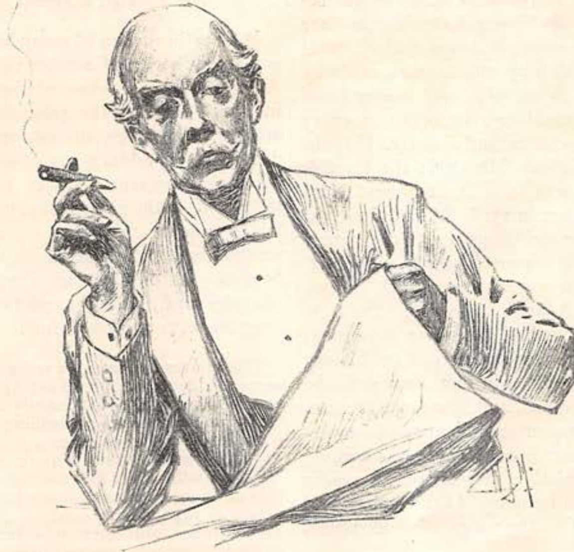
one o'clock. It appears he is an old friend of Mrs. Deepwater's, so I think I must cultivate her a little, and see if she cannot induce him to come to my house in that capacity, to amuse us. If she is intimate with all the leading professional celebrities, she might prove rather useful at times, and being such a humdrum little woman, she would expect nothing more in return than an occasional invitation to one of my big entertainments. The Patroon-Knickerbockers and old Dudley Hunter made up the rest of the party. On the whole, I am rather pleased that we went, though, to do so, I had at the last moment to throw over a state dinner given by your aunt Spuyten Duyvel to the Bishop, which I had accepted more than five weeks ago, and indeed I rather fancy that some of my *convives* did the same, for I know that the Patroon-Knickerbockers and Dudley Hunter were expected at your aunt's as well, while Meadowbrooke was due at a big débutante dinner. What do you think is the secret of this woman's success? Do explain it to me if you can."

Lester Raynor.



DUDLEY HUNTER.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

What is Political Economy?

WE doubt if the great mass of the American people realize to what extent their experience with financial problems during the last year or more has been a forced education in political economy. Most persons, when they hear the term political economy, think of an abstract and intricate science, abounding in laws and technical phrases about money, finance, trade, exchange, etc., all more or less beyond the comprehension of every one save those who because of their profession, or business, or lines of study, or mental inclination, have acquired a special knowledge on the subject. Now, while it is true that there are in every country comparatively few minds that are capable of so grasping the science of political economy as to become expert financiers, competent to direct the financial policy of a nation, or even to administer wisely the affairs of a bank or of a great corporation with large financial transactions, it nevertheless remains equally true that so far as political economy in its broadest sense is concerned, a comprehension of it lies easily within the grasp of every intelligent person.

Defined in the simplest and most accurate way, political economy is merely the result of the experience of the human race since the dawn of civilization in seeking to improve its material condition. The laws of political economy, like all natural laws, have been discovered by observation and experience. There was no invention of political economy as a science. The first men to make a written science of it did not invent it; they merely set down in scientific form the results of human experience down to their day. Newton discovered the law of gravitation, but he did not invent it. Quesnay, Turgot, and Adam Smith discovered the great laws of political economy, but they did not invent them. All that Adam Smith did was to create out of the results of human experience down to his time the written science which is known as political economy. He studied philosophically the various attempts which had been made by different nations in different times to better the material condition of their people, and observ-

ing, running through all these experiences, evidence that certain causes always produced certain results, he deduced and formulated the principles which lie at the foundation of the modern science of political economy. New principles have been added in precisely the same way since his time, and modern developments have supplanted some of his principles with other principles, made laws by the progress and growth of the human race; but the science to-day remains as he formulated it — the summary of the results of human experience.

What we have been doing in this country during the last year, or, more accurately, during the last fifteen years, has been to defy the results of this experience. We were not the first people to make this experiment. The readers of THE CENTURY who followed our series of articles on "Cheap-Money Experiments" are aware that long before the time of Adam Smith, and at repeated periods since his day, efforts were made by one nation after another to set aside and ignore those natural laws which he formulated, the result in every instance being the same — failure and disaster. He published his "Wealth of Nations" in 1776; the English Land Bank experiment was tried in 1696, and John Law's experiment in France in 1718. Behind these experiments were the same delusions about the nature and function of money that appeared later in support of the long series of similar experiments which various nations have made since Adam Smith wrote. Precisely the same delusions were behind the silver movement in this country. Every man who has read the history of political economy recognized in that movement the same fallacies, misconceptions, and ignorance of natural laws which have characterized all cheap-money experiments from the first to the last. There was nothing new in it; even the inevitable disaster which nearly wrecked the business and industry of the country, and brought the nation itself to the verge of bankruptcy, was as old as civilization.

There were in our silver experiment, as in all the other attempts to make money more plentiful by depreciating it and destroying its usefulness as a standard of value, many earnest and sincere men who believed that they had discovered something new in the domains of economic truth, that we as a nation were so situated and circumstanced that we could shut our eyes to the lessons of experience in other countries, and could go ahead safely on new principles of our own, evolved expressly for our special needs. The result showed that natural laws do not change with time, and that the nation which violates them must suffer the consequences just as surely in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth.

It cannot be that this lesson in what political economy actually is can be lost upon the American people. We believe that it will be many years before so disastrous an attempt will be made to ignore the results of human experience in the one field in which the welfare of all the people has most at stake. The natural well-being of man must be maintained in order that his moral well-being may exist and develop. In this sense the wise management of a nation's finances is the most important part of its government. There can be no such management if the teaching of the human race is ignored, and the natural laws deduced from that teaching are set at defiance. Hereafter, when any apostle of new doctrines of political economy comes before the people, let him be judged on this basis. If he shall deny the value of experience, the teaching of history, the "garnered wisdom of the ages," the people can surely set him down as a pestiferous quack, who is either too ignorant or too dishonest to be a safe guide.

Let us hope also that the lesson has been learned that, in the financial management of the Government, expert knowledge which is based upon long, intelligent, and thoughtful study of the science evolved from human experience is the only kind which the country can afford to employ. Other nations seek out this knowledge, and bring it into their service at any and all cost. Why should we be less wise than they?

The Foreign Element in Trade-Unions.

WE are in receipt of many letters commenting upon our recent series of articles upon American boys and American labor. Some of these — by far the larger number — confirm the general position taken in those articles, and a few dissent from it. The latter do not, however, adduce any official or other evidence to offset that presented by us, but uniformly stop with statements of the personal experience of the writers. A fair sample of this class of communications is one written by Mr. George L. McMurphy, Corresponding Secretary of the Tacoma Trades Council. Mr. McMurphy says, in the first part of his letter, which is too long for us to publish in full:

> The apprentice laws, or rules of the unions, which you seem to claim are adopted in a spirit of hostility to American labor, are adopted mainly for two reasons. First: with the purpose of controlling the number of men at work in the trade (in other words, controlling the supply of labor), with a view of more easily controlling wages. While I will admit this motive may be morally wrong, it is no more so, and no more to be condemned, than the action of sugar trusts, cordage trusts, whisky trusts, coal-oil combines, and the numberless other combinations of capital to control production for the purpose of controlling prices. But I think the main reason for restriction of the number of apprentices is that it is found to be absolutely necessary to prevent employers filling their shops with boys, called "apprentices," but who are given no chance to master the trade they are supposed to be learning, but are taught how to do one thing only, and kept at it, to the displacement of competent mechanics, because they can be hired cheaper.

This is clearly an admission that the trade-union rules, no matter what the motives behind them, do operate to keep boys from learning the trades. Mr. McMurphy goes on to say:

> In point of fact, there is no chance to-day for American youth to learn any trade, except when the trade is controlled by trade-unions. I am a carpenter by trade, and have worked at that trade, mostly as journeyman, for the past twenty-two years, and in Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Iowa, California, and this State, and during all that time, and over all that territory, have not worked where the number of apprentices was in any way restricted or controlled by any union, and yet, through all that time, I have found only *one* apprentice regularly indentured, and learning the trade.

Mr. McMurphy's point seems to be that the boys are not kept out of the trades by the hostility of the foreign element in the unions, but by their own disinclination to become apprentices. If he has read our articles carefully, he is aware that we have not charged upon the trade-unions the full responsibility for the passing away of the apprentice system. On the contrary, we

said in our second article in the series: "These [the unions] 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." Mr. McMurphy says that he is an American, born of American parentage, and strongly American in sentiment, and that in all his experience he has not found among trade-union membership that hostility to American labor and to American institutions which we have declared to exist. Our readers are familiar with the official evidence which we cited in support of our contentions on these points, and it is not necessary to reproduce it now. A later bit in the same direction comes to us from a correspondent in St. Paul, Minnesota, who wrote some months ago:

> In regard to the antagonism of labor-unions to American institutions, witness the action of the brewers in session recently, in which they unanimously determined and promulgated an order that no member of the brewers' union should become a member of the militia of any State, and that those now enlisted in the military service should leave it forthwith. This decision was followed by the coopers' union shortly afterward.
>
> If this policy is pursued by the other-labor unions, I presume it will be but a short time before a demand will be made for the abolition of all State military forces.

Of course this action amounts to rebellion, and if it were to be followed in practice the question of whether the State or the trade-union was the supreme power would have to be met and answered. In closing his letter, Mr. McMurphy makes a point which is worthy of thoughtful consideration:

> The fact that so large a percentage of the trade-unions' membership is of foreign birth is to be attributed to the blind selfishness of the American employer, who prefers the partly skilled workman of foreign birth, at a cheap price, to the skilled American, at a fair price, and will rather get along with the poor foreign article than offer any inducement, or chance even, for the American youth to perfect himself in his trade.

Popular Education in Citizenship.

ONE of the most healthful effects of the first national conference of municipal reform organizations, at Philadelphia in January last, has been the increased attention which has been given since to various plans and suggestions for arousing a more active interest in municipal politics. It is clear that many more persons are considering such matters now than ever before, and this fact of itself is ample justification of the wisdom of holding such conferences. We shall be very much surprised if next year's conference is not in attendance, weight of suggestion, and practical directness of discussion, a distinct advance over the first gathering. The first has sowed the seed of discussion in various quarters of the land, and unless all signs are misleading, there will be an encouraging crop of political results to be garnered when the second shall have come together.

Several notable aids to this discussion have been brought to our attention during the past few months in the form of books and pamphlets. Most of these relate to the problem of municipal government in the larger cities, for it is in these, of course, that aid is most needed. They are aimed very wisely at the dissemination of knowledge as to the exact working of the present political machinery, with a view to improvement after a thorough study shall have revealed the defects which are the main causes of existing evils. The first object is to awake interest, the second to encourage investigation, and the third to institute and carry out necessary reforms. In passing, we wish to commend the example of the "Wharton School of Finance and Economy," in setting its class of 1893 to the task of collecting material for, and inditing, essays on the various departments of the government of Philadelphia. The result of the work of these young men is given in a volume just issued, with a preface by Professor E. J. James, explaining the circumstances of its preparation. Similar work might be done by every college in the country, in relation to various phases of government.

Two very useful books are "Primary Elections," by Mr. Daniel S. Remsen of New York, published in Putnam's "Questions of the Day" series, and a "Handbook for Philadelphia Voters," compiled by Mr. Charles A. Brinley, and published by the Wharton School. The first of these gives clear and concise summaries of the rules and methods which are at present observed by political parties in their primaries, county organizations, State and National conventions, in all parts of the country. The working of these is explained clearly, and the evils attendant upon them are pointed out. Mr. Remsen follows this exposition with a discussion of various plans for improvement, including plural and quota elections, direct nominations, proportional representation, secret voting by blanket-ballot in the primaries, and the nomination of candidates by politicians in the primaries. His point of view is that the primary is the pivot of reform, that the control of the primary carries with it the control of the party, the convention, and the nominations, and hence the primary determines both the character of the party, and the quality of popular government.

Mr. Brinley's handbook gives the Philadelphia voter full information as to the laws of citizenship and naturalization, qualifications of electors, boundaries of election, congressional and legislative districts and wards, lists of elective and appointive officers, dates of party meetings and primaries, rules of both political parties, principles and by-laws of the Municipal League, the ballot law, the anti-bribery and fraud laws, digest of the city charter, and of laws passed by the last legislature—in short, information of every kind which a voter may need to enable him to cast his vote intelligently. The book is a model of its kind, and every city in the land should have one similar to it for wide distribution among its voters.

A pamphlet by the same author, entitled "Citizenship," is deserving of equally warm commendation. It consists mainly of the results of a novel expedition which Mr. Brinley put on foot. He sent out a young man, recently out of college, with directions to obtain exact information about the places in the public service concerning which as a voter he was entitled to express his will at the polls. He put the results of his inquiries in writing as quickly as possible after each day's search, and these Mr. Brinley has given in his pamphlet under the title, "Report of a Voter in Search of his Rights." It took this voter several hours a day for six weeks to gather this information. He was delegated next to look into the question of primary elections in

the same way, and the results of this inquiry are included in the pamphlet. The reading of the reports on these two expeditions is most instructive, showing as it does how dense is the ignorance of the average intelligent voter in a large city on all matters pertaining to an election in which he takes part—ignorance as to candidates, to offices, to methods, to district boundaries—in fact, everything.

Mr. Brinley says in his comments upon the contents of his pamphlet:

> A great deal of thought has been expended upon methods of reform, and upon some way of getting from the people a better expression of their preferences in caucus or at primary elections. How would it do for reformers to turn their attention to putting voters in possession of exact knowledge as to their elementary privileges and duties; and to posting them as to the exact means by which they may use the former and fulfil the latter?
> . . . The individual voter must be held up to his work, and a way found to get it into his head what his work really is, and how to do it like an honest man and a civilized being, who has some conception of his relations to society. . . . Cannot the idea of good government—honest government—participated in by all, from the careful voter at the primaries to the chief of his representatives, be made a new watchword? Is not Citizenship to-day a greater word for us than Liberty? If it cannot become so, the time is near when we will have to use liberty with new meanings to invoke salvation from new and strange tyrannies.

This, it seems to us, sounds the true watchword for the campaign of education which is before all municipal reformers—a campaign of education in citizenship. Until the respectable and intelligent portions of the population of our large cities can be brought to take an active interest in city politics and city government, it is of small use to talk about improved methods for conducting primaries. The first thing to do is to get the people who are in favor of reform into the primaries. They do not go there now, and they will not be attracted there by improvement in primary methods. Nothing will take them there but interest in public affairs, and that can be awakened only by educating them in civic pride, or to a proper sense of what their citizenship implies. There can be no surer way of doing this than by disseminating widely books and pamphlets of the kind we have mentioned. Every voter who has one of these in his possession is certain to be influenced by it to take a more active part in the city government under which he lives.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Common Sense of Civil Service Reform.

A LETTER FROM COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT.

IT is always a surprise to me that the Congressmen from the outlying districts fail to understand the immense advantage their constituents receive from the civil-service law. Under the old spoils system the people who are nearest the centers of influence are sure to have the best chance to get appointments. The man who can get to Washington readily and badger his Congressman, or badger the head of a department, has opportunities which are not open to the man who lives in northern Michigan or in Louisiana or on the Pacific coast. Under the civil-service law, on the contrary, each State gets its proper quota of appointments. Thus, during the four years of President Harrison's administration, the Commission succeeded, for the first time, in getting the quotas of the Southern States level with the quotas of the Northern. Four or five hundred appointments in the departmental service at Washington during Harrison's administration were made from the Southern States, and at least two thirds of the men thus appointed were white Democrats. The majority of the remainder were colored Republicans. The law thus worked well in two ways. In the first place, the young white Democrats who thus got in were appointed purely because of their merit, without the exercise of any political influence. They were given the chance to earn their livelihood and serve the Government solely by the civil-service law; and not one of them would have been appointed save for this law; and but for its existence the appointments would not have been evenly distributed among the States. No section of the country has benefited more by this law than the South.

In the next place, the colored people appointed were not men of the ordinary colored politician stamp, with which we are unhappily familiar. They were bright, educated young fellows, often graduates of the colored colleges, of the class whose members have very few avenues of employment open to them, and who most need to have these avenues made more numerous. The civil-service law has thrown open one more walk of honorable employment to colored people who are striving to win their way upward.

I wish that the plain, sensible people of the country, those who are interested in decent politics, and not in office-mongering and office-jobbing, would make some of the Congressmen who declaim against the civil-service law understand that it is not safe always to pander to stupid or dishonest voters. The civil-service reform law is, in its essentials, a law to provide for entrance to and retention in office upon grounds of merit alone, and to do away with bribery by means of offices. In the last analysis, it is as immoral to bribe with an office as it is to bribe with money; and those Congressmen and politicians who want to repeal the civil-service law occupy a position quite as indefensible as if they wished to repeal the laws forbidding bribery at elections. They stand as the apostles of the dishonest in our public life.

The enactment of the civil-service law has brought a better class of clerks into the public service, and has enabled these employees to live more as reputable American citizens should live. They are enabled to provide for their wives and families, and to look to the future in a way that they could not possibly do so long as they were dependent for their livelihood upon doing the bidding of some local boss. Often clerks come to Washington not with the intention of staying permanently in the government service, but with the intention of putting

in their evening hours in studying some profession, which they would be unable to study in their country homes. Thoroughly capable men, while in the lower grades, can often do this without in any way interfering with their government work. I recall, for instance, a young fellow from Maine, wholly without political influence, who got an appointment under us in Washington. He stayed three years, rendering entirely satisfactory service to the Government, but during that time he also pursued his studies as a medical student, so that he was able to leave the government service, and complete his medical course abroad, and is now a practising physician. Another young man, whose case was brought to my notice, was from a country district in Texas. He was poor, the only son of a widow; he had educated himself at the local district school, and by studying at home during the evenings; he was ambitious, and wished to study law, but had no chance to study law where he was, and no chance to go anywhere else, because he had no money. He had no political or social influence whereby to secure an appointment on the grounds of patronage; but he entered one of our civil-service examinations, and, merely on his merits, won a position of a thousand dollars. On the lonely farm where he had been he could never have earned a third of this amount; neither could he have studied his profession at the little cross-roads village which was his post-office. Coming to Washington, he took night-courses in law, being also a faithful and efficient government clerk. He succeeded in being admitted to the bar, and after a few years he left the service, was taken into partnership, and is now a prosperous young lawyer in a thriving county-seat town. I am taking these instances almost at random; they could be paralleled in hundreds of cases.

Contrast the above with the experience of the man who gets his appointment under the spoils or patronage system. In the first place, he must sacrifice his self-respect by asking as a favor what under the civil-service law he gets as a right. He has to go through that most disagreeable experience of kicking his heels in the antechambers of the temporarily great. He has to sue for his appointment, intrigue for it, and usually has to do some kind of political work for local ward politicians as a price of their backing. Once in, he may or may not do his duty to the Government, but he is obliged all the time to be uneasily aware that he owes his retention to political influence, and that he must at all hazards retain this influence or be turned out.

The civil-service law does good service in raising the character of our government work; but the best service it renders is to our public life, for it wars against the foul system which treats government offices as forming a vast bribery chest with which to corrupt voters. It wars against a system to which more than to any other one thing we owe what is evil and undesirable in American political life.

Theodore Roosevelt.

General Hill's Article on Stonewall Jackson.

IN the February number of THE CENTURY there is an article by General D. H. Hill, entitled "The Real Stonewall Jackson," and purporting to be confined mainly to the personal recollections of the writer, and to the "relation of incidents and anecdotes which he knew of his own knowledge to be true." After referring to the way in which General Taylor came to be called "Old Rough and Ready," he proceeds to state:

> In like manner a letter written from the field of the first Manassas gave Jackson the cognomen of "Stonewall," and told a very pretty story about General Bee pointing to him, and saying, "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." Not only was the tale a sheer fabrication, but the name was the least suited to Jackson, who was ever in motion, "swooping like an eagle on his prey."

This assertion of General Hill is as unfortunate as unfounded. There may be a "cloud of witnesses" yet alive who heard General Bernard E. Bee so speak of General Jackson and his Virginians. Of this number I am one, and perhaps was nearer to him than any other person at the time when, in the excitement of the moment, he pronounced a sentence which stamped upon a hero and his brigade a cognomen which is as enduring as the history of their deeds, and with which that of General Bee will always be associated. The "pretty story" was not told by "a letter written from the field," but was told at General Joseph E. Johnston's headquarters by myself, one of his staff-officers, the day after the battle, and no doubt was also told by the Carolinians whom Bee rallied, and in this way was caught up by the soldiers, and its truth established in the minds and hearts of the entire army.

At the request of General Johnston I wrote an account of this first battle of Manassas a few days after it occurred. I mentioned this incident, which he himself witnessed. In 1879 the same facts were stated in a sketch of General Jackson, written at the request of the trustees of the Stonewall Jackson Institute of Abingdon, Va. Lest any material error might be made, I sent a copy of that portion of the address which embraced an account of the battle to General Johnston for his criticism and correction. His reply is dated White Sulphur Springs (Va.), September 3, 1879, and contains these extracts:

> Your letter of August 20 came in due time. . . . I will not undertake to criticize your account of the battle of Manassas, for your impressions are perhaps as correct as mine. Now, Cousin Tom [we were kinsmen, and friends from childhood], remember that you saw as much of this battle as any one, and therefore there is no earthly reason why you should not prefer and adhere to your own opinions in the two points in which we differ [viz., as to the position of some of the troops].

The incidents connected with and preceding this designation of General Jackson and his brigade, as told at the time, are simply these:

When General Johnston and General Beauregard with their staffs and escorts reached the vicinity and rear of the conflict, in an open field a dispirited-looking body of men were seen standing along an old fence. General Johnston, accompanied by one of his staff (the writer), turned his horse toward the center of the line, and, approaching the color-bearer, asked, "What regiment is this, and what are you doing here?" He was answered: "It is the 4th Alabama. Our officers have been disabled or killed, and there is no one to command us." General Johnston put his hand upon the flagstaff, and said: "Give me your flag, and I will lead you. Follow me." The standard-bearer retained his hold upon the staff,

and, looking up to the general, as he walked quickly by the side of his horse, said, "General, don't take my colors from me. Tell me where to carry them, and I will plant them there." The general saw that the regiment advanced with spirit, and, relinquishing his hold upon the flagstaff, soon put Colonel R. S. Gist, one of General Bee's staff, in command. In confirmation of this fact, see General Johnston's "Narrative," page 48. His modesty and self-abnegation did not permit any allusion to the conspicuous part he had just performed. The regiment had hardly passed beyond General Johnston and me when General Bee rode up, and, as he faced General Johnston, dropped the reins of his bridle, and in a voice tremulous with emotion, the tears rolling down his cheeks, said, "General, my command is defeated and scattered, and I am alone." General Johnston in the kindest and gentlest tones replied, "I know it is not your fault, General Bee; but don't despair, the day is not lost yet." A few moments of conversation followed, and then General Johnston, pointing to some men lying along a fence, asked, "What men are these?" General Bee turned to look, and replied, "They are South Carolinians." General Johnston said, "Rally them, and lead them back into the fight." I was assigned to the same duty, and was near General Bee when he appealed to them as South Carolinians to sustain the reputation of their State, and, pointing to General Jackson's brigade (a part of which could be distinctly seen) exclaimed, "Look, there is Jackson with his Virginians standing like a stone wall against the enemy." * The men were aroused by these appeals, and, falling into line, were led toward the front, where General Bee, gathering other portions of his command, led the charge in which he fell mortally wounded.

I must, in conclusion, be pardoned for saying that General D. H. Hill does not present the "Real Stonewall Jackson" in all the fullness of his striking characteristics as he is known to his friends, and appears to those who have studied his private life and military career. What I have written is only to vindicate and establish the truth of history. I leave it with you to decide whether or not the correction shall follow the same channel as the mistakes of a brave soldier, scholar, and gentleman, who was often a careless writer and collator of facts.

Thomas L. Preston.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, February 24, 1894.

Stonewall Jackson at Port Republic.

IN the February number of THE CENTURY, General D. H. Hill says that the incident of the Yankee gunner and Stonewall Jackson at Port Republic is romantic, but false.

I was a member of Company F, Ninth Louisiana Volunteers, and was at Port Republic on the day of the battle. I was ill, and with a small number of other sick soldiers was ordered to cross from the north side of the river to the side on which Port Republic is situated, and to go in the direction of the baggage trains. We crossed the river a little above the bridge in a skiff, after which most of the men went directly toward the baggage train, while I and a comrade by the name of Jones, a member of the same company, went to the pike, and proceeded down toward the bridge. When about seventy-five or a hundred yards from the bridge we saw three or four Federal soldiers with a cannon at the south entrance of the bridge pointing through it, and on the same side of the bridge with us. We were starting to run when we saw General Jackson, alone, coming down the road at a gallop. He had on his old cap, but wore a United States Army overcoat, and rode by, passing within ten feet of us, in the direction of the gun. I heard him say: "Why did you put that gun there? Why don't you remove it down there? Don't you see the enemy over yonder?" pointing to our troops on the north side of the river, and also to a level place a little below the bridge, and a short distance from the mouth of it. The Yankees at once moved the gun to the place indicated by General Jackson, who immediately rode through the bridge as fast as he could go, and waved his cap to his men, who began firing, and soon drove the gun away. There were other Federal troops to be seen down the river at the time. I knew General Jackson by sight, perfectly, and cannot be mistaken. My comrade Jones, I think, is dead. I have often mentioned the scene to my fellow-soldiers during and since the war.

R. S. Fortson.

SAN MARCOS, TEXAS.

The Depletion of American Forests.

A WRITER in the January number of THE CENTURY, under the title of "The Vanishing Moose," makes a statement which I think may be very misleading, if not erroneous. On page 345 he says: "Of the great forests that absolutely *covered* the Eastern and Northwestern States, and served as the home of vast numbers of animals, *scarcely anything is left*." The italics are mine.

As to the Eastern States, the above is undoubtedly correct; but as a sweeping characteristic of the Northwestern States, I am sure the author of "The Vanishing Moose" is much in error.

Take, for instance, the State of Washington, the most northwestern State in the Union. Within its limits only the fringe of the lumber forests has as yet been cut away. The most carefully prepared statistics, gathered down to as late a date as January 1, 1894, show the number of standing feet of timber in the State of Washington to be 410,000,000,000, of which not quite 1,000,000,000 feet are cut and marketed each year. From these data it is easy to see that the forests of the State will be exhausted only about four hundred years hence.

To be sure, some little destruction goes on in the way of clearing and burning away timber to fit the land for agricultural pursuits, but this is chiefly on tracts that have already been exhausted by the machinery of logging. Instead of attacking land that is wholly new, the farmer selects those districts from which all wood valuable for lumber has been removed. Thus the heaviest is out of the way.

Forest fires are unknown in the State of Washington, so that destruction of her forests in this manner is not yet a source of anxiety.

The data I have given above apply with almost equal force to Oregon, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. It may

* This incident was also witnessed by Mr. Barna McKinne, at that time a private in the Fourth Alabama, and subsequently chief quartermaster on General G. W. Smith's staff.— EDITOR.

therefore be safely inferred that much of the forests of the Northwestern States yet remains.

SNOHOMISH, WASHINGTON. *W. T. Elwell.*

REJOINDER BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE VANISHING MOOSE."

THE term "Eastern and Northwestern States" in my article was meant to refer to the two original forest areas in this country, and the State of Washington is in some respects the least injured of the whole district; but even in Washington the area of virgin forest has been very seriously diminished.

The figures Mr. Elwell quotes are of no value as showing decrease of forest area, because his ratio between the number of feet of standing timber and the number of feet annually marketed does not show the ratio between what is annually cut, cleared, or burned (or, in other words, destroyed) and what is left untouched. The timber marketed is only a fraction of what is cut, and in a new country rapidly being settled the amount cut by lumbermen is only a fraction of what is cleared. To this must be added the timber burned, which in the Northwest is very great. Within the last two years the Olympic peninsula has been badly burned, and in 1880 alone, the last year for which figures are attainable, 37,910 acres, valued at $713,200, were destroyed by fire in the State of Washington. This effectually disposes of Mr. Elwell's statement that "forest fires are unknown in the State of Washington."

The only way to judge of the destruction of forests in the United States is to consider the number of square miles of timber-lands annually cleared in any manner, whether by settlement, fire, or lumbering. Judged by this standard, not only Washington, but the other Northwestern States, would make a sorry showing.

The destruction of forests in this country is, indeed, so very far advanced that it is, or ought to be, a source of anxiety to patriotic men not wholly absorbed in realizing on the heritage of the centuries for their own financial advancement and the impoverishment of coming generations. In evidence of this, let me quote from a letter just received from Dr. John D. Jones, assistant chief in the Division of Forestry at Washington, D. C., who is widely known as an authority on the subject:

"At the present rate of destruction, together with the enormous increasing demands, the timber-lands of the United States, unless some radical action is taken *at once*, will, *in a very short time*, be a thing of the past."

Madison Grant.

The English Language in America.

THERE has been from time to time serious talk, even in England, of the reform of English orthography. The word is a misnomer in relation to the English language, for there is nothing orthographic in it. No language, except perhaps the Etruscan, was ever reduced to such phonetic decay. The simplest and most easily acquired, as speech, of all European languages, its spelling brings the foreigner to despair. It is impossible for any man who has learned the sounds given to the letters of it, and acquired them in the highest possible exactitude as elements, to go on from that and learn to talk it so as to be generally understood. This is a disgraceful fact, explain it how we may.

The business world is meanwhile persistently clamoring and searching for a universal language, and Volapük has even been acquired by thousands of malcontents, in the whimsical faith that a language without literature and without roots in the habits of mankind can be coaxed into vitality by the more or less philosophic considerations that it favors no existing language, impartially borrows from all, lends to none, and therefore can excite the jealousy of nobody. The only apology for this unfathomable absurdity is that the owners of the existing languages refuse to adapt them to the uses of humanity at large. To say that our language is the simplest of the European tongues in its grammar, in its construction of phrase, and especially in its inflections, is to claim what nobody contests; and that it is the easiest to learn is a common remark by those who have studied it, but coupled always with the qualifying criticism that the written word gives but a poor indication of the pronunciation. Make it phonetically correct, and it becomes the easiest language to acquire in the world, and supersedes Volapük and all its substitutes. This is for the foreigner; but for ourselves there is a kindlier service in the elementary education of our children. As this is now carried on, it requires in many cases two or three years for a child to learn to read, and, in not a few, many years to master the spelling of the language. By a phonetic system this time is reduced, for any language, to six weeks, on an average. This I observed during the troubles in the Herzegovina in 1876, when thousands of refugee children in Dalmatia, almost entirely the descendants of illiterate ancestors from time immemorial, were gathered into schools instituted for them in the cities which gave them refuge. These children, of ages from two or three up to ten and twelve, using the Cyrillic alphabet, which is strictly phonetic, required, on an average, as I found by many inquiries from the priests in charge of the schools, only six weeks to learn to read.

