

was authorized by the legislature, without substantial consideration to the city, which will make it almost impossible ever to interfere with the monopoly of the Metropolitan Telephone, the Western Union, and the Edison Illuminating companies, the virtual owners of this new corporation controlling the subways.

From time to time, as new uses of the streets and highways become possible through the developments of science, there will be demands for additional privileges; and of course while these enterprises are still new, and their commercial success uncertain, New York must be content to accept small compensation so as not to discourage capital in its efforts to introduce desired improvements. But even then the privilege need be granted only for a limited period, so that when success is assured the city can retain for itself a just proportion of the profits. The attempt to secure this result by requiring

that all franchises shall be granted only to the highest bidder at public auction, has not been satisfactory. The end is defeated by combination; and even where the bidding is fair, adequate compensation is not secured. The city's growth is so rapid that what may seem a reasonable payment now will prove wholly inadequate within ten or twenty years. This growth is the true wealth of New York. It enhances greatly the value of its land and its water-front, and adds to the revenues of its great public corporations. A fair proportion of this betterment should be secured for the city treasury. "The sound prosperity of New York's fiscal future" does most assuredly depend upon it; for taxation alone will not support the schools, the parks, the baths, and the many public undertakings demanded for the health, growth, and moral welfare of the population of the great metropolis.

A. C. Bernheim.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

"The Public Safety is the Supreme Law."

THE recent decision of the New York State Court of Appeals sustaining the New York City Board of Health in the enforcement of sanitary laws is of vital importance to every American city, for it marks an era in the progress of sanitary reform.

The steps by which this point has been reached date back many years, and are not without interest. Just before the war there occurred in New York City an epidemic of typhus fever. At that time Dr. Stephen Smith, who for forty years has been connected with sanitary and other reforms, was in charge of the fever hospital on Blackwell's Island. At one period so many cases were received from a single house in East 17th street that he went there himself to find out what was the matter. Dr. Smith's recollection is that fifty cases came from this one house, and that about fifteen of them proved fatal.

The house was an ordinary brick structure, four stories in height, accommodating ten families, or about fifty persons. It was dilapidated, and littered with refuse. Some of the rooms were vacant, and even these had not been cleaned out after the tenants left, and were extremely filthy. The doctor learned that families were accustomed to move into such uncleaned rooms, and settle down in the filth, and after a few days a case of fever would develop, which would be sent to the hospital. Another case of fever would soon occur and be sent away, and then the family would become alarmed and move out, only to be followed by another family, which would repeat the same experience.

With much difficulty Dr. Smith found the agent, but he could not learn from him the name of the owner. He then visited Police Headquarters, and consulted with Commissioner Acton. An examination was made of the laws, but no authority could be found for closing the house, either by the police or by the city physician—

"the only semblance of a health official then known in this city." Mr. Hawley, the secretary of the Board of Police, advised the determined doctor to continue his quest for the owner by consulting the tax-books. In this way the owner was finally found to be a bank president, and a member and official of the Rev. Dr. Cheever's church. It is well to quote here Dr. Smith's exact language, in a recent letter written to us in answer to our request for some details concerning this singular experience. The doctor writes: "The case was stated to the owner in very strong terms, but he declined to do anything either toward vacating or repairing his house."

Here we come upon the one grimly pleasing episode in this tragedy of civilization. Dr. Smith, being a law-abiding citizen, did not apply the disinfecting torch to the tenement-house of the exemplary Christian landlord. He simply told the marvelous story to the poet Bryant, editor of "The Evening Post." "Get that man into court on any pretense," said Mr. Bryant, "and I will publish him." Secretary Hawley prepared charges which Dr. Smith confesses were of "doubtful propriety." The scene now shifts to the Jefferson Market Police Court, while the unsuspecting landlord is answering questions in the court-room. Suddenly his eye falls upon Mr. Bryant's young man quietly taking notes. "Who is this, and what is he doing?" queries the typhus landlord. "Oh, it is only a reporter of 'The Evening Post' taking notes, which are to be printed with comments by William Cullen Bryant." Pleadings and deprecations now take the place of stony-hearted refusals. "If this is what is to happen, I will do anything you wish." And he did. The sharp sword of the press was sheathed. Under Dr. Smith's directions all the tenants were removed, and the entire tenement-house was thoroughly renovated. The walls were scraped, the floors were relaid, the cellar was cleansed and cemented, the windows were reset and supplied with green blinds, and the exterior as well as the inte-

rior was painted. When finished it was by far the most inviting tenement-house on the street. And now another point in the story which touches delicately the sense of humor—the landlord was grateful to Dr. Smith! Why? Because the investment paid!

"I watched that house," Dr. Smith tells us, "upward of twenty years, and during that period there was no sickness other than ordinary affections."

But why has this incident even more than a typical value? Dr. Smith states, "This was the origin of the agitation that resulted in our present health laws," of which Professor E. R. L. Gould of Johns Hopkins, in his testimony before the Tenement-house Committee of 1894, said, "New York has the best sanitary law in existence."

The "agitation" referred to above was protracted. It was after the above incident that a legislative investigation was made into the capacity and methods of the health wardens who had charge of the various districts into which the city was divided. These gentlemen were usually chosen rather for their ability to conduct the business of selling liquor than for their training as sanitary experts. During this examination, at which one health warden after another had given valuable evidence of his own ignorance and inefficiency, a particularly bright fellow, who had picked up a good deal of information on sanitary subjects during the hearings, and who seemed to be about the most capable man of the lot, let fall the remark, as he was leaving the stand, that he, unlike some of his predecessors, knew the meaning of the word "hygiene." He was recalled and asked to explicate the talismanic word. Imagine his surprise at the unexpected character of the reception of his definition on the part of the physicians and others present! "Hygiene," declared the warden, with the air of a conqueror—"hygiene is the effluvia arising from stagnant water!"

It is a long way from those days to the present—not only in years, but by the measure of public opinion and the statute-book. Our health laws and sanitary code have for years been models for the world. But the past winter has marked a still further advance, emphasized by the judicial opinion of the Court of Appeals. The Tenement-house Commission which preceded the recent one by ten years recommended a law, subsequently enacted, securing an adequate water-supply for domestic purposes on each story of a tenement-house. The New York Board of Health was resisted in the enforcement of the law by Trinity Church, in connection with some of the smaller and older tenement-houses owned by that corporation. The church succeeded in obtaining a ruling from the General Term of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York to the effect that the law was unconstitutional. The board carried the case to the Court of Appeals, and there the appeal was presented by Mr. Roger Foster (who was a member of the Tenement-house Committee of 1894) in an argument interesting both for the clarity and vigor of its English and for its grasp of constitutional principles. The result was an opinion, delivered on February 26 by Judge Peckham (Judge Bartlett only dissenting), which places not merely the so-called "water law," but all similar legislation in regard to tenement-houses in particular, and on every question of public health and safety in general, upon the firmest constitutional ground. The special value of the

decision rests in the fact that it emphasizes the importance of the tenement-house question, and recognizes the power of the State to enact and enforce laws which are for the immediate benefit of the occupants of tenement-houses, but which also prevent the spread of contagious diseases to other parts of the city, and preserve not only tenement-houses but other property from destruction by fire.

The opinion explains with great clearness, for the first time, that it makes no difference in the constitutionality of a law regulating the use and construction of buildings whether it applies to buildings already constructed, or to those to be constructed. It is, moreover, the first decision that recognizes the validity of a statute which compels the owner of a house to alter it at substantial expense to himself. Previous decisions had compelled corporations such as railroad companies to incur great expense in the alteration of roads already constructed by building bridges, crossings, etc., and telegraph or other corporations using electric wires to rebuild lines by removing them from poles and placing them underground; and had forbidden the subsequent use, as breweries for example, of buildings already constructed for specified purposes; and had compelled landowners to incur slight expenses, such as surveys, cleaning sidewalks, etc. But none except the Massachusetts water-closet case had sustained statutes compelling house-owners to make additions to houses already built. The constitutionality of the statute rests upon the fact that it tends to improve the health and increase the security against fire of all members of the community. In the course of his opinion Judge Peckham said:

Those occupants require it more than their more favored brethren living in airy, larger, more spacious, and luxurious apartments. Their health is a matter of grave public concern. The legislature cannot in practice enforce a law so as to make a man wash himself; but when it provides facilities therefor, it has taken a long step toward the accomplishment of that object. . . .

The tenement-house in New York is a subject of great thought and anxiety to the residents of that city. The number of people that live in such houses, their size, their ventilation, their cleanliness, their liability to fires, the exposure of their occupants to contagious diseases, and the consequent spread of the contagion through the city and country, the tendencies to immorality and crime where there is very close packing of human beings of the lower order in intelligence and morals,—all these are subjects which must arouse the attention of the legislator, and which it behooves him to see to in order that such laws are enacted as shall directly tend to the improvement of the health, safety, and morals of those men and women that are to be found in such houses.

Some legislation upon this subject can only be carried out at the public expense, while some may be properly enforced at the expense of the owner. We feel that we ought to inspect with very great care any law in regard to tenement-houses in New York, and to hesitate before declaring any such law invalid, so long as it seems to tend plainly in the direction we have spoken of, and to be reasonable in its provision.

If we can see that the object of this law is without doubt the promotion or the protection of the health of the inmates of these houses, or the preservation of the houses themselves, and, consequently, much other property, from loss or destruction by fire, and if the act can be enforced at a reasonable cost to the owner, then, in our opinion, it ought to be sustained. We believe this statute fulfils these conditions.

Thus it is that civilization advances, at times over strange and unexpected obstacles which become but stepping-stones on its persistent pathway.

The West and her Vanishing Forests.

THE adjournment of Congress without passing Representative McRae's bill for the better preservation of the public forests, or even Senator Kyle's inadequate bill for the establishment of a national forest commission to study the subject and make recommendations, postpones for another year, at least, one of the most pressing reforms now before the people. The McRae bill,—an all too moderate measure of conservation,—after having been injuriously modified to meet the objections of Western members, and then having passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, was defeated in the upper chamber by the hostility of a Western senator. The result is to leave the national forests almost defenseless against the greed and carelessness of those who exist by plunder of the public domain, and to invite, through a weak policy toward offenders, a continuance of the depredations. During the last six years we have not omitted to call frequent attention to the local and national dangers involved in the neglect of this subject, and the collection of opinions of forestry experts which we printed in the February CENTURY affords abundant evidence that we have not exaggerated these dangers. It is disheartening to find that the chief opposition to a reform of such vital interest to the West comes from her own representatives.

We are much mistaken in our estimate of the public spirit of the West if her larger-minded men do not make an effective protest against this betrayal of their future. We shall particularly look for some restiveness on the part of that large body of practical idealists who are aiming at the reclamation of our arid domain through irrigation, for they have already formally recognized that the first and fundamental condition of water-supply is a thorough system of forest preservation. In the present CENTURY we give a hearing to one of their number, and we commend his suggestive paper to the thoughtful perusal of our readers. If we cannot share the enthusiasm of some of those who believe it practicable to readjust State and Territorial limits along the lines of watersheds, in order to obviate future disputes as to the control of the rainfall, it is not

because that peril is either imaginary or remote. The question is already a bone of contention between Colorado on the one hand, and Kansas and Nebraska on the other, and the prosperity of these States is bound up with its practical settlement. It is time that the real voice of these commonwealths should cease to be drowned in the clamor of private corporations. But unless the destruction of the public forests is soon stayed there will before long be little water in the streams to contend for. Unless the National Irrigation Congress shall succeed in bringing Western senators and representatives into line for a scientific and honest forest policy, it may as well abandon its efforts to get national attention, for its cause will be a reform against nature. Meantime, it is a matter for congratulation that so large a number of influential men are devoting themselves to the study of a problem of such colossal proportions and such possible benefits to the race.

Remembering the accomplishments of American pioneers in the middle West, the imagination need not stagger even at the new civilization which we are promised in the heart of Arid America. There is a great deal of foolish and unpatriotic talk about the hostility of the East to the West. We believe that the East will not prove to be so indifferent to Western interests as may be suspected—certainly not so indifferent as the Western contingent in Congress has been in the forestry matter. Webster's words, in the reply to Hayne, are still true: "The Government has been no step-mother to the new States. She has not been careless of their interests, nor deaf to their requests." Let the West once be heard on this subject, and her appeal will not fail of recognition and sympathy. Forestry and irrigation are topics which may well enlist the attention of every newspaper, every educational institution, and every chamber of commerce west of the Mississippi. Moreover, as the social and commercial welfare of the East and that of the West are interdependent, the whole country is interested in the adoption of a far-sighted policy. More than one decadent civilization along the Mediterranean warn us that to be great as a people we must be not only just, but wise.

OPEN LETTERS.

Southern Dialect.

THE post-bellum prose literature of the South consists largely of dialect stories of negro and rural life, Richard Malcolm Johnston being the pioneer in the latter field, while Sherwood Bonner probably first wrote distinctive and characteristic negro sketches. And now in the track of these two marches a steadily increasing legion of Southern short-story writers, and so popular has the negro become—the negro of the minstrel stage, however, not the genuine article—that he furnishes the material for a large percentage of the comic drawings in the humorous publications of the whole country. These fantastic creations are usually accompanied by a few lines of dialogue, in which the author evidently thinks that by introducing a sufficient number of *obs* and *berys* he

acquits himself in the dialectic arena with the dash and precision of a Harris or a Cable.

To be capable of correctly—that is, phonetically—writing any form of dialect, one must have acquired it by absorption, so to speak: the vivid impressions of early childhood and long-continued association having so familiarized it that it comes naturally to the tongue in conversation. But even some of our Southern authors, to the manner born, blunder repeatedly and persistently in their rendering of "cracker" and African speech.

Let us first consider *ob* and *bery*, those time-honored linguistic badges, the absence of which would render the recorded conversation of the darky unrecognizable to a majority of the reading public. No negro ever said *ob* for *of* from the emptying of the first barracoon on the Congo to the present day, and *I* have never heard *berys* used for *very*. The negroes, like all careless or illit-

erate people, slur and elide in speaking, and attain their vocal goal by the shortest and easiest route. It requires a distinct effort to say *oh*, even more than *of*, and so with all words where a *b* is commonly substituted for a *v*. The true pronunciation is *er* or *uv*, according, apparently, to the succeeding word, the former if followed by a consonant, the latter when a vowel comes after, though occasionally no method is discernible; e. g., "A peck *er* peaches," "A peck *uv* onions."

The pronunciation of *it*, on the contrary, seems to be governed by the preceding word: when that ends in a vowel, no *h* is introduced, for it would interfere with the liquid coalescing of the two vowels; but when immediately following a consonant, or when placed at the beginning of a sentence, *it* is pronounced *hit*. The dropping of the *h* in the personal pronouns *him* and *her* is determined by similar considerations—"I see 'im"; "I seen *him*."

The insertion of *d* for *th*, as *dat* and *dem* in lieu of *that* and *them*, is readily grasped, and, therefore, made to do yeoman and universal service. But, as a matter of fact, it is far from being a common practice, since it is confined chiefly to what may be termed the lower classes,—the ignorant plantation hands,—while many of the dwellers in cities and towns articulate the *th* distinctly. As far as that goes, however, the same criticism applies to almost every irregularity, there being all manner of grades in the degree of abuse meted out to Uncle Sam's English by the wards of the nation, just as there are with their Caucasian brethren.

Another striking error is encountered when we find *yo'* and *yo's* doing duty respectively for *you* and *your*. *You* should be left unmolested in the mouth of the darky. *Your* should be written *yo'*, and *yo's* only in place of *yours*, and that but rarely, for the negro and "poor white" alike are much more apt to say *your-all's* or *yourn*.

Then there are *massa* and *missy*, prefixed to proper names (as "*Massa* Tom," "*Missy* Sue"), and *sah*. *Massa* and *missy* by themselves, as "No, *massa*," "Yes, *missy*," may be occasionally used in all sections, and, even as first cited, by the half-civilized toilers in the rice-fields along the coast, but rarely, if ever, by the superior and cleaner-tongued negroes of the interior. *Marster*, *marse*, or *mas'*, are frequently heard, and the feminine title of respect — impartially applied to maid and matron — is simply *miss*. *Sah*, I think, is purely imaginary; *seh* would be preferable, but the point made in regard to *you* applies here also: the correct spelling, *sir*, is phonetic enough for all purposes, and has the merit of tending toward simplification.

Another favorite word on the lips of the comic-weekly and minstrel negro is *brack*, for *black*, a conception as unreal as the prevalent fallacy that the negro's lips are a brilliant red. Iconoclastic though the assertion be, the lips of a negro are not as red as those of a white man, and just so surely does he never say *brack* for *black*. The articulatory effort is in evidence here again, and wherever such is patent it is proof positive that the dialect is unnatural.

These constitute some of the most flagrant misdemeanors of which depictees of the negro life of the South are guilty. Of course there are many more eccentricities and subtleties of pronunciation and idiom that are too frequently overlooked or distorted, but a discussion

of their intricacies would probably interest only a philologist.

Dialect stories dealing with the homely country folk of the Cotton States, the "crackers" of Georgia, the "Coveites" of Tennessee, etc.,—the "po' white trash" of the negro,—are seldom undertaken save by those who are conversant with the localities of which they write, and hence are less apt to offend a critical eye, though even in these mistakes are occasionally met. One of the ablest gleaners of this especial literary field, and the one who is perhaps best qualified for the work, constantly inserts a *w* in place of a *v* in the dialect of his Georgia crackers. An enthusiastic admirer of Dickens, it must be that his mind is so familiar with the conversational peculiarities of the master's cockney creations that his pen unconsciously ingrafts them upon Southern speech.

There is also a universal and marked propensity on the part of most writers of dialect to overdo it: to write "more natural than life," as a darky would say. Unique or droll substitutions suggest themselves, and truthfulness is sacrificed to effect. This is a most insidious proclivity, for the very reason that it is the natural tendency, and should, therefore, be carefully eschewed.

As I have said before, any unnecessary departure from established orthography should be avoided. A page of dialect, to those unaccustomed to it, is sufficiently hard reading under any circumstances, and the difficulty should not be increased merely through a desire, apparently, to give them their money's worth. What, for instance, is gained by using *skool* for *school*, *rite* for *write*, *way* for *weigh*, *bild* for *build*, *biskit* for *biscuit*, etc., when the sound conveyed by the abnormal spelling differs in no essential particular from that ordinarily accepted as the proper pronunciation of the word? Of course the primary object should be to give an exact idea of the sound, but when that end can be attained without indulging in alphabetical pyrotechnics, let us by all means adopt the less involved method of procedure.

The negro of ante-bellum days, with all of his picturesque characteristics, his merriment and misery, his patience and pathos, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Only a few, a very few, of the faithful old "maumers" and loyal house- and body-servants remain; the others have already drifted away into the shadows, leaving only a tender recollection in the memories of the grown-up children whom they cherished. Very soon there will be citizens of differing admixtures of African blood, but the negro, as a class, will have disappeared, while the rude, yet upright and manly, denizens of the country districts—from Major Jones to Mr. Bill Williams—will not long survive him. Future generations will know them solely through the pen-portraits of to-day. Hence a plea for conscientious and careful delineation should surely not be out of place.

In the mother country the various dialects of the shires are esteemed interesting and worthy of study, and even Lord Tennyson has not hesitated to clothe certain flights of his fancy in their rugged warp and woof.

Val. Starnes.

COMMENTS.

I HAVE read with interest Mr. Starnes's paper on "Southern Dialect," and if he intends to lay down only general rules, he is very nearly right, in my opinion. I

do not spell certain negro words after his fashion, but we may not hear alike; probably the words were not pronounced alike in our respective sections.

The common error of people who write upon this subject is to consider "dialect" as a language in itself, and not as the abuse of a language; their efforts to establish a standard are based upon this assumption, and they forget that the "negroes," so called, do not constitute a race, but are the descendants of many races. Their speech cannot be described as a "dialect"; "dialects" is better, and the mere statement removes many difficulties. There can be no rule laid down for correct mispronunciation. The English language has a standard pronunciation, yet the educated people of different sections do not agree, in daily use, upon any standard. Is it not absurd, then, to demand that the mispronunciations of the ignorant shall be consistent? Suppose we take a glance at the South: there are neighborhoods that preserve in a measure something of English, or Scotch, or Irish, or Moravian, or French, or Spanish, or New England, or Congo traditions, tendencies, and (faintly) ideas. Naturally these affect the ignorant directly — especially the remarkably imitative and dependent negro. What the evolutionists call the "environment" has determined or does determine the dialect in communities, in families, and lastly in individuals. Who can hope to bring this conglomeration of effects, springing from so many causes, under fixed rules?

The nearest we can approach to a rule in this matter is to adopt the phonetic principle. The muscles and vocal organs of the negro are always relaxed, his facial muscles lazy and immobile, and his tongue action is in speech reduced to a minimum. He has no incentive to speak accurately; the result is, he never pronounces a consonant he can avoid, and has an especial objection to *th* and *r*, one of which requires the tip of the tongue against the upper front teeth, the other its elevation to within a fraction of the palatal arch. So, for *this* and *that* he gives us, to be exact, "*dis*" and "*dat*," and for *war*, "*wah*" ("Befo' de wah"). But the phonetic rule is entirely suspended by the negro's mood and by his emphasis; for he knows how to pronounce the common, every-day words about as well as most people about him, and can succeed by a distinct and well-calculated effort. To illustrate, "Marster, yer goin' ter tek 'er ter town?" (referring to a mare). This is according to Mr. Starnes's rule, and is good dialect. Suppose, however, the negro is surprised. He would then say, "Marster, *you* goin' ter tek 'er ter town?" or, "Marster, yer goin' ter tek *her* ter town?" Why? Because he can't express himself in any other way. The rule is therefore subject to important qualifications, and there are individuals who represent the effects of odd extraneous influences, and cannot be included under any rule at all. These are the people who generally figure in song and story.

The safest way to write dialect is to write some particular person's dialect after indicating the environment. If this is impossible, don't write in dialect, for it will illustrate nothing. In the stories I have written, every person who speaks, speaks after the fashion of some real person selected for that purpose. And, after all, I do not think that the spelling of certain words is what affects one unpleasantly in reading the productions to which Mr. Starnes has reference. It

is the words and thoughts that do not suit the characters.

If any one who is acquainted with the average Southern negro stops to analyze the unpleasant impressions which the burnt-cork minstrel and the humorous publications make upon him, he will probably find that it is *what* the negro is made to say and the *words* he is made to use, not the variations of spelling and pronunciation, that jar. Accepting this as true, the place for most negro verse would seem to be the "comic weekly," though occasionally some of it gets into high-class magazines.

The country negro in Georgia is nearly always voluble and indirect; he approaches his point as a turkey hen does her nest — after many manœuvres, and from the opposite side. This seems to be characteristic, and when the negro minstrel succeeds best, he does it by falling into this habit. The "comic weekly" generally fails because it is direct. I append an illustration showing how little the spelling and how much the style and thought have to do with dialect-writing in handling the negro. Let us imagine a negro hunter counting out wild ducks to a purchaser:

UP-COUNTRY NEGRO: Hyah one; hyah nuther; hyah nuther on top er de other; hyah nuther wid es foot tied togedder.

LOW-COUNTRY NEGRO: Dey wan; dey ner'r; dey ner'r 'n top er ter-r; dey ner'r wid 'e foot tie' terge'ar.

RICE-PLANTATION (ISLAND) NEGRO: Yarry wan; yarry narrer; yarry narrer 'pan tap er tarrer; yarry narrer widdy futt tie' teggarrer.

The spelling and pronunciation vary, and yet all three are negro and characteristic. A white man of any class would simply have said, "One, two, three," etc.

