 per cent., the "proportion of Americans in the Knights of Labor being considerably greater than in the trade-unions, that of the former being 45 and of the latter 21 per cent." The Labor Bureau of Wisconsin, from the reports of which we shall quote hereafter concerning the character of foreign laborers, gives similar information as to that State. In regard to New York State, Mr. Peck's reports— from which we have quoted freely in the foregoing articles of this series, and which are of value chiefly because Mr. Peck compiled his information as a devoted

friend of organized labor—leave no doubt as to the foreign domination. He says in his report for 1886 :

A visit to the workshops and factories of the State, and a scrutiny of the faces of the workers, will discover unmistakable evidences of foreign birth. If this examination cannot be conducted, an inquiry into the manufacturers and employers as to the nationalities of their help, and of the workers themselves as to where they were born, will no longer leave any room to doubt the truthfulness of the statement that the large majority of our tradesmen and mechanics are foreigners. Indeed, in many large industrial establishments there is not a single American at work. This is the sworn testimony of several of the largest manufacturers in the State. Of course, the presence of so large a number of foreign-born workers cannot but have an injurious effect upon the trades in which they have practically secured a monopoly, for that monopoly means the exclusion of American labor.

The fact of foreign control being established, it becomes important to ascertain the character of that control. On this point all official authorities are in substantial agreement to the effect that the control is disastrous to American labor, and inimical to the orderly conduct of American institutions. While it cannot be said that all foreign trade-union control is exerted to cause rioting and social disorder, it is to be said that the worst labor riots and the most dastardly assaults upon social order that have ever been witnessed have been due to this control. On this point we shall quote first from official records, taking the Labor Bureau reports of two States (Wisconsin and New York) as fairly representing the general situation. There was a labor riot in Milwaukee in May, 1886, in which several men were killed and others wounded. It occurred at the same time as the anarchist riots in Chicago, to which we shall presently refer, and was part of a general

eight-hour movement. The rioters had started for the mills in which they had been employed, shouting, "Kill the militia, and burn the mills," when they were fired upon and dispersed by the militia. In commenting upon the affair in his report for 1886, the Wisconsin State Commissioner of Labor said that the rioters, so far as he could learn, were all foreign-born, and in describing their leaders he specified the following as among the more prominent:

One, who came to Milwaukee about the middle of February, 1886, fled his native country with Johann Most as a professional agitator and revolutionist. Not having been in the State at all before he began operations here, he could know nothing of the wage slavery, iniquities, oppression, and general rascality of capital of which he and others said so much. Another prominent figure in the councils of the eight-hour leaders is a printer who had been in the United States but a few months when the agitation began. Although a stranger and an alien, he had no sooner set foot in Milwaukee than he discovered that everything was going wrong in labor and politics, and that American laws and society are nothing but wicked inventions to rob, oppress, and degrade wage-earners.

Speaking more generally than this, the New York Commissioner of Labor said in his report for 1885:

Labor disturbances are almost entirely led by foreigners, and the cheaper and more ignorant class of foreigners are the most destructive and hardest to govern from mob violence.

Our readers have not forgotten the remarkable account of the Chicago anarchist trial, written by the judge who presided over it, which was published in *THE CENTURY* for April. The leaders in the riot which led to that trial professed to be the especial friends of working-men, and issued all their appeals for meetings and vengeance to the working-men of the country. The riot that they instigated was in the interest ostensibly of the eight-hour labor movement. Judge Gary declared that one motive of his *CENTURY* paper was "to show to the laboring people, of whom the anarchists claimed to be the especial friends, that that claim was a sham and pretense, adopted only as a means to bring manual laborers into their own ranks; and that the counsel and advice of the anarchists, if followed by the working-men, would expose them to the danger of becoming, in law, murderers." While it is true that many labor organizations denounced the anarchists, and repudiated their right to be considered working-men, it is also true that they had the sympathy of many labor organizations, which exerted all their influence to save them from the penalty of their atrocious conduct.

The Homestead riots of 1892, and the subsequent poisoning of the food of men who had taken the places of the rioting strikers, were acts committed by the turbulent and anarchistic foreign element which has been admitted to the ranks of American labor so freely during recent years. About sixty per cent. of all the working-men on strike at Homestead were foreigners, most of whom were unable to speak the English language. It is impossible to conceive of American-born working-men rioting and killing as these men did; least of all is it possible to think of American-born working-men poisoning the food of other working-men. Yet the cause of the men who were guilty of these acts was taken up as the cause of American labor by many of our labor organizations.

As a final bit of proof to show how powerful the for-

eign element is in the labor organizations, let us cite the action of the Labor Convention of the State of New York in 1888, in demanding the repeal of all laws forbidding industrial conspiracies, and the amendment of the penal code in such a way as to legalize boycotting and the use of violence in support of strikes. This action was taken under the lead of foreign-born agitators, and it was subsequently followed up by the introduction of bills in the legislature for repealing these laws. Organized labor in the first State in the Union was thus made to confess that it was against law and order, and in favor of conspiracy, violence, and even crime. Of the injustice to American-born laborers and of the danger to American institutions which this foreign control entails, we shall treat in the next article of this series.

Silver and the Debtor Class.

It has been the constant aim of the financial articles which have appeared from time to time in this department of *THE CENTURY* during the last few years, to show that an unsound money system is one of the worst evils which can befall a nation, and that the most severe sufferers from such an evil are always the people who have the least money. We are rejoiced to say that our efforts in this direction have met with wide-spread appreciation, much of which has come from toilers and others in the humbler walks of life. The writer of one of the letters of thanks that have come to us, who is an employee on a great Western railway, speaks gratefully of these articles as "efforts in behalf of the toilers, for they are the ones most interested in this question, though few seem to realize it," and adds, "May God grant you wisdom, patience, and strength of mind and body to continue to labor for the working-people."

We are confident that the experience of the West during the last few months has convinced a great many people there that advocacy of sound money principles is the best service which any public servant, statesman, newspaper, or magazine, can perform. The numerous failures and business embarrassments which the West has been called upon to sustain are due to the influence of the West and South in unsettling the financial stability of the country. The business of the land is conducted on a basis of credit,—that is, of confidence,—and the clamor of the West and South for silver, or debased and uncertain currency, has shaken the whole fabric of credit, and brought disaster to all its weaker portions.

The business of the world, as we have said many times, is carried on more and more every year by means of credit instruments, and with a diminishing ratio of coin. In Great Britain the daily clearances of the banks amount to nearly one fifth of the whole gold supply of the country, and it has been shown repeatedly that only about six per cent. of coin is used in the transactions of the banks and bankers. In New York city the exchanges of the Clearing House average over \$100,000,000 a day, and the balances in actual money average not over \$4,000,000, or only four per cent. The usual percentage of credit instruments in the receipts of the New York banks in ordinary times is over 98, and in the receipts of all the banks in the United States it is 95. During the fiscal year 1891-92 the foreign trade of the United States, the combined exports and imports of merchandise, including silver, aggregated \$1,900,000,000, yet the actual exchange of gold was less than \$100,000,000.

Such a fabric as this is, from the nature of the case, highly sensitive. Doubt is its worst enemy. The mere suspicion last spring that the General government might decide that the treasury notes, issued under the law of 1890, were payable in silver, sent a thrill of alarm throughout the whole credit system, and brought business of all kinds nearly to a standstill. President Cleveland's announcement that the Government would meet all its obligations in gold had a reassuring but not a permanently quieting effect, for the reason that the President cannot by himself repeal the Sherman law of 1890. Until that menace is removed, credit will not be safe from assault, and every man who has need to borrow money will suffer severely in consequence.

It requires very simple reasoning to see why this is the case. Every man who has money to invest either for himself or for others will invest it only in such securities as will best assure him against loss. He will lend only on condition of having both interest and principal payable in gold. He would be foolish to lend in any other way so long as there remained a shadow of danger of having to accept interest and principal in depreciated money. This is the situation which has confronted the borrowers, or the debtor class, since the danger of a descent to the silver standard first showed itself. It is not of any advantage to a debtor to be able to get rid of a portion of his debt by paying it in a money of less value than that in which he contracted it, unless he has money with which to discharge it. Most debtors obtain the means for paying one debt by incurring another. They can gain nothing by borrowing money on a gold basis with which to pay a debt on a silver basis. The uncertainty about the future which a threatened descent to a debased standard creates, impels a jealous scrutiny of all kinds of securities; and every borrower whose credit is not first-rate finds that he must not only promise to pay interest and principal in gold, but that he cannot obtain such favorable loans as formerly.

This is the trouble with the West and South at present. Their alleged determination to force the country upon the silver standard has weakened if not destroyed their own credit. They can no longer borrow except under the most stringent conditions. They are thus learning anew the lesson that all nations which have experimented with cheap money have learned before them, that an honest and sound money system is the only one which is beneficial to both debtor and cred-

itor. No man can be compelled to lend his money against his will; the interest which he may demand may be regulated by law, but if he choose not to lend at all, there is no power which can force him to lend. Our readers will remember the experiment which was made in Rhode Island in 1785-86¹ to compel shopkeepers and tradesmen to receive the debased paper money of the State on a par with coin, under penalty of heavy fine and loss of citizenship in case of refusal. The merchants and traders simply closed their shops and declined to sell at all. So it is with those who have money to lend. Rather than risk it on poor security, they decline to lend it at all. The result is a great contraction of credit under which all debtors who cannot at once convert their property into cash must go down.

It should be borne in mind that this contraction of credit which has caused money to be scarce, or "tight," comes at a time when the country has the largest *per capita* circulation of currency in its history—larger, in fact, than the *per capita* of any other country in the world except France. The *per capita* of the United Kingdom is \$17.90; of Germany, \$16.40; of France, \$43.11. In the United States before the outflow of gold began it was \$25.62; and at the beginning of June it was \$23.88. France has a large *per capita* because it has not the system of checks and credits in use in other countries. Surely if the solution of our financial troubles lay in a large *per capita*, the West and South ought to be prosperous now. If more money in circulation means more money in the pockets of the people who need it more, the borrowers of the country ought to be comfortably in funds at the present time. On the contrary, they have less and the creditors have more than ever. This, too, is an old, old lesson, taught over and over again in every nation of the world that has experimented with financial problems. The only remedy for us is also old; and it is to get back to a sound basis at the earliest possible moment. The repeal of the Sherman law of 1890 is the first step toward putting ourselves on the same solid financial footing that all other great nations of the world are occupying. Until we take that step credit will remain impaired, and the debtor class, whose downfall always carries ruin for innocent people with it, will continue to suffer disaster.

¹ See "Cheap-Money Experiments," THE CENTURY CO.

OPEN LETTERS.

"The Century's" American Artists Series.

WINSLOW HOMER.

WITH the exception of a short period of study in the old National Academy of Design, and the aid of an artist who showed him how to set a palette, Winslow Homer has never been taught methods or known the academy, and certainly he has "arrived." I mean no disparagement to American artists—no class that I have any knowledge of are more bravely leading a "forlorn hope"—when I say that Winslow Homer, George Inness, and Alfred Kappes form a trio who, while profiting in the way of suggestion and instruction by the world's best art, have perhaps more than any others held themselves individual and distinct.

Some years ago—in the days of the conventional art of the wood-engraver—Homer made his bow to the public in "Harper's Weekly." His drawings were naïve and unconventional, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Parsons, then art director of that paper, for his discernment in allowing them to appear. A few years later the picture exhibitions contained each year little cabinet paintings of jolly, barefooted, tow-headed New England children, instinct with animalism. A few years later the American Water-Color Society gave the post of honor to a water-color of Homer's showing three sturdy fisher-girls, and entitled "A Voice from the Cliff," which took the art world by storm, and was promptly bought by one of our best-known literary

men. A year or two later, in the same gallery, but in one of the regular exhibitions of the National Academy of Design, bearing the same signature, in this same post of honor, was exhibited a picture in oil, "The Rescue," which attracted equal attention. This, while no better story-telling than "A Voice from the Cliff," from the nature of the subject possessed a dramatic quality which rendered it more remarkable than the former composition. But what was still better, it showed that the artist had been let into one of nature's most important secrets — the secret that local color is always affected by atmospheric conditions. I remember well one of Homer's pictures painted several years ago, for it impressed me deeply, of some boys at play. It was instinct with life and motion, but was heavy and "bricky" in color, and as much unlike his "Rescue" in this respect as dawn is unlike noonday.

I do not know that Homer has done anything better than "The Rescue"; he certainly has done nothing worse, and such a picture as that engraved on page 519 shows that he is still the same careful, thoughtful student of nature as when he painted that picture.