In the primary education of my own children I have to a satisfactory extent proved the same advantages in a phonetic system of teaching. A friend of our family who was an enthusiast in all reforms of education — Mrs. Margaret Merington, the daughter of the Mr. Hamilton who was known sixty years ago as the inventor of improved methods of instruction — had as long ago as 1828 elaborated an alphabet which proposed a distinct character for every sound in the language, preceding Pitman by some time in the publication of it. The scheme failed to receive support, being far too radical and too early for the English public. Some years after, Mrs. Merington, always turning the subject in her mind, and spending the most of the time she could spare from her family in teaching foreign languages to poor governesses or English to poor foreigners, contrived a modification of the actual alphabet for this purpose, and at her own expense had a font of type cast, and text-books printed, in which the English letters of common use were distinguished by accents and other modifications, so as to give a definite value to every letter. I had had so much experience of crowding the minds of little children, and its disastrous effects on the brain, that I had made a rule that none of my children should be set to learn their letters before the age of seven; and at this age Mrs. Merington took two of them in succession to teach them to read by the improved

alphabet. Though one of the children was slow to learn, and neither very precocious, both learned to read in the same time,— six weeks,—and one of them, on being transferred to books in the common character, found no difficulty in spelling or pronouncing, but read with fluency books in the usual type suited to her age, and followed the customary routine afterward. The other had for some time a tendency to "incorrect" spelling, but not more than some people retain all their lives in spite of all education.

The system of Mrs. Merington not only provided the distinct character for every sound in the language, but that the sound should be taught in such a way that it combined naturally with the adjoining ones; *i. e.*, instead of giving the letters names as in the Alpha-Beta-Gamma system, each letter was given the articulation it had in all cases, B for instance being neither *bee* nor *eb*, but simply *b* isolated from any vowel or other consonant sound. This being thoroughly accepted, the coupling of the consonant with each vowel at need was the natural consequence of articulation, and the letters ran into words without giving rise to any perplexity. In default of such a system, children set to learn the English language have many months of painful perplexity over their spelling-books, and in general do not succeed in learning to read fluently till they have come to distinguish the words by their individual physiognomy, which is a late acquisition to all, and impossible to many, while it often happens that the conventional spelling of many words is never acquired even by people devoted to literature. The proof-readers of any of our principal periodicals can attest to this fact.

The suggestion of the Americanization of the English language carries with it as the logical consequence a radical reform which the insular mind is too conservative to accept, but which will, when accepted by the expanding branch of the race, so facilitate the acquisition of the language that no excuse will remain for the construction of a new universal speech; and it will at once establish the position of our tongue as not only the simplest in construction and the widest in extent and therefore the most useful, but as the most easily acquired of all human languages. But to this end the reform must be radical. It is trifling with the subject to throw out a useless *gh* here and a superfluous *m* or *l* there; not only must the useless be eliminated, but the incorrect and inexact must be made correct and exact; there must be no two characters for the same sound, or two sounds for the same character. But we are mostly too conservative to adopt the form of the Artemus Ward literature — mainly, I imagine, because we consider that we might be confounded with the illiterate, and because we do not like to forfeit the credit of having learned our language in the difficult way; and also, to a large extent, because we are attached to the old forms, and do not trouble ourselves for those who are to come after. Language is a tool, but from time unknown the human mind has resisted the change of forms of tools to which the human hand has become accustomed. The change must therefore be radical in character, but conservative in form, and the means of combining these conditions is furnished by the Merington alphabet. For the silent letters it employs italics; for the sounded vowels, accents; and for sounded consonants, modifications of the forms so slight as not to offend the accustomed sense, while they convey to the beginner all that is requisite in the indication of modification of sound. The printed page, therefore, corresponds so nearly to the present form that the eye is not offended, the history of the language is kept intact, and the books already printed will have only a slightly archaic character to those who follow us, while the words once learned in the new character will be perfectly well known in the old. That afterward the progressive reform shall proceed little by little to throw out the useless letters, and insist more forcibly on the differentiation of the modified, we cannot foresee or provide for or against. What is certain is, that a reform will come when the desire for it has reached the requisite strength; and the longer that reform is delayed, the more reckless of conservative conditions it will be, and the more our immediate successors will have lost. And, after all, the changes will be only the putting of what we now get in our dictionaries into our text-books. But with this change an intelligent foreigner can learn English in six months, not only, as now, to read it, but to be able to speak it intelligibly and correctly — an accomplishment which is usually the result of years of study.

W. J. Stillman.

"The Century's" American Artist Series.

FREDERICK W. FREER. (See page 57.)

FREDERICK W. FREER became first known to American art-lovers early in the eighties by his water-colors, which, although narrow in their range of subjects, were attractive and taking, delightful in their color-sense, and always pictorial. It was some years later that he gained the place he now occupies as an expert and facile worker in oil.

In the eighties Freer's pictures, as was natural, showed much of the influence of Munich, for he had been a student at the Royal Academy in that city since 1867. Later he threw off the Munich yoke, and seemed for a year or two to lean toward Paris. His mature work does not savor of any special school or method.

Freer was born in Chicago in 1849. He studied both in Munich and Paris for nearly fourteen years, and returned to America and settled in New York in 1880. During the last few years he has lived in his native city. He is a member of the Society of American Artists, and of the American Water Color Society, and an associate of the National Academy of Design. He gained a medal at the Columbian Exposition.

I doubt not that Mr. Freer has as much difficulty with his medium as most artists have, but his "facture" is so well hidden, his brush-work is so facile and pleasant, that his pictures are grateful alike to the professional and the unprofessional eye, because they possess the rare quality of *seeming* to have been easily done.

W. Lewis Fraser.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A National Injury and Idiocy.

THE absolute necessity of abolishing the spoils system in connection with consular offices was never more lucidly set forth than by the ex-ministers of the United States whose interesting opinions are given in this number of THE CENTURY. Only one opinion is in favor of the old system. The boards of trade of the country are putting themselves on record to the same effect. The reform is demanded by the business interests of the nation, but it is even more peremptorily demanded by the conscience of the country, which is continually offended by the spectacle afforded by the foolish and cruel displacement of public officers in order that their salaries may be used as party rewards.

At the recent dinner of the New York Board of Trade, Representative W. L. Wilson, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, announced, amid enthusiastic applause, his opposition to the spoils system, and pledged his services to the cause of its abolition, declaring that "the greatest of all the reforms yet to be accomplished is the reform of the civil service, National, State, and municipal." This is far from being the opinion of the ordinary partizan, but it is, we believe, the feeling of the most intelligent and disinterested statesmen of both parties; and both parties are thoroughly committed to the reform. Even some of the old-fashioned "politicians" are beginning to look to the merit system as a relief from dangerous and unendurable annoyance — are beginning, in fact, to realize that patronage is the stumbling-block of parties as well as of partizans.

The spoils system is an evil wherever it is applied, but in connection with the consular service it is a palpable and continuing national injury and idiocy.

Bosses.

REFORMERS of our political methods, especially in municipal affairs, will not be able to start with clear eyes upon the work before them until they realize that the machines and bosses of all parties differ only in their party labels. In their principles and practices they are all alike, and are all bad. They are all in politics for what "there is in it," and their chief purpose is to make the profits of the business as great as possible. Rather than see their business injured by the success of reform movements and the enactment of reform legislation, they waive their party differences and unite for mutual protection. They do this sometimes openly, sometimes in secret; but they never fail to do it when a reform movement becomes formidable enough to threaten their welfare.

Instances of this can be cited in abundance. A few years ago there had been revealed gross abuses in the conduct of municipal officers in Philadelphia. The honest citizens of all parties united in the support of candidates of high character and ability as successors of the unfaithful officials. The machines of the two great political parties united openly upon the two most objectionable of these officials, and by combining their votes upon them reëlected them. In the city of New York it has been a regular practice for many years for the machine of one political party to help the machine of an opposing party to carry its primaries and to defeat movements which had been designed to rid the organization of dishonest members. This has been done in order to keep both machines in the hands of men who will be willing at election time to make "deals" for the benefit of both, at the public expense. Sometimes the reward for aid in the primaries has been given in the form of a nomination of a third candidate in a critical campaign, thus bringing about a three-cornered contest, and insuring the success of the least desirable candidate.

In the larger field of State politics the same union has been made many times. One corrupt machine, after several years of misgovernment and debasing use of office and power, has been overthrown, and the people have looked confidently to the establishment of many and lasting reforms by the party which has succeeded it. But the reforms, though promised profusely before election, are not granted. They are talked about, formulated in bills, and debated in the legislature, but they seldom become laws unless they have been shorn of nearly or quite all their reforming qualities. Before election it may have been shown that the public service of the State had been filled with incompetent and dishonest employees, that the number of places had been enormously increased by the straining of the provisions of the laws, that the civil-service regulations had been either defied or suspended, and that all this had been done to give greater sustenance to the machine at the expense of the taxpayers. After election there may have been heard for a time much brave talk about a full exposure of these abuses, and about their complete reform, but it has soon died away. Rarely is an exposure made, or a thorough reform attempted, simply because the machine that has come into power has caught sight of the good things which the outgoing machine has been enjoying, and desires to possess them.

The first object of every machine is to obtain places and spoils for its followers. For this reason it always opposes any reform which will diminish the number of offices, and the amount of the spoils. It is accordingly always opposed to any movement for the overthrow of a corrupt machine, unless the outcome is to be its own succession to the emoluments of the position. If it can rule in the place of the overturned machine, it will fight the latter to the death; but if the result is to be the destruction of the system of politics behind the offending machine, it will compromise with it for a division of the spoils, and for the perpetuation of the system which nourishes them. For this reason so notoriously corrupt an organization as Tammany Hall has been spared repeatedly from exposure and overthrow by the opposing machine, which was ostensibly its bitterest enemy.

There was an election in a small city in New York

State not long ago in which the honest citizens of all parties made a determined effort to oust from power a corrupt and intolerable local machine. The contest was a fierce one, resulting in a murder at the polls; but the figures of the returns show that the ruling machine was saved from overthrow by the support given to it by its rival organization. In another city in the same State, where the respectable members of the Democratic party repudiated their party machine, and put in nomination a ticket of honest and capable men, the leaders of the machine joined hands with the Republican machine, and put up a "mixed" ticket composed in equal parts of men of their own kind, which was elected.

Instances of this kind are of frequent occurrence in all parts of the land in which modern machine politics have been developed. They show that the source of all machine evil is the spoils system, and that the deadliest blow that could be struck at bosses and their business would be the abolition of that system. If they had no spoils to distribute, the bosses could not keep their machines together for an hour. Yet so long as they have spoils, the bosses will live and flourish, and will use all their bad power to increase the evils upon which their machines exist and fatten. It is folly to think that one boss or one machine is any better than another boss and another machine, simply because the two wear different party labels. Both are corrupt, and are the agents and promoters of corruption. They are not politicians in any reputable sense of the word, but are the gamblers and brigands of politics, who are doing more than all other influences combined to make popular government a byword and a reproach the world over.

Hard Times and Business Methods.

It was said in the first few months of the "hard times" which during the past year have been felt all over the world, that only those business concerns had failed which deserved to fail. By this was meant that the first and surest victims of the contraction of credit or confidence, which was the main cause of the hard times, were those persons or houses that were conducting their business on other than the most approved and conservative methods. Some of them had been mixing politics with their business, trusting in political influence to atone for shortcomings in their methods, or deficiencies in their capital. Others had for years been gradually increasing their business, without a corresponding increase in their capital, till they had passed the point of safety.

When the pressure of hard times came, the weakest went to the wall first, because their credit was the least able to withstand contraction. As we have pointed out in our financial discussions in this department of THE CENTURY, ninety-five per cent. of all the business of the world is conducted on credit, and only five per cent. of it on actual money. The first shock to credit, which is another word for confidence, is fatal to those persons who have not the five per cent. basis of money. They cannot sustain even the first suspicion as to their credit. The moment that they cannot borrow they are doomed. Next after them must fall those who, while having a sufficient basis of money in times of ordinary confidence, cannot keep their heads above water after the conditions of borrowing have become more stringent.

The whole credit system, having once taken the alarm, becomes so sensitive that all borrowers are more or less under suspicion, and all of them find it more and more difficult daily to obtain that credit which is necessary to their business existence.

The result is that as the hard times continue, many a business that has been conducted successfully and honorably for years, mainly upon borrowed capital, is forced to suspend. Sometimes its creditors consent to a settlement at 30 cents, or 50 cents, or 75 cents on a dollar, and the business is resumed. At other times the failure is so complete as to become permanent, and the business ceases to exist. In all cases there are heavy losses to many persons besides those immediately involved. Business of all kinds suffers because every suspension or failure adds to the impairment of credit by making it more timid. Many people find their income impaired because their capital is earning less than before or is lying idle. The banks and other financial institutions, not being able or willing to lend the funds intrusted to their care, are able to pay only reduced dividends or interest upon them, or none at all. Thus society suffers in all its ranks — the careful and honorable business man with the reckless and dishonest one, the workingman who is deprived of employment, the widow and orphan who live upon invested money, the merchant who can transact only a third or a half of his ordinary business, the rich man who can no longer lend his wealth with safety.

What is the lesson of this experience? In the first place, it is that only the best and most honorable business methods are safe in time of severe trial. Whoever else survives such crises, the lax and unsound business man is certain to go under. The business which is conducted on the most conservative and honorable lines stands the best chance of surviving all shocks.

We do not think it one of the lessons of the hard times that business should not be transacted so largely upon credit. While many a business honorably and carefully conducted mainly on credit has been carried down during the prolonged depression we are considering, we doubt very much if the number would have been less had the proportion of actual money to credit been larger. A liberal credit basis is of great value to the whole community. It increases enormously the volume of business, and reduces the prices of commodities because it is actually cheaper to conduct a business on borrowed, than upon one's private, capital. Free and general borrowing of money makes the loaning of it easy, and thus earns for its possessors, the great bulk of whom are always the poor and those in moderate circumstances, a sure income upon their savings.

The great lesson to be learned is the same one that was taught by our silver experience, and has been taught by all cheap-money experiments that the world has ever known, and that is that any and every kind of public agitation or legislation which impairs credit by shaking public confidence is to be avoided like a scourge. When credit is unquestioned, there is no danger to any honorably and intelligently conducted business with only five per cent. basis of actual money. A man who can keep a bank account of $20,000 in visible cash can do a business of half a million dollars with perfect safety so long as he fulfils all his obligations and maintains the confidence or good opinion of his fellow-merchants. The first duty of every merchant, and in

fact of every citizen, is to oppose at all times every scheme or proposal which in the slightest degree disturbs public confidence, for upon the preservation of this the welfare of the entire community hangs. The harm done by shaking public credit is only less than that done by destroying it, for there is no more paralyzing influence to put into the channels of industry and business than the element of uncertainty, either as to the money standard of value, or as to the prices of commodities as these are influenced by legislation. It would be an incalculable boon to the country were Congress to realize that promptness is the first and imperative requisite of all financial or industrial legislation. It is uncertainty rather than change which does the harm. This is a lesson of the hard times which our National legislators would do well to take to heart.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Reform of Secondary Education.

THE National Educational Association began in July, 1892, a movement for the reform of secondary education in the United States that seems destined to accomplish even more than its most enthusiastic promoters dared to hope for. This fortunate outcome is in part due to the systematic and authoritative way in which the task was undertaken, and in part to the ability and skill with which the Committee of Ten who were selected to plan and carry on the investigations that have now resulted in an elaborate report[1] discharged their functions.

Representing as it does teachers of every grade and from all parts of the country, the National Educational Association was perhaps the only body large enough and comprehensive enough to give authority to an undertaking of this kind. Its directors took the initiative in the matter, selected the Committee of Ten, and made an appropriation to pay the necessary expenses that they might incur. The Committee of Ten consisted of President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University (chairman); Dr. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education; President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan; President James H. Baker of the University of Colorado; President Richard H. Jesse of the University of Missouri; Professor Henry C. King of Oberlin College; President James M. Taylor of Vassar College; Principal James C. Mackenzie of the Lawrenceville (New Jersey) School; Principal O. D. Robinson of the Albany (New York) High School; and Principal John Tetlow of the Girls' High School, Boston.

At a preliminary session held in the autumn of 1892 this Committee determined to call nine special conferences of ten members each, one conference for each leading subject or group of subjects taught in secondary schools, and to submit to them, as experts, a series of searching and comprehensive questions concerning secondary-school work. The members of these conferences were selected with great care. The ninety experts chosen were drawn in almost equal numbers from the schools and the colleges, and pains were taken to give representation to every part of the country and every type of school. Conferences were called in Latin; Greek; Mathematics; English; other Modern Languages; Physics, Astronomy, and Chemistry; Natural History; History, Civil Government, and Political Economy; and Geography.

The several conferences assembled in December, 1892. Two met at Ann Arbor, Michigan; one at Poughkeepsie, New York; one at Washington, District of Columbia; one at Cambridge, Massachusetts; one at Madison, Wisconsin; and three at Chicago, Illinois. The questions submitted by the Committee of Ten were fully considered and answered in elaborate reports (which appear as appendices to the report of the Committee of Ten), that are alone most important contributions to educational literature. The last of these conference reports was not completed until August, 1893, and in November last, after having considered these reports for some weeks, the Committee of Ten met a second time in order to complete their task. How well they did it, their report shows; and it must stand as the most important single discussion of the aims, methods, and content of secondary education that has ever been made. It will be eagerly studied, as it ought to be, in every college and high school of the country. If its suggestions are generally acted upon, as there is good reason to hope that they will be, there will result a most healthy reform of our secondary instruction, and a long-wished-for improvement in the relations of the secondary schools to the colleges.

[1] Published by the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., and to be obtained on request.

One of the most useful features of the report is a series of four plans for four-year courses in secondary schools. These four plans are not submitted by the Committee as final, but as sample school programs, each of which conforms, as nearly as may be, to the desires of the special conferences. The Committee's tables are as follows, the abbreviation "p" standing for a period of forty-five minutes, and this work of the school being limited to twenty periods a week:

CLASSICAL.

Three foreign languages (one modern).

First year.	
Latin	5 p.
English	4 p.
Algebra	4 p.
History	4 p.
Physical Geography	3 p.
	20 p.

Second year.	
Latin	5 p.
English	2 p.
German[1] [or French]	4 p.
Geometry	3 p.
Physical	3 p.
History	3 p.
	20 p.

Third year.	
Latin	4 p.
Greek[1]	5 p.
English	3 p.
German [or French]	4 p.
Mathematics { Algebra 2, Geometry 2 }	4 p.
	20 p.

Fourth year.	
Latin	4 p.
Greek	5 p.
English	2 p.
German [or French]	3 p.
Chemistry	3 p.
Trigonometry and Higher Algebra or History	3 p.
	20 p.

[1] In any school in which Greek can be better taught than a modern language, or in which local opinion or the history of the school makes it desirable to teach Greek in an ample way, Greek may be substituted for German or French in the second year of the classical program.

LATIN-SCIENTIFIC.

Two foreign languages (one modern).

First year.

Subject	Periods
Latin	5 p.
English	4 p.
Algebra	4 p.
History	4 p.
Physical Geography	3 p.
	20 p.

Third year.

Subject	Periods
Latin	4 p.
English	3 p.
German [or French]	4 p.
Mathematics { Algebra 2, Geometry 2 }	4 p.
Astronomy (½ yr.) and Meteorology (½ yr.)	3 p.
History	2 p.
	20 p.

Second year.

Subject	Periods
Latin	5 p.
English	2 p.
German [or French]	4 p.
Geometry	3 p.
Physics	3 p.
Botany or Zoölogy	3 p.
	20 p.

Fourth year.

Subject	Periods
Latin	4 p.
English	4 p.
German [or French]	3 p.
Chemistry	3 p.
Trigonometry and Higher Algebra or History	3 p.
Geology or Physiography (½ yr.) and Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene (½ yr.)	3 p.
	20 p.

MODERN LANGUAGES.

Two foreign languages (both modern).

First year.

Subject	Periods
French [or German]	5 p.
English	4 p.
Algebra	4 p.
History	4 p.
Physical Geography	3 p.
	20 p.

Third year.

Subject	Periods
French [or German]	4 p.
English	3 p.
German [or French]	4 p.
Mathematics { Algebra 2, Geometry 2 }	4 p.
Astronomy (½ yr.) and Meteorology (½ yr.)	3 p.
History	2 p.
	20 p.

Second year.

Subject	Periods
French [or German]	4 p.
English	2 p.
German [or French]	5 p.
Geometry	3 p.
Physics	3 p.
Botany or Zoölogy	3 p.
	20 p.

Fourth year.

Subject	Periods
French [or German]	3 p.
English	4 p.
German [or French]	4 p.
Chemistry	3 p.
Trigonometry and Higher Algebra or History	3 p.
Geology or Physiography (½ yr.) and Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene (½ yr.)	3 p.
	20 p.

ENGLISH.

One foreign language (ancient or modern).

First year.

Subject	Periods
Latin, or German, or French	5 p.
English	4 p.
Algebra	4 p.
History	4 p.
Physical Geography	3 p.
	20 p.

Third year.

Subject	Periods
Latin, or German, or French	4 p.
English	5 p.
Mathematics { Algebra 2, Geometry 2 }	4 p.
Astronomy (½ yr.) and Meteorology (½ yr.)	3 p.
History	4 p.
	20 p.

Second year.

Subject	Periods
Latin, or German, or French	5 or 4 p.
English	3 or 4 p.
Geometry	3 p.
Physics	3 p.
History	3 p.
Botany or Zoölogy	3 p.
	20 p.

Fourth year.

Subject	Periods
Latin, or German, or French	4 p.
English	4 p.
Chemistry	3 p.
Trigonometry and Higher Algebra	3 p.
History	3 p.
Geology or Physiography (½ yr.) and Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene (½ yr.)	3 p.
	20 p.

A careful study of these four programs discloses the fact that they are constructed with great skill and according to fixed principles. They postpone to a period as late as possible the necessary bifurcation of classical and scientific courses; but no classical student is permitted to ignore science, and no scientific student is deprived of good linguistic training. In the classical program history and English suffer serious contraction, but this is atoned for, in part at least, by the fact that no inconsiderable amount of history is learned through the classical writers, and that accurate translation from a foreign tongue is itself admirable training in the use of English. All four of the sample programs, as the Committee points out, conform to the general recommendations of the conferences: they treat each subject in the same way for all pupils, with trifling exceptions; they give time enough to each subject to win from it the kind of mental training it is fitted to supply; they put the different principal subjects on an approximate equality so far as time-allotment is concerned; they omit all short information courses; and they make sufficiently continuous the instruction in each of the main lines, namely, language, science, history, and mathematics. Very slight modifications in them would be necessary in order to prepare pupils for admission to the appropriate courses in any American college on the present requirements.

The Committee is unanimous in the opinion that under existing conditions in the United States as to the training of teachers, and the provision of necessary means of instruction, the two programs called respectively Modern Languages and English must in practice be distinctly inferior to the other two. In this opinion the Committee recognizes, as fair-minded observers must also do, that the subjects that have been longest in the school curriculum are those that we are able to teach to the best advantage.

It is also suggested by the Committee that requirements for admission to college might be much simplified, though not reduced, and so brought into harmony with the above programs, thus closely articulating the secondary schools and the higher institutions in a way that would be advantageous both for themselves and for the country.

In this country, where no central educational administration exists, and private persons are almost unrestricted in their freedom to establish schools and colleges, any comprehensive scheme of reform is exceedingly difficult. It must be begun, just as has been the case in this instance, by a voluntary association of individuals. It must be carried on by the enthusiasm and energy of those enlisted in its service. It can only be successful if it is so reasonable and practicable as to

command willingly universal assent. It may safely be predicted that the work of the Committee of Ten, in principle and outline as well as in most points of detail, fulfils these conditions.

Nicholas Murray Butler.

An Honest Election Machine.

THE city of Montreal is not perhaps generally regarded as the most progressive city upon this continent, but it has been one of the first to learn that the only road to substantial reform in municipal administration is through the sanctity of the ballot-box, and the adoption of "machine" methods on lawful lines. On a winter evening, three years ago, the members of a social club of that city were informally discussing the influence of money in politics. There were several politicians of experience present, and, being among friends, they felt free to reveal what are usually held as state secrets. Many were the tales of electoral corruption, and the verdict rendered by those who knew was in effect that fraud in the preparation of the voters' lists, and "personation" (that is, one man voting in the name of another), were responsible for the election of many, if not all, of those who corruptly administered Montreal's civic affairs. Among the listeners were a few earnest young men who determined to test the truth of these statements, and, if found to be correct, to make at least one honest effort to devise a remedy. An extended inquiry was made. It was established that frequently fifteen per cent. of the vote polled was fraudulent, and that, where majorities were narrow, this fraudulent vote always elected the more unworthy candidate. The general belief appeared to be that the only way to elect good men was to fight the devil with his own fire. It was, however, evident to the would-be reformers that just so long as corruption was necessary to elect candidates, stainless men would not offer themselves, and honorable workers would not take active part in election contests. It was necessary to discover some means by which honest men could be elected by honorable means, or else to surrender the entire business of municipal politics to the unscrupulous element of the community. With this end in view the young men made the following experiment: A parliamentary election was close at hand, and, supporting a candidate whose character was good, they offered to man and operate, free of expense, the two worst polls in his constituency, provided they were given full control. Thirty-five fraudulent votes had been polled in this locality on a previous election, and the "heelers" of the district fully expected to maintain their reputation. Their offer accepted, the first step on the part of the would-be reformers was to devise the printed card which follows at the top of the next column.

Dist. No... *Poll No*... *Voter No*...
Name ....
Registered Residence...................... (Watcher's Description.)
............(*if Removed*)...............
Qualification ....
Occupation..............................

Height ....
Build ....
Complexion ....
Whiskers ....
Color of Eyes...........................
Age.....................................
Peculiarities...........................

(Perforation.)

Dist. No... *Poll No*... *Voter No*... (Card-stub.)
Name ....
Where to be called for...................
When ....
Sentiments..............................

One of these cards was issued to correspond with each elector. The heading was filled in from the voters' list, the description being obtained through personal visitation, and when election day arrived, at each poll sat the "watcher" with his packet of description cards, and no man polled his vote unless the watcher was satisfied. Six attempts at personation were made, but when it became evident that further trial was not only useless, but extremely dangerous, these efforts ceased.

Encouraged by their success, the young men determined to form an independent organization, and on April 1, 1892, the first constitution of the "Volunteer Electoral League" was promulgated. The objects as therein set forth are as follows:

1. To revise and perfect the voters' lists.
2. To encourage the nomination of candidates of known integrity for public office.
3. To use all legitimate means to secure their return.
4. To prevent fraudulent and dishonest practices in elections.
5. To cause to be followed up and prosecuted, to the full extent of the law, those detected in any violation of the election act.
6. To suggest and promote any legislation, approved by the League, having for its object the purity of elections.

It was also clearly stated that the organization should be purely non-political, in the belief that civic affairs should be wholly divorced from national issues; that it should not aspire to become a nominating body, leaving this task for municipal organizations composed of older men; that possible aspirants for municipal honors and officers of political clubs should be excluded from membership; that funds should be raised by subscription among citizens, no gift to be received from any civic official, representative, or candidate; that the services of every member should be voluntary, and the organization absolutely independent even of candidates which it had selected, being equally as ready to unseat as to elect in case a representative proved unworthy of trust. Matters relative to the general policy should be determined by a council composed of three representatives from each ward organization, while those which related solely to a single ward should be left to the ward council, the minority, however, always having the right of appeal to the central body. This, in brief, constituted the platform of principles as laid down by the Volunteer Electoral League at its inception.

By the close of the year 1892 the League had grown sufficiently in numbers to warrant it in undertaking the management of the election for an entire ward. This it did successfully, and again the system was given a wider trial and was not found wanting.

Finding many defects in the city charter statutes regarding elections, the League prepared a series of amendments which were laid before the Provincial legislature in the fall of 1893. Nearly all these provisions

in due course became law, and in the hands of the organization which fashioned them have proved most efficient weapons.

When once again a civic contest drew near, the League prepared to combat election fraud on still more extended lines. Five wards were now undertaken. Hitherto it had been sufficient to watch the ballot-box and to insure the proper casting of the vote as registered; now it was determined to investigate the composition of the registry-list while there should yet be time, according to law, to make alterations. Heretofore the battle had been waged upon ground chosen by the enemy; now the field should be of the League's own selection. A fund was collected, for the work was now too large to be undertaken by volunteer effort. An office, with paid secretary and canvassing staff, was established for each ward, identification cards were prepared, and the canvassers were sent forth with instructions to secure accurate descriptions of every bona-fide voter, and ample data regarding cases where the right to vote could be questioned.

There is not in Canadian cities, as in the United States, a system of personal registration. The assessors make their rounds, and inscribe upon their blotters the names of the tenants or proprietors as assessed. Such parties as, prior to December 1, pay their taxes are entitled to be entered on the municipal voters' list for the coming year.

The civic elections in Montreal are held February 1. Nomination takes place on January 20, after which date no change can be made in the voters' lists. The board of revisors meets on January 5, and from that date until nomination considers objections and makes additions to the list that has been prepared for them by the assessors. Usually the work of the revisors has been a sinecure. They hold a few sittings, add several names, and certify the lists as a mere matter of form. But when the board met on January 5, 1894, they found that the Electoral League had prepared sufficient work to occupy them at every possible sitting until the date of nomination. The house-to-house canvass of fifteen thousand electors, prosecuted by the League's identifiers, had resulted in many astonishing discoveries. Over 600 names upon the assessors' lists were found to be incorrectly inscribed, the error being frequently so serious as to jeopardize the vote. Upward of 400 permanent non-residents, together with 208 deceased persons, 47 minor heirs, 210 civic employees, and nearly 300 duplicates, were entered as voters. These names, the League, through its attorney, notified the board of revisors it would challenge. The board did not do its duty by all the complaints. How could it be expected to do so when composed of aldermen on the verge of an election? Still, there was much gained by the exposures. In the largest two wards the lists were found to contain, when the *enquête* was concluded, 580 fewer names than the previous year, although a natural growth of population had continued. Furthermore, public sentiment had been aroused, and by legal enactment the pernicious system of appointing aldermen to revise the lists that their own allies had tampered with came to an end. Hereafter a judge of the superior court will appoint a board of revisors.

With the lists tolerably correct, and their identification material ready, the next problem before the League was to raise a sufficient volunteer force of trustworthy men to operate the polls in five wards on election day. In nearly every civic community the good element plus the indifferent outnumbers the bad. In order to win an election, it is necessary to raise sufficient men not only to watch the polls, and thus to checkmate the enemy, but also to bring to the polls every careless voter, who, if he voted at all, would vote right. The members of the League set forth, therefore, to preach a crusade among the young men of the city from the text which is their motto, "Every man is individually responsible for just so much evil as his efforts might prevent." This line of action, followed in each ward, gathered a force of 354 volunteers, ready for whatever work they might be called upon to do. This body was then divided and subdivided. Each man was trained for his particular duties, and was given printed instructions to refresh his memory.

At length the first of February, 1894, drew near. It was admitted that now or never a successful stand could be made against the ward boss and his corrupt machine. Better candidates than usual were induced to take the field, and as the lines became clearly defined, the League made its selection. In all, eight men received its support; of these, three were sitting members deserving reëlection and five were new men. Opposed to them were aspirants wholly objectionable. It is possible to sum up the result of the contest in a word. Three of the corrupt aldermen retired before election, four were beaten at the polls, and one retained his seat only by a narrow majority of seventy-three. Out of 11,100 votes cast, less than one fifth of one per cent. was fraudulent, though determined and repeated attempts were made to bribe, and bulldoze the League watchers. Throughout the entire campaign none but lawful methods had been employed, and in Montreal at least it has been conclusively proved that illegal practices are not necessary to elect honorable men.