In touching upon the Georgia "cracker," Mr. Starnes unwittingly indorses while he criticizes one of our Southern writers who "constantly inserts a *w* in place of a *v*," when he attributes this habit to close reading of Dickens. It is true that the cracker of to-day has largely gotten over this variation; but even now, in the backwoods, it is still to be heard.

The Georgia cracker is the least Americanized Englishman we possess. The South Atlantic States received the cockney direct from London. Georgia had him by the ship-load from the slums, the work-houses, and the debtors' prison. He is here to-day in shiftlessness, in his exasperating *h*'s, and in his adherences to the peculiarities which mark Sam Weller's vocabulary. He says "rayl" for really, "keer" for care, "that 'ere" for that there, "ain't" for are not, "'ooman" for woman, "wimmens" for women, "yourn" for yours, "wos" for was, "kiver" for cover, "fetch" for bring, "wot" for what, "o'" for of, "ha'" for have, "missis" for mistress, "unbeknown" for unknown, "sitch" for such, "drowndin'" for drowning, "afeerd" for afraid, "gal" for girl, "arter" for after, "'u'd" for would, "Lor'" for Lord, "p'int" for point, "I never heerd the like o' that," and "ag'in" for again, — just as Mr. Weller and his friends did; and those who write about him, when they come to such words as "very," for instance, exercise the latitude that Sam allowed the judge in recording his name — they spell it with a *v* or a *w*, according to the taste

and fancy of the speller. The point is that, allowing for the environment and consequent change of ideas and similes, and allowing for the dulling of wits due to want of association, the Georgia cracker is the cockney; and the closer one follows Dickens's treatment of him, the closer he gets to the truth, in spelling at least. And that *v* and *w*! Draw the under lip against the lower teeth, and pronounce lazily simple words beginning with either — using just as little lip action as possible, and see how easily the sounds blend! It is just so that the cracker speaks; and by the cracker I do not mean our hard-working country folk, but him of the backwoods, whose cabin is between "wood and water," who has until recently never heard the shriek of a locomotive, nor beheld a brick chimney.

Harry Stillwell Edwards.

Judge Taney and the Dred Scott Decision.

MR. NOAH BROOKS, on page 735 of the March number of THE CENTURY, repeats the old story with regard to Chief Justice Taney in saying:

Many years had passed since that time [*i. e.*, since the appointment of Mr. Taney as chief justice by President Jackson], and the incidents of Taney's earlier career were well-nigh forgotten, when he once more made his name conspicuous by his decision to the effect that "the negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

To the few who are unacquainted with the facts of the case, and as to what *was* decided in the "Dred Scott case," it will hardly seem credible when I say, which I do emphatically, that Chief Justice Taney never decided anything of the kind, and that when he made use of some of the words in question he was speaking of a state of things existing long before the time at which he was speaking. The expression occurs in the opinion of the court, delivered by Chief Justice Taney, in the case of *Scott v. Sanford* (commonly known as the "Dred Scott case"), 19 Howard U. S. Rep., on page 407. Judge Taney there says, referring to the negro race (the italics being mine):

It is difficult at *this day* to realize the state of public opinion, in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken. They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as any ordinary article of merchandise and traffic whenever a profit could be made of it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom, in morals as well as in politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute; and men in every grade and position in society daily and habitually acted upon it in their private pursuits as well as in matters of public concern, without doubting for a moment the correctness of this opinion. And in no nation was this opinion more firmly fixed or more uniformly acted upon than by the English Government and the English people. They not only seized them on the coast of Africa and sold them or held them in slavery for their own use, but they took them as ordinary articles of merchandise to every country where they could make a profit upon them, and were far more extensively

engaged in this commerce than any nation in the world. The opinion thus entertained and acted upon in England was naturally impressed upon the colonies they founded on this side of the Atlantic; and accordingly a negro of the African race was regarded by them [*i. e.*, the colonies] as an article of property, and held and bought and sold as such in every one of the thirteen colonies which united in the Declaration of Independence, and afterwards formed the Constitution of the United States.

This was Judge Taney's *language*. The decision of the court in the case was "that the plaintiff in error [Dred Scott] is not a citizen of Missouri in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution; and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, has no jurisdiction in this case, and could give no judgment in it."

The decision, when made at the December term, 1856, of the Supreme Court of the United States, caused considerable comment. Many leading lawyers thought that the plea in abatement — that is, the plea denying the plaintiff's right to sue in the United States Court — was improperly brought before the court. But this objection was technical. The weight of legal opinion was in favor of the decision, as correctly defining the position of the "negro of the African race" at the common law.

Any attentive student of English history knows well that immediately after the revolution of 1688, by which English freedom was established on a firm basis,—that is, in the year 1690,—those great patriots Lord Chancellor Somers and Chief Justice Treby, on the question of settling the terms of the "assiento" with Spain on the subject of the slave-trade, formally decided that "negroes [not *slaves*, it will be noted, but *negroes*] are merchandise, and can no more be exported under the act [*i. e.*, the Navigation Act of 12 Charles II., chapter 18] than any *other goods*." On the question of the same "assiento" in 1689, those great jurists and patriots Lord Chief Justice Holt and the other judges appointed by William and Mary decided in so many words that "negroes are merchandise," holding that under the common law of England the natural state of the African negro was that of subjection and slavery, though from economic motives it was forbidden to bring these slaves to England.

And long after Lord Mansfield's fantastic dictum about the air of England, etc., Lord Stowell, in the case of the slave Grace (2 Haggard's Ecclesiastical Reports, page 94), held that a negro was property in England, the same as in the West Indies. And even as late as 1846, in the case of *Buron v. Denman* (2 Exchequer Reports), English judges held the same doctrine.

Daniel Defoe was one of the great patriot Whigs of 1688, and yet in "Robinson Crusoe" he speaks as coolly and as business-like about selling the Moresco Xury, who had aided him to escape from captivity, as about selling the lion's hide and the long-boat.

In the treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, which put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, this "assiento," or contract for a virtual monopoly in the English Government to carry on the trade in negroes, was carefully guarded and protected, as a matter of sufficient importance to be inserted in a treaty between all the great powers of Europe concerning the "balance of power," etc. This treaty was effected by a Tory administration in England; and although when the Whigs came into power, soon after, they denounced the treaty

as the sum of villainies, and pursued its authors with unrelenting bitterness, even to the extent of impeachment, yet no word of criticism was ever uttered against the "assiento," the slave-trade part of the treaty.

All this shows plainly not what *was* right, but what was universally regarded as right, up to a comparatively late date. It was Judge Taney's purpose to show how people thought a century or so before. Was not Judge Taney right in saying that from the earliest days of English and American history down to the Declaration of Independence and the formation of our Constitution, the negroes had been regarded "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect"?

'T is true 't is pity;
And pity 't is 't is true.

James Buchanan once, in a speech on currency, casually remarked that money might be made so scarce and dear that ten cents a day would be good wages for a workingman; and we all remember the howl that was raised against the man "who wanted to starve the laboring man on ten cents a day."

E. H. Bristow.

Infancy in Art.

IN M. Hovelaque's article on the French sculptor Carriès, published in the March number of *THE CENTURY*, particular stress is laid upon his treatment of childish figures. I do not question the great charm or personality of the artist's work in this direction, but is it true that he thus showed himself a pioneer—that "through him infancy entered into art"?

Even those who are ignorant of Greek and Roman art must know that as soon as Christianity entered into art it necessitated the portrayal of infant forms. Had no child but the Christ-child been represented, we should still have an immense gallery of baby forms, treated with the widest diversity in conception, the most versatile charm and power in realization; and to the Christ-child were added the infant Baptist and those troops of little angels which are prominent in religious scenes of many kinds. Then, with the resuscitation of pagan ideals at the time of the Renaissance, came new troops of *putti*; and as naturalism gained the day over idealism, such simple realistic portrayals of babyhood as, for example, those which made the Della Robbia family famous.

But in addition to his general assertion that no one before Carriès had made infancy conspicuous in art, M. Hovelaque makes the direct and very misleading statement that "there are no children in Greek art." There are a great many of them in that minor branch of sculpture which is represented by what we call "Tanagra figurines." And in art of a more monumental sort they also had an important place. They frequently occur in those tombstone reliefs which reproduce domestic scenes. Pliny and Pausanias both speak of the great fame of two boyish figures by Lykios—one blowing embers, and another, holding a holy-water basin, which was prominent on the Athenian Acropolis; Pericles dedicated to Athena another statue of an ember-blowing child by Stypax; a boy pulling a thorn from his foot is preserved to us in two ancient copies; the children of Niobe and of Laocoön need hardly be called to mind, nor the *putti* which

overrun the great figure of the Nile in the Vatican Gallery, nor the numerous representations of Eros as a child. And if it be said that some of these are half-grown children, there is the famous infant Hercules with the serpent, and the "Babe Struggling with a Goose" attributed to Boëthos. Moreover, the finest antique statue which we have in the original—the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia—bears the infant Bacchus on its arm. Here, indeed, the special characteristics of babyhood are not very well reproduced; but this was probably a work of Praxiteles's youth, and we have in the Louvre a copy of his "Silenus Tending the Infant Bacchus," where the baby is beautifully successful. Pliny and Pausanias speak of another "Hermes and Bacchus" wrought by Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, and of a Tyche (or Goddess of Fortune) with the child Plutos on her arm, the work of Xenophon and Kallistonikos. And more famous still was the "Eirene with the Infant Plutos" of Kephisodotos. An old copy of this is now in the Munich Museum, and fragments of another have been found on the Acropolis, while the fact that it was reproduced on Athenian coins proves the high value its contemporaries set upon it.

This is but a hasty mention of those Greek portrayals of infancy which chance to be best known to us. When we remember how famous they were, and how scanty is our knowledge of the art that gave them birth, we may well believe that many more were executed. And, at all events, we can confidently say that there *were* children in Greek art, as well as at all periods in Roman and in Christian art, and that no one should claim "originality" for any modern man simply because he has portrayed them.

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

The Haskell Multicharge Gun.

THE CENTURY for February, 1895, contains an article on new American guns, by Victor Louis Mason, which contains some statements in relation to the Haskell multicharge gun that I wish to correct. Mr. Mason says:

This gun, like the second one of similar design, is of 8-inch caliber. The second Haskell gun, made of steel, has a reduction in the number of its additional powder-chambers, and was constructed, as was also the first one, by direction of Congress.

This last statement is not correct. The first of the Haskell multicharge guns mentioned was constructed of cast-iron, but lined with steel. It was not of 8-inch caliber, and was not built by direction of Congress. It was of 6-inch bore, and was built at the expense of Mr. J. R. Haskell and his associates. The second Haskell multicharge gun was of 8-inch caliber, made of steel, and was constructed and paid for by the United States Government. Mr. Mason says, "The 8-inch Haskell gun weighs more than the 10-inch steel built-up gun." So it does weigh a little more, but it throws a projectile weighing considerably more, with a much heavier amount of powder. The Haskell multicharge guns of the same caliber as the single-charge guns throw a projectile weighing twice as much, with three times the weight of powder.

A half-inch multicharge gun was constructed about two years ago at Reading, Pennsylvania. It was made so that it could discharge six charges of powder in succession behind the projectile as it passed along the bore of the gun. This gun was constructed to demonstrate the absolute success of the multicharge system, and to what extent it could be applied. The experiments with it demonstrated that the multicharge guns have three and one half times the power of the single-charge guns. These experiments have been repeated many times.

This 6-inch multicharge gun was manufactured by the inventor and his associates, and was made principally of cast-iron, simply lined with steel; and although made of inferior metal, it exceeded in power and range single-charge guns made entirely of the best steel, of the same bore, and also of much larger bore (see official reports).

With the Haskell multicharge dynamite gun shells charged with high explosives can be thrown at great ranges, with gunpowder as the propelling force, and with no danger of premature explosion of the shells in the gun.

J. R. Haskell.

PASSAIC, N. J.

Where the Regiments Came From.

I HAVE wondered that General D. H. Hill's theory of the dual names attached to so many of our battle-fields has so long passed unchallenged; and Dr. J. Harvie Dew, writing on the "Yankee and Rebel Yells" in the April (1892) *CENTURY*, seems to be laboring under a somewhat similar and, as I think, erroneous impression that, the Northern regiments "being drawn and recruited chiefly from large cities and towns," while the Southern soldiers came mainly from rural districts, many of the differences in the attributes and belongings of the two armies are to be accounted for thereby.

General Hill, in *THE CENTURY* "War Series," made the discovery that in nearly every instance where two names were given to the same battle-field, the name given by the Northern soldiers was that of some *natural* object upon the field. "Being recruited chiefly from the cities," they were attracted more by objects of nature; hence Bull Run, Pittsburg Landing, South Mountain, Antietam, etc., became their names of great

battles; while the Southern soldiery, "coming from the rural districts," found greater attractions in towns, buildings, etc.; so the same battles were called by them Manassas, Shiloh, Boonsboro', Sharpsburg, etc.

It is a surprise to me that the general's logical mind did not recognize the further fact that in each case each side adopted the name of some object or feature of the field prominent on his side of the line, and frequently unknown upon the other.

Probably Dr. Dew is correct in his supposition that the Southern people are more given to loud calling or hallooing than those of the North; but I wish he would dispel the delusion that the Northern soldiers were drawn chiefly from large cities and manufacturing centers, and consisted largely of clerks and mechanics. Of course more regiments were recruited from the populations of the cities North than South — simply for the reason that a greater population of that kind existed in the North; but for the same reason there was a larger rural representation in the ranks of the Northern army. The plow, the ax, and the pick were abandoned for arms as well as were the yard-stick, the loom, and the hammer.

SHOTWELL, MO.

H. Calkins.

Note on the Civil Service.

MR. LEWIS N. DEMBITZ of Louisville, Kentucky, writes as follows:

As a champion of reform in the civil service in 1876, I succeeded in putting into the national platform on which Hayes was elected a clause which locates the evil of the spoils system in the distribution of the patronage by congressmen, and seeks the remedy in its restoration to the President and heads of department, to whom it is intrusted by the Constitution.

Mr. Dembitz says, "Nothing is left to cure the bite but a hair from the same dog," and he suggests the establishment of a school for the consular and diplomatic service, to which nominations shall be officially made by members of Congress, giving to the members for each of the 356 districts, "in one of four terms, in alternate years in each class, the nomination of a consular pupil, say, forty-four or forty-five a year." He adds: "But, unlike West Point, the school should furnish nothing free of cost but tuition, books, and stationery, the students to board where they like."

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

A Puzzle.

ALAS! I am a graybeard;
My years are fifty-three;
I'm old and grave, but Bessie ne'er
Will sit upon my knee.

Yet once this dimpled maiden,
With birdlike sounds of glee,
And sweet proprietary airs,
Would perch upon my knee.

And oft we've romped together,
When summer winds blew free,
But evening stars and sleepy eyes
Brought Bessie to my knee.

But now I cannot coax her;
What *can* the difference be?
Her gowns are long, she romps no more,
Nor sits upon my knee.

James B. Kenyon.

Curtain!

VILLAIN shows his indiscretion;
Villain's partner makes confession;
Juvenile with golden tresses
Finds her pa, and dons long dresses;
Scapegrace comes home money-laden;
Hero comforts tearful maiden;
Soubrette marries loyal chappie;
Villain skips, and all are happy.

Paul Laurence Dunbar.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The People against Spoils.

THERE have been within the last few months two very striking and encouraging demonstrations that the people of the country are strongly on the side of civil-service reform. The first of these was made in the State of New York in November last, when a thoroughgoing declaration in favor of the reform was adopted as a part of the new constitution. This declaration was that "all appointments and promotions in the civil service of the State, and all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive. . . . Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section." The people of the State approved this declaration by a majority of 82,695, and the new State civil-service commission, appointed by Governor Morton, has been acting in accordance with the popular mandate, extending the scope of the civil-service regulations in many directions, putting various branches of the service in New York and other cities under them for the first time.

Even more significant than this New York verdict was the one pronounced by the people of Chicago in April last. The question was presented there much more clearly than it was in New York State, for it was not associated with other legal changes. The advocates of the reform, led by the Civic Federation of Chicago, had succeeded in inducing the State legislature to pass an act authorizing the voters of any municipality to apply the civil-service reform system to its departments. Working with this as a basis, the Civic Federation began a vigorous agitation for the redemption of the city from misrule. The objects of their organization were stated to be to promote the "honesty, efficiency, and economy of the municipal government and the highest welfare of the citizens," and to "increase the interest of citizens in municipal affairs by securing the utmost practicable separation of municipal issues from State and National politics." In their campaign they put the civil-service reform question to the front, and made that their chief issue. They explained its workings in order to show the voters that it was above all others the system of the people. "Under the civil-service law," said one of their orators at the last mass meeting before election, "the poorest among the people can compete on equal terms with the more prominent applicants. Justice will prevail in the selection, and merit alone will influence their appointment. All classes of citizens, from the humblest to the highest, will enjoy the benign benefits of this law." That was remarkable language to hear from a political platform, but it was no more remarkable than the resolutions which the meeting adopted. The first one of them must have made the old "war-horses" of party politics rub their eyes in amazement. It read:

We, citizens and voters of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, regardless of party, do declare as our solemn conviction that the spoils system, of which our city and

citizens have been so long the victims, has brought a long train of municipal woes which threaten municipal disaster.

This was followed by a series of declarations in favor of the application of the civil-service law to all departments of the city service, and an appeal for votes for the reform candidate for mayor, who stood pledged to put that law into operation. The "plain people" responded, as they respond always in this country under like conditions, heartily and enthusiastically to this appeal to their intelligence and common sense. The workmen were among the first to rally to the cause. The Trade and Labor Assembly, representing several thousands of workmen, resolved, by a unanimous vote, to support the civil-service proposition, and an overwhelming majority of the laboring class are believed to have taken the same stand. The reform candidate for mayor was elected by a majority of 41,000, and the civil-service proposition was adopted by a majority of 45,000. This was accomplished in spite of the opposition of the politicians of both parties, and of the police. One campaign of education had been sufficient to bring the people in irresistible numbers to the side of reform.

There is great encouragement in this result for municipal and civil-service reformers everywhere. What the Civic Federation did in Chicago can be done by similar organizations in other cities. The Chicago victory was in some respects a reflex of the anti-Tammany victory in New York city in November; but in a larger sense it was a result of the steadily growing interest in municipal affairs which has been in progress throughout the country for a year or more, and which dates from the founding of the City Club in New York in 1892. This organization, dedicated to the non-partisan idea in municipal government, has been a veritable beacon-light set upon a hill, not only for New York city but for the whole country. Early in its career it inspired the formation of the National Municipal League, and in its own city its influence has grown steadily and surely until, as its last annual report shows, it has surrounded itself with twenty-four Good Government Clubs, which cover nearly all sections of the municipality. These clubs have proved to be most powerful agencies for enforcing election laws, and for keeping alive throughout the year the interest of compact bodies of working reformers. The Civic Federation was one of the fruits of the national awakening of civic pride which the City Club's career has caused, and its great success ought to have an inspiring effect upon every city in the land. Like the City Club and the Committee of Seventy in New York, and other municipal-reform organizations, it places the separation of municipal affairs from State and National politics as equal in importance to civil-service reform. These are, in fact, the fundamental principles of the new movement for the redemption of American cities from corrupt rule. There can be no permanent reform till State and National political considerations are eliminated completely both from the municipal service and from the minds of the voters. "The price of liberty,"

said George William Curtis, "is not eternal cringing to party, but eternal fidelity to our own mind and conscience," for "while the method of republican government is party, its basis is individual conscience and common sense." Of nothing is that so true as of municipal government. The reformers of New York and Chicago appealed to the "individual conscience and common sense" of the people, and the people answered their call joyfully. So will it be in every other city and State in which the experiment shall be repeated.

The Government of English Cities.

ANY American who wishes to preserve the comfortable assurance that ours is the best-governed country in the world should by all means refuse to read Dr. Albert Shaw's recent volume on "Municipal Government in Great Britain." In view of the fact that nearly one third of our people now live in cities, it can hardly be claimed that the country is well governed if the cities are misgoverned. The municipal governments touch the life of the people much more nearly in many ways than those of the State or of the nation: if they are efficient and intelligent, they can greatly promote our welfare; if they are corrupt and incapable, they may grievously afflict us. That they are, as a rule, scandalously inefficient, and in many cases dishonest, is the general confession. The impression seems to have prevailed until recently that this was a matter of course, that cities must needs be the prey of the spoiler. Of late a different idea has begun to obtain: a number of people are now persuaded that cities may be well governed. The exhibit which Dr. Shaw's volume makes of the kind of government which the English citizen enjoys will furnish food for reflection to sober Americans.

It would probably be not far from the truth to say that the average English city spends about half as much on its government as an American city of the same size, and gets about twice as much for it. The English municipal governments are, in almost all cases, believed by the citizens to be wholly free from jobbery. They enjoy, in an eminent degree, the confidence of those whose affairs they administer. Our British cousins know how to get those whom they can trust to serve them in the city governments. "At the end of its three years' work," says Dr. Shaw, "the first London council had so conducted itself that its friends could say, without contradiction, that 'through all these years of administrative labors, as complex and confusing as ever fell to any governing body in the world, no shadow of a shade of personal corruption has attached to any single member of the council.' The members had served without a penny of reward, direct or indirect. Yet many of them had given all or most of their time to the municipal service, while the whole body of 140, though composed of men who for the most part had private business or professional duties that could not be abandoned, gave an average of one third of their working time—two whole days each week—to council and committee meetings, and labors connected with the public affairs of the metropolis."

The municipal organization of the great towns of England differs widely from all the American types. The entire power, legislative and executive, is vested in the council—a great committee of the citizens number-

ing from sixty to one hundred members, elected for three years, one third retiring every year. National politics do not enter largely into municipal affairs, and many of these councilors are returned without opposition for many years. In Manchester Dr. Shaw reports one alderman who had served for 45 years, another for 42, another for 37, another for 32, another for 27, seven more for from 20 to 24 years, and the rest for from 13 to 18 years. The terms of the ordinary councilmen were not apt to be so long.

The council elects the mayor, who is simply its presiding officer, and has very little executive responsibility; and it divides itself into committees, to each of which it assigns some department of municipal activity. In Manchester there are seventeen grand standing committees, as follows: on art gallery, on baths and wash-houses, on cleansing, on finance, on gas-works, on buildings and improvements, on markets, on parks and cemeteries, on paving and street work, on free libraries, on sewage disposal, on sanitary administration, on town hall, on police, on water-supply, on ship-canal, and on technical instruction. There are also nearly a hundred subcommittees. Each standing committee employs a skilled and well-paid chief executive officer, whose position is permanent. This chief attends, of course, to the details of administration. The work of the committee is supervisory. Each standing committee regularly reports its work to the council, and obtains authority and grants of money for its purposes.

It will be observed that there is no such division of jurisdiction and responsibility as uniformly exists in American cities. The council is the sole and supreme municipal power; the mayor and the city clerk are appointed by it and are responsible to it; all the executive officials are its employees. Although the body is a large one, there is a practical concentration of responsibility, and the publicity with which all the business must be conducted leaves little room for maladministration.

Dr. Shaw argues cogently for the superiority of the English system. He declares that it is "as simple, logical, and effective as the American system is complicated and incompatible with harmonious and responsible administration." It is quite true, as he declares, that "city government in America defeats its own ends by its 'checks and balances,' its partitions of duty and responsibility, and its grand opportunities for the game of hide and seek." Yet the expectation of electing a council of seventy-five men, in any American city, who could be trusted to administer its affairs with honesty and economy, seems rather sanguine. It is not unlikely that we shall come to that, but we have apparently not yet reached a development of municipal patriotism which would make it possible. The council is always the weak point in the American municipality. It may be questioned whether any American city of the first class has ever succeeded, for any length of time, in electing an incorruptible council. Cities do sometimes succeed in finding one man in their population to whom it is safe to intrust power; but the attempt to secure sixty or a hundred men, of real capacity and unquestioned honesty, who would devote their time to the administration of the affairs of the city, would be attended with some difficulty. Such a system depends, also, upon the complete elimination of party politics from municipal affairs—a consummation not yet so near as might be

wished. For the present it is doubtful whether we can do better than to concentrate executive responsibility in the mayor, dividing, as wisely as we can, the executive from the legislative functions, and removing as far as possible the opportunities for contentions and collisions.