Winslow Homer was born in Boston in 1836, and has been abroad but once. He is a National Academician. For an extended review of his work, see Mrs. M. G. van Rensselaer's article in *THE CENTURY* for November, 1883.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

THERE are some natures that, aided by talent, will work and plod and by a thoughtful method achieve a result; there are others that can work out their ideals only in a burst of what for want of a better word we call inspiration. Elwell belongs to this latter class. His work is most valuable when done by a *tour de*

force. He will tell you that his models are the result of many hours — nay, days — of anxious cogitation; but his finest achievements are the result of a few hours of artistic fervor. I shall never forget my impression of his "Aphrodite" after he had worked a few days on it in the clay. Poised on a wave which had just cast her up, it was vibrant with life, a momentary action exquisitely caught. It was impossible in sculpture — as impossible as the dozens of beginnings by Michelangelo scattered over Italy, but, like these, impressive, notwithstanding.

F. Edwin Elwell was born in Concord, Massachusetts, thirty-four years ago. He began work as a sculptor under the influence of Mr. D. C. French in 1879, and is, so far as I know, the only American sculptor to execute in America a work to be set up abroad — the memorial to F. H. Pont, now in the garden of the old cathedral at Edam, Holland. Mr. Elwell is a student of the Beaux-Arts, Paris, and of the distinguished sculptor A. Falguière. He has been an exhibitor at the Salon and the English Royal Academy, and was the recipient of a medal for architecture in the Architectural School of Ghent.

W. Lewis Fraser.

Business Politics.

RECENT sessions of different State legislatures have furnished abundant evidence that the idea of personal and business politics goes deeper than has yet been realized, and is more threatening than usually stated. Nor has such evidence been wanting elsewhere. There have been frequent proofs that many very respectable people have been imbued with this idea that practical politics has a capitalistic and speculative worth. The danger lies deeper than the spoils system, and is even more wide-spread than the bribery and corruption of political life would lead us to suppose.

It was several years ago that a politician whose morality was probably up to the standard of his fellows, asked the question, "What are we here for, if not for the offices?" and asked it as if the question were unanswerable. "What are we here for?" some one who is in the business of legislating may ask now, and there seem to be very few who can answer rightly. In one State we find a partizan legislature one year devoting much of its time to passing laws that transfer the State patronage from the governor to the legislature. The next year we see the succeeding legislature spending even more of its time — nay, most of the session — in passing laws which shall restore to the governor his patronage and give him much more power than he had before his rights were invaded. We find the whole power of a political caucus and the entire legislative authority of a popular assembly bent to the passage of a bill which shall prevent a municipal body's removing the speaker of the assembly from an office which he holds under the city government. We find sergeants-at-arms and their assistants hurrying over the State that a full vote may be marshaled for a bill which insures the safe return of a legislator for another term at the State capitol by adding a polling district to his bailiwick. One State legislature we find whose members consider it their most solemn duty to provide seats for themselves at a great public celebration. We see a State House of Representatives busy another day providing that a



DRAWN BY OTTO H. BACHER.

"DICKENS AND LITTLE NELL," BY F. EDWIN ELWELL.

certain parade in a certain city shall not follow a certain route. We find men who have secured an election to the legislature solely that they may look after business interests in which they are concerned, and which are imperiled by the passage of a restrictive law; and we see that it is considered most natural that they should desire an election on that account, and far from extraordinary that they should receive it. In a Western State we find a member of the legislature arguing on the propriety of ordering a change in the methods of instruction in political economy at the State college, to conform more closely to the economic teachings of the party in control of the legislature. So great has the pressure of individual legislation become that real public business has been delayed and real public reforms defeated to the advancement of private bills; and in one State the proposition is made to legalize special legislation because the present constitutional prohibition of such legislation has led to an increase of the difficulties attending the passage of the many petty local and individual measures to which members of the legislature often give their undivided attention.

Have any of these legislators rightly answered for themselves the question, "What are we here for?" Or have many of their constituents properly answered that question for them? The legislators want certain things, and they do not understand why they should desire to be elected if they cannot give their time to obtaining what they wish. The citizens, perhaps, want pensions or places, and they, in turn, cannot conceive the object of their working for any particular candidate if they are to receive no reward for their labors. Every other man who gave his support to a successful candidate has come to believe that he has a special claim to a reward for his labors, no matter how mean or small they may have been, and that this reward shall take shape in an appointment to a government position—in short, that the administration is the Government, and that the Government shall pay the political debts of the administration. But the application of the principle that to the victors belong the spoils is only a feature of the teaching that has led to the acceptance of public office as a means to the furtherance of private ends, and of public bodies as convenient servants for the transaction of private business. We find men who do not ask for positions entirely acquiescing in the right of others to "claim" them; and among every class we find a tendency which is even more dangerous and insidious than the spoils system—the tendency to look upon legislatures only as places where private rights shall be obtained and private wrongs redressed. The old idea that there are many things the individual must do for himself, many things the city must do for itself, many things over which the county must have complete control, has been entirely lost sight of. Nothing seems too small to demand attention at the legislature's hands; nothing too insignificant. Men come from one part of the State to secure the passage of a bill which shall force a city council to do a particular thing; and when they have succeeded they are followed by other men from another part of the State seeking to have an act approved which shall prevent their city council's doing the same thing.

The evil needs only to be stated to be shunned. Men who have studied it have opposed and preached against the shirking, shifting tendency, the easy-going cowardice and irresponsibility of action, the lazy dependence on government, and the careless indifference of what that government is, of which the growing tendency to leave everything to Congress and the legislature is the outward and visible sign. Education is what has been necessary to check the evil, and education has been mainly directed against the spoils system, and with gratifying results. There is an appreciable change in public sentiment—or rather, a perceptible growth, a birth, of public sentiment—on that matter that bodes ill for the politicians who openly act on the principle of the division of the spoils; though much is to be done yet. Meanwhile the evils of indiscriminate far-reaching and all-providing legislation are not so readily seen or so easily fought. With the growth of the civil service reform idea, however, the people will be better prepared for education on this point, and the attack on that ground will follow the downfall of the spoils system.

Charles Fiske.

"Napoleon's Deportation to Elba."

HAVING just read Admiral Ussher's paper on "Napoleon's Deportation to Elba," in *THE CENTURY* for March, it occurred to me that as I was residing temporarily in Fréjus, it might be of interest to inquire if any eye-witnesses of the event were still living in the neighborhood. Such a person I found in M. Coulis, a gentleman ninety-three years old, but unusually intelligent and lucid in conversation. As his account differs slightly from that given by Admiral Ussher, it may be worth while to put it on record.

A slight temporary jetty had been erected at the beach for the occasion, and among those gathered near it were he and his father. It was about half-past seven of a bright moonlight evening when the imperial party arrived upon the beach—so bright indeed that the emperor's peculiarly vivid smile was apparent to all as he advanced from his carriage toward the boat which was awaiting him. Just as he put foot upon the jetty, however, his countenance darkened somewhat, and, turning to the prefect of the Department of the Var, who was standing by, the emperor remarked:

"This is still another deception. But I should have expected as much." ("Voici encore une déception. Mais j'aurai du m'attendre à cela.")

In reply to my query as to what had provoked this parting shot at a former official, M. Coulis said that he supposed it referred to his desertion by the French corvette *Victorieuse*, which was to accompany him to Elba and to remain permanently in his service, but which had sailed out of the bay the preceding afternoon upon learning that the emperor was to go to Elba in an English ship.

Admiral Ussher makes a curious topographical error when he states that Fréjus "lies on a height three or four miles from the anchorage." In point of fact, the town is separated from the beach by a scant three quarters of a mile of barren sand-dunes.

FRÉJUS, VAR, FRANCE.

Birge Harrison.

for he would rise from his chair and go to the back of his box to applaud without being seen. It appears that etiquette imposed upon him reserve in open manifestation of approval. The Crown-princess Victoria, now the widow of the Emperor Frederick, honored me with undisguised marks of her approval, and did not lose a single one of my performances. People wanted me to petition for presentation at court, but I declined, for the reason that I did not care to expose myself to the humiliation of a refusal, and that if any of the august personages desired to know me personally, they had only to command my presence before them. It seemed that etiquette did not admit of that; but my feeling of delicacy kept me fixed in my resolution. At last I received a summons to present myself at court. I was received by the Crown-prince Frederick William and the Crown-princess Victoria, with all their children, then very small, and was treated with the greatest affability and courtesy. Among many questions which they put to me, they asked me whether I should have any objection to give a play with my company in the theater at Potsdam. I could not refuse so kindly an invitation. The evening and the play were decided upon. The next day a chamberlain came to ask me diplomatically what compensation I wished for giving this play at the private court theater. I answered that when I gave my coöperation for an entertainment outside of a public theater it was not my custom to fix a price, and that I would not do it. The chamberlain, however, insisted, saying that it was not proper that the court should accept a gift; to which I replied that it was not my intention to make a gift, and that I would ask as my compensation the gloves which the Crown-princess would have worn when applauding me. I had great trouble to persuade the diplomatic messenger to take back my answer, but he had to content himself with it. On the appointed day I took my company to Potsdam to play "Sullivan," a comedy for which

only the dress of to-day is requisite. All my actors were lodged in a wing of the palace, where refreshments were provided, and I was invited to take my place in a carriage in which were the Crown-princess Victoria and her sons, and we drove to Sans Souci to visit the memorials to Frederick the Great and to Voltaire. The princess described every object and locality to me in detail, with the greatest interest and affability, together with all the memories attached to scenes so full of associations. Upon our return to the palace, I made ready to give my play. A sudden indisposition kept the old Emperor from being present. The small but graceful theater was literally packed with the official representatives of all nations, with the most distinguished of the nobility, the diplomatic corps, the magistracy, and the military. The performance was of glacial frigidity, for at court all applause is absolutely prohibited. After the play I was invited to take tea with the Crown-prince and Crown-princess, and I found myself in the midst of all these beautiful and elegant ladies and distinguished gentlemen, who plied me with questions, congratulations, and compliments. Of these one, which surpassed all the others both in its form and in its exquisite idea, was addressed to me by the Crown-princess, who said to me: "Since Rachel, you are the first, Salvini, to tread the stage at Potsdam; I think that its doors must be closed after so great an event!" And in fact the doors of the theater in Potsdam have not been reopened since my appearance there. I went away from Berlin delighted with the kindness and courtesy of the German court, and with a public of such intelligence; and upon my arrival at Trieste, where I stopped to make four appearances, I was informed by the German consul that there was an object addressed to me at the custom-house. I went there, and found a ring with a solitaire diamond, which had been sent to me by the Emperor William and the Crown-prince and Crown-princess, as a souvenir of my appearance at Potsdam.

Tommaso Salvini.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Idleness and Crime.

WE have shown in previous articles in this series that American boys, partly because of the passing away of the apprentice system, and partly because of the hostility of the foreign-controlled labor-unions, are virtually excluded from the mechanical trades. In the present article we shall endeavor to show what an injustice this exclusion is to the boys, and how serious are the consequences to the moral welfare of the whole country. We are bringing up our boys, or a very large proportion of them, in enforced idleness, turning over

the fields of honorable and useful toil, which belong by natural right to them, to foreigners, nearly all of whom are ignorant, many of whom are vicious and depraved, and few of whom have any sympathy with American institutions and ways of life. What are the consequences? We will let statistics speak upon this point.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Robert P. Porter, the Superintendent of the Census, we have been allowed to examine the advance proof-sheets of the statistics relating to pauperism and crime, which have been col-

lected and prepared by the Rev. Frederick H. Wines, and which will be published some time during the present year as one of the volumes of the forthcoming Eleventh Census. These tables show that the number of white male prisoners in all the prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatory institutions in the United States in 1890 was 52,894. Of this number 38,156 were native-born; of 20,101 of these native-born, both parents were native; of 2729 of them, one parent was native; of 3560 of them, the nativity of one or both parents was unknown; of 11,766, both parents were foreign-born. Only 13,869 of the 52,894 prisoners were foreign-born. That is to say, nearly three fourths of the convicted criminals in the United States are born in this country, more than half of them of American parents, only a little more than one fourth being foreign-born.

This is a startling exhibit, but before commenting upon it, let us examine the figures which Mr. Wines has collected as to the occupations of prisoners at the time of their conviction. Of the 52,894, it appears that 31,426 had no trade whatever; and of this 31,426, no fewer than 23,144 were native-born. That is to say, nearly three-fourths of those who had become criminals through lack of occupation were Americans. Let us go a little further with Mr. Wines's valuable statistics, and examine the ages of the prisoners at the time of conviction. We find that 11,753 were between 20 and 24 years, 10,642 between 25 and 29 years, 7815 between 30 and 34 years, 5716 between 35 and 39 years, or a total of 36,126 between the ages of 20 and 40,—that is, nearly three fourths of the whole. The average age of all prisoners was less than 32 years; of native-born it was about 30 years, and of foreign-born it was about 31. Mr. Wines says, in a special bulletin on homicide, that of 4425 whites charged with that crime in 1890, 3157 were born in the United States, and he adds: "More than four fifths have no trade. The foreign-born and their children have much more generally acquired a trade than the native whites."

