

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Good Government in New York.

A FAILURE on the part of the citizens of New York to drive Tammany Hall from power, after the revelations of corruption made in connection with the last election, and through the Legislative Committee and the police trials, and after a full understanding of the character of some of the appointments made by the present mayor, would renew the disgrace that this ignoble domination has brought not only upon the city and upon the nation, but upon republican institutions.

All that can save Tammany from such a combination as would make its overthrow certain is a blind, unintelligent, and in this case well nigh criminal allegiance to the supposed interests of national parties.

No good Democrat should be ignorant of the fact that Tammany Hall is a curse to the national party it pretends to serve, and sometimes does serve when it is clearly to its interest to do so, but to which it is a continual reproach, and upon which it is a crushing burden,—almost as hard to bear as was the burden of slavery before the war.

No good Republican should be so eager for local "spoils" or partizan advantage as to refuse to strike hands with good men of the opposite party in undoing its old enemy,—or should refuse the opportunity of "driving into the open" that curse of local Republicanism, the Tammany Republican.

The campaign in the city of New York is not only against Tammany Hall, it is in favor of permanent reform in the separation of national from city politics. The banners of the Good Government Clubs have inscribed upon them the true motto of the campaign: "For the City." It is a fight for a clean, intelligent, progressive government, not for the benefit of any machine, but for the benefit of the whole people.

But the campaign, successful or unsuccessful, must not end with the election. Aside from the corruption in high places and low, the city is behind other great cities of the world in many details and devices of government. This is the era of improved municipal administration, and while New York can make a good showing in some matters, in others it is at least twenty years behind the age. Even when "Tammany methods" have been routed out, there will be need of endless energy in the prosecution of greatly needed reforms.

Congress and the Forestry Question.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody good," and the recent tempests of flame which have raged in four or five States on the Canadian border, and which have excited the sympathy of the civilized world, may have at least the good result of awakening Congress to the necessity of better methods of guarding the national forests against the same danger. The indifference of the average legislator is to blame for the prolongation of many a public peril; but he is by no means obtuse or sordid, and we look forward with confidence to the ultimate outcome of the present wide-spread interest in forest preservation. The national government, we be-

lieve, has little or no relation of ownership to the forests which have recently been destroyed; but in this country the interplay of State and national legislation is so intimate that to enact measures of security for the public forests would be to influence favorably the policy of the States themselves. The fate of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan might, with slight change of conditions, have been the fate of other States—of even so humid a State as Washington, where by singular good fortune the town of Whatcom barely escaped destruction by forest fires; and one has only to consult the records of the newspapers to note that the national forests also are continually being depleted by this terrible agency. Callous indeed would be the conscience of that senator or representative who, with the object-lesson of these disasters before him, could refuse favorable consideration to a bill for forest preservation bearing the stamp of expert scientific knowledge. The consideration and passage of such a measure at the December session are well nigh imperative.

During the past year several events have given encouragement to those who are solicitous as to the future of American forests. The placing of lumber on the free list, whatever its commercial effect may be, will be of extraordinary conservative value by reducing at once the timber-dealers' temptation to indiscriminate cutting, and by insuring more careful management of the forests. Together with the recent calamity, it will for a time guarantee a more watchful activity in the prevention of fire. It is to be hoped that the great companies will now see the advantage of a systematic employment of belt lines for the localization of the danger.

In the second place, we seem to have reached the end of our temporizing and shifty policy with reference to the Adirondack Reserve. Last spring the ruinous plan of cutting the twelve-inch timber, to which the Forest Commission had committed itself, met with successful opposition from a public-spirited official, State Engineer Campbell W. Adams, and hundreds of permits were thus nullified. More recently has Comptroller Roberts announced the discovery of a wide-spread conspiracy to defraud the State and despoil the Reserve by illegal cutting, cancellation of tax sales, etc. These perils have aroused the State and caused the passage, by a unanimous vote, of the amendment to the State constitution which, at the instance of the New York Board of Trade, was submitted to the Albany Convention, prohibiting the sale or exchange of lands now acquired or to be acquired by the State within the lines of the Reserve, and prohibiting the cutting or sale of timber on such lands. Were the region involved the heart of a virgin forest in the Alleghenies, it would be unnecessary, and perhaps unwise, to resort to a constitutional amendment to protect it; but in a region like the Adirondacks, where the soil is thin and poor, and the timber is already greatly depleted, and the greed of private gain is so reckless, it is the part of prudence and foresight to put beyond legal peradventure what is left of this great conservator of health and source of commercial prosperity to the whole State. It is not necessary that we should wait

until the Hudson and other rivers have lost, from the same cause, as many inches of depth as some of the German rivers, before we take the necessary steps for their preservation. Twenty years from now, when Nature shall have renewed herself in the Adirondacks, the amendment may safely be repealed; by that time, let us hope, we shall have a large body of educated foresters. It should be followed by a legislative appropriation for the purchase or control of all lands necessary to the objects of the Reserve.

Another point that has been gained is the defeat—for who knows how many a time—of the assault upon the integrity of the Yellowstone Park, and the failure of a similar attempt to reduce the area of the Yosemite National Park before careful investigation of the reasons alleged. Congress will do well to search closely into all such measures for objects of private or corporate gain.

A fourth source of encouragement is the general interest awakened among societies such as the Sierra Club, the National Geographical Society, and others, for the preservation of the Pacific, or Mount Rainier, Forest Reserve as a national park. The opening of this remarkable region—the home of some of the greatest glaciers south of the Canadian line—would add another to the points of interest in the far West accessible to the traveler. The chief reason for wishing success to this movement is the danger that unless the government undertake the management of this reserve on the same basis as the Yellowstone Park, there will be an overwhelming pressure from the State of Washington for its cession as a State park, with the probable fate of neglect which has visited the Yosemite valley under the unfortunate management of the State of California. It has come to be an axiom that State management of national property is inevitably loose and bad.

Against these hopeful signs we have to face two regrettable considerations: one, that the bill of Mr. McRae, Chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, providing for a measure of better government for the forest reservations, has been the object of a successful filibustering opposition on the part of certain Western representatives, which is very much as if an infant should filibuster against its mother's milk. The second and more important relates to the inaction of the United States government in the defense of the reserves already made—which is partly, we fear, supineness, and partly inability. The result has been that the incursions of sheep into the Sierra reserves have been unchecked, trustworthy accounts stating that during the past summer half a million sheep have been pastured on the Sierra Reserve in defiance of the "paper bullets of the brain" which have been fulminated against them by the Secretary of the Interior. In this matter the secretary is almost helpless, since he has not, and cannot have, initial command of the army for the purpose of policing these reserves; and there are, moreover, we believe, but two troops of cavalry assigned to California. It has been argued that this lack of ability to patrol should be a bar to further reservations until Congress shall have adopted some better measure of protection. With this view we do not agree. By the act of Congress of March 3, 1891, by which the President is empowered to make reservations of non-agricultural lands of high altitude, the President has it within his power to do his country a lasting and memorable service by making extensive reservations, where

practicable, at the head waters of Western streams. These are not only a commercial necessity for the lowlands, under the present conditions, but are likely to become such more extensively as irrigation becomes an important industry in the arid West. Already there are signs of interstate contests as to the ownership of water flowing through adjacent States, and it is the part of patriotic wisdom to provide a national policy on this subject—a policy which it may not be too much to hope will reduce to a great extent the injury from spring floods in the Mississippi and other streams, and at the same time insure the conservation of the water higher up where it is needed.

We have previously stated with some particularity the plan of Professor Charles S. Sargent, of Harvard, for the management of the forest reserves already made and to be made. It contemplates the transfer of these reserves to the care of the War Department, and their supervision and management by army officers, to be educated in the principles of scientific forestry at West Point or elsewhere, the force of laborers to be employed to consist of a forest guard locally enlisted. The present Secretary of the Interior has expressed the opinion that this plan would be preferable to the present dual control, and the only alternative of which we have heard is that the reservations should be placed in charge of the Agricultural Department. Against this there are two objections: first, that the government would have to create an entirely new educational system instead of availing itself of the Military Academy; and, secondly, that it would necessitate a large force of civil servants, which, until the complete adoption of the merit system, it would be the part of good citizenship to avoid. It is very much to be hoped that Mr. Sargent's plan will receive the favorable consideration of Congress at its coming session. It has already been indorsed by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and by the Irrigation Congress.

What is the Referendum?

DISSATISFACTION with the working of our State legislatures is leading to a demand in many parts of the country for the adoption into general practice of the Swiss referendum. It is urged by the advocates of this change that if the opinion of the people can be obtained in approval or disapproval of the acts of the legislature, we shall be certain of defeating many pernicious measures, and of aiding in the enactment of many desirable ones. In order to enable our readers to judge for themselves as to the probabilities of these results being obtained through this instrumentality, we will sketch briefly the history of the referendum and its results in practice.

There are in Switzerland two varieties of referendum, one called the obligatory, and the other the facultative or optional. The first applies to all amendments to the federal constitution, requiring that these must all be submitted to the popular vote for ratification. The second requires that all laws and acts of a general nature shall be submitted for popular approval whenever 30,000 voters or eight cantons petition to have it done. Though the cantons never petition, the people avail themselves of the privilege so freely that during the twenty years in which the law has been in force they have had the referendum applied to an average of one eighth of all the laws passed. Only a third of those thus submitted have secured popular approval.

We have been speaking thus far of the referendum in federal matters. In the cantons, which are similar to our States, the two forms of referendum are used in relation to cantonal measures. In all the obligatory form applies to constitutional changes; in about half of them the same form applies to all cantonal laws, and in the other half the optional form alone is used. The general results vary in the different cantons. In those having the obligatory form, the proportion of laws rejected ranges from a quarter to a half. In cantons having the optional referendum alone, experience shows that the people seldom avail themselves of it.

One curious fact about the working of the referendum in Switzerland is that labor laws, or measures designed to benefit the condition of the working-classes, are very likely to be rejected. A signal instance of this kind occurred in June last, when a vote was taken on a proposal to insert in the constitution a provision affirming the right of every male citizen to employment. It was rejected by a vote of 300,000 to 85,000. Formerly similar results had been recorded in the cantons. In one of them, the industrial canton of Zurich, a law was rejected which reduced the hours of work in factories and gave protection to the women and children employed in them. The same canton also rejected a factory law, a law providing for the compulsory insurance of workmen and regulating their relations with their employers, and a law giving daughters an equal inheritance with sons in the estates of their parents. Laws involving an expenditure of money are almost invariably rejected. It was the custom at one time in some of the cantons to submit the appropriation bills to the popular vote; but as these were rejected several times in succession, it was found to be impossible to carry on the government, and the practice had to be abandoned. In all cases the vote cast under a referendum is much smaller than that cast at elections, rarely much exceeding half the full electorate. In many instances laws fail to be approved because a majority of the citizens have not voted upon them. Political or party considerations do not enter into the referendum decisions, and the consequence is that a party is seldom held to account at the polls for its conduct in the legislature. Indeed, the effect of the referendum is to diminish party feeling, do away with party policies, and lessen the prominence and importance of individuals. The division of responsibility between the legislature and the people has the natural effect of making the legislators complacent about the passage of doubtful laws, since they may trust to the people to reject them if they are not wanted.

In this country the referendum principle has been applied to nearly all constitutional changes, both national and State, since the early days of the national existence. The first constitution of the State of New York went into operation after having been drawn by a convention in 1777, without being submitted to the people; and the same thing occurred in Virginia, and probably other States, when State governments were first established and the population was small. In 1890 the convention which drafted the new constitution for Mississippi, declared it adopted without submitting it to the people; but this is the only case of the kind in this country since the Civil War at least. The referendum principle has been extended in various States and at various times to such questions as the lo-

cation of a State capital, and laws providing for the expenditure of large sums of money, or the loaning of a city's credit, have been conditioned upon popular approval. This was done at Albany last spring, in a bill authorizing the building with public money of a new rapid-transit system in New York city.

The general proposition to apply the referendum to all laws passed by the legislature, under conditions similar to those observed in Switzerland, is a much more serious matter. We are a much larger nation than Switzerland, which altogether is scarcely larger than half the State of New York, and our volume of legislation, State and national, is enormously greater. The proposition amounts practically to one for the abandonment of representative government and a return to pure democracy, or government by town meeting. The objection to this change, from a constitutional point of view, has been clearly and forcibly stated by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in a decision upon the constitutionality of an act granting suffrage to women conditional upon the ratification of the act by the people. Summed up briefly, the decision of the court was that our government consists of distinct bodies, legislative, executive, and judicial, and that it is not consistent with this form of government that these powers should be delegated. The governor ought not to pardon a convict on condition that the people ratify his act; the judges ought not to put a certain construction on the law on condition that the people approve it; the legislature ought in like manner to be solely responsible for the laws it passes, otherwise it might make all its acts conditional upon popular approval, and we should find ourselves trying to carry on government under a pure democracy. Similar decisions have been made by the New York Court of Appeals, Chief Justice Ruggles saying in one of them, in 1853: "I regard it as an unwise and unsound policy, calculated to lead to loose and improvident legislation, and to take away from the legislator all just sense of his high and enduring responsibility to his constituents and to posterity, by shifting that responsibility upon others."

There can be no question that where the number of citizens is small, representative government is unnecessary, and direct government by the people is the easiest and best form. But representative government is the outgrowth and sequel of direct government, coming into existence as a necessity when the number of citizens has become great. To adopt the referendum under representative government is to hand back to the people certain powers which they have delegated, and to revert to the problem of direct legislation by a democracy—a problem which was abandoned as unsolvable when representative government was established. This proposition to retrace our steps in government is largely due to the distrust and dissatisfaction with modern legislatures which exist in all parts of the country; but it is doubtful if we should improve the quality of our legislators by relieving them of full responsibility for their acts. The chances are that we should get a more inferior quality still. The direct, logical, and sure remedy is at hand. Representative government does not need to be abandoned, but to be put into the hands of better men. If all citizens will do their duty, and see to it that only fit men are sent to the legislature, we shall be in no need of the referendum or any other reversion to primitive governmental methods to save us

from the consequences of our own indifference and neglect of civic duties.

Free Art in America at Last.

FOR many years the fight for free art has been continuously urged by American artists, and by those who are especially interested in the artistic and intellectual advancement of the United States, and sensitive concerning the fair fame of their country in the sisterhood of civilized nations. At last the battle has been won, and won decisively, by the united votes of the most intelligent members of both parties in Congress.

In this successful "campaign of education" the artists have taken a leading part, and their persistence, the cogency of their arguments, the good spirit and devotion shown by them, the breadth and loftiness of the views promulgated, all are worthy of the highest praise.

It is necessary, also, to note the response of congressmen in this case to right ideas lucidly expressed and disinterestedly advocated; and the hopeful citizen of the republic has a right to take new courage when he is able to add so enlightened a measure to the gratifying list of lately accomplished reforms. Many not old have seen, among other reforms, slavery and the slave-trade extinguished, polygamy crushed out, civil-service rules enacted and continually extended, our ballot laws improved, international literary piracy abolished, and now the barbarous tax on painting and sculpture not reduced, but wiped out! Moreover, the same Congress that has given us free art has established the Federal Civil-service Commission on a firmer basis than ever, by legislation which the leading advocates of the merit system declare to be almost as important as the original law creating the commission.

No one can say that American artists are afraid of competition. This new and generous legislation should put a new spirit into them, and should be a fresh reason for the complete removal of that neglect from which they have at times seemed strangely to suffer among their own people.

The Pictorial Side of the Life of Napoleon.

THE CENTURY'S series of "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" was the record of a military struggle waged by communities at the time virtually without art; the "Life of Napoleon" now appearing in THE CENTURY is the record of wars engaged in by the most artistic of all modern nations. The Art Department of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE had a difficult task to make attractive the art side of the American war series, and the degree of success met with was all the more creditable from the obstacles encountered.

In the Napoleon series, on the other hand, the opportunity is unprecedented, and this series should prove artistically, in many respects, the most splendid papers of a historical character yet published in a periodical.

In the preparation of these illustrations, it is possible to draw upon the most desirable of the portraits and pictures made at the time, and upon the rich stores of French military art subsequently accumulated, and use can be made of the accomplished pencils of living military and other artists of France and America; and as the scene moves from country to country and from period to period,—the panorama meantime decorated by a brilliant multitude of historical characters,—there should be no lack of variety in the story as told in the gallery of pictures which, from month to month, will illuminate the narrative.

OPEN LETTERS.

Sloane's "Napoleon."

IT is almost as difficult to enumerate the qualifications requisite for a biographer of Napoleon, as it is to make a fair estimate of Napoleon himself. It is not simply necessary that he should be impartial and well informed; he must be able to penetrate the motive and weigh the worth of the most conflicting testimony, to unravel the most intricate web of illusion and of detraction ever woven about a human character and career. It is not enough that he should be familiar with the historical forces playing about Napoleon, and those which he set in motion, with the events that shaped or determined his career, but he must be used to study and make allowances for the surprises in human nature.

The time has not yet come when we can expect a perfectly unprejudiced life of Napoleon from either a Frenchman or an Englishman. The tremendous passions of the Revolutionary era still survive on both sides of the Channel. It is not historical knowledge or scien-

tific method that is lacking in either case, but cosmopolitan impartiality. An American, who inherits English traditions and French sympathies, and is removed in space of time far enough to enjoy an undisturbed perspective, has a better chance of success. The American author of the present life has, to my mind, special qualifications for his great task.

William Mulligan Sloane is of Scotch Presbyterian stock, and was born in Richmond, Ohio, Nov. 12, 1850. He was graduated at Columbia College in 1868, and for some years taught Latin and Greek in the Newell Institute at Pittsburg, where his father (James Renwick Wilson Sloane) was pastor of a Presbyterian church. In 1872 he went abroad to pursue his studies in Germany, and attended lectures at the universities of Berlin and of Leipsic. At this time his attention was principally turned to Oriental studies, and it was at Leipsic that he took his Ph. D., his theme being "Arabic Poetry before the time of Mahomet," with metrical versions. While in Berlin he was for a time attached

to the American legation, as private secretary to Mr. Bancroft, and gained large practical experience in research and methods, as the historian's assistant in the tenth volume of the "History of the United States." During his residence abroad he made himself master of German and French, and through his connection with the legation he obtained a large insight into foreign social and political life.

When he returned to America in 1877, although he had a powerful impulse toward metaphysics and history, his chosen field was Oriental languages, and he went to Princeton in some expectation of making use of his Arabic and Hebrew. But as there was little call for his services in either, he became an instructor, and shortly after the professor, in Latin. In the reorganization of Princeton in 1883 upon a broader basis, he took the chair of professor of the philosophy of history, in which he at once distinguished himself as a most brilliant and inspiring lecturer. His scheme of philosophical exposition included universal history, but he brought this philosophy to bear chiefly upon modern times, and lectured especially on the English, American, and French revolutions. The only published result of this work is a successful volume devoted to our period of the French war and the revolution, which has received the highest critical indorsement for its philosophic interpretation of causes and events. In his connection with Princeton he has been recognized as one of the chief forces in the new era of the college.

Before he conceived the idea of writing the life of Napoleon, he had, by repeated and sometimes protracted visits to France, and residence in the provinces and in Paris, become familiar with French life and character, and had given much study to the French educational system. It was probably through his intimacy with M. Taine that his attention was finally directed to this work, and that he was given uncommon opportunities for investigation. I have heard that M. Taine said of him that "he knew France better than any other foreigner he had ever met."

With his accustomed thoroughness, industry, and vigor, he threw himself into the long preparation needed for this work. He had access to the archives of the French Foreign Office (the only ones not heretofore thoroughly studied), to papers examined, indeed, by no one so fully before, except by Lanfrey. His study of these papers was particularly concerned with the two obscure periods — the beginning and the end of Napoleon's career. He has also investigated documents little used, and in some cases little known, in Florence and in the British Museum.

But he has not contented himself with the literature or the written records of the subject. He has traveled more or less over Napoleonic ground, and made himself familiar, to a considerable extent, with the fields of the emperor's combinations, and victories, and defeats.

Aside from Professor Sloane's historical learning and power of investigation, I think I should put his fitness for this work upon his knowledge of the world, and his combination of openness of mind to new ideas with conservative habits of thought. He sees clearly and far, but he is little subject to illusions. It is rare also that so excellent and trained a scholar is so much a man of the world, so interested in whatever is vital, or simply entertaining, in social and political life, so well

informed of what is going on around him. This keen sense of life, with his stores of information and experience, his dialectic power, his dramatic force of narrative, and his charm of expression, makes him equally welcome in the club and the drawing-room. I mention these various qualities that seem to me desirable in one who attempts to interpret the character and career of Napoleon.

Charles Dudley Warner.

A Coincidence in Napoleon's Life.

THE facsimile of the last page of Bonaparte's exercise-book at school [printed on page 19] is one of the most curious human documents, to use a current phrase, that it would perhaps be possible to find. It treats of the youth of the great Napoleon. A mine of unexplored documents full of curious revelations has come down to us — documents, be it well observed, that are authentic and above all suspicion. During the Consulate, Napoleon, who already saw himself in history, as he said later at St. Helena, was mindful to place in safety all the papers that referred to his youth. He put them in a large official envelop on which were placed the words: "Correspondance avec le premier consul." This inscription he canceled with his own hand, to substitute the words: "A remettre au Cardinal Fesch, seul." The envelop, which was wrapped in paper ruled in colored squares and fastened with a large seal of red wax, on which can still be seen the impress of the imperial eagle, remained in the hands of the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons until 1839, the year in which the prelate died. The envelop survived the glorious fortunes of the Empire and the Restoration, and, after having passed into the hands of various owners, fell into those of Guglielmo Libri, an Italian who had extraordinary honors and favors showered on him in France, where he rose to be professor of mathematics at the Sorbonne, and in which country he also wrote his celebrated "Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques." He closed his brilliant career in obscurity, under the accusation of having collected with too great zeal documents and codices from French libraries that had been given over to him to inspect. Libri sold these precious documents, together with his valuable library, to Lord Ashburnham. After the latter's death his library was disposed of, partly in England, partly in Italy, and partly in France. The Napoleonic documents were included in the lot which were acquired by the Italian government in 1884, for the sum of 585,000 francs, and which now, together with other codices of great value, are preserved in the historical and monumental Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence, where the curious document is exposed, under a glass case, to public view in the new and splendid exhibition room devoted to manuscript treasures.

Bonaparte was never a literary man, or even a correct writer. French orthography ever remained a great mystery to him, and the desire to hide this lacuna caused him to employ an undecipherable calligraphy well adapted to cover his orthographical defects. It is said, in connection with this, that in the early days of the Empire a man of very modest aspect presented himself before the emperor.

"Who are you?" asked Napoleon.

"Sire, I had the honor at Brienne for fifteen months to give writing-lessons to your Majesty."

"You turned out a nice pupil," said the emperor, with vivacity. "I congratulate you on your success."

But nevertheless he conferred a pension upon his old master.

Among other documents we find in one of his copy-books, made of hand-made paper of a bluish hue, extracts from the French budget in conformity with Necker's famous report, extracts of opinions taken from the journals and other public papers, and criticisms on various personages of the period. At the close are several geographical-statistical minutes.

The document referred to at the beginning of this letter is from an early copy-book devoted to the "Possessions des Anglais," and ending abruptly in this wise: "Cabo Corso en Guinée, château assez fort. A côté est le Fort Royal, défendu par 16 pièces de canon. Sainte Hélène, petite île."

Strange, truly strange, is this document, that causes the beholder to meditate and to shudder. Libri drew attention to it in an article published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" in 1842; but as no one had seen the autograph, it was held to be one of those tales which grow up around great names for the benefit of the makers of biographical dictionaries. The authentic document helps to strengthen the belief of those who hold that a mysterious fatality hung about the destiny of this great man, who as a mere lad at school, when summing up the geography of that world which seemed narrow to his ambition, obstinately studied all that bore on England, the great adversary of his fortune, plunged into the history of the Arabs and the Egyptians, stopped at the Pyramids, halted at Venice to scrutinize and condemn its odious policy, took a cursory survey of India, which he dreamed of conquering, and then fell with broken wing on that little island of St. Helena, where his genius, like that of Prometheus, was nailed to the rock.

Guido Biagi,

Librarian of the Biblioteca Medico-Laurenziana.