The most remarkable revelation of this interesting volume is that which relates to the growth of municipal socialism in England. There was once, we have heard, a Manchester school of political economy whose maxim was *Laissez-faire*, and whose contention was that the sphere of government should be sharply restricted. It is clear that political philosophers of this school do not now govern Manchester. The chapter which Dr. Shaw has devoted to the "Social Activities of British Towns" shows that England has boldly undertaken the municipalization of monopolies. In the principal towns the gas-works are public property; the price of gas varies from fifty to seventy-five cents a thousand feet; and the business brings large revenues into the city treasury. Many of the cities own the street-railway tracks, and lease them for short terms to operating companies, deriving from them also considerable revenue. Electricity has not yet been developed to the same extent as in this country; but it is evident that this is soon to fall under the control of the municipality. Baths, laundries, and lodging-houses are owned by many of the cities, and

several of them have become large owners and renters of real estate. In Glasgow, in Birmingham, in London, many people live in tenements built and owned by the city, and pay their rent directly to the city. All this, it must be owned, is contrary to orthodox teaching on the subject of government, and perhaps it is too soon to pronounce judgment upon it; but thus far, with some exceptions, it appears to be working well, and public sentiment in all these cities more and more strongly approves the policy of a large coöperation, through the municipal government, in the promotion of the general welfare.

American cities will probably go more slowly in this direction, serving themselves by the careful observation and occasional imitation of foreign methods. If any of these innovations, on experiment, are found to work well under American conditions, they will be adopted. But any such experiments here must go hand in hand with the adoption of the merit system in the civil service.

Mr. Bernheim's instances of the squandering of municipal franchises in New York, as set forth in the *MAY CENTURY*, show the necessity of a radical alteration of policy under this head in our American cities.¹

¹A valuable handbook is William Howe Tolman's "Municipal Reform Movement in the United States," with an introductory chapter by the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst.

OPEN LETTERS.

Notes on Poe.

AT the head of an article on "Poe in New York," in the *OCTOBER CENTURY*, is a portrait "from a daguerreotype owned by Mr. Robert Lee Traylor." A footnote says:

This daguerreotype, made by Pratt of Richmond, was presented by Poe, a short time before his death, to Mrs. Sarah Elmira (Royster) Shelton, whom he had engaged to marry. It is believed to be his last portrait.

As more or less interest attaches to everything connected with Poe, I venture to tell what I know of this portrait.

During the Christmas holidays of 1854-55, I was walking down Main street, Richmond, when my attention was attracted by a picture in the show-case of a daguerreotypy, bearing this inscription: "*Edgar Allan Poe—taken three weeks before his death.*" I immediately climbed to the studio, and asked for further information, which was cheerfully given by Mr. Pratt.

"You know, of course," said he, "that the early part of Poe's life, as well as the last months of it, was spent in Richmond. I knew him well, and he had often promised me to sit for a picture, but had never done so. One morning—in September, I think—I was standing at my street door when he came along and spoke to me. I reminded him of his unfulfilled promise, for which he made some excuse. I said, 'Come upstairs now.' He replied, 'Why, I am not dressed for it.' 'Never mind that,' said I; 'I'll gladly take you just as you are.' He came up, and I took that picture. Three weeks later he was dead in Baltimore."

Being satisfied then—as I am now—that Mr. Pratt told the truth concerning his daguerreotype, I at once offered to buy it; but naturally enough he declined to sell what, even then, was of considerable value.

He told me, however, that he had made an excellent copy for the lady to whom Poe was engaged (not mentioning her name), and would make me one if I so desired. He did so, and this copy is now in my possession, in perfect preservation, after forty years.¹ It is in every respect, so far as I am capable of judging, quite as good as the original; but it is *not* the original, nor, I am inclined to think, is that of Mr. Traylor. Where the original now is, I do not know; but whoever examines it, or a good copy, closely, will see that the picture is not such a one as Poe would be likely to give to the lady of his love. The dress is something more than careless. The "stand-up" collar is turned *down* over a loosely tied cravat; the high-cut waistcoat, with a sprig of evergreen in the buttonhole, is buttoned at the top, but is open nearly all the way down, and into the space thus left a white handkerchief is thrust, as if to conceal the crumpled linen. The coat is thrown back from the shoulders in rather reckless fashion, and the whole costume, as well as the hair and face, indicates that the poor poet was in a mood in which he cared very little how he looked. Moreover, Mr. Pratt gave me distinctly to understand that the copy for Poe's lady-love was made *after* his death, and at her request; and I also understood that the original had never been out of Pratt's possession. Doubtless he made several—perhaps many—copies after mine; but I am quite certain of the genuineness and fidelity of my own.

In February, 1860, I was again in Richmond, and being still deeply interested in everything pertaining to Poe, I endeavored to enlarge my then rather scanty information by inquiries among those who had person-

¹Mr. Dimmock has since presented this daguerreotype to The Players, New York.—EDITOR.

ally known him. Except in a single instance, these inquiries were virtually fruitless; but the exception more than compensated for failure elsewhere. Mr. John R. Thompson, editor of the "Southern Literary Messenger," and after the war a well-known journalist of New York, kindly gave me the benefit of his acquaintance with the subject under peculiarly favorable circumstances. I will condense into the briefest possible compass what Mr. Thompson told me, using his own words as nearly as memory permits.

I was editing the "Messenger" in 1848-49 [said he], when one day, probably in the latter part of 1848, on going home for lunch my mother told me that a stranger had called to see me, and had left a message to the effect that for a week past a man calling himself Poe had been wandering around Rocketts (a rather disreputable suburb of Richmond) in a state of intoxication and apparent destitution, and that his friends, if he had any, ought to look after him. I immediately took a carriage and drove down to Rocketts, and spent the afternoon in a vain search—being more than once on the point of finding him, when he seemed to slip away. Finally, when night came on, I went to the most decent of the drinking-shops and left my card with the barkeeper, with the request that if he saw the alleged Poe again, he would give it him. Ten days, perhaps, had passed, and in the press of occupation the matter had entirely gone from my mind, when on a certain morning a person whom I had never seen before entered the office, asked if I was Mr. Thompson, and then said, "My name is Poe," without further introduction or explanation. As, singularly enough, I had never met my townsman before, I looked at him with something more than curiosity. He was unmistakably a gentleman of education and refinement, with the indescribable marks of genius in his face, which was of almost marble whiteness. He was dressed with perfect neatness; but one could see signs of poverty in the well-worn clothes, though his manner betrayed no consciousness of the fact. Neither then nor later did he make the slightest allusion to my visit to Rocketts, and of course I made none. The result of the call was that I offered him a desk in the office, as he was then, he told me, engaged in the preparation of a new edition of his works. Knowing his unfortunate habit, I also offered him a sleeping-room adjoining my own, hoping thereby to control what could not be entirely prevented.

Poe was not what is called "a regular drinker," but he was what is worse, a most irregular one, the desire for stimulants seeming to seize him like an attack of madness which he was powerless to resist. A single glass set his brain on fire, and it had, so to speak, to burn itself out before he could come to his senses. After a month, perhaps, of total abstinence, he would be "off" for a week; and then some morning would take his seat at his desk without saying a word about his absence, and with no indication in his appearance of what he had been doing meanwhile. His face was always colorless, his nerves always steady, his dress always neat. At first I tried to shorten the period of indulgence by looking him up in his haunts and trying to bring him home; but he never would come with me, and finally I was obliged to let him have his own way. Once I found him in a saloon called "The Alhambra," frequented by gamblers and sporting men. He was mounted on a marble-top table, declaiming passages from his then unpublished "Eureka" to a motley crowd, to whom it was as unintelligible as so much Hebrew.

Drink was, so far at least as my knowledge extends, Poe's offy form of dissipation. That fatal habit did not in his case bring with it the usual train of kindred vices. His tastes in everything else were naturally refined. I never heard him use a word which could not have been spoken with propriety in the presence of ladies; and he had the strongest dislike for every sort of slang, spoken or written. As a converser I have never heard his equal, except Macaulay; and the styles and subjects of the two men were so widely different that no comparison is possible. Poe's conversation was more like a soliloquy than anything else: he never seemed to be aware of a listener, or to need one. Usually he was very reticent. I am quite sure I never heard him laugh, and do not think I ever saw him smile; nor did he ever

speak about his past life, or invite any questions concerning it—not even his extensive travels and strange experiences in Europe. Apparently his life had in it neither happiness nor hope. Undoubtedly he himself was the hero of "The Raven." He was always very careful and methodical in his writing for the press, using always the old-fashioned letter-paper cut into strips of equal size, which, when filled, were rolled up, never folded. His penmanship was beautifully clear and distinct, and he never used a pencil. When he left Richmond, in the latter part of September, 1849, it was to return in a few weeks, and resume his work. Why he did not, you know.

Mr. Thompson gave me one of the slips of the original manuscript of the "Marginalia." It begins with this sentence, "One of our truest poets is Thomas Buchanan Read," and ends with a quotation from Lowell.

I may now mention a curious fact never, I think, stated in any of the biographies. For more than twenty-five years Poe slept in an unmarked grave. When I first visited the cemetery attached to the Westminster Presbyterian Church, corner of Fayette and Green streets, Baltimore, in February, 1860, I was shown the grave (not then where it is now), and was told that a monument was in preparation, and would soon be in place. A kinsman who accompanied me went to the workshop after my departure from the city, and made and sent me an exquisite pencil-sketch of the proposed monument, as it would look in the cemetery. That sketch—the only one in existence, I think—is before me. It represents a plain, substantial tablet of white Italian marble, perhaps three feet in height. On the side facing the grave is this inscription:

HIC
TANDEM FELICIS
CONDUNTUR RELIQUÆ
EDGAR ALLAN POE
OBIIIT OCT. VII
1849.

On the other side: "Jam parce sepulto." On the foot-stone: "E. A. P."

Three or four years later I was again in Baltimore, and again visited the cemetery. The grave was there, but nothing to mark it. The sexton could give no explanation or information, and after the expenditure of some time and trouble I finally found the man who had made the tablet. He told me this strange story, the truth of which I have no reason to doubt:

That tablet was finished and standing in my yard. It was to be erected in the cemetery the following week, and would have been but for a most extraordinary accident on the Friday or Saturday preceding. My yard adjoins the tracks of the Northern Central Railroad. A freight-train ran off the track, broke down the fence, and did more or less damage to other work; but the only irreparable damage was done to Poe's tablet. That was smashed to pieces, beyond all power of restoration.

The present monument was put up years afterward. Surely Poe was that bird's

. . . Unhappy master, whom unmerciful disaster
Followed fast and followed faster, till his song one burden
dore bore, . . .
Of never,—nevermore!

And disaster did not leave him even at the grave.

ST. LOUIS.

Thomas Dimmock.

Religion in the Public Schools.

THE following posthumous paper by Alexander Johnston of Princeton, written several years ago, will be read with interest in view of the pending discussion on this subject. Professor Johnston said at the time, in referring to what he had written, "The fact is that the problem is so big and so complicated that I doubt the ability of any human intellect to work it out satisfactorily until facts work it out for us." He added that this was his "notion of the way in which the facts are most likely to work it out."—EDITOR.

IN THE CENTURY for October, 1886, Mr. Matthew Arnold, whether he knew it or not, touched as with the point of a needle the nerve-center of our American common-school system. The system has always been essentially political in its nature. Its reason for existence has been that it was a necessary bulwark for democratic institutions. The State which decides to make the right of suffrage universal is bound by every consideration of self-defense and common prudence to offer every facility for making the popular vote an intelligent vote. The benefits of the system, then, are not a largesse to the recipients, but a bulwark to the State which educates. The reason which is to rebut this must evidently be an uncommonly strong one. It is admitted, for example, that the system is not so good for the encouragement of man's reliance upon his own endeavor as the old system, under which each paid for what education he wished; but the old system would have gone on developing an increasingly numerous class of utterly ignorant voters, who in time would have come to swamp all the intelligent purposes of those whose self-reliance had brought them the educated power of perceiving the real needs of the country. The case is the same with all the other arguments against the system, against its communistic features, its tendency to develop a class whose desires are greater than their ability to gratify them, and all similar objections. Many of these are admitted, but the people are virtually unanimous in their decision that the political benefits far outweigh all the defects of the system, and that it must be continued.

Even among the warmest friends of the system there is an increasing number who are disposed to think that the American common-school system is mischievously one-sided in its neglect of the religious element in man's nature, and that a purely secularized education is really worse than no education at all. It is on this ground that the Roman Church has officially declared its uncompromising hostility to the whole system; but there are not a few Protestants who, while detesting this opposition to the system, begin to see more reason in the basis of it than they have hitherto seen. It is, in fact, of little use to deplore the growing alienation of the body of the people from all forms of religious effort, so long as a vast machine, supported at the public charge, is busily engaged in educating the children of the nation to ignore religion. As well might a father deplore the ultimate malformation of a son whom he had diligently taught to be left-handed, and whose right hand he had tied up as some Indians do the heads of their papooses.

And, further, the State sets itself an impossible task in thus undertaking to ignore religion and religious differences in its present system of common-school in-

struction. All sects will agree in the fundamentals of education: there is no dispute as to whether two and two make four, or whether a finite verb shall agree with its subject. As soon as education rises above fundamentals, trouble begins. The system may undertake to ignore religion; but it cannot make history ignore the facts of religious differences among men, or their consequences. It is almost painfully amusing to notice the methods by which a text-book intended for our common schools is compelled to handle the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the Thirty Years' War, or the English revolution of 1688. The author evidently writes under the sword of Damocles, as the teacher works under the eye of the school trustees, and the pupil gets an abortion, not history. There is hardly a branch of education in which the pupil, as he becomes more advanced, older, and more quick-witted, is not forced to notice some of the devices by which teacher or text-book attempts to evade this persistent question of religion in the common schools; and he is apt to acquire a disrespect for both religion and education, which has its reasons in the latter case, if not in the former.

There are five ways by which the State may approach this most difficult question.

(1) It may follow the French fashion, ignoring every phase of the religious idea, but doing so in a distinctly hostile spirit, which is equivalent to a declaration of war. In this country this may be dismissed at once as out of the question: however sects may be divided, they would be unanimous in their opposition to any such settlement.

(2) It may go on in the present lumbering fashion, ignoring religion, but doing so with every effort at courtesy, patching up sporadic cases of difficulty here and there, but postponing any decisive settlement until the very latest practicable moment. This is the way which has the brightest chances of adoption; but its wisdom is open to serious question. It allows all forms of dissatisfaction to increase in strength, with no counteracting influences. The time must come, in the nature of things, when the question will settle itself, and that too summarily to allow the State to have any intelligent control over it.

(3) Again, the State may attempt to combine the fundamentals of religion into a system which shall at least be acceptable to the mass of the discordant sects, and introduce instruction in this into the common-school system. This would evidently be the most difficult of all the proposals. There are not many authors who would pin their chances of future reputation to their probable success in codifying the essentials of religion so as to satisfy the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, and all the other sects into which Christendom is divided, not to speak of the possible consequences of Chinese and other heathen immigration. But it should be noted that, while a universal code might be impracticable, several codes for cognate groups of sects might be a factor in simplifying the execution of the next proposal.

(4) The State may follow the German system, so sympathetically described by Mr. Arnold in THE CENTURY article referred to above. It may insist upon religious instruction in the schools, dividing the religious instruction into as many groups as may be necessary, but supporting all. This would necessitate a division of taxation, in practice, if not in theory; and this is the fact which would go furthest to make it un-

popular in this country. Protestants settled the country, as a rule, while the Roman Catholics are mainly the later comers; and the former would find it hard to endure taxation a part of the proceeds of which was to go to the support of the schools of the intruding element. Whether the objection be reasonable or not, it is a natural one, and must be taken into consideration.

(5) Finally, the State may voluntarily restrict its sphere of instruction, and teach only the fundamentals of education, with manual or technical training, abandoning all forms of higher education, or of education for culture, to private competition, or to the eleemosynary or religious institutions. This would put an end to State universities, high schools, and all forms of gratuitous education except that which is purely elementary.

Of these five propositions, the first is distinctly offensive, and the second a mere makeshift; the final solution, unless some new and better is devised, must be one of the last three, or a combination of two or more of them. The third and the fourth, or their combination, have already an able defender in Mr. Arnold. And his statement of their results, drawn from personal observation, entitles them to a respectful hearing from every friend of popular education. His argument would bear hardly, however, against the fifth proposition in a point apart from that of religion; and something may fairly be said for it in that respect.

Cardinal Antonelli, according to Mr. Arnold, congratulated his country on the fact that if Italian children were not taught much arithmetic, or grammar, or history, they were taught to distinguish the ugly from the beautiful. And Mr. Arnold evidently thinks that the Italian government here fulfils an important function quite neglected by England and the United States. Both these eminent authorities here betray a curious lack of perception of the basis of and excuse for a common-school system. Says Mr. Herbert Spencer: "Conceding for a moment that the government is bound to educate a man's children, what kind of logic will demonstrate that it is not bound to feed and clothe them?" The answer to all this is easy to him who keeps in mind the purely political basis of the system, who remembers that the State educates for its own preservation, not out of kindness to the pupils or their parents; but Mr. Arnold and Cardinal Antonelli, with their notions of a gratuitous educational system, have no answer. If the State is to educate children to distinguish the beautiful and the ugly, how can it, in common humanity, leave them to live thereafter in ugly clothes, ugly homes, and ugly surroundings? If it should leave them to such a fate, its educational work would be really maleficent so long as it stopped at any point short of pure communism.

Here is, perhaps, the point which, if conceded by Mr. Arnold, would make the fifth proposition viable. The underlying difficulty now is that government education keeps the children so long, in its desire to educate for culture, that private competition, eleemosynary institutions, and particularly religious institutions, have no chance in the race. In our Western States, where common-school education is most carefully and liberally provided for, private schools cannot compete, except in the large cities, and there only with difficulty. If the State were to surrender its pupils at,

say, twelve years' of age, its political functions as an educator would then have been fulfilled, and the religious institutions would have a fair chance to do the religious work which they cannot do now, but which Mr. Arnold and so many others wish to see done. It is above that point that education for culture and the sectarian difficulties of religious education begin together; and the State, if it assumes the duty of the one, must face the problem of the other. Below that point, the difficulty might be met by accepting a percentage of attendance weekly at a denominational school in lieu of part of the common-school course.

Such a policy, enforced at once, would leave a vast body of children without any higher education for many years to come, until the religious bodies should grow up to their new duties. But the adoption of a policy of reduction is entirely feasible; and by carefully graduating its enforcement voluntary religious education might be introduced, in time, as successfully as our voluntary religious organizations have supplanted State-aided religious organizations.

The Moving of the Boston Public Library.

SINCE my article on the Boston Public Library went to press, the whole process of moving, until the last load was delivered safely, consumed five weeks to a day. No loss or breakage is known to have occurred, while the work of nearly all departments went on almost without a break. In March, when the library, with the exception of the special collections, was opened to the public, there stood upon the shelves about 630,000 volumes, of which 479,000 were housed in the new structure. It seems probable in the future that a generous policy will be adopted in regard to the admission of students, in certain worthy cases, to larger privileges, even to the granting of that coveted opportunity, consultation of books upon the shelves. The rush of visitors has been, and for some time will continue to be, enormous, doubtless to the disturbance of wonted quiet in the main reading-hall, where the solid English oak tables are fully occupied by readers thirsty after long abstinence. Messengers now take books from the room of delivery direct to the applicant, who waits at a table numbered to correspond with his slip of application. At the southern side of the hall, in stately oak cabinets, is placed the card catalogue, to which the public, as of old, has the freest access. The book-stacks, I should have said, run around the southern and western sides, and from these stacks issue forth books by means of carriages on the electric railway, veritable "little quicknesses," so charmingly and smoothly do they perform their intelligent work.

The functions of the librarian seem likely to be more definite than heretofore, and hence what has been previously said in regard to his work is subject to essential modification.

It would have taken a gift of prophecy to foretell the new life already beginning to animate this institution, and I must make haste to recall my fears that it was perhaps to recede from its strong position as a library for the people to the cold remoteness of a scholars' retreat. More than ever it promises to be frequented by all classes of citizens, and to keep its old prestige in the sisterhood of American libraries.

Lindsay Swift.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

A Cheap-Money Convalescence.

OUR readers will remember that in our "Cheap-Money"¹ series of 1891 we gave a detailed account of the experience of the Argentine Republic between 1884 and 1890. Down to 1884 that country was on a gold basis, and had been extremely rich and prosperous. It is a country of great natural resources, and its rise into commercial importance had been phenomenally rapid. When, in 1884, several severe checks were felt to its prosperity, the cry for more money was heard, and the nation plunged headlong into the business of loaning money on land, issuing a great volume of paper money based on most exaggerated land values. This flood of paper was swelled till it reached a total of \$380,000,000 — a *per capita* of \$100 for every man, woman, and child in the republic, all irredeemable, and worth only about twenty-five cents on a dollar. In 1890 the collapse came: the republic went into bankruptcy, banks were left without a penny, land was unsalable at any price, business came to a standstill, and the *per capita* money circulation of \$100 gave way to a *per capita* debt of more than the same amount.

During the five years which have passed since this collapse the republic has been trying to recover its lost prosperity. The task has been a discouragingly slow one, for in no quarter of the world could its government find credit. A report published recently by the British vice-consul in the republic, Mr. Gastrell, gives many interesting details of this struggle. He says that while there are symptoms of improvement in some directions, the general situation of affairs is unsatisfactory, with but little prospect of substantial recovery, or of a return of national prosperity. He says the government is determined to do all it can to restore credit, and is endeavoring to reduce the outstanding volume of paper money — still more than \$300,000,000 — by enforcing a law which calls for the cancellation of \$8,000,000 yearly; but the process is a very slow one. While trade shows some improvement, constant fluctuations in the value of the paper money stand seriously in the way of business. For the first time since 1884 the government has begun to pay its debts with hard cash, instead of with the proceeds of foreign loans; and cash payments to the extent of \$2,000,000 per annum have been made on railway guarantees. These signs of returning honesty in public dealings have had a good effect; but investors are still very shy of trusting the republic with their money, and without the aid of foreign capital the nation cannot recover for a very long period.

The sudden development of the country was due to a great influx of European capital. When the people repudiated their obligation to pay this back, they cut off the very breath of their national life, for they destroyed their own credit. The vast resources of their country had been only partly developed when they stopped all progress by their financial folly. Hundreds of thousands of square miles of virgin territory await

only the hand of cultivators to yield rich harvests. The mineral wealth of whole provinces remains untouched because of the lack of foreign capital and energy to bring it out. "Of what avail," says a recent writer, "all these resources if they remain undeveloped? At present, taking the entire population of the country and its total area, there are not four human beings to the square mile. In order that these vast tracts of uncultivated territory may be made to yield their abundance, there must be population; and to attract population there must be absolute and undoubted security for the safety and well-being of the settler. Until this can be guaranteed the emigrant will avoid Argentina as he would Hades."

