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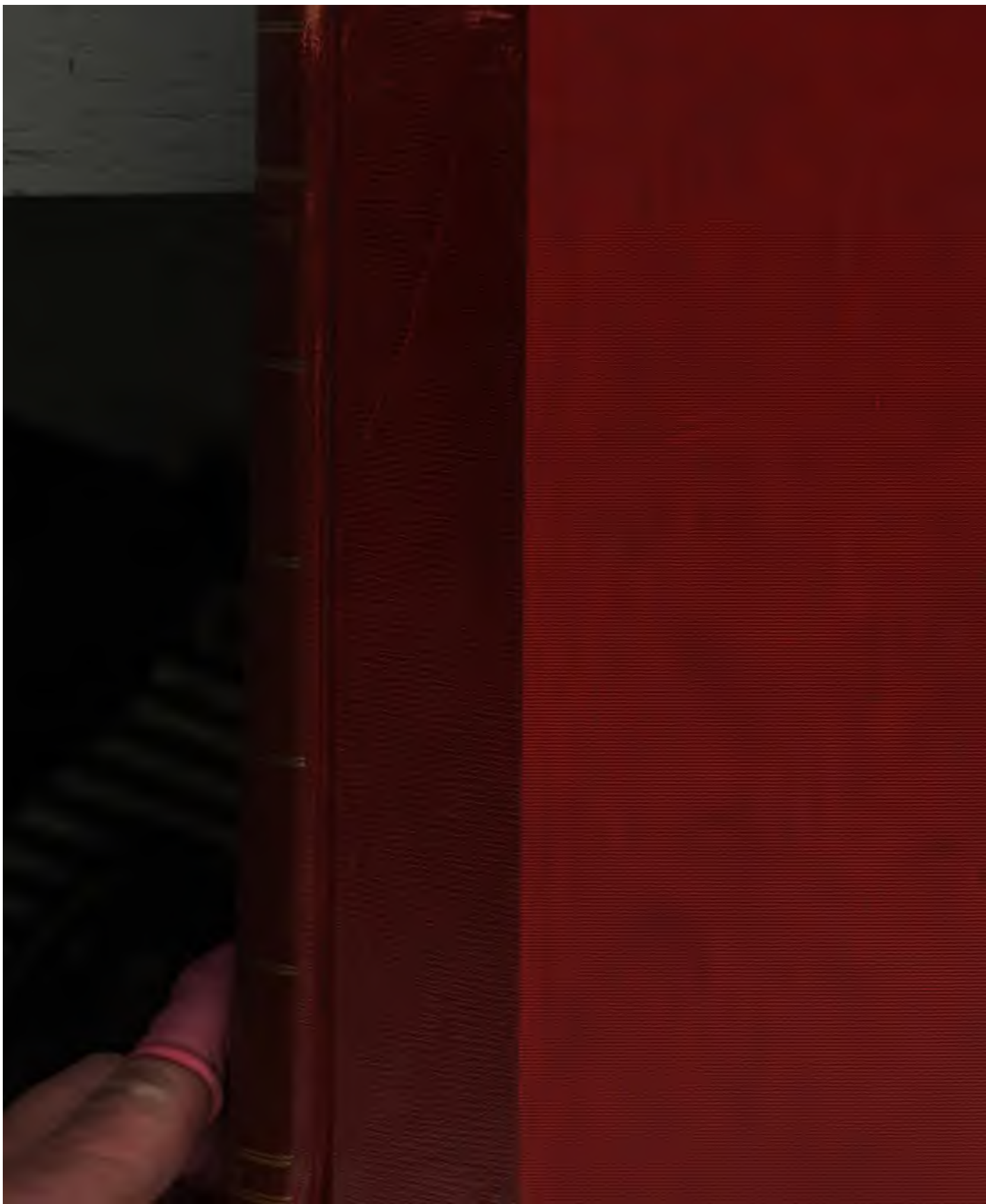
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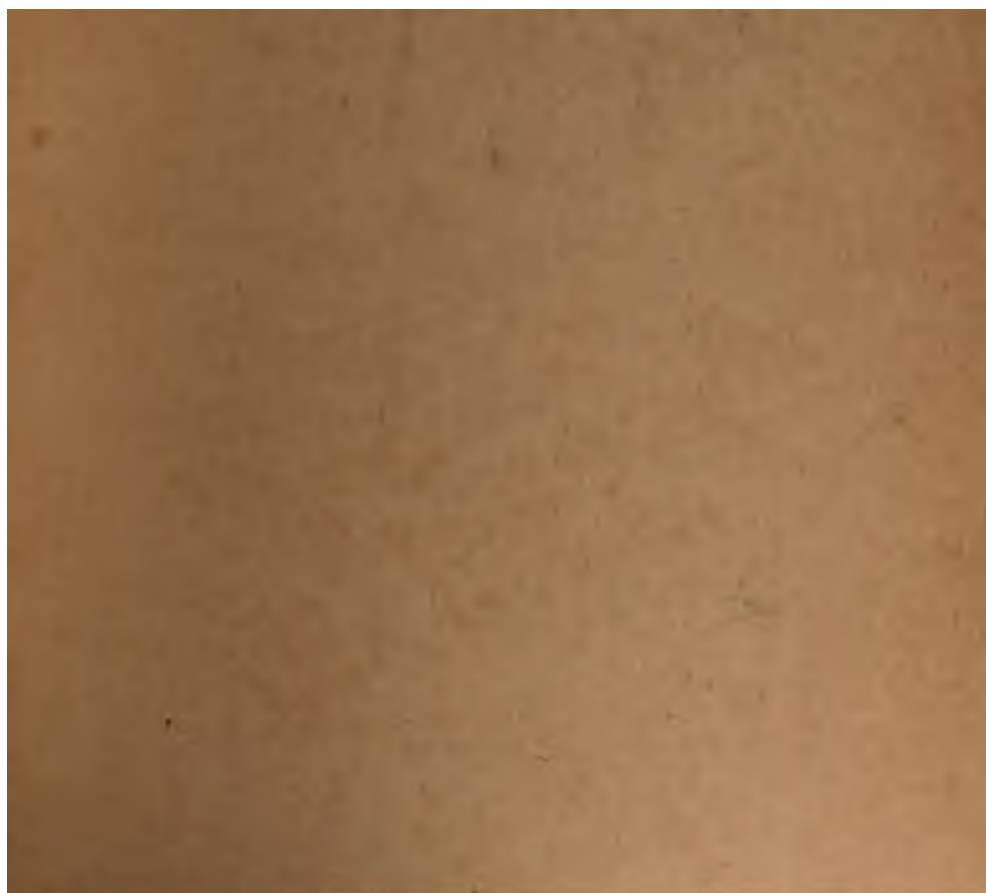
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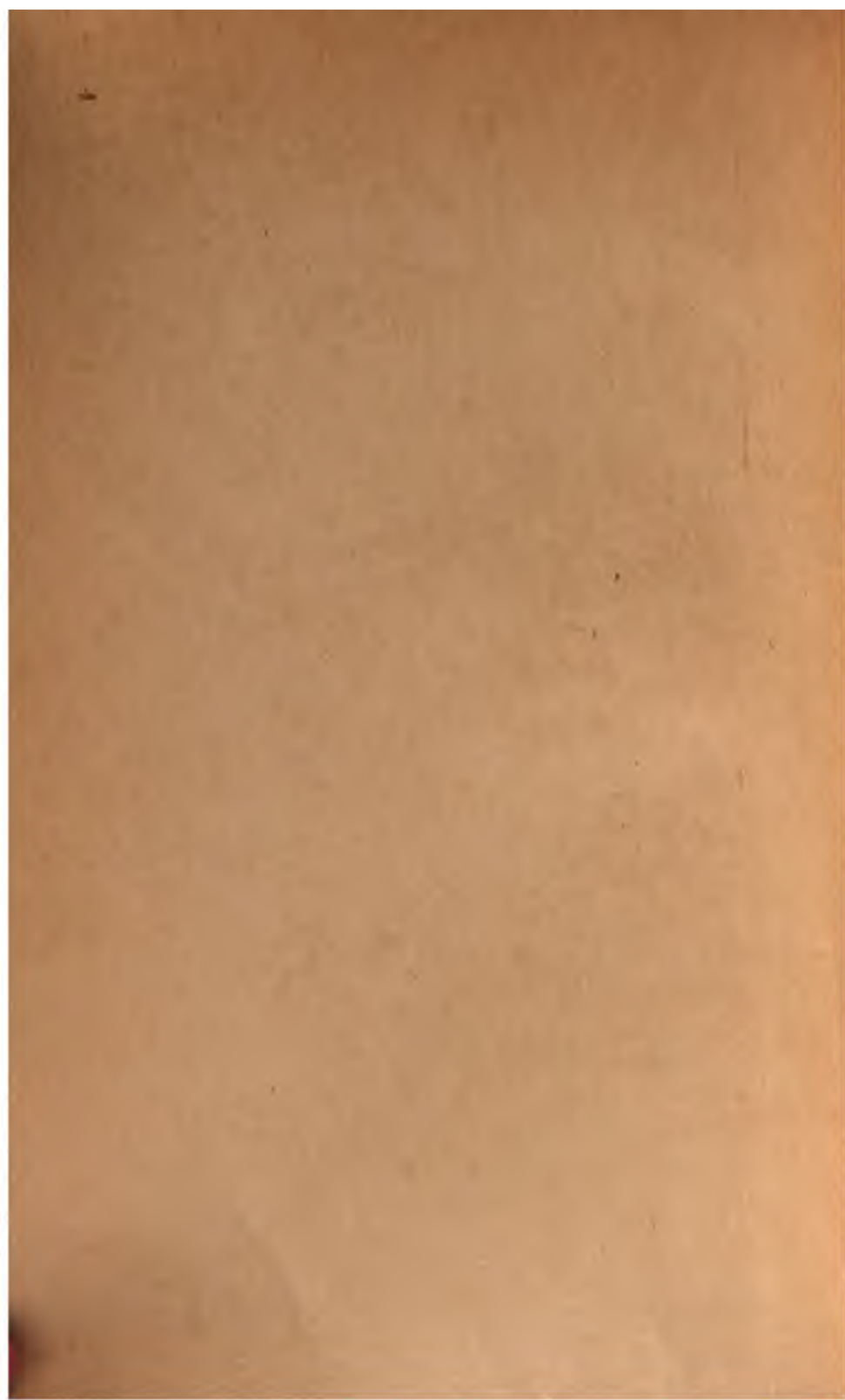