The Government of Cities.

MUCH attention has been turned of late upon the weak point of our political system — the government of cities. The experiments made in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and other cities, with a concentrated and responsible executive, and the attempts made in Nashville and elsewhere to govern by means of triumvirates or other hydra-headed executives, show that the public mind is at work upon the problem. It is evident that the tendency of intelligent public opinion is in the direction of the centralization of executive power and responsibility, and away from the device of legislative boards and commissions, so much resorted to in years past. This is a sign that the truth is dawning upon the prosperous citizens that they must take into their own hands the business of governing their cities. Hitherto they have been fain to pass by on the other side while the thieves were plundering the treasury; or else, when the case grew desperate, they rushed to the capital and begged the legislature to turn the old gang out and put a new gang into power. They are beginning to comprehend that it is vain to trust in legislatures; and that the gods, in a republic, will help to govern no community that will not govern itself.

When the principle of home rule is once fixed upon, the principle of responsible government seems to be

a logical sequence. The Brooklyn model is attracting much attention in some of the ring-ridden municipalities, and many cities are framing charters upon this plan. In the mean time the students of political science have been making careful investigation of the methods employed by European cities. The organization of Glasgow, of Birmingham, of London, has been minutely described; and the contrast between the framework of government in these cities and that which is commending itself to municipal reformers in this country excites some surprise. It is notable that the English cities, instead of centralizing authority, distribute it widely. The city council is the supreme power; the executive officers are committees or appointees of the council. In this respect the English municipalities follow the analogy of their Parliament. In Glasgow the council is composed of fifty men, and in Birmingham of forty-eight. The different departments in the latter city are in charge of committees of the council, sixteen of them, consisting of eight members each. A committee of eight supervises the public works, a committee of eight appoints and governs the police, and so on. The American municipal reformer is confounded by this revelation. He has learned to think that such a distribution of executive power is the device of feebleness and corruption: the history of his own continent is contradicted by the experience of the other.

The contradiction is not, after all, so pointed as it seems. The committees of council in the English municipalities, appointed by the council, responsible to the council, reporting all their action to the governing body, and submitting to its constant supervision, are of a very different complexion from those boards and commissions to which the work of the cities of this community has been farmed out by acts of the legislature. And the council itself, in Birmingham, Glasgow, or Berlin, is something the like of which we are not wont to see in republican America. For some reason or other, the best men of those European cities readily accept seats in the city councils. The half-hundred rulers of the great British towns are men of character, of intelligence, of experience. There seems to be no suspicion that they are serving their own interests in these positions; it even appears to be supposed that a man who was suspected of this selfishness would find his political career cut short. There is a measure of municipal patriotism in these English boroughs to which republican America has not attained. The wealthy and intelligent citizens of the great European towns are, no doubt, to be commiserated. They are not getting rich nearly so fast as our own plutocrats; they know less about organizing real-estate booms and continental combines; they must have much less time and money to spend upon their own diversions; but this crumb of compensation is theirs: they have the satisfaction of knowing that their cities are well and economically governed, and that though their individual fortunes are growing much less rapidly than those of their republican neighbors, the safety and peace and welfare of the communities in which they live are much more effectually secured. It is a small satisfaction, of course, compared with that which is derived from the colossal egoisms of our own financial booms, but the subjects of effete monarchies may find it worth some labor and sacrifice.

To be entirely candid one must admit that an addi-

tional reason for the superiority of the European city councils is found in the limitation of the municipal suffrage. Householders, whether male or female, whose taxes are all paid, vote for municipal councilors in Glasgow and Birmingham. There are slight exceptions, but this is the general rule. This cuts off at once a large class of irresponsible persons, unmarried young men who have no stake in the welfare of the community. The non-payment of rates also reduces the voting-lists. "The better class of working-men in Glasgow," says Dr. Shaw, "of course pay their rates, take an active interest in public affairs, and do not fail to vote. But there is a very large population of the degraded poor which does not, in fact, participate in elections, and is not of the slightest service to 'ward politicians'—a genus which, by the way, is rarely found in British cities. What I may call the self-disfranchisement of the slums is an important consideration in Glasgow's municipal government." Besides, these cities permit the owners or renters of business places to vote in municipal elections, even though they do not reside in the city, if their homes are within seven miles of the corporation limits. What a change would be made in the complexion of the voting-lists of New York if all the business men and professional men who occupy stores or offices in the city, but who reside on Long Island or Staten Island, or on the Jersey shore, or in the Westchester suburbs, within seven miles of the corporation boundaries, were permitted to vote in the municipal elections! Those effete monarchies, with their confused notions respecting the supremacy of the slums, recognize the right of such persons to take part in the government of cities. It is evident that with the municipal franchise thus regulated, it would be much easier to secure the services in the governing body of such men as we find in the British municipal councils. The demand of the voters would be imperative. And when such men are ready to assume these responsibilities, the problem of municipal government is practically solved. Any city on this continent could safely intrust its affairs to fifty of its best citizens, and let them manage the administration to suit themselves.

There is no prospect, however, that we shall secure the services of such men in the councils of our American cities. Our men of substance and intelligence are too busy with their own personal affairs to take upon themselves these burdens. And it is doubtful if, with the suffrage in its present form, they could be elected if they would serve. The irresponsible classes are naturally averse to putting the power into the hands of the responsible classes; and the absurd extension of party politics into municipal elections gives to the irresponsible classes the balance of power. It seems, therefore, that the English plan is not adapted to the present condition of American cities. When the constituency is highly intelligent and virtuous, the administrative power may with safety be widely distributed; when the character of the voting population is greatly degraded by the admission to the suffrage of vast masses of ignorant and disorderly persons, the policy of concentration is wiser. The American municipal reformers are not mistaken in thinking that the Brooklyn plan is better suited to the needs of our cities at the present time.

The Brooklyn plan puts the executive power into the hands of the mayor, and holds him responsible for the

whole administration. He appoints, without confirmation, the heads of all departments, and they are directly responsible to him, as he is to the people. The heads of departments are his cabinet, and they go out of office with him. The people can, therefore, through the mayor, who is chosen for a short term, reach directly and effectively the whole field of executive authority; their hand can be laid at the first election upon every department of the government. The mayor can secure the popular approval only by holding all his subordinates to a strict account. They are his appointees, and he is responsible to the people for their conduct.

It sometimes seems to be regarded as some sacrifice of popular sovereignty to commit so much power to one man. It is said to be the setting up of a dictatorship. But why is it any more a sacrifice of popular sovereignty to commit the executive power to one man, than to commit it to twenty men? If the people give it away, it passes out of their hands as truly if twenty men have it as if one man has it. The people are no more divested of their power under one executive than they are under twenty executives. But they do not truly divest themselves of their power; they loan it or delegate it. Those into whose hands it passes are their agents or representatives. And if they put it into the hands of one man, he is their representative as really as the twenty men, and can be made to feel his responsibility to them far more keenly than the twenty could be made to feel it.

The fact that a bad man could do great harm with so much power is often urged as a reason for withholding it. This is true; but it does not seem to be considered that twenty bad men might do considerable harm also.

There are two fundamental assumptions to the one or the other of which all our governmental machinery must be adjusted. We may assume that municipal executives are likely to do more harm than good with the power intrusted to them. On this assumption we shall give them as little power as possible. We shall say to them, in effect, "We know that you are rascals, and that you are sure to abuse power, therefore we have tied you up with all manner of restrictions; we have tried to put it beyond your power to do much mischief." This is not an inspiring summons; the official is apt to take it as his warrant to do what mischief he can. Of course he finds it quite impossible to act effectively in the public interest; from that obligation he feels himself absolved; in depriving him of the power to do harm, the power to protect the community and to promote its welfare is also taken away. This is the logic of despair as applied to popular government; but it is to this pessimistic standard that our governmental policy has been largely adjusted.

On the other hand, we may assume that the municipal executive is likely to do more good than harm with the power intrusted to him; that his function is to be "the minister of God for good" to the community which thus delegates to him its sovereignty. We may assume that men can be found who will take this view of public office and act accordingly. If this is our assumption, we shall wish to give them the power that they will need for the execution of such righteous and patriotic purposes.

It would be well if every community would soberly face the fact that its municipal government must be

founded on one of these two assumptions. Either involves some risk: which involves the greater risk? Is the logic of despair or the logic of confidence the better basis for popular institutions? Your representative may be a rascal; is it best to assume that he will be a rascal, and grade our government down to that assumption, or to make the contrary assumption?

If, however, the people assume that their representatives will be capable and trustworthy men, they must at the same time assume the responsibility of electing such men. Faith is better than despair, but faith without works is dead, being alone. The best municipal machinery in the world will never release the citizen from his political obligations.

Washington Gladden.

Old Dutch Masters.

BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST. (1613-1670.)

VAN DER HELST was one of the most distinguished of the Dutch portrait-painters of his time. He was born at Haarlem about 1613, and removed while young to Amsterdam, where he married in 1636, and where he died in 1670. His teacher is supposed to have been Nicolas Elias, an eminent master in the art of portraiture; it is also thought that he was instructed by Franz Hals. More than this is not known of his life. He flourished at a time when Rembrandt ceased to be understood. He captivated by a surprising realism of treatment and a living individuality of character in his heads, to which was added a naturalistic coloring, undisturbed by any conscientious scruples of chiaroscuro. To understand him in relation to Rembrandt one should see him at the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam, where, in the Rembrandt Sala, are two of his largest and finest works hung on either side of the "Night-Watch." These are corporation pictures, representing assemblages of military officers, all life-size. One of these great canvases, called the "Schuttersmaaltyd," represents a banquet given by a company of the civic guard of Amsterdam, in commemoration of the peace of Westphalia in 1648, at which the Spanish ambassador is present. It was of this painting that Sir Joshua Reynolds said, "This is perhaps the first picture of portraits in the world." Startling and impressive as this work is at first

sight, from its realism and the sense of vitality in the heads, it yet fails to charm because of its want of atmosphere and chiaroscuro. The main object in these splendid groups by Helst is strong and truthful delineation of every part, both in form and color: we note the fine drawing of the hands, so characteristic of each sitter; the powerful and clear coloring, and the excellent execution of the details. But the general effect is monotonous and cold, and there is no attempt to unite the various parts into a whole, and thus to create a picture. It was said that Rembrandt's treatment of his heads in the "Night-Watch" gave occasion of demur in some of his sitters, because he had not depicted them with the same distinctness as those placed in the foreground. Van der Helst gave no occasion for such complaint, but gave every man his money's worth.

Of the single portraits by Van der Helst, that of the painter Paul Potter (shown on page 99) is among the most interesting. It is to be seen in The Hague Museum, and measures 38¾ inches high by 31½ inches wide. It was painted in the last days of his sitter, and shows him still at his easel with palette and brushes in hand, though in the last stage of consumption. The peculiar sallowness of the complexion is heightened by the rich velvet of the dress. From the palette we can see how few were the colors that the Dutchman needed to produce these marvelous effects.

T. Cole.

Postscript on "Sophie Germain."

MRS. CHRISTINE LADD FRANKLIN desires us to add in supplement of her article on Mlle. Sophie Germain, the mathematician, in the October number, that the grave at Père la Chaise, spoken of as neglected, has now been put in good condition. No portrait of her exists, but there is a mask in the collection of the museum of the Louvre after which a bust has recently been made by Zacharie Astruc.

A note of Mlle. Germain relative to an experiment of Wheatstone's in elasticity, all trace of which had been lost, has recently been discovered in the British Museum. The second edition of her "Considerations on the State of the Sciences and of Letters" is now exhausted.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

At Candle-lighting.

I THINK it better to believe,
And be even as the children, they
The children of the early day,
Who let the kindly dreams deceive,
And joyed in all the mind may weave
Of dear conceit—better, I say,
To let wild fancy have her way,
To trust her, than to know and grieve.
A poet of old Colophon
A notion held I think was right,
No matter how or whence he gat it:
The stars are snuffed out every dawn,
And newly lighted every night.
I hope to catch the angels at it.

John Vance Cheney.

Action.

"WHEREFORE is it that we live and die?"
Who thus questioned lived a life of light,
And full many a soul in sorrow's night
Blest him in its thought when out of sight;
While each child of misery passing by
Knew why he was born, but not why he should die.

"For God's glory do we live and die?"
Who thus answered thrust the asker out
With the unforgiven, for his doubt;
Yet his own life was a silent flout
To the God whom it should glorify:
None knew why he was born, or why he should not die.

Charlotte Fiske Bates.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A New Napoleon.

THE details of Napoleon's youth given in the opening pages of Professor Sloane's "Life," as published in THE CENTURY, will prove a real surprise to the general reading public. Hitherto the early history of the emperor has been illuminated by a few well-known stories—like that, for instance, of the battle of the snow forts at Brienne. The close narrative of events has generally begun only at Toulon. It is, indeed, not a matter of wonder that the emperor was by no means anxious that the shifts, adventures, and political escapades of his Jacobin boyhood should ever be brought into too great historical prominence; and yet these years of Napoleon's life—as described by Professor Sloane in the chapters which have appeared, and those which will next be published—are full of the deepest interest and significance. At no time did his amiable and commendable traits—his devotion to his family, his industry and studiousness—show in a clearer light. It is a new Napoleon,—this devourer of books, this unsuccessful literary aspirant, this ineffectual Corsican political agitator,—but the new Napoleon certainly makes the old Napoleon much more easily comprehended.

The World's Supply of Gold.

WE have been called upon several times during the last year to answer such questions as "Has gold appreciated in value because of its scarcity?" "Is there too little gold in the world to transact the business of the world on a gold standard alone?" and "Has the appreciation in the value of gold led to a fall in the prices of commodities?" Our readers will remember that we have answered all these and similar questions in the negative, taking the ground that the alleged scarcity of gold was a misapprehension; that the fall in prices which has taken place in the last twenty years was not traceable to the appreciation of gold, but to improvements in machinery, to cheaper transportation, and to the progress of invention and civilization; and that there was no convincing evidence that there is not an ample supply of gold in the world to transact the world's business.

Whatever doubt there may have been on these points, and we are frank to admit that there has been a good deal that was honest and intelligent, it must melt away in the presence of the figures of the increased gold product of the world during the last two years. The product for 1893, according to the figures of the Director of the Mint, amounted to \$155,522,000, which was the largest recorded for any year in history, being \$522,000 greater than that of 1853, when the newly discovered and easily worked placer mines of California and Australia were giving their largest yield. The estimated product for 1894 is placed by the director at fully \$174,000,000, or \$19,000,000 greater than the output of 1893. This estimate is based upon actual production for the greater part of the year, and is not in any way open to the charge of guess-work. What it shows is that the yield of gold this year will be nearly twenty millions greater than that of any previous year in the world's history.

In order to realize the full significance of this fact, let us consider the figures of the gold product since the maximum of 1853. That was \$155,000,000. The product began to dwindle after that year till it reached \$95,400,000 in 1883. From 1885 to 1889 it fluctuated between \$105,775,000 and \$110,197,000. After that it began to rise rapidly, reaching \$118,840,000 in 1890, \$130,650,000 in 1891, and \$146,297,600 in 1892. The increase between 1887 and 1893 was over fifty per cent., and the increase between 1887 and the close of the present year will be nearly or quite 75 per cent. The present yield of gold is greater in volume than the average yield of both gold and silver in the period 1861-1865, which was about \$170,500,000. From 1866 to 1873 the average value of both the gold and the silver product was nearly \$191,000,000, and it is not improbable that in 1895 the value of the gold product will reach even that amount.

The increase has been general in the gold-producing countries of the world, Africa leading with an advance of ten millions this year over its product for 1893, and the United States coming second with an advance of almost seven millions. All the evidence points to a continuation of this increase in the future. The strongest reason for expecting this is to be found in the fact that alluvial deposits, which are easily exhausted, are no longer the chief source of the world's supply. The uncertain quantity of these deposits made it difficult to forecast accurately the gold product of the future. The greater part of the increased supply of the last two years has come from well-developed lode mines, which give a comparatively steady yield, and the future output of which can be calculated with reasonable accuracy. This is especially the case with the mines in the United States—those of California, Colorado, South Dakota, and Montana. In addition to this change in the character of deposits, a fresh stimulus has been given to gold-mining by the decline in the value of silver. Many silver-mines which can be worked successfully no longer have been closed, and many gold-mines which had not been operated for years because of the greater profit from silver-mining have been reopened during the last year.

Finally, the invention of new processes of reducing ores, and improvements in methods of mining, have reduced the cost of production, making it possible to increase the output of gold by working ores which it has been impossible heretofore to work at a profit.

It will be difficult to maintain, in the face of this great increase in the supply of gold, that there is either a scarcity existing now, or that there is danger of one existing in the future. The statistics and the facts of the production show that if the demand for gold increases, the supply will in some way be made to keep pace with it. It is only reasonable to infer that the increased production reflects the conviction of the financial world that the gold standard is to be permanent, since the experience of all civilized nations has shown that it is the safest and best.

In regard to the alleged appreciation of gold, and its effect in reducing the price of commodities, it will be difficult to maintain that contention in face of the

fact that the seven years which have increased the gold product 75 per cent. have also witnessed a decline in general prices. If these two coincident developments show anything, it is that the decline in prices was in no way due to the supply of gold, but was the natural result of human progress in the art of living. Prices are lower because human ingenuity and invention have made it possible to buy more with a dollar than was ever bought before. The dollar remains the same, but the world has more to give in exchange for it.

The Reign of the Bicycle.

WHAT may be called, not improperly, the bicycle passion has full possession of several leading countries of the world. England and France, notably those parts of them in and about London and Paris, have been so given over to it for some time that a large portion of their population come and go on their errands of business or pleasure "on a wheel." Americans who have recently traveled abroad have been astonished at the general use of the bicycle there, and have been still more astonished, on returning to their own country during the last year, to discover what headway the passion has made here. It is said to be a conservative estimate by competent authorities that during the year now closing a quarter of a million bicycles have been sold in this country, and that the number of riders approaches a million. There are said to be over fifty thousand in New York and its neighborhood, and fully half that number in and about Boston. The latter city caught the passion from Europe some time before New York did, and has a larger proportion of its population, male and female, regularly devoted to it.

Observers of the phenomenon are wondering whether it is merely a passing whim, or whether it "has come to stay"; whether those who have taken it up will continue it after the novelty has worn off, or whether they will drop it for the next new fad that shall come along. There are many reasons for thinking that its stay will be permanent. Undoubtedly many of those who take it up because of its vogue will tire of it after a while, but these will not constitute a large proportion of the whole number. The great body of riders find in the bicycle a new pleasure in life, a means for seeing more of the world, a source of better health through open-air exercise, a bond of comradeship, a method of rapid locomotion either for business or pleasure, and many other enjoyments and advantages which they will not relinquish. The bicycle has, in fact, become a necessary part of modern life, and could not be abandoned without turning the social progress of the world backward. Few who have used it for a tour through the country would think for a moment of giving it up and returning to pedestrianism instead. Aside from the exhilarating joy of riding, which every bicycle devotee will assure you is the nearest approach to flying at present possible to man, there is the opportunity of seeing a constantly changing landscape.

The bicycle-rider journeys, too, virtually unencumbered with luggage; for the weight of his kit, which would be constantly growing more and more perceptible were it strapped upon his back while he was walking, has no appreciable effect upon the speed of the wheel or the amount of energy required to propel it. The rider slips past farm and cottage, through woods and along the banks of streams, with almost the ease and freedom of

a bird. At the same time he travels with wonderful cheapness, covering double and even treble the number of miles a day that a horse could regularly travel, and doing it all without a dollar of expense for food or shelter for his "beast of burden."

The bicycle is indeed the great leveler. It puts the poor man on a level with the rich, enabling him to "sing the song of the open road" as freely as the millionaire, and to widen his knowledge by visiting the regions near to or far from his home, observing how other men live. He could not afford a railway journey and sojourn in these places, and he could not walk through them without tiring sufficiently to destroy in a measure the pleasure which he sought. But he can ride through twenty, thirty, fifty, even seventy miles of country in a day without serious fatigue, and with no expense save his board and lodging. To thousands of men and women the longing of years to travel a little as soon as they could afford it is thus gratified, virtually without limit; for a "little journey in the world" can be made on every recurring holiday or vacation.

But it is not only as a means of enjoyment and healthful exercise that the bicycle has a strong hold on popular favor. In smaller cities, and in towns and villages, it has become a necessity of every-day life. The tradesmen solicit and deliver orders upon it; messenger boys use it in carrying their despatches; doctors in visiting their patients; clergymen in making their pastoral calls; mail-carriers in delivering letters; and policemen in pursuing offenders against the laws. Insurance and other agents travel from town to town upon it, and in every community it is the ever-ready vehicle for countless errands of every description.

At a recent election in Alabama, the Birmingham Bicycle Club, composed of thirty members, collected the returns from remote sections of the State, and brought them to Birmingham before the city votes had been counted, traveling, in order to accomplish this, over one thousand miles of rough and sandy mountain roads. All the returns were in hand by midnight, and for almost the first time in its history the verdict of the entire State was known on the day of the election. This was a use of the bicycle which is certain to be imitated in many States in the future. Somewhat similar is the use which is made of it in the armies of the world for the sending of despatches between both adjacent and widely separated points. Not long ago a message was sent from Washington to Denver by relays of bicycle-riders. The distance, nearly two thousand miles, was covered in six days. A recent trial in Great Britain was scarcely less striking in its results. A plan was arranged to carry a message from London to Edinburgh and to bring back an answer. Relays of riders, in pairs to avoid delay in case of accident, were stationed along the route. Through a portion of the journey rain descended in torrents, the roads were in bad condition, and there was a strong head wind; yet in spite of these disadvantageous circumstances the round trip of eight hundred miles was made in fifty hours and twenty-seven minutes. The best time ever made when fast coaching was at its height was forty-two hours and twenty-three minutes for half the journey. Demonstrations like these show that the bicycle occupies a field of human activity which is both new and capable of such expansion as to make it a necessity henceforth.

No one can study this subject and not reach the conviction that, instead of declining, the use of the bicycle is destined to increase. Fifteen years ago the total sale of bicycles in this country in twelve months was only ninety-two. It was not till 1886, when the perfected modern "safety" made its appearance abroad (it appeared in this country a year later), that the marvelous modern development of the passion began. It grew slowly for a few years; but within the last three years its progress has carried all before it, till now the man who does not ride is an exception whose life is a burden under the weight of advice which the devotees of the sport pour upon him. That the effect upon us as a people of such healthful exercise in the open air will be most beneficial cannot be questioned, and from that point of view alone the practice should be encouraged. Many a boy will start in life with a more vigorous constitution because of his bicycle, and many a man who was growing old too fast by neglect of active exercise will find himself rejuvenated by the same agency.

A direct and salutary effect of the great popularity of bicycle-riding will be to spread abroad the gospel of good roads. Every bicycle-rider is a natural and eloquent missionary of scientific road construction, and every cyclist club is perforce a good-road club as well. There is thus growing up, in all parts of the land, an organized body of road reformers who will, before many years have passed, be powerful enough to make their wishes law in many States.

No Backward Step in Copyright!

It was not to be expected that the International Copyright Bill of March 3, 1891, would be entirely satisfactory to all of its friends—much less to its enemies. When it is remembered that in the conferences between the House of Representatives and the Senate in the last hours of an exciting session it was virtually pulled to pieces and put together again, it would be astonishing if its language did not present ambiguities, or if its workings should be altogether smooth. These are objections, however, which concern all legislation, and it is remarkable how little actual friction has characterized the operation of this law; it is indicative, also, of the growth among us of the sense of justice toward literary property that nearly all the criticism of the act has been on the ground that it does not go far enough in the protection of authors' rights.

The first tangible evidence of organized hostility was the introduction in Congress by Mr. Hicks of Pennsylvania, in the closing days of the last session, of a bill to limit copyright in etchings and engravings to such as are manufactured in this country, and in fact to remove from the security of the law all such articles so far as their publication in a daily or weekly newspaper is concerned. The absurdity of the first provision is as transparent as the effort to obtain by the second provision the support of the daily and weekly press.