These figures tell their own story with such startling plainness that comment upon them seems scarcely necessary. What they show is that American boys are becoming criminals and filling our prisons, because of lack of occupation. They are denied the privilege of learning a trade, are brought up in idleness, and turned into the world with no means of earning an honest livelihood. It is an old story that idleness leads to vice and crime. In all our large cities there are thousands of boys coming to manhood every year who are denied the opportunity to fit themselves for upright, industrious, and useful lives because the doorway to every trade is shut and barred against them. It is in the large cities that the apprentice rules are most nearly prohibitive, yet it is these cities which offer the best field for mechanical labor, for the best work is done there. If a boy cannot learn his trade there, he cannot learn it thoroughly anywhere on the apprentice plan. It is to the cities that the swarms of foreign laborers come, finding ready admission to all trade-unions, and filling the places which American boys would have were they permitted to learn the trades.

As a nation we are shutting our own sons out of the field of American labor, thus filling our prisons and reformatories and almshouses with them, and are letting into that field for full possession hordes of foreigners who make it a menace to the safety of Amer-

ican institutions, and a constant peril to the peace and welfare of American society. Is this an enlightened policy for a nation to follow? Can we bring up our own sons to lives of idleness and crime, and not reap the consequences in wide-spread national humiliation and disaster? Can we hope to make better citizens out of the socialists and anarchists and other degraded and disorderly elements of foreign countries than we can make out of our sons? If we could perform this miracle, should we still not be guilty of gross, heartless, and shameless neglect of our own offspring?

The evil consequences increase with every year. Statistics of crime show that the proportion of criminals to population has been increasing steadily and rapidly since 1850. In that year we had one criminal to every 3500 of population. In 1890 we have one for every 786.5 of population. This is an increase of 445 per cent. in criminals as compared with an increase of 170 per cent. in population. We cannot charge this increase to our large foreign immigration, because, as the figures cited by us show, nearly three fourths of all our criminals are native-born.

Aside from all moral and political aspects of the case, the pecuniary cost of such a policy is a very serious matter. There are fifty large penitentiaries and over 17,000 county jails in the country, as well as almost innumerable other places of imprisonment. The cost of construction of these institutions has been estimated by good authorities as exceeding \$500,000,000. The cost of maintenance is well nigh incalculable.

In every way in which the matter is viewed, the folly of it is apparent, but all other aspects of it sink into insignificance when compared with the injustice which it inflicts upon our sons. No right-thinking American who loves his fellow-man, and has the welfare and honor of his country at heart, can contemplate this without shame and anxiety. One fifth of our entire able-bodied male population is engaged in the mechanic arts. Shall this great body be made up of self-respecting, enlightened American citizens, or shall it be made up of foreigners, more or less disorderly and ignorant, and almost entirely un-American in sentiment? These are questions which every American ought to ponder, and when he has pondered them there can be no doubt of his answer. In subsequent articles we shall treat of the remedies for the present situation, viewing them in the light of the experience of other countries.

A Word Further as to Gold and Silver.

WE have received a very large number of letters in regard to our recent editorial articles on "Two Values of the Silver Dollar" and "Has Gold Appreciated in Value?" It is impossible to publish these, or to reply separately to the questions asked in them; but, as many of the letters touch upon the same general points, we shall endeavor to make the answer to these satisfactory to all our correspondents.

In regard to the first-named article, several correspondents in Colorado have objected because we stated that the silver dollars and silver certificates issued under the Bland act of 1878 were, like the treasury notes issued under the Sherman act of 1890, redeemable in gold. Since that article was written, two most important declarations have been made as

to the policy of the national administration toward silver. The first was given out by President Cleveland on April 23, and in it he said: "The President and his Cabinet are absolutely harmonious in the determination to exercise every power conferred upon them to maintain the public credit, to keep the public faith, and to preserve the parity between gold and silver and between all financial obligations of the Government." The second one was given out by Secretary Carlisle on June 13, in which, after making a statement of the silver, silver certificates, and treasury notes issued, treating all as equal members of our common stock of silver obligations, he quoted the clause of the Sherman act of 1890 in which it is declared to be the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other," etc., and then said: "In the execution of this declared policy of Congress, it is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, when the necessity arises, to exercise all the powers conferred upon him by law, in order to keep the Government in a condition to redeem its obligations in such coin as may be demanded, and to prevent the depreciation of either as compared with the other."

No exception is made, in either of these declarations, of the silver dollars and silver certificates, aggregating \$378,166,793, which were issued under the Bland act during the twelve years of its existence. Of this amount, \$330,997,504 were in certificates. According to Mr. Carlisle's statement, the total coinage of silver dollars under all acts since 1878 has been \$419,294,835, and of this great total only \$58,016,010 have passed into actual circulation. What our Colorado correspondents assume is, that \$378,000,000 of the \$419,000,000 of legal-tender silver money in circulation, or more than three fourths of it, is not redeemable in gold, and that both the President and the Secretary of the Treasury do not refer to these three fourths when they speak of the Government's obligations. The assumption is preposterous on its face. If it were true, silver would long since have dropped to its own level, and the country would to-day be upon the silver standard. If our Colorado critics will read the language of the Bland act in regard to the silver certificates, and then read the language of the Sherman act in regard to the treasury notes, they will see that the phraseology as to what both shall be receivable for, is identical in the two cases. Of the silver certificates the Bland act says: "Such certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received, may be reissued." Of the treasury notes the Sherman act says, they shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, and "shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received, may be reissued." It is true that the Bland act also says that the silver coin deposited for, or representing, the certificates shall be retained in the treasury for the payment of the same; but that does not affect their value so long as the Government adheres to its policy of maintaining gold and silver at a parity. In fact, the declaration of the Sherman act, in regard to the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law," settles the status of all silver dollars and silver certificates. They all buy a gold dollar's worth of goods, buy a gold dollar's worth of taxes or customs duties, and if not technically

redeemable in gold, are practically so, for they are interchangeable with treasury notes, which are so redeemable. They circulate side by side with the treasury notes and national-bank notes, and are able to do so because the Government's credit is behind them.

In regard to the question of appreciation in the value of gold, the following, by a reader in Holton, Kansas, is typical of many others which have reached us:

You would greatly oblige myself,—a constant reader of your monetary articles in THE CENTURY,—as well as many others who, I am led to believe, are not clearly satisfied as to the ample supply of gold to make a single standard of it, if you would inform us, through the columns of THE CENTURY, whether there is enough gold to maintain a single standard.

The talk about there not being enough gold in the world to do the business of the world, has been heard with more or less constancy since 1873. Previous to that time, there was no question of the kind heard. Since 1873, the world's stock of gold, as the annual reports of the Director of the Mint show, has been increased by the addition of about \$1,500,000,000. Dr. Soetbeer estimates the production of gold since the end of the fifteenth century to have been \$7,549,596,900. As we pointed out in our previous article, the stock of gold does not disappear with use, the annual supply is added to the total supply previously existing, and the total stock to-day is very much larger than it ever was before. The highest authorities on the subject have no doubt that there is an ample supply for the business of the world to conduct its trade upon. They point out, as we did in our previous article, that the tendency of the age is to use continually less and less coin in the transaction of business, and that there never was a period in the world's commercial history when the existing quantity of gold was so large as it is now, in proportion to the uses or purposes it has to serve.

As to the relation between the amount of gold in the world and the amount of business of the world, there is no means for calculating that; but, as Mr. Wells points out in his "Recent Economic Changes," the function of gold, as a medium of exchange, is rapidly diminishing in importance by the supplementation of other and better agencies, while the function of gold as a measurer or verifier of values is increasing. It is because of its exemption from value fluctuations that the whole civilized world is turning to it as the one safe standard of value, and it is because of the uncertain and fluctuating value of silver, that one nation after another has been compelled to abandon that metal as such standard. Why should the United States have fears about the gold supply which no other nation has? If the leading nations of Europe can run the risk of a scarcity, we certainly can do the same. The "scant supply" talk is, in fact, the last bugaboo of the free silver coinage advocates, and, like all their previous bugaboos, ought not to alarm anybody. Before this number of THE CENTURY reaches its readers, we trust that Congress will have taken the first step toward putting the American republic abreast with the financial intelligence of the rest of the world by the unconditional repeal of the bullion purchase clause of the Sherman law. The simple truth is, that silver has ceased to be a precious metal, and nothing that all the nations of the earth can do to restore it to its lost position will affect it a particle. It is a victim of the laws of nature.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Use and Abuse of Executive Clemency.

THE recent pardon of the three anarchists confined in Joliet Prison for their share in the frightful Haymarket massacre of 1886 has brought into renewed prominence the dangerous manner in which the exercise of executive clemency may be abused. By his action in this case Governor Altgeld has perverted the fundamental theory of the pardoning power. He has invaded the jurisdiction of the courts by re-trying the case and examining the law and the facts—a duty which, under our system of government, is left to the judge and jury. In brief, he, who, as chief executive of the State, is bound to exert his utmost power to defend the law, has in this instance seemingly done his best to bring its administration into contempt. The exercise of the pardoning power should be so regulated as to subserve the best interests of the State. Governor Altgeld, however, has used the power of his high office, not to strengthen the hands of those whose duty it is to uphold law and order, but to rebuke and humiliate them.

The necessity for the existence of some power to pardon persons convicted of crime is recognized by everybody. Kent declares that such a power is indispensable, "since, otherwise, men would sometimes fall a prey to the vindictiveness of accusers, the inaccuracy of testimony, and the fallibility of jurors and courts." The exercise of executive clemency is not in itself obnoxious to the general sense of the nation, which is always willing to see justice tempered with mercy. Public opinion, therefore, may be divided as to the propriety of remitting the unexpired portions of the sentences imposed upon the Chicago anarchists, but it is unanimous in resenting the manner in which this particular act of executive mercy was performed. What peculiar facilities has the governor of Illinois for reversing of his own motion, and without any possibility of adequate examination, a case which was subjected to a full and exhaustive review by the Appellate Court of Illinois, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, both of which sustained the verdict of the lower court? Governor Altgeld had an undoubted right to pardon these prisoners if he so desired, but he had no right to assume the functions of an appellate court. He did not stop with the exercise of his prerogative. He was not content with simply pardoning the prisoners, but assumed to review the case and decide upon the legal points,—an unheard-of proceeding,—and then went out of his way to attack at great length the court before which the offenders were tried, the methods used at the trial, the rulings of the judge, and the verdict of the jury.

As everybody knows, there are three great divisions of authority in the government of every State—the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. For a governor so to encroach upon the functions of the judiciary is a very dangerous thing. Indeed, the pardoning power could not be used more unwisely than by presuming to retry a case, and reverse and overturn all

the collected and corroborative decisions of the courts which have considered it. Nothing can be more dangerous to good government than for an executive to interfere with the other two departments of the government, assuming to do their work for them, and differently.

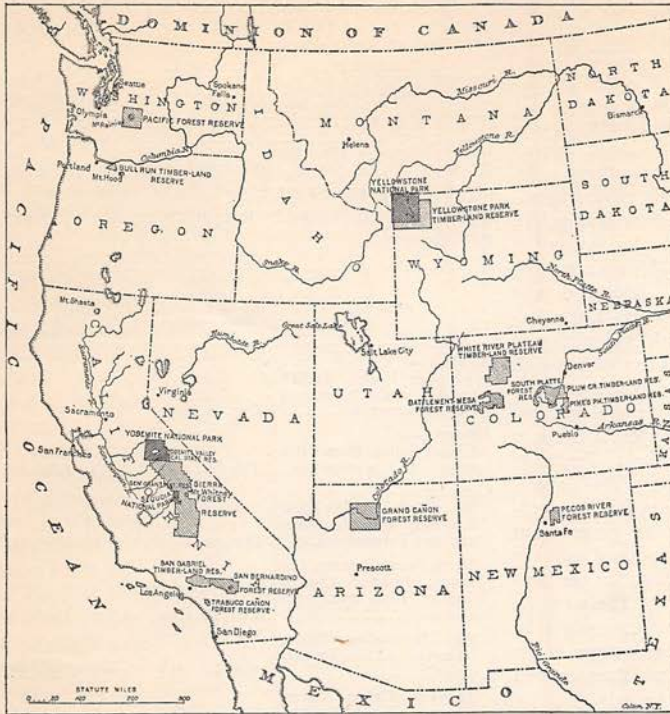
A bill was introduced in the New York legislature last winter which sought to take from the executive the power of pardon, allowing pardons to be granted by the courts alone, upon the presentation of new evidence of an extenuating nature. It is urged that the pardoning power is a judicial function, and that its lodgment in the executive is an anomaly in our institutions. It is also argued that the power is too important to be intrusted to a single official, especially a governor, who is usually overburdened with administrative duties, and who must find it impossible to devote the time necessary to a proper consideration of the numerous cases which are constantly before him. There is much to be said on that side of the question, but it should be remembered that there have been flagrant abuses of the pardoning power in States where the governor does not exercise the power. New Jersey, for instance, has a Court of Pardons; yet in New Jersey not long since the Jersey City ballot-box stuffers were set free through the action of this court. In at least twenty-eight States the pardoning power is vested in the governor alone. He may pardon a criminal without assigning any reasons for so doing, though as a rule the grounds upon which his decision is based are made public. If, however, he sees fit to review the decision of the trial court, and by his own pardon to annul its action, a governor should at least refrain from commenting unfavorably upon the action of the judiciary, which is an independent branch of the government. Such criticism on his part is calculated to work national mischief, since it naturally inspires the criminal classes with contempt for our courts and judicial methods.