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HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER.

State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New York. Councilor and
Member Corps of Lecturers, American Institute of Civics.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

JULY, 1895.

THE "DISTRESS OF NATIONS."

BY JAMES M. BECK, ESQ., OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

MY THEME is old as the world, continuous as its history, and as vital to-day and pressing for decision as when the Infinite Source of life sternly said to the first of the generations of man, "Cain, Cain, where is thy brother?" Although nearly nineteen centuries have passed since his coming, whom the suffrages of uncounted millions have given the exalted title Prince of Peace, yet "peace on earth" seems still as insubstantial as a rainbow—of promise, perhaps, but still a rainbow—formed by the ever-brightening rays of justice shining through the tears of human pity. Indeed, the Great Teacher foresaw that "wars and rumors of wars" would trouble men long after his coming, and he distinctly said that "such things must needs be, for nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom," and with prophetic vision he foresaw the armies of Titus surrounding with their trenches the walls of Jerusalem. He foretold "upon the earth the distress of nations. . . . Men's hearts failing them for fear." His words have been fulfilled to the letter, and the history of the intervening centuries has been written in blood. The triumphal car of civilization has been a war chariot, rolling like that of Juggernaut over the innumerable necks of the slain. Down the vista of the centuries forever marches that ghostly army, of which the Abbe Perreyve wrote: "Unseen by the corporal eyes, but too clearly visible to the mind's eye. . . . The great army of the dead, the army of the slain, the abandoned, the forgotten, the army of

cruel tortures and prolonged infirmities, which pursues its fatal march behind what we call glory." Did not the earth with its beneficent fires consume the bodies of the dead, they would in an appalling degree cumber the ground, whose number the highest calculus is as little able to estimate as to count the stars in the milky-way ; but as nature destroys the dead leaves of autumn, so she mercifully removes the dread débris of war ; else, if its sounds of lamentation and direful sights did not cease, no circle in the Inferno would be comparable in horror to this blood-stained earth. Rarely, perhaps never, in nineteen hundred years, has the temple of Janus been closed. Our own century, commencing with the thunder of Napoleon's cannon on the plains of Marengo and drawing to its close with similar reverberations from both the Orient and Occident, has not known a single year of peace. Since 1800 England has had fifty-four wars, France forty-two, Russia twenty-three, Austria fourteen, Prussia nine—one hundred and forty-two wars by five nations, with at least four of whom the gospel of Christ is a state religion. As Ruskin well said, "Bedlam would be comic, perhaps, if there were only one madman in it, but when the whole world turns clown and paints itself red with its own heart's blood instead of vermillion, it is something else than comic."

What is infinitely stranger still, the horrors of war, far from lessening with the progress of the centuries, seem only to increase in their frightful intensity. While its code is far more humane and enlightened in the nineteenth than in the first century, yet modern science and organization have so augmented its horrors that the conflicts of the first century compare with those of our own in destruction, as a Roman battle-axe with a Krupp cannon. At the dawn of the Christian era, the standing army of the Roman Empire, according to Gibbon, numbered about four hundred thousand men, and was scattered over a vast extent of territory, from the Euphrates to the Thames. To-day the standing armies of Europe exceed four millions, while the reserves, who have served two or more years in the barracks and are trained soldiers, exceed sixteen millions, a number whose dimensions the mind can neither appreciate nor imagine. With one tenth

of all able-bodied men on the Continent in arms in times of peace, and one fifth of its women doing the laborious, and at times loathsome, work of man in the shop and field, one can sadly say with Burke, "The age of chivalry has gone. . . . The glory of Europe has departed." In the last twenty years these armies have been nearly doubled, and the national debts of the European nations, mainly incurred for war purposes and wrung from the sweat of the people, have reached the inconceivable total of twenty-three thousand millions of dollars. If one is to measure the interests of man by his expenditures, then assuredly the supreme passion of civilized Europe in this evening of the nineteenth century is war, for one third of all the revenues that are drained from labor and capital is devoted to paying merely the interest on the cost of past wars, one third for preparations for future wars, and the remaining third to all other objects whatsoever. The size of individual armies has also shown a wonderful augmentation. Thus, the army which Alexander led throughout the world, until halted in his conquests by the margin of the sea, numbered but forty thousand. The "grand army" of the great Napoleon, which was then supposed to have reached the maximum of human capacity, numbered about seven hundred thousand, and represented many months of preparation. So wonderfully have the telegraph and railroad changed the conditions of war, that the Emperor William, by touching an electric button, could put within a fortnight more men upon the banks of the Rhine than those with which Napoleon crossed the Niemen. In the autumn maneuvers France and Germany have each repeatedly mobilized more men within forty-eight hours for mere parade than almost any of the armies of the modern Cæsar.

The conditions of war have likewise radically changed. Night will no longer throw its sable mantle of mercy over the dying and the dead, for by the light of powerful search-lights future battles will continue to be fought. As if the earth's surface were all too small for such conflicts, the heavens above and the waters under the earth will be made battle-grounds in the future struggles of nations, for submarine torpedoes have been con-

structed which almost realize the fiction of Jules Verne, and with balloons as a necessary equipment of modern armies and the possibility in the near future of dirigible air-ships, the dream of Tennyson may but too soon come to pass, and we shall hear :

"The heavens filled with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew,
From the nations' airy navies, grappling in the central blue."

The spear, the lance, the sword, and the battle-axe have been put aside by modern man as the playthings of his childhood. We have in their stead the army rifle, which can be fired ten times without reloading and can kill at three miles, and whose long, nickel-plated bullet can destroy three men in its course before its work of destruction is stayed. Driven as it is by smokeless powder, it will add to past horrors by blasting a soldier as with an invisible bolt of lightning. Its effectiveness has practically destroyed the use in battle of the cavalry. The day of splendid charges like that of Balaklava is past, and Pickett's men, if they had to repeat to-day their wondrous charge, would be annihilated before they could cross the Emmitsburg road. The destructive effects of the modern rifle almost surpass belief. Experiments have shown that it will reduce muscles to a pulp and grind the bone to powder. A limb struck by it is mangled beyond repair and a shot in the head or chest is inevitably fatal. The machine gun of to-day can fire eighteen hundred and sixty shots a minute, or thirty a second, a stream so continuous that it seems like one continuous line of lead, and whose horrible noise is like a satanic song. A weapon of Titans is the modern twelve-inch cannon, which can throw a projectile eight miles and penetrate eighteen inches of steel, even when the latter is Harveyized, a process by which the hard surface of the steel is carbonized so that the finest drill cannot affect it. Of the present navies with their so-called "commerce destroyers," nothing need be said. Single ships cost four million dollars to build and, armed with steel plates eighteen inches thick, can travel through water with their engines of eleven thousand horse-power at a rate of twenty-four miles an hour. One such vessel could have scattered the combined Spanish, French, and

English fleets, numbering over one hundred ships, at Trafalgar, like a flock of pigeons, or put the Spanish Armada to flight like a hawk in a dove-cote, and yet in the unceasing warfare of arms and armament these leviathans of the deep have been instantaneously destroyed, as with a blast of lightning, by a single dynamite torpedo.