This bill is not rightly named. It should be called "An Act for the Forcible Importation of Foreign Artists." Not only is the deprivation of existing property rights to extend to foreign etchers and engravers,—to great artists such as Gravesende, Hamerton, or Flameng,—but to any American artist working abroad. If these gentlemen wish to have their property secured

in this country, they can easily do so by taking up their residence in the land of the free! If Mr. Whistler wishes to etch a view of the Grand Canal, by all means let him come to the United States to do it! If Mr. Pennell wishes to make etchings of French cathedrals, what better point of view than, let us say, the suburbs of Philadelphia! If Mr. Cole wishes to continue his matchless series of engravings from the old masters, what more convenient spot for his work than the mountain region of middle Pennsylvania! It is too absurd for serious consideration. *To offer copyright to an artist on impossible terms is to offer him no copyright at all.* This whole question was fought out in the Senate in 1891, and Mr. Hicks's bill is not more likely to find favor in a Congress which has lately honored itself by removing the barbarous duty on paintings and sculpture.

Another obstacle to the withdrawal of the security given by the United States law, is that such action would be in the nature of a breach of existing understanding with other countries. The present law is the basis of reciprocal arrangements with Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, and Portugal, according to which our engravers and etchers are among those whose rights are secure in those countries. Is the American artist to be prevented from accepting the remuneration which foreigners offer for his work, because somebody in the United States does not wish to pay for the use of foreign art? Certainly the art-producing countries of Europe are not likely to sit idly by while we recant any part of the honorable professions of the Copyright Bill.

Nor is this new form of piracy likely to obtain support from the American press, which won such credit by its advocacy of justice to intellectual property, and made possible the passage of the present law. Even the piratical classes soon discovered that the bill conferred benefits upon them by giving them security in purchased rights, when before they had only the instability of a general scramble. Honest journals do not need to be convinced of the wisdom of the policy of paying for what they print, and there is no reason whatever why a monthly magazine, a weekly illustrated journal, or a daily newspaper, should be exempted from the obligation of paying for the use of illustrative material. To do them justice, we know of none that advocates the exemption. Such a policy would be bad enough, but if, in addition, weeklies and dailies are not to be permitted to acquire property rights for which they are eager to pay, then is chaos come again, and the reversion to the old days of piracy but a question of time.

It is incredible that Congress can be induced to pass a measure so objectionable from the points of view of morality and the public interest, and so injurious to literature and art.

The Growth of Civil-Service Reform.

IN a large sense all progress toward good government by the selection of able and honest men is a triumph of the principles of civil-service reform; but the past year has been productive of other and striking evidences that the people realize the value of the merit system as an indispensable means to good govern-

ment in this country. Within a year the "Anti-Spoils League" has attained a membership of 10,000, representing every State and Territory, and including many prominent men of every political faith. In New York city the platform of the non-partizan Committee of Seventy, which headed the revolt against government by the criminal and semi-criminal classes, contained a specific and downright indorsement of the system. Very significant also was the nomination for Congress in the Louisville district of Mr. Edward J. McDermott, an avowed civil-service reformer. The platform of the Massachusetts Democratic Convention, and the

speech of the presiding officer, ex-Governor William E. Russell, were most pronounced in favor of the reform. As a new evidence that business men are alive to the necessity of abolishing the spoils system may be cited the reference to the subject by Mr. Herman Justi of Nashville at the recent convention of bankers at Baltimore. Indeed, there has never been more certainty that the people are in advance of their representatives on this subject, and would willingly support a radical policy which would substitute demonstrated merit for the wish of the spoilsman as a test in the selection of all government employees of the non-political grades.

OPEN LETTERS.

About Children.

A FURTHER WORD ON IMITATION.¹

THERE are one or two considerations of such practical importance to all those who wish to observe cases of imitation by children, that I venture to throw them together, only saying by way of introduction that they all follow from the general statement that nothing less than the child's personality is at stake in the method and matter of its imitations; for the "self" is but the form or process in which the personal influences surrounding the child take on their new individuality.

First. No observations are of much importance which are not accompanied by a detailed statement of the personal influences which have affected the child. This is the more important since the child sees few persons, and sees them constantly. It is not only likely—it is inevitable—that he *make up his personality*, under limitations of heredity, by imitation out of the "copy" set in the actions, temper, emotions, of the persons who build around him the social inclosure of his childhood. It is only necessary to watch a two-year-old closely to see what members of the family are giving him his personal "copy"—to find out whether he sees his mother constantly and his father seldom; whether he plays much with other children, and what their dispositions are, to a degree; whether he is growing to be a person of subjection, equality, or tyranny; whether he is assimilating the elements of some low unorganized social content from his foreign nurse. For, in Leibnitz's phrase, the boy or girl is a social monad, a little world, which reflects the whole system of influences coming to stir his sensibility. And just in as far as his sensibilities are stirred, he imitates, and forms habits of imitating. And habits?—they are character!

Second. A point akin to the first is this: every observation should describe with great accuracy the child's relation to other children. Has he brothers or sisters; how many of each, and of what age? Does he sleep in the same bed or room with them? Do they play much with one another alone? The reason is very evident. An only child has only adult "copy." He cannot interpret his father's actions, or his mother's, oftentimes. He imitates very blindly. He lacks the mere childish example of a brother or sister near himself in age. And

this difference is of very great importance to his development. He lacks the stimulus, for example, of games in which personification is a direct tutor to selfhood, as I shall remark farther on. And while he becomes precocious in some lines of instruction, he fails in imagination, in brilliancy of fancy. The dramatic, in his sense of social situations, is largely hidden. It is a very great mistake to isolate children, especially to isolate one or two children. One alone is perhaps the worse, but two alone are subject to the other element of social danger which I may mention next.

Third. Observers should report with special care all cases of unusually close relationship between children in youth, such as childish favoritism, "platonic friendships," "chumming," in school or home, etc. We have in these facts—and there is a very great variety of them—an exaggeration of the social or imitative tendency, a narrowing down of the personal suggestive sensibility to a peculiar line of well-formed influences. It has never been studied—never even to my knowledge been mentioned—by writers either on the genesis of social emotion or on the practice of education. To be sure, teachers are alive to the pros and cons of allowing children and students to room together; but it is with a view to the possibility of direct immoral or unwholesome contagion. This danger is certainly real; but we, as psychological observers, and above all as teachers and leaders, of our children, must go even deeper than that. Consider, for example, the possible influence of a school chum and room-mate upon a girl in her teens; for this is only an evident case of what all isolated children are subject to. A sensitive nature, a girl whose very life is a branch of a social tree, is placed in a new environment, to ingraft upon the members of her mutilated self—her very personality (it is nothing less than that)—utterly new channels of supply. The only safety possible, the only way to conserve the lessons of her past, apart from the veriest chance, and to add to the structure of her present character, lies in securing for her the greatest possible variety of social influences. Instead of this, she meets, eats, walks, talks, lies down at night, and rises in the morning, with one other person, a "copy" set before her, as immature, in all likelihood, as herself, or, if not so, yet a single personality, put there to wrap around her growing self the confining cords of unassimilated and foreign habit. Above all things, fathers, mothers,

¹ Suggested by Professor Royce's interesting paper on "The Imitative Functions," in THE CENTURY for May, 1894.

teachers, elders, give the children room! They need all that they can get, and their personalities will grow to fill it. Give them plenty of companions, fill their lives with variety,—variety is the soul of originality, and its only source of supply. The ethical life itself, the boy's, the girl's, conscience, is born in the stress of the conflicts of suggestion—born right out of his imitative hesitations; and just this is the analogy which he must assimilate and depend upon in his own conflicts for self-control and social continence. For himself, later, so impressively true is this from the human point of view, that it is my opinion—formed, it is true, from the very few data accessible on such points, still a positive opinion—children should never be allowed, after infancy, to room regularly together; special friendships of a close exclusive kind should be discouraged or broken up, except when under the immediate eye of the wise parent or guardian; and even when allowed, these relationships should, in all cases, be used to entrain the sympathetic and moral sentiments into a wider field of social exercise.

Fourth. The remainder of my space must be devoted to the further emphasis of the need of close observation of children's games, especially those which may be best described as "society games." All those who have given even casual observation to the doings of the nursery have been impressed with the extraordinary fertility of the child mind, from the second year onward, in imagining and plotting social and dramatic situations. It has not been as evident, however, to these casual observers, or to many really more skilled, that they were observing in these fancy-plays the putting together anew of fragments, or larger pieces, of their own mental history. But here, in these games, we see the actual use which our children make of the personal "copy" material which they have got from you and me. If a man study these games patiently in his own children, and analyze them, he gradually sees emerge from the child's inner consciousness its picture of the boy's own father, whom he aspires to be like, and whose actions he seeks to generalize and apply anew. The picture is poor, for the child takes only what he is sensible to. And it does seem often, as Sighele pathetically notices on a large social scale, and as the Westminster divines have urged without due sense of the pathetic and home-coming point of it, that he takes more of the bad in us for reproduction than of the good. But be this as it may, what we give him is all he gets. Heredity does not stop with birth: it is then only beginning. And the pity of it is that this element of heredity, this reproduction of the fathers in the children, which might be used to redeem the new-forming personality from the heritage of past commonness or impurity, is simply left to take its course for the further establishing and confirmation of it. Was there ever a group of school children who did not leave the real school to make a play school, erecting a throne for one of their number to sit on and "take off" the teacher? Was there ever a child who did not play "church," and force her father, if possible, into the pulpit? Were there ever children who did not "buy" things from fancied stalls in every corner of the nursery, when they had once seen an elder drive a trade in the market? The point is this: the child's personality grows; growth is always by action; he clothes upon himself the scenes of his life, and acts them out; so he grows in what

he is, what he understands, and what he is able to perform.

In order to be of direct service to observers of games of this character, I shall now give a short account of an observation of the kind made a few weeks ago—one of the simplest of many actual situations which my two little girls, Helen and Elizabeth, have acted out together. It is a very commonplace case, a game the elements of which are evident in their origin; but I choose this rather than one more complex, since observers are usually not psychologists, and they find the elementary the more instructive.

On May 2 I was sitting on the porch alone with the children—the two mentioned above, aged respectively four and a half and two and a half years. Helen, the elder, told Elizabeth that she was her little baby; that is, Helen became "mama," and Elizabeth "baby." The younger responded by calling her sister "mama," and the play began.

"You have been asleep, baby; now it is time to get up," said mama. Baby rose from the floor,—first falling down in order to rise,—was seized upon by "mama," taken to the railing to an imaginary wash-stand, and her face washed by rubbing. Her articles of clothing were then named in imagination, and put on, one by one, in the most detailed and interesting fashion. During all this, mama kept up a stream of baby talk to her infant: "Now your stockings, my darling; now your skirt, sweetness—oh, no—not yet—your shoes first," etc. etc. Baby acceded to all the detail with more than the docility which real infants usually show. When this was done: "Now we must go tell papa good morning, dearie," said mama. "Yes, mama," came the reply; and hand in hand they started to find papa. I, the spectator, carefully read my newspaper, thinking, however, that the reality of papa, seeing that he was so much in evidence, would break in upon the imagined situation. But not so. Mama led her baby directly past me to the end of the piazza, to a column in the corner. "There's papa," said mama; "now tell him good morning." "Good morning, papa; I am very well," said baby, bowing low to the column. "That's good," said mama, in a *gruff, low voice*, which caused in the real papa a thrill of amused self-consciousness most difficult to contain. "Now you must have your breakfast," said mama. The seat of a chair was made a breakfast-table, the baby's feigned bib put on, and her porridge carefully administered, with all the manner of the nurse who usually directs their breakfast. "Now" (after the meal, which suddenly became dinner instead of breakfast) "you must take your nap," said mama. "No, mama; I don't want to," said baby. "But you must." "No; you be baby, and take the nap." "But all the other children have gone to sleep, dearest, and the doctor says you must," said mama. This convinced baby, and she lay down on the floor. "But I have n't undressed yet." So then came all the detail of undressing, and mama carefully covered her up on the floor with a light shawl, saying, "Spring is coming now; that'll be enough. Now shut your eyes, and go to sleep." "But you have n't kissed me, mama," said the little one. "Oh, of course, my darling!"—so a long siege of kissing. Then baby closed her eyes very tight, while mama went on tiptoe away to the end of the porch. "Don't go away, mama," said baby. "No; mama would n't leave her darling," came the reply.

So this went on. The nap over, a walk was pro-

posed, hats were put on, etc., the mama exercising great care and solicitude for her baby. One further incident to show this: when the baby's hat was put on — the real hat — mama tied the strings rather tight. "Oh! you hurt, mama," said baby. "No; mama would n't draw the strings too tight. Let mama kiss it. There, is that better, my darling?" — all comically true to a certain sweet maternal tenderness which I had no difficulty in tracing.

Now, in such a case, what is to be reported, of course, is the facts. Yet knowledge of more than the facts is necessary, as I have said above, in order to get the full psychological lesson. We need just the information which concerns the rest of the family, and the social influences of the children's lives. I recognized at once every phrase which the children used in this play, where they got it, what it meant in its original context, and how far its meaning had been modified in this process which I have called "social heredity." But as that story is reported to strangers who have no knowledge of the children's social antecedents, how much beyond the mere facts of imitation and personification do they get from it? And how much the more is this true when we examine those complex games of the nursery which show the brilliant fancy for situation and drama of the wide-awake four-year-old?

Yet we psychologists are free to interpret; and how rich the lessons even from such a simple scene as this! As for Helen, what could be a more direct lesson, — a lived-out exercise in sympathy, in altruistic self-denial, in the healthy elevation of her sense of self to the dignity of kindly offices, in the sense of responsibility and agency, in the stimulus to original effort and the designing of means to ends, — and all of it with the best sense of the objectivity which is quite lost in wretched self-consciousness in us adults when we personate other characters; what could further all this highest mental growth better than the game by which the lessons of her mother's daily life are read into the child's little self? And then, in the case of Elizabeth certain things appear. She *obeys* without command or sanction, she takes in from her sister the elements of personal suggestion in their simpler childish forms; and certainly such scenes, repeated every day with such variation of detail, must give something of the sense of variety and social equality which real life afterward confirms and proceeds upon. And lessons of the opposite character are learned by the same process.

All this exercise of fancy must strengthen the imaginative faculty. The prolonged situations, maintained sometimes whole days, or possibly weeks, give strength to the imagination and train the attention. I think, also, that the sense of essential reality, and its distinction from the unreal, the merely imagined, is helped by this sort of symbolic representation. But it has its dangers also — very serious ones. And possibly the best service of observation just now is to gather the facts with a view to the proper recognition and avoidance of the dangers.

In closing, I may be allowed a word to interested parents. You can be of no use whatever to psychologists — to say nothing of the actual damage you may be to the children — unless you *know your babies through and through*. Especially the fathers. They are willing to study everything else. They know every corner of the house familiarly, and what is done in it,

except the nursery. A man labors for his children ten hours a day, gets his life insured for their support after his death, and yet he lets their mental growth, the formation of their character, the evolution of their personality, go on by absorption — if no worse — from common, vulgar, imported and changing, often immoral, attendants! Plato said the state should train the children; and added that the wisest man should rule the state. This is to say that the wisest man should tend his children! Hugo gives us, in Jean Valjean and Cosette, a picture of the true paternal relationship. We hear a certain group of studies called the *humanities*, and it is right. But the best school in the humanities for every man is in his own house.

J. Mark Baldwin.

Our Christmas Pictures.

SOME of us of an older generation are familiar with the Christmas pictures of a John Gilbert, a Kenney Meadows, a Hoppin, those queer conventional contributions to the magazines and annuals of some forty years ago, — the bringing in of the boar's head, the kissing under the mistletoe, the Yule log, and the singing of carols, — without which no Christmas publication was complete. The boar's head and Yule log had virtually passed out of existence even at that time, but the mistletoe still claimed its osculatory rights. To-day we have changed all this. Coal fires have taken the place of Yule logs; canvasback, that of the boar's head; Chopin and Grieg, the carols; and the mistletoe — well, that still hangs from the chandelier, but in a perfunctory way, as a memento of the rough and boisterous fun of former times.

One wonders whether Mr. A. B. Wenzell's excellent drawings are as true to the times in which we live as were the designs of forty years ago. He introduces us into more fashionable if not better company; for Mr. Wenzell is the cleverest of the clever. His art is chic and knowing, and although his types are a little too much of the earth, earthy, they are the people whom one finds in the majority at ball and opera. His two designs show us the outside of a New York florist's, with smart and rich buyers, connoisseur-like, picking out the genuine English mistletoe from its native, smaller-berried American rival, and an interior where these same smart people at a Christmas gathering promenade in fashionable weariness under the mysterious plant. Mr. Wenzell is a native of Detroit, Michigan, and is thirty years of age. He spent seven years in art study in Munich and Paris — under Professors Löffitz and Gysis in the former place, and under Boulanger and Lefebvre in the latter.

F. S. Church's experience of Christmas cookery is, I fear, on a par with the last generation's experience of boar's heads and Yule logs. His cold sauce is very cold sauce indeed, and the effect of Christmas pudding thus served surely is to be dreaded. But who besides Church would have thought of such diverting grotesquery as this? He draws and paints what he must draw and paint, and no less an authority than "L'Art," the great French journal, has thought him worthy of a two-page article. Is Mr. Church more painter or illustrator? His quality of color is always agreeable and always pleasant. He is American through and through, unique, indebted to no man living or dead for his quaint con-

ceits and queer fancies. Mr. Church was born at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1842. He was a student of the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts and the National Academy of Design, and was elected an associate of the latter in 1888. He is also a member of the Society of American Artists.

The remainder of these Christmas pictures deal with religious aspects of the festival. Von Uhde's work in this field usually presents as his central figure, not the Christ, the Messiah enthroned in eternal glory, but the poor and lowly man born on Christmas day, the friend of publican and sinner; in one picture he enters the cottage of a Bavarian peasant at meal-time, and the children shrink from him; in another, on the first Christmas eve, the peasant carpenter knocks at the door of a peasant house, while the tired woman, on the eve of maternity, leans wearily against a fence, wondering if they will gain admittance. Von Uhde paints Jesus, not the Christ, because Jesus is the human, the comprehensible, and because his life as man touches the life of his fellow-men. His angels, too, as the one in the composition we engrave, have a human aspect, in contrast with the conventional loveliness of a cloistered monk's dream of womanly beauty. Fritz Von Uhde was born in Volkenburg, Saxony, in 1848. He was a pupil of Munkacsy, and received a medal of the third class in the Paris Salon of 1885. His picture "The Appearing to the Shepherds" is a good representative of his work.

Joseph Scheurenberg was a student of the school of Düsseldorf when Karl Sohn was its director. He was born in Düsseldorf in 1846. He was professor at the Cassel Academy from 1879 to 1881. He afterward settled in Berlin. He is one of that large class of German artists who, correct in drawing and true in composition, seem in their painting always to bear the market in view, and to paint religious pictures or profane, according to the public demand. His ideas are good, his pictures from an academic standpoint almost faultless, but somehow in German painting of this school, notwithstanding its great skill, one cannot help feeling a certain left-handedness.

The Dagnan-Bouveret composition (here printed by the kind permission of the artist) is little more than a sketch, a clever, graceful *ébauche* from the hand of a man of genius. It was made on lithographic paper and transferred to stone, as an accompaniment to a poem written by one of his friends—Charles Grandmougin. Slight as it is, it shows the power of this extraordinary painter, and (although M. Dagnan says that had he had the stone at hand he would have made several alterations and corrections) is quite worthy of the author of "La Marchande des Cierges" of the last Champ de Mars salon. THE CENTURY for May, 1894, contains an article on this artist.

Mrs. Lamb's composition, "The Christ Child," is purely decorative, in the sense that it might serve for a mural painting or a stained-glass window. It is sweet and pretty, well drawn, and conventional only in that

quality which is akin to originality—the conventionality of the decorator. This talented artist was the subject of an "Open Letter" in THE CENTURY for December, 1893.

Joseph Leon Guipon's work shows frankly the influence of Dagnan-Bouveret. He has a light touch and a graceful fancy. He is already a good draftsman, and if not spoiled by too early a success may be expected to develop into a strong illustrator. Guipon was born in Paris in 1872, and was brought to this country by his parents when about twelve years of age. He is a pupil of the Art Students' League of New York, under George de Forest Brush and Frank Vincent Du Mond.

W. Lewis Fraser.

The Tramp and the Reform School.

IN the September number of THE CENTURY Josiah Flynt, in the course of an article entitled "What to do with the Tramp," has this to say:

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 can assure Mr. Flynt that just the sort of school he proposes "shall take the place of the reform school" is to be found in the reform school itself. With a few exceptions, the various reform schools throughout the country are veritable industrial homes and manual-training schools. In fact, they are so patterned that in some States the name "reform" has been changed to that of "industrial."

The last decade has seen a wondrous change in the conducting and management of these schools. It may almost be called a revolution. They are now run on what is called the "open," or "cottage," system. Where children ranging from eight to eighteen years of age, and in some cases even younger than eight years, were formerly penned up behind bars and stone walls, and held subject to the stern discipline common to our penitentiaries, they are now housed in pleasant and comfortable homes, with neither bars nor stone walls to hold them, and are surrounded by every influence calculated to make good and honest citizens of them. In the matter of discipline humane methods now prevail; and where unfortunate or erring boys and girls were once treated like confirmed criminals, an earnest and effective effort is now being made to reform them. The introduction of trade-teaching into these schools has been a move in the right direction; and so successful has been the experiment that even the youngest schools are prepared to, and do, teach most of the common trades, while many of the older schools embrace in their work the teaching of all the way from twenty to twenty-five. Thus it will be seen that our reform school of to-day does not fall far short of the school Mr. Flynt would establish.

W. M. Hutt.

a-denyin' o' the words, and a-addin' that 'Lige Strouder's people have had the consum'tion on his father's side, a-includin' of a' old aunt that had a cough that lasted sixty year and better, and she tired out two whole generation o' people before she give out; that of course sech a disease, when it oncet got in a family o' people, it stayed there to the very last prosterity of 'em. Well, sir, when things got to that solemn p'int, somethin' have got to be done. And so Ephe sent word to 'Lige, and 'Lige sent word to Ephe, that soon as Ephe could fling away his crotch they was to meet at Bland's store and settle it. Now sech as that skeared Mrs. Criddle to that she begged Lethy to decide in her mind before the battle come round, and Lethy declared she meant to. And so one mornin' Lethy putt on her very best frock and things, and her ma did n't say anything because she knowed night before what was up, and she looked solemn, but she said she were riconciled. Bimeby here come ridin' in town the old man Sanford that he was the parscher of their church, and he lit at the Robys', and were met at the gate by Curry Lightner, and

them two and Mrs. Roby, Curry's sister, went straight across to the Criddles', and in less 'n a half a' hour Lethy and Curry was j'ined in the banes, and then they lit in the Roby gig, and was off on a tower clean as fer as A'gusty, where they stayed one whole solid week."

"And what," I asked, "did the other young men do?"

"Do? Why, they was both in the sitoation of the feller the calf runned over. They was both of 'em speechless, and had nothin' to do nor say. When their langwidges come back to 'em, Ephe said that as his cousin Lethy would n't take him, he were thankful she did not take 'Lige; and 'Lige said the same about Ephe. And when Curry Lightner got back, and call 'em 'Cousin Ephe' and 'Cousin 'Lige' kind and affectionate, and declare he have not putt hisself in his best langwidge before Lethy tell he see they has run the lenkt of their rope, they forgive him. And 't were n't a year before Ephe married 'Lige's sister, and 'Lige married Ephe's sister; and then the whole lot of 'em got jest overwhelmed with one 'nother together in good feelin's all around."

Richard Malcolm Johnston.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Ideals.

THE good citizen of America's principal city has had to give himself a jog, of late, to see whether he was actually awake, and thus be sure that at last Tammany was "smashed." For so many years the prominence in local government of the tough, the gambler, the blackmailer, the murderer, has been such a constantly increasing and world-resounding disgrace, that the happy and far-reaching results of the last election, coming so suddenly, require a little study for their full realization.

Some of the remedies and reforms now in view we speak of under another title. Here we wish to refer to another aspect of the subject.

Whenever it is attempted to make an idea or a policy effective by surrounding and forwarding it by means of an organization, there is immediate danger of a lowering of the moral standard. No matter how spiritual the idea or how right the policy, the price of the good to be accomplished by organization is a certain tendency toward evil in the pursuance of practical results. Even the Christian church has had always to guard itself against the dangers of combined effort; and when it comes to organizations on a lower plane, it is little wonder that they are in constant need of reformation, and that they frequently become so evil that destruction is the only means of complete reform.