Charles Robinson.

Our New National Forest Reserves.

SOME misapprehension exists as to the real meaning and further consequences of the forest-reservation policy recently inaugurated by the General government. The fifteen great timber-land tracts reserved by the proclamations of President Harrison, upon the recommendations of Secretary Noble, are not national parks, although it is hoped that several will become such. The policy of creating such pleasure-grounds as the Yellowstone, Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite National Parks does not want for approval or defenders against the few settlers, miners, and herders who resent the withdrawal of such tracts from the public domain. Sentiment applauds the preservation of the natural scenery and the many objects of wonder and interest in those Rocky Mountain and Sierra parks, which under the care of the General government are to be enjoyed by the people for all time.

The practical and far-seeing policy of creating gov-



NATIONAL PARKS AND FOREST RESERVATIONS. DRAWN BY G. W. COLTON.

ernment forests and timber-land reserves must be popularized by campaigns of education, argument, and proof in the immediate region of the reserves. These forest tracts are reserved as climatic agents in equalizing temperatures; as protective measures to guard, preserve, and regulate the water-supply of neighboring agricultural regions; and as economic measures to preserve and cultivate supplies of timber for a time when the present reckless and wasteful lumbering system will have exhausted all forests not owned and reserved by the Government. Such reservations have been opposed in many sections by the very classes to be benefited and protected by the reserves. The average American, living only for the present day and the dollars of the moment, in this extravagant age of wood does not consider the lumberless condition of the next century, when wood will rank with metal as in Europe, when wood will be little used as a building material, when rails will be laid on metal ties, and stone piers and docks replace our wooden wharves resting on acres of piles. The guarding of the water-supply is the only argument that appeals to Western settlers, and several Colorado valleys with empty flumes and irrigation ditches already offer object-lessons as to the effect of wholesale forest destruction on any watershed.

Germany and France learned a century ago that forest destruction dried up the rivers, turned fertile plains to deserts, and increased climatic extremes. In those countries, forestry is an established profession, and wood-crops are cultivated as much as root or cereal crops. Russia has lately been taught the severe lesson of forest destruction, and in French and German schools has trained foresters to preserve and manage its timber lands and redeem its wastes. India, Australia,

and Canada have systems of forest preservation and management. The government forests in India return an average net revenue of \$300,000 a year. Great forest fires are a thing of a past dark age in Canada, and its lumbermen cooperate with the Dominion authorities in protecting the forests.

The United States alone lags behind the age. It did not learn from others' experience to reserve in the beginning all timber lands for the General government, to derive a perpetual revenue from them, besides guarding the best interests of the people thereby. The Timber Culture Laws were a failure, as only ten per cent. of nearly 31,000,000 acres taken up were planted with trees as required. More government timber is destroyed by fire each year than is used by the people. In addition to \$8,000,000 annually lost in burned timber, the Government recovers an average of but one thirtieth of the value of timber stolen.

The United States sells its forest lands at \$2.50 an acre, lumber companies indirectly acquiring a square mile of land for little over \$1600, while the timber on it is often worth \$20,000. The French government forests return an average profit of \$2.50 an acre annually from timber sales, or two and a half per cent. interest on the value of the land. The United States now owns only enough forest-land to provide a continual timber-supply to its present population, if forests are managed and lumber used as in Germany. The United States is exactly in the position of a man making large drafts on and using up an immense idle capital, which, if properly invested, would return an interest sufficient for his expenditures. In 1885 the government of Bavaria sent an expert forester to study the timbers of the United States, who stated: "In fifty years you will have to import your timber, and as you will probably have a preference for American kinds, we shall now begin to grow them, in order to be ready to send them to you at the proper time."¹

The European is amazed at the reckless destruction by lumbering in our Eastern States; Eastern lumbermen comment upon the wasteful methods of Northwest and California lumbermen; while John Muir of California has remarked that in Washington trees are evidently "a larger sort of pernicious weed," to be got rid of in every way possible.

The forest lands in the Eastern and Middle States are all under private control, and will have to be purchased back by the States or associations, if protective forests for guarding the watersheds are to be established. New York State, while holding 715,000 acres of forest land in the Adirondack region, contemplates a protec-

¹ See Report of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, 1890. B. E. Fernow, Chief of Division.

tive reserve of 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 acres, by the purchase of adjoining tracts. The forests of the Adirondack League, covering 93,000 acres, were the first timber tract in the United States to undergo systematic forest management. Mr. George Vanderbilt's 10,000 acres in North Carolina form the first private estate where forestry is practised—*i. e.*, a treatment of forest areas based upon scientific and rational principles, upon a knowledge of physical, physiological, and economic facts. The citizens of New Hampshire have voluntarily contributed to a fund for saving the remaining forest tracts in the White Mountain region, and the legislature of that State will doubtless take steps to acquire and manage permanent State forests. The Chickamauga Military Park Association is enlarging its area, and will save the acres of hemlock forests which the Tennessee tanning companies are destroying for the bark alone. The General government has lately ceded 40,000 acres of forest lands to the State of Minnesota for a public park. Professor Fernow, chief of the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture, in his annual pleas for the reservation and rational management of the government forest lands, has often urged that abandoned military reservations should be planted to forests for the benefit of the adjoining agricultural lands. The methods and benefits of systematic planting and care might be profitably exhibited on all military reservations in the United States, and model arboretums thus created throughout the Western States particularly.

The first steps of inquiry into the extent of forest areas of the United States were taken in August, 1876, when Congress, after repeated appeals, called upon the Commissioner of Agriculture for a report upon the timber lands and forest products of the United States. Professor Sargent's report on the woods and forests of the United States, in the report of the Tenth Census (1880), again called attention to the situation and its needs. A forestry division was established in the Bureau of Agriculture in 1881, but its only work for twelve years has been collecting data, furnishing statistics, and persistently urging and proving the necessity for the Government's reserving and systematically managing the fraction of forest lands remaining in its possession. Since 1882, the Forestry Division has had encouragement and practical aid from the American Forestry Association, which has regularly memorialized Congress, and through its attorneys argued the Government into reserving a part of its forest lands. The association has membership in thirty-four States, and has been instrumental in the organization of State forestry commissions. Its publications¹ supplement the able reports of Professor B. E. Fernow, and continue a campaign of education and enlightenment.

The Timber Culture Laws were repealed by act of Congress, March 3, 1891, and a final clause, which the American Forestry Association has the credit of originating and attaching, provided.

Sec. 24. That the President of the United States may, from time to time, set apart and reserve, in any State or Territory having public land bearing forests, any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not, as

public reservations, and the President shall, by public proclamation, declare the establishment of such reservation and the limits thereof.

In accordance with this act, Secretary Noble, after investigation by the General Land Office, made recommendations, and President Harrison issued proclamations, withdrawing from entry or sale these fifteen tracts of forest lands, their combined area, exclusive of the Afognak Reserve in Alaska, amounting to about twenty thousand square miles, or about thirteen million acres.

Reserves.	Date of President's Proclamation.	Area.	
		Square Miles.	Acres.
ALASKA—			
Afognak Island, Kadiak Group. Fish-Culture and Timber Reserve.....	Dec. 24, 1892.		
ARIZONA—			
Grand Cañon Forest Reserve. In Coconino Co..	Feb. 20, 1893.	2,893	1,851,520
CALIFORNIA—			
San Gabriel Timber Land Reserve. In Los Angeles and San Bernardino Cos..	Dec. 20, 1892.	868	555,520
Sierra Forest Reserve. In Mono, Mariposa, Fresno, Tulare, Inyo, and Kern Cos.....	Feb. 14, 1893.	6,400	4,096,000
San Bernardino Forest Reserve. In San Bernardino Co.....	Feb. 25, 1893.	1,152	737,280
Trabuco Cañon Forest Reserve. In Orange Co.	Feb. 25, 1893.	78	49,920
COLORADO—			
White River Plateau Timber Land Reserve. In Routt, Rio Blanco, Garfield, and Eagle Cos.....	Oct. 16, 1891.	1,872	1,198,080
Pike's Peak Timber Land Reserve. In El Paso Co.	Feb. 11, 1892, and supplemented March 18, 1892.	288	184,320
Plum Creek Timber Land Reserve. In Douglas Co.	June 23, 1892.	280	172,200
South Platte Forest Reserve. In Park, Jefferson, Summit, and Chaffee Cos.....	Dec. 9, 1892.	1,068	683,520
Battlement Mesa Forest Reserve. In Garfield, Mesa, Pitkin, Delta, and Gunnison Cos.....	Dec. 24, 1892.	1,341	858,240
NEW MEXICO—			
Pecos River Forest Reserve. In Santa Fé, San Miguel, Rio Arriba, and Taos Cos.....	Jan. 11, 1892.	486	311,040
OREGON—			
Bull Run Timber Land Reserve. In Multnomah, Wasco, and Clackamas Cos.	June 17, 1892.	222	142,080
WASHINGTON—			
Pacific Forest Reserve. In Pierce, Kittitas, Lewis, and Yakima Cos.....	Feb. 20, 1893.	1,512	967,680
WYOMING—			
Yellowstone National Park Timber Land Reserve. On the South and East of the Yellowstone National Park.....	March 30, 1891, supplemented Sept. 10, 1891.	1,936	1,239,040

Actual settlers and miners within the boundaries are not interfered with, but as such reservation prevents any additions to the little communities, these pioneers will naturally be inclined to seek more populous neigh-

¹ See also "Publications of the American Economic Association of Baltimore, Maryland," Vol. VI., No. 3, containing three papers on forest administration read at a joint session of the Amer-

ican Economic and American Forestry Associations, December, 1890, by Messrs. Gifford Pinchot, Edward A. Bowers, and B. E. Fernow, which furnish an epitome of the whole subject.

borhoods. While the natural scenery and the wild game are preserved as in a national park, the proper administration and preservation of these protective and economic forests will benefit the adjoining regions, and their treatment upon the best economic principles furnish object-lessons to private owners of forest lands. They must be protected from fire and depredations if nothing else can be done. The preservation of the underbrush and the "forest cover,"—the thick mat of leaves and twigs covering the soil,—upon which tree growth and even water flow so greatly depend, are next considerations, and broad fire lanes must be cut to enable even the temporary patrols to save the forests until they are in charge of foresters. The extension of the Yellowstone National Park was the first reserve made under the new act, and the first proclamation followed as quickly as the necessary plats and papers could be made out. It saved to the people the forest lands bordering the park, and it prevented the vandal plan of lopping off a great corner of the park, which the Cooke City miners proposed as an alternative to running a railway line through the park itself. This forest belt further insured the preservation of the park scenery, and it added to that demesne the picturesque Absaroka range, sheltering the head waters of several streams and breeding-grounds of elk and other large game.

Afognak, the second island in size of the Kadiak group in southern Alaska, was reserved at the instance of the United States Fish Commissioners as a fish-culture and timber reserve. The great forest belt of the northwest coast, the rainiest and most densely wooded region in the world, ends at the Kadiak line. All this wooded coast region of Alaska is virtually a timber reserve. The general land laws have never been extended to that territory. Only mineral claims and town sites may be entered. The great salmon fisheries are not leased or supervised in any way by the Government. Cannery owners may settle upon and purchase any lands needed in one-hundred-and-sixty-acre tracts, at \$1.25 an acre. They may exhaust the streams, drive away the fish, use any nets or methods they wish, disregard even a weekly close season, and deprive the Indians of their chief food supply by thus usurping their hereditary fishing-grounds. They pay no taxes on buildings, boats, nets, catch, or shipments, and do not require any license. They may not cut timber save on their own tracts, nor ship any lumber out of the territory.