That tells the whole story. A new country, whose development depends upon money and immigration from other countries, cannot commit a more deadly mistake than to destroy its credit by repudiating its just debts. No form of cheap money has ever been invented and allowed to have unimpeded sway in a country without bringing that country to repudiation, bankruptcy, dishonor, and wholesale disaster. It is departure from a sound money standard which constitutes the first step. After that the downward plunge is rapid and irresistible. When the inevitable collapse arrives, and the cheap money becomes worthless, the worst sufferer is always the poor man, the laborer, in all occupations. He, being usually in new countries an immigrant, carries back to his native land the story of his wrongs and sufferings, and the country which inflicted them upon him is shunned by all emigrants thenceforward. So the investors of capital who lose their money make it known to all the world that the country which has broken faith with them is not to be trusted. Mr. Gastrell shows that this is the fate of the Argentine Republic. "There appears to be," he says, "small hope in the near future of much improvement, either in finance or commerce; and it will require many years of good administration and financial ability to enable the republic completely to recover from the overwhelming difficulties into which reckless speculation and financial mismanagement have inevitably plunged a naturally rich country."

Great, rich, and resourceful as is the United States, we should be brought to the same condition as the Argentine Republic were we to follow the same reckless and dishonest policy. If we were to repudiate our solemn obligations, were to pass from a gold to a silver standard, thus repudiating at a single stroke over half of our debts, the flow of capital and labor from abroad into our land would cease at once. The mere possibility that we might do it, a few months ago, sent American securities which were held abroad rushing across the Atlantic to be sold here in such volume as to turn the tide of gold to Europe in alarming quantities. Nothing but President Cleveland's prompt and determined action to uphold the national credit at all cost checked the calamity of national bankruptcy at that time. We must not make the mistake which the Argentine Republic

¹ See "Cheap-Money Experiments," The Century Co.
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made of thinking we are great and rich enough to stand anything. No nation has ever lived, or will ever live, great and rich enough to be foolish, foolhardy, or dishonest without suffering the consequences.

The Civic Revival.

THE wide-spread interest in the improvement of local government is the most conspicuous sign of the times. Students of the religious history of our own country tell us that every period of financial depression has been accompanied by a great revival of religion. It is the civic conscience which seems at this time to have experienced an awakening. The evangelistic impulse has not gone astray. Whoever comes preaching repentance can find no more wide-branching iniquity at the root of which to lay the ax of his denunciations than our civic misgovernment. More of the selfishness, the infidelity, the cowardice, the perfidy of our best citizens finds expression in our city governments than in almost any other social aggregation. Our city governments furnish the mirror into which American citizens must look if they wish to know what manner of men they are. The governments are strictly representative. If the superior city officials are utterly neglectful of duty, if they are wont to put all the labor and care of their offices upon their subordinates, that is practically what the average voter has taught them to do. The efficient deputy in an important city office was asked the other day how much would be added to his labor if the work of his chief should all be put upon him. He replied that one hour a week would suffice for its performance. This is the common practice in city offices. The heads of departments do the honors and draw the salaries; the work does not greatly interfere with their outside cares and recreations. Why should it? Does not the sentiment of the community warrant them in judging that public duty is a matter of small consequence? If the average voter possesses but a rudimentary political conscience, why should we expect the average officeholder to have a keen sense of responsibility? If the average voter habitually sacrifices the welfare of the state to his covetousness or his ambition, why should we look for any other rule of conduct in the average official?

The truth is that the source of all this bad city government is in the hearts of the people who live in the best residence quarters, and do business in the tall buildings, and sit in the best seats of our churches. A great many of them are directly interested in the perpetuation of bad city governments; assessors who could not be bribed, and city councils that would not give away franchises, are precisely what they do not covet. But those who are not so directly implicated are either so busy with their own affairs that they wholly neglect their most solemn obligations, or else so sordid and so cowardly that they are unwilling to risk gain or popularity by openly opposing the evil. It is not so much by what these "best citizens" have done as by what they have failed to do that our cities are humiliated. There is a terrific parable of the judgment in which the damned are consigned to the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. What had they done? Nothing. "*Inasmuch as ye did it not*" was the ground of their condemnation.

There is good reason, therefore, why John the Bap-

tist should lift up his voice in every city, preaching a baptism of repentance; good reason why multitudes, in a new Pentecost, should be pricked in their hearts, and should be crying one to another, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" The first answer to this question is very clear. The men of the city must attend to their political duties. They must give to the business of governing the city the time and thought and care that are necessary. It is, far and away, the most difficult business intrusted to them; they cannot transact it in the few minutes which they give once a year to the marking of a ticket in an election booth. It will take a great deal of labor—unrewarded labor—and sacrifice from every intelligent citizen. For there is a great multitude of voters who are not intelligent, and who need to be educated and guided. The failure to control these elements means bribery, corruption, malfeasance, and final anarchy. These elements can be controlled by intelligence and genuine patriotism. But it will take time and patience, and courage and tact, and faith in democracy. Whether the men who live in our cities are willing to pay this price for good government yet remains to be seen. They will get it at no cheaper rate.

It is evident, then, that what is called for in the present municipal agitations is something very like a genuine religious revival. If it means anything permanent, this movement means a less selfish and a more consecrated spirit on the part of the average citizen. It means the subordination of personal and private aims to the common welfare. If the command to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness were translated into the language of this generation, would it not include, as one of its first implications, the diligent and conscientious discharge of our civic duties? It must not be believed that motives adequate to the thorough reformation of municipal abuses can be drawn from the inspection of tax bills, or from the figures which show the increase of municipal indebtedness. There must be some conception of the sacredness of the interests which are involved in good city government, some comprehension of the ideal aims which inspire a genuine civic patriotism. We do not state the case fully when we say that the government of a great city is a purely "business" matter. It ought not to be suffered to fall below the standards of good business management; but unless it is lifted above them it will fall below them. It is a matter of sentiment, as well as of business—nay, in the truest sense of the word, it is a matter of religion. In London, where no suspicion of jobbery attaches to the municipal legislature, and where there has been, within the last few years, a remarkable awakening of civic consciousness, one of the newspapers, in a recent campaign, lifted the battle-cry, "For a Nobler London." Not until such sentiments begin to stir the hearts of the dwellers in American cities—and there are multitudes who are ready to work for the welfare of the city with the zeal and enthusiasm which are born of lofty civic ideals—shall we witness any permanent gain in the struggle for municipal reform.

Bicycle Problems and Benefits.

As a revolutionary force in the social world the bicycle has had no equal in modern times. What it is doing is, in fact, to put the human race on wheels for the first time in its history. The proportion of people

who are riding bicycles in nearly every community is astonishingly large. In many instances it may be said that nearly every able-bodied man, woman, and child has a wheel, and is a regular rider. When we consider the increase in rapidity of locomotion which is attained, and the fact that it is self-supplied with such ease, it is not surprising that the changes required to meet the demands of the new order of things are so many and so radical as to amount virtually to making the world over again, so far as traveling is concerned.

This is peculiarly the case in the great cities. In and about New York, for example, there are at present something like half a million bicycle-riders. In the city itself, on pleasant holidays, they swarm like flies upon all the parkways and other thoroughfares having asphalt or macadam pavement. It is very clear that sooner or later they or the vehicles must give way, for both cannot find room to remain with safety. Indeed, there have been many fatal accidents already, some of them shocking in the extreme. The dangers increase as the number of wheelmen multiplies. In a collision with any kind of vehicle drawn by a horse the bicycle-rider is certain to get the worst of it. His vehicle, instead of being in any way a protection to him, is a menace to his welfare the moment it comes in contact with any other moving body. The fact that he cannot stand still for a moment is also an element of additional danger. These conditions make it an absolute necessity that in all communities in which there are large numbers of wheelmen there should be separate roadways set apart for their especial use. No city park should be laid out in future without its bicycle pathway, nor is it likely to be. The need of a separate roadway for horseback-riders has been recognized in all our great parks, yet in a roadway filled with carriages an equestrian is much safer from harm than a bicycle-rider. At present the wheelmen outnumber the horsemen a hundred or more to one, and the need of separate provision for them is consequently too obvious to be questioned.

But it is not in the parks alone that such accommodation is necessary. There has been much discussion in the New York press for some months past about providing a suitable roadway for bicycles from one end of the city to the other, so that riders may pass to and from their business on their wheels. It has been urged that the covering with asphalt of a continuous or connected line of streets would supply this; but this is doubtful. The chances would be that heavy wagons and carriages of all kinds would seek the same line of travel because of the superior road-bed, and that it would become too crowded to be either a safe or a speedy thoroughfare for bicycles. It is not impossible that in time we may see in all our great cities lines of streets reserved for bicycles. This might be done were all the streets of the city paved equally well, and it is one of the most beneficent effects of the bicycle that it is making the advent of this condition of our city streets certain in the near future. There are enthusiasts also who predict that in New York it will not be many years before a lightly built elevated structure will be run through the streets on the water-front for the exclusive use of wheelmen.

If separate thoroughfares of any kind are set apart for this use, the result will be a considerable loss of income to the street transit companies. It is a fact that many trolley lines running between Western cities and their suburbs have suffered serious financial loss through the use of the bicycle, since thousands of persons travel to and fro between their offices and their homes on wheels. But while the transit companies have been injured in this way, the whole country has been the gainer by means of the wide-spread demand for good roads which the advent of the bicycle has aroused. Many States, led by Massachusetts and New Jersey, have taken up the subject seriously and systematically, and the next few years are certain to see great progress in this direction. Massachusetts, in 1893, appropriated \$300,000 to be expended by a highway commission in scientific road-building, and about forty sections of such roads are now under construction. New Jersey has spent many thousands of dollars in the same way, and its number of good roads is increasing year by year, each new one being the most persuasive kind of argument for others. The recent legislature of New York State recognized the needs of wheelmen more specifically by passing a bill authorizing the construction of a bicycle roadway upon the top of the Croton aqueduct, running for forty miles through a beautiful part of the country north of the city.

An interesting effect of the new order of things is the revival which has been started in the old wayside tavern business. Within the next few years we are certain to see comfortable inns spring up along all the roads which are suitable for bicycle-riding. The wheelman cannot carry much luggage, and is especially unable to find accommodation for food. His ability to travel easily fifty or seventy-five miles a day makes comfortable lodging-places at night and comfortable eating-places by day great desiderata along his pathway. There are old inns within a radius of fifty miles of New York city that have known scarcely more than a customer a week for years which are now overrun with wheelmen, and are adapting themselves rapidly to the new situation. Good inns, like good roads, will add immeasurably to the attractiveness of the country, and will spread a love for country life among the dwellers in cities which will be in all ways a benefit to us as a people.

The bicycle is, in fact, the agent of health and of a wider civilization. It will give stronger bodies to the rising generation than their fathers have had, and it will bring the city and the country into closer relations than have existed since the days of the stage-coach. What the summer boarder has been doing for the abandoned farms and deserted villages of New England, the wheelman is doing for the regions surrounding our great cities. He is distributing through them modern ideas and modern ways of living, and is fructifying them with gentle distillations of city wealth. Above all, he is teaching their people that a sure way to prosperity lies before them in the beautifying of the country in which they live, and in the preservation of all its attractive natural features.

OPEN LETTERS.

The Works of Lincoln as a Political Classic.

DURING the academic year 1894-5, at the University of Pennsylvania, perhaps for the first time in this country, the "Speeches, State Papers, and Miscellaneous Writings" of Abraham Lincoln were made the basis of a special course for graduate students in the constitutional history of this country, from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1850 to the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870. Of the course of American government, commonwealth and national, during this period, relatively far less is known than of its course during the entire preceding period of our history. Nor is this strange. The political ideas of our earlier statesmen, Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Marshall, and of their immediate successors, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Benton, have been accessible in their published works. But of the ideas of the succeeding generation of our public men but little is now known. After 1850 the histories of the United States become military records: the evolution of American government is imperfectly traced in the best of them. Military history has little place in a course of study outside of a military school. There is not at present a constitutional history of the United States during the most critical period of our history — from 1850 to the close of the era of reconstruction. There is, however, a vast mass of material comprising the documentary record of American government, commonwealth and national, during this period, in the various departments — legislative, judicial, executive, and administrative. This material, comprising about thirty thousand volumes, has never been collected in one library, and it is impossible for any other than the wealthiest universities to possess even a portion of it. Most American schools, in the courses in American history and government which they offer, must be satisfied to use the works of American statesmen and the treatises prepared by specialists.

During this critical period of our nineteenth-century history, Abraham Lincoln bears a part and serves a function comparable only to Washington's in the eighteenth century. The publication of the complete works of Lincoln by The Century Co. in 1894 is the most important contribution of our times to a just conception of the evolution of American democracy during this period. In the debates with Senator Douglas, Lincoln is the voice of American democracy. He is not then the Lincoln whom we now know; he is the Lincoln of political debate, not the Lincoln of national administration. He grew in thought as the people grew. In his state papers this growth is recorded; and it is undoubtedly true that in no other records of the time is the course of public opinion in America so accurately traced as in the speeches, in the state papers, and in the miscellaneous writings of this man. His political ideas are, in our day at least, authoritative and classic, and the exhaustive study of them is the natural course for any person who expects to understand the political evolution since his death. Aside from the fascinating character of the man

himself, the study of his notions of representative government, in correlation with the course of events in which his was individually the leading mind, is an equipment for American citizenship; and such equipment was never more needed than at the present time.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. *Francis N. Thorpe.*

Zachariah Chandler in Lincoln's Second Campaign.

MR. NOAH BROOKS, in his admirable article on "Two War-Time Conventions," in the *MARCH CENTURY*, dwells on the intense depression that was felt during the summer months preceding President Lincoln's reelection, and especially on the Wade-Davis manifesto, which, coupled with Frémont's nomination, represented the hostility of the radical Republicans. It is now evident that Mr. Lincoln would have been reelected in spite of the Frémont-Cochrane movement and the Wade-Davis defection; but all writers agree that the uncertainties of that summer of 1864 were such as to imperil the chances of success for the Republican party.

It is known that later in the campaign Senator Wade took the stump for Mr. Lincoln; that Henry Winter Davis suddenly dropped his destructive pen; and that General Frémont, forgetting his former biting criticisms, withdrew from the contest, and came out in favor of the Baltimore ticket. It is also known that during the campaign Mr. Lincoln asked for the resignation of his postmaster-general, Montgomery Blair. That all these changes came about as the result of negotiations undertaken by Senator Chandler of Michigan is not generally known; and so far as I can discover, none of the biographers of Lincoln has undertaken to connect the resignation of Blair with the withdrawal of Frémont and the conversion of Senator Wade and Representative Davis.

Zachariah Chandler had been one of a trio (Cameron and Wade being the others) who, before the war, had agreed to take up one another's quarrels in case of an insult from a Southern senator; and the knowledge of this combination had secured a considerable degree of respect on the part of the Democratic majority in the Senate prior to 1861. As a result of this early friendship, Mr. Chandler was in a position to appeal to Wade to withdraw his opposition to Mr. Lincoln. Moreover, the two men were much alike, both being quick-tempered, rough-spoken, and aggressive. The interview took place at Mr. Wade's home, near Ashtabula, Ohio; and Mr. George Jerome of Detroit, who accompanied Mr. Chandler, describes the meeting as rather titanic in its nature. Mr. Wade finally gave as his ultimatum the withdrawal from the cabinet of Montgomery Blair, whom the entire radical faction of the Republican party believed to be at heart a Democrat, and against whom they had worded one of the planks in the Baltimore platform.

Going directly from Mr. Wade to the President, Mr.

Chandler secured from Mr. Lincoln the pledge that if the negotiations he had undertaken should prove successful, Mr. Blair would be retired—a move Lincoln had twice before declined to make. Going next to Mr. Davis at Baltimore, Mr. Chandler persuaded that gentleman to fall in with the large plan of withdrawing all the elements of opposition.

Next, Mr. Chandler turned his attention to the withdrawal of the Frémont-Cochrane ticket, and with this end in view established headquarters at the Astor House, New York, in September, 1864. In a talk with General Frémont, on March 4, 1889, I learned from him that his confidence in the patriotism of Mr. Chandler, and his reliance on Mr. Lincoln's promise to retire Montgomery Blair (General Frémont explained at length the feud between his family and the Blairs), led him to consent to withdraw, provided Mr. Chandler could arrange matters with the supporters of the movement. Hon. E. O. Grosvenor of Jonesville, Michigan, who was a guest at the Astor House during the negotiations, says that he had daily knowledge of the progress made, and that the utmost delicacy and firmness were required in order to handle the disaffected elements that had kept the Frémont ticket in the field as a rallying-point for nominating General Grant, and thus forcing Lincoln out of the contest, if possible. In these negotiations George Wilkes, of the "Spirit of the Times," who had already made a reputation as a war correspondent, developed marked diplomatic and political abilities as Mr. Chandler's sole assistant.

On September 22, Mr. Chandler, accompanied by Mr. David H. Jerome, afterward governor of Michigan, had a private interview with Mr. Lincoln, to announce the complete success of his labors. That afternoon the Washington papers contained Frémont's card of withdrawal; and on the 23d Mr. Lincoln asked for and received the resignation of Montgomery Blair.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Charles Moore.

Reforestation Michigan Lands.

I HAVE read with great interest the articles upon Prof. Sargent's plan for the preservation of the public forests by military control, but have seen no communication from Michigan, a State which has been the greatest pine-producer in the Union, and still has immense quantities to come to market. I am impressed with the necessity of including in the whole scheme a systematic policy of reforestation in the several States.

Michigan owns hundreds of thousands of acres of land which were formerly covered with pine, but which, having been denuded, have been allowed by their owners to revert to the State, not being considered worth the taxes assessed against them. Mr. Austin Carey of Bangor, Maine, special expert in the employment of the Agricultural Department, has been engaged during the past winter in inspecting the denuded regions in this peninsula, with a view to the possibility of replanting them with pine. After carefully going over the whole ground, taking into consideration the conditions of soil and climate, measuring the annual growth of trees of known age, etc., Mr. Carey has come to the conclusion that white and Norway pine can be easily and readily grown on the lands from which they have been cut, and that nothing is necessary but to

guard the young shoots carefully from fires and from the ravages of sheep and cattle. His figures show that the denuded pine lands can be reforested with a pine growth that in forty years will yield merchantable timber.

Here, then, is an opportunity. We have at Lansing perhaps the best agricultural college in the United States, where young men are being trained in arboriculture. Let a special branch of forestry be established, and let the State make the experiment of planting each year a specific acreage of denuded lands with white and Norway pine. Let the students in the forestry branch be required to make reports on the growth of these trees from year to year, with special reference to soil, climatic conditions, humidity, etc. In this way a fund of information on this subject would be gathered that would soon be invaluable. Should the experiment prove a success, it would induce individual owners of cut lands to begin planting trees, and in a comparatively short time our peninsula would be in as good condition as ever as regards forest growth.

MANISTEE, MICHIGAN.

A. R. Ferguson.

The Tool-house at Home.

I WISH to present a plea for a "tool-house" at home for the young people, and one well stocked with the best tools. A great deal of creditable work has doubtless been done with a jack-knife and an old cross-cut saw, reinforced, possibly, with a half-worn-out smoothing-plane, a rusty bit or two, and, perhaps, a chisel; and a certain amount of ingenuity has unquestionably been developed by the adaptation of these tools to the work in hand. But, after all, the best that can usually be said of such work is that it is very well done considering the means. The edges are rarely square and true, the joints are rarely well made, and the time consumed on the "job" is apt to be unduly prolonged, so that the work, if intended for something more than a mere makeshift, becomes wearisome before it is completed. A necessary consequence is that the boy (or girl, for there is no reason why a girl should be ignorant of the use of tools) becomes discouraged with his work, and decides that his forte is in some other direction. If, on the other hand, a boy once becomes familiar with the use of good tools,—tools such as an artisan would use for the same work,—the knowledge stands by him, and is a source of constant pleasure and often of some profit. When a boy can "square up" the edges of two boards, each ten feet long and an inch thick, so that on laying these edges snugly together the line of contact is visible only on close examination, he has got his eye and hand under such control that he can do a workmanlike piece of carpentry at any time. But a true straight edge cannot well be made with a short smoothing-plane. To forestall a remark sometimes heard, let me add here that the boy who can make a good joint with a fore-plane will, if circumstances compel, do better work with a smoothing-plane than can be done by the boy who has never made a good joint at all. I do not think it true, as is often implied, that a knowledge of good tools makes a man less ingeniously effective in cases where good tools are not to be had. I have seen a man exert considerable energy, and exercise some ingenuity, in searching for a board of the proper width to piece out the cover to a

box, when he could have ripped up the first board he took hold of with the cross-cut saw he held in his other hand, at an expenditure of much less time and labor, and his ingenuity could have been reserved for some more propitious occasion. It is needless to say that he had never used a rip-saw. In a few words, to make use of a Western expression, the best tools ought not to be "too rich for the blood" of any intelligent American boy over fourteen years of age.

Bayard T. Putnam.

The Century's American Artists Series.

SERGEANT KENDALL. (SEE PAGE 425.)

In this day, when even steam is growing old-fashioned, and electricity is taking its place, it is not surprising that much of the work of our younger artists should resemble the telegram. To the past belong the well-turned phrases, the courtly elegance of the leisurely letter-writer; to transmit the essential thought is the object of to-day. Hence the "advanced" picture. The graceful drawing of a Vandyke, the masterly delineation of a Dürer, we look for in vain; in their place we find the telegram utterance, short, nervous, incisive, spoken with a dash and go which seem to imply: "I have no time to linger on the curves of those lips, on the turn of that eyebrow, and neither have you. You must take my picture for what it is, a reflex of the time in which I live. I have uttered the essential thought; you may fill in the rest." Mr. Kendall's later work is mainly of this order, and his portraits are instinct with this telegram quality. What he considers the essentials are set down with verve and precision, and they appear to be painted with facility.

Although Mr. Kendall leans to impressionism, he is not, in the real sense of the term, an impressionist. Indeed, he cannot be said to belong to any school; he is simply a thoughtful, well-trained artist, honestly searching for his place in art. The "St. Yves," painted when he was only twenty-two, is a well-studied, carefully painted picture which shows the influence of that excellent teacher Thomas Eakins. His later compositions possess the qualities of his portraits; and bizarre, even, as some of them are, they show a quality of artistic perception which gives fair promise of a successful art career. To sum up, his brush work is distinguished, his color lifelike and harmonious; his work shows earnestness of purpose, true art instincts, and, as is natural in a man of twenty-six, an unsettled condition of artistic development.

William Sergeant Kendall is a native of New York city. In 1883, when only fourteen years of age, he began his art studies under Thomas Eakins at the Brooklyn Art Guild, continuing them under the same master at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Later, he entered the Art Students' League of New York, having for his instructors Beckwith and Mowbray. In 1888 he entered the studio of Luc-Olivier Merson in Paris, and the following year began the study of modeling in the evening classes at the École des Beaux-Arts. The same year he was a student under Lucien Doucet at the Julien Academy. His first *envoi* to the

Salon was in 1891; his second in the following year, when, for his "St. Yves, priez pour nous!" (the picture on page 425), he gained an honorable mention. The same picture obtained for him a medal at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and in 1894 the Lippincott prize at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

W. Lewis Fraser.

Tote Roads.

In an article on "Folk Speech in America," in THE CENTURY for October, 1894, Dr. Eggleston, quoting Mr. C. A. Stephens, says, "Certain old portage roads, now abandoned, bore the name of 'tote roads' in Maine."

Now the word "tote," instead of being an obsolete word, or applied only to abandoned roads, as this would seem to imply, is regularly and universally used for both old and new supply-roads in our lumber regions. One might visit every one of the hundreds of logging-camps which every winter sees scattered over all parts of our great Maine woods, and he would find each one furnished with its separate "tote road," "tote-team," and "toter." In fact, though I have had the experience of a lifelong residence in this region, and frequent winter hunting-trips among the woodsmen, I have never heard any other word used to signify the conveyance of supplies to the camps. A veteran lumberman of my acquaintance assures me that it was in general use, with the same meaning, eighty years ago.