What more natural and human than that we should see political organizations sometimes bringing to the front, holding up for public admiration and example,

and crowning with apparent success, men of sordid aims and damaged reputation?

Nothing can be more demoralizing to a community than the proclamation of ignoble ideals, and nothing more effectually proclaims such ideals than the thrusting of public honors upon men known to be without conscience or character. Now, that is precisely what Tammany Hall has been doing for many years, wherever its influence has extended in city and State. No existing organization of any kind in all Christendom has so conspicuously, outrageously, and persistently declared black to be white, and wicked men to be good and trustworthy citizens. The more unworthy the idea and the more conscienceless the policy embodied in an organization, the more demoralized and demoralizing will the organization become. The idea, the policy, of Tammany is "spoils." No one should be surprised, then, at the fact that the longer its power lasted, the more shameless its acts became, and the lower in the moral scale it descended to procure its representatives in public office. The millions extorted by that ill-famed organization — its leaders, tools, and members — from financial copartners in the profits of metropolitan vice, from the ignorant poor and the cowardly and traitorous rich — these uncouth millions are as nothing, the bad repute of our city is as nothing, to the demoralization which has gradually spread over this city and State from the temporary success of infamous methods and infamous men.

To what a pass would a still longer period of this domination have brought the city and the State! Al-

ready the poison has worked in a lowering of the tone of the public service; in the not-to-be-measured evil effect upon separate groups and neighborhoods; in the often cynical views of the young; and in the gradual decay of public virtue in men whose early careers promised better things. It has eaten like a canker into the business world; it has betrayed some of our journalists from their duty to the public; it has not left untouched our institutions of learning.

Tammany, though defeated by a large majority, still polled a vote which may be said to be appalling in view of the preceding horrible exposures. But it is quite possible that it will be a long time before even a "reformed Tammany" will poll again so large a proportionate vote. One thing is likely to occur—namely, that when it does come crawling back, begging for a new lease of power, there will be found even fewer than ever of "respectable" reputations ready to assist with cynical and preposterous apologies a new reign of public plunder and degrading ideals.

Gains for Good Government.

It was eminently fitting that the result of the November elections in New York city and State should be considered in both this country and Europe as a moral rather than as a political victory. The campaign which preceded the election was conducted almost entirely on moral grounds. In New York city the shame of Tammany rule had sunk so deeply into men's minds that they forgot their party ties and prejudices, and were actuated solely by a determination to relieve their city and American free institutions and popular government from the disgrace which that rule entailed. They felt that it was not a question of politics, but of civilization, which confronted them, and they solved it as American citizens, and not as partisans. In a large measure the same spirit permeated the whole State. It was impossible to dissociate Tammany from the State government, which for nearly ten years had done all in its power to nurture and multiply Tammany abuses and opportunities for evil.

When the results of the victory were counted up, it was surprising to see how much had been accomplished. Rarely, if ever before, had a single election secured for the people of a State so many beneficial and far-reaching reforms. The advocates of those reforms, who had been battling for them for many weary years, could scarcely believe that all of them had been won at a single stroke. As one examined the list, it was difficult to escape the conviction that the opponents of good government had themselves been the most powerful agents of reform, for their long and shameless opposition had aroused a popular indignation which made it easy to carry even the most radical changes. It was that opposition also which brought it about that a new constitution should be submitted, to the people for adoption at the time when this indignation was at its height.

Unquestionably the most important of the reforms secured is that giving the State separate municipal elections. In future all cities of the State will hold their elections for municipal offices on days on which no National or State candidates will be in the field. City elections can thus be carried on city issues alone, and State and National politics can be eliminated from the

minds of the voters. Of course such elimination will not be accomplished at once, but it is certain to come in time. Next in importance to the separation of elections is the extension from ten to ninety days of the period for which a foreign-born voter must have been naturalized before he can vote. This will do away with the greater part at least of the naturalization frauds in New York city; for the corrupt political machines will not take the trouble to naturalize voters whom they must keep track of and help support for three months. They could do it easily for ten days. Henceforth naturalization will be as a rule a spontaneous act by the foreign-born resident and the result will be a great diminution in the number of undesirable new citizens.

It would be a national blessing if other States in the Union which have not yet secured separate municipal elections, and which have lax naturalization laws, were to follow the example of New York. It would be difficult to find two reform measures more powerful in advancing the cause of good government in cities than these indisputably are.

But the reforms which the new constitution gives to the city and State of New York are not the only ones made certain by the election. Great things in this direction are expected confidently of the legislature which convenes this month at Albany. For the last six years the Republicans of the State have been advocating a genuine ballot-reform law and a thoroughgoing corrupt-practices act. They cannot refuse to give the people of the State both these reforms now. New York took the lead of all other States in advocating them, and would have had the honor of embodying both in laws before all others had it not been for the opposition of Tammany, and its allies and sympathizers in the State government. As it is, the State has the poorest of all the thirty-eight ballot laws that have been adopted, and about the most ineffective of the seven corrupt-practices acts. The legislature should, and in all probability will, pass a ballot law which will give the State a blanket-ballot system, without the blanket "paster," which is a spoilsman's device for evil purposes, and also a corrupt-practices act modeled upon those of Missouri and California, which are the best thus far adopted. Such an act should include provisions requiring the sworn publication after election of all receipts and expenditures of money by both campaign committees and candidates, prohibiting all "assessments" upon, or contributions by, candidates for judicial offices, and placing maximum limits to expenditures by candidates and committees. Sworn publicity of all receipts would put a stop to those enormously heavy contributions by corporations which have been the practice in New York and other States during recent years as the "price of peace," or immunity from legislative interference.

In enacting a genuine ballot-reform law we believe the legislature should follow the lead of the new constitution, and recognize the voting-machine as a probability of the near future. As our readers will remember, we discussed the merits of this invention in this department of *THE CENTURY* for April last. It is sufficient to say now that an appreciation of its value as the one form of voting which secures both an absolutely secret and an absolutely honest ballot has been increasing steadily since we wrote of it. A special merit which is commending it to all investigators is the automatic counting of the vote, which eliminates

from elections both ignorance and dishonesty in the computation of the result, while giving also a far more speedy announcement of it. No trace is left anywhere of the kind of ballot any voter has cast, so that complete secrecy is secured; and as the counting is done with mechanical accuracy, free from all possibility of interference, an absolutely honest election is guaranteed. No other system yet devised does this, though the best forms of the Australian method approximate more closely than any others which use a printed ballot distributed, deposited, and counted by human agency. Almost the only objection to the machine which is considered serious by most of its advocates is the danger that it may break down in the midst of an election, and, there being no printed ballots available for use, the election may thus go by default. This could be guarded against by having substitute machines ready for use in emergency. The danger of breakage is very slight, however, no instance of it having occurred in the many trials which have been made in town elections during the last few years.

These reforms, like those secured by the new constitution, will be the outcome of one of the most encouraging popular uprisings in the history of American politics. The victory in the city and State of New York demonstrated what an irresistible force the morality of a community constitutes when it is brought into a united mass, with all partizan considerations set aside. We have claimed repeatedly in this place that every American city can have an honest government if it wishes to have it; that all the reputable people in it have to do in order to control their public affairs is to perform their duty as citizens. The reputable people of New York city, for the first time in over twenty years, did attend to their civic duty on November 6, and the result was a demonstration that they were in a clear majority of nearly 50,000. If they will continue to do their duty, and to stand united in doing it, they will remain in permanent control of their municipal affairs. There is not a city in the country in which the same demonstration cannot be made, and the same control established and maintained. The great majority of the American people detest bad government and desire good government. Their fault has lain not in their character, but in their indifference to, or their disregard of, the plain duties of citizenship.

The New Civic Spirit.

DR. ALBERT SHAW, in his work on "Municipal Government in Great Britain," says that the cities of the United States "are discovering that the city element begins to preponderate in a country whose whole fabric of civilization had been wrought upon a foundation of agriculture and rural life; and that the future safety of our institutions requires that we learn how to adapt city life to the promotion of the general welfare." While noting the tendency toward higher rates of municipal taxation abroad, owing to the assumption of new responsibilities on the part of city governments, he declares that, nevertheless, the condition of urban life "must be so improved that for the average family the life of the town shall not perforce be detrimental. *The race must not decay in city tenements*, but somehow it must, under these conditions of dense neighborhood, find a higher and better life."

The civic spirit which for a generation past has worked such extraordinary results in many European cities, is only beginning to evidence itself in American communities, where hitherto the commercial and the partizan spirits, rather than the civic, have dominated the situation. How far our own cities may be willing to go in the direction of interference and paternalism, or fraternalism, is yet to be seen. In America more play is expected for individual initiative, ingenuity, and enterprise; and yet it is evident that the civic spirit now aroused throughout the country will lead to American experiments based upon what seem to be the wisest usages abroad.

Signs of the new civic spirit abound throughout the country, the movement against the spoils system going hand in hand with the movement for good government in the cities, freed from the influence of national parties.

In New York city the interesting conferences on a "Municipal Program," under the auspices of The City Vigilance League, are again in full course. Last year the conferences were in search of a program; this year the conferences aim to be positive, creative. They have found a program, and it is being discussed under the heads of "The Positive Program Begun," "The People," their Schools, Safety, Homes, Revenues, Health, Transportation, Recreation, Literature, Workshops, and City.

But New York has not only the above interesting program to consider this winter, but also an official municipal program now being prepared, after laborious investigation, by the Tenement House Committee appointed under an act of the last legislature. If this committee shall prove half as practical, sensible, and wise in its recommendations as the one of ten years ago, and if as large a proportion of its suggestions shall be finally adopted, it will not have labored in vain.

A Great Step Forward.

IN the last number of the magazine we spoke of several encouraging events in the progress of civil-service reform; but the magazine went to press before the announcement of the acceptance by the President of a number of highly important suggestions of the Civil-Service Commission in the matter of extensions. Great advances have recently been made by both the legislative and executive branches of the General government toward the abolition of the spoils system; and each advance has held its own, and met with public approval.

Each of the great parties should be willing to have this work go on more rapidly in the future than in the past: the Democratic party, because its platforms, its wisest leaders, and its President are thoroughly committed to the reform; and the Republican party, because it, too, is so committed by platform and precedent; and because, also, if it should get into power when it is hoping to do so, it would really be more apt to stay there a considerable time if it were relieved from the necessity of distributing the minor offices as spoils. The fact is that national patronage is a large factor in the defeat of parties; the holding of it is absolutely of no political utility—as witness a number of recent national elections. It is a nuisance, as well as a source of corruption and an occasion of injustice.

OPEN LETTERS.

What Women Can do Best.¹

THE question of granting political suffrage to women has been so fully discussed on both sides, that there would seem to be nothing more left to say for or against it. Yet the interesting articles of Senator Hoar and Dr. Buckley in the August CENTURY, so apparently exhaustive, leave two or three aspects of the question untouched. Senator Hoar makes a point of the fact that certain "remonstrants" of his own State have been inconsistent in objecting to women taking part in political government, when they themselves have held "political office." Those women whom he names, and a good many others also, who have served on State commissions, and are still so serving, do not hold "political office," strictly speaking. State commissions are intended to be non-partizan: the male members belong to all parties, the female members are non-voters; and all, however much they may differ in their views as to the tariff, the financial policy of the government, and the other questions which divide political parties, are concerned only in the management of charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions, sanitary matters, or other similar branches of State government. More than this, commissioners of charities are not elected, and are not paid. They are, I believe, in all the States, appointed by the governor for long terms. The office of commissioner on the boards named is almost always unsought, and often undesired and declined, for the reason that there is much labor and vexation involved, with no personal profit.

A certain portion of the duties of our State charitable boards can well be performed by women—that is, by such women as have been trained for the work by long service in private charitable societies. But there is another part of the work which requires the management of experienced business and professional men. The financial management of State charitable institutions few women are fitted to undertake—not by natural defects, but for the reason that a business training, such as almost no woman receives is necessary.

The women who have served on our State boards leave to their male associates the care of expenses, of building and repairing, and especially all matters pertaining to the duties of sanitary engineers or other professional men. Legal training and experience are very important in making up the whole number of members of such boards.

In fact, though the two sexes have exactly the same legal powers conferred upon them, they are performing duties much the same relatively as those which a husband and wife perform in the household. While the men are looking after water-supply and drainage, methods of heating and lighting buildings, cost of repairs or renewals, purchases of supplies, etc., the women of the board are occupied with internal matters of care and management, cleanliness of rooms, bedding, cloth-

ing, preparation of food, etc. Especially do women interest themselves in individuals. This is natural to the sex, to look into details, to examine special cases whose needs are peculiar. The minor wards of the State in particular need the maternal element in their care. In Massachusetts women have brought about great results by introducing a new system of placing children of tender age in families, instead of stultifying them in institutions—paying board for them when necessary, and exercising through a large organized society of "auxiliary visitors" a personal relation with every girl and young child. There is neither time nor space here to describe the work which women have done in Massachusetts for the charities of the State; but to sum it up, it has been of a maternal and feminine character, and relates to the care of children, of sick and insane persons, and to the reformation of delinquents and criminals, most of the latter being female offenders.

Thus it is seen that our honored senator does not enforce his point by the example of women commissioners, because they are performing feminine and maternal duties, and have been admitted to the commissions, formerly wholly composed of men, that they may perform such duties. It is true that they all vote at the board meetings. But such "voting" is very different from that of a political election. When these women vote to "accept a report," or to appoint an agent or officer to act for them, as they constantly do, or to expend a certain sum of money, there is no passionate excitement, no inducement to corruption, no element of partizan strife.

To deposit a ballot in a ballot-box at a political election requires little time, and, as we well know, neither brains, nor knowledge, nor principle. But the casting of a ballot involves far more than that act, if political power is to be exercised by women. Women, like men, in order to exercise power, must combine, must attend primary meetings and caucuses, and must enter the political arena. They must inevitably hold public office, must sit in our halls of legislation and in our courts of justice. They must enter into all these things without the training which business life gives to men. How many women know or can know anything about finance, a subject which so few men understand? And yet not only the "sinews of war," but the sinews of peace and stable government, depend more upon a sound financial policy than upon any other one thing. Macaulay, in his "History of England," states that the debasement of the currency during, I think, the reign of William III.—but I quote from memory—caused more misery than war, pestilence, famine, or any other cause. Certainly our Congress in recent years has shown ignorance enough in financial matters without doubling the amount of that ignorance. And here we come to what seems to us who are rebuked for being remonstrants against woman suffrage the most vital objection of all—the awful danger of *doubling the suffrage*.

Our country differs from every other nation, past or present, in being deluged by recent immigration. The

¹ Mrs. Leonard, having been named by Senator Hoar in his article in the August CENTURY, has asked the privilege of a public statement, which we gladly accord.—THE EDITOR.

enormous influx within ten years of persons who do not speak our language or understand our principles is a danger not sufficiently appreciated. We have given them too easily the ballot, fearing a worse evil,—a brute force having no power except brute force,—believing that the ballot will satisfy the man who without it would be a foe to all government. This danger, however, is not to be apprehended from women, who are non-combatants, and, as a sex in general, never think about government at all. But having given a share in government to tens of thousands who are unfitted for it, it is proposed with easy assurance to give it to millions still more unfitted. We must not look at the intelligent, virtuous, and high-minded women alone, who all have their peers and equals in virtue and wisdom among men, but at the female compeers of the ignorant and brutal men who menace our safety in holding political power. It is useless and unnecessary to go over the oft-repeated reasons why one sex is fitted for public life and the other is not; they are too familiar, and have been argued upon till the subject is threadbare. But the present extreme difficulty in settling the great questions on which political parties differ—the grave crisis, financial, industrial, and political, through which our country is struggling—should make every practical statesman hesitate before he seeks to introduce a new element of difficulty.

It is curious and interesting at any summer resort or other gathering of intelligent women to see the general profound indifference to politics—to any news of the day, however exciting, which relates to the affairs of the nation. Still more curious is it to observe, on questioning ardent female suffragists, how little they know about the great questions of the hour. They generally say, "Oh, both parties are terribly corrupt, but when women vote, politics will be purified." Will it? Are not women also possessed of mortal infirmities? Will not many women sell their votes, bargain for office, intrigue, combine with others for selfish ends? Where there is no temptation, there is no sin; but when power comes, and with it temptation, shall we find that God has created one sex "good," the other "bad"? Ah, no; women are like men, of the same time and race, only their pursuits, occupations, and habits of life differ; their sphere is domestic, their intercourse with the world far more limited. They now have power to do far more by influence in public matters, by an intelligent interest in schools, hospitals, almshouses, than they exercise; and it is lamentable that so few women care how the public charities of their own towns are managed. There is no good reason to think that the right of suffrage will increase that interest. A spirit of humane unselfishness leads men and women both to care for the unfortunate—and too few men care for them now, in spite of their right to vote.

I cannot forbear, in closing, to speak of the personal references which Senator Hoar has made. The women who have rendered most "public service" in his own State are unknown to fame. The women's prison at Sherborne was the result of the life-work of Miss Hannah Chickering of Dedham, who devoted thirty years of her life wholly to labors in prisons. She first formed the plan for a reformatory prison for women, under the sole charge of women, and lived to see her plan fully carried out in 1877. She, with other women, of whom Mrs. John Ware was one, petitioned six legislatures,

and labored incessantly to that end, before success was attained. Miss Clara Barton did not then live in Massachusetts, nor was she interested in prisons; but at the earnest request of her friend General Butler, then governor of Massachusetts, she undertook the management of the Sherborne prison for six months, in 1883. As is well known, her noble life-work has been in other fields. Prison management was distasteful and unsuited to her. The present head of that prison has given eleven years of service to the State and to unfortunate women, as a work of mercy; and though she is paid a salary, devotes her time and whole income to benevolent labors. The women who hold such public office are nearly if not quite all far from wishing to take part in the affairs which they think properly belong to men, but are glad to assist the State in aiding the helpless and unfortunate.

There are women who have done a hundredfold more service to his State than those of whom Senator Hoar speaks so kindly, but their names are never before the public. The women who see the danger of an enormous extension of the suffrage have been forced into a publicity which they do not desire, because their protest seems necessary to avert the threatened evil.

Clara Temple Leonard.

The New Treatment of Diphtheria.

THE new anti-toxine treatment of diphtheria promises to prove one of the most important developments of modern medicine, and seems to represent, in a particularly practical and valuable form, the best results of recent bacteriological investigations as to the nature of the infectious diseases. I use the word "development" advisedly in this connection, for the new treatment is not by any means the result of a single empirical observation, or a conclusion reached from a single series of experimental investigations, but is the necessary and logical deduction and practical result arrived at from many series of experimental investigations regarding the infectious diseases. These investigations have been going on for the last seven or eight years, and in order to gain any intelligent conception of the nature of the new treatment, one must know something of the work that has preceded it.

In the early days of modern bacteriology, it was thought that the germs associated with the various diseases were themselves the essential and active agents in the production of the symptoms presented. It was not until the subject had been more deeply investigated that evidence was found to show that the chemical products of bacterial life were really the cause of most of the symptoms characteristic of the different infectious diseases; and that in respect to many of these diseases the chemical poisons could be separated from cultures of the germs grown outside the body. It was further found that when the chemical poisons separated from such cultures were used for the inoculation of animals, not infrequently the same constitutional symptoms were produced as occurred when the germs themselves were introduced, or when the diseases occurred under natural conditions.

It has been long known that in many infectious diseases one attack grants a more or less complete insusceptibility or immunity to future attacks. The same individual rarely has two attacks of smallpox or of

scarlet fever, because the first attack has given a nearly complete immunity from the disease. In some infectious diseases the immunity acquired from a single attack is permanent; in others it is only temporary, lasting for a few months, or sometimes perhaps a few years.

Investigations have shown further that the immunity acquired both by animals and man from once having suffered from an infectious disease is at least frequently, if not always, the result of the development in the blood of the individual of some chemical substance (which it has not yet been possible to separate or isolate chemically) that has the power of neutralizing both outside and inside the living body the poison produced by the germs causing that particular disease. Experimental investigations, which have been going on for four or five years, have shown that animals inoculated with the chemical poison or toxine separated from cultures of the diphtheria germ gradually become more and more tolerant of this poison, and finally enormous quantities, many times the fatal dose, may be introduced without causing anything but a temporary disturbance. As the animals become more insusceptible to the action of the poison, the blood acquires to a larger degree the power of neutralizing the poison. It has been further shown that this neutralizing power is due to the formation in the blood of an anti-toxine. When the serum of the blood of animals which have been thus rendered immune to diphtheria is mixed with solutions containing the toxine outside the body, these solutions are deprived of their poisonous property; and when the serum is introduced in sufficient amount underneath the skin of animals, they become insusceptible not only to the action of the toxine of diphtheria, but also to the diphtheria germs themselves; and finally, when used in animals or human beings already suffering from diphtheria, it neutralizes the poison, and cuts short the disease.

In diphtheria death is very commonly due to the action upon the heart or some of the other organs or tissues of the body of the diphtheria poison or toxine which has been absorbed from the throat. The blood serum of animals that have been rendered insusceptible to diphtheria neutralizes the diphtheria poison in the circulation, and so protects the individual from its deleterious action. It acts as a true specific.

It has been found possible in this work accurately to determine the degree of toxic properties of various solutions of the diphtheria poison, and also accurately to determine the value of the blood serum derived from animals which have been rendered immune to diphtheria. Thus a standard of dosage can be easily fixed.

The investigations thus far made would seem to show in the most unmistakable manner that this blood serum, or curative serum as it is called, constitutes almost a certain and specific cure for diphtheria when employed early in the course of the disease; and that almost all persons who are subjected to treatment within the first two or three days recover, whereas before this treatment was instituted, or where it has not been used, the mortality from this disease among children under five years of age has varied from forty to fifty per cent. or more.

Unfortunately, the production of the curative serum is difficult and expensive. From four to ten months are necessary sufficiently to immunize large animals such as horses, cows, or goats, which are chiefly em-

ployed; and the work requires the constant attention of thoroughly trained men. At present this remedy cannot be obtained in this country, or at least only in the smallest quantity and at great expense; and so, although science has provided what seems to be a specific for one of the most dreaded and fatal of diseases, yet it must be some months at least before most persons suffering from diphtheria will be able to avail themselves of its use. The New York City Health Department has asked for a special appropriation for the maintenance of a research laboratory one of the chief functions of which will be the production of the diphtheria anti-toxine; and if this appropriation is granted, it is hoped that before many months the new remedy may be obtained in abundance.

Finally, it may be said that the importance of the diphtheria anti-toxine, or curative serum, in the prevention and treatment of diphtheria can scarcely be overestimated. The remedy has already passed the experimental stage, and its value and efficacy have been thoroughly established. In proper cases it is not only an almost certain cure for diphtheria, but is also apparently an entirely reliable agent for the prevention of this disease, while under all conditions it is absolutely harmless.

The results thus far obtained have been most remarkable. The mortality from diphtheria in children under five years of age has been reduced by the use of anti-toxine in suitable cases from 50 or 60 per cent. to from 10 to 20 per cent. During September the mortality in the hospitals of Berlin was reduced by this treatment to 11 per cent. In October the supply of anti-toxine was exhausted, no more could be obtained, and immediately the mortality increased to nearly 60 per cent.—the previous rate.

The influence of the use of this agent on the death-rate from diphtheria in Paris constitutes in my opinion an exhibit of the saving of life by a new remedy so extraordinary as to be without a parallel in the history of medicine. In the fourth week of September the deaths from diphtheria in the whole city of Paris, with 2,500,000 inhabitants, numbered only two; and in the month of October the mortality for the city to the 27th inst. was only twenty-three.

No such result has ever before been obtained. It seems entirely probable that through the influence of the anti-toxine on the prevention and cure of diphtheria, this disease may eventually be brought completely under control.

Hermann M. Biggs.

A Cure for the Pass Pestilence.