This narrative would be incomplete without some account of the method employed for bringing to the poll the indifferent voter. It is largely borrowed from the "machine," and can best be illustrated by the detailed account of a particular contest. An identification canvass of a certain ward had already been made. A second canvass was then prosecuted to ascertain the sentiments of each elector respecting the candidates, his address during business hours, and the time most convenient for him to vote. The ward was then divided into districts of five polls each. Each district had a committee-room, where all information pertaining to the five polls was collected. In each committee-room were five large cardboard sheets called "tableaux," placed upon separate tables, each sheet containing the names, alphabetically arranged, of all persons entitled to vote at a given poll. A mark before the name denoted the elector's sentiments, while after the name was entered the business address. To each sheet were assigned on election day two men, a "receiver" and a "despatcher," whose duties will be presently defined. At every poll was a team of three League members. Two of these were inside watchers, or "scrutineers," by whom every elector, upon presenting himself, was carefully inspected, and, failing to correspond with his identification card, was sworn. Few dared swear falsely, but where this occurred, the watchers were prepared to fill out warrants, and secure the instant arrest of the personator. Outside the poll stood the third League representative, in his hand a packet of card-stubs, one for each elector,

with name and sentiments written thereon. As the voter entered the booth, and his identity was ascertained, the outside man withdrew from his pack the corresponding card-stub. Every half-hour a runner from the district committee-room collected the voted card-stubs, and delivered them to the proper "receiver," who promptly lined off the names from his "tableau." At the door of the committee-room were a number of sleighs, loaned for the day by well-wishers of the cause. Opposite the "receiver" sat the "despatcher." It was his constant duty to copy off several unvoted names, with addresses, upon a slip, and to despatch a sleigh to bring up the voters from the business addresses indicated. This system, steadily and quietly worked, resulted in polling the largest vote ever cast in that ward at a municipal contest, and the return of the League's candidate by a majority of 655.

The methods employed, and the results attained, in Montreal are possible, *mutatis mutandis*, in any city on the American continent. There is ample call and room for municipal-reform organizations on many lines. Good-Government clubs can do much toward exposing administrative unfaithfulness, arousing public sentiment, securing better legislation, and inducing worthy men to present themselves for municipal offices; but unless such efforts can be supplemented by other organizations, recognizing the necessity of the sanctity of the ballot-box, and prepared to engage in conflict with the "machine" on its own battle-ground, the triumph of righteousness and good government will be long delayed. Few are the cities on the American continent in which there does not exist a band of patriotic citizens sufficiently large amply to endow any working organization that can be trusted; in which there are not enough sincere, enthusiastic, determined young men to recruit an electoral league to full fighting strength; in which a lawful registry-list, an honestly polled ballot, and the ingathering of the indifferent vote, will not bring about the triumph at the polls of any just cause.

Herbert Brown Ames.

Military Drill in the Schools.

EX-PRESIDENT HARRISON'S distinguished services to his country, his eminence as a citizen, and his high intellectual and moral character, entitle what he says on any subject on which he may choose to speak to most respectful consideration. What he utters in reference to the welfare of his country may be taken without question as inspired by patriotic motives, and, as a rule, as the outcome of careful and comprehensive thought. It has been a matter of no little surprise, therefore, to many of the warm friends and admirers of ex-President Harrison to see, from his open letter published in the January CENTURY, that, along with many others, he advocates the introduction of military drill into the schools and colleges of the country, or, in other words, the training of the millions of American boys in the arts of war. Such a training seems to many so useless, so out of harmony with the spirit of our time,—and specially of our American civilization and historic character,—so tending to bring our people ultimately into a state of militarism like that of the Old World which is universally detested on this side of the water, that they are at a loss to know exactly how to explain the attitude taken by a considerable number of our citizens in its favor.

The first reason given in favor of the drill is that it develops the whole man, that it gives a free, erect, graceful carriage. What Mr. Harrison says of athletics, as tending to develop the body unsymmetrically, is true only of certain kinds of athletic exercises. Any one thoroughly acquainted with the calisthenic systems of the gymnasiums knows that they train every part of the body, and that, too, to movements of greater variety, and susceptible of more natural applications, than the military drill. The latter trains the body perfectly for its own purposes, and for the time being has a certain amount of physical value. But its ultimate utility to the citizen in ordinary life has been greatly overestimated. The forms and positions which it enforces are stiff and unnatural, and cannot well be maintained any great length of time. Hence the notorious fact that soldiers when they are out of the ranks are among the most careless of their bodily positions and movements. So true is this that if one should try to pick out from a promiscuous crowd of men those who had had a soldier's training, he could not do it; he would almost certainly get the wrong men. It is often assumed that the soldier's position and bearing are carried over into the ordinary citizen's life, but a little careful thought and observation will convince any one that this is not and cannot be the case. The military drill is admirably adapted to train men to a mechanical obedience to others, but it has little in it that tends to produce that voluntary control of the bodily forms and movements which every citizen, man or woman, ought to have. There are systems of physical culture now in use in many places which, at small expense, might be put into all the schools and colleges of the land, and which have already proved their great superiority to the military drill.

As to the argument drawn from our poor preparation for the civil war, one feels inclined to ask whether, if previous to that time all the citizens had had military training, the South would not have reaped as much advantage from it as the North. If the young men of the Southern States had all been previously trained to military service, the rebellion would probably have struck a blow at the Government so much more sudden and powerful as almost certainly to have succeeded in establishing the Confederacy on a permanent basis.

A nation that tries to outstrip its neighbors in war preparation, so as to have things all its own way, always finds that it has started a game at which two can play. If the plea that swiftness and suddenness of war in the future require that all our boys should have a military training is worth anything as an argument, it would require us to have a large standing army, the absence of which is given as one of the reasons why we should have the military drill in the schools and colleges of the country. A lot of school-boys drilled in military tactics, or even a great militia force trained as well as militia ever is, would very inadequately meet the emergency of a swift and sudden attack by a nation having already in the field an immense standing army. If the course of military training now recommended from several quarters is ever entered upon, its logical result will be half a million soldiers continually under arms. That has been the fact in Europe. Germany, prior to 1866, began with her citizen soldiery, which enabled her to whip Austria and then France; the result has been that she finds herself compelled to crush her people with overwhelming burdens in order to keep even with her

neighbors, who have at last shown themselves quite as shrewd as she in using the lesson which she unintentionally taught them. The people of the United States may well pause, and look the final result well in the face, before they go any further in a course so un-American and so dangerous. We are already well on the way with our navy; a great militia, into which it is thought the taste for the military acquired by the drill in the schools will lead the boys, will be the next step, and then will come the large standing army, with its burdens and its perils.

The course of safety and of honor for the United States lies in a different direction. The fear which has recently taken hold of so many of our citizens that a considerable part of our business in the near future may consist in warding off hostile nations which are to come breaking in upon us "like a thief in the night," is altogether groundless. There is not a particle of evidence that any nation whatever has the remotest idea of attacking us. We are looked upon as the great peace nation, and respected for our pacific character. We have had no war with a foreign power for over eighty years, except that with Mexico, which we brought on by our own wickedness. In building up our national greatness, we have never depended much on militia, army, or navy, except in times of emergency. We have really had none on which to depend. The United States, because of its non-military character, has done more than any other three nations toward creating that spirit of international concord and trust which is to revolutionize the world. Why, at this late period in our history, should we begin a course of action growing out of groundless fear and suspicion, and thus put ourselves on a plane with those nations whose military thraldom we have so far happily escaped?

The military drill as a training for war is entirely out of harmony with the purpose and ideals of the schools, and if introduced into them will unfortunately keep alive that excessive admiration of the soldier ideal which has been anything but a blessing to mankind. We ought to educate for peace and the future, and not for the past and war.

Benjamin F. Trueblood.

"The Century's" American Artist Series.

CHARLES H. DAVIS. (See page 179.)

AN artist acquaintance of mine of many years ago—an old landscape-painter of the Düsseldorf school—used to remark during the period when the naturalistic school was having full swing: "No, I don't think any landscape right which is merely a reflection of what any Philistine may see; there must be something more than *that* in it, or it cannot live. It must contain mystery. My dear boy, the fairies must dance in it." We used to think this man old-fashioned, behind the times. I speak of the time when Ruskin had inspired and Hamerton had bewildered us. It is interesting to see how, to-day, the landscape which is valued is of the kind my old friend would have admired. Cazin, Lerolle, Inness, and Davis have taught us to look for the fairy-dance in the landscape. They have made for us, not transcriptions, but translations, of nature. They have taken the commonplace of nature, distilled it in the alembic of their brain, and made it precious. Without undertaking to establish the comparative status of these men, it may be said of the two Americans that, while Inness reminds one of the music of a full orchestra,—the grand swell of sound, the sonorousness of Wagner,—Charles H. Davis makes one think of the reeds and strings of Delibes. Davis certainly must be placed in the foremost rank of the landscape-painters. His range is not so wide as Inness's, but he is possessed in eminent degree of the instinct of the subtle, the beautiful.

Charles H. Davis was born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, in 1856. He began the study of art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and later went to Paris, where he worked under Boulanger and Lefebvre. He has been the recipient of an honorable mention at the Salon, a medal at the Paris Exposition of 1890, a gold medal of honor at a Prize-Fund Exhibition of the American Art Association, and the next year, at the same exhibition, a cash prize of $2000. He also received the Potter Palmer Prize of $500 at Chicago in 1888, and a medal at Chicago last year. One of the best of his pictures, "The Brook," was purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He is a member of the Society of American Artists.

W. Lewis Fraser.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

En Route.

I DO not know to this day why I was allowed to see and hear so much, unless it was because I wore blue spectacles on that particular journey, and you know that the wisest of us with this adornment look blind, and deaf, and often idiotic.

I know that until that day I would have told all my private affairs before a blue-spectacled neighbor, with a feeling of certainty that he could neither hear, see, nor understand me. Now, however, I know what keenness of interest and comprehension may lie behind those screens, and I am wary.

I was sitting quietly in my chair when the party came into the car, and the gentleman and lady seated themselves almost opposite me, while the daughter took the only empty seat several chairs beyond them.

I watched them idly for a moment as they settled themselves. The train started almost immediately, and the first words that I heard distinctly were in the clear, somewhat hard voice of the lady as she said:

"Are n't you thankful that we have managed so well?"

After an apparent assent from her husband she surveyed the occupants of the car through her eye-glass, and, bowing graciously to some one at the other end, went on:

"There is Mrs. Telfer, of all people; I am always afraid of what she will see. She is the only woman who makes me feel uncomfortable, and I always think of her as one of the women in those 'feline amenities' in 'Life,' or 'Punch,' or wherever you see them. She watches you so—and when I am watched I always feel sure that something will be found out whether there is anything to find or not."

I settled myself shamelessly to listen, thinking,

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The New Woman-Suffrage Movement.

THE recent active agitation in the State of New York of the question of Woman Suffrage was the result of an opportunity, namely, the Constitutional Convention. Those who so earnestly protested against a condition of wrong did not, we believe, claim that the "wrong" was an increasing one. In fact, it is generally admitted that the condition of woman, as such, before the laws, and as to her education and her general opportunities in the community, is, on the whole, becoming more favorable. Women are not declared to be getting fewer and fewer "rights" and advantages, but rather more and more, with advancing civilization. It was, then, not a new condition so much as a new opportunity that occasioned this special movement.

The difference of the new movement from similar agitations was in the character and social position of many of the women and men who were among the leaders. Men and women of ability and character have not been absent from the previous "crusades," but no previous one, in this part of the country, has had so much leadership or so much following of a supposedly conservative sort. To be sure, some of the old champions sounded again a certain familiar note,— the note which a generation ago met with the ridicule of the wise and the approval of the light-headed,— and this note was not so rare as some adherents must have wished in the new discussion — the old voice and proclamation of feminine revolt! The new crusaders, however, mainly based their claim on natural rights and absolute justice, on their new application of the principle of no taxation without representation, on the probable betterment of the position of women as wage-earners, on the good that would accrue to women and to the community by their enforced education in political duties, and on the improvement of laws and their administration to be caused by the admission of women to the suffrage.

While the entire movement was deeply deprecated by many thoughtful persons as having tendencies, and as being sure of effects, of an unfortunate character, yet so much study of, and thinking on, the fundamental principles of government, and on the relation of the sexes to each other, to society, and to the State, had not been done in this neighborhood for generations. It is not, then, a matter of surprise that a counter-movement should have sprung up among women, and that the earnest protest of women and men against the proposed change should have gone forth. Owing to this, and to the arguments presented on both sides, and to the intense attention attracted to the subject, many have been able to take a stronger hold upon the principles underlying all government, and upon some of the greatest problems of life.

The argument has at times been hot; it may have seemed at times not in all respects entirely frank. The most inescapable condition of humanity is sex; it is the element most carefully to be considered in the question at issue, yet it has appeared at times that this aspect of the question was evaded by some of the most eloquent champions of a scheme which would plunge all womanhood into the welter of universal suffrage and partizan politics. The question involved is not only the right to vote, but also "the right not to vote"; for, at heart, the question is this: Shall men, at the request of some women, load upon all women, equally with men and in addition to their present burdens, the duties and obligations of civil government?

Other allied questions of a fundamental character also arise: Is complete Woman Suffrage the next logical step in the advance of civilization, or would it be an unfortunate *non sequitur?* Would the proper function, and use, and power of woman in the State be increased or impaired by so-called "equal rights," *i. e.*, equal suffrage? Will the suffrage be equal if extended to a sex that cannot physically endure the strain of duties implied in the suffrage? Could suffrage be called "equal" suffrage when mothers of families — upon whom the State depends in a peculiar sense for its very existence — would be under special disabilities as compared with single or childless women? Would it elevate or degrade the ideal of the suffrage to attempt to extend it to a class that could not, as a class, fulfil all of its duties and obligations, military, constabulary, juridical, and political? Should the system of government tend to build up or to impair the family and the home, and what effect upon the institution of the family would follow the extension of the suffrage to women? How can it be absolutely predicted that women's wages will be affected by this revolutionary device more than by economical conditions? And even if they should be affected favorably, would this device, under all the circumstances, still be desirable?

There are other questions more immediately "practical," perhaps; such as the effect upon the general suffrage,— and upon the present affliction of spoils and of bosses,— of the enormous increase of the suffrage along exactly the same lines as now; but we do not care to go into the subject at present with more detail, especially as in the August number of THE CENTURY many of the arguments *pro* and *con* will be given at length — by Senator Hoar in the affirmative and by the Rev. Dr. Buckley in the negative.

To-day women are not compelled as a class by our laws and our political system to the assumption of duties for which there is any suspicion of their unfitness. It is our own profound belief that women's work should continue to expand naturally along the lines of education, philanthropy, and the housekeeping interests of our local communities, and along the line of their general influence in the arts and sciences, and in society at large; and that her energies should not be compelled into a domain of untried and physiologically impossible civil obligations.

Some things are sure: if there is anywhere "oppression" other than through the laws of nature, and if this oppression can be lifted by human device, it

must, and will, be in some way; but above all, it is sure that there can be no conflict of interests between men and women. The development of one is the elevation of the other; the good of one is the good of both. But let no one be deceived by false analogies and evasions of the deepest facts of humanity, because the compulsion of all womanhood into the political arena (what the law *allows* to all at once becoming the *duty* of all) would be a revolution of greater magnitude and effect than any the world has yet witnessed.

A Martyr of To-day.

THE recent murder of Robert Ross by political roughs during a municipal election in the city of Troy occurred under peculiar circumstances of more than local significance. For years the government of that city has been a byword of national reproach for the audacity with which the criminal element has dared to defy the simplest and most fundamental principles of justice. So absolute was the control of the local boss,— now the junior Senator from the great State of New York,— that he is said to have boasted that he could elect a Chinaman as mayor of the city if he should so desire. The efforts of law-abiding citizens to punish frauds upon the ballot have been in vain — not for lack of conclusive evidence, but because of it. Grand juries have been unfairly chosen for the purpose of defeating indictments, and even the police have refused to serve warrants. In the face of all obstacles, the patriotic citizens of Troy did not relinquish their fight for the vital principle of honest elections, but knowing well the brutal element with which they had to deal they courageously faced the issue. The death of Ross in the discharge of the highest duty of citizenship has revealed to the American people an example of civic devotion and of self-sacrifice which should inspirit decent citizens everywhere, while it should startle the indifferent into a realization of the desperate and dangerous character of the new generation of political spoilsmen.

Robert Ross was in an eminent sense a martyr to liberty. No man that fell at Lexington or Sumter gave his life to his country with more willingness or for a better principle. He knew the type of political rough he would have to deal with in undertaking his duty as a guardian of the election, for he and his brothers had been warned that their lives were threatened. That duty he undertook solemnly and without bravado. He was not inspired by partizanship, for he was a Republican advocating the election of a Democrat; nor by race prejudice, for he was a Scotchman advocating the election of an Irishman; nor by religious bigotry, for he was a Protestant advocating the election of a Roman Catholic. He was simply inspired by the most patriotic desire for good government, and it was in defense of this cause — the cause of every American citizen — that he was brutally murdered. Nothing is clearer than that he was the victim of the accursed Spoils System, which is daily bringing disgrace upon the American nation, and is spreading a blight of misgovernment upon every community over which it holds sway. The responsibility for this murder lies at the doors of those who have fostered or consented to the conditions which by an inevitable logic lead to such deeds. In these days of lawlessness it will not do to hold one's peace when a Senator of the United States permits, as it is well known he might prevent, those encroachments upon the rights of citizens which make justice a mockery and representative government a jest. It is not a question of partizanship, but one of national self-preservation.

In what way is Ross's sacrifice to be given its proper accent and honor? His townsmen have already provided for a suitable memorial for his grave, and it is to be hoped that the spot upon which he died may also be marked in a way appropriate to its significance. But his service was to the nation, and it deserves another sort of recognition. What more appropriate and useful than to perpetuate his name in organizations to defend the purity of the ballot? The danger of the ascendancy of the criminal element in politics is a danger to men of all parties, and there is hardly a city of the United States where there is not need of a non-partizan body of picked men whose duty it shall be to exalt the sanctity of the now degraded suffrage: to agitate for the most perfect election laws, and for more severe penalties for their violation; to bring the force of public opinion to bear on the selection of registry and election boards; to scan and purify the lists of voters; to study the rights of citizens at elections, and to defend them at the polls; to become familiar with the personnel of the districts in which they are to serve as watchers, and to exert the whole power of the law on election day to insure the free casting and faithful counting of the vote. An appropriate name for such a body would be "The Robert Ross Association." In the June CENTURY was recounted what has been accomplished by a few determined citizens in the redemption from ring-rule of the city of Montreal. The overthrow of the Brooklyn ring, and the conviction of McKane and his associates, were due to volunteer work of a similar character. The imprisonment of twenty-nine offenders against the election law in New York city was accomplished by exactly the sort of work which might be undertaken by these associations. Bearing the name of Robert Ross, they would at once be a challenge to evil-doers, and a solemn proclamation of the serious nature of their mission.

For it is undeniable that within the past few years a new depth of political unscrupulousness and violence has been revealed. Wholesale bribery, cheating, and counting out, thefts of legislatures and downright murder, make an alarming record. These very crimes have revealed a sound state of latent public opinion; but what is needed is that public opinion should be not latent, but vigilant. Beside the question whether representative government shall perish through the perversion of the very machinery by which it operates, all financial and economic questions seem trifling.

> For what avail the plough or sail,
> Or land or life, if freedom fail?

If the standard weights and measures of public opinion be tampered with, how shall we discover the will of the people? The Spoils System is a deadly upas-tree, which the nation has long been nourishing; its leaves are dropping upon us as never before; here and there we have broken a twig or lopped off a branch; but the time has come to root it up entirely. To do this, in nation, State, city, and village, is a purpose to which every good citizen should devote himself. The death of Robert Ross will not have been in vain, if it

shall lead his countrymen to ponder the fundamental principle for which he died.

The Latest Cheap-Money Experiment.

IN THE CENTURY'S series of articles on cheap-money experiments in the world's history,—now published in book form,[1]—there was none of later date than that of the Argentine Republic, which began in 1884 and ended in 1890. We have now the opportunity of recording one which has come to an end during the present year, and in which the kind of cheap money involved was silver, a fact which makes the details of the case especially interesting and instructive to us at this time.

A few months ago Professor James Laurence Laughlin of Chicago University, author of the "History of Bimetallism in the United States," was invited by the government of the republic of San Domingo to visit that country, and devise for it a currency system. He spent some time on the island, and returned to Chicago in April last. He found on his arrival at San Domingo that the finances of the country were in a chaotic condition. The only circulating medium was the Mexican silver dollar, which had fallen in value with the price of silver till it was worth only forty-eight cents. This was the only money in the country, and the inhabitants had no choice about using it, though they did so at a constant loss. They sold their products, and bought goods, in the markets of Europe and America, where gold was the standard. Yet when they came to retail the purchased goods at home they had to sell them at silver prices. The constant fluctuations in the price of silver made exchange so uncertain that the bankers conducting it guarded themselves against loss by deducting a heavy percentage. This is always the case when international trade is carried on under such conditions. The nation using an inferior or cheap form of money always must pay a tax for doing so. As Daniel Webster said eighty years ago, in a passage which we have quoted in a former article: "The circulating medium of a commercial community must be that which is also the circulating medium of other commercial communities, or must be capable of being converted into that medium without loss. It must be able, not only to pass in payments and receipts among individuals of the same society and nation, but to adjust and discharge the balance of exchanges between different nations." When this is not the case, the exporter of produce from a country having a fluctuating and cheaper form of money to countries having the gold standard, or a stable and dearer form, must calculate on a possible decline in the value of the home money, and deduct a percentage therefor from the price he pays for the goods to be exported. Bankers and other dealers in exchange under such conditions also charge an increased percentage for the same reason.

The effect of these conditions in San Domingo was the same as it has always been under like conditions everywhere else. "The price of all commodities," says Professor Laughlin, "began to rise, although the scale of wages remained the same. While a laborer did not receive any less money for his work, its purchasing power diminished one half. Consequently the distrust of silver money permeated all classes, and the necessity for devising some better monetary system was universally felt."

Professor Laughlin's remedy was a very simple one. It was to lift the country at once to the gold standard. He drew a law making the unit of value one dollar in gold, of the same weight and fineness as the gold dollar of the United States. The gold coins were to be in five-, ten-, and twenty-dollar pieces. As a subsidiary coinage, for ordinary currency use, silver dollars of 380 grains, with halves and quarters of proportionate weight, were to be coined. The Mexican silver dollar has 377.4 grains and the American 371¼. This silver currency was made redeemable in gold in amounts from five dollars upward, and was receivable in customs duties. Being based upon the gold standard, the silver currency will circulate as freely as gold so long as the government redeems it on demand. As an incentive to prompt redemption, the government was enabled to make a profit of fifty cents on the seigniorage of each silver dollar only by keeping the silver circulation at a par with gold by a system of redemption. In order to rid the country of Mexican dollars, their acceptance at the custom-house was permitted only at their bullion value, less five cents. This deduction is two cents greater than the cost of shipping these dollars from San Domingo to New York, so that it will be more profitable for bullion dealers to ship them out of the country than to dispose of them in San Domingo.

In commenting on his plan, which is likely to be accepted and put in practice before this number of THE CENTURY is published, Professor Laughlin says, as reported by the Chicago "Inter Ocean":

> I regard the situation in San Domingo as a clear refutation of the position taken by some financiers in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver. Under the most favorable conditions it failed signally. It was the only money in the country, and the people were willing to use it, if possible. Notwithstanding this universal toleration, it proved unstable. Every fluctuation of the silver market made this money change its value, and it might have been as useful in an uncoined state. Not until it has a gold basis back of it will it answer for money, and only then when it is understood that it does not represent the exchange of ultimate redemption. The people of San Domingo, having experienced the ills of an unstable currency, were anxious to adopt a gold basis. With this new currency system I expect to see commerce revive in San Domingo, and a tide of prosperity set in that will make it the most prominent of the West Indian Islands.

The moral of all this is as plain as a pikestaff, and is the same one that has been drawn from all other cheap-money experiments. It is that no country, however large or however small, that has commercial dealings with other countries can prosper with any monetary standard save that which other nations of the world have. The experience of civilized nations, through many centuries, has convinced them that gold is the best standard thus far discovered, and upon that all nations must agree, in their domestic and international dealings, until a better one shall be found. The nation which, alone, attempts to set up a different standard must do so at great loss to itself.

[1] See "Cheap-Money Experiments," THE CENTURY Co.

OPEN LETTERS.

"The Anti-Catholic Crusade."

A REPLY BY THE SUPREME VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE A. P. A.

THERE is nothing in this country too good to escape criticism, nor so bad that it should be misrepresented. The American Protective Association, like every other movement ancient or modern, has its friends and its foes. When the search-light of investigation is turned on, men will be enamored of its beauty or disgusted with its ugliness. In the criticism of this movement in Dr. Gladden's article in the March CENTURY, we think there is unintentional injustice and misrepresentation. That Dr. Gladden would be willing to wrong a great body of his fellow-men, no one who knows him will for a moment think; but that he has done so we hope to prove. Painful, therefore, as the task must be, in the spirit of fairness attention will be called to its glaring inconsistencies.

The writer is Supreme Vice-President of the A. P. A., and is, ex officio, supposed to know something of its teachings and history. He will give the public some facts which can easily be verified, and will quote only such truths as all may understand, *and only truths.*

The A. P. A. was born in Clinton, Iowa, about six years ago, and not in the year of the Parliament of Religions, as stated in the "Anti-Catholic Crusade." Henry F. Bowers of the place named can verify this statement. It is a strictly political non-partizan order, and not a religious or semi-religious organization. It interferes with no man's religious notions. Men may worship God when and how they please, as provided by the Constitution of the United States, or they need not worship him at all. This is its "exoteric" and its "esoteric" teaching, and they are one and the same. Who otherwise teaches or interprets, misinterprets and falsely teaches. This point is made clear by the action of the Iowa State Council, the proceedings of which are in part recorded in the "Keokuk Gate City" of March 9, 1894.

Some of the Councils, it seems, had made the mistake of hiring ex-priests, who discussed the Roman Church from a religious standpoint. The Executive Board called the attention of State President Jackman to the fact, and he recommended the following, which was unanimously approved, and given to the public:

> I am heartily in favor of this action of the State Executive Board. The average ex-priest is simply a leech sucking the life-blood of the Councils, for their own enrichment. We claim in our principles that we attack no man's religion, and make no warfare on the religious tenets of the Roman Catholic Church; and yet we hire these hermaphrodite priests to abuse all of the peculiar observances of this Church, and to vilify and make fun of those observances: we hereby stultify ourselves, and bring reproach upon the order and its principles.

The Council unanimously indorsed the resolution and the president's reference to it. So did the Wisconsin State Council. This is official.

What Dr. Gladden quotes as the platform of the A. P. A. is considered among its basic principles. He thinks, however, that men play hypocrite easily, and so have a teaching for the public, and one for the inner circle. Then he proceeds to read an essay on human meanness, and calls it A. P. A. He takes only two points from which to condemn a great organization, and those two points are admitted by all to have been brought to light by the Columbus politicians, and distributed on Saturday evening just before the election. He must surely place a very low estimate on the intelligence of his neighbors to think that they would swear to sustain, and then to violate, the Constitution of the United States in the same breath. It would require "a good dose of inconsistency to do this." "The depth and density of such ignorance would certainly be pitiful.

The terms "curia" and "throne" are used appropriately when speaking of the Roman hierarchy; savoring, as they do, of temporal power they are fraught with deep meaning to the A. P. A., and give a reason in part for its existence. Our critic says that Roman Catholic scholars dispute the interpretation as to the temporal power of the Pope. But Roman Catholic scholars will have only heresies to teach until a plenary council, with the Pontiff's approval, sanctions such teachings. When that happens the A. P. A. will have no reason for further existence; but until then we are here to stay.

If allegiance to the Pope does in no way affect the Romanist in his duty as a citizen, an explanation of the condition of affairs in Germany, Italy, and old Mexico would be gratifying and instructive; also a word as to Emperor William's recent visit to Rome. Caprivi, King Humbert, or President Diaz could write an article on this subject that would be read with avidity in almost any magazine.

Bogus encyclicals, instructions, and forgeries are all credited to the A. P. A., no names, no dates, nor particulars being given. Let us examine a few of them. They are all from A. P. A. official newspapers; but the A. P. A. has no official newspaper, and has no power to control any organ. The country is full of newspapers, and individuals running private enterprises are publishing what pays them best, and are answerable only to the public. Dr. Gladden quotes probably from these, and calls them A. P. A. authorities. He quotes from a country doctor, whose quackery had probably ruined the nerves of his "small town," and charges that to the A. P. A. A preacher bought a gun to defend himself against the Romanists; the cowardly parson had doubtless read Father Sherman's last manuscript. It is claimed that harmonious A. P. A. doctrines, exposed through independent sources, differed only in verbal variations, yet the same exposé was published first in one paper, and then copied by all who had room for a sensation. A man who criticizes ancient manuscript, and preaches sometimes on the evidences of Christianity, calls this evidence from independent sources. The public is asked to judge.

Mayor Van Horn of Denver, Colorado, is the principal witness in this matter. The mayor was visited by an

A. P. A. committee. He himself had been a member of the order, and, being mayor of a town even in the far West, would be presumed to possess ordinary intelligence. This committee notified the mayor that because he appointed a Roman Catholic chief of police, his picture would be draped in black, inscribed "Traitor" and "Perjurer," and the same sent to "every supreme council, supreme lodge, supreme camp, and grand commandery within the jurisdiction of the United States."

These terms are to us unknown. There is one and only one Supreme Council, and in each State one State Council, and there are what are called Subordinate Councils. Who the deceiver was in this case, we know not, but Dr. Gladden seems certainly to have been imposed upon. It never occurred to him that this would be unusual power for a committee of three from a Subordinate Council, and that such foolish and wicked proceedings could scarcely have taken place where the Mafia and Molly McGuires were born. We think a blizzard must have struck the mayor's picture on the way, for it has never yet arrived in Ohio. "Are American Protestant graduates of our public schools expected to believe this?"

As to the arms and drilling and the uprising: all the fear of these things was happily averted by a circular sent out by Dr. Gladden and his timid colleagues some months since; borne on the wings of peace, its reassuring message was welcome to the Doctor's country town. Since then Bismarck has drunk wine with the Kaiser, Diaz has driven out the Jesuits, and Tammany Hall is a broken column; no ruler of power sits on a Romanist throne, and the old Church keeps step with modern civilization: we have naught to fear.

Hints to organizers are given, and the documents which are usually serviceable are named. An accredited organizer with whom I am acquainted uses "Thompson's Civil Power and the Papacy," McGlynn's "Pope in Politics," and his lecture on the public schools, and reads the newspapers continually. Foreign flags on American city halls, nuns teaching in public schools, a war upon history, a complaint of unreasonable taxation for the support of schools — all these are the most constant stimulants to a member of the A. P. A. He often mentions the fate of Mayor Hewitt of New York, and sometimes even suggests that the 17th of March be substituted for Washington's birthday or the 4th of July.

There are many people in Columbus who would like to become acquainted with the gentleman who belongs to the A. P. A., and who said that the county offices were all held by Romanists, and that the teachers in the public schools were all Romanists. Let his name be called Ananias A. P. A.