Dr. Eggleston, in the same article, refers to the use of the word "swamp" as a substantive and also as a verb synonymous with "hide." This word also forms a good and staple part of our "wood English" as a verb meaning "to clear of brush, trees, and other obstructions." To "swamp a road" is, in fact, to make a lumber road through the woods.

GARLAND, MAINE.

F. A. C. Emerson.

A Word on Religion and the Public Schools.

By all means let our schools teach morality and ethics, or, rather, let them lead out (*educere*) the inherent morality which lies in every rational human being; but let them do it without the aid of any of the various creeds which have for so many ages assumed to contain in themselves all morality and all virtue. True morality is not from without, but from within; it should not be pumped into the pupil as are his geography and his algebra, but, rather, trained and developed in him as are his muscles and his mind. Whatever aid may be afforded in the home life of the pupil by religious teaching should be gladly welcomed, whether that aid comes from the Episcopal Church or from the Brahman; but in the school itself the instruction should rest on the broad basis on which all can unite, to which none can object—that it is better for its own sake to do right than to do wrong. This is the beginning of all true morality, and there are not wanting those in whose opinion it is also the end.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Albert G. Davis.

“THE GREEN GRASS AV OWLD IRELAND.”

THE green grass av owld Ireland!
Whilst I be far away,
All fresh an' clean an' jewel-green
It 's growin' there to-day.
Oh, it 's cleaner, greener growin' —
All the grassy worrld around,
It 's greener yet nor any grass
That grows on top o' ground.

The green grass av owld Ireland,
Indade, an' balm 't 'u'd be
To eyes like mine that drip wid brine
As salty as the sea!
For still the more I 'm stoppin' here,
The more I 'm sore to see
The glory av the green grass av owld Ireland.

Ten years ye 've paid my airnin's —
I 've the l'avin's on the shelf,
Though I be here widout a queen,
An' own meself meself.
I 'm comin' over steerage,
But I 'm goin' back firrst-class,
Patrolin' av the foremost deck
For firrst sight av the grass.

God bless yez, free Ameriky!
I love yez, dock and shore!
I kem to yez in poverty
That 's worstin' me no more.
But most I 'm lovin' Erin yet,
Wid all her graves, d' ye see,
By reason av the green grass av owld Ireland.

James Whitcomb Riley.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Season of Timidity in Presidential Candidates.

THE year preceding a national campaign is always a very trying period for Presidential candidates. However courageous and outspoken in expressing their views on leading questions of the day they may be at other times, as soon as they find themselves within a twelvemonth of the nominating conventions a great wave of conservatism passes over them. They become so judicially minded that a one-sided view of any such question becomes an impossibility. Both sides seem to have so much in their favor that no one except a heedless partizan could think of stating publicly which he favored. If it be a question of silver, the candidate either refers the inquirer to his “well-known views expressed on former occasions,”—date omitted,—or he

assures him that his party, which has always shown such patriotism and ability in solving problems of government, in case it be trusted with power will solve this particular one with equal ability and wisdom. He will admit to you that there is much to be said in favor of bimetallism, provided it can be secured on an international basis, and much to be said against it because of the doubt that it can be secured on that basis; but he will be very careful not to let you see on which side he ranges himself. He is quite willing to say that the question should be discussed amicably, without heat, with charity for all opinions, and that he is very warmly in favor of the wisest solution, preferring one which would be acceptable to all sides.

We cite the silver question as an example because it happens to be the leading issue this year. Upon any

other public question the position of most of the candidates would be distinguished by a similar diffidence. This seems at first sight somewhat inexplicable from the fact that so large a proportion of the people of the country are looking eagerly about for a candidate with pronounced views. They are yearning literally for a candidate with courage and convictions, and would be ready to rally in overwhelming numbers to his support. The business interests of the entire country—commercial, industrial, and all others—are solidly united in a determination to support for the Presidency no candidate whom they cannot trust to maintain the credit of the Government, and keep its currency upon the gold basis. Whatever else they may consent to be uncertain about, they will take no chances on those two points. Why do not the Presidential candidates see this, and rally this most powerful of all support to their fortunes? The reason is a very simple one. They are not seeking support at the polls now, but support in the nominating conventions. They reason that the fewer opponents they have from any section in those bodies, the better will be their chances. They believe that in these conventions the candidate who can show the least amount of sectional antagonism—who, in other words, can be shown to be most "available"—will be most likely to capture the prize.

It cannot be denied that there is strong ground for this line of reasoning. Many times has it happened that candidates have been nominated because of their unknown views, and generally unknown abilities and character. But, on the other hand, we believe that in every case in which a candidate has disregarded all the usual tactics of timidity, has declared his honest convictions on the great questions, or the greatest question, of the day, and has trusted to the people rather than to the professional politicians for support, he has gone into the national convention of his party with such a popular demand for his nomination that the delegates have been forced to yield to it. It was Lincoln's refusal, at Springfield, in June, 1858, to strike out from his speech the famous passage, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," which made him President of the United States two years later. When he submitted the speech in advance of delivery to the politicians of his party, men who were pushing him forward for high political honors, they were unanimously of the opinion that that passage should be stricken out. Lincoln listened to them politely, as usual, and when they had all spoken said:

Friends, this thing has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is decreed that I shall go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right.

To a friend who upbraided him for the passage after the speech was delivered he said:

If I had to draw a pen across my record, and erase my whole life from sight, and I had one poor gift or choice left as to what I should save from the wreck, I would choose that speech, and leave it to the world unerased.

The conscience of the country recognized in that speech the high note of a fearless devotion to duty—a note which in all times the American people has heard joyfully, and followed in irresistible numbers.

The practical politicians are seldom or never able to recognize this power in politics. They were sure that Lincoln had ruined himself in 1858, and their successors were equally sure that Mr. Cleveland had ruined himself in 1891 when he wrote his letter against free silver coinage. They were more sure of it when the regular party organization of Mr. Cleveland's own State refused to support him for renomination in the following year; but the people, remembering the silver letter, took possession of the convention and insisted that the politicians must give way to them. It is impossible to cite an instance in which the people have failed to come to the support of a candidate who trusted his future to them on an issue of principle and devotion to duty. It is very strange that so many candidates, men who have a high sense of honor, and who, if elected, would undoubtedly fill the office of President creditably to themselves and usefully to the country, fail to profit by these examples from our history. It is an uncontrovertible fact that Presidential candidates, without the support of party machines and without the sympathy of the professional politicians, have proved more powerful in elections than the first choices of the machines and the idols of the politicians. Why cannot our candidates of to-day learn from this that the people are so much more powerful than the politicians that any man who has the people behind him is certain to win? Why cannot they learn also that by acting as real leaders of the people, guiding them to wise action, they best serve their country and strengthen the cause of popular government throughout the world?

The Need of a City Party.

THOSE who have followed the discussion of municipal-reform questions during the last year have been impressed by the fact that interest in them has been growing steadily. This is demonstrated by the great quantity of publications upon various phases of the subject which are put forth in all the large cities. Until within a year or two it has been virtually impossible to find publications of this kind. They have been produced now in response to a wide-spread and growing demand for exact information as to the nature and defects of existing municipal government, and as to the best means for bringing about reforms. The existence of this demand gives evidence that there is a larger number of people devoting their attention to the subject than ever before—a fact which is of the greatest encouragement; for awakened public interest is the first and most powerful agency for a better condition of affairs.

It is of vital importance that this awakened city interest be consolidated and concentrated upon city problems alone. Every one who has studied these problems recognizes party names and party passions and prejudices as the most formidable obstacles to permanent municipal reform. Temporary reform may be secured in spite of them, but nothing enduring. So long as men allow State and national political names and issues to decide their votes in municipal elections, we can hope for only spasmodic improvement in city affairs. In times of unusual popular indignation, as was the case in New York in November last, and in Chicago in April, enough men may forego their partizanship to secure the election of a mayor upon the question of city

interests alone; but unless the state of mind which permits them to do this continues, the city is likely to slip away from the reformers at the next following election. Then, too, partizan interests and feelings are very likely to make themselves felt after election. It very often happens that the mayor who was elected nominally as a non-partizan finds, on taking office, that he is really at the head of a multi-partizan body of voters, each partizan group of which expects him to give its members some offices. Instead of devoting himself entirely to the good government of the city without regard to any political party, he finds he can give it only as much good government as the various political parties which combined for his election will permit him to give.

There is only one sure road out of this trouble. Multi-partizan government leads inevitably to greater and more diversified partizanship, and renders practically impossible a succession in kind; but it can be made the stepping-stone to real non-partizan rule. Thousands of voters have been convinced, by what has happened in New York and Chicago during the last few months, of the necessity of having city affairs separated completely from State and national politics. Here is the nucleus for a party outside and above the regular political organization, calling itself the City Party, and devoted entirely to city interests. In New York city the City Club and the affiliated Good Government clubs form the rallying-point for such an organization. They are composed of men of all parties who are pledged to place the good government of the city above all political considerations.

The course to be followed by a city party is plain. It should not wait to combine with political organizations in support of a city ticket, but should pick out its own candidates and put them before the voters on the city issue alone. If defeated, it should keep on undismayed until it has rallied to its cause enough voters to win. It would not have to do as the political organizations do when they combine,—find for a candidate some man acceptable to all shades of politics,—but would have only to find a man who had demonstrated his ability and character as a servant of the city. It should be on the watch for such men in the public service. In fact, the existence of a city party would of itself act as a stimulus for the growth of such men—would encourage, indeed, the development and training of a body of public servants from which the city could draw in time of need. As it is now, in default of any such body, we are forced to take up any one who is found willing to accept the place, and whose career in business or professional life gives reasonable assurance that he would be a capable public official. We are seldom or never able to find a man who has had experience in municipal affairs, or who is in any sense a trained public servant.

One of the difficulties which a city party will have to encounter in New York is that of really non-partizan nominations for members of the State legislature. It will be impossible to have State and national politics ignored in the nomination of these candidates whenever they shall be required, after election, to take part in the choice of a United States senator. This difficulty can be met in several ways. The City Party might offer to give its support to Republican candidates in Republican districts and to Democratic candi-

dates in Democratic districts, provided such candidates would pledge themselves to act as non-partizans on all legislative measures affecting the city. Or the City Party might itself pick out the Republican or Democratic candidates, and invite the coöperation of the regular party organizations in their support. If the regular party organizations refuse either to allow their candidates to be pledged on city matters, or to coöperate at all with the City Party, then the latter's course becomes plain. It must put its own candidates for the legislature in the field, and appeal to the public for support on the ground of city issues alone, washing its hands of all responsibility for the results of the election, so far as they may affect the United States senatorship question. This course, if persisted in, would soon convince the regular party managers that it was for their interest to coöperate with the City Party; for the following of the latter would soon be too large to be ignored or defied with safety.

The great thing to be sought is a party which in all municipal elections will act upon the principle that the interests of the city are paramount and will not be waived for any other interests whatever. With separate municipal elections, which the new constitution of New York provides, and which are the rule in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and other large cities, the building up of such a party would be only a question of time, provided the work were undertaken and persisted in with unconquerable spirit. In fact, the work has been begun in nearly all these cities now, but it has not been formulated with sufficient definiteness, and has not yet got into shape which promises ultimate success. We are confident, however, that the proper spirit has been awakened, and that within a few years the harvest will be gathered.

The Degenerate Stage.

NOBODY with any knowledge of the facts will deny that the American theater, considered merely as a rational means of entertainment, without reference to its relations to literature and art, is in a most forlorn and debased condition. Tragedy, high comedy, the historical and romantic drama, have been virtually banished from the stage, or find few worthy interpreters, and have been replaced to a large extent by worthless melodramas, the extravagant buffooneries of so-called farce-comedies, or the feverish and unwholesome society play, in which the most vicious topics are discussed openly under the pretense of solving social problems.

The causes that have led to this deplorable state of affairs are various. Good new plays cannot be had without the men to write them, or great acting without great actors. Death has been busy of late among writers and players. Many bright lights in the ranks of both have been extinguished, and, naturally, after their removal a period of darkness and depression might be expected. But what makes the present outlook for the American theater so dark is the fact that there are no perceptible signs of any coming revival. The dearth of young actors, of both sexes, of noteworthy capacity or promise is becoming more and more painfully evident, while the efforts of the native playwright are devoted chiefly either to adaptation—a more polite word than appropriation—or to utter trivialities. Ask one of the typical managers of the day to account for this con-

dition of things, and his reply will be pat. He will tell you that all the talk about elevating the stage is sentimental rubbish; that the people do not want an elevated stage; that they wish to be amused, not instructed; and that all that he and his fellows can do is to follow the general economic law of supply and demand, and cater to the public taste. This, on the face of it, looks plausible, but there never was a more fallacious bit of special pleading. The simple fact is that managerial ignorance, vulgarity, and greed are more largely responsible for current theatrical evils than all other causes put together. It will be understood, of course, that this arraignment does not apply to the four or five managers in the United States (there are no more of them) who live up to a creditable standard of literary and dramatic excellence, but to the illiterate and only partly civilized speculators who, by their commercial enterprise, audacity, and astuteness,—admirable qualities in their way,—have secured control of nearly all the theaters, and conduct them upon the principles which in better days were confined to the music-hall and the circus. These men, with scarcely an exception, do not possess even the rudiments of a liberal education. They know nothing of art, literature, or acting, and care nothing about them. They would be incapable of recognizing the literary or dramatic merit of the finest play that was ever written, if it came to them in manuscript from an unknown author; their one idea of management being to secure plays or players, irrespective of quality, which, for some reason or other, have won notoriety elsewhere. The nature of the entertainment is to them a matter of the most profound indifference. They are ready to deal in theatrical goods of any description, from a Shaksperian revival to the lowest type of melodrama, from the "Passion Play" to the coarsest of French farces or the most idiotic variety-shows, if only somebody has made money out of them somewhere else. The public must accept what is provided or go without, and the public, preferring inferior amusement to none at all, selects the former alternative.

The establishment of this unenlightened theatrical monopoly has worked and is working serious mischief. The organization of theatrical circuits extending all over the country is not only fatal to the competition which is essential to progress, but, by a system of rotation, enables plays of small value to be kept upon the stage for two or three years. This practice not only acts as a bar to new productions, but confines thousands of actors to one part for season after season, depriving them of all opportunities of improvement, confirming them in all sorts of mannerism and slovenliness, and encouraging them to cultivate a special line, instead of seeking to acquire that power of versatility which is the one supreme test of excellence in their profession. Some of the proprietors of these traveling organizations call them stock companies, but they are nothing of the kind, except in the sense of being kept in stock for a particular purpose, to produce one class of plays in one stereotyped manner. A stock company, in the old and generally accepted meaning of the phrase, was a company capable of representing intelligently every kind of dramatic work from high tragedy down, and such companies were the schools in which young actors learned their profession, under the guidance of teachers qualified by a similar experience. The modern man-

ager, with the rare exceptions already referred to, is absolutely ignorant of the subject of acting, and therefore there are not in this country and in England half a dozen companies which, by any stretch of courtesy, can be considered schools of that art. The chief of them, beyond doubt, is the London Lyceum. There an actor still plays many parts; elsewhere, as a rule, he only appears in them.

The stage, moreover, has suffered and is suffering immeasurably from the want of sound and discerning criticism, and of the observance of due proportion by the daily press in dealing with theatrical affairs. There are writers, of course, whose honesty and capacity are both beyond question, but that the great bulk of the so-called theatrical criticism published in the daily journals is feeble and misleading, not to use stronger terms, must be obvious to all who take the trouble to read it. It is full of inaccuracies, of contradictions, and of generalities which do not glitter. Extravagant praise is bestowed upon dull mediocrity, and genius is ascribed to performers of the second or third degree. More ridiculous, and perhaps even more mischievous, is the absurd prominence given to the sayings and doings of minor theatrical folk—a class which includes a large number of the vainest and emptiest of created mortals. Is it strange that the modern actor, without managers, instructors, or critics, and discussed with so much reverence, should degenerate?

The modern playwrights as a class must share responsibility for the condition of the theater, for they have helped to create it by writing for a market instead of for fame. For years they have been growing more audacious in the pursuit of wealth by defiance of the proprieties. But a reaction has set in, and it is probable, therefore, that the remarkable literary and technical skill displayed in the most successful plays of the last few years will be employed hereafter to better purpose. The success of clean and wholesome character plays like "The Old Homestead" and "Pudd'nhead Wilson," which, crude as they are in workmanship, yet possess a certain sociological value, is also an encouraging symptom. In these respects the outlook is not altogether discouraging, but the real reformation of the theater must begin at the top with the managers.

The "Heart Line" in Fiction.

AMID all the discussion which has recently taken place with regard to schools of fiction, as between the realistic and the romantic, there has been perhaps too much absorption in the question of method, and too little attention to that of substance. On the one hand we have the partizans of precision of statement and exactness of fact, and on the other the partizans of idealism as contradistinguished from actuality. Meanwhile a proof of the subordinate importance of this or that method is the fact that great works of art have been written indifferently in either—the greatest perhaps with a combination of both. Art is nothing but the right direction of power to a definite and worthy purpose, and it is equally futile to deny its existence in romances such as "Les Misérables" or "Ivanhoe" and in the baldest realism of Maeterlinck's touching transcripts of life, "L'Intruse" and "Les Aveugles." Between these two extremes lie the great novels which

the world will not willingly let die. A characteristic of the best work, if not its ultimate test, is suggestiveness — the awakening rather than the satisfaction of the mind: more must be meant than meets the ear; and this, it must be admitted, is likelier of achievement in the presentation of the ideal than in the transcription of the actual. For this reason poetry will always remain the first of the arts — the vehicle for the successive perpetuation of what is best worth having out of the common inheritance of the race.

But even in so ideal an art as poetry, to paraphrase the Laureate, Art reveals herself in many ways,

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

How much less is it worth while to dogmatize as to methods in departments of prose expression? It is not style that makes the man, but the man that makes the style. That the narrative manner of Grant is, let us say, Doric, is not without a significant relation to the character of the man. So, in fiction, power reaches its end through the natural speech of the writer. The law of the conservation of force holds good in all forms of literary expression: as much power as is put into a work can come out of it, no more and no less. And art, indispensable as it is, exists merely to give currency to power. Art for art's sake is as though the dynamo should exist for the battery.

When one comes to consider wherein the power of the great novelists consists, it may be found to be closely related to what, in spite of the psychologists, we have agreed to call the heart. Klopstock was

clearly shallow in thinking that the highest test of a work of art is that it should bring tears to the eyes. On the stage and elsewhere the most superficial emotions are thus stirred by the vulgarest expedients. The stronger roots of human nature are planted deeper, and one must go deeper to feed them. The true artist must first realize his scene in his own feeling. Many a reader has wept with Thackeray over the death of Colonel Newcome who has been much more permanently affected by the nobility and pathos of his life. In "Middlemarch" the meeting of Dorothea and Rosamond is an unforgettable glimpse of triumphant womanly sympathy. To name over to one's self the favorite scenes of fiction is to count a rosary of art, with every bead of which one's heart goes out in adoration. Against these treasures how empty is the word-painting of the artificial school! Not the most exquisite technic — though it be that of a Bourget — can compensate for the lack of this broad human feeling. The way to oblivion is paved with the bones of clever authors. The most admired of recent books in America at the present time owes its vogue to the fact that, in spite of serious faults of style and construction, it produces an atmosphere of affection and sympathy to which it is impossible to feel one's self a stranger, and that from first to last the author's touch is free from the degradation of cynicism. "Manner is a great matter," of course, but genius is expansive, and shifts the boundaries of art. And genius is authoritative in fiction exactly in the proportion in which it speaks with the *vox humana*.

OPEN LETTERS.

Remarks on a Recent Hypnotic Experiment.

IN THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for October, 1894, in an article entitled "The Eternal Gullible," Mr. Ernest Hart related certain experiments made in my presence and in that of several other medical men. The crushing to a jelly of a portion of the skin on a young man's arm with a pair of strong pincers was the only one of importance. This lad had performed as a mesmeric subject, and Mr. Hart had bought the confession that he was an impostor. The amount paid I do not know; I heard afterward that he persistently demanded £50, but possibly he received much less. During the experiment he showed neither the ordinary signs of pain, nor, by dilatation of pupil or quickening of pulse, the physiological ones. Mr. Hart ridicules the idea that this was due to post-hypnotic analgesia, and cites natural insensibility to pain — the insensibility of hysterical women and of fakirs — as possible explanations. Before the operation some of the medical men examined the subject, and asserted that sensation was normal and that there were no signs of hysteria. The lad, moreover, was not an Indian fakir, but a somewhat unprepossessing-looking young Hebrew who had previously cut his own throat. His apparent insensibility might possibly have resulted from ordinary, not hypnotic, training; several circumstances, however, render this improbable. He was ignorant of the in-

voluntary signs of pain, yet these were repressed, and those who testified to his normal condition before the operation were of opinion that it was abnormal during it. My objection to the stage performance is that it is sometimes, though rarely, genuine, and is capable of harm; but in this instance all felt that Mr. Hart had failed to prove simulation, and expressed this opinion to him in writing.

At Dr. Hack Tuke's request, I submitted two of my own patients to various test experiments. Mr. Hart asserted that he could hypnotize them, and also awaken them when hypnotized by me. In this he was entirely unsuccessful; the genuine character of the hypnotic phenomena was admitted by all, including Mr. Hart, and in addition Dr. Tuke wrote me as follows: "As you were good enough to comply with my request in undertaking what might have been a thankless task, I write a line to thank you again, and to congratulate you on the result." These facts Mr. Hart passes over in silence.

The committee appointed by the British Medical Association unanimously reported that they had satisfied themselves of the genuine nature of hypnotic phenomena and of the value of hypnotism in medicine. Hypnotism has recently become a recognized method of treatment in many countries, and of those who employ it some occupy high official positions and have distinguished themselves in other departments of medi-

cine. They record operations performed during hypnotic anæsthesia, together with thousands of medical cases relieved or cured by hypnotic suggestion. Their statistics are fair subjects for investigation, but is it logical to conclude from the imperfectly recorded case referred to that they must be contaminated by simulation? The purchased testimony of one who had already avowed falsehood is of little scientific value; but granting the truth of his evidence, it has as little connection with hypnotism as the assertions of the village quack or bone-setter have with modern medicine. Such subjects could be bribed to simulate epilepsy or other convulsive disorders, but this would not justify the conclusion that these diseases, as observed by medical men, are usually fraudulent imitations.

It has been shown that the nervous and ill-balanced are the most difficult, instead of the most easy, to hypnotize, and, as stated by Professor Forel of Zurich, "Every mentally healthy man is naturally hypnotizable." No single case has yet been recorded where mental or physical harm has resulted from the skilled medical use of hypnotism. Suggestion plays an important part in the medicine of to-day. Dr. Tuke, speaking of the late Sir Andrew Clark, said: "Neither drugs nor diet formed the central factors of his treatment, or explained his success. 'Suggestion' lay at the root of it all. In short, Sir Andrew out-Bernheim Bernheim; he was, in a word, the most successful hypnotist of his day." Recent experiments have shown that the magnets with which Prof. Benedikt claims to obtain astonishing results owe their efficacy entirely to suggestion, and would be equally serviceable if made of wood. Suggestion in these forms, however, owes its virtue to faith on the part of the patient, frequently associated with ignorance in the operator, and increased knowledge is ever liable to rob it of its power. The hypnotist gives no material form to the mental influence, but tries to understand its nature and how to produce the physical condition — by no means dependent on the blind faith of the patient — most favorable for its development.