Some of the most important reserves were made in the last fortnight of Secretary Noble's term of office, among them that bordering the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in Arizona. This great tract of nearly two million acres is almost square. Its lines begin five miles east of the Hualpai Indian Reservation, which tourists cross in driving from Peach Springs station, on the line of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad to the cañon. The reserve holds nearly one hundred miles of the finest cañons, including the western end of Marble Cañon, and among other lookouts Spanish Point, from which Coronado viewed the wonderful gorge in 1542. It preserves the extensive Coconino forests lying south of the cañon's edge, and many plateaus covered with dense growths of *Pinus ponderosa*. The first thought of those who favored this reservation was the protection of the marvelous scenery of the region, while the Forestry Division regards it as one of the most important reserves for

the benefits it secures to future residents of the adjoining regions.

Secretary Noble merely withdrew from entry the two tracts of land in eastern Arizona covered with the fragments of the petrified forests, admitting that the Supreme Court might decide that petrified forests were not legitimate timber reserves under the provisions of the act. The withdrawal of these lands prevents the petrified forests from falling into the hands of speculators and toll-collectors when increased travel and railroad extension shall have made Arizona's wonders more accessible. Future legislation may empower the President to proclaim them as national parks or protected reserves.

California has gained much by the new forest policy, and the most important of all the reserves made, as regards its immediate benefit to the greatest number of people, is the vast Sierra Forest Reserve, of 6400 square miles, or 4,096,000 acres, in southern California. The proclamation of February 14, 1893, set aside this great tract, which, beginning at the southern boundaries of the Yosemite National Park, forms with that tract, the Sequoia, and the General Grant National Parks a continuous public reservation running for 220 miles along the crest of the Sierras, and averaging about fifty miles in width. It protects the watersheds of eight rivers and hundreds of tributary streams draining into the San Joaquin River, and preserves the water-supply of half that great agricultural valley. In these forests are many scattered groups and groves of giant sequoias, belts of magnificent sugar-pines, and other growths peculiar to the Sierras. Mount Whitney (14,898 feet) and the highest peaks of the range are within the reserve, and the cañons of the King and Kern rivers, which with the Tuolumne and American River cañons in the Yosemite National Park provide as many more rival Yosemites for the enjoyment of the people. The value of this reserve as a protective and economic measure cannot fail to be appreciated by agriculturists dependent upon irrigating systems in other parts of the State, and to hasten the policy suggested by so practical a man and miner as the late Senator George Hearst of California, who believed that all Sierra and other mountain lands above a certain elevation should be reserved by the General government. Nothing could better conduce to the future prosperity of the Pacific States than to have such a mountain-summit reserve extending from the Mojave desert to British Columbia on the Sierra and Cascade lines, and another stretching from the redwood regions of Humboldt and Mendocino counties along the Coast and Olympic ranges to the Straits of Fuca.

The San Gabriel Timber Land Reserve, lying along the Sierra Madre range north of Los Angeles from Salidad Cañon to Cajon Pass, protects the watershed of the San Gabriel and Los Angeles rivers, and insures the continued fertility of the beautiful valley at the base of the mountains. The San Bernardino Forest Reserve adjoins it, extending from Cajon Pass to San Geronio, and protecting the watershed of the Santa Ana river, whose tributaries supply the Colton and Riverside citrus regions. The little Trabuco Cañon Forest Reserve preserves the forests along the Santa Ana slopes near the coast, and insures the water-supply of the Santa Ana and Capistrano regions.

The Colorado forest reserves have been urged and

applauded by the State Forestry Association, but the Colorado senators, representing miners, settlers, and other objectors, have succeeded in restricting the area of the reserves, and delaying action upon reserves already determined. The Pike's Peak Timber Reserve, some thirty miles long and ten miles wide, surrounds the great landmark of the plains with a protective inclosure. The Plum Creek Reserve joins it on the north, and the South Platte Reserve joins the latter on the west, the three reserves forming a large irregular tract in the very center of the State, covering the wildest of the mountain region between Denver and Leadville. This preserves the remaining forests, protects the head waters of the South Platte and many feeders of the Arkansas, and, insuring the water-supply of Denver and other towns at the edge of the plains, has a considerable influence upon the fertility of the adjoining prairie.

The White River Plateau Reserve to the northwest of these central forest tracts is the largest in the State. It was reduced to its present size from an originally larger reserve, and settlers and miners are making every effort now to have it further reduced in their interests. The tract shelters the head waters of the White, Green, and Grand rivers, and preserves much natural scenery. The Battlement Mesa Reserve lies along the range between the Grand and the Gunnison rivers, holding the sources of many of their tributaries, and surrounds the Grand and Battlement Mesas with their strange formations and picturesque groupings.

The Pecos River Reserve in New Mexico preserves the thin forests along the crest of the mountains north of Santa Fé and Las Vegas, protecting the water-supplies of those places and the adjoining plains, occupied by agriculturists and stock-raisers.

Secretary Noble was able to make but one reserve in the State of Oregon. The Bull Run Reserve, which might have enjoyed several other equally descriptive and more attractive names, slopes from the northwest side of Mount Hood almost to the banks of the Columbia. It protects the head waters of Bull Run, Hood River, and the Multnomah, whose beautiful fall on the banks of the Columbia near the Cascades is the chief object of beauty seen by travelers between The Dalles and Portland. It is greatly to be regretted that the snowy peak of Mount Hood (11,225 feet) was not at that time made the center of a reserve four or six times the size of this trifling Bull Run tract.

The Pacific Forest Reserve, immediately surrounding the peak of Mount Rainier, is in form nearly square, measuring forty-two miles from north to south and thirty-six miles from east to west. The reserve is seen from the cities of Tacoma and Seattle, and its boundaries are almost touched by the Northern Pacific Railway at Stampede Pass, at Wilkeson, and at Carbonado. The natural scenery in the reserve is not surpassed by anything in the Sierras, and the densest of the Cascade forests clothe its slopes. The proclamation declaring the reserve was delayed several weeks by a contest between the citizens of Seattle and Tacoma as to the name the tract should bear—whether the Mount Rainier or the Mount Tacoma Reserve should be established. The same controversy, once settled by the decision of the United States Board of Geographic Names that Vancouver's name, Mount Rainier, must remain unchanged on all government maps, charts, and publications, again raged in the two communities last winter. "Cascade Reserve" should have been

the name by all rights, Rainier being the highest (14,444 feet) peak of that range, but that title having been chosen for an Oregon reserve then under consideration. "Pacific" was chosen because the Pacific Ocean may be seen from Rainier's summit, the highest point within the reserve. Only thirty-eight people in all have reached the summit of Mount Rainier, and not all of them saw the ocean, 120 miles distant, at the base of the Olympic range. The Pacific Reserve holds so much natural scenery, so much of interest and wonder, that it is certain to become a national park, with hotels, roads, and trails. Its great attractions, besides the twin craters and steaming ice caves at the summit, are the dozen splendid glaciers descending by magnificent ice-falls to the level of a thousand feet; the many curious evidences of volcanic action; the circle of beautiful parks near the timber line, with lakes and trout-streams, lesser cones and craters; a wonderful flora, and forests which are fancifully said to be those of the Carboniferous age. The great peak has been ascended as late as October, and experienced Sierra climbers pronounce the view from Eagle Cliff, near the west border of the reserve, the finest mountain view on the Pacific coast, far surpassing the outlook from Inspiration Point on the Yosemite's edge. When this reserve is declared a park, some more appropriate name, as Tahoma, Puyallup, Nisqually, Conifer, Cascade, or, best of all, Glacier Park may be adopted.

Fearful destruction has been wrought in this reserve by forest fires already, and its further protection should be a matter of pride with citizens of Washington until the General government has authority to patrol and protect it. With all the rank, luxuriant growth of the Cascade region, the tracts burned by a retreating band of Nisqually Indians in 1853 have not recovered their forest growths naturally, even after forty years. Bleached trunks and stumps alone show above the acres of bush and scrub undergrowth. Destructive floods and an unequal water-supply have already followed the ruin caused by fire and ax around the great mountain. Herders, campers, hunters, and mountain-climbers are responsible for many recent forest fires. A great tract was but lately desolated in order to open a trail up Nisqually bluff to the camping-grounds in Paradise Valley. Campers have fired many trees in the high parks for the pleasure of seeing the moss-hung spruces swept by sheets of flame, or burn at night like huge signal-torches. Sheep-herders have destroyed forests of larches and miles of underbrush on the eastern slopes by firing the grassy parks in the fall.

Additional forest reserves were contemplated in Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Colorado, California, and Washington, and Secretary Noble's recommendations waited only upon President Harrison's attaching his signature to the necessary proclamations. While heartily in accord with his Secretary of the Interior, President Harrison preferred leaving these reservations to be considered and acted upon by the new administration. Since there is no protection or management provided for the reserves already proclaimed, they are saved from settlers' and lumbermen's axes, only to be left to the mercy of any careless or malicious persons who may fire them. Two bills were introduced in the last Congress looking to the protection and management of these government forests, but neither became a law.

The Paddock bill, introduced in the Senate, June, 1892, provided for a thorough system of forest management by the Department of Agriculture, with a competent commissioner and inspector, resident foresters and rangers, "to protect and improve the forest cover within the reservations, for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water flow and continuous supplies of timber to the people of the districts within which the reservations are situated." Military aid in protecting the reservations from fire and trespassers, and enforcing rules and regulations, was provided, also coöperation with State forest management. Land best adapted to agriculture was to be restored to the public domain; mining to be prosecuted within the reserves under special regulations, and wood to be cut under a system of licenses by lumbermen and others; cutting or removing timber, burning, injuring, tapping, or girdling timber, to be punished by fine and imprisonment upon judgment of any United States court or commissioner; ship-owners and railroad companies transporting any lumber or timber product unlawfully obtained to be liable to the same penalties; and all revenue derived from the reserves in any way to constitute a separate fund to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture for the care and preservation of the reservations. This bill was drawn up at the instance of the American Forestry Association, and received the active support of its members, and the zealous attention of its attorney. It found a place on the calendar, but did not become a law. The McRae substitute bill in the House was introduced in January and reported in February, but failed of consideration by the Fifty-second Congress. The McRae bill provided only for the immediate protection of the reserves by troops; for selling timber of commercial value to the highest bidder; for restoring agricultural lands to the public domain; and for creating a fund for reservation use from timber sales.

The fact that the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, the originator of Arbor Day and President of the American Forestry Association, has since become the Secretary of Agriculture, to whom the management of the government forests will be intrusted, is promise enough of the attitude of the present administration toward the new national forest policy. The appointment of Mr. Edward A. Bowers, the secretary and formerly the attorney of the American Forestry Association, as Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, is another assurance that the best interests of the Government and the people will be guarded in these initial years of the great undertaking.

Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore.

Money and a Day's Work.

I HAVE read with interest and profit your editorial in the June CENTURY, "Has Gold Appreciated in Value?" It occurs to me that there is a primary measure of value, which you do not mention, but tried by which the value of gold will be found to have deviated but little in thirty years past. I refer to labor,—not the price of labor, but "days' works." I have not at hand exact data, but practical miners tell me that the average result from a day's work in gold-mining is not perceptibly different from thirty years ago, while the average day's work in the silver-mines will produce three times as much as in 1865. On the theory that the natural relative price of commodities is determined by the

bravn expended in the production, while *demand* is but a modifier of the rule, it would seem that much of the mystery relating to the deviation in values may be explained.

WATERTOWN, SOUTH DAKOTA. *Doane Robinson.*

Christianity Outside the Churches.

IN the "Forum" of October, 1890, Bishop Huntington emphasized anew the fact to which Professor Ely had already called attention—*viz.*, that a wide-spread alienation, and indeed distrust, of the church existed even among those working-men who would yet applaud the name of Christ and listen respectfully to his teachings. This is a fact to the very serious significance of which the ecclesiastical authorities and leaders of our churches have given, as yet, far too little weight.

But there is another fact, due primarily to much the same causes, of perhaps even more serious import, but to which even less attention has been given. This is the extent to which some of the most sincere Christian believers of our day, especially among men of intellect, of education, and of moral culture, have come to hold aloof from the institutional fellowship of Christ's professed disciples. The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, in his precious little volume, "Personal Creeds," says (p. 75):

"There is now a good deal of unformulated and even unbaptized Christianity in the thought and life of men outside of the church. Christ is becoming more real in many ways to this generation. His doctrine, although perhaps not so fully apprehended as it might be, is entering effectively into much of the best striving and working of men who are standing aloof from the churches." And again (p. 102): "With a high sense of moral honor, they prefer to go without any belief in a divine plan of salvation, rather than to profess belief in some conceptions which take no active hold on their experience of life."