THE anti-pass amendment to the constitution of New York, which virtually prohibits passes to officials, is a much-needed reform. Probably at first view it is notable for the financial effect it will have on the great railroads, every one of which has had a habit of being courteous in the matter of passes to public officials. It was not alone to the legislators that this courtesy was extended. Governors, minor State officers, the highest judges, in many cases the municipal officers of cities, and, as an acme of the thrift that founded the courtesy (although it sounds like a burlesque), coroners and coroners' clerks all along the railroad lines, have been regular recipients of this courtesy as apparently a mat-

ter of the most ordinary business. "Annuals" were issued to them exactly as if they were a part of the dividends and these gentlemen were stockholders.

Every member of the legislature found, in his first mail at every opening of the session, his regular set of passes. Indeed, they were considered so "regular" that many members expressed lively indignation in case they were delayed at all. A young colored clerk at the Grand Central Station, whose duty it was to fill out members' passes, was removed during the session of 1893 because he was not quite polite enough to a member from Brooklyn.

The subserviency of the great railroads in the matter of passes was the most inexplicable feature of the system; for it is not as yet discernible wherein the legislature could have injured such influential corporations to a financial extent equal to the loss due to the issuance of so many passes. For the evil did not stop at the officials. Every one of them had friends to many of whom passes were given. One of the sights of the Grand Central Station on every Monday morning of the legislative session was the crowd that thronged the passageways to the pass-clerk's desk, getting trip passes for lists of people to go to Albany and return. The crowd would include wives, daughters, sweethearts, "heelers," and, in the instance of one man who is now a senator, the priest of his church. It was impatient, rude, and sometimes given to profanity. In it might often be found the Speaker, and State officers outside the legislature, all intent on the one purpose. At the Albany end the rush for passes was rendered easier, for there was a very polite young gentleman who was known as "the pass man," who on every Wednesday would send round to find out just how many passes each legislator wanted for the ensuing Friday, so that they might be got ready in advance.

The cost of the deadheads to one great railway must have been enormous, for it was the main line of traffic, and its passes ran all the way from New York to Buffalo. On Fridays, and generally on Mondays, the holders of passes would fill a whole train, and there were many occasions when special cars and even special trains had to be provided for this insatiate crew. But figured at the cost price per head of transportation, the total sum must have run up into the hundred thousands. Where the benefit to the railway came in is a matter of conjecture, for at nearly every session the line was the subject of what are called "strikes," and some of its most valuable franchises were refused, such as its four-track privilege, until the strikers could be mollified in some other way than by passes.

Legislative reporters for the big New York dailies also received passes, and were often as liberally treated in the matter as the legislators; yet it is hard to conceive how a reporter in the legislature could do the road harm or good, unless the managers at the "home office" were consulted. The pass system included not only these, but also the many Bohemian writers who had occasional business at Albany.

The tremendous pass system for the benefit of officials included the "L" roads, and the horse-car lines, and the franking privileges that were granted by the telegraph, telephone, and express companies.

Under the amendment, all these gifts to public officials must cease, and a great benefit to these various corporations must result. There is no logical deduc-

tion to be made the other way. A constitutional clause cannot be wiped out by any law nor usually by any quibble, and this clause is drawn with extreme clearness. Yet there is already an idea abroad that it will not be carried into effect, that there will be some way found to circumvent it, as the anti-pass provision in the interstate-commerce law was circumvented. But it is to be hoped that all the companies will faithfully try to keep to the spirit and the letter of the constitution in this matter, if only as an interesting experiment.

One very great and immediate benefit to the people of New York may result from this amendment. It should shorten the sessions of the legislature, by discontinuing the temptations to a weekly adjournment from about noon of Friday until 8.30 o'clock of Monday night. Not in over thirty years have there been more than one or two Saturday or Monday sessions, the evening session of Monday being held chiefly to meet the constitutional objection to an adjournment beyond two consecutive days. Without free transportation, these weekly hejiras will be very likely to cease, and legislation, supplemented by two more days of work each week as it will be, ought to be easily forwarded, so that a session of three months will be an unheard-of thing.

Charles G. Shanks.

The Century's American Artists Series.

F. H. TOMPKINS.

AN example in every way worthy of imitation as one which is doing much to encourage artists, and strengthen art in its own city, is that of the Boston Art Club, which every year purchases from its exhibitions, with a fund especially voted for the purpose, a certain number of pictures.

By this means it is gradually getting together a collection of works which, in the main, is of real merit. One of these is the picture by F. H. Tompkins on page 411. It is the work of a thoughtful painter, and bears evidence of a nature thoroughly in earnest, and thoroughly sincere. Sincerity in art is a quality not easily perceived. One must have had some practical experience in picture-making in order to appreciate it.

F. H. Tompkins was born in Schuyler County, New York, in 1847. He studied at the Cincinnati Academy of Design, under Walter Shirlaw, at the Art Students' League of New York, and under Professor Loefftz in the Royal Academy of Munich, where he gained in two successive years the first prize for painting.

Mr. Tompkins is fortunate in having one of his pictures in the excellent selection of current paintings which the Pennsylvania Academy of Design has collected during the last few years.

F.

A Word about The Century's Pictures.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN WOOD-ENGRAVING AND OTHER METHODS.

ANYBODY who has carefully and thoughtfully followed the course of illustrative art as shown in this magazine must have seen that year by year the old-time illustrations (by "old-time" in this connection I mean those of ten or twelve years ago) have been gradually giving place to a new style of picture, more serious, more earnest, and requiring, if not greater artistic abil-

ity, at least greater artistic knowledge. He who undertakes to-day to provide original illustrations in black-and-white for publication in a serious magazine needs not only invention and a knowledge of drawing, but a thorough artistic equipment. It is needless, therefore, to say that artists in black-and-white competent to furnish work of this character are few, that old cut-and-dried methods have to be largely discarded by them, and that in the endeavor to reach the acme of artistic perfection the requirements of the reproducer must be more and more lost sight of.

Something more than twenty years ago drawings were made on the wood block, and cut on the drawn surface. The designer of that period was happy if he saw given back to him the dry bones of his design with such alterations of light and shade as best suited the method of the particular engraver. Then came, fostered and encouraged and developed by this magazine, the new school of American wood-engravers, mainly induced by the return from Europe of many promising young artists who in foreign schools had learned new methods of art expression, and who the management of the magazine thought should have a hearing. Marvelous reproductions of these men's work were made by the engravers of this new school—notably by Timothy Cole and the late Frederick Juengling; but the fault of the school, with some individual exceptions, lay in the too slavish imitation of surfaces and textures, and the artists, who at first were delighted, after a while complained that their forms, the expression of their faces, and their artistic intention, were not satisfactorily reproduced. Then came the half-tone process, which claimed to be able to reproduce the work of the artist by mechanical means, and without the intervention of the engraver. It was hailed with delight by the more serious of the artists, because it was supposed, being a mechanical process, to be faithful to the original. But it was true, and still remains true, that this new process is largely what its name implies—a *half-tone*; that is, as the deepest darks cannot be rendered by it, nor the highest lights, only the middle of the scale of the drawing can be reproduced. In other words, there is a loss of a great many of the tones of the original, and experience has proved that in the various processes through which a half-tone plate passes, it is possible, though not common, to destroy even its autographic quality.

A year or two ago it seemed as though the noble art of wood-engraving would be, through the popularity of half-tone, lost to the world. But the American engravers, realizing the situation, resolved, if they must die, to die game. Learning its deficiencies, as perhaps they never could have done had their art remained as popular as it was at one time, they have set themselves heroically to work to make the deficiencies good; and they are to-day, as may be seen from the wood-engravings in this number of *THE CENTURY*, making a good fight. They have emancipated themselves largely from the slavish adherence to texture and meaningless detail,

and are engraving with definite reference to the artistic intention of their originals. This is evident in a more or less degree in all the engravings printed in this number, from the work of the veteran Timothy Cole to that of the youngest acquisition to the ranks of first-class engravers.

Working in this manner, and with this impulse, there is little danger of the death of their beautiful art unless it should be brought about by the last movement shown in the reproduction of the drawing by Eric Pape on page 339. This is an entirely new development—a half-tone plate originally, worked over by the wood-engraver until about one half of its surface has felt the touch of the graver. Those portions of the reproduction where the mechanical process has been adequate have been left untouched; where the mechanical process failed to produce the effect of the original, the engraver has not merely supplemented it, but in many places replaced it entirely. For some time it has been the practice for engravers to retouch process plates by re-entering the lines, in order to lighten the tones, and by burnishing, to deepen the darks. But this new reproduction not only does that, but takes the bull by the horns, and frankly substitutes engraving where the mechanical process fails.

In this day of numberless cheap illustrated periodicals, a word in regard to cost may not be out of place. The methods employed in *THE CENTURY'S* Art Department in regard to reproduction are all devoted to one end—the getting as near as possible to the original, cost not being a consideration. First-class wood-engraving is ten times dearer than good half-tone; engraved half-tone costs three or four times as much as unengraved or ordinary half-tone. *THE CENTURY* uses these various methods solely with reference to the fidelity with which they reproduce the difficult-to-be-reproduced drawings of to-day.

W. Lewis Fraser.

Hemlock-spruce in Decoration.

WHY can we not have the hemlock-spruce wrought into our decorative art? The spruce when young is one of the most graceful of trees; when covered with snow it is beautiful; its twigs have the feathery effect of the most delicate ferns. I am intensely American, and while I appreciate the holly and the mistletoe, which have been associated with Christmas through centuries of history, I am longing for the day when the spruce will have its rightful place.

The statuary on the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition charmed the multitude of visitors fully as much by the American soul which seemed to be in it as by the high quality of the work. The grizzly bear, the elk, the Rocky Mountain lion, the plantation-hand, and the cow-boy appealed to the heart that loved its native land, and touched it. As an amateur botanist, I wish to see an American soul in all our decorative art. Working for that end, can we not make more of the hemlock-spruce?

Harry Omar Scott.

management of the reservations expressed by the men whose views we have printed, show that further studies and discussions are needed before any one can feel sure which plan is the best. No one realizes this want of knowledge so much as those men who have been able to devote the most thought to this question, and who have seen the most of our Western forests.

We join with "Garden and Forest" in urging the appointment by the President of the United States of a commission composed of men of sufficient reputation to make their recommendations heeded, whose business it shall be to study the whole question of forest preservation, and to report fully upon it to Congress. Until such a report has been prepared all forest lands on the public domain should be withdrawn from sale and entry.

An Appeal to Common Sense.

THE last annual report of the Postmaster-General, Mr. Bissell, contains what can best be styled an appeal to the plain common sense—what General Grant called the "horse sense"—of the American people. It is made in behalf of the postal service of the country, but it applies with no less force to all the minor offices. Mr. Bissell says that "to one whose duty it is to study the vast mechanism of the postal system in detail, the fact soon becomes too plain for contradiction, that it is a business and not a political system." He then goes on to show that in spite of the fact that the popular intelligence has long outgrown the notion that one political party has a monopoly of administrative talent, we act upon that notion every time there is a political change in the Presidency by turning out all the postmasters, and putting men of opposite politics in their places, though in doing this we, in many instances, force a change of postmasters upon communities which have just cast a majority vote against any change whatever. A community which has voted for the continuation of a Republican administration at Washington is compelled, for example, to have a Democrat for postmaster for four years because the country as a whole has taken a different view. Four years later, this man, who has barely had time to become familiar with his duties, and thus become a useful public servant, is turned out, and an inexperienced man is put in his place, who must learn the business all over again. As Mr. Bissell says, time spent by the Postmaster-General in selecting a suitable person for the office under such conditions seems to be wasted. No matter how well the appointee conducts the office, he must go out at the end of four years, provided a President whose political creed differs from his comes into power at Washington.

The absurdity of this system is apparent if we apply the principle of it to any private business of like character and magnitude. Imagine for a moment the great express companies of the country changing their employees every four years, simply because they had put at their heads presidents of different political views. Imagine them, also, selecting their heads of departments, local managers, and all employees, not because of their ability and fitness, but because of their political creeds. One express company, for example, would have only Republicans to attend to the distribution of its packages; another would have only Democrats. Apply the same system to a great railway company, and imagine how long its road would be able to continue in operation. The idea is so preposterous that it

cannot be entertained for a moment. No express or railway company would act for an instant on the assumption that the capacity and fitness of an employee depended upon his political belief. Yet the postal business of the country, which is of greater magnitude and of no less responsibility than that of any railway or express company, is in large part conducted on this assumption.

Furthermore, the postal service is as far removed from politics in its duties as the service of a railway or express company. As the Hon. Carl Schurz pointed out in his admirable address before the National Civil Service Reform League in April, 1893, a postmaster has to receive and distribute, not Democratic or Republican letters, but simply letters. He is a public servant, and his usefulness depends entirely upon his ability to receive and distribute in the way most satisfactory to the whole community the letters which come to him. If he allows partizan influences to enter at all into this work, he becomes at once an unfit official, and should be removed.

A few months ago the postmaster of New York city, Mr. Dayton, visited foreign cities with a view to studying their postal systems, and on his return he said of the system of Great Britain:

It is hard for an American to realize how completely the notion of partizanship, offensive or defensive, has been eradicated from the civil service there. The postmaster-general is, of course, a politician, who retires with a change of administration. When he is an important public and party man, like Mr. Morley, he has a seat in the cabinet. But think of it! Out of the 125,000 men in the postal service of Great Britain, not to mention 16,000 women, he is positively the only individual whose tenure of place can be affected by any political change.

That is common sense; that is civilized government. Mr. Dayton said that he had investigated the question of partizan feeling among the postal employees, and could find no trace of it. "It is not," he added, "that they dissemble it; they simply don't feel it—don't know what it is." Neither would our postmasters and their subordinates feel it here if they were in the service under like conditions. It is because their tenure depends upon their political views that they are partizans. There is no complaint of partizanship heard in reference to that portion of the employees in the postal and other branches of the civil service which have been placed under the regulations of the civil service law. This is not to say that such civil servants do not hold political opinions and act upon them at the polls; but there is no "offensiveness" in their partizanship in connection with their public work.

There are in the United States 69,805 post-offices, and of this number 3428 are what are called Presidential. The remaining 66,377 are called fourth class. If all these were to be taken out of politics and put on a simple, every-day business basis,—that is to say, were put under the civil service regulations,—does anybody doubt that a great and lasting benefit would be achieved for the whole country? All that would be done would be to establish in the postal service the business principle that every postmaster should hold his office during good behavior. Politics would have no more to do with him than with an express agent or the manager of a telegraph office. Nothing could get him out of office save a demonstration of unfitness or dishonesty. And if we were to do this with the post-offices, why not with

all other offices in the Federal service—the revenue collectors, Indian agents, and all members of the consular service? Why not put the whole service on a business basis, and at one stroke lift that service to the highest level of efficiency, and take from the most objectionable of our political workers the sustenance which alone leads them to engage in politics?

If such a reform were to be accomplished, our public officials, the President and all members of his cabinet, could devote all their time to the business of the government. If the Postmaster-General were freed from the enormous task of turning 66,000 postmasters out, and putting as many more in, he could devote his time to the improvement of the postal service, and the results would be beneficial to the whole people. So with all other cabinet officers. Rid of the importunities of armies of office-seekers, they could devote all their time and abilities to the real questions of government, which now have to occupy a secondary place during a greater part of every Presidential term.

Under a business system like this, every American would have an opportunity to obtain honorable place in the public service. It is the charge of the spoilsmen that civil service reform, and the permanent tenure it demands, are un-American inventions, which have no place in this free country. As a matter of fact, it is the spoils system that is un-American. That puts a premium on incapacity by giving the preference to an unfit man with a political "pull" behind him, rather than to the man who has simply fitness. The lazy, the shiftless, the incompetent, these are the men who want political influence to help them get a living. The true American, the man who is willing to work and to rest his claim for employment on his ability to do his work as well as any other man, does not want any political aid. He outnumbers ten thousand to one the other kind of American, and the merit system is in his interest especially, as it is in the interest of the whole people.

Currency Reform.

THE subject of currency reform has been commanding steadily increasing attention for a considerable period, and during the last few months has become the leading topic of financial discussion throughout the country. The American Bankers' Association, at their annual convention in Baltimore in October last, gave impetus and direction to the discussion by adopting what has since been known as the "Baltimore Plan of Currency Reform." Under the present national-bank law, banks are required to purchase United States bonds as a basis upon which to issue their circulating notes, and they are allowed to issue such notes to the amount of 90 per cent. of the par value of the bonds. They are also required to deposit and maintain in the United States treasury a 5-per-cent. redemption fund. The notes of all banks are redeemable at the treasury, and are good throughout the United States. The Government redeems the notes of failed banks, and has a prior lien upon their assets, including stockholders' liability, to reimburse itself therefor. Under this law a bank which wishes to go into business must buy United States bonds at a premium which will make \$100,000 worth of 4-per-cents—which are the best investment—cost \$115,500. The 5-per-cent. redemption fund will add \$4500 to this, making the amount which the

bank must invest and deposit as a basis of a \$90,000 circulation, \$120,000, or \$120 for every \$90. Under this law \$30,000—just one fourth—is locked up out of every \$120,000, and cannot be used by the bank for the aid of its customers or the public.

What the Baltimore plan proposes to do is to repeal the provision of the present law requiring the deposit of bonds as the basis of circulation, and to allow banks to issue circulating notes to the amount of 50 per cent. of their paid-up, unimpaired capital, subject to a tax of one half of 1 per cent. per annum upon the average amount of circulation outstanding for the year, and an additional circulation of 25 per cent., subject to an additional tax, in cases of emergency. A guarantee fund, equal to 5 per cent. of the outstanding circulation, is to be accumulated and maintained by a tax of 2 per cent. on the first year's circulation, and one half of 1 per cent. on subsequent circulation until the fund shall have been paid in. The Government is to redeem all notes of failed banks out of this fund, and is to have the same prior lien upon assets as it has under the present law.

It is claimed by the advocates of this plan that it will supply to the currency the element most needed, and which the national-bank law fails to yield—elasticity. In advocating the plan at Baltimore, Mr. Hepburn, a former comptroller of the currency, said:

A currency, to be elastic, must be issued against credit. Banks must have power thus to create money. In no other way can currency be elastic. In no other way can it meet the wants of commerce. From the very nature of things the Government cannot give such a currency. The banks can, and the banks only can with prudence and safety be allowed to do so. An elastic currency is needed not alone in times of distrust, but in course of ordinary business. The harvesting of the cotton crop calls for an extraordinary amount of money in the cotton-belt. Currency is brought from money centers to supply this need. Currency in that section is expanding. Under the system proposed by the Baltimore bankers the banks in the cotton region could largely supply this local demand, and to such extent save the expense of expressing money from money centers. The cotton crop having been moved, the demand for money lessens, and by the inexorable law of supply and demand the currency contracts, flows back to money centers. The business of modern banking is done with other people's money, the want of one section of the country or of one depositor being supplied from the surplus of another; and this expansion and contraction is going on all the time in different sections of the country.

In regard to the size of the guarantee fund, Mr. Hepburn showed that an annual tax of three hundredths of one per cent. on circulation would have covered all loss from failed banks during the last thirty-one years, had the proposed plan been in force during that period. He claimed that the proposed 5-per-cent. tax fund was therefore sufficient to make the circulation perfectly secure.

The Baltimore plan was adopted, with certain modifications and additions, by Secretary Carlisle and Mr. Eckels, the comptroller of the currency, in their last annual reports to Congress. Mr. Carlisle proposed that in addition to all other security for their circulating notes the banks should deposit legal-tender notes in the treasury to the amount of 30 per cent. of their issues, and these issues should not exceed 75 per cent. of their paid-up, unimpaired capital. Mr. Eckels proposed that the banks be allowed, in the first place, to issue circulating notes to the amount of 50 per cent. of their paid-up, unimpaired capital against their assets, fortified by

a safety or guarantee fund; and, in the second place, to issue 50 per cent. more by depositing an equal amount of legal-tender notes in the United States Treasury, which should be held there until the banks went into liquidation or insolvency, in which case the Government should cancel the legal-tender notes held for the retiring banks, and then redeem the outstanding notes on presentation. The issuing of the first 50 per cent. of circulating notes he would have made conditional upon the bank taking out the second 50 per cent. and depositing the corresponding sum in legal tenders. Both Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Eckels are desirous of combining retirement of the greenbacks with the plan of banking reform, thus paving the way to a thoroughgoing reform and simplification of our currency.

Other plans are being discussed as we go to press, of which we may speak later.

Social Purity.

THERE has been renewed discussion lately of the question of social purity. Suggestions have been made of partial remedies, adapted to local conditions; diffi-

culties and perplexities have arisen, and great differences of opinion have developed on the part of honest and thoughtful men and women, who have sought by different and conflicting means to bring about a state of affairs better than that which now exists.

It seems to us that there is one remedy, of the many proposed, that ought to command universal approval; namely, the maintenance of a nobler moral standard. Is there not wide-spread in the community a certain cynicism on this subject, not merely on the part of social offenders, but on the part of people who themselves are supposed to be leading decent lives?

The deepest cure for this great evil would be a higher tone on the subject throughout the entire structure of society. Very often, indeed, poverty can teach lessons to riches in this regard; though upon those whose opportunities in life have been greatest rests the heaviest responsibility. The cynicism of which we speak would sacrifice the human soul, especially the soul of woman, upon the altar of the body. This cynic view is false—it is degrading; it must pass away, or mankind will remain chained to the brute throughout all time.

OPEN LETTERS.

Young Men, and the Preaching they Want.

AMONG the two thousand or more parishioners of Plymouth Church, Minneapolis, are several hundred young men. To a hundred of these young men, when I was their pastor, I sent a letter asking their judgment as to certain forms of church work. One of the questions proposed related to the sort of preaching which young men like. In answer to my inquiries, young men have written to me with great frankness. I shall make liberal extracts from these letters, reserving my comments till I have completed the quotations.

One young man, a student, commends "sermons drawn from the lives of great and good men, and of the trust to be placed in our heavenly Father, and also in which the great questions of life and death are involved—sermons that make us *think* of what we are, our duty, our responsibility (without leaving out political responsibility, which is another expression for love of our country), gratitude to parents, love to brothers and sisters, and our destiny."

A young lawyer approves of "preaching that comes from the standpoint of those preached to. Most men have in their minds sufficient abstract formulæ of truth. The province of preaching is to show where these touch my case, and to induce me to make up my mind to do, to follow the application, to will. I don't think the impression that having been very wicked will make a reformed man a good preacher is true. It is not the wickedness one used to have, but the power that is usually left a man of carrying truth around to the standpoint of the man he is after. Every man can talk successfully to children if he can for the moment put himself back by imagination just where he was when a child. The man that can only philosophize about life can be only half a preacher, and the man that has never been on his own feet in the rough and tumble among men, and never been obliged to struggle with life

in the way the great majority of men struggle, is by that cut off from one strong point of attack. The man that helped me most was continually using as a text some personal experience that had been unbosomed to him during the week. There is always a tendency to think no one can quite understand our particular experience; but when a young man finds from a sermon that the preacher is fighting along his line, he thinks it a great sermon. I am afraid I am not saying anything new or helpful; but young men are held, not by handing them down new truths, but by jumping into the arena, and showing them how, where they actually are, truth touches them. I sometimes think a man ought not to be a preacher until he has won a standing in medicine or law or business, and that such a training would be worth more than his theological course if he had had already an academic course. It certainly would color his preaching for life."

Says a young merchant, "plain, practical, spiritual." In the same mood another young merchant says, "simple preaching and teaching of the gospel of Christ, first and always." Likewise remarks a third: "Many young men of my acquaintance do not go to church, and many who do go are there simply because they find it 'pleasant to pass Sunday morning that way,' but do not believe very much of what they hear from the pulpit. They believe in Christianity as a life as they believe in Buddhism. They believe the pulpit should ever hold up high standards of morality, inculcate the best doctrines of right living; are particular about the ointment, but indifferent as to the jars which contain it. They do not complain if creeds and doctrines are constantly preached, as they are not the church, and the host should have the privilege of preparing the menu. My own idea is of the two classes that compose a congregation,—those who believe and those who do not,—the Church is sure of the first anyway, and creeds and doctrines preached to them accomplish little, while they

antagonize the second class. All agree on the desirability of all moral excellences, and that in truth it is the aim of Christianity to teach men how to live and die right. Here is common ground on which the best classes can stand. And if the Church is to continue to influence and direct the second class of young men,—a very large percentage of the best educated and brightest minds of every community,—instead of making itself a mausoleum, it must address itself to man's every-day needs, more to the world of sense and touch, and less to that from whose bourne no traveler has ever sent reliable advices."