Dr. Gladden must despise and pity the A. P. A. of his mind, but the people will feel grateful to know that he is a child of the Doctor's fertile imagination.

A word as to the mayor of Rockford, Illinois. If he removed a worthy man from office to make room for an inferior one, he violated almost every principle and obligation of the Association, and brought himself and it into disrepute.

As to the Roman Catholic spilling his blood upon many of our battle-fields, it is all true. Has any Church but the Romanist ever made such a boast, or has any defender of his Church claimed credit for protecting the flag that gave him protection?

The Pope desires and possesses temporal power, and his claim to spiritual leadership makes his temporal claims none the less. If he is the Vicar of Christ, he should claim an oversight over the whole world; if he is not, then he is an imposter and only a foreign potentate meddling in affairs that do not concern him; and the A. P. A. knows it.

As to the matter of secrecy, secrecy does not make a thing virtuous or vicious. Secrecy may be a question of expediency in this case.

The spirited subjects who resented the Pope's interference in Irish politics please our author; in this he commends disobedient subjects as the best citizens; in other words, the inference is, the more disobedient the Romanist, the better the citizen.

It is a pity that the whole curia does not see fit to declare itself according to Dr. Gladden's idea.

"If the ministers would only speak out, the plague would soon be stayed or abated." The opposite has, in fact, been true. Dr. Gladden and Father Sherman are the A. P. A.'s most successful recruiting-sergeants.

COLUMBUS, O. *Adam Fawcett.*

REJOINDER BY DR. GLADDEN.

No statement was made in my article as to the date of the birth of the A. P. A. It was simply said that "an outbreak of religious rancor" occurred last year. How long this outbreak had been festering I do not pretend to know.

Mr. Fawcett's principal complaint refers to my exposure of the documents used by the A. P. A. in their propagandism. The A. P. A. papers, with which I have been abundantly favored since the appearance of my article, all join in this cry. With Mr. Fawcett they all deny: first, that the society has any organs, and, in the second place, that these forgeries — the "Instructions to Catholics" and the forged "Encyclical" — have been extensively used as campaign documents.

As to the latter statement, I desire only to appeal to the members of the order throughout the United States. They know whether or not the "Instructions to Catholics" and the "Encyclical" have been published week after week in the newspapers which they have been reading, and whether they have been printed on leaflets, and circulated from hand to hand by emissaries of the A. P. A. They know whether these documents have been treated in their secret meetings as "clever bits of satiric writing," or whether they have been assumed to be genuine. The members of the order in Toledo, for example, who, only a few months ago, were buying rifles, and alleging that they were arming themselves against the very uprising commanded by the Pope in that forged "Encyclical," were evidently familiar with that document, and had not been taught that it was a bit of satire. The Toledo "American," which represents the A. P. A. in northern Ohio, said in an editorial of February 25, 1893: "The Encyclical, signed by the Pope, was freely circulated among the Catholic churches, read from some pulpits, and passed through the hands of hundreds. It came into the possession of non-Catholics unexpectedly, and thus became public in a manner not so pleasing to the Catholic authorities." As late as last October the same paper editorially denounced a few gentlemen in Columbus for declaring these documents to be forgeries, and demanded to know on what authority we made our statement. For more

than a year and a half I have been receiving, by almost every mail, newspapers from all parts of the United States claiming to represent the A. P. A., and I know that these forgeries have been employed everywhere, that they have been defended as genuine, that they have been essential factors in the A. P. A. propaganda. The denial that they have been so used is a characteristic falsehood. Those members of the order who can read know whether the men who now stand forth and make this denial are telling the truth or not.

As for the Rev. Adam Fawcett, it is easy to test his veracity. He says that the A. P. A. has no organs. This is a quibble to which these defenders all resort. An order which endeavors to conceal its own existence is not likely to have any acknowledged official newspaper. But there are scores of newspapers all through the West which are just as much organs of the A. P. A. as any Republican or Democratic newspaper is the organ of its party. One of these is published in Columbus. It is the "Columbus Record." In its issue of August 2, 1893, under the heading "Very Encouraging Words," is printed, in double-leaded type, the following:

From the National Vice-President and Ohio President of the American Protective Association of the United States and Canada.

It gives me pleasure to certify that the "Columbus Record" is a *true blue* and ably edited A. P. A. paper (the only one in Central Ohio), and very justly entitled to a large share of the credit for the united and very flourishing condition of the order in Columbus.

D. T. RAMSEY, State President.

I heartily concur in the above, and hope every Council in the country will embrace this opportunity to flood the country with patriotic literature.

ADAM FAWCETT.

Perhaps Mr. Fawcett will admit that I had some reason for regarding this particular newspaper as an "A. P. A. authority." In the same issue of the "Columbus Record" which contains Mr. Fawcett's official indorsement, the bogus encyclical is printed *twice*, in large type, with these flaming headings: "Americans, Beware!" "The Lord God the Pope says, 'Thou shalt Surely Die!'" "Will you Heed the Warning?" "The Great Event to take place on or about September 5, 1893." The Rev. Adam Fawcett knew when he signed this indorsement of the "Record" that the "Encyclical" and the "Instructions to Catholics" had been appearing for some months, nearly every week, in the columns of this newspaper. I will not accuse Mr. Fawcett of believing these documents to be genuine. He is a member of the school board of Columbus, and has aspired to be its president. Undoubtedly he believed them to be forgeries. But he greatly wished the country to be "flooded" with this kind of "patriotic literature."

The article to which Mr. Fawcett is replying directly charged him, as a member of the A. P. A., with having laid his hand upon his heart, and sworn that he would *never employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity* if he could obtain the services of a Protestant. He has either sworn this inhuman oath or he has not sworn it. If he has not, he violates no engagement, human or divine, in saying that he has not. If he has, the public will know how to estimate what he says on other subjects. If every member of the A. P. A. has sworn that oath (and no officer and no organ has yet appeared to deny it), then the statement that the order "interferes with no man's religious notions" must be taken for what it is worth.

COLUMBUS. *Washington Gladden.*

A Recent Phase of Relief Work.

LAST summer the sea islands of South Carolina were visited by a series of cyclones that left in their path devastation and want. At the same time the whole country was struck by a financial cyclone that swept everything before it. Each day brought fresh news of disaster; bank after bank, and houses of business firmly established, went down like houses built of straw. It was as if a tidal wave had swept over the land, washing out every sign of life, leaving only the fossil remains upon the shore. In such times the rich fall back upon their capital, and economize — it is easy enough for them to bridge over the temporary difficulty; but the poor are helpless.

While half the nation was out West, glorying in the beauties of the wonderful "White City," here in New York thousands were getting thinner and thinner, crying out from want and hunger, and some going almost insane, inflamed to acts of violence by the speeches of anarchistic demagogues. We who away by the sea or in the country read in the newspapers of the riots in Walhalla Hall, and of the labor troubles on the East Side.

To the stranger within our gates it might perhaps be somewhat of a surprise to find that, in the same city, there could exist two worlds so thoroughly distinct. One, a world free from want and care, of people living in the midst of broad streets with pure air and sunlight, with every now and then a breath of country; their children shielded from every sorrow, having every opportunity to develop mind and body, and, opening up before them, the worlds of music, literature, and art. The other world — one of thousands of struggling people, fighting for a mere chance to keep alive — huddling together like cattle; their streets vile with the stench of human filth; their rooms and cellars foul with contagion and disease; working at starvation wages far into the night; grinding themselves out in the treadmill of ceaseless toil; without rest, without joy, without hope — only a dull smoldering existence.

Were we to put down in black and white the mere statement of the evils of our own city, and add it up as we would a bill of goods, we might begin to reckon the cost:

Of the *sweating-system*, with its starvation wages and its long hours of toil.

Of the *landlord-system*, with its outrageous rents, and the tumble-down tenements, with their vile closets and halls, their cellars filled with decayed refuse.

Of the *filthy streets*, with their foul air and disease.

Of the *police stations*, where the innocent and the guilty are often treated alike, where the young boy arrested on a trivial charge is handled as if he were the most hardened criminal — thrust into pens with professional thieves, kept often for twenty-four hours without food (unless he has money or influence).

Of the *police force*, many of whose members instead of being regarded by the poor as their protectors are too often feared as the colleagues of criminals.

Of the lack of *public baths*. Men and women have no chance to be clean even though they desire it.

Of the lack of *parks*. The only playgrounds for the children, the gutters; their only breath of air, the occasional trips into the country which charity may give them.

We might begin to reflect that for music many have only the occasional hand-organ, with its groups of dancing children — one bit of sunlight in the life of the poor; that for art they have the chromos of the corner grocery-store ; and for literature, the sensational newspaper and the cheap "novel."

The ordinary conditions of life on the East Side are full of problems which years hence will be unsolved. Add to this state of affairs the fact that the majority of the people were idle, and had been out of work for months, that their savings were nearly exhausted, and that there was no hope of any work to come, and we begin to realize to some extent the situation as it was last fall. Underneath it all, however, there was a dangerous undercurrent, which every now and then broke forth upon the surface, finding expression in the theory: "If you have n't bread, demand it of the rich; their property belongs to you."

The problems were: (1) To find some form of work that would give employment to the greatest number of people, and, by means of the wages thus earned, would enable them and their families to keep alive through the winter. (2) To prevent self-respecting workingmen from being compelled to accept alms, whether in the form of money, food, or clothes. (3) To find a form of work at which men of every trade could be employed, and in which the expenses of management should be relatively small, so that the bulk of the money might go to the men as wages. (4) To find work the results or product of which would not interfere with a market already overstocked. (5) So to manage and conduct the work that only those who needed it the most should receive it, and that no one should be attracted to it from other cities or from other parts of the city. (6) To secure the financial support necessary to carry on such an undertaking.

I realize how handicapped I am in having no statistics of the most important aid that was given — the help which, in a crisis like this, was the first to come, which always comes first. It is not the help that comes from relief committees; no "philanthropists" are ever called upon to support it; and strange to say, no one ever gets his name in the newspapers in connection with it: for it is only the quiet, simple, kindly help of the poor to the poor. Philanthropy is no more a question of dollars and cents than is morality.

The first organized and systematic attempt to relieve the abnormal conditions then existing was the formation of what was known as the "East Side Relief Work Committee," which was the coming together of several men and women whose work brought them in direct contact with the lives of the people in their own neighborhood.

While every business was suffering, there were thousands of tailors on the East Side who had been out of work for periods ranging from four to eight months. The clothing market was already overstocked. If tailors were to be set at work making clothes, this would increase the supply and only aggravate the conditions. Just when everything seemed most hopeless, there came an appeal for help for the cyclone sufferers in the sea islands of South Carolina, asking for money, food, clothes — anything; for the destitution was terrible. At the happy thought of one of the members of the committee it was suggested, "Why not set the poor tailors of the East Side at work making clothes for the sufferers from the South Carolina cyclones?"

Our problem was beginning to be solved, but the solution was only a partial one. It is true that this would provide work for the tailors without interfering with the regular trade; but what of the thousands of other workmen? Bricklayers and carpenters could not make clothes.

Looking around us, trying to find some form of work that could be started, we saw the streets of our own neighborhood filled with foul refuse, and it occurred to us to set men at work cleaning them. A form of work had now been found at which men of every trade could be employed, and which required no special training or experience. As it was felt that many would object to doing such work, the people in the neighborhood were consulted as to the advisability of trying this form of relief, and were united in the opinion that the better class of workmen would be only too glad to get any honest work possible.

After consulting experts in the clothing trade, it was decided to hire a shop and machines, buy material, and set men at work making clothes, which were to be sent to the sufferers from the South Carolina cyclones.

Having received the assurance of the commissioner of the city street-cleaning department that the employment of men on the streets could not throw others out of work, as he would not discharge any of his men, but would concentrate them on other parts of the city, it was decided to organize a private street-sweeping force, to clean the streets in the tenement-house districts, thus giving work to the unemployed, and at the same time improving the sanitary condition of the city.

In view of the fact that the amount of work that could be given was limited, it was felt that every precaution must be taken to insure that the work be given only to those persons who needed it and deserved it. The members of the committee could not spend their time in finding out whether people were needy, nor was it desirable to create new investigating bodies when the existing ones were capable of doing the necessary work. It was therefore decided that the work should be obtained by means of tickets and that these tickets ought to be given only after the most thorough investigation.

Every one felt that the ministers of the churches and missions, the charitable and philanthropic societies, and the trades-unions, knew better the condition of their own people than did any one else. Tickets entitling a man to a week's work were accordingly sent to these societies upon condition that they should not be given to homeless men, nor to men without families dependent upon them; thus several individuals were helped instead of one. And it was especially impressed upon the persons distributing these tickets that the relief work was to meet an emergency, being intended only for those workmen who were suffering from the exceptional industrial conditions, and was in no sense intended for those chronically needing aid.

By scrupulously refraining from publishing accounts of the work in newspapers (except where it was abso-

lutely necessary to raise money), by suppressing the addresses of the various offices of the street-cleaning force and of the shops, and by not making known the names of the persons receiving tickets, the gathering together of people in crowds, the fruitless hurrying to and fro in search of work, and the hopeless disappointment at not receiving it, were prevented. Had we announced that in New York thousands of dollars had been raised for the relief of the unemployed, we should have been deluged with an army of tramps eager to get their share of the spoils. By thus refraining from all publicity, the attracting to the work of people from other cities was avoided.

As the sole support of this undertaking was from public contribution, the work in the beginning was naturally tentative and on a small scale. It was started November 28 by putting sixteen men at work on the streets, and at a later date men were employed in the tailor-shops, and in cleaning the cellars of tenement-houses. Not, however, until men prominent in the life of the city had become interested in the work, gaining for it support and confidence, was it possible for it to develop. As soon as this occurred, the work increased rapidly, so that, by March 9, 1600 people were employed in the various branches of the East Side Relief Work.

The great danger of relief work, and the one which cannot be too much emphasized, is the disinclination that people have to conduct such work upon business principles. It is often so very hard to act contrary to one's feelings and emotions, but in accordance with reason. When men kiss your garments, begging not to be discharged, and with tears in their eyes tell heart-rending tales of the sufferings of their families, it is difficult not to weaken and yield to the impulse of the moment. If you yield, however, and once stamp the work as charity, and not as work, its chief value is lost, and you have taken the first step toward the demoralization of the community.

The real value of it all is the one fact that it is a means of giving help to people who very properly would scorn charity, but who are perfectly willing to accept money which they know they have earned. This was most strongly borne in upon me one morning as I watched the men line up to receive their instructions. As it was said to them, "Men, you have a certain amount of work to do, and it is n't too much. If you can't do it, we 'll get some one who can; this is n't charity; it's business," it was most interesting to watch their faces, and to see how they nodded approval at the idea that it was business and not charity. It is most interesting to record the fact that the men who were promoted to the position of foremen, on account of their faithful work in sweeping, proved most trustworthy and efficient. It was a great privilege to have been able to give so practical a demonstration of the principles of civil-service reform.

While to the majority of people it would seem that enough good had been accomplished by spending $100,000 in providing 85,000 days' work for 5000 heads of families, and thus helping, say, 25,000 different individuals over a period through which they otherwise could not have existed, yet to those persons who carried through the undertaking these results are only a few of many; for it is the indirect results that have been of value to the community.

It is impossible to estimate the value to the health of the people, in having the streets of the tenement-house districts kept clean for so many months, and in having so large an amount of refuse removed from their houses. The moral effect upon the people in thus affording them a standard of cleanliness in their streets and houses is of inestimable value. Having had clean streets once, they may insist upon having them always; having had clean houses once, they may force the landlords to keep them clean.

One of the most important results of relief work is the fact that the money received by the men as wages is spent among the tradespeople in the neighborhood for the necessaries of life, and thus tends to keep up the normal conditions of trade, rendering it possible for the storekeepers to get along, and preventing them from being forced into the army of the unemployed. Direct relief, however, acts in just the opposite way; food or clothes given to a family stop with that family, and that is the end.

I have purposely refrained from making any mention of the other methods of relief that were called into existence in this city last winter, for the majority of them were more productive of harm than of good. Many were well-meant, but ill-advised; not planned with reference to the real problems, but the result of impulse without knowledge. Others were only another form of the modern advertising spirit, and have no place in an article on charity. It will be years before New York recovers from the effects of its free-bread and free-clothing funds.

Can one imagine a policy more insane than this of training up our children to be professional beggars; of teaching them that it is right to get something for nothing; and that, whenever they need anything, they shall call upon charity for it? When we learn that a woman standing in line waiting to receive free bread was robbed of forty dollars; and when we hear one respectable, well-to-do boy say to another: "Come on; let 's get some free bread. It 's great fun," we begin to realize how far-reaching and how dangerous such things can be. Aside from the fact that nearly all of the money thus spent is wasted, aside from the fact that the majority of the people thus indiscriminately receiving alms are unworthy, there remains the degrading spectacle of people gathering in crowds, pushing and fighting among themselves, publicly branded as charity-seekers. I can find no words strong enough to express the evil results of such advertising schemes. They are the one great, terrible danger of "hard times"; more to be dreaded even than the influx into the domain of charitable work of inexperienced people, who with one act destroy the influences that the trained worker has been carefully building up step by step.

Of the many results that have come out of the work, there is one which seems more than any other to give special promise for the future. It is the fact that the clergy have awakened to the value of modern scientific methods, and have begun to realize that it is as dangerous to separate the heart and the head in charity as it is in human character.

The two great dangers of relief work, as we have seen, have been avoided; there now remains for us the third. It is the danger that the people may get to rely upon such work, making no effort to secure other employment, so that when the work stops, they become helpless, and do not know which way to turn, like men

suddenly emerging from a dark room into the sunlight. The danger is a very real one where the distress is chronic, and not exceptional. I need offer no arguments to show that in this emergency it did not exist; the mere statement of the occupations of the men, and of the wages they ordinarily receive, is sufficient proof.

When we consider that among the many trades represented there were bakers, bricklayers, bookkeepers, clerks, grocers, diamond-setters, musicians, photographers, weavers — in fact, men of every trade; and when we consider that the average wages ordinarily received by these men were fifteen dollars a week, it is hard for us to believe that such men would sweep the streets for a dollar a day, when they could get work at their regular trade for two and a half dollars. Indeed, many of the men were in the habit of looking for employment each morning before they went to work.

Looking back at it all now, and trying to find some one thing of more value than all the rest, I am impressed with the different minor results that have been accomplished. Thousands have been saved from starvation; families have been kept together, and homes prevented from being destroyed; the self-respect of the workingman has been preserved; and the cause of labor saved from taking a step backward, as it might have done had men been forced through hunger to ally themselves with anarchistic agitators. The rich have a better opinion of the poor, and the poor have a better opinion of the rich.

As we read of the case of the man who had been out of work for months, and who, in addition to supporting his family on the six dollars he received each week, brought to his minister one tenth of this scanty wage, to be used to help those around him who were suffering, we begin to realize that the true philanthropist is he who gives of himself, and not of his superfluities.

When the poor see thousands of dollars spent for their relief, and see men and women working far into the night, giving everything they have for them, they begin to have a better opinion of the rich. Religious and class prejudices have been broken down. Catholic and Jew, Presbyterian and agnostic, have worked together, side by side, shoulder to shoulder, in the cause of humanity. We have at last awakened to a sense of our responsibilities, and are beginning to realize that this life of ours is full of very real and vital problems.

Every year over eight millions of dollars are expended in New York for charity. What a comment upon our civilization! Are we never to realize the danger to our city in having this festering sore upon its life?

After all, are we really roused to the city's true conditions? Shall we ever be able to understand that there is more in life than the mere business of money-making?

"Hard times" and financial panic will pass away, but the problems of the city will remain. We shall still have our "East Side" and our "Tenth Ward," our tenement-houses and our sweating-systems. Shall it be so always?

Lawrence Veiller.

The Public Milk-Supply.

DURING the last few years there has been a growing suspicion that the milk-supply of our cities is a prolific means for the distribution of disease. Our newspapers sometimes tell us with startling headlines that there are more bacteria in city milk than in city sewage. Our physicians are advocating the sterilization of milk for drinking purposes, and our bacteriologists are informing us on every occasion how milk may serve as a means of distributing disease. It is desirable that with all this cry we should know just what the danger is and the best methods of meeting it.

It is undoubtedly true that city milk contains great numbers of bacteria — numbers so great that they have no meaning to us. Some of the milk of our cities is forty-eight hours old before it is delivered, and even though it has been kept cold, bacteria have had a chance to grow in it until they are very numerous. But the question to concern us is not their number, but their effect upon the milk consumer. Bacteria have to most minds a bad reputation, but one that is not deserved. It is true that a few species are the source of much mischief, but it is equally true that the vast majority of of them are perfectly harmless, and indeed beneficial agents in nature. We do not have any fear of swallowing a quantity of yeast, and in most cases it is no more harmful to swallow bacteria. The simple fact that bacteria are present in milk in great numbers does not in itself render milk dangerous any more than the fact that yeast is present in beer renders that beverage a source of suspicion. Mankind has for ages been drinking milk with these germs in it, and has in general suffered no injury from them. The question of interest, then, is not the number of bacteria in milk, but the conditions under which they may do harm.

It is unprofitable to speak of any general injury done by the bacteria of milk unless we can deal with definite facts. The only diseases which we have good reason for believing are distributed by milk are typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, cholera, tuberculosis, and certain forms of intestinal troubles, such as summer diarrhœa. That typhoid and scarlet fever, diphtheria and cholera, may be distributed by milk has been demonstrated beyond question.

That tuberculosis may also be thus distributed is also certain, but at present we do not know whether the danger is great or slight. It is certain that a considerable percentage of the cows supplying the milk of the city are tuberculous, and equally so that the milk of tuberculous cows may contain the tuberculosis bacteria. Beyond a doubt the city milk is more or less infected with the tuberculosis germ. But this germ cannot multiply in milk although it may remain alive for some time. Hence when the tuberculous milk is mixed in distribution with other milk, the germs are diluted, and thus the chance of any lot of milk containing the tuberculous germ is much diminished by the time it reaches the consumer. Further, it has been found by experiment that it requires a number of germs to enter the body at once in order that they may serve as the source of the disease, and hence the chance of any person becoming affected through milk is perhaps not very great.

So far as concerns tuberculosis, fresh milk is even more likely to be infectious than stale milk. The case is different with cholera infantum and other intestinal troubles. It seems that these diseases are produced by certain bacteria, perhaps several different species, which multiply in the milk itself, and there produce poisons which do injury by direct poisoning when taken into the stomach. Here it is the multiplication of the bacteria in the milk itself which renders it injurious, and fresh milk would be harmless. In a word, then, fresh

milk may be a source of typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, cholera, or tuberculosis, while milk that is not fresh may contain poisons which give rise to cholera infantum or summer diarrhœa.

The question of the best method of dealing with milk so as to avoid these difficulties is one of growing interest. The growth of bacteria may be checked by ice, but this will not destroy the disease germs, and will not, therefore, prevent milk from being a means of spreading disease. Sterilization has been much resorted to in recent years. This usually consists in subjecting it to a boiling temperature by means of steam. Such treatment destroys all pathogenic germs and most others, and physicians have found it a great help in dealing with intestinal diseases. Its popularity has grown rapidly, and many forms of sterilizing apparatus have been placed on our markets. In Europe it is even more popular than in this country. But while the sterilization of milk is of value in the treatment of disease, it is to-day becoming unpopular with physicians as a method of providing a constant article of diet. The high heat injures the nature of the milk. It modifies the fats, the sugars, the casein, and the albumen in such a way as to render them less easily digested, and experiment has shown that sterilized milk is less easily assimilated than raw milk. Children fed upon it alone do not thrive. Physicians are now beginning to recommend in the place of sterilization another method of treatment known as pasteurization, as producing better results. This new treatment is simply to heat the milk to about 160° F. for a few moments and then to cool rapidly. This temperature destroys all the disease germs, and so far reduces the number of other germs as virtually to remove the danger of cholera infantum or other intestinal troubles. The milk must be used within twenty-four hours after such treatment, before the few bacteria which remain have a chance to become very numerous.

Pasteurized milk retains the taste of fresh milk, and is as easily digested and assimilated. Physicians find the treatment is equally valuable with sterilization in case of sickness, and is free from all secondary evil effects. The trouble with the method has been the difficulty of its application, for few people in our kitchens are familiar enough with the thermometer to use it. The operation may be practically performed in the following simple manner: The milk is placed in bottles, thoroughly clean, which are corked with cotton. The bottles are then placed in a basin in several inches of water, and the whole placed on a slow fire. The water in the basin is allowed to boil for ten minutes, the milk not boiling, but simmering slightly. The milk is then cooled, and used for food within twenty-four hours. These directions are unfortunately rather indefinite, and the result will vary with the size of the bottle and the amount of fire. Recently there has been put on our markets a form of apparatus which accomplishes the processes surely and simply. With some simple form of pasteurizing apparatus city milk may at all times be rendered free from disease germs, and if the milk is tolerably fresh, it will be perfectly healthful even for infants. If, however, the milk is stale, and the poisonous products of bacteria growth have accumulated, neither pasteurization nor sterilization will render it harmless.

As concerns food for adults, it is ordinarily not necessary to take any precautions unless in the case of persons of slight vitality who would most readily yield to disease. But in seasons when any of the above mentioned diseases are prevalent, in periods of cholera, typhoid, scarlet fever, or diphtheria epidemics, it would be wise to pasteurize all milk that is used directly for drinking purposes.

H. W. Conn.
WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

Stonewall Jackson's Eccentricity.

ALL persons who saw much of General Stonewall Jackson remarked his taciturnity and his self-abstraction. I once rode with him during an entire day, and I now recall the trip as one of the most lonesome I ever made. It was in the summer of 1862, shortly after McClellan had "changed his base" to the James River, and was securely resting under the shelter of his gun-boats at Harrison's Landing. Jackson's command, recently from the mountains, had been withdrawn to a more healthful encampment a few miles north of Richmond, but General Lee, with the bulk of the army, was still fronting the enemy. Early one morning, while doing duty at Jackson's headquarters, I was told to get my horse and accompany the general on a ride. As we quietly jogged along the road, I endeavored to draw him into conversation about the incidents connected with the terrible Seven Days' battle we had just fought, but failing to elicit anything more than short negative or affirmative responses, I changed the subject to general topics — the weather, etc. Still meeting with no better success, I relapsed into complete silence, determined not again to talk unless invited to do so. For hours we continued down the road at a fox-trot, or rapid walk, without a word being spoken. The prolonged silence was growing oppressive to me, when I noticed him muttering, as if talking to some one he had in mind — probably arguing a question of strategy. As the debated point grew in interest, the muttering became louder and more frequent. He was evidently in hot dispute with an imaginary person upon a subject about which they differed widely. Dummy had apparently laid down some proposition which to the general's mode of reasoning was clearly untenable. He therefore replied, "No, sir! No, sir!" in a loud voice, and with a gesture of impatient dissent. The physical exertion seemed to arouse him from his reverie. Dummy vanished instanter; and turning to me with an odd expression of countenance, Jackson remarked, "That is a handsome cottage over there," pointing to a farm-house we were then passing. Immediately afterward, putting spurs to his horse, he went clattering down the road at a 2:40 gait, leaving me to bring up the rear. Not another word was spoken until we reached General Lee's headquarters, whither we were bound.

W. M. Taliaferro.
SOLDIERS' HOME, RICHMOND, VA.

"Voting by Machinery."

WE have received a letter from Mr. J. H. Myers, inventor of the voting-machine which bears his name, in which he commends our recent editorial article describing the operation of his invention as the "most interesting and faithful of the many" he has read, but takes exception to some statements in it as misleading. He regards as erroneous our remark that the Myers

Ballot Machine "is in the interest of straight party voting of the blindest and most unreasoning kind," saying: "It is exactly the opposite. Experience proves it to be very conducive to independent voting. The voter declines and omits to push in the knobs for the undesirable candidates." He also declares that he had never seen or heard of a voting-machine before his was perfected, that the Rhines voting-machine is not similar to his, but entirely unlike it, and that his is the only machine which secures an absolutely secret ballot. EDITOR.

Note.

ON page 43 of THE CENTURY for May the late Frank Bolles of Harvard University is inadvertently mentioned as the late Albert Bolles. Professor Albert S. Bolles of the University of Pennsylvania is still living.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

A Game of Whist.

ETHEL: Whose deal? Mine? I declare! I thought I dealt before.
Now (*dealing to her partner*), Tom, we really must make more.
Diamonds are trumps, and —
MAY: Whose lead?
DICK (*mildly*): Yours, Miss May.
MAY: Oh, of course. How stupid! Yes. *I* don't know what to play.
But (*throws an ace*) we 're sure of *one*. What! must I play again?
Well (*leads another*) —
ETHEL: I do like to play with men.
They always keep so quiet and —
MAY: That 's what I like, too.
You can't play whist and talk. At least I can't. (*To Dick*) Can you?
DICK (*smiling*): Oh, yes; pretty well. (*Aside*) Well, I 'm a chump
If I play whist with girls again.
MAY: What! my play? What 's trump?
TOM: Diamonds.
DICK: Clubs led, Miss May.
MAY: Well, if that 's the case
I think I 'll trump it.
ETHEL: May, that was your partner's ace.
MAY: Never mind; we got the trick. (*To Dick*) You 're in the dumps
Because I took it.
DICK: Your play.
MAY: Mine? Oh, yes. What 's trumps?
ETHEL: Now, we must make the odd. We really must, indeed.
My play? Well, there!
TOM (*mildly*): That was our opponent's lead.
ETHEL: I thought *you* led it. Well, it does n't matter. Say,
What *are* the trumps?
TOM: Diamonds.
DICK: You took that trick, Miss May.
MAY: Did I? Oh, yes. Well, let 's see — I 'll play *that* then (*Dick starts*).
Why, what 's the matter — is that wrong?
DICK (*grimly*): Tom trumps hearts.
TOM (*leading diamonds*): "When in doubt —"
ETHEL: My play again?
MAY: What *are* trumps?
DICK: Diamonds.
MAY: Oh, yes. What ails you men?
Don't you think whist is fun? I do. Why, you look just as glum.
DICK (*feebly*): Do I?
TOM (*aside*): I wish these girls were dumb.
DICK: We think this is fine.
TOM: Yes, the pleasure is intense.
We 've had a most delightful time, I 'm sure.
DICK: Just immense!
MAY: *We 've* enjoyed it.
ETHEL: Yes; we do so like to play
A scientific game of whist, with men, too, don't we, May?

James G. Burnett.

Transformation.

THE butterflies are buttercups, wind-blown,
Bright, airy flowers upon the summer's breast;
The buttercups, thick in the meadows sown,
Are butterflies flight-weary, seeking rest.

Richard Burton.

snakes and toads which fall from the lips of the beautiful princess in the old French fairy-tale.

After all, no one can be taught the art of conversation; it must be a natural gift, or, rather, the individual expression of many gifts, both natural and acquired. "Use what language you will," says Emerson, "you never can say anything but what you are." And to sum up, I can do nothing better than transcribe that great man's praise of what he considers best in life: "What a train of means to secure a little conversation! This palace of brick and stone, these servants, this kitchen, these stables, horses, and equipage, this bank-stock, and file of mortgages; trade to all the world, country-house and cottage by the water-side, all for a little conversation, high, clear, and spiritual!"

Th. Bentzon.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Intelligent Citizenship.