In even stronger language writes Professor Bruce ("Kingdom of God," p. 144): "I am even disposed to think that a great and steadily increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside of the church—separated from it, not by godlessness, but rather by exceptionally intense moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the church in order to be Christians." And again (p. 272): "Instead of claiming for the church that within it alone is salvation to be found, earnest men are more inclined to ask whether salvation is to be found in it at all, and does not rather consist in escaping from its influence. A good many are asking such revolutionary questions even now; and it is foolish for churchmen simply to be shocked and to characterize them as profane. The church is only a means to an end. It is good only in so far as it is Christian. There is no merit or profit in mere ecclesiasticism. Whatever reveals the true Christ is of value and will live. Whatever hides Christ—be it pope, priest or presbyter, sacraments or ecclesiastical misrule—is pernicious and must pass away."

Few things are more difficult than to form a calm and an unprejudiced judgment of our own times, and especially of any course of events in which we are ourselves taking, however slight, yet an interested part. We read the published story of the past with the feeling that personal equations have been largely allowed for already by the judicious historian. But in the attempt to judge of that history which is still "in the

making," not only must an allowance for the personal equation be made by us in the reception of every witness and in the weighing of every opinion; but it must be made by the writer, most of all for himself, and by the reader, in his turn, for both the writer and himself.

Now it may be "a short and easy method" with the writers of such language as that quoted above to rebuke them and to deny the truth of the witness which they bear. There is a precedent, in the case of St. Stephen, for stopping our ears and running upon such preachers with one accord and casting them out. The clergy and other religionists who intrench themselves at once in the *a priori* position that there can be no such genuine extra-institutional Christianity, and who take counsel only among themselves and will receive no witness that will not bear the test of their own orthodoxy, may so dispose of this whole subject.

But let the Christian minister or loyal churchman who is so happy as to have even one honest and earnest friend of clear head, of true judgment, and of high moral life,—a business man of integrity, a lawyer of un-sullied honor, an authority in science,—among "them that are without,"—a friend between whom and himself there is such mutual trust that either will speak to the other with entire candor,—let that churchman ask that friend whether the language in question is or is not true. Let the father whose sons have never come to feel that they may not tell him honestly all that is in their thoughts, and who, at the same time, associate on terms of free, unmeasured, earnest, mutual confidence with the more thoughtful, high-hearted, and upright young men of their own age and interests—let that father ask his sons whether this is not especially true of very many of the best later graduates and undergraduates of our colleges.

It is the misfortune or the weakness of most of us, and notably of the clergy, that in proportion to our own personal sincerity in the faith which we profess, and our devotion to the church of our allegiance, our friends and even our sons hesitate to tell us plainly, because of the pain it will give us, just what they see and hear, what they believe and know. We unconsciously withdraw from the testimony we ought to hear and out of the reach of such plain speaking; and then we pronounce confidently on a state of things of which we really know nothing.

The fact probably is that both Dr. Smyth and Professor Bruce have borne only faithful witness. The present writer, as at present informed, has no reason to abate one word of such witness. He has not found that testimony directly to the point was either far to seek or hard to get; and so far as he has been able to get direct access to the facts, they fully confirm it.

There has probably been no epoch in Christian history when the best intellects were more deeply interested in religious questions than now; when young men of early advantages and of education were more eager to know what is truth or to give themselves to its proclaiming and to its defense. There never was a time when God was more real to educated and to thinking men generally; when there was, among such men, more real interest in the Bible and desire to study it; when such men were more ready to listen to the story of Christ and to his doctrine, so only it be his and not some gloss which the theologians or ecclesiastics have put upon or substituted for it.

Why then this holding aloof of just such men from the churches which appeal to them in Christ's name and, as they claim, by his authority? Why this self-dissociation from the organized fellowship of those who are united on these very grounds?

The answer to such questionings is at hand if we are ourselves candid enough to suffer it to be given us.

We shall be told, in the first place, that the scientific-theological philosophy of the day, of which it is claimed that the great law of evolution holds the master key,—that the best biblical criticism of the last generation,—that the powerfully revived Greek doctrine of the divine immanence as distinguished from the Latin doctrine of the divine transcendence,—that these have greatly revolutionized as well as given a new and strong impulse to the best thinking of earnest men; and that it has been made impossible for them any longer either to accept, or to profess without accepting, the old ways of regarding religious data, or the old traditional ideas and formulas of the churches or the dogmatic teachings based upon them.

We shall, at the same time, be reminded that the churches—at all events, those who are the presumably representative authorities and teachers in them—are, as a rule, slow to realize the facts or to admit the force of these changes in religious thinking; that they insist dogmatically upon the old confessions and traditions as part and parcel of the very warp and woof of divine truth; and that it is therefore difficult for those with whom this new religious philosophy and these new convictions find acceptance not to feel themselves virtually excluded from the churches, indeed absolutely repelled by them. At all events, if not drawn to some one minister by teaching which commends itself at once to their intellect and to their conscience, they certainly are not interested, as they might once have been, in the discussion of the claims of the rival churches upon their adhesion or upon their loyalty, upon the acceptance of this or of that confession, of a given form of ecclesiastical polity, or even of the apostolic succession of its chief ministers. They do not care to study or even to consider these questions. They will hold as apostolic and will follow that ministry which leads them most directly Christward, which most truly and most consistently bears witness to him. No other argument has force with them.

Such will be the first reply given us. Let us give it its full weight. And yet there is another and probably a more powerful reason for the facts under consideration than even this,—one indeed which gives to this much of its effect.

For the present has been truly said to be "a day of light and revelation," in which the light is searching all things and discriminating what is real and eternal from the superficial and transitory, and still more from what is unreal.

And it is, therefore, above all other reasons, because those most under the influence of this new theological philosophy feel that the churches are less loyal to truth for its own sake than to their own traditions; less anxious to be faithful to Christ than to adhere to themselves, to their own interpretations of his teachings, to the ecclesiastical habits and even to the ignorances and unreal conventionalities of their past, that they hold aloof from them.

However unjust and prejudiced this may seem to us,

who will venture to say that the churches have given no warrant for any such feelings? It will be difficult to maintain such a defense so long as the churches refuse to consider how far there may perhaps be grounds for such a feeling, and so long as any one who may honestly and loyally raise this question and ask for such self-examination is promptly suppressed. The churches which will not suffer such questions to be asked loyally by their own faithful sons must expect to have them asked in far sterner accents by their enemies.

But when the churches, when any one of them, by her leaders and representative men, shall, with honest and manly candor, court criticism and the most searching trial of all things which may have become unreal, when they manifest a sincere devotion, above all things else, to Christ's Christianity, even should the theological traditions of their past be convicted of error in the new light of truth, and the customs and methods and ecclesiastical life, which are now taken for granted, of unreality by the new revelation, when any church thus illustrates its supreme loyalty to truth and to Christ, then those who now stand so utterly apart, in their own loyalty to both, will return by one and another and at last in flocks to ecclesiastical allegiance.

There is, indeed, great reason to hope that this may soon be; for, to continue the quotations made above, Dr. Smyth goes on to say: "Within the Church itself there is beginning to make itself felt and efficacious, a revival of simpler and more real Christian life." And Professor Bruce (p. 356): "If, as both faith and philosophy attest, Christianity be the absolute religion, perennial because perfect, not destined to be superseded by any better, because better is impossible, it must be able to shake itself clear of whatever hampers the free expression of its eternal vitality. . . . The need of a new hour of emancipation is a prophecy of its coming."

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Wm. Chauncy Langdon.

"The Century's" American Artists Series.

EDWIN HOWLAND BLASHFIELD.

THE picture "The Angel with the Flaming Sword," on page 696, was painted by Edwin Howland Blashfield in Paris in the winter of 1891, exhibited in the Salon of that year, and is now in the American section of the Fine Arts Building at the World's Fair. It is a canvas of large size, of much story-telling power, and is notable for stately simplicity. Mr. Blashfield has evidently approached his task in a devout spirit. The angel appears to recognize the justice of the sentence, and as a true servant wishes to execute the divine commission, but he does so with sorrow, as though he would fain hear the voice of his Master calling to the erring to return. The artist, who has admirably managed the mixed expression of justice and sorrow on the face of the angel, is to be congratulated on having produced a picture with rare religious feeling. Technically this painting is the peer of Mr. Blashfield's other works. In one respect—namely, the firmness of its drawing—it is a step in advance.

For a more extended notice of Mr. Blashfield's work the reader is referred to this magazine for Dec., 1892.

LYDIA FIELD EMMET.

LYDIA FIELD EMMET, whose picture "In her First Youth" appears on page 728, was born in Pelham, New York. Her first art knowledge was derived from her talented sister, Rosina Emmet Sherwood. While still in her teens she became, at the Art Students' League, a pupil of W. M. Chase, and later of Boulangier and Lefebvre at the Académie Julien, Paris.

Miss Emmet has done much pretty and graceful illustrating for children's books and periodicals. Her most important work is a wall-painting of large proportions, representing Music, Literature, Painting, Sculpture, and Embroidery, in the hall of the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair.

W. Lewis Fraser.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

At the Sign of the Skull.

A STRANGE old tavern have I seen:
The walls are thick, the garden green;
'T is damp and foul, yet through the door
Do rich men come as well as poor.
They come by night, and they come by day,
And never a guest is turned away.

The landlord, an unwholesome fellow,
Has a complexion white and yellow,
And, though he looks exceeding thin,
Does nothing else but grin and grin
At all his guests—who, after a while,
Begin to imitate his smile.

The guests are a fearful sight to see,
Though some are people of high degree;
For no one asks, when a carriage arrives,
A decent account of the inmates' lives;
But holy virgins and men of sin
Sleep cheek by jowl in this careless inn;

And beautiful youths in their strength and pride
Have taken beds by a leper's side;
But all sleep well, and it never was said
That any kind of complaint was made.
For all the people who pass that way
Appear to intend a lengthened stay.

The house has a singular bill of fare—
Nothing dainty, nothing rare;
But only one dish, and that dish meat,
Which never a guest was known to eat.
Night and day the meal goes on,
And the guests themselves are fed upon!

These merry guests are all of them bound
To a land far off—but I never found
That any one knew when he should start,
Or wished from this pleasant house to part.

O strange old tavern, with garden green!
In every town its walls are seen.
Now the question has often been asked of me,
"Is it really as bad as it seems to be?"

Theodore C. Williams.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A Word or Two, By Your Leave!

WITH this number THE CENTURY completes a volume, and with November its twenty-fourth year will begin. The aims and accomplishments which give this magazine its individuality are so well known that it is hardly necessary to recall them to our readers. But with the march of the years new readers come forward and take the places of many of the old. To these, as well as to our old friends, we would now address a word or two, in pursuance of an old editorial custom.

THE CENTURY has always shown the courage of its opinions, and in the past year it has taken a firm stand editorially on some of the most exciting questions of our times. Eschewing narrow partizanship of every kind, it compliments its readers by the belief that they will respect the honest expression of opinion on matters touching our national life and national morals, even though these opinions may not be always acceptable.

It has been the avowed purpose of THE CENTURY to foster American literature and art, and to hold up a pure and workmanlike standard in both art and letters. It has kept in close touch with the new movement in both these lines, and has tried not only to minister to the instruction and entertainment of its readers, but to encourage and bring forward all that is best and most inspiring in the various arts—not only in the literary and plastic arts, but in those of architecture, landscape-gardening, etc. In addition to this, it has opened its pages to discussions by competent writers of great religious, educational, economic, and political questions.

One peculiar distinction of THE CENTURY has been the taking up of important matters, such as the Siberian exile system, in a thorough and influential manner; and the publication of important histories and biographies. THE CENTURY never had more numerous features of this kind in preparation than at the present moment. Some of these are announced in connection with the new year of the magazine. Others, upon which much work has been done during years past, are still in preparation, and will be announced later.

We would wish to speak especially of one feature of THE CENTURY'S new year which seems to us of great charm and value—namely, Mr. Cole's engravings of Old Dutch Masters. This is a work in which this distinguished artist is very deeply interested, and he himself thinks that he has achieved certain results here not fully attained in his remarkable series of Old Italian Masters. In such engravings as these, made part of a "popular magazine," the world's best art is indeed "popularized" in the best sense; that is, brought promptly and effectively, by means of the most artful and sympathetic translation, into the homes and hearts of great numbers of the people. It should be a satisfaction to remember that it is American wood-engraving, paper-making, and printing which have made this possible.

Do not Miss the World's Fair!