Another remarks, "Plain application of the gospel in regard to right and wrong living, and the results, present and eternal, which follow the acceptance or rejection of Christ as a Saviour."

A young lawyer says, "I look upon Phillips Brooks as in many respects an ideal preacher. Young men want a largeness, a freedom and suggestiveness, in their preaching that may be applicable to all creeds. Most Sunday-school teaching is a farce; it is mere henpecking at the truth, however reverent."

A young manufacturer bears the following testimony: "The gospel, pure and simple. Repent, or ye cannot be saved. I think that people expect such preaching. If some of the sinners do get offended, they will not take offense unless it comes home to them, and touches their consciences, and then they will be urged by an irrepresible impulse to hear more. 'God is love.' I do not mean sensational preaching, but I sometimes feel that pastors often preach all around and over us, instead of into us, and drive the truth home with sledge-hammer blows."

A young man of earnest piety says: "A good practical sermon, plain talk on the present day, anecdotes used as illustrations, which show the advantage of Christian life and the misfortunes and sufferings of riotous living."

A young doctor who is a type of manly piety says: "As to preaching, vigorous, robust, muscular Christianity, based upon the primary principles of faith, and devoid of all the etcetera of creed, that will teach them to live the life that now is, that will teach them to think less concernedly about their own salvation, and more concernedly of the uplifting of other men." Another young doctor remarks: "Very little theology and much Christian morality; full of all manner of illustrations and pictures from every-day life, painted with oratorical coloring and picturesque effect; of course imbued with a Christian spirit."

"Preaching Christ," answers the son of a minister, who is himself very far from being a minister. A merchant says: "The best sermon, and the one I most enjoy in the whole year, is the sermon to children in June: simple, with illustrations to make it pointed. I am not educated enough to understand all sermons."

"Personally," says a young banker, "I am greatly interested and benefited by hearing practical sermons preached from every-day working Christianity." Says a young lawyer: "That which shows the character and manliness of Christ, that which induces individual thought. I would that each church had a Bible class where every man could come with an honest question, and know that it would be discussed honestly; where any religious question would be treated with the same honesty and fairness given to legal questions."

I close these quotations with a long extract from

a letter of a distinguished student of social science, who, since his letter was written, has become the editor of one of the leading magazines, and who, a young man himself, has special interest in the work for young men: "The work among young men must, I think, be chiefly the work of individuals for and with individuals. The strange young man must find a friend as well as a sermon at church. A certain degree of acquaintance and recognition will go far toward making the average young man a church-goer. There is no substitute for this personal interest. The Sunday-school and the Church can greatly help each other in this matter of getting and keeping young men. The number of young men who do not go to church is very large. Tact and good sense on the part of Christian business men, who encounter these young fellows on week-days, could make regular attendants of many of them. Why do we not invite more of them, and ask them to our pews? There are scores of men in Plymouth Church who could make church-goers out of non-church-going young men by simply asking them in a friendly way to join them on Sunday at church, and to go home with them for dinner. Of course such courtesies must spring out of genuine interest and friendliness. If they are of this sort, they may change the whole current of a young man's life.

"I do not like sensational preaching, or services arranged obviously to draw. The plain gospel preaching, with sympathetic reference to the practical difficulties and dangers of young men, just as we hear it preached in our church, is what seems to me most useful—better than lectures or essays. Of course it is to be remembered that many young men need intellectual as well as spiritual pabulum; but they need the latter most. They are not chiefly dependent upon the pulpit for the former. I think there ought to be a great field in Sunday-school teaching for the building up of young men."

These letters are written by some of the noblest young men in Minneapolis. Of good intellectual standing, and many having a college training, their moral character is no less worthy than their intellectual. They may serve us, therefore, to represent the demands of the best young manhood on the pulpit. It is to be noticed that the demand is not for entertainment. I am aware that the pulpit is looked upon in many places as a rival of the drama. A friend of mine, an able, thoughtful, and earnest minister, on his summer outing was the guest of a New England hotel. One Sunday he was to preach in the village church. A fellow-guest approached him, and said, "Ah, Mr. L—, I understand that you are to entertain us this morning." Entertainment, when a man should worship God! Entertainment, when a man should be sober and serious, with the remembrance of his sin! Entertainment, when a man is hearing truths as to his present and eternal being! I recognize that some people do demand entertainment, and ask that their minister should be as restful and as interesting as the platform lecturer, and a good deal more. I recognize that ministers are to be found who meet this demand. They have their reward. But I also recognize that the best men and women no more demand that the pulpit should be entertaining than they demand that the gospels or the epistles should be entertaining. Entertainment is good; but the place for entertainment is not the church. Eat-

ing and sleeping are good ; but the place for eating and sleeping is not the parlor.

It is also to be observed that the demand of these young men is for what may be called spiritual preaching. In a material age, in a material town, the cry is for sermons to be other than material. "That which shows the beauty of the religion of Jesus"; "The plain application of the gospel in regard to right and wrong"; "The gospel, pure and simple"; "Vigorous, robust, muscular, practical Christianity"; "Preaching Christ"; "That which shows the character and manliness of Christ"—these are the phrases which the young men use to voice their demands. The greatest preacher of our age while he lived, and one of the greatest of any age, was the most spiritual of preachers. With defects as an orator, yet with a mighty love for man and a mighty trust in God, Phillips Brooks led the thinking, worshipful part of the American people to higher things in thought and life. Spiritual preaching, like the ellipse, has two centers, man and God: man in his relation to God, God in his relation to man. Theological preaching has God for its center; moral preaching has man; spiritual preaching, both theological and moral, has both centers, God and man. God blesses the man who thus preaches; God blesses the people who are thus ministered unto.

With this demand for spiritual preaching runs the demand for what is termed the practical, personal sermon. The demand springs from the same source as the desire for spiritual preaching: it is the demand for help—for help in the life of each day, for help to be good and pure, and brave and hopeful and strong, when the allurements are to be bad and foul and cowardly, and despairing and weak. Sermons which do not help miss their aim, or miss what should be their aim.

Charles F. Thwing.

An Immigration Restriction League.

THAT there has been a growing sentiment in this country during the last few years in favor of more

stringent laws regulating foreign immigration cannot have escaped the notice of any person who reads our newspapers and magazines. This feeling has found expression in many political platforms, and in various other ways; but there has until recently been no definite organization formed to work solely for more stringent immigration laws. The belief that a non-partizan, non-sectarian, and non-political organization is needed, which shall devote itself to this work, has led to the formation of the Immigration Restriction League. The objects of the league, which was started in Boston last July, are, as stated in its constitution: "To advocate and work for the further judicious restriction, or stricter regulation, of immigration, to issue documents and circulars, solicit facts and information, on that subject, hold public meetings, and to arouse public opinion to the necessity of a further exclusion of elements undesirable for citizenship or injurious to our national character. It is not an object of this league to advocate the exclusion of laborers or other immigrants of such character and standards as fit them to become citizens."

The league numbers among its members men of all parties, from all over the country, and is on a firm working basis. Its vice-presidents are Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont; Hon. George S. Hale, Colonel Henry Lee, Hon. Henry Parkman, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston; Professors N. S. Shaler and John Fiske of Cambridge, Mass. A president is to be elected at the annual meeting in January. The league has already issued three regular publications, besides a large number of circulars. The publications referred to are "The Present Aspect of the Immigration Problem," "Various Facts and Opinions concerning the Necessity of Restricting Immigration," and a collection of statistics relating to the numbers, nationality, and distribution of our recent immigrants, and the proportion of the foreign-born among our insane, paupers, and criminals. These publications will be sent to any one applying to the Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, 428 Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.

Robert De C. Ward.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Aphorisms.

A WOMAN rarely fears men, unless wholly unacquainted with them. A man's fear of women is apt to increase with his knowledge of them. He often begins with something like disdain, and ends with supreme apprehension.

THE man who hates his fellows usually does so because they refuse to sympathize with his absorbing love of himself.

OUR self-love springs, ordinarily, from a lack of understanding of the subject.

A MAN should be niggardly in making promises, but generous in their fulfillment. Unredeemed promises are like unredeemed pledges: they so accumulate interest as soon to be irredeemable.

MEN are often more firmly united by common hatreds than they are by common tastes or common likings.

THE men who refrain from marriage because they doubt their fitness for it, either on financial or philosophic grounds, would be likely, if married, to make the best husbands.

WE should try throughout life to make friends. Enemies will make themselves.

THE truest companion is he who most enjoys solitude.

IT is easier to understand how a man who has committed many murders may have an untroubled conscience than how a congenital match-maker can ever enjoy a tranquil sleep.

Junius Henri Browne.

PROEM TO A VICTORIAN ANTHOLOGY.

ENGLAND! since Shakspeare died no loftier day
For thee than lights herewith a century's goal,—
Nor statelier exit of heroic soul
Conjoined with soul heroic,— nor a lay
Excelling theirs who made renowned thy sway
Even as they heard the billows which outroll
Thine ancient sea, and left their joy and dole
In song, and on the strand their mantles gray.
Star-rayed with fame thine Abbey windows loom
Above his dust, whom the Venetian barge
Bore to the main; who passed the twofold marge
To slumber in thy keeping: yet make room
For the great Laurifer, whose chanting large
And sweet shall last until our tongue's far doom.

Edmund Clarence Stedman.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Civic Self-Knowledge.

THE American cities which are beginning to take an interest in their own affairs will soon discover, among other things, how difficult it is to find out what it is necessary to know about the municipal business, on account of the absence of any proper municipal statistics.

The statisticians of Europe have a well-grounded contempt for American statistics. They make use of the statistics published by the General Government and by boards of trade and the like, to some extent; but our municipal statistics, as a rule, are ignored, excepting as to deaths in a few of the larger cities. The births are so defectively reported that no account at all is taken of them in foreign reports, there being in almost every municipal report in this country more deaths than births, which is, of course, preposterous, and shows the foreigner that the reports are false on their very face. Still further discredit is thrown upon the birth and marriage statistics by the sudden spurts, excited by threats of the authorities to enforce legal penalties, which sometimes force up the reports fifty per cent. from one week to another. These sudden and extreme variations, if unexplained, look like intentional and dishonest padding of reports.

Municipal statistical reports upon other subjects, as already stated, are for the most part ignored, as they bear every mark of careless and inaccurate compilation — one might almost say purposeless compilation — for they are thrown together in such a way that it is hard to extract any actual information from them. They give what nobody wants to know, and keep back or bury in a mass of chaff what people *do* want to know. They are not statistics at all, in the sense of facts scientifically arranged after a definite and orderly plan, but are mere

figures put together in the way that entails the least labor and trouble.

In the city of New York the Board of Health is the best provided in this particular; but it is very difficult, indeed, to obtain statistics from many bureaus and departments in the city government. Some of them seem to keep no regular statistics at all, and supply them only when called for by going over their books and counting up items — a method which allows of no checks and counter-checks, and therefore gives untrustworthy results. Moreover, every department keeps its own tables in its own way; and therefore they cannot always, if ever, be brought into clear correspondence with one another. Many tables are kept and printed which have no statistical value at all, and especially for the outsiders who keep sending for statistics. Many differ in the times for which the tables are made up, or the same heading may include different items in different departments, rendering it almost impossible to compare one set of records with another — the courts, the police, and the correctional institutions, for example. In brief, the statistics that can at present be obtained in New York are for the most part so scattered and incomplete and badly classified, and so many facts that should be taken into account are entirely neglected, that it is fair to call our municipal statistics, taken all together, a chaos of figures.

In our opinion, this could all be remedied, at very slight expense, by the establishment of a municipal statistical office or bureau which should have authority to require reports of any kind it deemed desirable from any department of the city government. Its employees should be relieved of all other duties than statistical ones; for there is no occupation that requires more undivided and uninterrupted attention than the prepara-

tion of statistical tables that shall be free from errors. This bureau, in accordance with a general plan for its reports, annual or otherwise, which should insure uniformity and accuracy, should furnish its own blank forms to the several officers of the city government, to be properly filled out and returned to it at regular stated intervals. It should publish reports entirely uncolored and free from personal or partisan bias, consisting of well-classified, properly arranged, and thoroughly indexed tables, entirely free from text, excepting so far as it may be necessary to explain them.

Such a bureau would be of great value to the city in many ways — probably in ways not now thought of. The compilation of so many facts of different classes in one office might suggest measures of economy in methods and in clerical force that could not be got at in any other way. It might result in valuable discoveries in sanitation and in other important matters. It would, at any rate, give every citizen a chance to have his questions answered; for comparatively few people in this city know how or where to procure the information they need regarding subjects of public interest.

It would probably not require very much time or labor to get such an office started, although the original plans might require modification if unexpected difficulties arose. The duties might be assigned to the Commissioners of Accounts, or to the Board of Health, which at present seems to be the only branch of the city government with a distinct statistical service; or it might be made an entirely separate bureau, which would perhaps be better.

Such statistical bureaus exist already in many cities of Europe. Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Paris, and Milan publish annual statistical reports, prepared by special bureaus, which furnish very complete statistics regarding topography, meteorology, demography, hospital and ambulance service, police, fire, insurance, street traffic and travel, gas, slaughter-houses, markets and prices, street paving, lighting, and repairs, schools, correctional and eleemosynary institutions, water-supply, chemical and bacteriological analyses, etc. What might not such a publication do for New York?

During the labors of the Tenement-house Committee of 1894, although that body had full powers of subpoena and examination under oath, and although it met with hearty coöperation in various city departments, still it was with great difficulty that certain required statistical information was obtained from some branches of the city government. The figures furnished by the Health Department were of the very greatest service in the framing of proposed legislation. In the matter of fires, while every member of the department approached by the committee was most willing and helpful, still the kind and amount of information desired was obtained with the greatest difficulty. A private citizen, Mr. Simon Brentano, came to the relief of the committee: at his own expense he put an accountant at work upon the books, and produced a series of facts and figures which resulted in some of the most useful recommendations as to legislation made by the committee.

This is a striking example of the use of municipal statistics. We believe that the expense of such an office — and it need not be an expensive one — would be saved by the light it would throw upon means and methods, and the suggestions it would thereby afford in the direction of economy. But outside of any consideration of ex-

pense, such a bureau would have a tendency to clear up the situation; it would help the city to know itself; in the present emergency it would be of great and special use in the interest of good government. The direct suggestion of such a bureau was made by Mr. Jacob A. Riis in his testimony before the Tenement-house Committee, and it is one that, in our opinion, should be immediately acted upon.

The general argument as to the necessity of such a bureau in New York applies to every other community in the country. In smaller communities the time and expense devoted to such work would be proportionately less; but there is not a community in America that does not need to have better statistical knowledge of its own affairs.

The Cure for Municipal Corruption.

ELSEWHERE in this number of the magazine it is shown that the elaborate system of police and political blackmail uncovered by the Lexow Committee is to some extent a legacy from colonial days. Under the Dutch governors Manhattan Island was ruled as a commercial principality for the benefit of a trading company depending for its profits on a monopoly of traffic with the savages of a wild country. To overreach the natives and to coerce the settlers to respect the monopoly was the natural duty of the trading company's officers; and to overreach the company and get into favored relations with its officers was a natural resource against commercial restrictions, of the traders, freebooters, and slave-dealers who always flock to a semi-civilized emporium. These conditions corrupted the channels of authority and the town life of the colony, but fortunately had a less demoralizing effect on the actual settlers and landholders from whom have descended the makers of New York's prosperity and greatness.

The same conditions of illicit trade and official corruption were perpetuated under the English governors, and with less excuse, because New York was then sufficiently organized as a society to have a public conscience. And it should never be forgotten, as a means of keeping the public mind alive to a never-ceasing danger, that the charter granted by Governor Dongan — the corner-stone of New York's municipal rights and privileges — was used by that worthy as a means of extorting a mean bribe for himself and his secretary.

Under similar physical and trade conditions it is fair to assume, from the teachings of history, that any other race of people would have comported themselves as did the Dutch on Manhattan Island. In later colonial times the race responsibility was divided; and in our own times the equation of race, though more complicated in its elements, is very simple as to the responsibility, which rests primarily upon the blended native stock. In New York, as in the other large cities of the country, the foreign-born elements have shown a willingness to follow, when the natives were disposed to assume their obligation to lead; but when foreign elements of an inferior order have found leadership lying at their feet like a discarded bauble, they have wielded it, according to custom, with a tendency to err on the side of venality and oppression, which is the usual effect of putting political power into the hands of poor and ignorant men.

After two hundred years of trifling with the muni-

cial problem, New York has at last accumulated enough recorded experience and disgrace to arrive at sound conclusions as to what human nature will do under conditions of civic neglect. As an exemplar of municipal cowardice, she has encouraged corruption in other large cities of the country; now, as an aroused community, she is pricking the consciences of the sister cities. If she takes the plain and obvious course to purify her own political life, and to keep it pure, the politics of the whole country will be lifted to a higher plane of honesty and honor.

As the causes of corruption in the large cities are primarily the same, so the cure must be the same. Those citizens who are most favorably situated as to the opportunities of education and property, in addition to carrying the heaviest end of the burden of taxation, must attend to the drudgery of politics, and show by an enlightened public spirit that the business affairs of a municipality are worthy of self-sacrifice.

Also it must be understood, and enforced by practice, that the poorest system of municipal administration will do more for the public good with an honest, self-dependent man at the head of it, than the best system with a depraved or ignorant tool of a political boss at the helm. An unworthy head at once devitalizes a municipal organization, no matter what the clime, race, confusion of races, or form of government.

Municipal corruption always spreads from the controlling official through his executive agents into the body of the people; and it is the merest sophistry — humorously offered, perhaps — for the ablest organ of Tammany Hall to claim that the police corruption was an infection from dishonest merchants who employed the art of bribery to prevent the enforcement of troublesome laws. It is no excuse for a police officer who falls, that bribers were lying in wait for him; he was commissioned to go forth in the name of the municipality to wage war on thieves and lawbreakers, and to

nip the amateur malefactor in the bud. But how can he be expected to do his duty if he sees that the mayor at the top is a figurehead for a ring which in every attribute and act shows that it is organized and run for the spoils of office and the plunder to be got from extortion and blackmail? Woe to the city whose mayor is the product of its political slums; woe to the city whose mayor, though honest in himself, is the creature of the boss of its political slums.

And finally, the cure of municipal corruption depends upon the elimination of the irresponsible boss. No public officer can serve two masters; and there never was and never can be good government through boss rule. There will always be a dominating personality in every political organization — municipal, State, or national; and any citizen may laudably aspire to wield such an influence. But public sentiment should demand that the boss of a party shall assume through the ballot-box the highest official responsibility that his party is able to confer.

Suppose that the recent "leader," on coming into the dictatorship of Tammany Hall, had been forced by public sentiment to take his own nomination for mayor. Either he would have dwindled into a harmless suppliant for public favor, as when he was compelled by his own predecessor as boss to run for alderman; or he would have justified his right to govern New York. What he did do was to learn by sore experience that Mr. Hewitt was not the mayor to serve him rather than the public, and then to put forward one mayor more amenable to his behests than another, until he had piled on the city as much degradation as suited his personal ends, and more than had ever been known in the annals of municipal martyrdom.

The only way, then, to rid municipal life of political hirelings is to compel jobbing statesmen to vindicate their right to manage public affairs by a direct appeal to the ballot-box, which they shun as the devil does holy water.

OPEN LETTERS.

A Grave of Heroes at Chattanooga.

SOME time ago the writer and some friends were discussing an article in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," entitled, "The Locomotive Chase in Georgia," when one of the party remarked, "Those men deserve a monument!" Thereupon I told them of the monument to their memory as the story was told to me in June, 1891, by the officer in charge of the National Cemetery at Chattanooga, as follows:

J. J. Andrews and twenty-one others, one of whom was a civilian, entered upon their dangerous mission with every prospect of success, but the inclemency of the weather caused a postponement of the effort for one day, a delay which proved fatal to the result of the enterprise. The road was crowded with trains. The pursuit was vigorous and persistent. The expedition resulted in disaster and death. Sixteen were captured, and six escaped. Of the captured, eight, among whom was the leader of the party, were tried and convicted as spies. Some of these were executed at Chattanooga and some at Atlanta. The others were afterward exchanged. After the war had

ended the bodies of those executed were removed to the National Cemetery at Chattanooga. When the body of Andrews was disinterred at Atlanta the shackles were still upon his limbs, and the rope with which he was hanged was around his neck.

The participants in the expedition were all from the State of Ohio, and years afterward — I think in 1889 — the legislature of that State appropriated \$5000 for the purpose of erecting a monument to their memory. A pleasant spot in the cemetery was secured, and the monument was erected. It is of granite, and is surmounted by a miniature image in bronze of the "General," the stolen engine. The monument was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on Decoration Day, 1891. On one face of the monument is a history of the expedition; on another face are the names of those members of the party who were executed; on another, the names of those who were exchanged; and on the other, the names of those who escaped. Opposite each face of the monument are the graves of two of the dead.

There were present at the ceremonies two of the survivors of that desperate "race," and one or two of their captors. When the exercises were ended they met upon the platform and shook hands. It was the meeting of brave men. There were relatives of the dead from far-away States, among them two women who had come to

visit, for the first time, the grave of a brother. One of them, in an attempt to pluck some flowers from her brother's grave, was stopped by a guard, and immediately burst into tears. A word of explanation was given, and her hands were filled with roses.

The monument is located in one of the prettiest parts of the cemetery, and is one of the objects of interest to the visitor to that "city of the dead." Loving hands cover each grave with flowers. Surrounded by thousands of "unknown" comrades from distant battlefields, beneath the shadows of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, they "sleep the sleep that knows no waking."

George H. Fair.

Noah Brooks's References to Charles Sumner.

MR. NOAH BROOKS makes two statements concerning Charles Sumner in *THE CENTURY* for last November, p. 145, which I desire to challenge. The first is that Mr. Sumner, before delivering his speeches, read them before a glass, "studying the effect of his gestures by the light of lamps placed at each side of the mirror." This he does not pretend to have himself seen, or to have been so informed by any one who had seen it, but more than forty years afterward he first publishes it as reported to him by a "Mr. Gardner, the aged custodian of the house," long since dead, who was so told by "younger members of the family," who are unnamed and unidentified. One question if any credence can be placed in American history for the last half-century if it is to be built on such foundations. If any one thing is unmistakable, it is that Washington gossip is not history.

Mr. Brooks's indifference to accurate statement is apparent in his quotation of a reference to such a habit of Mr. Sumner, which he attributes to "Senator Butler of South Carolina," who never made such a reference. One somewhat like it was made by Senator Douglas (though Mr. Brooks's quotation does not follow the "Congressional Globe") in the Senate, May 20, 1856. Mr. Sumner thought the absurdity of such a story so apparent on its face that he included it in his published works, Vol. IV, p. 249, as a part of Douglas's remarks, thus dismissing it with the silent contempt it deserved.

Mr. Sumner, it may be remarked, used no gestures which appeared to have been trained, and those he did use were the least attractive part of his public speaking. Edward Everett and Wendell Phillips were distinguished for their effective gestures, but not so with such orators as Mr. Sumner and Phillips Brooks.

Living persons who were witnesses of Mr. Sumner's home life, sleeping in his house or passing much of the day in it, never observed him doing what Mr. Brooks imputes to him. His secretaries (except E. J. Holmes, who was with him only a year) are all living, and are well known,—A. B. Johnson, chief clerk of the Lighthouse Board at Washington; Charles C. Beaman, of the New York bar; and Francis V. Balch and Moorfield Storey, both of the Boston bar. All these gentlemen, after an examination of Mr. Brooks's article, concur in the statement that he had no such practice. Mr. Beaman writes: "I never saw him do any such thing, nor ever heard of it, and do not believe he ever did it." Mr. Balch writes: "I certainly never saw such a thing, and I was with him at all hours and constantly." Mr. Storey, who lived in Mr. Sumner's house,

writes: "The suggestion that he practised his gestures before a glass is, I am satisfied, without the least foundation." Mr. Johnson's denial of such a habit is equally explicit.