IT is encouraging to note that in various parts of the country, and especially in the large cities, increasing attention is being paid to questions relating to additional safeguards about the ballot-box. Many earnest reformers are beginning to suspect that perhaps we have been somewhat too liberal in extending the suffrage to foreign-born citizens, and also somewhat too eager to make the exercise of the suffrage easy to those least qualified to exercise it intelligently. As a consequence, our naturalization laws are undergoing careful scrutiny, and our ballot laws and election regulations are being examined for the purpose of discovering whether it is desirable to make them more stringent.

These subjects are at present receiving thoughtful consideration in the New York Constitutional Convention, and it is not improbable that the outcome will be amendments making important changes in the fundamental law of the State. Discussion of ballot-reform legislation in this State has turned always upon the meaning of the words in the present Constitution — "all elections by the citizens shall be by ballot, except for such town offices as may by law be directed to be otherwise chosen." The opponents of the most desirable form of the Australian ballot system, as it has been embodied in our American laws, held at one time that the words "by ballot" meant a written or printed ballot, and hence a ballot which a voter may prepare for himself and take with him to the polls. For these reasons they opposed the official ballot as unconstitutional, since its exclusive use prevented the voter from preparing his ballot outside the polling-place. Being driven from this position as untenable, they took up another one, to the effect that any law which did not allow the voter to write or paste upon the ballot the name of any candidate, not printed thereon, for whom he desired to vote, was unconstitutional. Under this contention the "blanket paster" provision was incorporated in the present New York law, and repeated efforts to dislodge it have proved vain.

It is made very plain by the debates and resolutions of the Constitutional Convention of 1776-77, which framed the New York Constitution, that the words, "by ballot" were used to distinguish secret methods of voting, which were just then coming into use, from the open or *viva voce* method, which had previously prevailed. Previous to the Revolutionary War the word "ballot" was used to signify various forms of voting other than that of holding up the hand, or *viva voce*, but in no case was it used to signify a written or printed vote. Thus, in Pennsylvania, voting with black and white beans was voting by ballot; in New Jersey balls were used under the same name, and in New England Indian corn and beans were so used. Whenever written ballots were used, they were spoken of as "papers," or "votes," and sometimes as "written votes." The framers of the New York Constitution had this custom in mind when they used the words "by ballot," and without reasonable doubt they had no other intention than to designate a form of voting which should be secret as distinguished from open voting.

The contention that not only was a printed or written ballot called for by the words "by ballot," but that the words carried with them also a right for the voter to write or paste upon that ballot any name he chose, and, if necessary, to have help in so doing, is based entirely upon legislation which has been enacted during the last fifty years or more. Because the laws have recognized the right of the voter to write his own ballot entirely, or to write or paste names upon it, the claim has been made that the Constitution gives him this right. As a matter of fact it does nothing of the kind; but years of legislative assumption that it does have given as much force to the contention as if it were based on the Constitution itself.

In fact the ballot laws of nearly all our States recognize the same right when they provide a blank space at the bottom of all groups of candidates' names in which the voter may write any name he chooses. The only reform ballot law that we know of which has not such a provision is that of Colorado, which in its original form had nothing of the kind, though it may have been amended recently.

The question has been raised in more than one State whether or not it is wise to have this provision allowing a voter to write in the name of a candidate which does not appear on the official ballot. If this provision were not incorporated there would be no need of supplying aid to the illiterate voter in all States having laws which arrange the names of candidates in party groups with symbols at the top. It is the necessity of providing aid for illiterates, in order that they may exercise their right of voting for a candidate other than those regularly nominated, which opens the door to all the worst frauds and most pernicious corruption at the polls. If the laws were to say that no one should be permitted to vote for anybody except those whose

names were printed on the official ballot, all this trouble about illiterates would vanish, and with it most of the loopholes for fraud. Of course an educational qualification, like that of Massachusetts, makes such prohibition unnecessary.

It is claimed by those who advocate this prohibition that the privilege of writing in names on the ballots is of no practical use whatever; that it merely enables a voter to throw away his vote in order to gratify a whim; that with all the privileges that are given under the reform laws, in the way of nominations by petition, etc., every candidate who has any following, or any chance of election, has abundant opportunity to get his name on the official ballots; and that it is unreasonable, and not in the interest of honest and fair elections, to ask for anything more. On the other hand, it is said that it might happen, in case the objectionable character of the regular candidates for a given office was not discovered till a few days before election, that the privilege of writing in, or of pasting on, a name would be the only way by which the honest voters could defeat the bad candidates, and elect a good one of their own. Whether it would be desirable, in order to obtain the greater and more general good, to run the risk of exceptional evil like this, is a question which we do not presume to answer.

We believe that the New York Constitutional Convention will consider carefully the question of so altering the language of the Constitution that there will be no doubt as to the forms of voting allowed. We believe it will also give thoughtful attention to our naturalization laws. These at present permit any foreign-born citizen to vote who has been a resident of the United States for five years, and who has been naturalized ten days before election. While these laws are much more stringent than similar laws in many other States, they are more lax than many others in one respect, namely, the time which must elapse between naturalization and election. In sixteen States aliens are permitted to vote on the mere declaration of an intention to become citizens, the time of required residence in the State varying from three months to a year and a half. In New York and many other States they cannot vote till they have become citizens, which makes a five years' residence in the country obligatory, and the time of State residence varies from three months to a year. To let a man vote before he becomes a citizen, and especially after a few months' residence, is to invite evils like those which fell upon Louisiana with the Mafia crimes and the riots that followed them. The source of evil in the New York law is the ten-day limit before election. It is because of this that each year great squads of new citizens are naturalized on the eve of election in ways which always cause public scandal. If the limit were to be placed a full year before election, the corrupt bosses would not interest themselves in naturalization to anything like the same extent that they do under the present law. It is a very easy matter for them to keep track of a new voter for ten days, but they would not undertake to do so for a year. The consequence would be that naturalization would be largely a spontaneous act on the part of aliens, and would cease to be a farce and a scandal as at present. Other States than New York have a short limit, and in those we are glad to learn that movements are on foot to extend the time to six months or a year before election. It is worse than folly to allow our electorate to be swollen and debased by unfit voters, when we have so completely in our hands the means of controlling the foreign supply.

Legal Tender Money in History.

WHAT is the meaning of the term "legal tender," as applied to money? "The Century Dictionary" defines it as "currency which can lawfully be used in paying a debt." A briefer and common definition is "compulsory circulation," and this is the term applied to such money habitually in most South American countries, *curso forzado*. Edward Atkinson, in a recent very interesting pamphlet, cites legal tender among some examples of words of which the meaning has been perverted to the vitiation of public thought, and says legal tender should be defined as "an act by which bad money may be forced into use so as to drive good money out of circulation." He has made a search through history for legal-tender acts, and concludes from his discoveries "that no decree and no statute of legal tender ever originated anywhere except for the purpose of forcing a debased coin into circulation, or for the purpose of collecting a forced loan by making paper substitutes for coin a legal tender for debts."

This conclusion must be confirmed by everybody else making like research. The first case of legal tender on record, Mr. Atkinson thinks, was in Greece, in the sixth century before Christ, when Solon debased the coinage so that one hundred new drachmæ were worth no more than seventy-three of the old ones. Another case occurred in Rome, when the senate reduced the weight of the copper money of the republic during the second Punic war. Philip le Bel, of Spain, about 1506, debased the pound sterling, and enforced the circulation of the depreciated money based upon it by decree of legal tender. Professor James B. Thayer of the Harvard Law School is cited by Mr. Atkinson as authority for the statement that the first appearance of legal tender in English history was in the time of Edward III. (1312–1377), who debased the coin, and by a decree of the crown made it a penal offense to refuse the debased money.

A little more than three hundred years later, in 1689, James II. of England made a similar experiment. He was then reigning in Dublin, whither he had returned after abdicating and fleeing to France, and was seeking to regain his throne with the aid of an Irish Parliament. He was confronted with an empty treasury, and conceived the notion, according to Macaulay, that "he could extricate himself from his financial difficulties by the simple process of calling a farthing a shilling." He reasoned that since the right of coining money belonged to the royal prerogative, the right of debasing the coinage must also belong to it. Macaulay gives an entertaining account of the outcome of his experiment, from which we quote a few passages:

> Pots, pans, knockers of doors, pieces of ordnance, which had long been past use, were carried to the mint. In a short time, lumps of base metal, nominally worth near a shilling sterling, intrinsically worth about a sixteenth part of that sum, were in circulation. *A royal edict declared these pieces to be legal tender in all cases whatsoever.* A mortgage for a thousand pounds was cleared off by a bag of counters made out of old kettles. . . . Any man who belonged to the cast now dominant might walk into a shop, lay on the counter a bit of brass worth three pence,

and carry off goods to the value of half a guinea. Legal redress was out of the question. . . . Of all the plagues of that time none made a deeper or more lasting impression on the minds of the Protestants of Dublin than the plague of the brass money.

During our Revolutionary War the Continental currency was made a legal tender, and one of the most formidable obstacles with which the patriot cause had to contend was the debased money which was thus given a forced circulation. Readers of THE CENTURY'S Cheap-Money series remember the disastrous results which followed the efforts of the State government of Rhode Island, between 1785 and 1787, to enforce its decrees making the money of the Rhode Island Paper Bank a legal tender. Business of all kinds was paralyzed, money ceased almost entirely to circulate, the State's credit was ruined, and its prosperity dealt a blow from which it did not recover for many years. France, as was shown in the same series, went through the same experience twice—once with John Law's money, between 1718 and 1720, and again with its assignats and mandats, between 1789 and 1796. So also did Alabama with its State Bank in 1823-42; Michigan with its "wildcat" banks in 1837-39; Mississippi with its Planters' Bank in 1833-1840; and the Argentine Republic with its Hypothecary Banks in 1884-90. All these diversified forms of debased money were made legal tenders, and their circulation was forced by all the powers of the governments which had issued them.

No one can examine historical evidence upon this point and not be convinced that every act of legal tender has been passed to force into circulation a form of money which would not otherwise circulate at all. Sometimes this has been the assumed necessity of a great war like that of the Revolution, and later, of the Rebellion, but oftener it has been the outcome of ignorance or something worse.

Good money needs no act of legal tender to make it circulate. Mr. Atkinson makes an unanswerable argument on this point by citing the fact that the great international commerce of the world has been carried on from its beginning to the present time without international act of legal tender. There has been no trouble experienced in finding a satisfactory form of money for this trade. The traders of the world have selected gold as the medium of exchange, because it best answers the purpose, and no act of international legal tender, if such a thing were possible, would have the slightest effect upon them. They would still go on using gold.

Why, then, should we go on making silver, or any other form of money, a legal tender? Why not accept the proposal made by Mr. Wells and other economists years ago, and put in the form of a bill in the House of Representatives by Congressman Harter of Ohio, to *open the mints to the free coinage of both gold and silver, with no legal-tender quality imposed upon either?* The people of the country could then decide with which form of money they would prefer to transact their business, in the same way in which the international traders of the world decide now. Is not this the best and fairest way out of our financial complications? What objections have the bimetallists to such a plan? Will they consent, after a ratio between gold and silver shall have been agreed upon, to leave both metals to stand upon their own merits as money, without the aid of any legal-tender enactment? That would surely be doing as much for silver as for gold, and it would soon be demonstrated which metal the people preferred to use as money.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Senate and the Constitution — A Reply.

THE purpose with which Mr. Warner's article entitled "An Attack on the Senate," in THE CENTURY for July, was written has my full sympathy. I understand he seeks to maintain that representation in the Senate, as now obtained, is an essential part of our scheme of government, and cannot be modified without prejudice to that whole scheme. The suggestion that a different method of selecting senators in the States, viz., by popular vote, would be preferable to selection by the legislatures, has attracted some attention, though it seems to me that the argument of Senator Hoar in April, 1893, vindicating the present plan, is virtually unanswerable.

A proposition to abolish the Senate altogether would hardly meet with favor in any one of the States; certainly it could not be carried so long as the Constitution remains unaltered in this provision: "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

I think, however, while agreeing with the purpose of the article, that there are statements in it which ought not to pass unquestioned.

On page 375, readers are told that the Constitution was framed and adopted "without the slightest reference to the *doctrinaire* propositions of the Declaration of Independence." This seems to be contrary to the current opinions upon the subject, and lays a foundation for most unfortunate inferences. Gouverneur Morris, in the convention which framed the Constitution, stated, "On the Declaration of Independence a government was to be formed." If he referred to the Articles of Confederation, then, it is also true that the Constitution was formed upon the same foundation: its object was the securing of a more perfect union. Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, seems to have had very strongly in his mind the idea that the *doctrinaire* propositions of the Declaration of Independence had a great deal to do with the Constitution. His opinion concedes it in its effort to exclude the negro from the application of those propositions. The judges who concurred in that opinion must have entertained precisely the same notion, or they would not have so approved the elaborate discussion by which Taney C. J. sought to establish the exception.

President Lincoln also entertained the idea that these *doctrinaire* propositions had not been abandoned in the formation of the Constitution, for in his speech at Independence Hall, February 22, 1861, he announced it as his object to save the country upon the basis of the

Declaration of Independence. He repeated this in his first inaugural:

> The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was, "*to form a more perfect Union.*"

Again at Gettysburg he said:

> Fourscore and seven years ago [1776] our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

It is undoubtedly true that the idea prevailed in the convention that the States were to a very large extent the guardians of the rights asserted in the Declaration. This was believed by the delegates, and among them by the authors of "The Federalist." And so it was contended in that remarkable collection of papers that the Constitution as it stood furnished adequate protection of those rights so far as the general government was concerned. (See Nos. 54 and 55.)

"The Constitution does not give to Congress the power to interfere with the great body of the rights of the citizen." (Miller on the Constitution, p. 294.) This being true, the members of the convention were not the sort of men to spend time during the sessions in repeating the Declaration of Independence.

When the Constitution came before the people in their conventions, it was felt that further safeguards were desirable, so the first batch of amendments was proposed and adopted. These had the direct assent in the conventions in the States of many men who were members of the Constitutional Convention, and practically were agreed upon by all; so that the document as it stands furnishes ample protection for those so-called "*doctrinaire* propositions," and ample evidence that the gathering at Philadelphia had these propositions in mind. The Constitution, with the first eleven amendments, must be taken as representing the mature views of the statesmen of that time.

It is hardly to be supposed that the men who fought the battles of the Revolution, conducted its diplomacy, participated in the acts of Congress, under the old confederation,— many of them were members of the Constitutional Convention,— would turn their backs upon the propositions which the foundation paper announced. Fancy Roger Sherman and Benjamin Franklin, members of the committee which drafted the Declaration, cutting themselves loose, in the convention which established their government, from the principles announced in the instrument with which they had so much to do! Imagine Robert Morris, James Wilson, George Clymer, George Ross, and George Read engaged in that business — imagine, if one can, the officers of the Revolutionary Army who were in the Convention, with George Washington at their head, in that kind of performance! The truth is, that the Constitution is a grant of power, and the Declaration of Independence is a sovereign rule for the interpretation of the grant.

It is an interesting fact that the great act of freedom, the Ordinance of 1787, was adopted at the very time the Constitutional Convention was engaged in its great work, and was confirmed by an early Congress under the Constitution.

A careful consideration of the Constitution, providing as it does for *habeas corpus*, forbidding bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, titles of nobility, and making it obligatory upon the nation to guarantee to every State a republican form of government, and the first eleven amendments, indicate a very general belief in the *doctrinaire* propositions of the Declaration of Independence. In short, taking all these things together, they do conserve the rights which the Declaration set forth. But so careful were the statesmen of that period upon this point that they provided in the IXth Amendment, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

The doubt suggested by Mr. Warner as to the early existence of the definite national idea is unfortunate. The proclamation of Elias Boudinot, President of Congress in 1783, is an interesting illustration of its prevalence, but far less important than the fact that for years the confederacy had representatives abroad engaged in negotiating treaties with various nations,— only nations can, in the sense of international law, make treaties,— and several had been actually signed before this date. The idea runs through the diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution. It is strikingly presented in a letter written by Benjamin Franklin to Hartley, May 24, 1782. Franklin observes, "We Americans consider ourselves a distinct and independent power or State." It is imbedded in the Declaration in emphatic terms. That paper by the authority of the good *people of these colonies* "declares that these *United* colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

On page 377 is the assertion that "the States ratified the Constitution." The doctrine announced by Mr. Warner seems to be, (1) That the Constitution was ratified by the States; (2) That it had its origin in the States.

This seems to be clearly erroneous, and full of mischief. The question came up in legal form in the case of McCulloch *v.* The State of Maryland (4 Wheat. 316) in 1819. The cause was elaborately and exhaustively argued by the greatest lawyers of that time. Walter Jones, of great professional repute, one of the counsel for the State of Maryland, "insisted that the Constitution was formed and adopted, not by the people of the United States at large, but by the people of the respective States. To suppose that the mere proposition of this fundamental law threw the American people into one aggregate mass, would be to assume what the instrument itself does not profess to establish. It is, therefore, a compact between the States, and all the powers which are not expressly relinquished to it are reserved to the States." William Pinkney of Maryland closed the discussion on the part of the United States; he said "that the State sovereignties are not the authors of the Constitution of the United States. They are preceding in point of time, to the national sovereignty, but they are postponed to it in point of supremacy, by the will of the people. . . . But the State powers are no more original than those belonging to the Union. There is no original power but in the people, who are the fountain and source of all political power."

Chief Justice Marshall gave the opinion of the court, in which it was declared:

> From these conventions the Constitution derives its whole authority. The government proceeds directly from the people. . . . The assent of the States, in their sovereign capacity, is implied in calling a convention, and thus submitting that instrument to the people. But the people were at perfect liberty to accept or reject it; and their act was final. It required not the affirmance, and could not be negatived, by the State governments. The Constitution, when thus adopted, was a complete obligation, and bound the State sovereignties.

This opinion was concurred in by Washington of Virginia, Johnson of South Carolina, Livingston of New York, Duvall of Maryland, and Story of Massachusetts—certainly a respectable tribunal.

Years afterward, Chief Justice Chase, speaking for the Supreme Court in 1868 (Lane Co. *v.* Oregon, 7 Wall. 71), declared that the people established a national government. So one may well suppose that point, at least judicially, set at rest.

It was supposed to have been settled also by the debate in 1830–33, in the nullification days, and especially by the great speeches of Webster, and the remarkable proclamation of President Jackson, drawn by the master hand of Edward Livingston.

The question was by some thought to be an open one from 1861 to 1865, during the War of the Rebellion, but it is generally agreed to have been finally closed by the surrender at Appomattox. I cannot but think it unfortunate that this undoubted heresy should be repeated at this late day by so important a writer as Mr. Warner, in so important a periodical as THE CENTURY.

On the same page is the proposition that "The form of government can be changed, but it can be changed, except by revolution, only by the action of the States in the manner that they prescribed in the Constitution." I cannot think that this statement announces constitutional law.

It is clear that the States did not form the Constitution, and if this be so, then clearly they did not, in the language of the article, "prescribe" in it the manner in which it was to be changed; on the contrary, the people prescribed the manner in which it may be changed. It is not, under that document, to be changed by the States at all. The manner of accomplishing the change is fixed by article V:

1. Two thirds of both houses may propose amendments.

2. Congress may call a convention on the application of two thirds of the States.

When amendments are proposed under either of the two methods they may be ratified in one of the two ways:

1. By the legislatures of three fourths of the States.
2. By conventions in three fourths of the States.

Congress, however, is to determine which of the two methods shall prevail.

Obviously, the statement I have quoted fails to set forth the plan provided by the Constitution for the introduction or perfection of changes in that instrument.

I pass now to a notice of only two of the specifications indicating, according to Mr. Warner, a tendency to disregard limitations in the powers of Congress, and even a disposition to overrun State lines.

The first relates to a proposition for legislation by Congress in respect of conditions such as were presented by the riot in New Orleans when several Italians were killed. The theory of the article is, that the proposed legislation merely had reference to the opinion of other nations concerning the United States. I do not so understand it. I understand that the claim was asserted on the part of the Italian government that it is the duty of one nation to protect the citizens of other nations who may be temporarily within its borders—an obligation of unquestioned sanctity, and, in this instance, reinforced by treaty stipulations. When demand was made, the Italian government was met by a statement of the relations subsisting between the national and State governments, which it was thought precluded the nation from any attempt to procure the punishment of those who composed the mob. Eminent statesmen felt that a condition was presented which called for legislation in that regard, and bills were introduced into Congress for that purpose. It will not be disputed that the General government ought to have some power to protect itself in respect of violations, within State lines, of international obligations.

A kindred situation was presented in the famous case of McLeod, who was arrested by the New York authorities on the charge of perpetrating a murder on board the steamer *Caroline* in the Niagara River. Undoubtedly, as between nations, the British government, having avowed its responsibility for the acts of the armed body who cut out the *Caroline* and sent her over the falls, McLeod, who was an armed soldier acting under the authority of Great Britain, could not be held personally responsible for his act. It was found that, under the law as it then existed, his discharge could not be procured, the State of New York refusing to recognize the right of the General government to demand his discharge as an international obligation. Fortunately, McLeod was acquitted, but immediately an act was passed in Congress giving the right to the writ of *habeas corpus* in such cases. That has always been held, and is now considered a wise piece of legislation. A charming situation would have been exhibited if McLeod had been executed after the avowal of his act by the British government. If war had then resulted, it would not have presented a case of what other nations thought of us, but of what another nation did to us.

Again, the article contains this surprising statement:

> A lack of delicacy in the Supreme Court in reaching into State conflicts, and too great readiness to take out a kink which it were much better for the State's honor that it should take out itself, at any inconvenience.

Such an attack as this ought not to be made on a great tribunal without some reference to facts sustaining it. I insist that it cannot be supported by any fair treatment of the history of the court. In my judgment it is not only unwise, but unjust. I think an examination of its decisions will show that the court has a remarkably clear and creditable history on this point. The Supreme Court has no power by its own action to reach into State conflicts. It cannot institute any proceedings; it can do nothing but take cognizance of causes which are properly brought before it by regular process sued out by litigating parties. It is well known that the Supreme Court is reluctant to pass upon questions regarding State laws. It avoids them whenever it can do so, and perform its duty. For instance, when a cause is brought before it on a writ of error from a State

court, the first question considered is whether a determination of a Federal question was necessarily involved in the decision; and if the court find that a Federal question might have disposed of the case, and also that a question of mere State law might have disposed of the case, the court will not take jurisdiction, presuming that the case was disposed of upon a question of State, not Federal law. The books are full of cases of this sort.

Again, suppose a question comes before the Supreme Court involving the constitutionality of a State law. The court will not decide, as I understand it, the State law unconstitutional unless the cause is argued before a full bench. For instance, if upon an argument of such a question before eight of the nine judges five of them be against the State statute and three in its favor, the court will order a reargument, and not rehear the case until there is a full bench. And this situation, as I believe, is one of the reasons why such a considerable number of cases were postponed during the term which has just ended, while the seat of the late Justice Blatchford was vacant. Take also the attempts which have been made within a few years to enforce a State liability in the Supreme Court, the liability arising out of the various railroad transactions in the Southern States where State indorsements had been given. The court has carefully avoided these questions in every case where avoidance was possible, and uniformly regarded constitutional limitations.

There are many other things in the article which might well be made the subject of criticism, but there is space in these columns for no more.

Cephas Brainerd.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Brother Rolly's Drawback.

IT was Saturday afternoon at the Station. A number of men sat out in the front porch of Bundy's store, which was also the post-office. The two benches on each side of the door were filled with men, and several were balanced on the porch railing. Brother Rolly McKittrick occupied a goodly portion of one of the benches, his long legs, incased in brown jeans trousers and calfskin boots, comfortably crossed. He presented a pleasing aspect, with his white hair and beard, ruddy skin, benevolent and inquiring eyes, and sturdy figure, somewhat bent at the shoulders.

"Well, gentlemen," he was saying in a mellow voice, "my experience in religion has certainly been funny. Mighty strange, I should call it. I know I'm saved, and that my sins is forgive,— I got the assurance of justification,— but I don't seem to git no further. I 've got the peace of religion, but not the joy, so to speak — saved, but not sanctified. Here I been seekin' sanctification for two year, and ain't got any more 'n I had at first. W'y, pretty near everybody in the Station's been sanctified in that time but me. I 've kep' up a sight of prayin', and walkin' in the narrow path, and got all the preachers and saved a-prayin' for me, but look like it ain't no use. There 's bound to be a drawback somewheres, I say. I ast Brother Cheatham about it last quarterly meetin', and he says: 'It 's faith you 're lackin', Brother Rolly. Keep a-prayin' for more faith.' But seem like I got the faith a plenty. Now I ain't got no doubt that the Lord *could* sanctify me if he was a mind to. I 'm always lookin' for the blessin'— always gettin', but never got. So I think there must be somethin' else in the way. I wish somebody 'd tell me what it is! Now, I ain't a drinkin' man, and goodness knows I never played no cards, and never swore but once, and that when I was a little fellow six year old ridin' a stick horse, and he shied at a stump, and I cussed him. That sounded so bad I never swore no more. I was brought up in the way I ought to go, and although I 've been a tol'able sinner, I ain't never been to say ornery. Now, I say the Lord's dealin's with me is strange, for here I 've been seekin' the blessin' for two year, and seen worse sinners sanctified in two days. It 's a funny thing. There 's a drawback somewheres, Brother Jones."

During this time Brother Rolly had been turning over tenderly in his fingers a new plug of "Kentucky Orphan," with a shining silver band around it, and he now proceeded, with keen relish and much delicacy of touch, to slice off an end of it with his barlow knife. The slice, being satisfactorily square and straight-cut, was conveyed on the point of his knife to his mouth.

"I should say with Brother Cheatham that it was faith you was lackin', Brother Rolly," replied Brother Gilly Jones. "The grace is free to them that 's got the faith to lay hold of it." Brother Jones was perched on the porch railing, and spat vigorously over to the other side of the porch to emphasize his remark. He was a thin, wiry little man, with pale red hair and chin-whiskers, much-wrinkled skin, and watery blue eyes.

A young boy, who, standing outside of the charmed circle, leaned inward over the railing, here ventured to say with some hesitation: "I heard Preacher Hockersmith say down to Lebanon at camp-meetin' last week that no man that chawed tobacco could hope to git the blessin'. He said it was 'filthiness of the flesh.'" He gasped rather than spoke the last words, for all eyes were turned upon him in stern surprise and disapproval, and all the moving lower jaws suddenly dropped rigid. There was silence for the space of a minute. Then Brother Jones recovered himself.

"Well, I know I got the evi*dence* of the Spirit in me, and I 've chawed since I was five year old. You must have heard wrong, Charlie. Sholy Brother Hockersmith never said that!"

"Yes, he did," replied the boy, not without a visible tremor.

"Where 's his refer*ence?* Where 's his Bible for it?" demanded Brother Jones. "Got to show me Bible on any line before I 'll believe it."

"Well, he said somewheres in Corinthians it said, 'Havin' therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.' He say if chawin' tobacco was n't filthiness of the flesh, he 'd like to know *what* it was. He say a *hog* would n't chaw tobacco. He say he had a special call to preach on that line."

"Well, he need n't be noratin' it around none in these parts!" exclaimed Brother Jones, in a high and scornful voice. "W'y, what 's tobacco made for, I say?

"Yes; that 's it. Go on. The quaver in the voice is rather well done. 'Will you —' What?"

"Will you marry me?"

"Yes, Mr. Lawrence; I will."

There was a short pause, during which a number of fiery fish were sent off again, and squirmed, and wriggled, and fizzled their burning little lives away in the water. But neither of the young people looked at them.

"You rather took my breath away," said Lawrence, with a change of tone. "Did I do it all right?"

"Oh — quite right," answered Fanny, thoughtfully.

Immediately after the words Lawrence heard a little sigh. Then Fanny heard one, too.

"You did n't happen to be in earnest, did you?" she asked suddenly in a low, soft voice.

"Well — I did n't mean — that I meant — you know we agreed to play a game —"

"I know we did — but — were you in earnest?"

"Yes — but, of course — Oh, this is n't fair, Miss Trehearne!"

"Yes, it is. I said 'Yes,' did n't I?"

"Certainly, but—"

"There 's no 'but.' I happened to be in earnest, too — that 's all. I 've lost the game."

THE END.

F. Marion Crawford.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Senate.

A RECENT writer in THE CENTURY deprecated the phrase, a "rich man's club," as applied to the Senate, and showed that there are fewer very rich men there than is popularly supposed. Since this was printed another conspicuous instance of a rich man's election to a seat in that body has taken place. The general opinion is that no matter how few rich men there may be in the Senate, there are too many men there who would not for a moment have been thought of for that great place, had it not been for their money. No one would have cared how many millions Mr. Webster, or Mr. Clay, or Mr. Seward might have possessed; no one cares how wealthy a senator may be, if he is a statesman, if he is eminently fit for the place, but there is a natural and growing sensitiveness at the capture of these places by ambitious millionaires who are very far from being statesmen. Sometimes, in the past, it is believed the latter have paid State legislators directly for their votes; sometimes they have paid them indirectly by paying their campaign expenses; but the public is very often perfectly sure that, in one way or another, the millionaire's money is the chief occasion of the election.

When the senatorial millionaire is once in his place, of course there is constant suspicion of his official action, when it is supposed to affect values in which he is himself directly or indirectly interested, or in which his business associates are interested. But this is not the only danger; he is apt, at times, to rival in his speeches and proposed measures the professional demagogue, in order to appease the sentiment which takes exception to his senatorial position. So there are two distinct reasons for the fact that the presence in Congress of millionaires unskilled in statesmanship is a constant menace to good government.

There is another class of senators who have helped to injure the repute of that body — namely the "boss" of inferior character and reputation, whether he be wealthy or not, who has managed to log-roll himself into that high office by means of the spoils system. Such men used to do a certain amount of the "dirty work" in politics, in the old times; but they did not themselves aspire to places of such dignity, and the fact that they do successfully thus aspire nowadays speaks ill for the condition of public affairs in America.

Such senatorships bring the highest branch of our legislative system into contempt; constitute an ever-present legislative danger, and are both the occasion and sign of a general corruption — the inordinate use of money in elections, and the perpetuation of political oligarchies and corrupt machines in the various States. When the highest chamber of legislature in our system is thus tainted, it is time for good citizens to inquire what is their part or responsibility in the premises.

Various devices are being discussed for the cure of this immediate evil. These devices may or may not be advisable; but even if adopted they will not suffice, nor shall we secure and maintain other needful political reforms, unless Americans make up their minds that they must, from this time on, assume a new and closer relation to civil government. If we leave our politics to "the boys," they to take their rewards in cash or in public office, they will gladly accept the job, run the machine — and the government along with it.

There are plenty of much needed reforms, like the reform of the Senate, the reform of the State legislatures, the reform of city government, and at the foundation of all, the abolition of the spoils system — but none of these will be thoroughly accomplished, and stay accomplished, unless the individual citizen himself "goes into politics," and stays there.

By the way, has the reader of this joined the Good Government Club, or the City Club, or the Civil Service Reform Association in his neighborhood? Has he joined the Anti-Spoils League? Or is he too busy, or ashamed, or cowardly to join? Or, if there is no such association in his neighborhood, is he consulting with wise and disinterested fellow-citizens on the subject of starting one?

Home Rule for Cities.