SOME weeks still remain in which those who have not seen the World's Fair may yet enjoy that never-

to-be-renewed privilege. In the general astonishment at the beauty of the housing of the exhibition, perhaps not enough has been said concerning the contents. That these are well worthy the attention of the student of every or any department of human enterprise, goes without the saying,—though in some departments much more than in others the truly instructional method has been observed; as, for instance, in transportation, piano-making, and the archæological and anthropological exhibits under the charge of Professor Putnam. In respect to this last-named feature of the Exposition, while circumstances rendered it impossible to make the ordered display early in the summer, it has finally assumed proportions of the most dignified character; and very properly—considering the occasion—has become doubtless the most thorough exhibition of the history and condition of the native races of America ever brought together. Indeed no great "group" of exhibits at the Fair is more impressive than that of the Columbus caravels,—floating near the delightfully reproduced Convent of Rábida, and near also to the dwellings of the living aborigines, as well as the relics of their ancestors.

It still remains true that the greatest feature of the Exhibition is the architecture and the landscape-gardening,—including in these all their sculptured and painted decorations and adjuncts. In these the deepest pleasure and the deepest instruction are to be found, as well as the largest and longest benefit to the country.

If the visitor can only be a single day at the Fair, or a single night, it is worth any sacrifice to enjoy this alone. And if it were to be a question between the daytime or the illumination at night, we would advise the latter; for surely no eyes now opened on this world are likely ever again to behold any sight so nobly beautiful.

A True Friend of the American Working-man.

IT is with a peculiar sense of personal grief and loss that THE CENTURY pays a tribute of affection and high esteem to the memory of Colonel Richard T. Auchmuty, who died in July last. The crowning work of his life, the establishing and building up of the New York Trade Schools, was one which from the outset enlisted the warm sympathy of this magazine, as expressed by repeated contributions on the subject—one of them from his own pen—which have been published by us from time to time during the past ten years. In fact, we think we can say now without impropriety what his modesty would not have permitted us to say while he lived, that the series of articles which have appeared during the present year in this department of the magazine, on the subject of American boys and American labor, owed their inspiration entirely to him. The facts therein set forth were drawn in large measure from records and documents which he had collected and preserved, and the proof-sheets of the articles were carefully read and revised by him. Almost the last work of his life was the writing of a kind of brief for a

closing article of the series, which he wished to have take the form of an appeal for the establishing of trade schools in various parts of the country.

It would be impossible to exaggerate his devotion to this cause. From the time when he first took it up, soon after closing a career of honorable service in our civil war, down to the final hours of his life, it absorbed all his time and thought, and his zeal in its prosecution became steadily more intense and exalted. He gave his life to the cause, with the deep conviction that he was grappling with an evil that threatened the welfare of the nation, and he fought for it with an indomitable will that was equaled by nothing save his modesty. There was never any public disturbance about what he was doing. He founded his trade schools, taking liberally from his private fortune in doing so, and had them firmly established before the general public knew anything whatever about them. In the course of time, a personal friend, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, who had been quietly observing the good work so modestly going forward, endowed the schools with a munificent gift of a half-million dollars, placing them forever beyond the experimental stage, and giving to their noble founder assurance that the work of his life had not been undertaken in vain.

We shall give in the closing article of our labor series such an account of these trade schools that it is not necessary to go into more detailed mention of them at this time. We prefer to dwell now upon Colonel Auchmuty's personal relations to them. These were always those of a fond father for his children. He was never weary of talking of his "lads," as he called the pupils, of showing photographs of his graduates, and of tracing their careers in the world. He was firmly of the opinion that the American people needed only to be informed of the facts about the condition of the American labor field, as we have set them forth, in order to realize both the injustice involved toward our own sons and the grave peril to us as a nation. He was equally convinced that once they had realized these things, the people would see to it that the remedy was supplied.

His patriotism, as pure as it was deep, was at all times inexhaustible and unmistakable. He was, in the fullest and best sense of the term, an American. He was the model citizen, embodying more perfectly than almost any other man of his time what Mr. James Bryce has aptly called the "home side of patriotism," the "sober and quiet sense of what a man owes to the community into which he is born, and which he helps to govern." His heart beat warm and strong for his country, and especially for the youth of his country; to see them growing up in idleness, and thus going directly and surely to crime, gave him as keen a sense of pain as a father would feel over the errors and misdeeds of a worthless son. In the last year or more of his life, when he was suffering unceasing and torturing pain, sitting practically helpless in his home, his mind was always on his beloved schools and their future, and his chief solace in his anguish, expressed over and over again, was that he had been shown before he died that the schools were so well organized and so firmly established that they would continue and would flourish after he had gone.

Surely a life like this, so modest, so gentle, so noble, so full of beneficence for all the people, is a national

legacy of priceless value. In a time, too, much given over to strident patriotism of a demagogic and pernicious character, this record of the unostentatious but powerful and far-reaching work of a simple, generous gentleman comes like a benediction. It ought to be more than this. It ought so to arouse patriotic instincts that in every part of the land American citizens will imitate the example of Mr. Morgan, and make the trade schools of New York the models for a national system of similar institutions.

Substitutes for the Extinct Apprentices System.

We have endeavored to show in previous articles of this series that American boys are no longer learning useful trades, for reasons which it is not necessary to recapitulate here; that while American boys are growing up in idleness, and are filling our prisons, American trades are controlled by foreigners whose sympathies are not with American institutions and customs, and whose influence upon American society is in the direction of turbulence and even anarchy.

This being the situation,—and we are confident that the evidence we have adduced in support of our contention proves it to be as we have stated it,—the pressing question is, What is the remedy? In this as in all other matters of national concern we shall find our surest and safest guides in the experience of the human race in other countries which have been called upon to solve similar problems.

It should be borne in mind that in this matter we are following in the footsteps of European nations. Prof. John D. Runkle, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is one of the most zealous and intelligent advocates of industrial education in this country, says in one of his valuable reports on the subject:

There is common testimony to the fact of the decay of the system of apprenticeship, and the causes, with only slight modifications, are the same the world over,—the conflict between labor and capital, the rapid introduction of machinery, and the changed conditions resulting in all the producing and manufacturing industries.

The same authority sustains the view that we have endeavored to establish of the results of the changed labor conditions, by saying:

With the gradual and almost total extinction of apprenticeship, labor has become not only unskilled, and nearly dead to all sense of professional pride and ambition, but too often dishonest, demoralized, and brutal.

As to remedies, Prof. Runkle adds:

The consequences are serious and far-reaching, and thoughtful persons everywhere are beginning to seek a remedy. As the system of apprenticeship was based upon a form of education, we naturally seek the remedy through the same agency.

It is through this agency that all the leading nations of Europe have found their remedy. They have been during the present century constantly increasing their number of technical schools, until at the present time nearly every country in Europe has a comprehensive scheme of industrial education, which ranges from the manual-training instruction of children up through apprentice and artisan schools to the high polytechnic or scientific institutions which take rank with the great

universities. Germany and France at one time outstripped England in this field, but England was quick to take alarm, and her magnificent guild schools in London are now the equal of any in the world. The late Dr. Charles O. Thompson, President of the Rose Polytechnic Institute, at Terre Haute, Indiana, who visited the European technical schools a few years ago and prepared for our National Bureau of Education a circular upon the subject, said of them :

These schools are increasing in number in every European country. In the matter of attempting to provide some substitute for the extinct apprentice system, France clearly takes the lead. There are two distinct plans now in vogue: one to introduce manual instruction into the ordinary elementary schools; the other to erect apprenticeship schools, sometimes called superior elementary schools.

In 1873 there was only one school in France in which trade-teaching was combined with elementary instruction, but since 1882 manual and technical training have been included in the compulsory subjects of primary education. Many towns have apprenticeship and professional schools. The best of these are in Paris, that of the Boulevard de la Villette ranking with the finest in the world. No pupil is admitted to it until he is thirteen, and then only on certificate of elementary education. The course of instruction is for three years, half the time being devoted to schooling and half to practical work. The graduates at the age of sixteen rank as skilled workmen, earning wages as large as are paid to workmen who have spent a much longer time in the shops. There are excellent apprentice schools also at Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Havre, and other towns, and a free national trade school at Châlons, whose graduates command at once nearly full journeymen's wages.

Germany has also a very superior system of technical education, the children of the country passing from the elementary schools to the technical or trade schools, and from there to the Polytechnica, or technical high schools, which rank with the great universities. In addition to these agencies, all the guilds, which are associations of master tradesmen, take apprentices, and are required by law to superintend their training, to give them time and opportunity for thorough instruction, to look out for their moral welfare, and to urge them to attend the technical schools for further instruction. These schools exist in all parts of the empire, some of them giving day and others evening instruction. Under such a system it is not surprising that Germany is able to add so liberally to the world's supply of skilled workmen.

The English race awoke to a realization of the full importance of technical education in 1851, when the

world's fair in London showed them that they were far behind France and Germany in the mechanical arts. They went to work at once laying the foundation for a system of industrial education, with the result of overtaking if not surpassing Germany and France within a few years. The London guild schools are unsurpassed by any others in the world, and technical schools of the first rank are to be found in Glasgow, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Sheffield, Dundee, Cardiff, Dublin, and other parts of the United Kingdom. Many manufacturers, as in France, have trade schools, established by themselves, in connection with their works, for the instruction of the sons of their employees. Still, so far as the number of technical students is concerned, England is far behind Germany, for her system is not compulsory and exists almost entirely without state aid. Switzerland, Austria, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, in fact all European countries, have systems of industrial education, which in many respects rank with those which we have described. In most of these countries they are numbered by hundreds and thousands, and scarcely a district can be found without one or more of them. In speaking of them as he witnessed their results displayed at the Paris Exposition, Mr. John W. Hoyt, the United States Commissioner, said :

Of schools of this class we have few, if indeed any, in the United States. They have been an incalculable blessing in European countries; and though the character of the people and the condition of the arts are quite different here, it may, nevertheless, be well for the municipal authorities and benevolent persons of large means to consider whether numbers of the children now growing up in ignorance, pauperism, and crime could not, through this double agency of training in the rudiments of education and also in the processes of skilled labor, be both saved from ruin and made useful members of society.

In another part of his report, Mr. Hoyt said :

As a means of improving the social condition of individuals and populations, by affording the means of profitable employment to thousands who would otherwise suffer from want, they [the schools] are hardly less interesting than as potent agencies for the advancement of a multitude of handicrafts, in the perfection of which the whole world is interested.

The nations which have developed these beneficent institutions have acted upon the idea that their children should not only be educated to some useful employment, but that it is of the first importance to a nation to develop to the highest degree the mechanical talent of its inhabitants. How far we as a nation are lagging behind the rest of the civilized world, and in what way we can overtake it, we shall discuss in the next article of this series.



OPEN LETTERS.

State Education of Frenchwomen.

THOUGH the leaders of the French Revolution favored the education of the people, irrespective of sex, the reform was never carried into effect. How little was done in the same direction by the Restoration may be judged from the single fact that a royal ordinance set aside just fifty thousand francs for primary instruction! It is not surprising, therefore, that when Louis Philippe came to the throne more than half of the male and over three quarters of the female working-class of France could not read. It was not till 1833 that Guizot succeeded in establishing state primary schools, and even then only for boys; and not till 1867 that French girls were treated, in this respect, with equal justice. Voltaire's remark is pat here: "*La France arrive tard à tout*," and the truth of Jules Simon's finally dawned on the nation: "Every time a woman is educated, a little school is founded."

To-day elementary instruction is rapidly on the increase among French girls. For instance, the latest report—that for 1887—of the number of women who could sign their marriage certificates shows an advance of 1.7 per cent. in respect to the preceding year; 83 per cent. of them could affix their names. There were 117 more girls' schools in 1889-90 than in 1888-89, and 468 new teachers. In 1889, 97,910 girls applied for primary certificates, as against 100,269 for the following year—an increase of 2359; while 75,079 in the former and 79,313 in the latter year passed the examination and got the certificates—an increase of 4234. Furthermore, the scholarships accorded in 1892 in the superior primary classes show that in France, as is often the case elsewhere, girls stand higher than boys in school work. Thus, 2642 boys and 1476 girls competed: 1104 of the former and 693 of the latter passed; while 643 boys and 436 girls finally won scholarships. A somewhat similar result was reached in the competitive examination for the *agrégation*—a very high and difficult degree to obtain—in living languages. Between 1883 and 1887, 20 women competed and 12 passed, while 108 men competed and 62 passed—the women thus being a little more successful than the men.

But the establishment and growth of state secondary instruction for women is, perhaps, the most notable event in the history of female education in France. Prior to 1878 secondary instruction was very poor and very scarce, and was exclusively in the hands of the Church and private individuals. The state took no part in the work. In 1867 M. Duruy, then minister of public instruction, attempted to supply the want, in part at least, and founded courses of lectures (*cours*). But the Catholic Church vigorously combated the in-

novation, and public opinion did not seem to welcome it; so at the end of the first decade of the experiment, only some half-dozen *cours* appear to have taken root. Even in Paris, notwithstanding its population and the reputation of the professors, there were but 128 pupils at the *cours*. In 1892-93 the number of paying pupils was only 122.