If these preparations for war, which cover our waters and darken our lands, mean anything, they indicate that civilized man is on the verge of a vast cataclysm, of which he is apparently as unconscious as were the people of Pompeii, on the last fatal day of their city's life, when they witnessed with indifference the ominous smoke curl from the crater's mouth. Impossible? Who would have predicted one hundred years ago that Europe was about to be desolated by a twenty years' war which would involve every nation and recast her map? Of all the follies of which man is guilty, the most fatuous is his assumption that what has happened before will not again. On the contrary, the past teaches us to expect the endless repetitions of history. There is to-day additional reason for such anticipation. Our age has sown as none other the dragon's teeth of standing armies, and the human grain is ripe unto the harvest of blood. It needs but an incendiary like Napoleon to set the world on fire. Perhaps he now exists among us, an unrecognized subaltern, possessed of the granite-coated soul of Napoleon, who will, as did the Corsican incendiary, apply the torch. To deny that such is the evident tendency of these unprecedented preparations is to believe that we can sow thistles and reap figs, or expect perennial sunshine where we have sown the whirlwind. The war between China and Japan, only fought with in part modern weapons and with men who but imperfectly understood their use, in no way illustrates the possibilities of the future conflict. The greatest of all war correspondents, Archibald Forbes, has recently said: "It is virtually impossible for any one to have accurately pictured to himself the scene in its fulness which the next great battle will present to a bewildered and shuddering world; we know the elements that will constitute its horrors, but we know them only, as it were,

academically. Men have yet to be thrilled by the weirdness of wholesale death, inflicted by missiles poured from weapons, the whereabouts of which cannot be ascertained because of the absence of powder smoke." He concludes: "Death incalculable may rain down as from the very heavens themselves." When we recall that in one of the battles around Metz the use of the mitrailleuse struck down six thousand Germans in ten minutes, and that at Plevna, in 1877, Skobeleff lost in a short rush of a few hundred yards three thousand men, and remember that the mitrailleuse and needle gun have been since quintupled in their capacity for destruction, the prospect is one at which the mind stands aghast and the heart sickens. Suffice it to say that the great strategists of Europe believe that the future mortality of battles will be so great that it will be impossible to care for the wounded or bury the dead, and many of them will carry as a necessary part of military equipment a moving crematorium to burn those who have fallen in battle, thus returning, after two thousand years, to the custom of our Norse ancestry, without, however, its religious significance or symbolic beauty.

It may be suggested that this dreadful visitation will pass over peaceful America, as the angel that slew the first-born of Egypt spared the blood-splashed portals of the Israelites. God grant that it prove so! Whence, however, is our assurance? So wonderfully have steam and electricity united men in a community of thought, interest, and purpose, that it is possible that if a great continental war should come, in which England would almost necessarily become involved, before it would be ended the civilized world might be lapped in universal flame. Apart from this, upon the world's horizon is now discernible a cloud, at present no bigger than a man's hand, but which may some day overcast the heavens. In the Orient are two nations, China and Japan, whose combined population reaches the amazing total of five hundred millions. Hitherto these swarming ant-hills have been ignorant of the art of war, for it is strangely true that the only two countries which since the birth of Christ have experienced in their isolation comparative "peace on earth" are these once hermit nations upon whom the light of

Christianity had never shown. But thirty years ago a mere handful of Englishmen and Frenchmen forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, to Peking. All this is changed. Western civilization has brought to the Orient Bibles—and bullets, miters—and mitrailleaux, godliness—and Gatling guns, crosses—and Krupp cannon, St. Peter—and saltpetre, and the Orient may some day say with Shylock, "The villainy you teach me I will execute and it will go hard, but I will better the instruction." Already they have learned the lesson so well as to play with deadly effect the awful diapason of the cannonade. Let once the passion for war, which distinguishes the Occident, awaken the opulent Orient from its sleep of centuries, and who shall say that another Ghengis Khan, with a barbaric horde of millions at his back, may not fall upon Europe with the crushing weight of an avalanche?

It may be argued, however, that these preparations mean nothing and are the guarantees of peace, rather than provocative of war, and that the very effectiveness of modern weapons makes war improbable. While apparently there is force in this suggestion, yet practically it is contradicted by the facts, for the nations that have the least armies have the most peace, and those that have the largest forces tremble on the verge of the abyss. Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and the United States live in substantial amity with the world, while France, Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy, armed to the teeth and staggering under their equipments, are forever scowling at each other across their frontiers. In them is found the vast magazine of martial spirit and international hatred, whose explosion requires but the spark of some trivial incident. Thus when the Empress Augusta recently visited Paris for pleasure her presence alarmed the world, caused prices to fall upon the bourses and exchanges, and hurried an earnest and nervous consultation of all European cabinets. A single insult offered to her by the most irresponsible Parisian would have caused her son, the young emperor, to draw his sword. It was thus in the power of the idlest street gamin to have shaken the equilibrium of the world. How else shall we account for the intense anxiety

with which the sickness of the late czar has been watched by thinking men throughout the world? It was because of the belief that he held in his hand its peace. What a frightful commentary upon civilization that the prosperity and even lives of innumerable millions of our fellow-beings, may depend upon the pacific sentiments of a single man!

No fact can be more clear than that humanity is at the parting of the ways. The maximum of preparation has been reached. In Europe men can arm no further. Italy has already fallen under the burden of bankruptcy thereby occasioned, and may be at any day plunged into the vortex of revolution. Many thoughtful publicists believe that the European nations must therefore either fight or disarm. Well did the Master predict: "Upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity. . . . Men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

Let us consider this phenomenon of war. Considered abstractly, in the light of absolute rather than relative truth, it is more than an evil—it is an indecency. It breaks the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," and it contradicts the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers!" It is a Pandora's box, from which arise whatsoever things are cruel, whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are unclean, whatsoever things are of ill-repute; if there be either vice or wickedness in them, war illustrates and magnifies them all. It substitutes despotism for liberty, revenge for forgiveness, might for right, cruelty for mercy, force for reason, destruction for creation. It is not only of the earth, earthy, it is truly of hell, hellish. Lest I be accused of exaggeration let me quote eminent military authorities. Said the Iron Duke, writing from the field of Waterloo: "There is nothing more horrible than victory, except defeat." Said Sherman to some military men who were praising a martial career: "You think that war is all glory; I tell you it is all hell."

It does not, however, follow that all those who engage in it are unworthy of admiration, or that it is not at times, relatively to existing conditions, even right. If I am assailed upon

the street by a noted desperado, or see a weaker and innocent party thus assailed, and I interfere, the street brawl is disgraceful and abstractly evil, but my act in defending my life, or that of another, is wholly courageous and admirable. A nation has the same right to defend its life and rights, or (not to put it on a purely selfish basis) the lives and rights of others, as has an individual, and, when wantonly attacked, force must be repelled by force. In such emergencies the men who leave their wives and children and bare their breasts to the leaden hail are god-like heroes, whose praise it is impossible to exaggerate. In laying down their lives for their fellow-men, or in being willing to do so (for the "readiness is all"), they make themselves not unworthy disciples of the great Martyr. The love of peace is not inconsistent with the instinct of self-preservation. Where the alternative is war or dishonor the former becomes righteous. "A just war," says the late President Woolsey, of Yale College, in his "Introduction to the Study of International Law," "is one that is waged in the last resort, when peaceful means have failed to procure redress, or when self-defense calls for it."

With this saving qualification, no fact can be clearer than that of all the follies and sins of which mankind has been guilty, war to determine differences of opinion is the most absurd and iniquitous, at the bar of the conscience or the greater bar of God. Its purpose, if any, is to determine disputes of fact or law between sovereign nations. It places limits to human reason and constitutes force as the *ultima ratio*. It perpetuates between nations the almost obsolete duel between individuals, with the difference that when gentlemen fought on the so-called field of honor the victor never stooped to strip the vanquished of his purse and watch; yet the nation, which compels another by "blood and iron" to surrender its views for the time being of the mooted question, takes from the vanquished as much money and property as the by-standing nations will permit. "Vae victis" is ever the cry, and the ethics of Christian nations are those of the highwayman.