THERE are, at the time this article is penned, several propositions before the New York Constitutional Convention for an amendment providing for the home rule, or local self-government, of the cities of that State. It is not necessary to our present purpose to go into the particulars of these various propositions. They all have the same end in view, namely, to give to the cities the power to regulate purely municipal affairs without interference from the legislature. At present the legislature, under its power to provide charters for cities, can make the cities its creatures by interfering with every detail of their administration. It is proposed to take away this power, and to direct the legislature to pass general laws under which the cities can organize their own system of government, leaving to the State control over such matters as concern the governmental functions of the State, as taxation, excise, courts, elections, health, education.

It is proposed as a basis of home rule that the cities be permitted under general laws to organize a system of government by means of a common council, with power to legislate for municipal purposes, whose members shall be chosen on a general ticket from the whole city, and in such manner that there shall be minority or proportional representation in such council. It is argued that election in this manner will secure a common council of higher character than is possible under the old district system, and on this point there can be no difference of opinion. Under the district system, the majority of the voters in certain districts may be of such low moral character that an objectionable candidate can be nominated and elected without difficulty. It has happened, therefore, that in many districts in large cities liquor-dealers are chosen to the common council. If all candidates were to be placed on a general ticket, and were to be voted for by all the voters of a city, no party would venture to take the responsibility of nominating men whose occupations or reputations were such as to constitute evidence of their unfitness for the position.

While there would be, therefore, an undoubted improvement in a common council elected by the whole city, as compared with one elected by districts, it is an open question whether the improvement would be sufficiently great to insure intelligent and honest municipal government. It would all depend upon the interest which the people of the city should show in the nomination and election of councilmen. In times of great public interest, like those which follow the revelations of public scandals in cities, the common council chosen would be pretty certain to be a body competent and willing to rule the city wisely and well. In ordinary times, the chances would be that quite a different body, one selected mainly by the professional politicians, would be chosen.

The great point gained, however, would be the placing of entire responsibility for the character of the municipal government upon the people of the city. If the government were dishonest and bad, the people would have to admit that it was so through their own fault. They could not escape the charge that it was bad simply and only because they were too indifferent and negligent of their public duty to make it better. So long as cities are ruled in part by the legislature, indifferent voters can say that they are not to blame if the government is bad, since they have not the power to make it better if they would. If the whole shame of ignorant, extravagant, and often brutal municipal rule were to be laid upon the people of the city, there is good reason to believe that the respectable elements of the population would be aroused to the necessity and duty of ridding themselves of it. They would have to secure better government, or admit that they were not, as a community, fit to govern themselves.

Although there are times when the country member comes valiantly to the rescue of cities from crying evils, still municipal government through a State legislature is not responsible government. A majority of the members whose votes decide upon matters relating to the great cities in New York State live outside those cities. Their constituents know nothing about those matters, and care nothing about the attitude of their representatives toward them. The members are never called to account for their doings in these respects, and they are perfectly safe in taking any course which is hostile to the interests of the cities. The consequence is that much of the legislation for cities is ignorant, much of it is inspired by unworthy motives, and not a little of it by corrupt desires. Citizens of the large cities are in constant need, while the legislature is in session, of appearing before committees to argue with members from remote quarters of the State as to the merits of measures which affect interests entirely foreign to those who sit in judgment upon them. Salaries which city taxpayers must pay are raised by the votes of members living hundreds of miles outside city limits. One bill passed at the last session of the legislature, in spite of the protests of the New York city government and the entire New York press, raised the salaries in one branch of the municipal service no less than $400,000 a year.

The experience of other cities of the country in regard to legislative interference is in favor of the change proposed in New York. Chicago has never suffered from such interference, as its charter is a general law, and the legislature cannot change it without changing the charters of all the other cities of the State. In speaking of the results of this system, Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, in the interesting address which he made before the Municipal Reform Conference in Philadelphia, in January last, said:

> So far as the State has touched us at all, it has touched us through its Constitution; and there it has acted beneficently by limiting our power of borrowing money until our city debt is ridiculously low,— only about thirteen millions,— and by limiting our power of taxation, so that our taxes are moderate. We have in this way that greatest political good — absolute home-rule, uninterfered with, untouched by any exterior force or power or influence.

Philadelphia is governed through its councils, under charter from the legislature. The Constitution of the State forbids the creation of municipal commissions, prohibits all special legislation, and limits the powers of municipalities to contract debts. Both Philadelphia and Chicago choose the members of their local legislative bodies by districts, and the consequence is that there is a large representation of objectionable men in them, with the natural result of much bad government in the city. Boston has just begun the experiment of electing its board of aldermen, who with a common

council constitute the legislative department of the city, on a general ticket, under the minority-representation provision that no voter shall vote for more than seven of the twelve aldermen to be elected. Only one trial has been made of this plan, and the results of that were not especially encouraging.

In fact the trouble everywhere, under all systems, is the same. Mr. MacVeagh, in the address from which we have quoted, defined it accurately when he said:

> Our trouble is your trouble — the indifference and the neglect of the so-called good citizens. Such men defeat good city government. I want to say that it is not the bad citizen that needs to be reformed, but the "good citizen." The bad citizens are a hopeless minority. The good citizens are a hopeless majority.

Mr. Moorfield Storey, speaking also at the Philadelphia Conference, said of the situation in Boston:

> If honest citizens without regard to their differences on national questions would combine to secure good men in the board of aldermen, this new law might be of great assistance, but employed merely to divide the board between Republicans and Democrats it is useless.

The remedy for municipal misgovernment lies in the awakening of the respectable citizens to a proper sense of civic duty. Home rule, by placing the responsibility for misgovernment squarely and fully upon the inhabitants of the cities, must tend inevitably to hasten this awakening, and for this reason it would seem to be desirable that it should be granted.

The Memory of Curtis.

WHILE good citizenship and nobility of character are honored in America, the memory of George William Curtis will remain green and fragrant, but it is altogether fitting that those who were of his own day and generation should honor themselves in making a permanent memorial to his memory. The shape of this memorial, as decided upon, is twofold: first, an artistic monument; second, an endowed course of lectures upon the duties of American citizenship, and kindred subjects, to be called the "Curtis Lectureship." It will then be seen that the memorial is of such sort as not only to be a record of his personality, but to carry on forever the true work of his life by an insistence upon the cause to which his life was devoted — the elevation of the standard of American citizenship. This was the thought that dominated his career; the motive which grew and strengthened with his years.

Curtis possessed personal traits which gave him distinction; he had exceptional literary and oratorical ability; his was a life of singular purity and nobility. But above all Curtis was a most exemplary type of American citizenship. His fame as a public man did not come from office. His great services to his country were performed as a private citizen, without expectation of political reward. In fact, his only relation to any prominent position (except the chairmanship of the Civil Service Commission) was the refusal of high place under a friendly administration.

The committee of several hundred having the matter in charge is certainly one of the most significant and representative that has ever been made in this country. It is desirable that the sum ($25,000) shall be subscribed for in every part of the Union by all who appreciate the man, and who sympathize with the patriotic form which the memorial is to take. Mr. William Potts of Farmington, Connecticut, is the secretary, and Mr. William L. Trenholm, 160 Broadway, New York, the treasurer.

A Good Minister and a Good Citizen.

THERE was a time in the recent career of a prominent minister of New York when good men questioned not his motives, but certain of his methods. It was soon found that any fault of method, if fault there was, counted as nothing to the rectitude of motive, energy, and persistence of action, and, as now appears, to the enormous value of results in the unveiling of official iniquity.

The legislative inquiry would not have taken place had it not been for a popular uprising which placed the legislative branch of the State government in hands unfriendly to Tammany Hall. But the labors of Dr. Parkhurst have been the principal means in making that inquiry successful; and the people rightly regard him as the chief hero of the preparatory struggle with Tammany Hall — a struggle soon to be followed by another, which all friends of good government throughout the world are hoping will be a fatal and final defeat of that ignoble and irredeemable organization.

All honor to the true minister and true citizen, Charles H. Parkhurst. Would that every community in America possessed a patriot as earnest, unselfish, and heroic!

OPEN LETTERS.

Abandoned Farms Again.

MR. WILLIAM HENRY BISHOP seems to have emerged from a search after an abandoned farm in upper New England, which he has described in an entertaining manner in THE CENTURY, with doubts as to the existence of the deserted homestead. Years before the abandoned farm had got itself into print, I spent some summers in Vermont, and deserted land was then abundant enough in that region. The landlord of the tavern of the quaint little village of Grafton cut the hay on a half-dozen of such places, which I have myself visited. Oftentimes the houses were on pleasant, breezy sites with delightful outlooks. Years subsequently spent in the northeastern part of New York State within sight of the distant Green Mountains have, however, made me far more familiar with local changes there. No abandoned farms were to be found in the neighborhood of Lake George eighteen, fifteen, even ten years ago. At the time of a great exodus of a portion of the original New England stock westward, Irish and Scotch families had moved in and filled up the vacant lands. Within ten years, however, the abandoned farm has made its appearance, and has gradually spread like

some novel weed, the seeds of which had come over the Green Mountains on the east wind, or lain long dormant among the belongings of the New England folk who first settled this land, to spring up at last and bring forth fruit. In a drive of five miles I can now show the beholder as many farms where the meadow-grass waves untrodden in the dooryard, and cinnamon roses struggle with weeds in the neglected garden-plots.

There is nothing romantically melancholy about the story of these abandonments. One man on the shores of Lake George, whose acres are few and untamable, though beautiful with rocks and pines, has moved to a neighboring village, where he pursues the business of boat-building. Another lives on an adjacent farm, and pastures cows on the more abundant but scarcely less rocky land of his abandoned farm. A third place with rich soil, fine fruit, a small house, and a delightful outlook, has fallen into the hands of a man who cuts the hay, and holds the farm for sale until such time as he may find a purchaser for his land. The fourth, a fine old homestead, in good preservation, with French Mountain as a background, is owned by a man who has deserted the place in search of better farming land. This farm will no doubt be sold at a low price when he dies, and his children desire to realize on their inheritance. The possessor of the fifth, which is crossed by a fine, brawling brook, prefers to abandon his place and rent a better farm, at a distance, which is in turn deserted by its owner. There are other abandoned homesteads near at hand. One man has gone into the meat business at Caldwell; another has moved to Glens Falls; a third farm, with a beautiful stretch of lake shore and a ruinous house, is deserted also, but will hardly be sold until the death of the widow of the former owner extinguishes her dower-right. Half-a-dozen abandoned mountain-side farms have been bought by a "town-man," and countrymen sometimes engross land which they find on the market at prices which seem to them so low as to offer a chance for speculation.

I make no doubt that this region is far from being an exceptional one in this respect, but that corresponding evidences of a decay in the value of Eastern farm-lands may be found far and wide. The reason is patent. Rich and level Western prairies, with their farm machinery and cheap transportation, have cut out these stony, hilly farmsteads which once furnished wheat and corn for an Eastern market, and grew their half-scores of sturdy girls and boys. The boys, if possessed of spirit, have mostly long since sought the wide prairies, or moved to neighboring towns where they have chosen other vocations. Those who have inherited land, and have been unable to sell it unless at a sacrifice which seems to them too great, tug at their chains and mourn that they had not long since "gone West." The children of the Irish people who once filled up the deserted homes here have also flown the nest. And all this not because of a love of change and a hatred of hard work, but for a simple economic reason: almost anything pays better than farming. The result of this exodus is that a considerable part of the present population is a sort of immovable sediment, a weedy sort of folk attached to the soil in a blind way, who have neither the spirit to seek new fields to conquer, nor to conquer those about them, but who seem to strive only to solve the problem of how to exist with the least possible amount of bodily exertion.

Old folk remember when modest fortunes were once made on farms in this region. Now one of our most intelligent farmers has been heard to declare that he would not take the best farm in his township for ten dollars an acre. He has abandoned his own inherited land in favor of a son. When asked what he meant to do, he made answer, "Put on a gold watch and hire out by the month." It is a common saying here that a farmer cannot make more than enough in actual cash to pay his "hired man." It does not, however, follow that farms may be bought for ten dollars an acre. Your farmer is of all men the last to submit to economic changes. He is conservative and cautious above everything. He may have discovered that farming does not pay; he may know that some of the best farms in the country go begging at a third of the asking price of twenty years ago; he may even desert his land; but sell he will not at less than what seems to him to be its real value. You must wait and tire him out, and perhaps tire out his heirs, before you may get his farm at a bargain, unless indeed a mortgage overtake him before that time. His habits of thought are not business-like. He never reflects that the interest on a smaller sum would grow in time to the larger amount on which his hopes are fixed.

In New England, to the cautious spirit of the countryman one may add the presence of the city man, as a factor in enhancing the price of farm property. The latter too frequently contrives to give his country neighbors the impression that he is a boundless mine of wealth. He brings to them a never-looked-for opportunity to sell and to do for ready cash. He freely hands out in one day more money than the farmer who raises his own necessaries, and too often foregoes his luxuries, may see in months. To the farmer he seems a spendthrift who may not be deterred from sowing his means far and wide, and he shrewdly resolves that while "it rains porridge" his bowl shall not be found "bottom side up." What wonder that the price of land rises, and milk, vegetables, and carriage hire are no longer to be had for a song, when the city man is seen in the land? I myself only blame the country-folk that they too often overreach themselves in their shrewdness. If Mr. Bishop had suffered some years ago from the craze for old furniture, and had sought to buy a hall-clock from the original owner, he would have been apt to find that the price rose with the rumor of a demand even to two hundred dollars, as in one case that came to my knowledge.

Those farms which border on Lake George in this region are apt to be enhanced in price by that fact. Sales and rumors of sales have inflamed the imaginations of their owners, and no depression in the value of real estate elsewhere ever affects the ideas of these patient natives. Cases have been known where one inquiry has been enough to raise the price of a few acres to ten thousand dollars, the owner meanwhile making haste to denude his land of its timber that he might realize in two ways upon his property. The same spirit has no doubt much to do with the rise in the price of land in New England. As yet no one has selected our abandoned farms in this region for summer homes, and when they contain no lake sites they have no fancy value. Those really desiring to sell will no doubt sell at moderate prices to one whose appearance holds out no promise of miraculous showers of wealth, but is only

an earnest of a modest trickle of hard-won earnings. Perhaps, indeed, the fellow-farmer is the only man who can arrive at the lowest actual price at which farming land may be bought.

Elizabeth Eggleston Seelye.

LAKE GEORGE, N. Y.

An Instance of Organized Public Spirit.

FIVE years ago the city of Indianapolis suffered from an extreme public indifference to the evils of a form of municipal government lamentably lacking in intelligence and efficiency, and a general absence of home pride or public spirit on the part of citizens. Mr. William Fortune started a movement to overcome these disadvantages, and four years ago called together twenty-seven business and professional men who organized the Commercial Club, the membership of which increased within a month to nearly a thousand. Its name does not fully indicate the club's purpose, which is not commercial in the sense of devotion to trade interests, but is, broadly stated, to make the Indiana capital a better place to live in.

Attention was first directed to the need of a complete reorganization of the municipal government. The city was then under the control of a board of aldermen and common council, who had brought about a state of affairs similar to that in many other American cities and towns, where the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are intermingled in hopeless confusion, and where political advantage is the main consideration. A committee representing the club, the city government, and the board of trade prepared a charter embodying many of the best modern ideas of municipal government, and secured its enactment by the legislature, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of many influential people who were interested in the continuance of the old form.

The streets of Indianapolis, at the time of the club's organization, were little better than the worst — not a foot of asphalt or brick. Much educational work was done in enlightening the public as to the value and importance of street improvements. A paving exposition was held for the purpose of affording citizens an opportunity of obtaining information easily regarding the various street-paving methods. The project, an original one, was successful. Nearly all the leading paving companies in America made exhibits, and official delegates were sent to the exposition by a hundred or more cities and towns to gather information. The result was that remonstrances against proposed street-paving ceased, and the demand for it at once became greater than the city authorities could meet, and has so continued for four years.

In 1891 the city was without a system of sewerage. A committee of the club spent a year, under the direction of eminent experts, in an exhaustive investigation, with the result that a comprehensive sewerage system is now far on toward completion.

The club has represented the public in providing for the unemployed during this winter, having the coöperation of all organizations engaged in charitable work. It has devised and carried out a plan by which between 4000 and 5000 persons have been furnished regularly an ample supply of food, sold to them on credit, under an agreement requiring them to perform work in payment of their indebtedness, at the rate of 12½ cents an hour. The public has been given the benefit of the labor without charge. The aim has been to avoid pauperizing the people who have been under the necessity of receiving relief. Dr. Albert Shaw, in a recent article, has characterized this plan as "the most perfect arrangement for relief that has been devised in any of our cities."

The character of the club's work will farther appear in a summary of some of the enterprises with which it has had to do partly or wholly: a hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar county jail in place of one which disgraced the community; a State Road Congress; equalization of the city's taxes; securing for Indianapolis the Twenty-seventh National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic; and a bill for a State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation.

In a word, the club's accomplishment is that no one's thought for the betterment of the community has had to be unrealized for lack of coöperation. With a view to permanence in this centralization of public spirit an eight-story stone front building — the handsomest business structure in the State — has been erected by the club as its home.

The articles of incorporation provide that "the club shall not be committed in any manner to the advocacy of any candidate for office." Each member has but one vote regardless of the amount of his subscription, which must be for at least five of the ten-dollar shares of non-dividend-paying stock. Only the income from the money realized by the sale of shares is available in furthering the club's undertakings.

"Booming" has been a very small part, and the offering of bonuses no part, of the work, which has been conducted on the theory that the improvement of the city is a desirable, if not an essential, precedent to its upbuilding from without.

While the large representative membership gives to the club the general support essential to the accomplishment of public undertakings, its work is done by a few men acting as committeemen or as officers. Occasional public meetings are held for the purpose of affording opportunity for suggestions as to what should be done, but all plans are quietly developed and carried out by representatives.

Evans Woollen.

One Cause of Apathy in Municipal Politics.

IT may be safely assumed that the more or less educated or cultivated man, whose abilities have made him successful in the management of his private business, or whose interest in real estate gives him a large share of taxes to pay, is rather conspicuous by his absence than prominent in the public politics of cities, or in the work of municipal legislation and administration. Let us see whether any light will be thrown on the relation of such men to the reforms which are demanded, by consideration of the significance of their "apathy"— that is, by an attempt to discover and explain their present unsatisfactory attitude toward municipal interests, commonly so characterized.

It is clear enough that in any city where a considerable number of the "representative men"— or, as some say, "the best men"— approximate to a sense of public duty, the solution of its municipal problem is probably in sight, since such men would not manifest

"apathy," but a most effective activity. But while there are cases of "apathy" which may fairly be said to be explained, if not excused, by honest discouragement, it will be evident on further consideration that "apathy" must now be, in an important percentage of cases, understood to cover at least one other constraining cause, not so innocent, and the contemplation of which is somewhat disquieting as to the probable effect of greater activity on the part of the "better element" in local politics. This is the habit of non-interference, growing out of investment in, or other relation to, business enterprises, particularly private corporations, which depend for existence on municipal franchises or patronage, or both. It is brought about, not as a result of a direct bargain, nor is it, perhaps, always or usually presented to the individual in such a way as to call for a definite and formal sacrifice of principle, but it has come to be an unwritten law that the managing officer of such a corporation is not to be embarrassed in his relations with the city by a "pernicious activity" on the part of the stock-holders or those whom they control. Sometimes, indeed, when a close vote is to be feared, and a purchasable official is needed, there has been seen the anomaly of an unblushing rascal supported by "our best men," who had, of course, been convinced by the manager of the water company, or the promoter of some other enterprise in which they were stock-holders, that the candidate was, after all, not a bad fellow, and would vote "our way" when the time came.

This is, of course, quite exceptional, and the most that is usually expected is that the stock-holder and his following shall not be active,—shall not oppose things, or be too much in favor of things, nor inquire too critically into municipal matters,— shall, in short, be "apathetic." When the number of private corporations dependent in various ways on municipal favor is considered, the ramification of this influence is seen to be enormous. When an abuse becomes intolerable, and an enthusiastic, but over-confiding, individual or party sets out upon an attempt to correct it, support is at once developed in the most unexpected quarters— not for the attempt, but for the abuse. Mr. A. will not take any active part, "although sympathizing with the movement," because his partner, Mr. B., is a director in the Something-or-Other Company. Mr. C. is deeply grieved that such a state of things should exist, but can do nothing *himself* because "you know our company does a large business with the School Board." Mr. D. is much pleased that something is to be attempted, but his relations to the City Hall, as the representative of large real estate interests, make it undesirable for him to do much; you have his sympathy, however — and so on, to the end of the alphabet.

Any of these men will discuss municipal reform,— in the abstract,— with interest; some of them with enthusiasm; many of them would resent the imputation that their relation to municipal politics is warped and biased by undue solicitude for their investments in banks, street railroads, electric, gas, or other companies; while others will say frankly, but confidentially, that they can make enough out of the city to more than make up for their share of the excessive taxation, and to pay them for submitting to defects in municipal government, some of which, in fact, they have caused, and by many of which they are known to profit. This is, of course, an unpleasant truth, but it *is* a truth; and, indeed, it may fairly be said that the greatest barrier to-day in the way of such reforms in municipal politics as are agreed upon and urgently demanded is the absorption of able and successful representative men in private corporations, which stamp out the individual conscience and obscure the individual responsibility, until many of the men who would naturally be expected to take the lead in municipal reform are unavailable because "apathetic."

James G. Cutler.

What to Do with the Tramp.

I MUST first explain just what I mean by a tramp. Some people think that he is simply a man out of work, a man willing to labor if he has the chance; and others, although admitting that he is not so fond of toil as he might be, claim that he is more a victim of circumstances than of his own perversity. Neither of these opinions, seems to me to meet the case. According to my experience,—and I have studied the tramp carefully in over thirty States of the Union,— he is a man, and too often a boy, who prefers vagabondage to any other business, and in moments of enthusiasm actually brags about the wisdom of his choice. There are some exceptions, it is true, but by no means so many as is generally supposed. Not one tramp in fifty of those that I have met could say that he could find no work, and not over ten in a hundred could claim that they had never had a "fair chance in life." During my eight months of travel "on the road," hardly a week passed that I did not have an opportunity to labor, and although the work offered me was not always pleasant or very paying, it would easily have kept anybody from becoming a beggar. And these chances were not at all exceptional. Almost any day in the summer, at least, the tramp can "earn his keep" if he wants to, and even in winter there are numerous "jobs" that he could have if he cared for them. But the fact is he does not care for them. He hates work as most people hate poison, and in the great majority of instances, confesses that he is a voluntary idler. Even when he does not admit this, he explains confidingly that "it 's drink that 's troublin' 'im." This is my understanding of the American tramp, and I think that any one who knows him well will agree that it is correct. If so, what is to be done with him?

This is a hard question to answer; in fact I know of none more puzzling; not so much, however, on account of the question itself as because of the public on whom the tramp lives. Until people agree to some definite and comprehensive plan and pledge themselves to be loyal to it, nothing can be accomplished. Exactly what this plan should be is still an open question. Some persons suggest one thing, and others favor quite the contrary. But that something ought to be done is no longer a matter of doubt. In order to suggest the possible character of this "something" I have endeavored to travel back in my experience to a point where I can imagine tramp life to begin. I have tried to picture myself standing at this outset of the whole matter, and viewing the conditions something after this fashion: Given myself, an idle fellow who hates the idea of work, and has determined to escape its drudgery and to live by other means, two courses are open— begging and stealing. If I steal, I commit an acknow-

ledged injury to society and justly deserve punishment. I have not the heart for that. If I beg and receive alms, it is a gift on which I live, and injures nobody; consequently punishment is out of the question. Assuming that this philosophy is correct, I ask: Are there enough charitable and kindly disposed people in the world to support me in an idle life provided I can keep up a good excuse for such a life? If yes, then here goes for the career of a tramp! It is an easy way of seeing the world, and has probably no more hardships than any other business in which men are accustomed to engage. Right here is the turning-point. It seems a simple matter to settle the whole business in theory. Society must agree to say to the prospective vagabond as he canvasses the situation: "No. There are not enough foolishly benevolent members of our body to feed and clothe and shelter you in a life of idleness." I do not offer this as anything that is startlingly original; I can only say had this been the order of things when I began my study of tramps, I should have found it impossible to travel "on the road," and live on the public, even for purposes of strict scientific investigation.

The public, as such, should have nothing to do with cases of charity, be they deserving or not. This is the first principle of any scientific treatment of vagabondage, and until it is put in practice any method will prove unsatisfactory. It is the public that supports the tramp — it is his source of supplies, and as long as it exists for him, he will continue to thrive. I would advise, therefore, that no charity be shown to any one who begs in the streets, or at private houses. Indeed I should be glad to have a law passed which would fine any one who gives alms to beggars. If this were done, the tramp evil would be by no means difficult to settle.

Second: Every town should have some institution to receive and care for penniless wanderers. In this country, with a little remodeling, the station-house, or "Cally," as it is known in tramp parlance, could serve for such purposes. And it should remain exclusively in the hands of the police, as one department of the police system. Some may ask: "But how are the police to know who the real tramp is?" The best method of discovering him is to compel every person who wanders at the expense of the community to give some evidence of his willingness and ability to work. In Germany, this is accomplished by means of *Arbeitsbücher* (workingmen's books), which every man on the *Chaussee* is supposed to carry, and unless the man's book shows that he has worked within a reasonable amount of time, or gives some good reason for not having done so, he is put into the hands of the police. It is hardly possible, I suppose, to introduce this "pass system" into the United States, but there are other ways of finding out who the real tramp is, and whether he wants work or not. For instance, the station-house could also be a labor test house, and situation bureau. Each inmate should be given a task of work, and if he proves honest and anxious to secure a situation, the "bureau" can be made the means of supplying him with one. If he refuses to work, or shows any inclination to be disorderly, he ought to be immediately put in "durance vile." This plan would, of course, cost the taxpayer something, but not so much as under the present arrangement, or lack of arrangement, and it would free every person in the community from the feeling that in refusing a beggar he is perhaps denying an honest man a chance to get on.

Third: Every professional beggar must be severely punished,— but not in the county jails,— until they are reformed. It is a perfect farce to put a tramp into such places. In winter he wants nothing better, for in them he is well taken care of, and is not compelled to work. This is precisely what should not be done. Every tramp should be sent to the workhouse, at least, and, in case he persists in his unwillingness to earn his living, to the penitentiary. I am well aware that a good many people will cry out at this last suggestion, but just so long as they fight shy of these necessary although severe measures, just so long will they be duped and tricked by beggars. There is no use in blinking this fact, for it is indisputable, and the sooner it is appreciated by everybody, the easier will it be to deal with the tramp question. The whole trouble, as I said above, comes from our unwillingness to give our time and painstaking assistance to some genuine and comprehensive plan. Even in Germany, where, so far as theory goes, the treatment of vagrancy is excellent, there is this same trouble; and every German sociologist admits that it is impossible to rid the country of *Chausseegrabentapezirer* so long as people feed them and are unwilling to have them severely punished.

In regard to the boys "on the road," and there are thousands of them, the question becomes serious even to dread and fear. They are the product of the criminal indifference of the good, and the bestiality of the bad. They are the new crop of tramps. If they can be snatched from the grip of the old men "on the road," where shall they be placed? They are too far demoralized to be relegated to decent companionship. What shelter and discipline is open to them? A good home is what they need, but where is one to find it? In view of these difficulties, and also because the majority of these lads are tramping because the older vagabonds persuaded them into this life, I think that the best way to keep them off "the road" is to make them dangerous companions. Let it be known, for instance, that any hobo caught in company with a "kid" will be sent to the penitentiary for two or three years, and I will guarantee that the latter will diminish in numbers very rapidly. This is putting punishment where it belongs, and at the same time tends strongly to prevention of the evil. It does not, however, provide for the boys when they are once out of the clutches of the tramp. There is a crying need for an institution which shall take the place of the reform school, a kind of industrial home and manual training-school, in which the least contaminated may be separated from the viciously trained and criminally inclined boy, and taught useful employment and obedience to authority.

I am no enemy of the reform school, but I believe that many a boy is sent there who belongs in a more gentle institution. Just what this latter should be is hard to settle; personally, I should like it to be a sort of home, in some respects like a university settlement, where the boys may be continually under the influence of cultivated and trained sociologists, and at the same time have the benefit of kindnesses not found in penal institutions. A brotherhood of young men bound together by philanthropic purpose, and charged with a mission of this sort, will, in my opinion, accomplish

more than any other existing agency in the reform of juvenile tramps.

The foregoing is but a suggestion as to the treatment of vagabondage. In the space at my command I have only been able to sketch a broken outline around what I consider the main points, which are as follows:

(1) All charity shown to beggars should be put into the hands of municipally employed specialists.

(2) Each town should have a police rendezvous for vagabonds, conducted on such principles that the seeker of work should be entirely distinguished from the professional tramp.

(3) The latter must fall under a system of graded punishment and enforced labor in institutions where he will be continually in contact with law and order.

(4) The juvenile tramp must be speedily eliminated from the problem by penalties imposed on his seducers.

These principles, as I have explained them, presuppose in municipal government a power over tramps which I am well aware does not always exist in this country; but if municipal government in the United States has come to the point where it is powerless to meet a growing evil in its own domain, or to where people are afraid to trust any more business in its hands, it is high time that a better government be begun. For until the treatment of vagabondage can be placed entirely in the hands of municipal authorities, it will not prove efficient.

Josiah Flynt.

The College Gymnasium.

In the minds of some people, even of some educators, there is danger of misunderstanding the college gymnasium. Before describing it, therefore, it may be well to clear away some false impressions about it. In other words, before telling what it is, it is necessary to declare what it is *not.*

It is not primarily a place of exploits; it is not a place designed for teaching young men dangerous feats of strength or skill. If such things are taught in it, they are incidents, and not the chief ends, of the teaching. Though its purposes are served by means of the training of the muscles, the making of men into "lumps of muscle" is not the aim of the training.

Its chief aim is educational. The term "body-building," largely employed by the best instructors, well describes its main purpose. By a great number of prominent educators, education is made synonymous with study of books. In this view of study, what constitutes education is the evolving of brain-power through conscious cerebration, using the eyes and ears as the avenues of materials for thought contained in books. But this is a narrow view. It would not be hard to show, too, that if it were possible to carry it out to its logical issue, it would defeat its own purpose by weakening the brain instead of strengthening it; for the brain is one organ of the body, and depends for its healthful activity upon the healthy condition of all members of the body. So that when we are building up the body in the best possible way, we are really helping to form a good brain. Indeed, the first development of the brain, like the development of all the nerve-centers of which it is the chief, is by movement, and principally by conscious movement. The first years of life are taken up with movement, not always conscious, but, as the years increase, the conscious movements become more numerous. With these movements the brain develops, and if they are interfered with by an unwise system of conscious cerebration, only mischief results. Not only is the body injured, but the brain is enfeebled. A true system of education will aim not to repress movement in a growing child, boy or girl, but wisely to encourage and direct it. At first, physical education, pure and simple, is play. Action, varied yet continued, is the natural method of self-development in children. As they come toward maturity, less movement is necessary to their health, but some is still absolutely essential if they are to enter life fully equipped for the exacting demands of the modern world. So it comes about that, to the college, the gymnasium and the playground are still vitally important adjuncts. But how to use these adjuncts to the best advantage is the important question. Undoubtedly, exercise in the fresh air is superior to exercise in-doors. Athletic sports, for that reason, are to be preferred to the drill of the gymnasium. But in these sports, especially in competitive sports, the desire to excel often blinds the judgment with reference to their real value as a means of recreation and health. Some men enter them to their hurt. A thorough physical examination by an expert physician, followed by a preliminary training in a gymnasium under a competent instructor, would furnish a safeguard. For athletes, the gymnasium might stand as a gateway to the practice of athletics.