In medicine evolution is constantly taking place. Fevers and kindred disorders, long treated by blood-letting and starvation, then by feeding without drugs, or in conjunction with them, now seem likely to pass into the hands of the bacteriologist. In like manner, many functional nervous disorders, either treated by drugs or by suggestion in the form of magnets, electro-

pathic belts, or colored waters, seem likely to pass into those of medical men practising hypnotism.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

J. Milne Bramwell.

The Home-Makers and the Boom-Makers.

THE rapid settlement of the new Northwestern States has developed — or, rather, afforded a field of operation for — two classes of people essentially different in character: earnest, industrious, thrifty builders of homes, and adventurous, speculative builders of booms. Fortunately for the land, the former vastly outnumber the latter. Most unfortunately, however, while the army of the home-building class has devoted its energy and industry to the practical work of developing the vast resources of the soil and mines, to opening farms and digging minerals, the troop of boom-makers has actively given its perennial leisure to extravagant schemes of town-plating, visionary financial enterprises, and to the profitable farming of practical politics. Taking advantage of the absorption of the conservative classes in positive material development, it has cunningly manipulated itself into every representative place, always assuming to voice the demands, the necessities, and the sentiments of the Western pioneers; and the East has manifestly come to receive these adventurers as typical exponents of Western ideas.

The inevitable reaction from the criminal speculations of these boomers has lately been lying oppressively upon the West, paralyzing every legitimate enterprise; but it is awakening the conservative, candid men, who accomplish their reasonable undertakings, to the necessity of securing representation, politically and otherwise, by men who deserve and will secure and retain the confidence of the country.

A sturdy spirit occupied the new
Far Western land. Unflinchingly it met
The elemental odds; paid ground-rent debt
To Providence; with faith-born courage drew
Large drafts against unfailing Hope's account.
The summer's drought, the devastating hail,
The winter's storm, this spirit could not quail.
From Traverse Lake to Harney's lambent mount
The erstwhile desert bloomed, and there homes grew
Where modest culture dwelt. A noisy pack
Of pilfering coyotes — shifts that neither hew
The rock nor dig sweet wells — sent yelping back
A deafening tumult from the Coteau peaks.
The world said, "Hear! The Western spirit speaks."

WATERTOWN, S. DAKOTA.

Doane Robinson.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

A Stranger to Luck.

WHEN I got off the train at Darbyville, which, as all will remember, is the junction of the L. M. & N. and O. P. & Q. railroads, and found that, owing to an accident, it would be an hour before the train came in on the latter road, I was vexed. Although ordinarily my own thoughts are agreeable companions, yet events of the past week, in which my good judgment had not borne a conspicuous part, made it likely that for the nonce these thoughts of mine would be

more or less unpleasant, and so I cast about for some human nature to study.

At one end of the platform three or four farmers were seated upon trunks. They were alert-looking men, and, like me, were waiting for the train. As I neared them, one of their number, a tall, lanky, sharp-boned, knife-featured fellow, imperturbably good-natured-looking, and with an expression of more than ordinary intelligence in his eyes, left them, and sauntered off down the road with long, irregular strides.

They see only with the eye's retina, not with that deep vision whose images lie where thought and reason sit. The real drama of life is disclosed only with the whole picture; and that only the deep and fervid student will see, whose mind goes daily fresh to the details, whose narrative runs always in the authentic colors of nature, whose art it is to see and to paint what he sees.

It is thus, and thus only, we shall have the truth of the matter: by art—by the most difficult of all arts; by fresh study and first-hand vision; at the mouths of men who stand in the midst of old letters and dusty documents and neglected records, not like antiquarians, but like those who see a distant country and a far-away people before their very eyes, as real, as full of life and hope and incident as the day in

which they themselves live. Let us have done with humbug and come to plain speech. The historian needs an imagination quite as much as he needs scholarship, and consummate literary art as much as candor and common honesty. Histories are written in order that the bulk of men may read and realize; and it is as bad to bungle the telling of the story as to lie, as fatal to lack a vocabulary as to lack knowledge. In no case can you do more than convey an impression, so various and complex is the matter. If you convey a false impression, what difference does it make how you convey it? In the whole process there is a nice adjustment of means to ends which only the artist can manage. There is an art of lying; there is equally an art—an infinitely more difficult art—of telling the truth.

Woodrow Wilson.

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

The Doom of the Spoils System.

THAT the spoils system is doomed no one can doubt who notes the steady progress of civil-service reform. The Civil Service Act went into effect in 1883, and during the term of President Arthur the number of places in the Federal service which were classified under its provisions was 15,573. During President Cleveland's first term the number was raised to 27,330. During President Harrison's term it was raised to 42,928. Down to July 1 of the present year 8540 more places had been added, bringing the total up to 51,468. As there are about 200,000 persons regularly employed in the government service, one fourth of them are now subject to competitive examinations under civil-service rules, and are thus removed from the control of the spoilsmen.

Of the other three fourths, or 150,000, about 18,000 can be classified by order of the President without further legislation, and it is the confident expectation of the friends of the reform that he will bring these, or at least the greater part of them, within the jurisdiction of the law at an early day—possibly before the meeting of the next Congress. His latest extensions of the rules, to the employees of the Agricultural Department, the Government Printing-office and the Pension agencies, indicate similar action before long in regard to employees in other departments who are still outside the classified service. When he shall have included all these, and when Congress shall have done its duty by passing bills placing the consular service and the entire postal service of the country under the law, the reform will be completely accomplished.

That the people of the country would support overwhelmingly this final elimination of the spoils system from our politics cannot be questioned. No advance of civil-service reform, however radical and far-reaching it may have been in its effects, has ever called forth a word of popular disapproval. On the contrary, every advance has been commended by all, except those who get their living out of politics. There never was a time

when the protests of the politicians against the reform commanded so little sympathy as they do at present. Nobody any longer sympathizes with the armies and gangs of office-seekers who swarm about every newly elected president, or governor, or mayor. They are looked upon with well-nigh universal contempt. When Governor Morton upheld the State Civil Service Commission of New York, a few months ago, in extending the civil-service regulations to various additional branches of the State service, including that of public works, which his own party managers were seeking to retain for spoils, he was heartily applauded by men and journals of all parties, and no word of sympathy was heard for the baffled spoilsmen.

The fact is that the people have at last realized that there can be no thorough and lasting reform of our politics till the spoils system has been destroyed. This is true of all our politics—national, State, and city. What reformers are aiming at in all three political fields is to restrain the activity and prevent the evil accomplishments of mercenary and dishonest and unfit men. All these men are attracted to politics solely by the spoils to be won. If there were no spoils they would not concern themselves about politics at all; they would take no interest in the nomination and election of candidates who would have nothing to bestow after election in the way of political rewards. As soon as politics ceased to "pay," they would leave them for more profitable fields of activity.

The results of this departure would be most salutary in every way. At present the greater part of the time and strength of reformers is exhausted in the effort to overcome the organized power of the spoilsmen. If success be attained in one election, incessant vigilance and constant work are necessary to prevent the triumph of the spoilsmen in the succeeding election. The fight is always an unequal one. The reformers are busy men, who must take from their regular occupations the time and strength necessary to maintain their political work. The spoilsmen have no other occupation. They are fighting for their livelihood, and are able to fight every

day in the year. They are seeking personal profit and a living, while the reformers are actually paying in time and energy for the political work which they are doing. The ultimate result is always the same—the spoilsmen regain control. The level of public administration may have been lifted a little, but sooner or later the old order of things is resumed.

Now if the spoilsmen were eliminated by the removal of all incentive to take part in politics, all this energy by the reformers for the mere purpose of overcoming the organized power of the spoilsmen would be saved. It could be devoted to the consideration of questions of government, of improvement in methods of administration—in short, to real politics. The passing from politics of the most unfit men would make room for the entrance of men of a higher type. If official tenure were permanent, if merit alone determined the selection for and retention in office, men of ability and character would seek official life, as they seek professional and other occupations, and we should not have any difficulty in getting useful public servants. Furthermore, we should be able to get a better class of men for our administrative and legislative offices. At present, in most cases, the politicians select them for us, and they pick out the kind of men who will be willing to serve them and their kind of politics after election. If the politicians had nothing to hope for from any candidate after election, they would cease to take interest in the nominations, and the natural result would be that the people would select men without interference or dictation from a machine or a boss, and would choose a far better type. Many able men at present refuse to run for office because they do not wish to ally themselves with existing party politicians, and because they do not wish to be subjected to the annoying demands of the spoilsmen after election. If they could be nominated and elected as public servants, and could act in that capacity, after taking office, with nothing to do except serve the public interest, many excellent men who now refuse to accept office would gladly consent to do so. The crying need of a better class of public men is evident to any one who observes attentively the course of American legislation from year to year.

Left to themselves, the people will always put fit men in office. Popular government in so many parts of our country is a disgrace and virtually a failure, not because the people wish it to be what it is, but because the spoils politicians, through their control of the party machinery, give them few opportunities to put proper men in office. The surest way to get rid of the spoilsmen is to abolish the spoils—starve them out of politics by taking away the only means by which they can live in politics. That is what civil-service reform is doing, and it is therefore the foundation-stone of all political reform.

The Prejudice against Learning among Undergraduates.

Is it not time that something were done to arouse among the youth of the present day a conviction that the chief object of a college course is learning? No one who has talked with undergraduates, or with youth preparing for college, can fail to have been struck with the inferior interest which they show in mere learning. Why does a boy wish to go to one

college rather than another? Because he will acquire more learning there? Not at all. In four cases out of five the boy will tell you frankly that he wishes to go there because of the prowess of its students in athletic contests. It has the best foot-ball eleven, or the best eight-oar crew, or the best base-ball nine, or the best field athletic team. What is the condition of its faculty, and how do the students stand in intellectual contests? Oh, the boy does not know anything about those things, and you must be an old fogey, or you would not ask such questions. Much the same condition of affairs exists among undergraduates. Very little is heard about the men who take the prizes in the examinations, or who lead the classes in their studies; but there is no limit to either the talk or the enthusiasm about the men who are leaders in athletic contests. If questions are asked about the leaders in scholarship, the chances are that they will be spoken of as “mere digs,” poor creatures who devote all their time to books. These men do not get their pictures in the newspapers, and the bare mention of their names when the prizes and honors are awarded attracts almost no attention.

If you pass beyond the preparatory schools and undergraduates to the graduates, much the same state of mind confronts you. How often at an alumni banquet is intellectual supremacy in college life praised? Who are the students whose names are cited with uproarious cheers at these reunions? They are the leaders on the athletic field. All graduates know the names of these; but how many graduates could give the names of the leaders in intellectual pursuits? An eminent graduate of one of our leading colleges made a defense of this condition of things at an alumni banquet, saying that what every successful college needed was a boom, and that since you could not have a boom in Latin and Greek, you must have it in foot-ball.

But must a college have a boom in order to carry on its work in the best way? A boom in learning! How does that sound? What is a boom? According to the “Century Dictionary” it is a movement, political or other, which proceeds in a “sudden and rapid motion with a roaring and increasing sound.” Is that the kind of thing to introduce into the “still air of delightful studies,” into the atmosphere of learning which hangs like a benediction over every venerable college? Lowell, in his Harvard anniversary address, said of the quadrangles and cloisters at Oxford and Cambridge, that they were “conscious with venerable associations, whose very stones seemed happier for being there,” and that the “chapel pavement still whispered with the blessed feet of that long procession of saints and sages and scholars and poets, who are all gone into a world of light, but whose memories seem to consecrate the soul from all ignobler companionship.” Many an American youth has felt this spell as he has passed for the first time within the college gates to begin his four years of quiet study. He has felt like removing his hat, and standing with bared head in that sacred place, teeming with the traditions of that learning, the love of which has but just been kindled in his bosom. Professor Bryce, in his admirable chapter upon American Universities, in “The American Commonwealth,” says of the colleges scattered all over our land, that they set learning in a visible form before the eyes of the people, that what

may be at first only a farthing rushlight, with the development of the community, or under the guidance of an able teacher, "becomes a lamp of growing flame," throwing its rays over a continually widening circle. This is the simple truth. The mere presence of a college in a community, the daily spectacle of its quiet grounds and buildings devoted to learning, have kindled in many a boy's mind the ambition to get an education, to pass from the farm or the workshop into some of the intellectual walks of life. No boom is needed to spread this quiet work in the human soul. Simple learning has been the magnet which has drawn thousands of American boys into our colleges, and has been the earnest object of their studies after they have entered.

Shall we allow all this to be changed? Shall we fill the college campus and college buildings with the roar of an athletic boom, and put learning in a secondary position? We do not for a moment believe any such change can be made permanently. That it has come dangerously near to being made temporarily, nobody can doubt. The turning-point has been reached, however, and the old order of things is certain to be resumed, with some modifications perhaps, but with learning as the dominating influence. The early idea of the model college student, the pale, sickly youth who simply crammed his text-books, shut his mind against all general knowledge, abstained from all exercise and healthy sport, took the valedictory, and either died soon afterward, or lapsed into a life of obscurity and chronic ill-health, has long since passed away. The ideal student now is the one who develops mind and body together, who is taught that without a healthy body, his mind cannot do its best work. Compulsory exercise in the gymnasium, under expert medical direction, is required in many of our colleges and ought to be in all. No athletic boom ever reaches the great body of the students. It benefits mainly only those who are naturally the strongest, and hence have less need of systematic exercise. The others sit on the benches and watch the games. The general health of the college is not improved and its general intellectual condition is greatly injured. No rational person can object to reasonable college sports, but let them be kept as college sports, and not as great public spectacles, with gate money running into thousands of dollars, and accompanied with a fury of betting, which does not stop with the undergraduates, but invades all the preparatory schools. Not only is the spirit of learning banished by such doings as these, but the whole moral tone of the college is lowered. One would infer from some current publications of college experiences and stories, put forth recently, that the modern student's life was a round of athletic contests, with betting, drinking, robbing of hen-roosts, everything except study.

That there is a great deal of earnest study going on in all our colleges cannot be questioned. It is fortunate for us as a people that this is the case. Lowell, in the address from which we have quoted above, says that our greatest need as a people is to increase the number of our highly cultivated men and thoroughly trained minds, for these carry with them into every-day life the seeds of sounder thinking and of higher ideals. There never was a time when the demand for thoroughly educated minds was so great in this country as it is today. In every walk in life in which intellectual labor is employed, the demand for such minds far exceeds

the supply. This is a serious situation, for as Lowell says, "Democracy must show its capacity for producing not a higher average man, but the highest possible types of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure. No matter what it does for the body, if it do not in some sort satisfy that inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure." In America, with its boundless material resources, the struggle not merely to advance the kingdom of the mind, the things of the spirit, but to keep them from slipping farther and farther into the background, must always be an intense one. Without our colleges as feeders for our intellectual class, this struggle would be a hopeless one. We do not believe for a moment that our colleges will consent to put the kingdom of mind below that of the body. In the inspiring words of George William Curtis, the college shall in the future, as it did in the past, teach the American youth the "secret and methods of material success; but above all, it shall admonish him that man does not live by bread alone, and that the things which are eternal are unseen; with one hand it shall lead him to the secrets of material skill, it shall equip him to enter into the fullest trade with all the world, but with the other it shall lead him to lofty thought and to commerce with the skies."

Art on the Battlefield.

THE dedication of the National Military Park in the vicinity of Chattanooga suggests the inquiry whether sufficient consideration has been given to the service which art may render on the battlefield in perpetuating the fame of brave men. To accomplish this object,—nowhere a worthier one than on the field of Chickamauga, probably the bloodiest battle since the invention of gunpowder,—it is not enough that the demands of history alone should be satisfied. This is of course the first condition: to identify all lines of battle, to indicate in detail every significant position and movement—in short, to reproduce to the eye and the imagination, as far as may be done, the very form and color of the event. This is indispensable, and in these respects the scheme adopted by the National Commission could hardly be improved.

But, after all, this is the prose of the battle; and it is through art in some form—painting, sculpture, poetry, or the lesser art of letters—that appeal must be made to posterity in realization of the idea of heroism associated with hallowed ground. For such service none but the best attainable art is good enough. This the Greeks and Romans knew, as many famous sculptures attest, and this lesson we have yet to learn from them.

It is idle to say that for one who looks at a battlefield from an artistic point of view there are a thousand to whom it has only the associations of a historical event. This is true to-day; but we are in the infancy of our art-development, and what will satisfy us, in whom gratitude, comradeship, or admiration are prominent motives, may not answer to the demands of a more cultivated generation of observers, in whom the associations of the event are less lively. Fame exacts the best both of the actor and the celebrator.

It is probably within the fact to say that there are not four pieces of good sculpture on the battlefield of Gettysburg, including the beautiful and appropriate

Celtic cross which marks the position of a body of Irish troops. There are a few unobtrusive pieces of natural rock which fittingly express willing sacrifice or unyielding valor; but for the most part that beautiful field—the chosen valley for the nation's salvation—has become for lack of coordination in plan and good taste in execution an unsightly collection of tombstones. In this respect it is only less so than the ordinary cemetery: the objection to it is that it *is* a cemetery; and a mere cemetery, we maintain, a great battle-field should not be allowed to be made.

As the fields of Antietam and Shiloh are now passing into Government control it may not be too late to urge upon those in charge a few practical considerations which may lead to a larger measure of beauty, without any loss—indeed, with a marked enhancement—of the practical value of such an enterprise.

1. Every Commission should avail itself of the advice of the best landscape architects, so that park-like effects may be retained as far as may be consonant with the more practical objects of the reservation.

2. Lines of battle should be marked clearly but unpretentiously with a low uniform stone, and the whole plan should be worked out artistically before large monuments are erected.

3. The Commission should have the advice of a competent board of sculptors, and should be guided by them in the acceptance of plans for monuments.

4. The monuments, to be of artistic excellence, must be few; and to this end the unit of celebration, so to speak, should be the corps. The sense of historical perspective is lost by allowing each regiment to determine the proportions and character of the memorial. Alas! the appropriation of the States for separate monuments for each of their regiments is perhaps already beyond diversion to a more artistic plan. But some oversight may yet be possible, and legislatures making new appropriations may well keep in view the necessity of a severe artistic supervision, such as made the Court of Honor of the Columbian Exposition the admiration of the world. Surely at Gettysburg such a board could have made every provision for satisfying the pride and claims of individual regiments, without in any way impairing the charming natural features of the field. It will be little short of a criminal blunder if the error there made shall be repeated on other fields. The heroes of the civil war are worthy of the best that History and Art can give them.

Hope for the Forests.

FROM time to time during the last six years, both by editorial articles and by solicited contributions, we have endeavored to impress upon our readers the conviction of intelligent observers that no time should be lost in providing against the imminent and manifold perils of forest destruction in the United States, and especially on the public lands. The mind that would compass the evils brought upon other countries through indifference to this matter may see them startlingly set forth in George P. Marsh's engaging volume "Nature as Modified by Man," in which that patriotic student of science and history gave his countrymen an anxious warning against similar neglect. This was fifty years ago, and in the main our national forest policy has not yet taken shape, while the destruction of our largest crop by fire, sheep, and the hungry ax goes bravely on.

This is not because the intelligence of the people is not convinced of the situation. A correct public sentiment on the subject has been rapidly forming. Bodies as widely diverse as the American Society for the Advancement of Science, the National Irrigation Association, and the New England Lumbermen's Association have officially joined in the demand for legislative action: only Congress lags behind. As usual, it is in the Capitol at Washington that ignorance and greed make their last stand, relying on the indifference or preoccupation of the law-makers. For the rest, it is natural that honest legislators who have given no attention to the subject should hesitate to take the initiative, but that they should not be willing to give weight to the united voices of experts is most provincial and most deplorable. But a more potent voice is now about to speak. Those who will not listen to Science will hardly turn a deaf ear to Commerce.

During the present year the advocates of a modern forest policy have received the important support of the two leading mercantile organizations of New York City. On January 3, 1895, the New York Chamber of Commerce, after special consideration of the subject, adopted unanimously the following resolutions:

Whereas, A thorough inquiry into the question of the preservation of our forest lands is of paramount importance to agricultural and other interests; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Chamber recommend to the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled to pass a bill which authorizes the President of the United States to appoint a Commission of three experts, and make the necessary appropriation for the purpose of a thorough study of our public timber lands, so as to determine what portions ought to be preserved in the interest of the people, to prepare a plan for their management, and report the same within a year of their appointment. The Commission to have access to all public documents bearing on the question.

On June 12, 1895, a similar meeting was held by the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, and, after discussion of the larger aspects of the subject, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The welfare and the commercial interests of the entire country are closely related to the preservation and proper management of the public forests:

Resolved, That, as a first step to a permanent and scientific forest policy, we heartily favor the creation by Congress of a National Forest Commission with the following objects:

1. To study the public timber lands, reserves, and parks on the ground.
2. To ascertain their condition and extent.
3. To ascertain their relation to the public welfare, and to existing local needs of the people as regards agriculture and the supply of wood for mining, transportation and other purposes.
4. To ascertain what portions of the public timber lands should remain as such in view of the agricultural, mining, lumbering, and other interests of the people.
5. To prepare a plan for the general management of the public timber lands in accordance with the principles of forestry.
6. To recommend the necessary legislation, and

Resolved, That the special committee on forestry be directed to communicate with other commercial bodies and with Congress in furtherance of concerted action on this important question at the next session.

It was understood to be the purpose of the Board to devote itself to the organization of the sentiment of the country in favor of a National Commission. The value of this action may be inferred from the fact that it is to the energetic leadership of the Board of Trade and Transportation, that we owe the adoption

of the recent amendment to the New York State constitution, virtually prohibiting for twenty years the sale or cutting of timber on the Adirondack reservation, where the reckless violation of previous statutes by a ring of lumbermen made a drastic measure indispensable.

In thus taking an active part on a wider field of forest reform, it is to be hoped that the Board of Trade and Transportation will be promptly, heartily, and continuously supported by the merchants of the country, not only by similar resolutions, but by independent

study of the subject and by personal appeal to senators and representatives before the reassembling of Congress. The short session preceding a presidential campaign, when there is a disposition to avoid political legislation, ought to be favorable to a general project of this kind, of common and vital interest to the whole country now and hereafter. Legislators may differ upon the details of a governmental administration of the forests, but there can hardly be an honest objection to the thorough scientific study of a subject of so vast importance.

OPEN LETTERS.

New Light in the Black Belt.

EVER since the negroes were enfranchised, what is known as the Black Belt of Alabama has been noted for what many regarded as a dangerous preponderance of colored people. It was in the heart of this section—at Tuskegee, in Alabama—that fourteen years ago was founded, very modestly, by a colored man, freshly graduated from Hampton College in Virginia, a normal and industrial school for his race, which, so far as negro education was concerned, was an experiment.

The founder of this school, Mr. Booker T. Washington, had become persuaded that most of the efforts at training his people in purely academic directions were almost entirely thrown away. He held that the time was not ripe, and his people were not prepared, for the higher scholastic training of which the Greek and Latin classics are the basis, but that they needed to be taught how to work to advantage in the trades and handicrafts, how to be better farmers, how to be more thrifty in their lives, and, most of all, how to resist the money-lenders' inducements to mortgage their crops before they were made. It was with these great ideas that he began his work at Tuskegee, the results of which are well worth reporting.

When the attention of philanthropists was first directed to the ignorant condition of the freedmen in the South, in nine cases out of ten the practical effort to do something for their improvement was controlled by clergymen and was largely influenced by sentimental considerations. The chief object seemed to be to grow a great crop of negro preachers, lawyers, and doctors. The result was so disheartening that fifteen years after the war was over there were grave doubts whether the colored race in the South was not lapsing into a barbarism worse than that of slavery. Fortunately among these educators and philanthropists there was at least one sane man, the late General S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton. His main idea was to train workmen and teachers. Mr. Washington was one of these teachers. Of him and his work General Armstrong, shortly before his death, said: "It is, I think, the noblest and grandest work by any colored man in the land. What compares with it in general value and power for good? It is on the Hampton plan, combining labor and study, commands high respect from both races, flies no denominational flag, but is earnestly and thoroughly Christian, is out of debt, well managed, and organized."