I affirm generally, and I should admit of but few exceptions:

1. That the causes of war have rarely been proportionate to their consequences.

2. The arbitrament of arms has rarely decided the question at issue.

3. That even if it had, it has rarely decided anything that could not at infinitely less expense of life and property, and to the greater satisfaction and honor of both contending nations, been adjusted otherwise.

History cannot but impress us with the disproportion which the causes of war bear to their consequences. The caprice of a woman, the ambition of a prince, the personal quarrel of two individuals who wear crowns, and like trivial reasons, have caused a considerable portion of international quarrels. Young Hamlet correctly described the temper of nations, when he commented upon the soldiers of young Prince Fortinbras :

“ That for a fantasy and a trick of fame,
Go to their graves like beds, fight for a plot
Whereon the numbers cannot try the cause,
Which is not tomb enough and continent
To hide the slain.”

Take, for example, the last great war between France and Germany, and see about what a straw these two highly civilized peoples quarreled. The throne of Spain became vacant, and the Spanish people, through their representatives, selected as a candidate for the succession the young Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. According to any rational rule of international ethics the one nation to be consulted was the nation to be governed—Spain. At once, however, all France was in a state of ferment, and was prepared to go to war, and, if need be, sacrifice a million lives, to keep the young princeling from ascending a foreign throne. In the interests of peace, and mainly through the kind offices of England, the king of Prussia forbade young Leopold to be a candidate, and he withdrew. Here the incident should have ended, but France was inflamed with the lust for war. Its people crowded the boulevards on the beautiful summer nights of 1870, crying, as if possessed with the spirit that drove the Gadarene swine to their own destruction, “à Berlin ! à Berlin !” To

gratify this national pride, and partly to uphold a falling dynasty, the ambassador of France was instructed by his government to call upon the king of Prussia and make the absurd and offensive demand that the latter give his assurance that at no future time would he give his assent to the candidacy of Prince Leopold for the Spanish succession. When the ambassador called, the Prussian king, who was taking the waters at Ems, was unable to see him. Bismarck, however, as he himself admits, so worded the public telegraphic intelligence of this fact that the accidental inability of the king to see Benedetti appeared as a studied insult to France. Even had this been so, France needed only to protest against this discourtesy at the great bar of public opinion to have received its justification. The noble ethics of war are here illustrated, in that Bismarck did this, as he tells us, to precipitate a war when, as he knew, Germany was ready and France unprepared. Such is the chivalry of nations! The result was a war, in which the loss of life and property and the injury to civilization are simply incalculable, and whose end is not yet. Puck was right: "What fools these mortals be!"

Even if the consequences of a resort to arms were proportionate to the questions involved, the justification for the arbitrament of the sword utterly ceases when we reflect that wars cannot decide any question of law or fact. They may, indeed, decide a question of temporary physical possession, but never any underlying principle or right. Might never makes right; neither man nor nation is ever convinced as to its error by being knocked down. The world should have learned by this time that bullets are as powerless to convince as the stake, the fagot, the thumb-screw, and the axe. I am not unaware that there have been wars that have apparently been decisive of the questions involved, but this was because the adjustment sought to be achieved has subsequently commended itself to the reason or necessities of the conquered, and has therefore received its acquiescence. An apt illustration of this truth is shown in our own war of 1812. England claimed the right to impress seamen on the high seas from vessels of the United States. This claim of right we most justly denied, curiously enough upon the very ground of the

freedom of the sea as a common pathway of nations, which England invoked and we denied in the matter of the seal fisheries. We invoked the arbitrament of the sword to vindicate that right, and before the war had ended our commerce was driven from the seas, the resources of our land drained by taxation, and our national capital captured and in part burned. When better and more peaceful conditions prevailed, our commissioners were instructed to treat for peace upon any terms consistent with a "satisfactory stipulation against impressment." The instructions ended significantly: "If this encroachment of Great Britain is not conceded, the United States have appealed to arms in vain." The English government, however, while it had sustained the worst reverses, was in the position of the philosopher of Hudibras, who, though "convinced against his will was of the same opinion still." Failing to get a decision upon the very point involved in the quarrel, our commissioners were instructed "to omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment." Peace was therefore concluded with the very point, which had cost a relatively immense loss of life and property, undecided. Subsequently, England was convinced by other than coercive measures that its position was wrong, and the point is no longer in dispute. Our only advantageous result, therefore, of a most destructive war was the opportunity to boast with Southey's dull, plodding peasant (true type of humanity!), "It was a famous victory."

An even better illustration is the annexation of the Rhine provinces, Alsace and Lorraine. Two centuries ago, by the peace of Westphalia the former was ceded by Germany to France, and later Lorraine became French by peaceful acquisition. Both became so completely Gallicized prior to 1871, that Germany has after nearly twenty-five years of repossession, failed to reconcile their inhabitants. When France lay prostrate under the heel of the conqueror, and Germany, through the man of "blood and iron," demanded the cession of these provinces and the payment of one thousand million dollars, the conquered upon compulsion and through necessity yielded, but already the distinct warning was uttered that such enforced cession would never receive a last-

ing acquiescence. The consequence has been that after twenty-four years the labor of Germany has been drained by excessive taxation to support the mighty armies necessary to retain these provinces. The spires of Metz and Strasburg are the danger signals of Europe. It is safe to say that Germany has spent, in the last twenty years, more than the value of the provinces and the great indemnity to retain both. France will never acquiesce in the decision. The war of revenge is taught to the very school children. Yearly the statue of Strasburg in the Place de la Concorde is draped in black as a protest against this spoliation of territory. Sooner or later these wretched provinces, as if charged with the curse of God, must become not merely the cause but the battle-ground of a yet more bloody and expensive war. The thousand million dollars in gold, wrung by Germany from France in its hour of surrender, and paid by the French people with a self-sacrifice unparalleled, will yet curse both conqueror and conquered, even as the Rheingold of German legend, ravished by the gnomes and welded into the ring, cursed all who possessed it.

In any event, war decides nothing that could not at infinitely less expense be better adjusted by the peaceful methods of arbitration in an international court. The value of this method is now too well ascertained to be questioned. It has shown its ability during the present century to adjust over seventy-five disputes; of these twenty-five related to claims for damages to citizens of one country while in the offending country; in sixteen, disputed boundaries were amicably adjusted, and in five the yet more difficult questions of disputed acquisitions of new territory were peacefully decided; in some of these the national honor and historical prestige were believed to be involved, and found entirely capable of amicable adjustment. Such, for example, as the Luxemburg affair of 1867 and the Alabama Claims of 1871. The incalculable gain to humanity of this rational method can be seen in the single statement that in the wars of the nineteenth century fifteen thousand million dollars have been spent and five millions of lives destroyed. Apart from the matter of mere cost, the rational method has the ad-

vantage over force, in that the decision is acquiesced in, involves no loss of honor, occasions no harsh feelings and, further, is not dependent upon chance. The absurdity of the appeal to the god of battles in matters of opinion lies in the fact that victory in many of the most decisive engagements has been won by chance. Thus the open road at Waterloo, the mistake of the guide, the falling of the rain the night before, which prevented the bringing up of the cannon, all disconcerted and brought to nought at Waterloo the best-laid plans of the greatest strategist of all time. His very physical ailments contributed to the result. An attack of indigestion at Leipsic is said to have altered the course of that battle of nations, while it is well known that at Waterloo Napoleon was suffering intense physical pain, which may have caused the mind to suffer with the body. Even disregarding the elements of chance, modern machine war is largely a question of numbers and equipment. Napoleon said that "the god of battles was always on the side of the heaviest battalions." The ethics of the rifle and the conscience of the cannon is simply the primal rule of brute strength, the gospel of Rob Roy :

"Let him take that has the power,
Let him keep that can."

In the peaceful arbitrament of an international court, however, the questions are decided not by the chance of a moment, nor by the relative strength of the nations, but in the calm light of reason and by the eternal standards of justice. The value of such a court, not merely in deciding the question but in promoting international good-will, is shown in the Alabama Claims, when, for the first time, such a court was established. These claims had been a fruitful and long-continued source of irritation between two highly civilized countries. England could not pay under threat of war for fear of humiliation ; the United States could neither abandon nor modify the claim except with a like result. A war, therefore, whose consequences would have been incalculable, seemed inevitable ; in a happy moment, however, after much negotiation, both nations agreed to refer the question to an international court. The constitution and decision of that court is a milestone in the history of the human

race. Never before was seen the sublime spectacle of two sovereign nations, perhaps the mightiest in the world, appearing in the persons of their counsel, and calmly, soberly, and dispassionately arguing the questions according to right and justice. The decision in favor of the United States was acquiesced in by England, and the improvement of our relations with our mother-country dates from this epoch-making arbitration.