Mr. Brooks's other statement is that Mr. Sumner "would graciously receive and entertain men whose experience or mental acquisitions could be utilized, and when he had, as it were, squeezed dry his prize, he would toss it aside with delightful abandon"; and he gives as an illustration "Captain Bulkely, of the United States revenue marine service," who, as he states, supplied materials for Mr. Sumner's speech on Alaska in 1867, at which time he was "a favorite guest for a few days at the senator's house," but whom the senator "failed to recognize when they subsequently met." This story is against all probabilities, and will not bear scrutiny.

No person of the name of Bulkely has at any time been connected with the revenue marine, technically known as the revenue cutter service. I have before me the official certificate of the Treasury Department which says: "The records of the department fail to show that there was at any time an officer named Bulkely connected with the revenue cutter service." Mr. Brooks's fidelity as a narrator is again impeached.

After some search I have, as I suppose, identified the person referred to. Mr. Sumner, in his Alaska speech, mentions Captain Charles S. Bulkely as director of the Russian American Telegraph Company, not naming, however, any contributions from him, but emphasizing in the connection the important services of Major Kennicott, who accompanied the telegraph force in a different capacity. Mr. Sumner, in his difficult research for materials as to a territory then little known, sought information from all available sources, particularly from the Smithsonian Institution. I have in my possession several letters addressed to him on the subject, but no Captain Bulkely appears among the writers. Mr. Beaman was then Mr. Sumner's secretary, and under his direction was employed for some weeks in search of information on all points concerning the territory. He has still in his possession the half-sheet of paper containing the only notes which the senator used in his speech, and also the manuscript of the speech as finally written out. Such was his interest in the question that shortly afterward he published an article upon it in a magazine; but with all his intimate connection with Mr. Sumner's investigation, he recalls no such person as "Captain Bulkely" having had anything to do with it. The conclusion is that if any "Captain Bulkely" ever had a conference with Mr. Sumner on the subject, his service must have been very unimportant, except in his own estimation.

Mr. Brooks's statement that Bulkely was "a guest for a few days at the senator's house" is altogether improbable. It was the season—that of 1866-67—when Mr. Sumner occupied the Pomeroy House, which was filled by his own family.

The serious imputation of Mr. Brooks's article is that Mr. Sumner was altogether indifferent to the obligations of friendship, and treated ungratefully those who had rendered him valuable service. Such an imputation is contrary to his entire conduct from youth to age. His biography abounds in instances of his constant and lifelong devotion to friends. He had no quality of character which was more conspicuous. No house in

Washington, while he had one, was so open as his to all from early morning to midnight. Some *contretemps* might occur now and then (one is mentioned in his *Memoirs*, Vol. IV, p. 95) whereby his best friend might fail to be admitted to his study, or be passed unobserved in the street. That happens with all public men, and with many of humbler sphere; and is an incident of no account, where no explanation has been sought. Forney, who knew Washington as well as Mr. Brooks knew it, and Mr. Sumner much better, says in his "Anecdotes of Public Men": "For a busy man he [Mr. Sumner] was the most accessible I ever knew. I never knew a man less moved by selfish instincts." Mr. Balch writes: "The statements quoted from THE CENTURY seem to me contrary to the nature of the man. He was generous; I don't believe he had a mean fiber in him. He would have been certain, in my judgment, to give full credit for any assistance." Mr. Beaman writes: "In my experience with him, I never knew him to be rude or impolite to any one, and cannot think it possible that after he obtained information from a gentleman he should do anything else than to treat him afterward in a gentlemanly manner." Mr. Johnson writes: "I deny emphatically the charge that he was in the habit of 'squeezing' people, and giving them no credit. I assert that he gave abundant credit to every one from whom he got original data. That was his habit, and he carried it to a painful extent." Mr. Storey writes, and with his emphatic testimony I conclude: "So far from failing to recognize other men's labors, it always seemed to me that he was very generous in this matter. Certainly in the *Alabama* case he took very great pains to bring Mr. Bemis into prominence, and to give him credit for his great familiarity with that subject and his ability to deal with it. To me I know he was very generous; and I have always felt greatly indebted to him on that account. The idea that he would fail to recognize a person who stayed in his house from any intention is absurd. I know that he was singularly considerate of other people, and one of the kindest and most generous of men; and as unwilling wantonly to show any rudeness as any man I ever saw. If he ever failed to recognize a person, it was from cause; and if there is any foundation for the story, it must be that he passed the gentleman in question while he was busy thinking of other matters, and did not see him—an accident which happens to every man, and which is frequently misunderstood."

Edward L. Pierce.

Mr. Brooks's Rejoinder.

I CAN hardly believe that Mr. Pierce would willingly give the impression that certain of the personages referred to in my reminiscences of Senator Sumner are mythical, and their narratives mere figments of the imagination. Yet that is precisely the kind of impression which his letter (written in the fervor of his zeal for Mr. Sumner's fame) would be likely to make on the minds of men who do not know me or my work.

The person to whom Mr. Pierce slightly refers as "a Mr. Gardner" is the man whom we find mentioned in Mr. Pierce's admirable book, "Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner," Vol. III, page 259, as follows: "Sumner's lodgings in Washington, engaged at a visit he made there in October for the purpose,

were at D. A. Gardner's, New York Avenue, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, on the same floor with the street." This was in 1851; and, as I took pains to say in my paper in the November CENTURY, I subsequently succeeded Mr. Sumner as tenant in these rooms; and the excellent Mr. Gardner was wont to entertain my room-mate and myself with reminiscences of the great senator, whom he admired and respected. I should suppose that any reader (not very careless) would see at once that in my November CENTURY paper Mr. Gardner was my authority for the anecdote of Mr. Sumner's practice of rehearsing his speeches in his rooms. My room-mate, Mr. W. E. McArthur (now living in Brooklyn, at No. 19 Jefferson Avenue) authorizes me to say that his memory perfectly agrees with mine in this matter, and that Mr. Gardner, among other things told us of Mr. Sumner, said that the family knew, when the senator made a requisition for additional lamp-light, that he was preparing an important speech; and that his young daughters, "with a curiosity natural to youth," were accustomed to watch, from the rear windows of the apartment, the senator rehearsing before the pier-glass fixed between the windows in front, with a lamp on either side of him.

It was this entirely natural practice, as I then thought, and as I still think, which gave Mr. Sumner's enemies occasion to say that he "was in the habit of rehearsing his speeches before a looking-glass, with a nigger holding a lamp on each side of him." It was reserved for Senator Douglas, however, to refer to this very common but absurd report in a public speech. According to Mr. Pierce (see his book, Vol. III, page 453), Mr. Douglas said that Mr. Sumner was in the habit of "practising his speech every night before the glass, with a negro boy to hold the candle and watch the gestures," which is a very different statement from that which I have ascribed to Senator Butler of South Carolina. The main fact remains that Mr. D. A. Gardner, Mr. Sumner's landlord, told the story as I have told it in the November number of THE CENTURY.

Captain (sometimes called Colonel) Bulkely is also a real person, although he is not mentioned, so far as I know, in that admirable book, "Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner," by Edward L. Pierce. Colonel Bulkely, according to the best of my knowledge, was employed in the revenue marine service at the close of the war, and immediately before that period, with headquarters at San Francisco. My acquaintance with him began in 1865, and along there, while I was naval officer of the port. At one time Colonel Bulkely was, by direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, sent to Alaska in the revenue cutter *Shubrick*, Captain Scammon, to examine that coast and the Aleutian chain of islands, with the view of ascertaining the most feasible route for our international telegraph cable. It was on that expedition that he secured the information which he subsequently imparted to Mr. Sumner, as described in my paper in the November CENTURY. Colonel Bulkely was an honorable gentleman whom I knew well, and whose word was never doubted by any who knew him. Colonel Charles James, who was collector of the port of San Francisco when Colonel Bulkely was sent to Alaska, and who executed the orders of the Secretary of the Treasury in the detail of the *Shubrick*, is now living in Washington (at No.

518 South Carolina Avenue), and he authorizes me to say that his memory agrees with mine in every particular as regards the transactions above referred to, in which Colonel Bulkely had part.

Noah Brooks.

The Whipping-Post for Tramps.

BY THE MAYOR OF INDIANAPOLIS.

WHAT to do with tramps is a very serious question. The answer should be one of business, and not of sentiment, for the conditions are already alarming. Tramps have multiplied enormously during the last decade. Thousands of young men and boys are annually joining the ranks of the "sturdy beggars" rather than work. The time is ripe for some heroic action that will deter at least the youth of the land from launching upon a life of vagabondage. If the local authorities cannot stamp out this growing evil, then the National Government must come to the rescue. Every form of organized government owes it to the honest laboring classes to protect them and their families from these pests of society. Vagabondage has no right to claim an existence in this country. If it has no moral standing, then it should have no legal protection. The man of sound body who makes up his mind to sponge his way through life is an enemy to civilization and society.

As a punishment for trampism, Mr. Josiah Flynt, in his interesting letter published in your September number, suggests imprisonment in the workhouse and penitentiary. I cannot agree with him. Workhouses are comparatively few in most of the States. In many that do exist the authorities do not furnish the amount and kind of work to cure the average tramp of his mode of life. The penitentiary is intended for men of criminal instincts, who are dangerous to society — not for idlers. It is not a proper place to teach loafers habits of industry.

I would substitute the whipping-post for the prison. I know the sentimentalist will not agree with me, and I doubt whether very many persons of any class of society would at first approve a return to the lash as a punishment for crime of any kind. It has retained its place in one State for wife-beaters, however, and its preventive effect on that class of brutes is exceedingly efficacious. The tramp deserves no kindlier consideration than the wife-beater.

But will the States enact laws establishing the whipping-post for tramps? Perhaps few will do so at first. After observing the effect of a few practical tests, however, I do not believe the legislature of a single State would decline to sanction flogging as a punishment for cases of confirmed vagabondage. It cannot be said that public opinion has ever pronounced against the whipping-post as a punishment for trampism, for it was discarded long before the modern tramp was heard of. Besides, sentiment should not stand in the way of stamping out this growing evil. At the present rate of increase, the next generation will find trampism the greatest curse this country has ever known, with the possible exceptions of human slavery and alcoholism. To put an end to it by any method, therefore, will justify the means. The cat, well applied, will do it. I do not believe any other punishment that is likely to be adopted will.

We had a practical demonstration of the efficacy of the whip used upon the backs of roving bands of vaga-

bonds in this city (Indianapolis) a few years ago. At the time referred to the writer presided in the police court, that being one of the mayor's duties under the old law. It was winter. Tramps headed this way from all directions. The city was overrun with them. Many were arrested and sent to the workhouse. It became crowded with them and other classes of offenders. Very little work was provided for the prisoners, so that the workhouse was just what the average tramp was seeking. I stopped sending them there, and, when brought before me, took promises from them to leave the city. Few such promises were kept. The tramps would beg lodging at the station-house, and, if refused, would trespass upon private property, most of them sleeping in freight-cars. The situation became serious. Something had to be done. The police were ready for anything. I asked them to quit arresting known tramps, and to drive them out of town, using any force necessary. They obeyed, and the barrel-hoop was freely used for a time. It took only a few days to rid the city of every tramp. They did not return, and no new ones came for many months. Indeed, Indianapolis remained almost free of tramps for some years thereafter. A few other Indiana cities followed our example, with like beneficial results. They had the force of an enlightened public sentiment behind the movement, which, for all practical purposes, was worth as much as a public statute. In fact, public sentiment and approval took the place of law. There were no "white-cap" methods employed. The floggings were administered openly.

The average tramp would rather spend a year in a station-house or jail than take one good flogging. I believe it is the best remedy so far discovered. While it may not cure all the old, hardened tramps of their indolent habits, it will deter the boys from being coaxed "on the road" by them. That is the main thing to be accomplished. If every community had a public whipping-post for tramps, or if the industrious men and women in every city and town would back up the local constabulary in the free use of cowhides on these worthless vagabonds, I do not believe there would be left a tramp of the present American type at the ushering in of the twentieth century.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1894.

C. S. Denny.

P. S. Since the foregoing letter was written, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has taken action looking to the enactment of a law providing for corporal punishment of wife-beaters and other like offenders. According to recent accounts in the New York press, such a bill is now in course of preparation. Some of the leading journals of the city have recently approved the general sentiment now taking form on that subject. I have not seen, so far, any specific reference to tramps in connection with the whipping-post discussion. A bill similar to the one being prepared in New York will likely be presented to the Indiana legislature at the present session. If so, an effort will be made to include trampism in the list of offenses thus to be punished.

INDIANAPOLIS, January 15, 1895.

C. S. D.

What has the United States done with Alaska?

ON October 18, 1867, all the Russian possessions in North America were formally transferred to the

United States. In the following July there was paid to the Czar \$7,200,000 for this vast territory, which Charles Sumner named Alaska. The coast was known and surveyed and occupied by a few trading-posts, but the interior was an unknown wilderness.

United States troops replaced the Russian garrisons, and a first bill to provide a form of government for the new territory was presented to Congress. Thirty other bills were presented before this object was accomplished sixteen years later. It was Secretary Seward's idea to divide Alaska into six separate territories, and to offer unusual inducements to settlers. In 1877 the War Department withdrew all troops from Alaska, and the country existed only as a customs district: whereupon the natives of the Sitka region, who had so long been held in check by severest measures, indulged in the wildest license. For two years Sitka was at their mercy, and no appeal to Washington secured any attention. The citizens finally sought protection from the British authorities at Victoria, and H. B. M. S. *Osprey* reached Sitka in time to prevent a general massacre of the whites, and to frighten off the war canoes that were assembling there. The grateful citizens drew up a petition for a British protectorate over the abandoned country, and were raising the British flag on the parade-ground when Michael Travers, an ex-soldier, prevented the act. After this incident, a naval ship was ordered to guard-duty in the Sitka region, and for several years the commander of the man-of-war at Sitka was virtually naval governor of Alaska.

This anomalous and un-American situation was resented by the citizens, and only the establishment of civil government in 1884 prevented the Russian-born citizens petitioning the Czar to call the United States to account for violation of the treaty in which it promised these people "all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States," and to "maintain and protect them in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion."

During the period of no-government succeeding military abandonment, it was suggested to attach Alaska as a county of Washington Territory, and to make it a penal colony—an American Siberia. The Secretary of the Treasury recommended that it be discontinued as a customs district, and General McDowell, commanding the Department of the Pacific, recommended that it be given away, or thrown away. Yet during a discussion in the Canadian Parliament at this very time, one member said: "Let the House see what a mistake Canada made during the Crimean war in not laying hold of the country. It [Alaska] was the best investment the United States ever made."

In 1871 gold was discovered near Sitka, and in 1880 richer deposits were uncovered near Juneau, and the latter camp soon became an El Dorado for renegades from all the upper coast. The common report of "no law in Alaska" gathered such a community that a local vigilance committee was organized to assert and maintain order. The direct efforts of influential Juneau mine-owners, in 1884, induced Congress to pass the bill which gave a skeleton form of civil government to "the district of Alaska," extending the mining laws, but distinctly withholding the general land laws; giving it a governor, courts, and commissioners, but not providing for any representation at Washington, nor any popular assemblage elected by its own citizens. The general laws

of the State of Oregon were imposed "so far as applicable, and *not in conflict with* . . . the laws of the United States."

No geological or topographical survey of the country has been made by the government, but, independently, miners and scientists have now explored and exploited every part of Alaska. At this moment hundreds of miners are encamped along the Yukon River, free from all restraints or protection. There is not a military post in the territory, no telegraphic communication with the rest of the world, and only one lighthouse on the whole coast. As land can neither be bought nor preëmpted, immigration is virtually prohibited, and the population is kept down; and as no lumber can be exported, mining and fishing are the only industries permitted. Yet Alaska stands alone among our "bloodless acquisitions" in having yielded a revenue from the beginning. The lease of the tiny Seal Islands has yielded four per cent. interest on the sum originally paid for the whole territory, which in the end has returned an equal sum to the treasury. For more than ten years the gold mines have been adding an average of \$1,000,000 a year to the wealth of the world; and for six years—1884-90—the salmon canneries and other fisheries yielded an annual product valued at another \$1,000,000.

The salmon fisheries have not been leased, or taxed, or protected by laws or regulations, as in British Columbia, and many streams have been exhausted. The reckless and unhindered seining destroys more fish than the canners use, and has seriously threatened the natives' food-supplies; but their protests against such invasions and seizures of tribal and hereditary fishing-grounds were not regarded, and the civil authorities threatened the natives with punishment if they interfered with the canners. Thus this important industry drains the country of its natural wealth without making any return to general or territorial government; and contract-labor methods and alien landlordism have here their fullest play—the canners taking all their workmen and supplies from "below"—either Puget Sound or San Francisco—in the spring, and sending them back in September.

Alaska has virtually no voice at Washington. Its sketchy outline of a government is administered by alien office-holders, who too often echo in their hearts the sentiment of the court chamberlain Resanof in 1805: "We live in Sitka only with the hope of leaving it." Alaska citizens are earnest for home rule, resenting this importation of stranger officials every four years. They bitterly denounce Congress for its hostility, ignorance, or neglect; for denying them the rights and citizenship enjoyed in all the other territories. Beyond granting the incomplete and inadequate form of civil government in 1884, nothing has been done for Alaska in this quarter-century of United States ownership.

The Tlinkit, the Aleut, and the Esquimaux, the salmon, the seal, and the reindeer, of Alaska have been considered, and legislated for: the white citizen patiently awaits his turn. The seating of the Alaska delegates at the Chicago and Minneapolis conventions of 1892 is the only ray of light that has pierced his despair.

Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Mr. Bryce's New Chapters on America.

IN revising his "American Commonwealth" for a third edition, Mr. James Bryce has rewritten almost entirely two former chapters, and has added three new ones. These changes and additions are all in the second volume, which thus becomes, more than ever, the most notable commentary upon American affairs, social and political, ever published. Nothing comparable to its series of analytical and explanatory chapters, grouped in the four parts of this volume, under the titles "The Party System," "Public Opinion," "Illustrations and Reflections," and "Social Institutions," is to be found in any other work on the American republic, domestic or foreign. Keeness of insight, accuracy of knowledge, and philosophic breadth of observation, combined with a sympathetic and invariably friendly spirit toward both our institutions and our people, make these chapters at once the most entertaining and the most instructive reading for Americans, as well as for other students of American institutions and society. The two chapters which Mr. Bryce has rewritten are those on "The Tammany Ring in New York City," and "Elections and their Machinery." The first of these, which appeared in the first edition under the signature of Professor Goodnow, was omitted from the second edition because of a libel suit which ex-Mayor Oakey Hall brought against Mr. Bryce in London, on account of certain statements contained in it. It is now put back by Mr. Bryce, who has rewritten it and made it his own, saying in it of Mr. Hall that no share of the Tweed ring's booty was ever traced to him. A recasting of the chapter on "Elections and their Machinery" was made necessary by the rapid march of ballot reform, which, between the publication of the first and third editions, had transformed completely our methods of conducting elections. This chapter as it stands now is the most complete record to be found of the progress and status of electoral reforms, including ballot-laws and corrupt-practices acts, in the various States of the Union.

The three new chapters are entitled "The Home of the Nation," "The South since the War," and "The Present and Future of the Negro." They are all extremely valuable additions to the work, giving in comparatively small compass an amount of information which is nowhere else accessible in a single volume, and nowhere else illuminated with such penetrating and instructive comment. In the first named of the new chapters Mr. Bryce considers the physical conditions which have influenced the development of the American people, sketching the outlines of North American geography, noting the differences of climate, and drawing conclusions as to the effect of physical structure and climate upon the fortunes of the people with reference to possible future divisions of the republic, and the possible evolution of new types of character. He traces the nationality of the first settlers of the different sections and States, marks the movements of the great tide of immigration as it spread over the land, and follows

step by step the gradual development of civilization in various forms in the Northern, Southern, and other great divisions of the country. We have not space to give more than a broad and incomplete outline of his work on this subject, but no one can read it without absorbing interest, or without being impressed with its wealth of exact and valuable information. His conclusions are such as will gratify the pride of all true Americans. He finds our country furnished by nature with "resources for production — that is, with potential wealth — ampler and more varied than can be found in any other country; . . . a climate in which the foremost races of mankind can thrive and (save in a few districts) labor; an air in most regions not only salubrious, but more stimulating than that of their ancient European seats"; and "communication made easy by large natural watercourses." He finds that nature in severing us by a wide ocean from the old world of Europe on the east, and by a still wider one from the half-old, half-new, world of Asia and Australia on the west, "has made the nation sovereign of its own fortune; it need fear no attacks nor even any pressure from the military and naval powers of the Eastern hemisphere, and has little temptation to dissipate its strength in contests with them." Being "thus left to itself as no great State has ever yet been in the world, its citizens enjoy an opportunity never before granted to a nation, of making their country what they will have it." Mr. Bryce's prophecy as to what they will do with this unparalleled opportunity is that "not only will the State be powerful and the wealth of its citizens prodigious, but the nation will probably remain one in its government, and still more probably one in speech, in character, and in ideas."

The chapters on "The South since the War" and "The Present and Future of the Negro" run naturally together, having really a common subject. They include an admirable account of the reconstruction and carpet-bag periods, and a searching analysis of the different elements which make up the Southern population. The various methods which have been resorted to either to suppress or nullify the colored vote are described, and a rapid and strikingly accurate history of events in the South for the last thirty years is crowded into twenty pages. As for the future of the South, Mr. Bryce says that the true way in which to judge of its condition is to compare it as it is now with what it was when the war ended. Doing this, he declares:

Everywhere there is progress — in some regions such progress that one may fairly call the South a new country. . . . It has suffered and been regenerated by a terrible war. . . . It has no regrets over slavery; for it recognizes the barbarizing influence that slavery exerted. . . . But for one difficulty the South might well be thought to be the most promising part of the Union — that part whose advance is likely to be swiftest, and whose prosperity will not be the least secure. This difficulty, however, is a serious one. It lies in the presence of seven millions of negroes.

In his chapter on the negro we find the same wealth of information and luminous comment which charac-

terizes Mr. Bryce's work. His conclusions are: first, that the negro will stay in North America; second, that he will stay locally intermixed with the white population; and third, that he will stay socially distinct, as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable. He thinks, furthermore, that two changes are probable—that the negroes will draw more and more southward into the lower and hotter regions along the coasts of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, and that, taking them over the whole country, they will advance in education, intelligence, and wealth, as well as in habits of thrift and application. He expresses a wish that lynching might be sternly repressed, and that the State statutes or local regulations enforcing separation of blacks from whites in traveling, or in places of public resort, might be repealed, but adds truly that the "real change to which the friends of the South and of the negro look forward is a change in the feelings of the white people, and especially of the ruder and less educated part of them."

We have given only imperfect summaries of these additions to what was in its first form the wisest and kindest work on American institutions and people ever written. The new chapters, as our citations and descriptions must convince the reader, add to both the attractiveness and value of the book, and Mr. Bryce, in making them, has placed us, as a people, under fresh obligations to him.

National Honor and National Well-being.

NOTHING is of greater moment to all the people of this country than the strict preservation of the public credit. With doubt about our national honor before the world, national prosperity is an impossibility. This fact should be borne in mind constantly in considering all questions of finance; for if our monetary standard be not such as to command the confidence of investors, domestic as well as foreign, doubt and uncertainty will penetrate all avenues of business, and, unless the disturbing cause be removed, will result ultimately in national bankruptcy.

People unfamiliar with financial methods were puzzled a few weeks ago by the curious spectacle of the National Government forced, in a time of peace and prosperity, to borrow large sums of gold to preserve its credit. What added to the puzzle was the fact that at the time of doing this the Government actually had a surplus in its treasury, and had excellent assurance of a large surplus revenue in the near future. The cause of the trouble lay in the banking system, which has come down to us as a legacy of the war. Under that system the General Government issues our currency, and pledges its credit to redeem it all in gold. There is outstanding about \$500,000,000 of such currency at the present time. As a redemption fund for this it is customary to keep in the Treasury a gold reserve of \$100,000,000. The Treasury must pay out gold on demand for its own legal tender notes, and when it has received them in this way it must not cancel them, but reissue them. The same notes can in this way be presented for gold over and over again.

In order to maintain its gold reserve, when for any reason there is a large drain upon it, the Government must issue bonds—that is, get itself into debt. Our interest-bearing debt has been increased \$100,000,000 by this process since January 1, 1894. As the Govern-

ment is pledged to redeem all its obligations in gold, it must at all hazards keep a sufficient reserve-fund on hand to allay all suspicions as to its ability to maintain its credit.