Mr. Washington began in 1881 with nothing but ideas and ambition and a few friends, none of whom could do much in the way of contributions. But he has pressed on to such purpose that the fourteenth year showed an enrolment of 1025 pupils and teachers: 809 pupils in the Normal School, 150 in the Model School, and 66 teachers and superintendents. The school owns about 2000 acres of land, and has over 40 buildings either completed or in course of erection. It rents 15 cottages not on the school grounds, and some ten of the teachers live in homes of their own. It has no endowment worth mentioning, and it must support itself from earnings, and from the donations of those who have become interested in it. For the year that ended in June the expenses were \$73,347.58—surely a small amount when it is considered that it represents the support of more than one thousand persons for a year. The pupils are rarely able to pay for their board, only \$9,696.80 being secured from this source during the year; yet all had to be lodged and fed. The State of Alabama gave toward the expenses \$3000, the Slater Fund \$5400, the Peabody Fund \$500, the Women's Home Missionary Society \$576, and the balance, \$54,174.78, was received from earnings and from the donations of societies and individuals. The tuition is entirely free. The cost of educating a student is \$50 a year (the student paying his board partly in cash and partly in work); \$200 enables him to complete the four years' course; \$1000 creates a permanent scholarship.

Twenty-five industries are carried on at the school, and while learning trades the pupils are given an opportunity to earn something toward their support, being allowed five cents an hour while at work. But they not only work at trades and in the fields; they are required to spend a part of the day or evening in the class-room; so that the carpenter or the blacksmith or the bricklayer learning a trade at Tuskegee is also instructed in the rudiments of lettered knowledge.

At the commencement held at the end of May the exercises included not only music and speaking, but an exhibition of the handiwork of the pupils, who were called on to show how each kind of work was done. One showed the method of putting tires on a buggy, another the construction of a house, another the pinning of the same, and still another the painting of the structure; the girls showed the process of ironing a shirt, of cleaning and lighting a lamp, of making bread, cake, and pie, of cutting and fitting a dress, and

so on. Other boys illustrated wheelwrighting, brick-laying, plastering, mattress-making, printing, and various agricultural processes. To the crowds of interested negroes at this commencement this seemed something worth while, because it was practical, and within the range of their own experience and attainment.

The influence of Hampton and Tuskegee spreads rapidly. Many of the men and women graduated from this normal and industrial school are inspired with the ambition to become teachers themselves. It has therefore come about that there are many small schools in several of the Southern States conducted in some measure upon the same lines as those followed in Mr. Washington's institution. The chief ideas insisted upon at Tuskegee are that men and women must be honest and industrious, and lead clean, moral lives; that they must to the best of their ability put in practice the skill, whether it be that of artisan or husbandman, that they have acquired in the industrial school; that they must become proprietors if possible, and beyond everything that they must keep out of debt, especially out of the debt that is represented by a mortgage on home and crops. If these ideas were inculcated only in one thousand pupils at one time, the work would be a very great one in influence and beneficence. But very few indeed go away from Tuskegee without an inspiration to assist in the improvement of the condition of their neighbors at home. Here is where the greatest civilizing influence is exerted.

Another point is much impressed upon the pupils at Tuskegee. In the old times all the negroes in the South were housed in one-room cabins. In such a home there could be little or no advancement. The Tuskegee idea teaches that the one-room cabin is indecent and unfit for the habitation of a family. And so the small farmers and laborers are encouraged to add rooms to their cabins or to build new cottages — to expand their habitations and make them worthy of men and citizens. This propagandum has been so effective that while one-

room cabins were the general rule when the negroes were emancipated, now one third of the rural negroes in the South are housed in structures containing more than one room, and in these houses there is practically no doubling up of families.

In brief, among all the educational efforts among the negroes there is probably none more interesting, wise, or successful than this work of Mr. Washington's at Tuskegee.

Jno. Gilmer Speed.

The Century's American Artists Series.

H. O. WALKER. (SEE PAGE 771.)

HENRY OLIVER WALKER was born in Boston, and began the study of art much later in life than most painters. In 1879 he went to Paris, remaining there about four years as a pupil of Bonnat, and subsequently had the advantage of a visit to Spain and Italy. On returning to America, he remained for several years in Boston, painting both portraits and pictures, and then removed to New York, half of each year being spent in Cornish, N. H., where most of his work is done.

Mr. Walker is a member of the Society of American Artists, and an associate member of the National Academy of Design. He was awarded a medal at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893; secured the Shaw prize of 1894 at the Society of American Artists' exhibition; and in 1895, by the picture shown on page 771, obtained the Clarke prize of the National Academy of Design.

Mr. Walker's pictures are the work of a conscientious and talented workman. They are careful in drawing, pure in color, and excellently made; and they show an artist of much intellectuality and of a poetic temperament. Henry Walker is of those artists (by no means uncommon in our studios) who, regardless of those who cry aloud in the market-place, quietly follow in the path marked out by Perugino, and beaten hard by the footsteps of Del Sarto and Raphael.

W. Lewis Fraser.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.

The Gum Swamp Debate.

IT was a gala night at the Gum Swamp Meeting-house, for the vexed question which could "argify" best — the Rev. Elijah Williams or Mr. Ike Peterson — was to be definitely settled by a public contest. It is true that the ostensible object of the meeting was to debate this proposition, "De pen am more pow'ful dan de powder," but it was recognized by the whole congregation that the real issue was as first stated.

For many years 'Lige had held undisputed possession of the pulpit and forum, and swayed his audience with homely eloquence, his logic irresistible, his facts unassailed. He had been authority on all questions, settling family as well as doctrinal disputes. If there was a mooted point in scripture that 'Lige had failed to clear up, it was because the point was fortified behind an array of words that no one in Gum Swamp could spell out. But one day that nineteenth-century product, "a school darkey," by the name of Ike Peterson, had made his ap-

pearance and begun to talk out in meeting. Ike had just enough learning to spell out the parts of the Bible he already knew, and carried in his excellent memory a jumble of facts and phrases that had stuck to his impressionable mind. But he had in addition an intense desire to be heard upon all questions, coupled with an assurance simply overwhelming. He it was who proposed the question as above, and assumed to defend the affirmative. As may be supposed, this new-comer was a thorn in the side of the preacher, and the situation was not helped by the fact that the giddy young sisters showed a disposition to cackle when he crowded.

On the memorable night of the contest Ike arose to begin the debate. Every seat was taken, and the walls of the log edifice were lined with eager listeners, while bouquets of ebon faces clustered at the open doors and windows. The speaker was at his ease, and glaring about him, said loudly:

"Huccum all you niggers hyah? Das de fus' an' fo'mos' quesshun, huccum yer hyah? Was any uv yer

TOPICS OF THE TIME.

Money and Debts.

THE advocates of free silver coinage, aided by the owners of silver mines, have been circulating in the West and South during the past few months pamphlets and other popular literature, given up mainly to two subjects. The first of these relates to the fall in the price of commodities which has taken place the world over during the past few years, and is an effort to convince the farmers of the country that while the price of what they produce has fallen one half, the price of their debts remains unchanged. The second relates to the demonetization of silver by Congress in 1873, and is always referred to as "the Crime of 1873."

The usual form in which the silver advocates — on the stump and in their various publications — put the price argument is something like this: "Everything that the farmer produces has gone down in price nearly, or quite, one half, while his debt remains unchanged. He has to produce twice as many bushels of wheat or corn to pay his debt, or the interest on it, as he had to produce when the debt was incurred. This is due to the scarcity of money, brought about by the demonetization of silver. If we had free coinage of silver, the price of his crops and the price of his debt would be on the same level."

The author of the principal pamphlet put the point very clearly in an open letter to President Cleveland, in April last, saying:

A debt for \$1000 that 1000 bushels of wheat would have paid ten years ago now requires the farmer to give up 2000 bushels of wheat, in exchange for these dollars, with which to pay the same debt. The debts now in existence are principally old debts, or renewed or re-funded debts, or new debts contracted to pay old debts, or debts which the people have been forced to contract by reason of the continued decline in prices. The owners of products must now give up twice as much property to pay their taxes as in 1873.

Let us first consider the truth of the quoted statements, second their moral quality, and third the practicability of acting in accordance with them.

(I.) Is it true that wheat is worth only half as much as it was ten years ago, and that it takes twice as many bushels to pay a debt now as it did then? It will be noticed from the quoted passage that its author is somewhat careless about dates and time, speaking in the first sentence of the present time as compared with ten years ago, and in the last sentence making the comparison with 1873. In both cases, however, he makes the decrease in value of products the same — one half. Mr. J. K. Upton, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has published figures which prove beyond question that the quoted statements are not true. These showed that ten years ago wheat was only 20 cents a bushel higher than in April, 1895, being quoted at 77 cents in 1885 and at 57 cents ten years later — a decrease of 26 per cent. instead of 50. In 1884 the wheat

crop was 337,000,000 bushels, and in 1894 460,000,000 bushels — an increase of over 36 per cent. The corn crop in 1884 was 1,796,000,000 bushels and in 1894 1,213,000,000 bushels — a decrease of 583,000,000 bushels. This crop, which is about one half greater in value than that of wheat, was quoted in January, 1885, at 35 cents a bushel, and ten years later at 45 cents a bushel — an advance of 28 per cent. Wheat had fallen in price because of a greatly increased crop, and corn had advanced in price because of a greatly decreased crop. The monetary standard clearly had nothing to do with the change in price of either product. Why should the farmer reckon his debt in wheat rather than in corn? If he paid it in the proceeds of both, would the average cost to him in the two products be greater than it was ten years earlier?

(2.) Now as to the moral aspect of the position. It is plain on the face of the statement that what is contemplated by its author is a depreciated dollar, one worth only 50 cents in gold. If this be not the dollar contemplated, how is the debtor to be able to reduce the price of his debt to the alleged price of his wheat? He would gain nothing by genuine bimetalism, that is, through the adoption of a monetary standard which kept gold and silver at a parity. What silver advocates say the farmer ought to have is a dollar worth only half as much as the one he has now. Granting for the sake of the argument that his products have been reduced one half in price, what moral right has he to have his debt reduced one half? Did he stipulate when he contracted his debt that his payment of it in full should depend upon the prosperity of his business, upon the profits of his farm? Did he agree that if his crops brought the same price ten years hence he would pay interest and principal in full in as good money as that which he borrowed, but that if crops were poor and prices went down one half he would only pay one half of principal and interest? If he had tried to negotiate a loan on that basis, could he have succeeded? Not having made any conditions of that kind, how can he honestly get out of any portion of his debt?

Let him change sides for a moment with the person or persons who lent him the money? The probabilities are that he got it from a savings bank, or an insurance company, or a loan association. Statistics show that the depositors in savings banks are mainly persons of small means — hard-working men and women, widows and orphans. It is their money which is loaned, not that of bloated capitalists. The stockholders in banks, insurance, and loan companies are largely men and women of small means, who have put all they have in the world into the stock of those corporations in order that it may earn a living for them and provide something to leave to their children. What is to be said of the justice of cutting down their property one half because the farmer who borrowed their money, and whose promise to pay

it in full they accepted, has not been so prosperous as he thought he would be? Would there be any other name for the act than repudiation, or breach of faith?

(3.) As for the practicability of conducting business affairs on such a basis, does any one need to be reasoned with about that? Could a farmer, or any other debtor, who should once refuse to pay half, or any other portion, of his debt because his crops sold for lower prices than they brought when he contracted his debt, ever borrow a dollar again? What would become of all our banks, our insurance companies, our loan associations, all institutions, in fact, for the investment of money? What would become of the credit system in business? What, in short, would become of the entire machinery of modern civilization? It would all be swept away at a blow, and we should be set back to the old system of barter. It seems incredible that, at this stage of the world, anybody should be ignorant of the fact that this experiment of repudiation has never been made, by either an individual or a nation, without most disastrous consequences. The articles in our Cheap-Money series¹ have shown how repeatedly during the past four hundred years this experiment has been made in different lands, always with the same results. Sad as is the dishonest aspect of it the feature of the proposition which is most surprising is its folly. We are confident that the common sense, as well as the common honesty, of the American people will reject it overwhelmingly if they shall be given an opportunity to vote squarely upon it.

Professor Sloane's "Napoleon."

THIS department is not the place, nor is it yet time, for either praise or criticism of Professor Sloane's "Napoleon." But at the close of a "magazine year" of this work, and at the point when the narrative is about to enter upon the noonday career of that wonderful figure, we may be permitted to call the attention of our readers to certain points of interest in the character and method of the work.

The "life" has not been put forth as a new series of memoirs, or as a collection of well-known anecdotes (valuable as both of these may be in their place), but as a serious and scholarly historical study. The various ways of writing history were the subject of a suggestive essay by Professor Woodrow Wilson in the September number. Certain letters which we have received remind us that something might also be said "On the Reading of History." There is a type of mental flabbiness which would not be satisfied with anything short of a gossip's view of Napoleon, and to which the serious interest with which the world is now subjecting the ingredients of his reputation to a sort of quantitative analysis is nothing more than a mere "fad." The hunger for fiction — an appetite that seems to grow by what it feeds on — is in danger of becoming a sort of literary bulimia, and threatens to exaggerate that aversion to continuity of serious intellectual exercise which Dr. Nordau regards as a sign of deterioration. The value and uses of fiction, either from a literary or a sociological point of view, have not been lost sight of in the conduct of this magazine; yet not only in the "Napoleon," but also in previous extensive works in the same field, we have trusted to the serious-mindedness of the American people, remembering that one of the

chief functions of history, as defined by Froude, is "to sound across the centuries the eternal note of right and wrong." This is not to claim any impeccable character for Professor Sloane's conclusions as to the motives of his personages. No one knows so well as a writer of history the manifold and persistent obstacles to entire accuracy in recreating that aspect of the past. We are only noting that history is a potent factor in keeping alive the sense of justice which is the very pulse of any people.

It is, however, much to say of this work of Professor Sloane's that, whatever the maturer sifting of critics may hereafter do, we have not yet become cognizant, from the mass of comment received, of any serious error of fact in his narrative. Of course, objections have been made to his conclusions, which is not strange when it is remembered that hardly two historians have heretofore agreed upon even the salient points of Napoleon's character, or upon the trustworthiness of the body of evidence, much less upon the subtle deductions that constitute the pith of history. Some of these objections have come from readers who are saturated with the sentimental views of a less scientific time, and who reveal the heated temper of extreme partizanship. A veritable *chronique scandaleuse* would not satisfy these readers of any lack of perfection in their heroes or heroines. But in the few cases of criticism of which we know, Professor Sloane has stood his ground successfully, and has never been shown ignorant of any accessible record. Whatever may be thought of his opinions, his method and temper at least have been scholarly. His study of the times has covered his mature life and has been the occupation of a worker of exceptional capacity for acquisition. His previously published historical work gave him no inconsiderable reputation for accuracy and trustworthiness. In the course of his special study of Napoleon, which has covered the last eight years, he has, familiarized himself with original sources of information — some unpublished, such as the French archives, the Ashburnham papers in the Medici library at Florence, and the diplomatic reports for 1814-15 in the English Record Office, not to mention the now voluminous publications from the Prussian, Russian, and Austrian archives, together with the contemporary French memoirs now for the most part printed. From this class of materials he has written his own conclusions, checking them by collateral evidence and modifying them on fuller knowledge. He has studied Napoleon not only in his own despatches and other autograph records, and in unprinted portions of the French archives, but in many contemporary records of other nations of Europe, as well as in all available memoirs, monographs, review articles, etc. While the scheme of the work has not admitted of a detailed presentation of military events, such as would be expected in a technical history, the author has nevertheless reviewed most of the great commander's campaigns and battles on the ground. He has, moreover, studied the times and the peoples, and endeavored to consider Napoleon not merely as a man, a ruler, or a conqueror, but as a force in history.

A personage of such unique and phenomenal characteristics as Napoleon must ever remain, after all is said, something of an enigma, and the most successful biographer is likely to be the one whose conception of his character fits the largest number of undisputed facts.

¹ See "Cheap-Money Experiments," Century Company.

How nearly Professor Sloane approximates to this definition it must be left till the close of the work to determine. Meanwhile this much may be said, that he gives us a good working theory of his subject—a definite and comprehensible Napoleon, compact though he be of many diverse qualities. The object has evidently been to show the man and his times acting and reacting upon each other in an interplay which shall reveal the leading motives of the chief actor.

The Proper Use of College Degrees.

At various times during the past few years there have been occasional protests against the formal manner in which the colleges confer honorary degrees, and alumni associations have gone so far in some instances as to demand the abolition of the practice. These symptoms of dissatisfaction have appeared naturally just after the commencement season when contemplation of the mysterious and bewildering manner in which the degrees have been distributed excites both curiosity and irritation. The deserving and the undeserving are so commingled in the list that, as one looks it over, he is moved to say of the conferring powers, as the negro said of the ways of Divine Providence, that they are "wise but unscrupulous." No system appears to be followed, and there are no signs of a standard of merit. One man receives a degree who has really earned it by distinguished attainments or services in art, literature, science, law, medicine, morals, or religion; another, because he has founded a scholarship in the college, or presented a building; another, because his friends have clamored for him to have it; another, because he has been preaching or writing or working for many years, and all other men of his age in similar walks in life have received it; another, because he has been the victim of unjust persecution, or has had hard luck, and needs to be encouraged, and another (an all too representative case), because he is thinking of leaving something to the college, and the honor will add a spur to his generous impulses.

What is the result? The degree is made so common that the really deserving man hesitates to accept it, and it is worth nothing to the undeserving man who wears it. Harvard, and we believe several other colleges, had the custom, for many years, of conferring the degree of LL. D. upon any man who was elected governor in the State in which the college was situated. This custom was abandoned in 1883, when General Butler became governor of Massachusetts; but some other colleges may possibly be continuing it. The absurdity, however, of acting on the supposition that a majority vote in a political election makes a man fit for the highest honors which a college has to bestow, honors which in their titles avow recognition of attainments in purely intellectual pursuits, is proving too great for the perpetuation of this custom.

And this brings us to the point which we wish to urge. The degrees were devised for the purpose of recognizing eminent attainments or services in intellectual pursuits. When a man had pursued a certain course of study in law, or divinity, or other branch of learning, and had passed examinations which demonstrated his attainments, he received the degree as a certificate of his knowledge. A man who could write LL. D. after his name was recognized as one who had

proved his proficiency in that field of study. The letters D. D. after a clergyman's name meant that he possessed theological learning, and was either eminent for pulpit eloquence, or conspicuous for good works. A degree of M. A. meant that the recipient had pursued a specified course of study, or had performed intellectual work which showed him worthy of the distinction. Why not return to this early practice? Why not return to the old simplicity and truthfulness which ought to form the basis of every institution of learning? Above all, why not remove from college honors the atmosphere of sham and humbug which is so fatal to everything it touches, and which, by appealing to the sense of the ludicrous which is so keen in Americans, deprives those honors of the last vestige of value by making them ridiculous? "I see," said a college graduate, to a group of fellow-graduates during the recent commencement season, "that the university has conferred an A. M. upon Brown and another one on Smith." "Yes," said one of the group, "but Brown got his cheaper, for he only gave some books, while Smith gave a dormitory."

It is a fact that a mercenary motive is the first one given in all cases in which the obvious merit of the recipient of the degree does not itself supply the explanation for its bestowal. All this could be remedied by having the degrees conferred on merit alone, as the recognition of distinguished achievements in intellectual pursuits. This would be a worthy use of the powers which the colleges possess as the nurseries and fountain-heads of the intellectual life of the people. In a country like ours, where the conspicuousness of the newly rich acquires a misleading importance, it is particularly desirable that institutions of learning should form a breakwater against merely material forces. The conferring of degrees is one of the object lessons by which the youth of a country may be taught that the acquisition of riches, however it may figure in the newspapers, is not the chief end or honor of mankind. It is the duty of the colleges to stimulate and encourage intellectual growth in all possible ways, to hold up learning as a beautiful thing, and to hold out honors and rewards to those who, turning aside from other things, devote their lives to it. If they fail in this duty, who is there left to perform it? If they bestow their honors, not in recognition of intellectual achievement, but in return for material benefits, and in recognition of material success, to whom can the author, the poet, the painter, the scholar, the scientist, or other intellectual worker, look for encouragement and sustaining strength?

The Death of Glave.

ON the first day of May this magazine published the first fruit of Mr. E. J. Glave's remarkable journey from the east coast of Africa, across the interior, to the mouth of the Congo, on the west coast. It consisted of photographs of the tree, with the record carved on its trunk, at the foot of which was buried the heart of Dr. Livingstone; and of a brief account, from Glave's letters, of his good fortune in coming upon this famous missionary's shrine in Central Africa, when those who had made a special effort to find that landmark of Christianity had failed. The photographs and the letter had been despatched to us early in the autumn of 1894 by

way of the caravan trail to the east coast, while Glave with his little band of carriers had pushed on north-westward for the headwaters of the Congo. Barring several weeks of fever in the region of Lake Tanganyika, all went well with him; and we know now that on the day his discovery of the Livingstone tree was published to the world, he was in Matadi, near the mouth of the Congo, waiting for the departure of the steamer which within a fortnight was to sail for Belgium. During two years of toilsome exploration he had traversed the whole breadth of the Dark Continent; with only a dozen black followers he had passed from tribe to tribe without firing a shot in defense, or even threatening a native. He had accomplished a feat of physical strength and moral courage which, five years earlier, might perhaps have been well-nigh impossible, and which now was grandly significant of the rift civilization has made in the last two years in the Ethiopian darkness. His task was behind him; the fruits of his philanthropic mission were stored in well-filled journals and camera films; his foot almost rested on the threshold of home; the curtain was ready to rise on a stage he had trod before as an always unassuming hero of a drama of daring and fortitude; the curtain rose; but, alas! the scene was set for the familiar African tragedy. On the afternoon of Sunday, May 12, though devotedly nursed by new found friends, he succumbed to a sudden attack of fever; and on the following morning his body was laid in the soil of Africa, whose enslaved humanity it had been his highest ambition to succor, even at the risk of his life.

An account of Glave's short but useful career is to be found in the present number of this magazine. It is fitting here to say that the idea of the journey which ended so successfully as regarded the physical obstacles, and so untimely with respect to the uncompleted mission, was formed by Glave when he was a young and trusted officer under Stanley. The sufferings inflicted upon the natives by the Arab slave-raiders aroused his sympathies, and suggested the project of studying the traffic from the inside, in the guise of a peaceable traveler interested only in the adventures of the chase. During his six years' sojourn in America, which included two expeditions to Alaska, this African project was always uppermost in his mind. He early endeavored to interest *THE CENTURY* in his plans, but, in common with his other friends, we regarded the hazard for him as unequal to the probable benefit for the world. So, while all listened attentively — for he was eloquent on the subject — no one urged him forward. Finally he carefully matured a plan of action, and presented it in the form of a request for a rather moderate financial backing, supplemented by an expressed determination to carry it out, if he must, without other aid than his own meager resources. No man was ever more able, with artless modesty and reticent purpose, to awaken greater confidence in himself. And, after all, if any white man could carry out the adventurous program, who could undertake it with fewer risks than Glave, who for years had defied the fevers of the Congo in more than one encounter, who had a natural aptitude for the dialects and customs of the natives, and who had shown the same magnetic influence among the barbarous people of the equator, as he had shown among those of his own race who had come within the sphere of his stimulating personality?