The limitations of arbitration and, under present conditions of thought, the obstacles to the abolition of war remain to be considered. That these exist only the most short-sighted and enthusiastic doctrinaire can deny. Time will forbid any but a brief discussion of them.

Wars frequently result from the hatreds of different races, the baneful heritage of centuries, and from vast conflicts of national interests, which, by reason of their very magnitude, are not susceptible of arbitration. Of the one class, the hatred between the Slav and the Teuton, of the other the desire of Russia to obtain at Constantinople a harbor for its commerce, that cannot be closed by the icy hand of winter, are illustrations. The great historic movements of races, slow and resistless as glaciers, could as little be checked by international agreement as the people of Chamouni could stay the onward course of the *mer de glace*.

But the great limitation to the efficacy of arbitration lies in the moral nature of man. When one of two contending parties does not desire to be just or respect the rights of others, arbitration is impossible, and on the part of those whose rights are wantonly invaded war is simply the primal instinct of self-preservation. In the present conditions of thought not every peace is preferable to war. There can be peace with dishonor, and multiplied death is better than multiplied disgrace. Agreements to arbitrate, or attempts to adjust differences, are only practicable where an honest difference of opinion exists, and each contending party desires to be just. Thus between the highwayman, who wantonly assaults me, and myself there is no difference of opinion. We cannot arbitrate the question whether he shall rob or murder me. He resorts to force, and for me

none other remains. This is equally true of nations. If one seeks to rob, pillage, or destroy the other, there exists no question of opinion, either of fact or law that is referable to reason or determinable by either discussion or arbitration. The appeal to arms is the *ultima ratio*. It must be clearly remembered in every discussion as to the efficacy of arbitration that it is only applicable to differences of opinion. In such case I have absolute faith in the willingness to arbitrate as a means of attaining peace. The spirit of conciliation, rather than the written agreement, is all-important. If nations desire war, such agreement will be as ineffectual to keep them from conflict as strands of rotten silk. The remedy must therefore ever be an appeal to the conscience of mankind. The "decent respect to the opinions of mankind," of which Jefferson spoke in the great Declaration, must be invoked, but until such public opinion is educated to hate war and love justice, perpetual peace will be, as Von Moltke said, only "a dream," however much arbitration may narrow the occasions or destroy the justification of war.

Herein lies the great difficulty, for the profound, underlying cause of war and the chief obstacle to perpetual peace, at present seemingly insuperable, is the real love of man for war, not as a means but as an end. No one who has studied the human heart and considered this great problem philosophically can dispute the fact that in man is an innate and overpowering love of contest, the result of heredity and education. It is shown in our laws, literature, language, and art. We are sprung from nations to whom fighting was a supreme passion, and this desire has passed as an heirloom from generation to generation.

Especially is this true of us who owe our origin to the hardy Norsemen. The world has known no greater warriors. The Greeks fought for an object, to defend their country from invasion or to avenge their affronted honor; the Romans for power and the enlargement of their domains; the followers of Mohammed, to propagate their religious faith. The Vikings, on the contrary, fought for the mere love of fighting. Tribe warred with tribe, village with village, house with house. War was the

Norseman's "shield-play" and "sword-game." These traits of national character are clearly reflected in their religious faiths, which always represent the matured philosophy of a people. Thus the paradise of the Greek and Roman, as well as that of Mohammed, was a sensual one, in which the physical charms of women constituted the chief happiness of the faithful. The Valhalla, or heaven of our Norse ancestry, however, represented fighting as the reward of the blest. While Valkyries did carry from the battlefield the slain heroes to Valhalla, their only further mission was to serve them with the mead that gave them immortal life. The happiness of the warriors consisted in fighting between themselves all day, and joining in the convivial cup by night.

From generation to generation this remarkable trait of human character has descended, and it is almost, if not quite, as dominant in life as when Siegfried forged the magic sword. It is reflected in the very character of our sports. The games which appeal to our race are those in which there exists the greatest danger, and which call forth the greatest qualities of muscle and heart. Bull-fighting in Spain, student-dueling in German universities, fencing in France, and football in England and America are the sports which by reason of their inherent danger appeal most strongly to the popular tastes. A few hundred will see a great chess match, a few thousand hear a Beethoven symphony, or a performance of Hamlet by a finished actor, ten thousand will crowd the gates to see a baseball match, but when twenty-two young collegians engage in the most brutal of all sports, football, the attendance will exhaust the capacity of the grounds. Twenty thousand people recently witnessed a contest between the Universities of Yale and Princeton, which, though presumably played by gentlemen, was supervised by the chief of police to prevent a breach of peace, in which the spectators beheld, without either distaste or pity, twelve men injured, of whom six were so disabled as to retire from the game. Barbarians are we all, with thinnest veneering of civilization. How little human nature has changed in nearly twenty centuries! I do not question that among the eighty thousand people which

thronged the Circus Maximus and watched the gladiators butcher each other for the entertainment of the Roman people, there were good mothers like Volumnia, and maidens who, like Virgilia, were as "chaste as the icicle that hangs on Diana's temple." Little children probably followed the sports with the same glee as that with which the children of our day watch at Christmas-tide the spectacle of harlequin knocking down the clown and pantaloon in the pantomime. They probably thought little of it, so absolutely are the human mind and heart ruled by conventionality. If their thoughtlessness were cruelty, it differed only in degree from the assembled multitude of our own day, who at Seville witness the toreador's conflict with a maddened bull; at Heidelberg, the attempt of two students to mutilate each other's faces; or at London and New York, the absolute disregard of life or limb exhibited in every prominent football match.

In the same love of contest, we can possibly explain this mysterious Napoleonic revival which has absorbed two continents for the last twelve months. The indifference with which the mass of mankind read of battles in another country illustrates the same trait of human character. How many Americans seriously cared twenty-five years ago, when they languidly read the intelligence in the morning papers of the shells dropping into Paris at the rate of one a minute, and its once happy people cowering in the cellars and subsisting upon rats? The tragedies on the greater stage of the world affect the average man less than the acted death of Camille on the boards of the theater. Millions have shed tears over the death of Little Nell or Colonel Newcome; none have been similarly affected in reading that in the Russian campaign of Napoleon, 125,000 perished in battle, and 123,000 died of hunger and cold; or that in the six days' fighting about Metz over 100,000 French and Germans were prematurely hurried to their last account. Indeed, humanity seems to be periodically inspired by the same craving for an unnatural excitement as moved those worn-out libertines to form the suicides' club in Stevenson's famous story of that name. They had exhausted the excitement of every usual dissipation, and as a last

resort to stir their sluggish blood and quicken their flagging pulses, formed this club, in which every night the cards were dealt, and he who received the ace of clubs was obliged to kill him who received the ace of spades. Similarly that old *roué*, the world, exhausted by many thousand years of dissipation and wearied by the gigantic gambling in fluctuating values, called business, and other forms of nervous excitement, periodically craves the great gambling game of war, whose dice boxes are Krupp cannon and whose stakes are the lives of nations and individuals.

If, however, the love of war be innate, it is unquestionably stimulated and increased by our education. From the cradle to the grave but one lesson is taught, and that lesson an absolute contradiction of the Sermon on the Mount. Among the first toys given to a child are mimic soldiers and cannon. When the boy commences his reading of history he learns little of the peaceful achievements of past races, but the sole story that history has to tell him is one of wars and battles, which are held up to him not merely as the chief occupation, but the highest glory of man. His first introduction to the classics is in *Cæsar's Commentaries*, where he learns how a warlike and powerful people made war upon a peaceful and semi-civilized nation, without any provocation other than the lust for territory or spoil, and in doing so destroyed a million men and sold another million into slavery. Soon he becomes enamoured of the subject, when he beholds it glorified by the rolling and immortal hexameters of Homer, and Hector's courage and Achilles' wrath become objects of entrancing interest; in all its tale of blood but one expression of pity, when Andromache parts with Hector, and seeing her child frightened at the nodding plumes of his father's helmet "smiles through her tears." When the boy grows to adolescence he cannot but perceive that woman admires nothing so much as shoulder-straps or a pair of epaulets, and that men go to battle, not arrayed in the black of mourning, nor amid the sad strains of a death march, but in gay costumes and to melodies that are joyous and festal in their character. He perceives why the church itself, to stir the blood and quicken the enthusi-

asm of her children, borrows the metaphor of the battlefield and in its hymnology stirringly attests its belief that the most inspiring analogy for life is war. It is sadly true that the race reserves its highest honors, not for the thinkers, but for the fighters; not for those who create, but for those who destroy.