But there are, at the least estimate, three quarters of the students of every college who are either too lazy to exercise in the field, or too indifferent to the value of exercise to take the trouble to seek it anywhere. It must either be made a part of the prescribed curriculum, or it must be made so convenient and attractive that a majority of students will take it of their own choice and free will. The compulsory plan is the one adopted at Amherst. The optional plan is the one at present followed at the larger universities. To explain this latter system, I will take as a type of the modern gymnasium the one at Yale, the latest in methods and equipment, being moreover the one with which I am most familiar.

The gymnasium is large, well lighted, and well ventilated. The main exercise-hall has a floor-space of over ten thousand square feet. The height of this hall from the floor to the peak of the roof is fifty-six feet. The light comes from the roof, which is mainly of glass. So far as daylight is concerned, the student exercises in as much light as if he were out of doors. The hall is equipped with all the apparatus for exercise of the best and latest make. There are special accommodations for the athletes, such as rowing-tanks, etc. Bowling-alleys are in the basement. There are not only the ordinary facilities for bathing, but also a swimming-pool, and a system of Turkish baths.

The direction of the students in the matter of gymnastic exercise is in the charge of two regularly educated physicians, Drs. Jay W. Seaver and William G. Anderson. The first is an authority in anthropometry. He makes a thorough physical examination of every student who desires it. The result of this examination is indicated on a card, and is made the basis of the exercises prescribed by Dr. Anderson. Dr. Anderson and his brother, Mr. H. S. Anderson, have charge of the main floor.

The first anthropometrical lists were made by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, of Amherst. Successive investiga-

tors in the same line have added to them. Many charts of averages have been constructed from these various lists. At Yale an elaborate chart is furnished to every student at a slight extra charge. On this chart his measurements are graphically shown, in agreement or disagreement with the averages of the lists referred to. The results of measurements each successive year of his course can be represented on the same chart. He is thus able to see whether his exercise is followed by growth of body, symmetrical development, and improvement in strength.

Instruments are used for testing not only the strength of the muscles, but also of the lungs; for indicating the amount of abnormal development of one side of the body, or of members of any part of the body. In cases of spinal curvature the amount of such curvature is indicated, and the causes of it are investigated. Appropriate exercises are prescribed for all curable cases. Students requiring special exercises are given individual instruction by Dr. Anderson, by his brother, or by one of their assistants. Those whose cases are in no wise peculiar in abnormal or deficient development are put in classes meeting three times a week. For these classes the exercises are varied and progressive, and are designed to develop all parts of the body symmetrically. Most of these exercises are performed to the time of music, so that they may be done in unison. The instructor leads them in person.

The records of the measurements of students, and of the tests of various organs, and of special senses, give some interesting results. For the academic years of 1892-93 it was found that the number of those suffering from serious errors of refraction in sight without being aware of it was large, and several cases of recurrent headache and of similar troubles were relieved by the prescription of glasses by a specialist. The number of men examined in the Freshman classes of the academic and scientific departments was about 275, or slightly above 54 per cent. of these classes. Of these men 53 were found to be more or less near-sighted, and of these 34 were complicated cases of near-sightedness and astigmatism. There were 33 cases of far-sightedness, of which 10 were complicated with astigmatism. There were 34 cases of simple astigmatism. Of these cases 17 had already been examined, and the men wore glasses before coming to college. All required glasses, but having been notified of an error of refraction in sight, even those who did not immediately require the use of glasses were able to guard against undue eye-strain in the future. This seems to be a very simple statement of facts. But think of the amount of suffering saved to these students by the knowledge conveyed to them! The economy of suffering was not bodily suffering alone, but mental suffering as well. For eyesight is the main avenue of knowledge to a man. If that is defective, the facts acquired partake of the nature of the medium.

With regard to spinal deformities there were seventeen men with lateral curvature of the spine. In all these cases the curvatures could be traced to the mechanical condition caused by one leg being shorter than the other. The remedy was simple; namely, raising the heel and sole of the shoe on the foot of the shorter leg. Exercises were also prescribed to strengthen the muscles on the side required to draw the spine back into normal position. Simple and natural as were the remedies, they were sufficient to avert serious spinal troubles.

With regard to lesions of the heart, nine cases of organic troubles were discovered. Closely allied with heart lesions are the errors of circulation found in varicose veins. Four cases of fully developed varicose veins were found, while in many incipient cases men have been cautioned against certain forms of exercise.

Three cases of rupture were found, which were unknown previous to the examination. In two of these cases there was complete recovery. The third had so far developed as to make recovery extremely doubtful.

The sense of hearing was also examined. Two men were relieved of foreign bodies in the ear that were causing permanent impairment of hearing. Six cases of deafness were relieved.

To sum up, in about one half of the two classes there were 120 cases of eye trouble. These were either entirely remedied, or were put in the way of being remedied. Eight cases of deafness were cured. Two cases of rupture were relieved, and started on the way to recovery. There were 17 cases of curvature of the spine either cured or greatly relieved. In 6 cases of heart difficulty, and a number of cases of varicose veins, valuable advice was given looking to the improvement of the patients.

In 1893-94, the number of cases examined in the two Freshman classes was 282, or about 52 per cent. of the members of those classed. Among these men there were 140 cases of eye trouble, and of these 25 only had been examined before, and fitted with glasses. Fourteen men had lateral curvature of the spine. Five cases of heart trouble, and 5 cases of rupture, have prospects of complete recovery. About the same percentage of ear troubles was found as in the previous year.

The only regret which comes to one considering these facts is that the whole of the two classes could not have been examined. The writer believes that it would be wise so far to combine the compulsory and optional systems as to oblige every student entering college to submit to a physical examination some time early in his college course. Numerous mistakes in exercise, and much suffering due to abnormal physical conditions, would thus be avoided.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the office of the gymnasium is twofold, educational and sanative. Its educational work is extended beyond the mere exercise-hall into the class-room. For since the erection of the new building, a course of study in physical culture has been opened to the students, which is useful to those who think of making a life-work of teaching. The work comes under two branches—physiology, and the practice and theory of gymnastics.

It is too soon to pronounce on the complete results of this new departure in education; but one thing is certain, that since the opening of the new building the college has never been more orderly nor the students had better health. It is the opinion of the writer that as the work is still more widely followed its benefits will be still more marked.

Eugene Lamb Richards.

"The Century's" American Artist Series.

CECILIA BEAUX. (See frontispiece.)

CECILIA BEAUX was born in Philadelphia, where she received her first lessons in drawing from Catharine A.

Drinker (now Mrs. T. A. Janvier), and Adolf van der Weilen, and where also she studied with William Sartain. In the years 1885, 1887, 1891, and 1892 she was awarded the Mary Smith prize of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. She went to Paris in the year 1888, and studied during two winters under Tony Robert Fleury, Bouguereau, and Constant at the Académie Julien; she received instructions also from Charles Lasar, Courtois, and others. In the year 1893 she was awarded the Dodge prize of the New York National Academy of Design, and the gold medal of the Philadelphia Art Club.

She was elected member of the Society of American Artists in the year 1893, and associate of the National Academy of Design in 1894.

Her work at the two New York exhibitions in 1894 was extremely interesting. A young girl called "Revery" was especially noticeable for its grace and delicacy, the folded hands being very daintily brushed (see frontispiece). The child portrait at the exhibition of the Society of American Artists was also very much admired. Few artists have the fresh touch which the child needs, and the firm and rapid execution which allows the painter to catch the fleeting expression and the half-forms which make child portraits at once the longing and the despair of portrait-painters. This pretty child, held in tow by a big nurse, of whom one is only allowed to see the firm hand and arm and the big white apron, is as living as one could wish, and looks ready to move off the moment its curiosity has been satisfied.

A more conventional, but not less successful, portrait the year before was that of a lady of fifty, whose gentle face, aging, yet not old, was most happily and sympathetically rendered.

Miss Beaux's technique is altogether French, sometimes reminding one a little of Carolus Duran, and of Sargent — but her individuality has triumphed over all suggestions of her foreign masters, and the combination of refinement and strength is altogether her own.

H.

"The Helping Hand" of Chicago.

In an article on "The City Tramp," in The Century for March, the writer, speaking of "The Helping Hand" of Chicago, says: "This place is not a charitable institution, although its name signifies that. It is run on business principles, in quite the same way that other lodging-houses are." Mr. W. H. Rice, secretary, writes to us that "the truth is that 'The Helping Hand' (now no longer in existence) was a charitable institution, and although it was run on business principles, it was not run as other lodging-houses are, for it furnished relief only to such needy men as were able and willing to work. During the course of its existence it found employment for hundreds of men, and it went out of existence in the spring of 1893, simply because there were no applicants for its aid."

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Aphorisms.

THE maternal instinct is so strong in the mass of women that their most romantic and passionate attachments to the other sex are molded and mellowed by it.

Love is an insanity of the heart, and inspires a divine faith in the impossible.

A woman may be disappointed again and again in her lover; but she always retains her faith in love.

The woman (says *Marcia* in Addison's "Cato") who deliberates is lost. But the woman who deliberates not is lost also.

Many a woman is so uniformly good and self-sacrificing that those to whom she is good, and for whom she makes sacrifices, come to regard all her generosity as a mere duty.

It is very hard to obey the Scriptural injunction, and love our enemies, when many of us fail to like wholly even our best friends.

Ordinary love may be selfish. But the highest and purest love always enjoys far more from what it gives than from what it receives.

There could hardly be a Heaven without women — and certainly no Hell.

The best way for a man or woman to be somebody is to do something earnestly and persistently.

A man can generally laugh over a love-affair, however grave, when it is really past. Not so a woman. To her the subject remains sacred; it is dedicated to solemn silence. She regards it as a tender poem unfinished, as a pure romance profaned. Is this because she has less humor or more heart?

A man often seems to think that, when he has won a woman's love, he is absolved from all obligation to attempt to keep it by any of the means by which he originally gained it.

Many a woman thinks, though she may not express her thought, that one of the greatest charms of love is that, with her lover, she can lay aside shams and conventionalities, and dare to be herself.

Junius Henri Browne.

Washington's Account of his Table Supplies.

This interesting example of General Washington's love for detail, is contained in a book of eight folio pages measuring 17 inches in length by 7½ inches in breadth, on paper containing his water-mark and all his own handwriting. It contains entries of the amount of food and liquors used each day, and also the cost of each item, and by it we know to a certainty just what Washington ate and drank during April and May, 1794, the period covered by this book. Each page consists of sixty-four lines all evidently ruled by Washington him-

gions of politics, of morals, and of art — the same idea which Comte expounded with much greater detail in his "Cours de Philosophie Positive." Comte's indebtedness to Condorcet and to Saint-Simon has frequently been mentioned. It is only recently that it has been discovered how distinctly he was anticipated in the main features of his system by Sophie Germain. Dühring, in his "Critical History of Philosophy from its Beginnings to the Present Time" (third edition, Leipsic, 1878), says, after giving a full abstract of her work, "One sees from the above that the Positivism which, without the use of the word, one finds in the writings of Sophie Germain, contains the essential features of that which has hitherto been associated with the name of Auguste Comte." The "Zeitschrift für Philosophie" has had two long articles by Göring entitled: "Sophie Germain as the Predecessor of Comte." Her "Considerations" are still very interesting reading, and they would well repay translation.

Christine Ladd Franklin.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The New "Life of Napoleon."

AN ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE READERS OF "THE CENTURY MAGAZINE."

INTO the midst of the drama of the French Revolution — upon a scene of social and political wreck, of confusion, and of carnage, such as the world had never before witnessed,— entered a youthful figure, slight, pale, emaciated, and of a foreign name and race. This singular and poignant personality suddenly became the center of the entire action, and put forth a force which dominated virtually every group and class, and which, gathering up the passion of the people into an ordered military impulse, turned France from a self-destroying mob into a thoroughly equipped army, and hurled that army like a thunderbolt against the conquered and amazed enemies of the new republic.

The Revolution in every outward manifestation by him suppressed or transformed, we see Napoleon Bonaparte rising by his single might from power to power and from rank to rank, until he lifts from the ground and places upon his own head the crown of empire. He transforms and glorifies France by magnificent material improvements, at the same time depriving her of the last vestige of liberty. He inflicts order at home and dominion abroad with equal severity, administering both wise and unwise laws by tyrannous and unwise methods. He defends his country and his own prestige with a fury and ruinous excess which make lasting peace impossible. Tearing to pieces the political and social fabric of Continental civilization, never to be restored to its original texture and condition, he soars in his ambitions not only to the dream, but strangely near to the accomplishment, of universal rule.

We see this extraordinary force exerting itself, near and far, upon men, events, and institutions, with a rapidity and to an extent unknown hitherto among mankind: a gigantic spirit acting freely on an unprecedented field without hindrance of conscience, sentiment, precedent, or law, until all Christendom, and a large part of heathendom, seem to revolve about one untrammeled and well nigh unopposable will.

Again we see this same figure, mentally and morally always the same, notwithstanding the physical changes that adulating art records from year to year — we see this same figure as suddenly as it came disappearing from the theater of great events; the world-conqueror and king of kings conquered and exiled. We see him again flashing back unimpeded from his origin in the Mediterranean to the height of empire; again beaten to the ground and flung upon a distant rock of the Atlantic, there to rot soul and body out in disdain, despair, and agony.

We see him, as he said, "wallowing in glory," and once more steeped in sublime misfortune; beloved and praised as has been no other human ruler; despised and vilified as has been no other human being: but praised, blamed, or appreciated, to him we see ascribed the most tremendous purely human energy ever crowded into human form.

To attempt to describe the origin, temperament, acts, and lasting effects, beneficent or harmful, of a personality and career thus astounding and unparalleled could never prove a slight task, and it is one which from the nature of things could not well be satisfactorily performed before the present time.

The realization of the fact that in no language exists a reasonable, complete, consecutive, unprejudiced life of Napoleon, based upon sufficient and competent documents and memoirs, was the origin of the scheme of publishing in THE CENTURY such a life. Professor William M. Sloane of Princeton has produced a work answering this description. He has written with historical fairness, and absence of partizan bias. His history is marred neither by adulation nor abuse. His work corrects the blind and absurd hero-worship inculcated by certain popular but unscientific biographers, while doing full justice to the character and genius of the man, and to his part in the advance of human society.

Every resource of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE has been brought to bear to enrich the narrative with pictorial illustrations not unworthy of the subject. European and American collections have been ransacked for portraits of the period, and for the most trustworthy pictures by contemporaries of the events described. To these have been added some of the greatest modern masterpieces of French art dealing with Napoleonic events. In addition, commissions have been given to French and American artists for illustrative designs, and artists have been sent to various localities to make drawings of buildings and places as they now exist. The theme creates an opportunity for the most interesting and most brilliant pictorial series of a historical character yet presented in the pages of a magazine, and the con-

ductors of THE CENTURY intend to avail themselves of this opportunity to the fullest extent.

Perhaps the most original and surprising feature of Professor Sloane's work is the detail given concerning the early years of Bonaparte. His thoroughly Corsican origin and training, the curious events of his youth as a Corsican agitator and patriot, his youthful experience as a man of letters, the effect upon his character and history of his Corsican adventures and relations — all these matters have failed to receive due attention in any biography of the Emperor.

The first instalment of the new "Life of Napoleon" will be given in THE CENTURY for November, accompanied by a striking portrait of the boy Napoleon which has just been brought to light through the researches of the art department of the magazine.

Is Bimetallism Desirable?

THE theory of bimetallism, as expounded by its advocates in this and other countries, is summed up accurately and concisely by Mr. M. G. Mulhall, a well-known English statistician, in the following four propositions:

1. That the general level of prices depends on the quantity of money compared with the work it has to do.
2. That the demonetization of silver has caused a general scarcity of money and a fall in prices.
3. That the fall in prices is injurious to the interests of mankind.
4. That it is expedient for the principal nations to put gold and silver on an equal footing.

These propositions Mr. Mulhall takes up in regular order, and opposes each of them with statistical evidence which seems to be conclusive. We propose to summarize his evidence for the benefit of our readers who may not have had the pleasure of reading his article in the "Contemporary Review" for June last. On the first point he quotes the teachings of the best-known English economists to the effect that it is a fallacy to suppose that the range of prices depends upon the quantity of money, and then gives figures of the world's commerce, and of the volume of money employed in its transaction, to confirm those teachings. The figures show that during the forty years between 1849 and 1889 the commerce of the world was quadrupled, while the volume of money had only trebled, and the price level was at the end of the period barely one per cent. lower than at the beginning, though in 1859 it was 20 per cent. higher, remaining 19 per cent. higher in 1869, reaching its normal point in 1879, and falling one per cent. below it in 1889. The secondary part which money plays in national exchanges is shown by the fact that 97 per cent. of the banking business of England is done by checks, and only 3 per cent. by money. In the United States about 5 per cent. is done in money. The quantity of bullion carried oversea in 1890 was only 5 per cent. of the value of sea-borne merchandise, against 9 per cent. for the decade ending 1870, showing an economy of 45 per cent. in the relative use of gold as a medium of exchange during the last twenty years.

In regard to the contentions of the second proposition, that the demonetization of silver has caused a scarcity of money and fall of prices, Mr. Mulhall gives figures showing that the world has always as much money as it requires for the transaction of business, that there is always an immense reserve of uncoined gold which can be drawn upon if more coin is needed, and that this uncoined supply is much larger at present than it ever was before. In 1800, out of a total of 2730 tons, 908 tons were coined; in 1848, out of a total of 3575 tons, 1125 were coined; in 1890, out of a total of 8820 tons, 5640 were coined. That the banks of the world are not suffering for the want of coin he shows by giving the figures of the specie-reserve (mostly gold) of the European and United States banks for the last three decades. In 1870 the total was 154,000,000 pounds sterling; in 1880, 251,000,000; in 1890, 450,000,000.

On the third point, that a fall in prices is injurious to mankind, Mr. Mulhall is particularly effective. He quotes the declarations of Newmarch that the "object of all scientific methods applied to commerce is cheapness, and the tendency of commerce is toward decline, by reason of the enlarging power of production"; says the bimetallists "refuse to see that a reduction in prices does not necessarily mean a loss to the producer, whilst it extends the market of production"; and then cites several instances which are convincing. One of these is that of Gillott's steel pens. The original cost of these was ten shillings a dozen, and the industry then employed five hands; now the cost is a penny a dozen, and the daily output is 2,500,000 pens. The fall in prices, instead of being injurious in England, has been attended by every sign of national prosperity. In 1869 the ratio of paupers was 41 per thousand of population, and in 1889 only 27 per thousand. In 1869 the savings-banks deposits were £53,000,000; in 1889 they were £645,000,000. Yet during this period the price level had fallen from 119 to 99.

Scarcely less striking figures, not included in Mr. Mulhall's article, can be given for the United States. Between 1880 and 1890 the savings-banks deposits increased from $967,000 to $1,636,000,000, and the *per capita* wealth of the country increased from $870 to $1039. Between 1840 and 1891 prices of merchandise fell about 3 per cent., but during the same period wages rose 104 per cent. Since 1840 the annual product of gold has been over eight times what it was annually in the previous eighty years. The rise of 104 per cent. in the price of labor is the strongest possible argument against the claim that gold has appreciated because of its alleged scarcity; if it had appreciated, a day's labor, which, as Bagehot says, "is a main element in almost all kinds of production, and the principal one in many," would command to-day a smaller price in gold instead of a higher price than ever before in the world's history — more than double what it commanded fifty years ago. A very interesting analysis of the benefit which this rise in wages, amounting to 14 per cent. between 1873 and 1891, has been to the laboring man is made by Mr. Charles C. Jackson of Boston, in a valuable and instructive pamphlet, entitled "Has Gold Appreciated?" Remarking that while wages in the United States rose 14 per cent., the cost of things an average citizen has to buy, as food, fuel, shelter, and clothing had fallen 10 per cent., he adds:

> Now take the case of a man who in 1873 got in greenbacks the equivalent of $2 a day in gold, and suppose that his daily expense for food, etc., was then just this $2 in gold. In 1891 he would have got $2.28 a day, and his outgo for these necessaries would have been only $1.80,

leaving him a surplus of 48 cents a day to go against any debt he owed, or for luxuries. Evidently the fall in prices had created a lessening of his burden, not an increase of it. Why should the fall in prices be thought a calamity?

On the final point, the expediency of a double standard, Mr. Mulhall travels over ground which we have made familiar to our readers in discussing various aspects of the monetary situation. He says, as we have said, that in process of time "gold has come to be found more convenient and suitable as a standard of value than silver," and consequently has been adopted by the world as its medium of exchange. He gives figures showing that silver has fallen in value from 60 pence per ounce in 1861–70 to 30 pence in 1894, thus losing half its value, and thus making it hardly an honest proceeding to establish bimetallism, and allow a man to pay his debts in silver. If such a thing were to be done, he says the mortgages of the United Kingdom, which amount to about 2,800,000,000 pounds sterling, could be discharged at a loss of half that sum, or more than double the national debt.

The bimetallists may say that they do not favor a double standard at the present ratio of gold to silver; but as Mr. Mulhall points out, they refuse to suggest any given ratio between the two metals. They also refuse to give the name of any article of importance on which the variation in price, rise or fall, since 1873 may not be accounted for, and exactly measured, by other changes without any regard to the ratio of gold to silver. Mr. Edward Atkinson has asked in vain for the name of one such article. These questions go to the very foundation of the whole subject, and they should be answered, or the advocacy of bimetallism should cease. That advocacy is encouraging the free-silver men to keep up their agitation, and the result is continued uncertainty and uneasiness about our monetary standard. So serious did doubt on this point become among foreign investors in our securities, in June last, that President Cleveland felt called upon to make formal declaration that so far as he had the power, the national credit should be protected at all hazards, and the quality of our money kept equal to the best. We cannot preserve our credit, and keep our money so good that all the world will have confidence in our securities, unless we stop this silver agitation, and this will continue as long as unwise talk about bimetallism continues.

The Nation and its Toilers.

EVERYBODY who has followed the history of great railway strikes in this country, beginning with the desperate and bloody one of 1877, and closing with that which centered in Chicago in July last, must have been struck with the steadily growing tendency of the people to look to the National government as the proper source of restraining and protecting power. He must have been struck also with the fact that in the minds of the people the duty of preserving law and order is so supreme that almost any exercise of power and authority to that end is regarded as justifiable. When President Cleveland, in the performance of this duty, issued his two proclamations and detailed the regular army to maintain the law and preserve property from destruction, there was practically no dissenting voice audible in the chorus of approval which swelled up from all sections of the country. So unanimous and hearty was the support which the people gave him that the United States Senate caught the patriotic spirit of the moment and found unanimously a resolution of approval; and the House of Representatives followed with similar action. Partizanship was forgotten in a great wave of patriotic devotion to the nation as the supreme power in the land — a power whose first and highest exercise must be the preservation of the liberty of all the people.

In the popular chorus of the people the voice of the South was notably distinct and strong. The old doctrine of State rights was openly repudiated, and in its place was proclaimed the doctrine that ours is a government composed of States, all of which must yield to the central power whenever the exercise of that power is necessary to the national welfare. There is no trace of a tendency toward centralization in this, any more than there was in the patriotic fervor of war times. The people simply show that in times of peril to the nation, when its welfare and its very existence depend upon the maintenance of its laws, they stand in a solid mass behind the National government in the exercise of its undoubted powers as the supreme ruler in the land. Instead of there being anything in this revelation to cause apprehension, it is one of the most reassuring signs of progress that could be desired. It shows that the national feeling is growing and deepening with time, and that in every section of the country to-day the love of the nation is higher and stronger than the love of any part of it.

This is the first and most noteworthy lesson of our great labor-disturbances. There is a second which is closely akin to it, and that is that the people have no longer much toleration for high officials who are willing to trifle with the laws whose execution is placed in their hands. Many who have in the past been careless about the qualifications of candidates for important executive office have been made to realize that it is a risky business under popular government to trust the execution of laws to men who have little respect for law, or, what amounts to the same thing, are in sympathy with those who wish to overthrow all law. Government is a serious business, even in a great, prosperous, and free country, but there have been many voters who have hitherto been unable to bring themselves to take that view of it. These have learned a lesson which they will never forget.

A third moral which can be drawn is that we need in this country an American laboring class, instead of a foreign laboring class. Our readers have not forgotten the series of articles on American labor which we published in this department of THE CENTURY in 1893. We said in the first article of that series:

> 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 almost an 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 con-*

servative 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 often 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.

This view has been greatly strengthened and confirmed by the events of the present year. It is evident when two proclamations by the President and the use of National and State troops must be resorted to in order that law may be maintained, property preserved from destruction, and human life guarded, that there is something the matter with that element of the population against which such measures have to be taken. While all the rest of the people are upholding law and order, how does it come about that the laboring classes are in so many instances seeking to overthrow law and order? It is because, as we said in 1893, our laboring class is not as a body American, but anti-American. That it is becoming more American through experience we are glad to believe. The refusal of so many labor-unions to obey the order for a universal "sympathetic" strike in July last was evidence of this. Still the fact remains that we are not training up a class of American laborers, and until we do that we shall continue to have labor troubles which will require the exercise of national power for their suppression.

Edwin Booth — the Man.

THE daughter of Edwin Booth has concluded to make what may be considered a most costly and sacred memorial gift to the world — none other than the record of the inner life of the great actor as made by him for those nearest to him, in letters written through a lifetime to his child, and to many of his intimate friends. Selections from Mrs. Edwina Booth Grossmann's reminiscences of her father, and from his letters, are, by permission, printed in this number of THE CENTURY. They are, indeed, a revelation of the man both exemplary and inspiring. The dominance over his career of the spiritual influence of a noble and gifted woman is here indicated; and it is seen that this influence extended far beyond her lifetime, always lifting the artist in him to noble exertion toward a lofty ideal.

In the letters to Mr. Bispham, printed in THE CENTURY for November and December, 1893, the charm of Edwin Booth's private character was shown; in the present series we get closer to the heart of the man. Such a spirit remaining hopeful, helpful, and pure, in such trying conditions and under a storm of sorrows — nothing that any one may say can add to the ennobling lesson.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Methods of the Rioting Striker an Evidence of Degeneration.

THE doctrines of communism, socialism, and nihilism are essentially atavistic doctrines, inasmuch as they revert to a state of society existing thousands and thousands of years ago, when all mankind were savages. It is only by a study of primitive folk as we find them to-day that we are enabled to form any idea of our own status before civilization raised us to our present elevated position. It will hardly be necessary, in order to demonstrate this proposition, to cite more than one instance of communism as we now find it existing in a primitive race of people, though many such could be cited. Therefore I will call attention only to a single tribe of communists, the Aleutians, living on our own continent. It is a mistaken idea to suppose that, in the inception of his history, man was isolated and lived apart from his fellow-beings; that "the first individual reproduced himself in male and female, and of this couple, created superb and vigorous, intelligent and beautiful, was born the first family, which expanded into a tribe, then into peoples and nations." This was a theory taught years ago, before paleontology became a science and taught us otherwise. Our pithecoid ancestors began with a communal life, and, instead of the individual being the father of the society, the society has been the father of the individual. Says Reclus:

> Communal was the habitation, and communal the wives with their children; the men pursued the same prey, and devoured it together after the manner of wolves; all felt, thought, and acted in concert. Everything leads us to believe that at the outset collectivism was at its maximum and individualism at its minimum. The communal dwelling appears to us to have been the support of the collective life, and the great medium of the earliest civilization.

In the *kachims* of the Aleutians we see the autotypes of the communal dwelling-places of our savage ancestors; likewise, their customs and their beliefs have their archetypes in the political and social economics of our primitive forebears. It is to some such state of savage irresponsibility that the doctrines of Bellamy and his followers would hurry us in the end, if they were carried out to their full extent. Man would have to lose, necessarily, that individuality and responsibility which he has acquired through thousands of years of inherited experiences. Could he do this, man might attain to the Utopia described by Bellamy, and become the autotype of the ant and the bee and others of the social hymenoptera. But he can never do it without losing that which makes him so immeasurably superior to the savage — his civilization. Civilization, in its purity, demands an individualism totally inconsistent with the tenets and doctrines of communism and socialism. The innate ego of civilized man is too self-assertive to allow him to banish it for any length of time, and, as his psychical development is always on the increase, it will ever be growing stronger and stronger. The surroundings demanding the communistic customs of our savage ancestors no longer exist, and a belief in any such doctrine at the present time is unquestionably an instance of psychical atavism. Fortunately for civilization, the majority of mankind are not degenerate; therefore these atavistic tendencies of the minority are held in check. Every now and then, however, the degenerate element bursts through the restraining bonds of social laws and customs, and makes its savage nature apparent in the strike or the boycott, accompanied, as they always are, by riots and lawlessness. Any man has the right to stop work whenever he wishes, if he is not under contract and can le-

gally do so, but no man has a right to stop another man from working if he so desires. Such an act would be clearly anti-social, therefore criminal. It is here that the strike shows that it is the offspring of degeneration, for the strikes of to-day are invariably accompanied by anti-social acts that at once place them among the *instrumenta belli* of the savage. Arson, murder, and theft belong to the cardinal virtues according to the tenets laid down by savages and moral imbeciles, and arson, murder, and theft invariably march in the van of the strike. Communism or socialism must necessarily form a factor in any movement of labor against capital. This fact is always bitterly denied by the more conservative and politic of the labor leaders, yet the active strikers who engage personally in the strike unhesitatingly assert that their main object is to place themselves more nearly on a par with their wealthy employers. Now, having shown that communism is an atavistic doctrine, and that the strike invariably carries with it an element of communism, and is therefore necessarily atavistic, let us examine into the causes which produce this strange desire to revert to the customs, habits, and beliefs of our barbarous progenitors. The causes of degeneration are manifold, and cannot be enumerated in a paper like this. Suffice it to say that insufficient food, intemperance, and a disregard for the bars of consanguinity in marital relations are the prime factors in the production of degenerate beings. I have shown elsewhere that degeneration is the cause of the various forms of sexual perversion with which civilized man is afflicted (*vide* New York Medical Record, September 16, 1893: "Exfemination and Viraginity"), and that it is likewise main factor in the production of a distinct type of abnormal man, the congenital criminal (*vide* New York Medical Record, January, 1894: "Criminal Anthropology," and American Naturalist, June, 1894: "The Recidivits"). When we come to examine the personnel of a striking mob, we at once discover that it is made up to a great extent of foreigners and the descendants of foreigners. And when we examine each individual, we will discover that he differs more or less from normal man, and that these abnormalities in face and figure form a distinct type. These abnormalities are the unmistakable signs of degeneration. Of course I have reference to *the strike in which lawlessness is evinced;* throughout this article I mean no other.