What happened a few weeks ago was that a suspicion which had been growing for some time became sufficiently general to be alarming. Foreign investors in our securities have for several months been returning them to us. The bad and dishonest management of some of our railways has been one cause of this movement, and another cause has been the seeming unwillingness of Congress to put our monetary system upon a safe and sure basis. Foreign investors have looked upon our enormous volume of currency,—a great part of it worth only fifty cents or less on the dollar,—and having then looked upon our redemption fund, which we have to get into debt repeatedly to maintain, have come to the conclusion that there was too much risk in trusting us with their money. They have not been able to feel sure that if they invested in our securities they would get their principal and interest in as good money as they lent us. A mere doubt of this kind is enough to prevent investment.

The consequence was that so many of our securities came back to us that great quantities of gold were needed to pay the foreign sellers of them. The amount was so large as to make gold shipments of unusual size necessary at an unusual season of the year. Down went the gold reserve. As it went down, it caused uneasiness at home as well as abroad. People began to hear talk about a possible descent to the silver standard through failure of the Government to meet its obligations in gold, and then private citizens began to hoard gold, going to the Treasury for it in exchange for legal tenders. Over \$30,000,000 of gold was drawn out for this purpose within a week or so. As legal tenders could be used over and over again for this withdrawal of gold, there would have been an end soon to the reserve had not the Government decided upon a new bond issue and the President reiterated his determination to uphold the credit of the Government at all hazards. As soon as the public confidence was restored by these developments, the gold began to flow back into the Treasury.

If the Government had not been in the banking business, or if it had possessed the power to cancel the legal tenders which were redeemed in gold, this could not have happened. The trouble with our banking system is that it is based on credit, rather than on actual bank assets. Under a system like that of the so-called Baltimore plan, described in *THE CENTURY* for February last, all currency would be in the form of bank-notes based on the actual assets of the bank. These notes could never be issued in excess of 50 per cent. of the bank's paid-up capital. They would be regulated in their volume by the requirements of trade. They would come back to the bank for redemption precisely as private bank-checks come back, and, having been redeemed, would be retired. We should thus have a currency based on such ample and sure redemption funds that there would never be a question as to the standard of value. The Government would have no other responsibility for it than to guarantee its quality, and be the custodian of a safety fund for the meeting of the liabilities of failed banks.

Until we get a system of this kind it is of the utmost importance that everything possible be done to sustain

the public credit. The Government should be given power by Congress to issue bonds on the most favorable possible terms, and to pledge payment of them in gold. This is the only policy which is safe for all the people, and which insures the lightest burden of taxation upon them. Nothing worse could happen to the people of moderate means and the poor than to have the country pass to the silver standard. Capitalists, and all men who have money, can take care of themselves in such a change. It is upon the wage-earners that the calamity would fall with most crushing weight. Prices of all kinds, including rents, would double at once, but wages would be slow to advance. A dollar would buy only half as much as now. Farmers and all other borrowers of money on mortgages would find that their contracts, in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, call for interest and principal in gold. They would find also that uncertainty about the money standard would make it impossible to make fresh loans save at greatly advanced rates of interest.

There is one point that is too often overlooked by those who assail the gold standard. All the great nations of the world have adopted that standard, and insist upon conducting all business transactions upon it. It will not do for us as a people to say that we will take

silver because we like it better. We must use the money which the rest of the world likes best, or we cannot trade with the rest of the world. Our merchants and traders act on this principle constantly. So do all capitalists and money-lenders. It matters not what standard the Government may adopt, the gold standard will still be the basis of all business transactions. For many years past all contracts for future delivery of goods, all loans, mortgages—in fact, all transactions involving considerable sums of money, have contained a gold clause. It is not Congress or the Government which fixes the standard, but capitalists and business men. They fix it in gold, not because they dislike silver, but because on gold alone can they depend for stability. In doing this they are making it possible for widows, orphans, and all other holders of savings to get an income from them. Without a sure standard of value there can be no loaning of money, no safe and profitable investments, and hence no interest. Without invested capital, domestic and foreign industries must languish, and workingmen be left without employment. It is not merely a high patriotic duty, therefore, for all the people to help the Government in maintaining the national credit, but it is also the first essential to national well-being.

OPEN LETTERS.

"The Social Problem of Church Unity."

I READ with interest the article by the Rev. Dr. Shields on "The Social Problem of Church Unity," published in your magazine. It occurs to me to inquire what the author meant by the expression, "The Church includes, while it transcends, the State in its scope." Also, the precise significance of the word "even" in the sentence, "Nor are we ready in this country to have any class dominant: not the wealthy class; not the learned class; not *even* the clerical class." Again, what historical or philosophic ground is there for his declaration, that "organized Christianity is the only perfect remedy for social ills"? Am I right in supposing that he alludes with disapproval to the claim that the State has the right to render the government which it administers "as humane and even Christian as the churches can make it," and that he favors the reservation to the churches of "all higher education and humane effort"? Does he correctly characterize the "secularized charities for the poor, the blind, the deaf, the maimed, the fallen, and the outcast" as "social bodies without a Christian name or even a Christian spirit," who have "intrenched upon" the natural domain of the churches?

It must appear to very many of your readers that the premises on which the writer rests the argument require first to be established; and that, if this can be done, the conclusion to which the argument itself points is very different from that which he appears to have in mind. Is there not a palpable contradiction between his picture of Christian sects as "a great cluster of churches and denominations, differing endlessly in doctrine, polity, and worship, held apart by hereditary feuds, and in-

flamed with sectarian jealousy and pride," and his assertion that these very denominations, "as transferred to the New World, and brought under democratic influences, have been sifted together for a hundred years, and assimilated, until now they differ less in things than in names"? How is "an ecclesiastical unity which shall embrace dogmatic differences and allow them due scope and action" to put a stop to the diversity of teaching which, he tells us, has proved a hindrance and a failure in missionary work at home and in foreign lands? Is this diversity of teaching likely to be less when tolerated within one ecclesiastical organization than when it finds its natural and logical expression in many?

The ecclesiasticism of Dr. Shields's article is so apparent as to discredit many of the excellent and true things contained in it. If anarchy, revolution, or civil war shall ever make it apparent that "the problems of American society, if solved at all, can only be solved by one united church of the United States," it is safe to predict that this united church will be not Dr. Shields's "American Catholic Church," which seems to be as utopian a vision as the dream of Edward Bellamy, but the Roman Catholic Church, which now claims to be the moral teacher, the conservator, and the regenerator of society, and which, if "organized Christianity is the only perfect remedy for social ills," is itself that remedy. But Dr. Shields wants "an ecclesiastical unity which shall embrace dogmatic differences." Within what defined limits? The Roman Church does not fulfil his ideal conception of the great social need of the age, because it does *not* embrace the dogmatic differences which he has in mind. It does not because it cannot; if it could, it would; and what it cannot do, no other ecclesiastical organization can accomplish.

But neither the Roman, nor the Anglican, nor the American, nor any other Catholic Church, in this sense of the words "Church" and "Catholic," will ever, in a democratic State, be permitted to "transcend the State" in the State's proper sphere. If, by his assertion that "the very seat of our citizenship is in a *Christian* citizenship," he designs to limit citizenship to Christians in any possible sense of the term, and to establish a religious test as a condition of citizenship—especially if he means to put the application of this test in the hands of "bishops conjoined in the same historic succession," who shall exercise the episcopal functions committed to them by "free presbyteries," composed of "congregations," he should be warned that he is treading on perilous ground, and that the tendency of his teaching is to hasten the fulfilment of his own prediction that "the time may not be far off when church unity shall have become a question belonging to the domain of practical politics."

Frederick H. Wines.

COMMENT.

THE inquiries of the Rev. Mr. Wines concerning "The Social Problem of Church Unity" seem adapted to render that problem a puzzle in pure logic rather than a question of any practical interest. I might solve the puzzle simply by restoring his mosaic of fragmentary quotations to their original places and connections in the argument. My replies, however, must be limited to any new points which have been raised.

The remedial power of the Christian church has been shown "historically" during nineteen centuries in the social advancement of Europe, as contrasted with Asia or Africa. The same may be argued "philosophically" from the tendency of its teaching and training to diminish pauperism and crime, and to promote private and public virtue, especially in a free commonwealth. As a social institution it is itself charged with the ideal and the duty of social regeneration, and is fitted to exert a regenerative influence upon society, which cannot be claimed for unorganized Christianity as a mere individual belief or opinion.

The differences between the sects of the Christian church, though endless and embittered, are nevertheless quite trivial as compared with their substantial agreements. For this reason, under the favoring influences of our age and country, the differences have long been disappearing from public view, while the agreements are coming to the front, and thus rendering the idea of church unity as feasible as it is desirable.

Such differences, "when expressed in diverse ecclesiastical organizations," easily become exaggerated, tend to obscure and mar the essential truths of Christianity, and lead to mere sectarian wrangling in missionary and humanitarian movements; whereas the same differences, "tolerated in one ecclesiastical organization," soon sink to their relative insignificance, are made to check and modify one another, and do not interfere with the charities and missions of the body as a whole. Accordingly, different schools of doctrine were once embraced within the undivided apostolic church. To some extent they have ever since prevailed within the Roman Catholic Church. All of them may now be found within the Protestant Episcopal Church. No more utopian would it be to comprehend them within an American Catholic Church; not a whit

more utopian, in fact, than is the actual comprehension of the most diverse political schools and parties within that compact organization known as the United States.

The suggested resemblance of such an American Catholic Church to the Roman Catholic Church only strengthens the reasoning. Could that great ecclesiastical organization, under the influence of our democratic institutions, exchange its Romanism for Americanism, it would much better fulfil the duties of a moral teacher, conservator, and regenerator of American society. It would also take an immense stride toward organic oneness with Protestant Christianity on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, the Ecumenical Creeds, and the Historic Episcopate. Already the consensus of the two bodies in Christian ethics is of the greatest social value; and the more they can combine their attacks upon social evils, the better will it be for our common country.

I scarcely know how to reply seriously to Mr. Wines in his closing remarks. If the "ecclesiasticism" which he suspects is some imagined coalition of sects against civil government in this nation, or any conceivable domination of a United Church over the United States, he must be aware that we are no more in danger of such ecclesiasticism than of the Grand Lama of Thibet. The dread of a Church-State may once have had some force in the political mind of Europe. In our civilization it survives only as an inherited prejudice.

Charles W. Shields.

Should Higher Education be Provided for the Negro?

MANY friends of the negro North and South seem to have taken it for granted that means should not be provided for him to push his studies beyond the grammar-school. I wish to examine four reasons for this opinion which many think conclusive, and to suggest some answers.

I. Means are lacking for giving the great masses of the negroes even those elements of learning which should be provided for the many before more advanced training is given to the few.

ANSWER.

(1) Most negroes are less amenable than before the war to good, and especially religious, influences coming from the whites; while to those addressed to their prejudices, fears, self-interest, and appetites, it is to be feared that the lower strata of them are as open as ever.

(2) They must, then, have leaders of their own race.

(3) These leaders must have intelligence enough to side with statesmen rather than with demagogues upon such questions as tariff, currency, civil-service reform, and the relations of the General and State governments. They should be able to understand the discussion of such matters in the higher class of books and periodicals. The ablest men of the South are not now to so great an extent as before the war engaged in public life or upon the press. They are largely in various kinds of business.

ANSWER.

(4) Napoleon made his armies thunderbolts by putting a field-marshal's baton in every knapsack. There should be some high prizes to stimulate the rank and file.

(5) Institutions for giving higher education are already established, and need only supplementary aid. It is settled that outside benevolent aid must go mainly for industrial training and for educating teachers. Thoroughly educated negroes can often do the work of teaching in these industrial normal institutions as well as whites, and in many localities can endure the climate better. It will cost less to keep them in the work than whites of equal qualification. Therefore it is a real economy of the means available for negro education when the small part of it that is needed is used to enable institutions whose main work is to raise up teachers of moderate attainments to go on and furnish advanced training for the few who will persevere and push up through lower grades. For, in order that negroes may be fitted for teaching in, and especially for conducting, such schools, they must have education enough to give them balance. Past the little knowledge that puffs one up they must be carried into the more severe studies that tend to make one sober and modest. For this a somewhat extended, and especially a thorough, training in physical science, such as will produce abhorrence of pretentious and inexact work, may be desirable. Before the war higher education in the South was pushed farther in the classics than in mathematical and physical science. Hence, if the leaders of the negroes are made scientists rather than classical scholars, it may avoid to some extent the prejudice against whatever tends to put a colored man upon a level with whites. They might come to look upon a scientific negro as they would upon an improved cotton-gin; that is, as a promising addition to the resources of the country. All the industries of the South suffer from the waste which an infusion of scientific exactness would tend to counteract. The negro must be a chief factor in these industries, and it is his laxity and inexactness which to a great extent cause the wastefulness of the South. Several institutions already upon the ground need only "students' aid" money, to be given in payment for labor in their industrial departments, to enable many a bright, ambitious negro to push on into this broader scientific work; and among these there will here and there be found one fitted to take charge of the colored normal schools which the Southern States are beginning to organize. Such a scientific training would be no bad foundation for a theological course such as that given at Talladega College in Alabama, and at some other institutions. Dispensing almost entirely with Greek, and altogether with Hebrew, students are given a thorough acquaintance with the English Bible, with an abridged but very exact drill in church history, systematic theology, etc. Several who have taken this course are model pastors—the negro's greatest need.

II. It is important to conciliate the opinions and prejudices of Southern whites, who are almost unanimous against giving the negro anything more than elementary knowledge of books, with such industrial training as will make him efficient as a wage-earner.

(1) This may be true of that opinion when counted, but not when weighed. The most progressive and intelligent people of the South are beginning to see the good which institutions that furnish advanced education have already done the negro, and the need for more of the same kind of work. Atlanta, Fisk, and Biddle universities and Berea College, besides raising up a host of teachers for schools of a lower grade, have prepared for higher work a considerable number whose attainments, character, and achievements after graduation have made a revolution in the minds of some of the most influential whites. Simply as an object-lesson the success of these graduates is worth all it has cost.

(2) In educating Southern opinion steady aggressiveness is needed. When the war closed there were few whites in the South who believed that civilized society had any use for a free negro. Several generations had been trained to believe that he was necessarily a curse. Many States did not allow masters to free slaves within their limits. There has been a rapid, and of course mainly unconscious, drift in the right direction, the extent of which can be measured only by the observation of fixed points. This fact is the strongest possible reason why we should not consider the position which the South occupies to-day a finality. The true appeal is from its present opinion to that of twenty-five years hence.

III. There are at the North well-endowed institutions at which negroes of talent and character can be educated on an equal footing with whites.

ANSWER.

(1) Living at the South is cheaper, and opportunities for remunerative employment, especially for negro teachers, during the long summer vacation are more abundant than at the North. Such work is sorely needed at the South, and commands better wages than at the North.

(2) By getting their education where they would be brought face to face with the heart-breaking destitution of their race, and by spending vacations in teaching, they would be more apt to acquire the enthusiasm and fixed purpose of the missionary. Lack of these is one of the most marked defects of the average negro who has a little education. Unless these qualities are developed in those of higher gifts and attainments, the task of elevating the race will be much more formidable. Fortunately, those who have pursued advanced studies at missionary schools have, as a rule, more of them the further they go. Every available resource will be needed to save our free institutions from the deluge of purchasable votes that will be precipitated upon us whenever Southern whites divide, for then negro votes will all be cast and counted. This is only one of several great evils with which the degraded condition of the negro is pregnant. We cannot safely trust the artificial and temporary barriers that have to some extent kept them in check up to the present time.

(3) The example of these exceptionally gifted and educated negroes is needed for its effect upon those in the lower grades of missionary and other schools, and also upon the above-mentioned drift of white opinion.

IV. By pushing this higher education, the favor of many at the North is alienated.

ANSWER.

(1) Not that of the mass of liberal givers, who are not always the rich. Most of the money for this work comes from trained givers of moderate means. For *new* institutions, it is true, it may be easier to raise money for those which give industrial training with only a small modicum of book-learning.

(2) Public opinion at the North, as well as at the South, needs a tonic. The commercial element at the North, which to a great extent handles the products of the South, desires that they should be abundant and of good quality, and favors, as do the Southern whites, whatever will make the negro an efficient and safe productive machine. This class does not always look far enough ahead to estimate the effect upon the resources of the South and upon national economical legislation of the division of Southern whites and the capture by demagogues of the negro vote. Let us welcome all that givers of this class will do for industrial and elementary education, but let us not shut our eyes to the need of higher training.

S. W. Powell.

The Army as Guardian of the Peace.

AMERICANS of the older stock, who can recall the events of forty, or more, years, need to make an effort of the will and to take a second look at current events to become fully aware of the condition of the America of to-day. It is not my purpose to dwell upon the change, or to indulge in prophecy as to what it may lead to, but to take a view of the actual facts, and to make them the basis of a brief suggestion of something to be done. Our military system, National and State, retains still the impress of the ideas of that earlier time, before the reign of the irresponsible walking delegate began, when in large areas of our country there were no formidable law-breakers — when boys grew to manhood without once seeing a soldier, a marshal, a sheriff, or even a constable, in the exercise of his authority. At that time the little army — though even then larger relatively than the army of to-day — availed for all National purposes; State organizations, where they existed, rarely had any duty to perform that required the exercise of force; and membership in organized companies was easily compatible with the most exacting private occupation. How greatly these conditions have changed is at once obvious on stating them.

Concurrently with this change — in some sense cause, and in some sense part of it — industrial changes have gone on, methods of business have become complex, its various branches interdependent in an increased degree, men have come to be the adjuncts of machinery, margins of profit have narrowed, and competition has become closer, so that the employer of labor is asked to make a great sacrifice when he is asked to have his employees mustered into the State troops, and the employee is asked to imperil his living as well as his life by rendering service in the militia.

From causes that need not be recited the need of an armed force to keep the peace and to afford protection to property has increased in urgency, the calls for such

a force have increased in frequency, and its use has been required for gradually lengthening periods just when, from causes in part pointed out, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain it in the form now prescribed.

The question, then, that confronts the American people, who are at once practical and liberty-loving, is how to keep the peace, protect their property, and preserve their liberties without unnecessary sacrifice of their business.

The efficiency and the devotion to duty of the State organizations have had conspicuous illustration in recent years in several of the States, and it cannot be doubted that those qualities are characteristic of those forces as a rule, although in some well-known instances the orders of governors, acting in their capacity of commanders-in-chief, have been emphatically disobeyed. But the question does not turn upon that issue; it is rather whether the specializing which characterizes every other form of activity, professional, and industrial, shall be applied to that most fundamental of all occupations, keeping the peace. But if this duty is to devolve mainly upon professional soldiers, it must needs be, under the third clause of Section 10 of our Constitution, that they be the soldiers of the nation, since "no State shall . . . keep troops . . . in times of peace." It is quite probable that a large fraction of our people would prefer that this duty should devolve upon the national force. They would prefer to pay, if necessary, the slight additional tax which would leave them at liberty to conduct their business enterprises secure both from violence and from the need of defending themselves against it. General Joseph B. Leake, a prominent lawyer of Chicago, said in a recent public address:

Our States are compelled to rely, in the first instance, upon an armed militia as the support of their police. How insufficient that has always been in a great emergency is known to all. From the very nature of the force it must always be so. It is hoped that the national army may soon be permitted to turn its attention from the business of corralling and shooting Indians. For what better purpose can it be used than of protecting the domestic peace of the States as well as that of sustaining the authority of the United States? The United States, by its Constitution, guarantees to protect each State, on application, against domestic violence. There is nothing in the language of the guaranty about withholding the promised protection against violence which threatens to destroy it, as well as against that which shall have nearly accomplished its ends.

The profession of the speaker, and the responsible positions held by him in both the military and the civil service, add to the weight of his words.

Another and quite different class of our population is unintentionally working to the same end — namely, those who refuse to permit the members of their various organizations to belong to the militia, and who propose to boycott good citizens who have honorably served the State in its military organizations.

This is a form of anarchy, and ought to be punishable under the law. If, however, this sentiment be widespread, it must avail either to diminish the military spirit of the people, or, what would be much more serious, to introduce untrustworthy men into military organizations; and much more than a suspicion obtains that this latter evil has not been wholly avoided.

An additional source of disquietude has been recently pointed out by the "Army and Navy Journal."

It appears that in New York, and doubtless in other States also, the existence of the militia is contingent upon act of legislature, not being secured by the Constitution. The possibility of serious danger and of immense loss growing out of that fact is too obvious to require mention. All the conditions named point to an enlarged use of the National forces, and the cordial response to the recent action of the President—a truly national response, that disregarded party and sectional lines, and was made even more emphatic by the source and nature of the very slight opposing sentiment—affords basis of confidence both that those forces will be available, and that they will be rightly employed.

The teaching of this situation of affairs for the army is plainly that it shall continue to be at its best, and make that best, for the future, superior to that of the past if possible; also, that it shall be, above all things else, a loyal American army.

This accords with its best traditions, and Congress, by adopting the wise suggestion of Captain Philip Reade, U. S. A., has given emphasis as well as approval to this requirement in the law of August 1, 1894, which provides that only citizens of the United States, and those who have made legal declaration of their intention to become such, can be enlisted.

The demeanor, discipline, and services of the National forces have recently commended themselves to the cordial approval of all good citizens: even some of the less good have been compelled to accord unwilling praise. The army's part, then, is easily discerned, and not very difficult of achievement.

The modifications of law which would enable it to play its part in the best way for the public weal will be less easily arrived at. In dealing with a real but undeclared public enemy, as was recently the case in Chicago, the army has a qualified mandate. A large "if" intervenes between it and the attainment of its object,—the restoration of peace and order,—and

conscientious men, the breath of whose nostrils is loyalty and obedience to the law, cannot employ to the full extent the power intrusted to them so long as that "if" qualifies the mandate which they are executing.

A man in the midst of conflagrations started by a murderous mob that crowds upon him, hurling vile epithets and missiles at him, is not favorably placed to discern between the violators of Federal law and the violators of State law or city ordinance. To him they all look much alike as, patiently submitting to insults, he grasps his rifle and scans their furious faces—but obediently awaits the word of command.

Indeed their impartial contempt for all laws is forcibly expressed by their yell of "To h—ll with the Government."

Title LXIX of the Revised Statutes—on Insurrection—was recently found to be ample authority to secure the execution of the laws of the United States; if, as has recently been the case in several States, security and peace, menaced by violators of State laws, can only be maintained by the retention of armed men in camp for weeks or months, it is clear that either the Constitution must be amended so as to permit the States to "keep troops," or the law must be modified so as to enable Federal troops to keep the peace.

In common with their fellow-citizens generally army men hope that wise legislation affecting industrial matters,—if it comes,—and the strenuous and persistent application of the forces of our Christian civilization to the ignorant and the misinformed, will avail to diminish greatly the forces that menace our peace and mar our fair fame. They share with them also the fixed determination that the nation they stand pledged to maintain shall not succumb to lawlessness, however speciously that lawlessness may use—and abuse—the sacred words, "liberty" and "rights."

September, 1894.

George W. Baird.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

The Mirror.

(FROM THE PROVENÇAL OF THÉODORE AUBANEL.)

OH, long ago she dwelt
In this gay little room—
How shall I find my flower
Here where she used to bloom?
O longing, thirsting eyes,
Pursue the dear surprise:
Mirror, thou know'st her well —
Work thou some magic spell
And bring her back!

Here, when the morn was bright,
She bathed her lovely face,
Her little hands she bathed,
And clad herself with grace.
Between lips glad with song
Her teeth shone, white and strong:
Mirror, thou know'st her well —
Work thou some magic spell
To bring her back!

So innocent, so blithe,
Yet starting at a sound,
She let her long hair's veil
Fall her white shoulders round.
Then from her grandsire's book
Her morning prayer she took:
Mirror, thou know'st her well —
Work thou some magic spell
And bring her back!

Ah, there the book leans now
Against the sacred palm —
Open, as when she prayed,
Or read some holy psalm!
Surely I hear her feet —
The wind with them is fleet:
Mirror, thou know'st her well —
Hast thou no magic spell
To bring her back?

At high mass or at fête
How fair she was to see!
And I, who should have prayed,—