The love of war, however, arises not merely from that of contest, but—stupendous paradox!—from the most noble and sublime trait of character, man's love of self-denial. The chief reason why the soldier will ever be a godlike hero in the eyes of men is that, rising above the selfish commonplaces of this working-day world, he is willing to give the most that he can, his life, for the people whom he loves, or the cause in which he believes. Higher than this ideal man cannot reach, for the spiritual Leader of our race could do no more than lay down his life for others. It is this that assimilates every soldier who falls upon the field of battle to the great Martyr, and which gives infinite and unfading beauty to Thorwaldsen's Lion of Lucerne. It is this which makes a field like that of Gettysburg holy ground. To countless thousands of men it proved a Calvary, upon which they expiated by their deaths the sins of others. That peach orchard, where a thousand men poured out the blood of their gallant hearts, was it not a Garden of Gethsemane in which many a hero felt the sweat "like unto great drops of blood"? For others your shell-stormed streets were a *via dolorosa*, which they trod to bloody death. Is not your Cemetery Ridge, with its rows of unnamed dead, a Golgotha, or place of skulls, and the last resting-place of heroes? For the soldier who is willing to give his life for the cause in which he believes, whether or not he is mistaken in that belief, I have nothing but the profoundest respect and admiration, but to those who needlessly cause war and refer to the arbitrament of arms the solution of questions which are referable to reason, the world will one day give its eternal execrations.

These seem to me the limitations of international arbitration as a remedy for war. Yet the hope is justified by reason, that as the world is ruled by public opinion, when it condemns war as both unwise and unjust, and demands justice as the standard

of international relations, war will finally cease. Despite the outward evidences of unprecedented preparation, it is quite clear that the conscience of the world is increasingly, although now with but a still, small voice, disapproving of the arbitrament of arms. The steamship, the railroad, and telegraph are uniting scattered races of men in a community of interest and purpose that was not possible a century ago, and producing a slow but none the less gradual improvement in the friendliness of international relations. If, as I have before said, the movements of races are as resistless as glaciers by mere international agreement, yet like these moving masses of ices they are finally stayed in their course by an invisible hand, and dissolve into refreshing and fructifying streams. We are ever nearing the sublime ideal of the unity of humanity, however distant we may still be from its realization. The superiority of love to hatred, and of reason to force, is strikingly shown by the fact that the improvement of these relations and the growing friendship of nations are arising not from force or mere interest, but from acts of kindness that appeal to the heart. Thus the American expedition, led by the undaunted Kane in search of England's hero, Franklin, was reciprocated when the latter country loaned to Lieutenant Greely her best Arctic ship to search for the survivors of the *Jeannette*. These two events caused a warm stream of sympathy to flow between the two nations, which had been theretofore estranged. Who shall forget the thrill that ran through the English-speaking world, when it learned of the frightful disaster in the harbor of Apia to the English and American ships? Against a cyclonic storm, both American and English ships bravely struggled, fighting with the power of their mighty engines to force their way through the tempest to the open sea for safety. Despite every effort, the ill-starred flagship of the American squadron was slowly driven inch by inch upon the rocks. As slowly did the *Calliope* make headway toward safety. As the latter passed the former, the fated crew of the *Trenton* gave a cheer for the brave sailors of the English steamer. It was the salute of the vanquished to the victor, of the doomed to the saved, and it not only thrilled Christendom with its in-

finite moral grandeur, but inspired both countries as never before with the sentiment of the fraternity of man.

Between no two nations has there been of recent years such a feeling of bitter animosity as between France and Germany, and until recently every effort for conciliation had failed; but within the past twelve months a kindlier feeling has resulted, due not to prodigious armies or imposing displays of force, but to the knightly courtesy of the young German emperor. When the great marshal of France, the hero of Malakoff and Magenta, MacMahon, was buried at the Madeleine, two German cuirassiers made their way through the murmuring crowd and laid upon the coffin a wreath from their Imperial Master. The heart of France was touched by this kindly act, a feeling which was confirmed when the same tactful monarch showed his sympathy with the French people in the loss of their great president, Carnot, by pardoning some French spies, who had been imprisoned for an attempt to serve their country. It may safely be said that the first friendly sentiments of the French press or people toward Germany in the last twenty-four years came from these two acts of kindness.

May we not, then, hope that with the flight of centuries the animosities of the races will perish and that public opinion will condemn war as both unwise and iniquitous? To despair of this would be to doubt humanity and question the increasing purpose which runs through the ages.

"Peace on earth and good-will to man" is not wholly a dream. The storm of human passions and hatreds is abating, while in the skies can clearly be discerned the Bow of Promise. Far above the discordant cries of frenzied and maddened nations can be heard, by those who will attune their souls to the symphony of universal progress, the nobler strains of increasing fraternity and good-will. The day will come, nay, unless progress shall be brought face to face with a gigantic *cul de sac*, must come, when Caesar, or the martial spirit, will bow the knee to the Prince of Peace, and say, as did the Apostate,

"Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

JAMES M. BECK.

THE CITIZEN A SOVEREIGN.

BY WILMOT H. GOODALE, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND CIVICS,
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.

OF ALL the questions that have ever engaged the "thought of man or beast" none have proved of such unvarying importance as the simple question, "Who shall rule?" Among the lower orders of life, whenever individuals meet, whether wild or domestic, large or small, beasts, fowl, or fish, the question which one shall rule the rest becomes at once of paramount importance, and all other considerations are suspended until this supreme question is decided by personal combat.

It seems that this law obtains even in the invisible world revealed by the microscope, and physicians are even now taking advantage of it in the eradication of the germs of diseases that have hitherto evaded the farthest researches of science and of skill.

The student of nature has forced upon him at every turn the conviction that war rather than peace is the natural order of things. All life is a struggle for mastery, and, construe it as we may, it is "the fittest" who "survive," though, in quite another sense, it may not be always "the fittest" who rule. From the remotest period of man's history two ideas of sovereignty have been in antagonism—the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the doctrine of the essential sovereignty of man—sovereignty, that is, *by virtue of his manhood*.

The origin of the former is easily explained: It was natural for man, even in the earliest stages, to recognize the authority of the parent as coming from Deity, and, this source of authority once recognized, the extension was easy to the patriarch as head of the family, and, through the clan and tribe, to the king who was regarded as the representative of the divine authority among his subjects and who, consequently, "could do no wrong."

Nor was this belief confined to narrow limits. The ancient Egyptians regarded their Pharaohs as the representatives of Horus, or the morning sun—that child miraculously begotten of Isis by Osiris after his death, and they were firm believers in the doctrine of the divine right of kings and had even the same maxim with which the history of European nations has made us familiar—"The king can do no wrong." The same idea underlies the ancestor worship of the Turanian races.

Among our English ancestors so firm a hold had the doctrine that from the time of Edward the Confessor in the eleventh century even to the time of Queen Anne the belief obtained that kings could cure the scrofula—for this reason called the "king's evil"—by the mere imposition of hands, and it is worthy of note that the superstition came to an end from the belief that William and Mary and their successors did not reign by "divine right" rather than from any doubt as to the continuance of the power in the true representatives of Deity.

In France the same custom prevailed from the time of Charis in the fifth century to that of Louis XIV., who is said to have "touched" no less than 1,600 persons, using the phrase, "The king touches thee, may God cure thee."

No doubt this doctrine of "divine right" was encouraged by kings as the chief muniment of their title to royalty, and received the not altogether disinterested support of certain of the nobility among whom was divided the royal prerogative of government.

But there were always some among our German ancestors, even in the earliest days, who were disposed to place limits upon this power, despite its supposed origin, whenever it ventured to encroach too far upon their own. Hence the doctrine of "divine right" was not without a practical opposition, though one born, it may be, of self-interest even before the genesis of the doctrine which was destined ultimately to overthrow it—the doctrine of the essential sovereignty of man, that is, of sovereignty by virtue of his developed manhood.

The barons did not wrest the Great Charter from King John because they believed in the sovereignty of the people, but be-

cause they desired to share among themselves the privileges of royalty and escape its tyrannical impositions. Simon de Montfort did not call the knights into the English Parliament because of any full recognition by him of the royalty of manhood, but because of his distrust of the barons, many of whom were so possessed by this doctrine of the "divine right of kings" that he feared lest they should restore the throne to the captive Henry. The English beheaded Charles and the French Louis, not to get rid of royalty, but through the reaction against oppression.