The struggle for existence among the lower classes of Europe has been exceedingly hard. On account of the numerous wars which have occurred during the last millenary period, the burden of taxation has been very heavy, rents have been very high, and the consequent struggle of the laboring classes for a bare existence has been very severe. Physical development has been retarded, and even turned back, and psychical atavism has made its appearance. Both mind and body have retrograded. Instead of advancing toward a higher civilization, the peasantry of most of the European nations have dropped back. The phenomenon of atavism occurs in feeble types, not in strong, healthy, well-developed types. Microcephalism, occurring, as it most frequently does, among ignorant, ill-nourished, unhealthy people, is an example. Dolichocephalism, and a flattening of the cranial arch, with corresponding loss of capacity in the skull—types that we see everywhere among the individuals now being discussed, are other examples of this tendency of atavism to seize on weakened and unhealthy subjects.

Degeneration finds victims among the rich as well as among the poor, but among the wealthy the atavistic abnormalities are generally psycho-sexual in character. The rich become effeminate, weak, and immoral, and the lower classes taking advantage of this moral lassitude, and, led on by their savage inclinations, undertake strikes, mobs, boycotts, and riots. If it were not for the restraining influence of the sober, level-headed middle classes,—the true police of the world,—civilization would be swept from the face of the globe, and men would become savages like the communal tribes of the Aleutian Islands. The native-born American working-man, descended from Anglo-Saxon ancestors, has not yet been attacked by degeneration. In this fruitful land his struggle for existence has been easy; consequently his physical and psychical beings have not been held in check and turned back by the exigencies of his surroundings, but, on the contrary, have been greatly developed. He takes broad and elevated views of sociological questions. He recognizes the fact that each man is the architect of his own fortune, and that success depends on the intrinsic worth of each individual. In fact, he is the product of a higher civilization, which decrees that the individual, and not the commune, is the great desideratum. He knows that labor is a marketable commodity, and that it will always bring its own price unless the market becomes overstocked. And now we come to the key of the whole situation. The labor-market is, to a certain extent, overstocked. The country has become filled with laborers, the vast majority of whom are degenerate foreigners, who are ready for any form of lawlessness and riot, suggested by their essentially anti-social natures. A mere casual survey of the various strikes which have occurred in the United States during the last decade will show that an overwhelming majority of the individuals constituting the strike are foreigners, and descendants of foreigners. It is true that there are native-born descendants of Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the ranks of the strikers, but they are few in number, and are uniformly led on by emotions and desires founded on higher principles than those which actuate their foreign associates. These men are amenable to reason, and do not commit acts of lawlessness unless forced to do so by their anarchistic fellow-strikers. The fear of bodily harm or the fear of being considered a coward have made many a law-abiding man a criminal.

The psychical habitudes of a few of the individuals under discussion have been inherited from ancestors who have always been of low types, but the majority of them are *bona fide* degenerates, made so by inheritance as well as by their surroundings.

The Russian and Bohemian laborers who immigrate to America are, and always have been, semi-civilized, but the Italians, Germans, Huns, Poles, Frenchmen, and Austrians who are to be found among rioting laborers are clearly a degenerate class of human beings. The anthropologist can detect the physical signs of degeneration in these people at a glance. Their physical characteristics mark them out at once to be abnormal types of the human race with such a striking family resemblance that individuals of entirely different nationalities look alike. This same family resemblance

is to be found among congenital criminals. In point of fact, the congenital criminal and the anarchist, both victims of degeneration, differ very little. The congenital criminal's anti-social acts are generally individual, while the anti-social acts of the communistic anarchist are communal or collective. Of the two individuals, I consider the communist by far the more dangerous to society. In conclusion, let me say that I believe that the immigration laws are wholly to blame for the labor riots which agitate this country. Immigration is practically unrestricted, and year after year Europe pours into the United States multitudes of degenerate human beings, who, incited by the freedom of American institutions, and without the deterrent fear of summary punishment, immediately give free rein to their atavistic imaginations, and, whenever they think that the favorable moment has arrived, plunge into anarchy and lawlessness. These people are savages, and should not be treated as civilized beings. They are not amenable to those arguments which would undoubtedly prevail were they civilized men and women; consequently it is folly to argue with them. Their ideas of social economics are totally different from those of the civilized world, and the sooner the world recognizes this fact the better will it be for civilization. When the Indians out West go on the war-path, we know how to control them. The psychologist considers the anarchist as being no better than the Indian.

James Weir, Jr., M. D.

"WAVELAND," OWENSBOROUGH, KY.

Secret Societies in Politics.

EVER since the disappearance of William Morgan, in 1826, there has been a strong sentiment in this country adverse to secret societies of all kinds. This opposition has enlisted many sincere and patriotic men; but it must be confessed that its force has been gradually waning. The social and beneficial orders against which the warfare is chiefly directed have been in existence among us for many years; for many good works we are constrained to give them credit; the mischiefs which they were expected to perpetrate have not appeared; the apprehensions of good men concerning them do not seem to be well founded. On the score of taste many of their performances may be criticized, and it is easy to show that they might become very dangerous; but the public mind rests in the conviction that most of them are, in fact, innocent if not useful institutions.

The original secret society is the family. Its sacredness depends on its secrecy. With the largest part of its concerns the public has no business. The newspapers of this country are doing their best to destroy all the barriers of privacy within which the family ought to be sheltered,—every man to whom domestic life is sacred must be always alert and resolute to keep the reporter out of his closet and his bedroom,—but in spite of the newspapers the rights of secrecy must be affirmed, and we may hope that, by a remnant of our society, they will be maintained. Other social groups are formed for purposes of companionship and mutual help, and to these, so long as they confine themselves to such purposes, the rights of secrecy may be freely yielded.

But when any organization undertakes to influence or direct public affairs, there must be no more secrecy. The first law of public business is the law of publicity. What concerns the whole public the whole public has a right to know all about. A group of citizens, meeting in secret, and scheming to impose their will by stealth or indirection upon the community, is as much out of place in a republic as a cinder in the eye or a tumor on the brain. What these people are trying to do directly concerns me; my freedom, my security, my welfare are to be affected by their action: yet I am not permitted to know anything about their designs; I cannot discuss their measures with them; I must simply accept what they in their secret conclaves decree.

All free government is based upon free discussion. The motive power is public opinion, and public opinion is formed by public debate, by an open canvass of all measures proposed and candidates nominated. No other method is safe. The whole community ought to be thoroughly informed respecting all questions of public policy. The sovereignty resides in the whole people; the attempt of a portion of the people to impose their will upon the rest without consulting them is simple usurpation. The majority may rule, but not until the minority has had a fair chance, in open debate, to traverse the arguments of the majority and to utter its protest. The attempt to control government through secret organizations is a flat repudiation of the fundamental principle of a free republic.

Such a secret organization confesses by its very existence its lack of faith in truth. Its purposes are evidently such as would not prosper in a fair debate. This will be found true, I believe, of all secret political societies. Take the case of the one which is now very much in evidence — the anti-Catholic society known as the "A. P. A." Its oath binds its members to two practical measures: to disfranchise, so far as office-holding is concerned, all Roman Catholics; and to prevent, so far as possible, all Roman Catholics from getting an honest living by their labor. It is evident that these measures would not bear discussion. Any organization which came before the public to advocate them would be overwhelmed with popular indignation. But by covering all the operations of the society with the veil of secrecy, and prevaricating about these oaths, multitudes of men are induced to support this scheme. What men would be ashamed to do in the daylight, they can be persuaded to do in the darkness. In politics it is always those whose deeds are evil who prefer darkness to light. The conclusion is irresistible that any political organization whose methods are secret is cherishing nefarious purposes.

Those who adopt the method of secrecy thereby confess their belief that the people outside their pale cannot be trusted with the truth. Such a belief will lead to a frugal dispensation of the truth within the pale. No fair discussion will be allowed in the secret conclave; a species of terrorism will enforce unanimity and stifle dissent. Under such a regimen the most grotesque falsehoods can be propagated. Secret political societies are always marvelous disseminators of delusion. Statements which would be blown to the winds if they were made in public can be kept in active circulation for months through the agency of such societies. As vehicles for the distribution of cowardly slander and defamation nothing could be more effective.

The point of view of those persons who adopt these methods may be best gained by considering the replies which they make to criticisms like the above. It is cer-

tainly worth while to give careful heed to these replies. They throw light upon the problem before us. They show what kind of elementary instruction in political ethics is needed, just now, by a million or more of American voters. Let me state some of these defensive arguments as they have come to me, with such answers as they seem to require.

One querist wishes to know whether, in a game of chess, I am in the habit of informing the man on the other side of the board of the move that I intend to make. Another suggests that such societies as I have described are no more secret than an army; that armies operate secretly, that they have countersigns, and the like. These comparisons probably indicate the conceptions which underlie most secret political organizations. The notion is that in civil society we are all seeking to beat one another in a stupendous game, or that we are natural enemies, arrayed against one another and trying to exterminate one another. It is true that there is much in current politics which is based upon one or the other of these notions. But it is, perhaps, worth while to try to comprehend that this is not the real foundation of civil society. Not to discuss the analogy of the game, let us consider the other similitude. It is true that an army, engaged in war, does resort to concealment and stratagem; but what is the business of an army? Its business is killing people. That is the only reason of its existence. It is a costly and elaborate machine for destroying human beings. Therefore, when war is proclaimed, many of the ordinary social and moral laws are set aside. *Inter arma silent leges*. Truth, the fair bond of society, is banished; falsehood, deception, trickery are weapons freely used. The state of war is not the normal state of human society; the normal relations of human beings are discarded and reversed when people go to war. It is this abnormal and unsocial state of war to which appeal is made for the justification of secret societies in politics. It must be admitted that they do conform exactly to that analogy, and this fact seals their condemnation.

What is the real basis of civil society? I will not suggest a very lofty idea of these relations; but to put the matter on the lowest possible basis, we may say that the people of any town or city are business partners. There is a great company or corporation, and we are all members of it. A vast amount of property is owned in common — the streets, the parks, the markets, the city buildings, the school-houses, the water-works, and a great deal more. We are partners, also, in the business of keeping the peace, in the business of making the ordinances by which the city is governed, in the business of choosing the officers, in the business of keeping the water and the air free from infection, and of making the city where we live a healthy and pleasant place of residence. The same kind of partnership exists with regard to the interests of the State and the nation. All these great interests are ours in common. It is only by coöperating with one another intelligently and harmoniously that we can secure them.

What, now, would be the consequence if, in any great partnership concern, part of the members should stealthily combine, holding secret meetings, and plotting against others; trying to deprive some or all of their copartners of their fair share of the gains or advantages; secretly scheming to prevent others from holding any official position or having anything to do with the management? Would it be good policy, in a business partnership, to encourage that kind of secret plotting of members against one another? Would not a company afflicted with such intestine warfare speedily go to pieces?

The lowest conception that any man can form of civil society is that which we are considering; and such secret leagues as now exist in this country, by which citizens of one way of thinking are conspiring to take away the advantages of citizenship from citizens of another way of thinking, and to deprive them, so far as they can, not only of their civil rights, but also of the means of existence, are destructive of the very foundations of society; they are not only anti-social, they are inhuman; they are attempts to lead society back toward barbarism and anarchy.

Washington Gladden.

Is the Friction Between Employed and Employer Diminishing?

THE friction between labor and capital is quite similar to that between the commission-house and the jobber, the jobber and the retailer, the retailer and the consumer. It exists between the manufacturer and the seller of raw material, the farmer and the purchaser of his products, the shipper and the transporter. Between all these classes friction arises from the sale or exchange of their products.

The opinion is widely entertained that the friction between the laboring-man and his employer is more productive of evil, and will probably be more bitter and prolonged, than the conflict between other classes. In our judgment this opinion should be amended. Bitter as the conflict is between labor and capital, is it much more so than the conflict between the freight-shipper and many of the transportation companies? Is not each class mentioned trying to get the largest return for the least thing or effort?

Is the conflict between workingman and employer increasing or diminishing? Are the two classes approaching any nearer to a right working-basis or remuneration? For ages the working-man was a slave, and received no wages whatever. Then the wage-system was introduced. Is this the final condition? By some political economists the wage-system is regarded as permanent. That it is very unsatisfactory to the working-classes must be admitted. They desire more ample remuneration. They are told, however, by one school of economists that the rate is fixed by existing capital, and that to increase wages is simply impossible unless the price of raw material and of other necessary things in production is diminished. Of course, if all capital were actually employed, if no manufacturer could add to his capital by borrowing, wages could not be raised until after further and profitable production; but this hypothesis of a limited fund for the payment of wages does not correspond with the reality. A large amount of capital is unemployed, and the credit of many producers is sufficient to obtain it if they desire; if they did borrow, larger wages doubtless could often be paid, and yet enough would be left when the product was sold to pay every outlay, beside a fair return for themselves.

That the wage-system is not the final and permanent mode of rewarding labor is shown by the creation of other modes of remuneration. Even if these failed, it does not follow that the wage-system is permanent. But few social principles are stamped with perpetuity. On the other hand, the general discontent is a strong indication that the wage-system will be modified or supplanted. The newer modes of rewarding labor are coöperation and division of profits on an agreed basis; in other words, the system of industrial partnership. To profit-sharing do many of the more recent English writers confidently look for a permanent settlement of this long and trying conflict.

What is the underlying principle of an industrial partnership? The rendering of an adequate and just reward for the service or thing received. What is the underlying principle of supply and demand? The getting of the most for the least thing or effort. The idea of justice is not involved in the latter principle. Supply and demand is a hard, coarse, selfish, joyless principle, as many admit. Ought working-men and their employers to be imperiously bound by it? Ought the working-man to strive to get all he can, and the employer, on the other hand, to reduce wages to the lowest possible limit? Will the society which seeks to apply such a principle be happier than the society which gives a fair return for a service or thing rendered? Is not the existing discontent a clear indication that the wage-system is faulty, whatever the economists may say?

We do not hesitate to maintain that the principle of exchanging on the basis of justice is to be preferred to the other mode of exchange. It should not be forgotten that fair equivalents are often given and received by the operation of demand and supply; otherwise this principle would not have been so long or so universally applied. Unhappily, fair equivalents are not always exchanged; and even when they are, justice is not necessarily an element in the transaction. The terms of exchange are fair because neither party will give more; the idea underlying the transaction is not justice, but of giving the least possible for the largest return. Surely justice is absent in such an exchange.

Moreover, the principle of a just exchange is obtaining wider and wider recognition among employers and employed. In France, especially, its application has been highly satisfactory. In this country it was adopted several years ago, when the sliding-scale was introduced among coal-miners and workers in the iron-mills. The amount of remuneration where the scale prevails is determined by the price obtained for the product. For several years the working-men in the Fairbanks Scale Works at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, have been shareholders and participants in the profit of the business. In many concerns, in addition to the regular remuneration, a bonus is given annually, or at a fixed period, based on the profits of the business. Among some of the Minneapolis flour-mills such a bonus is paid at the end of the fifth year. This plan insures a high degree of fidelity and continued service. Merchants and banks in many cases give a bonus based on the profits of business. In his testimony before the English Trade-Union Commission in 1867, Mr. A. S. Hewitt outlined a plan of dividing the profits of production with the persons employed. Looking outside of these two classes, we see that much of the contention between other classes converges toward the recognition of the same principle—the getting of a fair equivalent for the service or thing given. For the recognition of this principle shippers are eagerly contending, and in many cases, too, the railroad companies. The rule of charging what freights will bear is of this nature. The recognition of the principle by cities in regulating the rates for carrying persons may be mentioned. Municipal governments have not attempted to base the price on the principle of demand and supply, but on the worth of the service. So, too, is the principle recognized in condemning lotteries. They are declared to be illegal because a fair equivalent is not given for the tickets sold; and the courts very generally are cutting up by the roots the most generally practised kinds of stock and produce speculation for the same reason—the lack of an adequate consideration to sustain the contract. The newspapers of the day, in a more or less formal manner, maintain the same position; and so do many thoughtful men, in public addresses, pamphlets, books, and magazine articles. If space permitted, we could show from many sources how the principle of a just remuneration is working into the intelligence and conscience of the world.

When this principle is generally recognized, the next difficulty will be to apply it. To do this, let us believe, will not be so difficult as the securing of its general recognition. Of course the venerable objection will be made that it is impracticable to apply this principle. This objection has always been made to applying every new thing. Fortunately for mankind, no objector's dictum is conclusive. We readily admit that if the two classes were willing to adopt the principle, yet, in truth, one class sought to get as much, and the other as little, as possible, the friction between them would not be lessened. But when they are truly willing to apply this principle,—of giving and receiving a fair return,—they will have no serious difficulty, either through themselves or through third persons, in reaching satisfactory bases of settlement.

So long as the rewarding of labor is almost everywhere not on a just basis, what hope exists of ever reducing the antagonism between the two classes? To suppose that it will become less is to maintain the proposition that people will remain content with a wrong basis of remuneration. So long as the principle is active of taking advantage of all circumstances on both sides to crowd the price of labor up or down without regard to considerations of justice, so long shall we live under a modified form of slavery. Oh, it is said, the two classes are free to contract. This is true theoretically, but not actually. The working-man who has only five cents in his pocket is not, in truth, free to decline a lower price for his labor. It is mere mockery to say that he is free. The only freedom left to him is to starve. The slave always had as much freedom even when building the pyramids. The existing system, therefore, is not one of perfect freedom. The capitalist has the advantage, like the owner of a faro table. The players have some chances, but the owner of the table has more. It is true that the laboring-man would improve his lot immensely by saving his earnings whenever he could, and by exercising more faithfulness and skill. But when he has done his utmost, his employer is the stronger of the two, as is the faro-bank owner, and the most likely to win. When the

worker accumulates enough so that he need not take part in the game, then he is free, and not before. While he is not, he must play, whatever be the result, knowing, however, that something must be given him by his employer, otherwise the latter could make no use of his gains.

Another sign of diminishing friction is the better management of trade-union societies. These institutions are the outcome of the factory-system and the division of labor. When every man supplied his own wants there was no organizing of men, but when capital was massed in large quantities, and many men were drawn under the same roof, what was more natural than for them to confer and form an association to protect and advance their own interests? If the employer mourns over the formation of these societies, let him remember how much they have been caused by himself. They are a necessary counterbalance to aggregated capital. This is imperious enough now, and we fear would be more so if trade-union societies did not exist. Anyhow, many improvements may be seen in the management of these societies. In the beginning they were rude affairs, officered often by ignorant and prejudiced men who were constantly blundering. Realizing their ignorance and inability to manage wisely, persons outside their own number were frequently chosen, and who on many occasions abused their trust. As labor-unions have grown older, their members have learned more, and better men have been chosen leaders. The consequences of striking are more intelligently considered than they were a few years ago. It must be remembered too that many of these societies have been formed on the eve of a strike; that it was not the consequence of forming the society, but the society was a consequence of the intention of the members to strike. Especially that was the origin of many trade-union societies in this country.

Moreover, many of the regulations of these societies are better than they were in the beginning. The rule relating to apprenticeship, for example, which smacked so strongly of monopoly in labor, has been modified by many societies. On another occasion these changes may be more fully described.

Another improvement is in the treatment of the working-man by employers concerning agreements for labor. The employer in this country was shocked when his workmen first appeared to confer with him about their remuneration, especially when they appeared as a committee representing others. In more than one case the employer absolutely refused to say one word to them. Such action on their part savored of an equality which he had no desire to acknowledge. Though stoutly believing in a theoretical constitutional equality, he did not believe in importing it into the shop. The English employer regarded the matter at first in the same way, but before long recovered his senses. He soon perceived that a committee representing a thousand or more workmen was intrusted with a highly important business. The committee did not come to bargain concerning a few dollars, but concerning thousands. The American manufacturer has not reached this round in his education. Perhaps he would not be so unwilling to hold an interview with his workmen if he had never been a workman himself. Happily, this feeling is becoming lighter — a hopeful change for the establishing of better relations between the two classes.

The working-man is suspicious of his employers. He does not know how profitable is the business, for the books are sealed. He sees a fine house and accompaniments, and he concludes that his employer is a rich man. He cannot help saying, "I have done much toward making this man's wealth"; and he has. When, therefore, wages are reduced because business is unprofitable, or when the working-man asks for an advance and is refused for the same reason, he is skeptical concerning the truth of such replies. In England, long ago, manufacturers opened their books and sought to convince their workmen of the truth of their statement, and with the best effect. In many cases workmen were convinced of the unreasonableness of their demands, wholly or in part. Consequently strikes have been fewer and briefer, and settlements, through arbitration, effectual. In this country the manufacturer is rarely willing to make such an exposition. In some cases it might prove ruinous, especially if his business were unprofitable; he might be on the edge of bankruptcy, and such an exhibit would have the effect of utterly destroying his credit. In other cases secrets of business essential to success might be divulged. Nevertheless, the more generally this can be done without dangerous exposure to the employer, the more easily can he convince his workmen of the truth of his statements. As all are co-workers in production, they are entitled to a fair division, all things considered, and any mode of concealing profits and of preventing such a division will intensify the conflict between them. Either the division of labor must not be carried so far, or if it is, a fair return must be made for the services rendered, and the same principle should be applied in every exchange.

If the conflict between the employed and the employer seem violent, let us consider that we see only one part of the battle-field whereon all the opposing classes of producers and exchangers are contending. In France the way of peace has been found; in England the worst is probably over; and in the light of our own and of foreign experience, can we not see, if we choose to look, how to lessen the conflict? Between the contending parties is a moral basis of settlement,—the rendering of a fair equivalent for the service or thing given,—and whenever this basis shall be adopted, the terms of permanent settlement will be the short closing act to the long and pathetic drama of ill-requited toil.

Albert S. Bolles.

The Consular Service and the Spoils System.

BY AN EX-MINISTER TO BELGIUM AND TO RUSSIA.

My observation has long since led me to the conclusion that the consular service of the United States would be much improved by being made more permanent in its personnel.

It requires several years of service to make a thoroughly efficient consul. It takes some time even to study the conditions of the country in which he is posted, and to obtain the facilities for procuring knowledge which may be used for the advancement of commercial relations with his own country. It is of the utmost importance that such an officer should be familiar with at least one of the other commercial languages

of the world, but it too frequently happens that our consuls are unacquainted with any other language than their native tongue, a circumstance which very much impairs their usefulness.

It is evident that under our present system of changing these officers on the advent of every new administration, the American consul has neither a fair chance to become conversant with any other language, nor the chance to equip himself for his duties as thoroughly as he usually finds his colleagues from other countries at the same post. If the appointee is intelligent, and takes an interest in his duties, he is far more useful to the Government at the expiration of four years than at any shorter period of his service.

Ordinarily nothing is more deluding and disappointing than an American consular position, and I have often wondered, considering the precariousness of its tenure and the insignificance of its rewards, how so many of my countrymen who were at all fitted for its duties could be found to accept it. It is a species of banishment, where one is separated from opportunities and forgotten by friends, and it is attended by many sacrifices, and has few appreciable advantages to the holder of the office.

My own opinion is that the consular service should be put on a footing similar to the army and navy; that a man ought to be prepared for the service by some fixed rules, and when he has entered, should not be subject to removal for political reasons. He should also be transferred from one post to another, according to his merits, and the best interests of the service.

More than this, justice would require that such an officer, spending his life in foreign lands in the public service, should, like an officer of the army and navy, be allowed a decent retiring pension after a certain age and number of years of service.

What I have said with reference to the inexpediency of removing consular officers for political reasons applies, in my judgment, with equal force to secretaries of embassy and legation. Our diplomatic service suffers from lack of what may be called continuity in the routine work. This condition would be ameliorated if we had some men always attached to our missions who have a competent knowledge of foreign languages, and know something about the methods of doing business in the different foreign offices. It is sometimes very embarrassing and a great disadvantage not to be *en rapport* with these methods. A young man fit to be a secretary of legation, and who has his way to make in the world, acts, in my judgment, very much against his own interests and prospects in life if he accepts one of these secretaryships on a meager salary, with a certainty that after a few years he will be thrown out. It would doubtless be better for the service if our secretaries held office by a more permanent tenure.

Lambert Tree.

"The Century's" American Artist Series.

EASTMAN JOHNSON. (See page 816.)

EASTMAN JOHNSON, whose picture, "The Nantucket School of Philosophy," is engraved in this number of THE CENTURY, is one of the ablest and best known of American portrait-painters, and a painter of genre whose work is not only remarkable for technical excellence, but is also invested with much sympathetic feeling in the presentation of scenes from every-day life. He was born at Lovell, Maine, July 29, 1824, and when a child was taken by his parents to Augusta, where he obtained his education at the high school. There was a teacher of drawing in the high school, and Mr. Johnson in his boyhood acquired a certain degree of skill with the pencil. He took up drawing in earnest when about seventeen years of age. During a winter spent in Portland he became intimately acquainted with the parents of the poet Longfellow, and with the latter's sister, Mrs. Pierce, and drew their portraits. In 1845 he accompanied his father to Washington, D. C., and during his sojourn there made a large number of portraits in crayon. Among his sitters were John Quincy Adams, Mrs. Madison, Daniel Webster, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, and Robert C. Winthrop. In 1846 he went to Boston, where he remained three years, making portraits in crayon and pastel, including those of Longfellow and his children, Emerson, Sumner, Hawthorne, and President Felton of Harvard. In 1849 he went to Europe. He spent about two years in the Royal Academy at Düsseldorf, a short time in London, and four years at The Hague. From The Hague he went to Paris, but was called home after about a year's residence in that capital, having then spent six or seven years abroad. On his return, he settled in Washington, spending two summers in travel and study in the Northwest, and came to New York in 1858. He had a studio in the old University building in Washington Square for fourteen years, removing thence in 1872 to his present home in West Fifty-fifth street.

Mr. Johnson began painting genre subjects while abroad, and his career as an artist has been one of industry and success. One of the first of his pictures to bring him reputation was "The Old Kentucky Home," now in the permanent collection of the Lenox Library, New York, to which it was presented, together with his "Sunday Morning," by Mrs. R. L. Stuart. "Corn Husking," one of the most important of his pictures, and one that completely realizes what we are wont to speak of as "American genre," is owned by Mr. Potter Palmer of Chicago. "The Cranberry Harvest," "The Peddler," "Fiddling his Way," "The Old Stage-Coach," "What the Shell Says," "Two Men," and "The Pension Agent," are some of the pictures that made his fame as a painter, and have given him popularity. At the Paris Exposition of 1867 he exhibited "The Old Kentucky Home"; at that of 1878, "Corn Husking"; and in 1889, "Two Men." He received from the jury of award a bronze medal for the last-named picture. He has painted a large number of excellent portraits, and is a regular exhibitor at the current exhibitions. He was elected a National Academician in 1860, and a member of the Society of American Artists in 1881. Mr. Johnson's painting, in whatever field, is characterized by individual technical treatment, and is in general marked by excellent qualities of color.

William A. Coffin.

The Origin of "O. K."

[WE are permitted to print the following from a private letter from Professor W. S. Wyman of the University of Alabama, to a friend in the faculty of Vanderbilt University.]

The current, but erroneous, account of the origin

of O. K. is as follows: "General Andrew Jackson was an illiterate man, and so, when he was President of the United States, he used to label documents which he approved with the initials O. K., which he took to be the initials of 'All correct' (oll korrect)."

This story is attributed to Seba Smith, a literary gentleman of the last generation who wrote letters from Washington under the pseudonym of "Major Jack Downing." There is probably no truth in this. I have in my library a copy of "Major Jack Downing's Letters from Washington," and I do not find the story in that book.

It is, however, probably true that General Jackson did indorse with the symbols O. K. public documents which he approved. General Jackson was no scholar, it is true, but he was not so ignorant as to think that "all correct" was spelled "oll korrect."

If you will examine the autograph letters of General Jackson now in the archives of the Tennessee Historical Society, you will find that he could write fairly for a man who had small educational advantages in early life.

The true explanation of O. K. is probably as follows: There is a tradition among the intelligent Choctaws of the old stock who once lived in Mississippi that General Jackson borrowed the expression O. K. from the Choctaw language.

The Choctaws and the Chickasaws speak the same tongue. In the language of these two peoples there is no copulative verb that corresponds to "be" in English (*esse* in Latin). A substitute for this is found in the emphatic word *okéh*, which ends every assertion in Choctaw. An example will illustrate this.

The English sentence, "The Choctaw Indian is a good fellow," would be in Choctaw,

Hattak	*uppeh*	*hoomah*	*chahtah*	*achookmah*	*okéh.*
Man	body	red	Choctaw	good	it-is-all-so.

Here *okéh* serves as the verb of assertion. It means, "It is true," "It is so," "It is all right," etc.

General Jackson was frequently among the Choctaws and Chickasaws before he became famous. He must have heard this expression often.

He probably adopted it in early life as a very expressive kind of slang, and used it after he became President as a private symbol (O. K.) to indicate approval. Strong confirmation is found for this theory of the origin of O. K. in a fact mentioned in "Parton's Life of Jackson," Vol. I, page 136. The following entry on the records of the court of Sumner County, Tennessee, was probably written by Jackson himself, who was attorney in the case:

"October 6, 1790, Andrew Jackson, Esq., proved a bill of sale from Hugh McGary to Gasper Mansker, for a negro man, which was O. K." ("A common western mistake," says Mr. Parton, "for O. R., which means 'Ordered Recorded.' Thence, perhaps, the saying, 'O. K.'")

Parton is surely wrong in his conjecture that this O. K. was a "common mistake" for O. R. (ordered recorded). It is highly probable that this O. K. in the record of the Sumner County Court is the very expression used by Jackson to signify that the bill of sale was "all right."

This theory of the origin of O. K. is, if not true, at least well invented, as the Italians say.

There are other Choctaw words that have been naturalized in the folk-speech of the Southern States.

The word "bobashilly" ("barbashilly," "bomashilly," so variously pronounced), in the sense of "friend," "comrade," "brother," is very common in Alabama and Mississippi. I suppose you have heard it often. This word is Choctaw. *Ittebahpashille* is the classic expression in Choctaw and Chickasaw. It means "friend," "comrade" (literally, "he that sucks the same breast"—hence, "brother"). The word "bayou" is another American word of Choctaw origin. This word is incorrectly referred by all our dictionaries to the French word *boyau*, which means a "gut," "an entrail." The English word "gut" is sometimes used for a channel of water, but the French word *boyau* was never so used.

Walking.

APROPOS of "Walking as a Pastime," an old tramp begs leave to differ with Mr. Eugene Lamb Richards on one or two points. Do *not* carry a knapsack or pack. If you do, you cannot rest yourself by shifting the weight, and a load on the back inclines you forward. Take a small satchel, with a strap by which it may hang from the shoulder. Put into it just as little as you can get on with. At the end of the first day remove the extra shoes, brushes, blacking, oil, razors, medicines, etc., and carefully burn them, or give them to tramps. My own outfit, with which I have trod many roads on two continents, is: a nightgown, extra shirt, comb, tooth-brush, map, novel, note-book, pen or pencil, knife, and watch. Sometimes I add a rubber coat. Why carry extra clothes, except in Africa? You can buy them everywhere, and you can have your washing done between two days. Again, an umbrella is a poor walking-stick, for it does not balance in the hand. It is heavy and thick, yet so fragile that it breaks when you kill snakes with it or use it as an alpenstock. Yet, again, the light madras or percale shirt is at least as good as the flannel one, for the latter is heavy, and shrinks. As to shoes, Mr. Richards's are sensible and excellent, but I have walked hundreds of miles in ready-made gaiters, and have never had a blistered foot. It needs only that the shoe be soft and ample. On lonely roads I go barefoot, sometimes. If Americans would walk more they would be bigger, happier, healthier, and tougher. Dudes, especially, should be encouraged to walk, because they are quickly killed by exercise.

C. M. S.