It was not till 1878 that M. Camille Sée, then a deputy and now a member of the *Conseil d'Etat*, secured the passage of a bill which empowered the state to take upon itself the secondary education of girls,—“one of the fundamental creations of the Third Republic,” says M. Berthelot,—and three more years had to elapse before the first girls' *lycée*—that of Montpellier—was actually opened. Up to 1881 not a single girls' *lycée* existed in all France, though boys' *lycées* dated from the days of the First Empire. At present, however, there are about thirty, and, in addition, nearly as many *collèges*, and some sixty *cours*.¹ The *lycées* and *collèges* have about 8000 pupils in charge of about 1000 teachers, 800 of whom are women and 200 men. Such is the brilliant result obtained in twelve years' time. From 1881 to 1887 the average annual increase of pupils in the *lycées* was about 550, the total number being 71 in the first, and 3330 in the last named year. In 1889 the total had risen to 3672, in 1891 to 4963, and in 1892 to 5625. The total for the *lycées*, *collèges*, and *cours*—that is, the whole number of girls receiving state secondary instruction of every kind—was, in 1892, 12,697. The preceding year the total had been 11,645, showing an increase for 1892 of 1052.² The following statistics of the diplomas delivered by the *lycées* show, in another way, the growing popularity of these schools. Thus, in 1883, eight girls were graduated in the five years' course, and 80 in the three years' course. In 1884 the figures were 37 and 153; in 1885, 85 and 253; in 1886, 95 and 336; and in 1887, 129 and 403. The cost of the whole state establishment for girls' secondary instruction was put down in 1887 at nearly three million francs. It has considerably increased since that time.

It is, of course, in Paris that these *lycées* have developed most rapidly. The capital already possesses three of them, and others will probably be established in the near future. It cost 1,650,000 francs to open the first—the Lycée Fénelon,—and 850,000 francs, the second—the Lycée Racine. That they meet a want is proved by the fact that, at the beginning of the school year 1892-93, the Fénelon was so crowded that the adding of an annex was discussed, and in the mean time a series of *cours* was established in the Faubourg Poissonnière. These *cours* were so overcrowded last winter that their erection into a *lycée* is contemplated.

¹ A French *lycée* may be likened to our best high schools. A *collège* is an inferior *lycée*, supported mainly by the department. A *cours* is supported by fees, and is less complete and more independent of the state than the *lycée* or *collège*.

² These statistics for 1891-92 have not yet appeared in any printed report, but are kindly furnished me by M. Elie Rabier, Director of Secondary Instruction at the Department of Public Instruction.

The curriculum of the *lycées* embraces morals, the French language, reading aloud, and at least one living tongue; ancient and modern literature; geography and cosmography; the history of France and an acquaintance with general history; arithmetic, and the elements of geology, chemistry, physics, and natural history; hygiene, domestic economy, sewing, the elements of common law, drawing, music, and gymnastics. This course of study covers five years, and is divided into two parts—the first of three and the second of two years. Diplomas are given at the end of the two years' course, and also for the completion of the full five years of study. If this program of studies be compared with that laid down for the boys' *lycées*, it will be evident that those who drew it up were governed by M. Legouvé's dictum, "*L'égalité dans la différence.*"

One of the objects which M. Sée and his republican colleagues had in view in passing the bill of 1878 was to offset the educational work of the convents, which were, and in fact are still, hostile to the republic. "It is a political law and also a social law," M. Sée said on one occasion. "I see only one inconvenience in this law, if well applied," remarked an English statesman; "it will render republican France too strong in Europe." "We cheerfully accept this prediction," exclaims M. Sée, in a burst of patriotism.

"The results have surpassed our hopes," said M. Sée in 1889. "We studied what other nations¹ had done, and we thereby saw so clearly what we ought to do ourselves, that we have outstripped them." One of these results was the establishment of two admirable normal schools,—the Superior Primary Instruction Normal School at Fontenay-aux-Roses, near Paris, the like of which does not exist in any other country, M. Buisson² informs me, in that its pupils must be teachers before becoming pupils again, and which prepares principals and teachers for the primary normal schools and for the superior primary schools,—and the Superior Normal School of Girls' Secondary Instruction, which was founded in 1881 at Sèvres, also near Paris, and which is another creation of M. Sée, and it is the counterpart of the famous Paris Ecole Normale for men. The opening of these institutions called for an outlay of 2,400,000 francs in the single item of preparing the buildings. Between the years 1881 and 1887, 909 young women applied for admission, of which number 219 were received. In January, 1889, 153 of its graduates were professors in the various state institutions for girls, where they draw salaries ranging, in the *lycées*, from 4500 to 7000 francs per annum, and where they have aided in almost supplanting the male professors, who at first monopolized this field of work.

Progress may be reported also in the domain of higher or university education, as is evidenced by the following table, kindly furnished me by the director of

superior instruction, which gives the number of female students during the past four years in all the state schools of France for higher education:

	1889-90	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93
Law	3	2	2	2
Medicine	142	104	123	119
Sciences	28	23	22	26
Letters	111	222	158	173
Pharmacy	1	3
Miscellaneous	4	8	5	10
Totals.....	288	359	311	333

Much of the honor for this result belongs to Laboulaye, who once told me that when women first began to apply for admission to the Paris Medical School, the matter was referred to him for resolution by the then minister of public instruction. In his report Laboulaye recommended that if women were ready to pass the same examinations as men they be granted the same privileges as men. This rule was accepted, and has been applied ever since pretty generally throughout the whole French state school system.³

Though many students in the above table are foreigners, the number of Frenchwomen pursuing studies in the universities is steadily on the increase, a result due in large measure to the existence of the girls' *lycées*. Thus, in 1892 there were eighteen Frenchwomen in the Paris Medical School alone, and five pursuing scientific studies, while in the course in letters Frenchwomen were in a great majority among the female students, there being 82 French to 15 foreigners. Commenting on these figures, a leading Paris paper⁴ said: "It would seem, therefore, that women have definitely conquered a place in our universities. It is a revolution in our country accomplished pacifically, while women have been knocking in vain for years at the doors of the German universities."

Theodore Stanton.

The Question of Sex in Teachers' Salaries.

MR. M. BABCOCK, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Public Schools of San Francisco, writes to us as follows: "In the JUNE CENTURY, St. Paul is spoken of as the first city providing for equal pay for women and men teachers doing the same work. For the last nineteen years California has had a law recognizing the same principle. It reads as follows: 'Females employed as teachers in the public schools of this State shall, in all cases, receive the same compensation as is allowed to male teachers for like services, when holding the same grade certificates.'"

Mr. Babcock incloses a printed list of the schedule of salaries paid in the San Francisco school department in accordance with the above provision.

cles in France may be mentioned here. Last winter a graduate of the Paris Medical School, Dr. Blanche Edwards-Pillet, was made professor at the School for the Training of Male and Female Nurses in the Bicêtre Hospital. A few weeks later, Mlle. Jeanne Chauvin, LL. B., a graduate of the Paris Law School, was appointed to the chair of Domestic Law and Economy in the girls' *lycées* of Paris. Miss Klumpke—an American, by the way—was received by the late Admiral Mouchez as a special student in celestial mathematics, and appointed by him, while director of the Paris Observatory, head of the Bureau of Measurements, which important post she still fills with marked distinction.

⁴ "Le Temps," February 10, 1892.

¹ In his report on his own bill, laid before the Chamber of Deputies in 1879, and which fills one hundred pages, the account of female education in the United States comes first, and opens with these words: "No country began earlier nor has done more or better than the American republic." This report, and several other volumes—some of them quite rare—bearing on woman's education in France, and used in the preparation of this letter, have been deposited in the library of Cornell University.

² Director of Primary Instruction at the Department of Public Instruction, and one of the leading authorities in France on pedagogics.

³ One or two recent and rather remarkable examples of the very liberal way in which women are treated in official educational cir-

A Muzhik's Gratitude for the Gifts of Americans to Starving Russians.

MR. JONAS STADLING of Stockholm, author of the articles on the Russian famine in *THE CENTURY* for June and August, forwards the following translation of a letter which a Russian peasant addressed to the editor of the "Selsky Vestnik":

Through your paper I have learned that somewhere beyond the sea there is a country called America, and that there live merciful people who during our great distress gave us a helping hand, sending us large vessels with alms. Although I did not receive anything of the magnificent help from their hand, yet I rejoiced to think of some way of expressing to them my gratitude in remembrance of such an act in our dire distress, which we have had to pass through; and therefore I send three colored eggs for this day, when the whole world rejoices, and the angels in heaven sing, and even we sinful men here on earth sing with our mortal lips: *Christ is arisen!* Thus do also the poor people rejoice who have received this help from the Americans, and break out in exaltation singing to-day: *Christ is arisen!*

Thus far the letter to the editor. Inclosed was the following letter to the Americans, together with three colored eggs, which he asked the editor of "Selsky Vestnik" to forward to America. The letter reads as follows:

Christ is arisen! To the merciful benefactors, the protectors of the poor, the feeders of the starving, the guardians of the orphans,—to-day *Christ is arisen!* North Americans! May the Lord grant you a peaceful and long life and prosperity to your land, and may your fields give abundant harvest,—to-day *Christ is arisen!* Your mercifulness gives us a helping hand. . . . Through your charity you have satisfied the starving. . . . And for your magnificent alms accept from me this humble gift, which I send you, American commissioners, and to the entire America, for your great beneficence, from all the hearts of the poor, filled with feelings of joy. . . .

Yours in joy ever devotedly,

*Theophan Lukjano Poluschkine,
Peasant from the government and district
of Samara, the "volost" of Staradvoorjansky,
the village Vodjanay.*

March 15, 1893.

The Apprentices System in Switzerland.

IT is with great interest that I have read your article, "The Disappearance of the Apprentices System," in the June number of *THE CENTURY*.

In Switzerland, ten years ago, the tradesmen found that there was a general decline of good workmanship, resulting mainly from insufficient apprenticeship. The Society of Swiss Tradesmen has laid down rules as to how long a youth has "to serve his time" at such or such a trade (between 2½ and 5 years), and at the end of apprenticeship he has to pass an examination. In many instances the boy has to pay from 300 to 500 francs, besides finding his lodging and board. Sometimes he gets a little pay the last year of his time.

The tradesmen knew they could not turn back to the old ways of the "guilds," but united in not employing workmen who have not served their regular time. On an average, there is one apprentice allowed to three workmen. With very few exceptions, this system has worked well; we have better workmen, and we are sorry that generally the best leave for your country.

I was glad to find such technical schools as the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn and the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia. May not the further development of these schools help to solve this difficulty, if the tradesmen themselves will not or cannot take it in hand?

H. J. Burger,

*Judge for the Graphic Arts from the
Swiss Confederation.*

CHICAGO.

"The Century's" American Artists Series.

I. H. CALIGA.

MR. CALIGA is a native of Auburn, Indiana. In 1879, when twenty-two years old, he went to Munich, where he became a pupil of the celebrated Professor Lindenschmitt. He remained under his instruction until 1883, when he returned to Boston, Massachusetts. While in Munich, Mr. Caliga won several Academy medals. Although he is indebted to Munich for his art training, the pictures painted since his return home suggest little of the conventions of the Munich schools, and set forth only its best qualities. They are well drawn and constructed, are reserved and dignified in their brushwork, and show the thoughtful and earnest student.

W. Lewis Fraser.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Quits.

A DIALOGUE FARCE IN TWO SCENES.

I.

SCENE: An artist's studio. Sketches, drawings, paintings, and various properties displayed. An unfinished study upon an easel, before which PICTOR is at work.

PICTOR (*giving a touch or two to the canvas*):
"There! That's not so bad. I've certainly never done anything much better. Strange how easy it is, sometimes. Now, I worked all day at that thing yesterday, and then rubbed it all out. It goes just like rolling off a log, this morning. If I can only keep steadily at it without being interrupted, it will be done this afternoon. But, confound it all! there's sure to be some old bore poking around, and coming in just

when I'm doing the best work I'm capable of. I'll lock the door and lie low." (*Puts down palette and brushes, and rises to go to the door. Just then a knock is heard without.*) "I told you so! Come in!" (*Enter SCRIPTOR.*)

SCRIPTOR: "Thought it was a dun, I'll bet."

PICTOR: "No—not exactly."

SCRIPTOR: "Well, it is n't your washwoman, this time. I thought I'd drop in this morning to see whether you'd starved yet. There's one beauty about you artists, and that is the fact that it's always easy to find you alone. Now at our office there's always a lot of things going on—people coming in and going out—authors with manuscripts, and illustrators with sketches; so that we always seem busy, you know. There's no repose in a publisher's office."