Great ideas are not born suddenly; their period of parturition is often measured by centuries. A thought must wait for a fit environment. The acorns fall from the spreading branches of the parent oak by the thousand and, perchance, a single one in a century may find the fertile soil, the genial sunshine, and the moisture necessary to warm and quicken it into life. The rest, with all their infinite possibilities of life, the oak forests that may never be, must fail for lack of a proper environment. A child could not live, even could it be born, in the Upas Valley or in the Grotto del Cane.

The radical difference in these two antagonistic ideas lay in the conception expressed by the single word "majority."

Under the patriarchal government a child was never of age, no matter how many years the tale of his life might have told, so long as he had a single living male ascendant; his condition was that of the most abject dependence. This patriarch, this "father-ruler," as the name indicates, had over all his descendants, their families, and servants, supreme power, extending even to the taking of life.

In those polygamous days and especially on the theory of single lives measured by centuries, the number descended from a single ancestor must have reached into the thousands and even tens of thousands, and among this vast multitude there was never but one at a time who could be considered "of age," as we now understand the term. The thought that a child is under the tutelage of the parent merely because of his immaturity, that as soon as this cause is removed by growth and de-

velopment the dependent relation should cease, either had not been born, or, like one of the acorns falling in the dark recesses of the forest, could not find the conditions necessary for life.

We need not wonder at this when we consider the conditions of its birth and the stupendous character of the thought in question.

No man can fix to a thought its natal day, but this of which we speak burst into life in England in 1689 when the people first chose their sovereigns and placed limits upon their authority; it sprang into being in the United States, like a strong man armed, in the Declaration of Independence, made good by the victory at Yorktown; it took form in France in the oath of the Tennis Court and the fall of the Bastile. All over this western hemisphere, in the three Americas, it has triumphed as republic after republic has risen upon the ruins of an effete monarchy, and to-day, even in the Old World, in the secret palaces of kings it is locked in deadly embrace with its old antagonist in a conflict the issue of which is no longer doubtful. Already there are twenty republics in the New and seven in the Old World, and the tidal wave of human liberty is rolling its irresistible volume around the globe.

All this is the work of a single conception, the sovereignty of man. But what a conception! Before it vanish the deep-rooted prejudices and superstitions of ages; at its behest emperors lay down their scepters and mighty kings surrender their crowns; drawn by the attraction of this single thought the key of the Bastile crosses the Atlantic and hangs a harmless token in the home of the father of a nation of sovereigns. It is but a thought indeed, but a thought that comes echoing down the centuries, the declaration of the Infinite that man was created in the image of God.

This thought that the divine right of sovereignty is in every man capable of its exercise lies at the basis of every government republican in form. It does not mean, or rather it *should* not mean, that every one has the same right as every other to participate in the affairs of government—far from it, but that all have equal rights *to become qualified* for such duties. The theory

of universal, unqualified suffrage finds no justification whatever in this theory of the sovereignty of man. No man has any right to attempt acts affecting others in which he cannot succeed because of personal disqualifications. His right in such case is conditioned upon the removal of the impediment. The state imposes certain conditions to suffrage and should recognize the equal rights of all its citizens to meet these conditions. The sovereignty of each individual is limited by his disqualifications. Sovereignty and its expression through suffrage are rights *in posse*, not necessarily rights *in esse*, the goal toward which every man may press in a race in which all who persevere may win, not an inheritance presented as a birthright.

The right claimed for every man in the Declaration of Independence is the right to reach this goal of perfected manhood if he can, and not the right to be treated as though he were already there when, perchance, he may be lagging by the way.

In a country governed by a king the sons of the ruler are called "princes," that is, those *first chosen* to rule, and they are thoroughly trained, as a matter of course, for their royal duties. In a republic the "royal family" embraces all the people and it is therefore both the interest and the duty of the state to train the masses for the royal duties of citizenship. It is not a question of training the children of the poor at the expense of the rich, but of training the children of the state at the expense of the state for the performance of duties upon which the very existence of the state depends. Just here is found the fullest possible justification of our public school system.

And let it be observed that it is not merely the right and duty of the state to provide an education *of some sort* that is thus justified. No natural or arbitrary limit can be assigned to the *degree* of education which the state should confer upon its citizens. If it is its interest and duty to raise the masses to any given standard of intelligence, it is impossible to assign any reason why its interest and duty do not require their elevation to a still higher standard. Moreover, the standard which meets the demand of to-day falls below the requirements of the more advanced to-morrow and seems ever moving upward to a higher

plane. This standard rises with the enlightenment of the masses, blending effect with cause in a manner most bewildering to a "strict constructionist" and strengthening the conviction of those more liberally disposed that the only sensible solution of the question is in the theory, sustained alike by sound policy and philanthropy, that the degree of education which the state should afford is measured only by the capacity of the citizen to receive.

This argument, seemingly conclusive when applied to general education, receives new strength when applied to the education of the citizen for the special duties of citizenship. Here both the duty and the advantage are the state's by a species of primordial right. Nay, more, in the close competition of modern life its exercise is essential to the very existence of the state.

This being conceded, does it not seem strange that in these days of comparatively liberal things for education, so little thought has been given to civics instruction, the very branch of all on the list in which the state has the most apparent interest?

We have, public or private, schools of theology, of medicine, and of law; schools of science and schools of art, schools of mathematics and schools of logic, schools of engineering and schools of war, schools of English and schools of *belle-lettres*, schools normal, nautical, polytechnic, singing-schools, Sunday-schools, and ragged schools; schools for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the imbecile, kindergartens for the little wee toddlers, and crèches for those who cannot toddle at all—but who until within these last few years has ever heard of the "School of the Citizen"? Our children are trained in the science of numbers, and it is well; shall not those whose chief duty as men will be to rule be also trained in the science of government?

Not long since, when the question of establishing a chair for civics instruction in one of our leading southern colleges was under discussion, a member of the governing board was heard to remark that he thought it was time the state was providing some other place for her boys to learn the duties of citizenship besides the corner grocery. The statement challenges our attention. Omitting any confession about the "corner grocery,"

permit us to ask, where did we of this working generation—that is, those of us who know anything at all upon the subject—learn the duties of the various civil officers whom we are called upon to obey? Where did we learn our rights as citizens? What do we know about parliamentary law, we who are liable at any time to be called upon to preside over a deliberative assembly, and where did we obtain our knowledge? What do we know of our rights and duties as set forth in the two constitutions under which we live, we who are told that it is equally perilous to obey an invalid and to disregard a valid law? What do we know of the rights and duties of nations, we who are so often assured from infancy that we are in imminent danger of being elected to the presidency and thus having the entire burdens of government at once thrust upon us? Item by item, and point by point, in the entire curriculum of citizenship, was not the little that we do know picked up in a beggarly, scrappy, unsystematic way, here and there, from this man and from that, and is not the little that we do know in danger of being engulfed like the “wise men of Goshen at sea in a boat,” in the boundless ocean of our ignorance?

Do we need less systematic instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship than in logarithms and the calculus? Can the sovereign rulers of the republic derive less benefit from the study of the rules of government than from the “Rule of Three”? Talleyrand, the founder of the present system of public instruction in France, once said, “The chief object of the state is to teach children to become one day its citizens.”

Robert Lowe, the great educational reformer of England, voiced the same sentiment when he said, “The first interest and duty of every Englishman is to educate the masses, our masters.” These nations train their diplomatists in special schools and we try to match them in the great game of life with men whose sole reliance is their mother-wit. Does our country need trained citizens? Ask our judges the reason for the growing contempt for that most ancient of all the safeguards of liberty, trial by jury. Does it need them? Whence arises the growing unwillingness on the part of the masses to abide by laws of their own enactment except in

the fact that they have really taken no intelligent part in the enactment of these laws? Can it be contended for a moment that if our people were educated in the duties of citizenship, if they had a fair comprehension of what is meant by a government under law, they would not respect the laws which they themselves have made?

Under a monarchy obedience to law can be enforced by the iron hand of authority, but in a republic the limit of all authority is the intelligent respect for law by the masses whose province it is to make and unmake both laws and rulers. The stream of administrative authority can rise no higher than this, its source, and ignorance in a republic is the sure precursor of anarchy.

The mere thought of such intelligent appreciation in the affairs of government is stimulating, and carries with it such a sense of responsibility as will surely conduce to the highest form of patriotism and the most unselfish devotion to the interests of the state. It is a thought that tends to lift one above all sordid selfishness, above all sectional narrowness, above mere partisanship, upon the broader plane and into the purer atmosphere of an exalted patriotism. A nation of men fit to rule would of necessity be a nation of patriots.

WILMOT H. GOODALE.

THE WOMAN QUESTION: RETROGRESSIVE PATHWAYS.

BY MARY J. EASTMAN.