So, with a sense of the possible good to be derived from his self-appointed mission, yet partly out of sympathy with him, *THE CENTURY* provided Glave with such aid as he deemed adequate to the undertaking. In June, 1893, he set forth with buoyant spirits, accompanied by the warmest wishes for his success and safety that ever worked invisibly for the support of a human being; and not a friend but felt that, no matter what the difficulty, the discouragement, the peril, Glave would find within himself resources to surmount and withstand them. His journey to the outlet on the western coast confirmed this confidence, and justified both his judgment and the encouragement which was reluctantly bestowed upon his plans. But, alas! the dread fate which was repelled at the entrance to the wilderness lurked again at the emerging gate.

Whatever may be lacking in his hurried notes of travel to give point and roundness to his mission, they will doubtless suffice to chronicle a journey that will be significant as a harbinger of peace to the distracted tribes of benighted Africa. They will also help to reveal to the world the character of a man who was cast in a mold of gentleness and heroism, of generosity and justice, of unselfishness and righteousness. Glave was the type of unalloyed manhood and steadfast friendship of which his race has given many examples.

Mr. Cole's Achievement in Wood-Engraving.

THE engraving of Vermeer by Mr. Cole, which is printed as the frontispiece of the present number, marks the conclusion of the second series of old masters reproduced by this engraver, the "Italian Old Masters" having been completed in *THE CENTURY* for October, 1892, and the "Dutch and Flemish" series having been begun in the number for December, 1893.

This latter series, which comprises thirty-one blocks representing twenty-one painters, marks an achievement on Mr. Cole's part of similar value to its predecessor, both from the point of view of popular interest and that of permanent artistic importance. It illustrates the versatility of the cunning and sympathetic hand that can render not only the ideality and spiritual grace of the Italian schools, but also the truthful and tender simplicity of the Lowlands painters, which frames the brilliant richness of Rembrandt, Hals, and Rubens, as a sober setting frames a gleaming jewel. Every stroke of Mr. Cole's graver has been directed by enthusiastic devotion, and his success is a justification of the confidence with which the managers of this magazine proposed to him the first of these enterprises. In lieu of the varied interest of miscellaneous blocks which might have been expected from him from month to month, it occurred to us to substitute a consecutive work of more permanent worth — the reproduction of the masterpieces of painting by the hand of the master-graver of our time. Long after this magazine, now completing its twenty-fifth year, shall have reached its centenary, the proofs of these blocks will remain to represent in part the art of the nineteenth as well as of the earlier centuries. It is something upon which, without too much complacency, we may congratulate alike the engraver and the public.

The frequency with which these blocks have followed one another has perhaps dulled the edge of the reader's expectancy, and their very familiarity may

have led him to forget not only that such an enterprise is not likely to be done so well again, but that it is not likely to be done by any one else at all. Certainly the limitations of the so-called "cheap" magazines are such that one would not expect them to undertake such a series, while the mechanical "processes" which, appropriately applied, have admirable uses, are inadequate to the best results in this field. There is a distinct difference between picture-making and art,

and we are mistaken if the rage for cheap work shall ever eradicate the love of good wood-engraving in the large contingent of American readers who have participated in the rise and progress of the native school. We are glad, therefore, to be able to announce that, after an interval, during which Mr. Cole will reproduce for *THE CENTURY* some of the best contemporary art, he will take up a third consecutive series almost equal in interest to the two now happily completed.

OPEN LETTERS.

Appreciation of Keats by his Friends.

THE letters which follow, and which come from the archives of John Keats's American relatives, have one characteristic in common, in giving testimony to the strong personal hold which Keats took upon those who knew him most intimately. We are informed, and believe, that they have not before been published, and present them here in supplement to the two papers on the poet in the present number. The originals are now in the possession of Mr. William H. Arnold of New York, to whom we are indebted for the opportunity of printing them.—EDITOR.

I.

MY DEAR KEATS: I was most delighted at seeing you yesterday, for I hardly knew how I was to meet with you, situated as you are and confined as I am. I wish I could have stayed longer with you. As to the poem, I am of all things anxious that you should publish it, for its completeness will be a full answer to all the ignorant malevolence of cold, lying Scotchmen and stupid Englishmen. The overweening struggle to oppress you only shows the world that so much of endeavour cannot be directed to nothing. Men do not set their muscles and strain their sinews to break a straw. I am confident, Keats, that the "Pot of Basil" hath that simplicity and quiet pathos which are of sure sovereignty over all hearts. I must say that it would delight me to have you prove yourself to the world what we know you to be — to have you annul the "Quarterly Review" by the best of all answers. When I see you I will give you the Poem, and pray look it over with that eye to the *littleness* which the world are so fond of excepting to (though I confess, with that word altered which I mentioned, I see nothing that can be cavilled at). And let us have the Tale put forth, now that an interest is aroused. One or two of your sonnets you might print, I am sure. And I know that I may suggest to you which, because you can decide as you like afterward. Nobody will remember that we were [to write] together. I give over all intention, and you ought to be alone. I can never write anything now — my mind is taken the other way. But I shall set my heart on having you high, as you ought to be. Do you get Fame, and I shall have it in being your affectionate and steady friend. There is no one I am more interested in, and there is no one that I have more pleasure in communicating my own happiness to. You will gratify me much by letting me have, whenever you have leisure, copies of what you write; for *more than*

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myself have a sincere interest in you. When shall I see you, and when shall I go with you to Severn's?

Your ever affectionate

Wed^a. morn.

J. H. REYNOLDS.

[Postmarked Oct. 14; the year and the few missing words were evidently torn off in unsealing.]

II.

BRIDGEWATER, September 25th.

[Postmarked 1818.]

MY DEAR KEATS:

Here I am, as Shakespeare says, "chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy," solitary in the midst of society, with no human being to exchange a notion with except my sister, and she begins to be so occupied with her little brats that if I attempt to quote Shakespeare to her I am ordered into silence for fear I should wake the children. I came here for repose of mind. As I am now getting better, I am again on the rack to be again in the midst of all the objects of my ambition. I am getting about again, my hero; and I hope to God I shall yet finish my picture to the satisfaction of all of you. I am longing to be among you, and hear your account of your last tour. If it has done as much good to the *inside* as the outside of your head you will feel the effects of it as long as you live. I shall leave this place to-morrow or Monday, and hope to be in town by Wednesday at furthest. I hope your brother Tom does not suffer much — poor fellow! — I shall never forget his look when I saw him last. I can never say as much when I dictate a letter as when I write it myself; and this, I hope, will be a sufficient excuse for not writing a longer one to you. At any rate, this is better treatment than you gave me when you went on your tour.

Believe me, my dear Keats, most affectionately and sincerely,

Yours ever,

B. R. HAYDON.

[Signature in autograph.]

P. S. [in Haydon's handwriting].—To give you an idea of the elegant taste of this place, the other day in company, when I illustrated something by a quotation, one of the company said with great simplicity, "Lord, Mr. Haydon, you are full of *scraps!*" Adieu! my eyes will not permit me.

III.

ROME, September 1, 1863.

MY DEAR MADAM:

This is a line to assure you that I am the "one devoted friend until death" of your illustrious relative

"John Keats," and that it has gratified me highly to be addressed by you in consequence of your reading my essay "On the Vicissitudes of Keats's Fame." As I had the happiness to meet his sister here (Madam d'Llanos) — after forty-five years! — I trust it may be also my happiness to meet some others of his family in Rome, where I am likely to remain all my life, and where I first came in his dear company in November, 1820, and on his account. Altho' on my part so mad a thing as it seemed at the time, and was pronounced so by most of my friends, yet it was the best, and perhaps the only, step to insure my artistic career, which no doubt was watched and blessed by this dear spirit, for I remained twenty years without returning to England, and during that time the patrons I most valued came to me as the "friends of Keats." These have remained faithful to me and to mine, no doubt inspired by the revered name of the poet. The success of my family (three sons and three daughters) has turned on this. The chief of these patrons I may mention is the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (William Gladstone).

At this moment I only know of two personal friends of the poet besides myself to be now living — Mr. Charles Cowden Clarke, who is at Genoa (Villa Novello, Strada alla Cava, Genoa), and Mr. John Taylor (the publisher) in London.

It may be also that friends of yours [may] chance to be visiting Rome, and in that case I beg you to give them a note to me.

This quiet note I fear may find you in the midst of war's misery, if it ever finds you at all, and I hope it may be the means of procuring me another dear letter from you or yours to

Yours most truly,
JOSEPH SEVERN.

For Mrs. Speed.
[Louisville, Ky.]

Nordau's "Degeneration": An Exchange of Compliments.

THE letters which follow are printed at the request of Professor Lombroso, and by permission of Dr. Nordau, and refer to the article by the former in the present number.—EDITOR.

I.

[TURIN, June 7, 1895.]

DEAR NORDAU: I have been earnestly pressed by the American reviews to publish an article on your great work "Degeneration." Bound to you by gratitude and by immense admiration, I at once accepted; but in the course of composition I could not help perceiving that we differ much on several points, above all as to what genius is: which, as I think, is often insane, without by insanity losing its value. I do not wish, however, to disturb those very sweet and delicate relations which exist between us, but which cannot make me forget the love of truth. The article is almost finished, but speak the word, and it shall be burned.

Your most devoted
To DR. MAX NORDAU. CESARE LOMBROSO.

II.

PARIS, June 9, 1895.

DEAR AND ILLUSTRIOUS MASTER: Your letter of the 7th inst. has touched me profoundly. I thank you

with all my heart. Not send your article! Burn it! You must not think of such a thing! It would be a crime to deprive the world of one of your studies, even though I should suffer from it.

Assuredly I am disquieted when you inform me of a divergence of opinion between you and me; for in that case I should suspect myself of being mistaken, and I would so much rather (laugh at my naïveté) be sure of being right. But as the truth is my supreme aim, I would a thousand times prefer to be set right by you than to continue in an error.

I know very well that all the idiots of the two hemispheres will plume themselves, after your article appears; while taking care not to specify the point which divides us, they will audaciously generalize, and cry: "Behold the disciple disowned by him whom he has proclaimed his master! Demolished is the foundation on which rested the whole edifice! Now nothing is left of it but a heap of shapeless rubbish." But what of that? Fair-minded men will nevertheless know how to take an equitable view of the bearing of your criticism and of your reservations.

Now I am bound to believe that even in that which seems to divide us we are not so much at variance as would appear: I do not at all deny the influence of the insane pseudo-genius. I see too well, alas! how great this influence is; but I doubt if it is salutary and evolutive. I believe that Wagner in creating impressionist works, and also on account of them, has interrupted and falsified the natural evolution of the opera, perhaps of music in general, and that this art will not resume its normal development until the Wagnerian episode [*Pépisode Wagnerien*] shall have been eliminated. Also I do not believe for an instant that the morbid humanitarian emotionality of Tolstoi has produced any useful result whatever. This emotionality inspires in Tolstoi ideas and projects that are contrary to progress, besides mysticism and hatred of science. I have never denied his talent as a novelist; but even that talent is made up of morbid hyperesthesia and emotional gigantism.

Once more, thanks; and believe me, dear and illustrious master, your entirely devoted

M. NORDAU.

An American School in Rome.

ON October 15 an American School will be instituted in Rome in charming quarters on the Pincian Hill. This latest enterprise of America in the Old World will encourage the study by Americans of the archæology, art, literature, and history of Italy. The plan was originated by archæologists and Latinists at a meeting in Philadelphia held during the past winter, and at this meeting, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America, a committee of three was appointed to ascertain whether it was feasible to establish a school at Rome. This committee, consisting of Professors W. G. Hale of the University of Chicago, Minton Warren of Johns Hopkins University, and the writer, representing Princeton, decided, in order to secure a wide interest and support, to invite other men to join the committee, until nearly fifty colleges and universities, and more than that number of cities, in every part of the United States were represented, while a strong section of the committee was established in

Rome itself. On account of the enthusiasm with which the project was welcomed, the committee determined to open the School, if possible, this autumn. There was so short a time for organization that no attempt was made to obtain a permanent endowment, but only a fund sufficient to carry on the school for at least three years. The work of raising the endowment will be undertaken during these years, and if the responses are as generous as they have been to the appeal for the temporary fund, there is good hope that the School will become a permanent institution. Chicago and Baltimore have been most generous, and Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and Washington have given freely.

When the Council of the Archæological Institute held its annual meeting in May its support of the proposed plan was secured, and, with prospects thus strengthened, the General Managing Committee of the School was called together on May 18. It gave the School a permanent organization, and decided, for the sake of uniformity with the Athens School, that its name should be the "American School of Classical Studies in Rome," while at the same time it decided to include post-classical studies of the Early-Christian, Medieval, and Early-Renaissance periods.

One of the incentives to an immediate organization was the unique opportunity of securing a residence which seemed made for the purpose. Every visitor to Rome in the old days before the Eternal City was ruined by reconstruction will remember one of the most beautiful of its numerous villas, the Ludovisi Villa on the Pincian Hill. The *Piano Regolatore*, or official plan, which aims at obliterating the hills and filling in the dells, and which has made Rome as commonplace as it lies in the power of man to do, laid its hands upon this as upon the other villas that formed the city's fascinating belt of green, leveled it, and converted it into streets. After this the main structure, called from Guercino's famous fresco, the "Casino dell'Aurora," was left solitary. This noble Renaissance building stands, surrounded by grand old trees, in extensive grounds which are buttressed by fortress-like retaining walls, their level being nearly twenty feet above that of the neighboring streets. From these grounds one overlooks the Eternal City and the surrounding Campagna, and in the midst of its groves can feel as far from the city as if one were in the Alban Hills. This building is to be shared not only with the American School of Architecture, established a year ago, but with Schools of Sculpture and Painting which are now in process of organization. The four Schools will probably together form one Academy and will have much in common in their aims and work.

Many archæological and historical schools have already been founded in Rome, from government grants, by Germany, France, Austria, and Italy, and it seems an even more natural center than Athens for a similar American enterprise. The Athens school, now in its thirteenth year, was a direct creation of the Archæological Institute, and was entirely supported by annual contributions from a certain number of colleges. A different plan is being followed for the Roman school, and almost the entire fund has been contributed by private individuals in their own name. In this way there has been no interference with the sources of supply of the School at Athens. These Schools have so much in common that they cannot fail to strengthen

each other and awaken more enthusiasm by their united efforts. It is expected not only that students will go abroad to spend a year at each school, but that many will go from one to the other during a single year's residence, especially those who wish to complete their survey of the classical field.

The School is governed by a general committee of about eighty, with an executive committee of nine members. The chairman is Professor Hale, the secretary is the writer, and the treasurer is Mr. C. C. Cuyler, 44 Pine street, New York. The Director for the coming year will be Professor Hale, and the Associate-director will be the writer. Although the School is open in Rome only from October 15 to June 1, its members are expected to continue their work until August on a plan approved by the directors. The purposes of the School are thus defined in its regulations: "The object of the School is to promote the study of such subjects as (1) Latin literature, as bearing upon customs and institutions; (2) inscriptions in Latin and the dialects; (3) Latin palæography; (4) the topography and antiquities of Rome itself; and (5) the archæology of ancient Italy (Italic, Etruscan, Roman), and of the Early-Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance periods." How far this broad field will actually be covered each year will depend upon circumstances. Although the school is primarily for the study of monuments, it will also encourage original research in cognate fields, and it cannot fail to react most beneficially upon Latin studies in America, giving them new life, and possibly leading to the establishment of independent chairs for the teaching of archæology at our universities.

There will be regular courses of lectures, but most of the work will consist of informal talks at museums, visits to the monuments, and excursions to ancient sites in Etruria and the Roman province, and even as far as Sicily. A large part of the duties of the directors will consist in informal advice and personal assistance to each student in his independent work. We are already certain of a considerable number of advanced students. Three School-fellowships have been awarded, and at least six holders of fellowships at the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Princeton will go out as members of the School. This number will be increased by several graduate students, who will be in Rome for the entire year, and by others who will stay for only a part of the season.

Such study as the School in Rome will promote is extremely broad in its scope. Italy is not only the center for the study of Etruscan and Roman antiquities and history; it is superior even to Greece in the material it affords for the study of Greek architecture, and is hardly inferior to it for giving the student an adequate idea of the development of Greek sculpture. Where else than in Rome can we realize so vividly the Early-Christian period in all its phases? Where outside of Italy can we find so full a series of monuments of Byzantine art? For the Middle Ages, France alone surpasses Italy in architecture and sculpture, and of course for painting, and for all the phases of the early Renaissance, which our School includes in its work, Italy is incomparable.

More remains to be accomplished in the exploration of ancient Italian sites than is usually realized, and we hope to share in the work of discovering new monu-

ments. Even more remains to be done in classifying and making known already existing monuments. Looking to the effect upon our own country, we must feel that American workers need to be brought into vivifying contact with the realities of the past in order to avoid the dangers of pedantry and book-learning; and if there be one thing more than another that as a people we need, it is a general appreciation of art. Undoubtedly, the Roman school, if it be assisted in its development by our public-spirited men and women, will be an active agent in bringing about a change for the better.

PRINCETON COLLEGE.

A. L. Frothingham, Jr.

A New Suffrage Qualification.

THE last definition of the franchise, made by the people of Utah in their new State constitution, records a phase of the evolution of American democracy which promises to conserve the State, by giving the right to vote and to hold office to all citizens of the United States of twenty-one years of age and upward who have resided in the State one year, in the county four months, and in the precinct sixty days preceding any election. This grant of universal suffrage is limited, however, by a condition which is substantially a re-enactment of an electoral qualification generally applied during the colonial period and during the last quarter of the eighteenth century in all the States except Pennsylvania, but gradually abandoned, until it disappeared, about 1835. Speaking of the Commonwealths as a whole, until this time the voter was required to be a freeholder. The democratic renaissance which burst upon the country with the coming into power of Andrew Jackson and his supporters was chiefly characterized by the speedy abolition of long prevailing electoral qualifications: a long term of residence and a property qualification; the religious qualifications having been practically abandoned a generation earlier.

The limitation on universal suffrage proposed in Utah restricts the right to vote any "debt in excess of the taxes for the current year" in any county, city, town, or village of the State, by requiring that such increase in indebtedness must first have been submitted as a proposition to such qualified electors as have paid a property tax, for one year preceding, in the subdivision of the State in which the debt is proposed; and a majority of these taxpaying electors must have given their votes in its favor.

This limitation, therefore, is in the nature of an electoral referendum, and is the first instance of its application and formal inclusion in an American State constitution.

The chief complaint made against universal suffrage is by the owners of real-estate. Citizens who support government, chiefly local government, are out-voted by the landless and the non-taxpayers. Partly on account of this constitutional assignment of a man's land into the political care of the multitude of voters who own no real estate, wealth in this country has been deflected from one of its normal courses,—investment in real estate,—and has multiplied multifariously as personal property: and chiefly in order to escape the mulct which an irresponsible part of the electorate, often comprising the majority of voters, may at will put upon it. An irresponsible electorate has increased local indebt-

edness in this country so seriously as to empty the population of the smaller towns into the great cities: the rate of taxation in boroughs, towns, and small cities being often higher than that in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburg, St. Louis, New Orleans, or San Francisco. Local indebtedness, except in rare instances, does not provide as many conveniences for citizens of these smaller corporations as are to be enjoyed in the large cities. Nor is such discrimination against freeholders limited to the citizens of incorporated communities of small size; it is rapidly becoming characteristic of the rural communities. The rates of taxation there are as often increased by the vote of non-freeholders, especially in later years, as in the villages. It is now a luxury in this country to own a farm. The better roads, demanded by rural economy, must be made chiefly at the expense of the owners of farms, and the recent reformation of highways demanded by that various power "the traveling public" means virtually that these better highways are to be voted by non-taxpayers in various districts.

The limitation on universal franchise proposed in Utah is the wisest yet made in this country. Democracy in America is negatively altruistic in the matter of contracting public debts. More than one hundred and fifty State constitutions have been made in this country, and in their franchise provisions they have steadily had in view the rights, the pleasures, the conveniences of non-freeholders. There has been an increasingly liberal interpretation of one of Franklin's dicta, "The whole of one man is as dear to him as the whole of another"; and of Jefferson's, "All men are created equal." The equality practically won, however, makes the taxpayer and the freeholder pay the bills, while the number of non-taxpayers and non-freeholders has increased in larger ratio than that of the owners of land. Even the mild effort in some States to collect a little financial support from non-taxpayers and non-freeholders by levying a poll-tax upon them has proved highly unpopular, and has been abandoned save in four Commonwealths.

The Utah limitation on the franchise conforms with all the equities of civil administration. Its practical operation will be observed closely, and if it saves the new State from being wrecked by local indebtedness, it will undoubtedly become a precedent for the new State constitutions of the twentieth century.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Francis N. Thorpe.

Old Dutch Masters.

JAN VERMEER OF DELFT (1632-75).

THE little that we know respecting this extraordinary artist, long since neglected by historians, but now restored to the honor he deserves, we owe to the researches of a French critic, M. Thoré, who, under the assumed title of W. Bürger, wrote an interesting work on the museums of Holland. Vermeer was born at Delft in 1632, and is believed to have been a pupil of Karel Fabritius (one of the numerous progeny of Rembrandt). Fabritius dying early, Vermeer, it is said, proceeded to Amsterdam to visit the studio of Rembrandt, where he rapidly completed his education as an artist. He had been elected a master-painter in his

native city before his reputed sojourn at Amsterdam, and in 1671 his name again appears among the members of the Painters' Guild for that year. His death took place about 1675.

Of the few works known to exist by Vermeer — scarcely a score in all — only one example bears a date, and this is a life-size work, the only large canvas he ever attempted. It is dated 1656, two years after he first entered the studio of Rembrandt. This is to be seen in the gallery at Dresden. It is a canvas of four half-length figures, representing a scene at a tavern, and is interesting chiefly as testifying to the ease and thoroughness with which the young student learned the lessons of his master's atelier.

But it is in Vermeer's small works that he appears as an independent master, and we become acquainted with an artist whose genius is akin to that of De Hooch and Metsu — a master of robust and refined intellect. I shall never forget the "Milkmaid" of the Six collection at Amsterdam, which is extraordinary in its naturalness, truth, breadth, and reality, without excess, and is notable for its brilliancy of tone, harmony, and solidity of touch.

One of the latest acquisitions of the National Gallery of London is a very fine Vermeer, which is the subject of the frontispiece of this number of *THE CENTURY*,

namely, the "Portrait of a Lady standing at a Spinnet." It is a small work, measuring about 11 by 15 inches, and cost the gallery £1700. It possesses a very charming and realistic effect of light coming in through the window. The varied adjustment of the spaces in the arrangement of the whole is a study in itself; and the use of so many angles — right, obtuse, and acute — serves to enhance the graceful lines of the figure.

In coloring it is softer and more refined than many of Vermeer's works that I have seen. The wall, suffused by the warm radiance from without, is a neutral gray of great delicacy of tone, and the gold frame of the little picture sparkles upon this background with piquant realism. The black frame surrounding the picture of the Cupid is nearly the strongest note of color in the whole. I have heard an artist of distinction as a colorist remark that only a consummate master would dare to balance the masses as Vermeer has done. The spinet is brown, and the dress of the lady is a warm, pearly gray, the part about her shoulders and breast being of a rich blue, while the seat of the chair is of the same shade. The Cupid is holding in his uplifted hand a clock, the pendulum being just visible as it swings from behind his arm. There doubtless is some relation here between Love and the lady in the sentiment pervading the whole.

T. Cole.

IN LIGHTER VEIN.



DRAWN BY E. W. KEMBLE.

ON THE WHOLE HE PREFERS THE BUCKING HORSE.
(WITH APOLOGIES TO MR. REMINGTON.)