IT HAS occurred to the writer that some recent deliverances of prominent advocates of the modern theories for feminine development admit of, if they do not demand, some criticism from such thoughtful women as cannot see their way clear either to adopt the premises or come to the conclusions of the more advanced. Is it not possible that the silence of the more conservative has given a consent to the utterances of the radicals that is liable to misconstruction, and calculated to give undue influence to those who claim to represent Woman—with a capital W?

The very fact that the great majority of intelligent women are going peacefully along their way, as it has been from the foundation of the world, shows plainly that they do not feel the need of any great departure from the old lines; but it is hardly fair to assume that this is because they do not think or will not reason on the subject. In point of fact they do both think and reason, with the result that some are beginning to feel that the time has come when they should speak as well as live their convictions. Especially is this true of those who, believing fully in the progress of woman, think that many of the new paths so loudly advertised are really retrogressive, and the longer the journey by them, the more steps must be retraced before substantial advance can be made.

In reading Miss Frances Willard's opening address before the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the W. C. T. U. at Cleveland, Ohio, November 16, 1894, the writer was struck by what appeared to her the glittering fallacies that seem to have been accepted by the audience as a brilliant presentation of truth. It has seemed worth while to try to resolve the shimmering nebula, and see what fixed principles would survive analysis.

If, as we must believe, there is room for two sides on this subject that lately has generally shown but one, the defense of the

conservative position should come from women; both because they best know whereof they speak, and because men's arguments on that side lose effect on account of their supposed interest in maintaining the present status.

Miss Willard's concluding remarks, followed by great applause, were as follows:

I remember that no one subject puzzled or vexed me more in my youthful days than why it was that men could range the whole world at their will, and then have the home beside, while women did not have the world, but the home only. I did not think this fair, and never have and never shall, and I think those early broodings on the subject helped to determine my vocation, for I resolved to build in my life, to help make the world so home-like that women could go freely out into it everywhere, side by side with men, and also to help bring it about that men should share in larger measure than they have ever yet done in the hallowed ministrations of the fireside and the cradle, through which, as I believe, they are to reach their highest and holiest development.

Miss Willard's remarks, on an occasion that doubtless tempted to a certain expansion, would not perhaps justify critical analysis if she did not occupy a position and wield an influence that should hold her to exact premises and strict logic in all her public utterances.

However unfair it may have seemed to Miss Willard, and however unfair it may actually be, "that man could range the whole world at will, and then have the home beside, while women did not have the world, but the home only," it seems unlikely that any different order can be established. To make conditions identical would involve either such a change in the ideal of home as would change all that makes its maintenance desirable or possible, or such altered relations of man and woman as would abrogate the laws of nature as now understood.

I think that few persons can imagine a home which does not suggest the idea of a retreat—a place where one is sure of a peculiar and specialized provision for the wants of body and soul—where one's likes and dislikes, one's tastes, one's fads even, may claim every reasonable tolerance and indulgence. Now to secure this asylum of one's personality, it seems needful that somebody should be willing to undertake *for love*, not money, its

arrangement and supervision. Invariably this somebody is a woman. A woman may make a home for herself or for another woman, but the Anglo-Saxon mind is unequal to the concept of a *home* for a man alone, or for men only, or of man as the arbiter and director of its internal affairs. A man keeping a hotel—a man managing a club—a man superintending an institution—yes! A man making a home—no!

The man who can "range the world at will, and have the home beside," has it only because some woman, wife, mother, sister, or daughter, is willing for love of him to stay in the home—not range the world—and make it home. The woman who "goes freely into it everywhere" must do without a home unless some other woman chooses for love to give herself to home-making for her world-faring companion.

The home, then, implies the presence, as head and controller, of some woman who is there for love, not money. And she who is as free from domestic cares as most men, must have in the background some mother, sister, or friend as home-maker, or she must do without a home; as, in fact, man must and does under like circumstances. Miss Willard's own experience is a case in point, since I believe she ascribes much of her success and happiness to the devoted mother and equally devoted friend, who have given themselves without stint to the ministrations that make a home, and in so doing have doubtless very largely yielded their prerogative of free ranging independent of the object of their cares. The few women of uncommon mental and physical powers, or unusual fertility of resources, who may have succeeded both at home and abroad, are so exceptional that it is illogical to make their lives a precedent or model for that average womanhood for which laws are made, and by whom institutions are fixed.

Now if women have on hand the business of making homes for all women and all men as well, it must follow that when many women range the world at will, many human beings must do without homes.

We take it that when Miss Willard speaks of women going out freely into the world everywhere, and having the home besides,

she means going for serious work or definite employment ; since, in Anglo-Saxon communities at any rate, woman's freedom of range for purposes of society and amusement is unquestioned, and interferes no more with her rights and duties at home than man's outside avocations conflict with his enjoyment of domestic life. And this seems the true and natural balance.

The person who does his work away from home needs home for rest and relaxation. She who does her work at home needs recreation, not occupation, away from home. Every woman who, in addition to her household duties, has to undertake the outdoor business of the family, will testify to the longing she feels to sometimes go out with nothing to do beyond lending herself to the distractions and amusements of the passing show, or to social affairs in which she has no responsibility ; and every man really busy away from home will, I think, bear witness to the hardship of carrying his work home, or assuming there other work. So the sex whose work necessarily lies at home would seem to have the right to be free from work away from home and *vice versa*.

Another consideration here comes in. Although many cases there are, and may be, of women for love of other women giving up their freedom and undertaking home cares, such homes always lack the stability and permanence that come where the housekeeper is wife of the householder (the house-band as it might well be written) or mother of the family. Where one woman, out of friendship for her sister world-worker, undertakes the burdens of home-making, hundreds enter on the task through the holy ordinance of matrimony.

Of course, when Miss Willard finds herself able to "bring it about that men should share in larger measure than they have yet done, the hallowed ministrations of the fireside and the cradleside," then, as under the famous hypothesis, "If your uncle had been your aunt," things will be different—perhaps ! But meanwhile we must live, and there be timid souls who fear that during the shifting of loads, and dividing and readjusted responsibility, there may come "parlous times," when the family will illustrate how heavily between two stools one may fall.

In short, it seems likely, pending the millennium, that women in general will have to choose between ranging the world at will and making homes for themselves and other people—and that men will continue to take a mean advantage of their freedom to range, with the safe harbor of home in reserve for rest and repairs—provided they can prevail on some woman to keep the refuge and trim the lights; while woman is, after all, subject to precisely the same conditions. If she really goes out into the world, throwing her whole self into its business, exactly as a man does and must if he is to succeed in its strife, she cannot have a home unless, for love, some other woman will make it for her just as women make homes for men, the outdoor partner providing the means and the indoor one devising and putting in practice the ways to make those means do most and best. She will be somewhat worse off than man, because he can more easily get a wife than she a loyal and permanent housemate. Strangely enough, perhaps, this seems to be in the order of nature, who is an obstinate old woman of a very conservative temper, as many have found to their cost.

As under normal conditions the majority of women will be housekeepers and home-makers for their husbands, the unfairness of whatever limitations such vocations impose, is really no greater than other differences that natural laws permit or impose on account of distinctions of function and circumstances. Since, from the relation of husband and wife in the home, there normally result situations and conditions that inevitably tend to restrict the movements of woman more than man, it does not seem unreasonable or unjust that human affairs, on the whole, should arrange themselves so as to provide for such contingencies. Even if there were no compensations, society can hardly be blamed for making the adjustments that nature seems to demand.

But whether it be nature or providence that has set the solitary in families, far be it from me to admit that the greater burdens that must be borne by woman in her retirement are not lightened by those joys with which the stranger intermeddleth not. If the uninitiated could appreciate the settled content of the loyal wife whose head, heart, and hands are full of the labors

of love, or enter into the raptures of motherhood, it might seem the soberest of common sense to "count the world well lost, and all for love," and to think it a most reasonable thing that she upon whom love confers the golden scepter of home should do well to magnify her office, giving to it more rather than less of thought and skill. So let her not divide the time and strength that are none too much for administering wisely, and to its uttermost parts, the affairs of that realm to whose purple she is born, and about whose sovereignty there is no dispute.

MARY J. EASTMAN.

OUGHT WE TO ANNEX CUBA? A SYMPOSIUM.

BY HON. F. R. COUDERT, GOV. EVANS, GOV. OATES, HON. GIDEON J. TUCKER, GEN. MARTIN McMAHON, HENRY CLEWS, HON. WM. SULZER, HON. JOHN DEWITT WARNER, COL. ETHAN ALLEN, MAJOR BYRNE, THOMAS BURKE GRANT.

THE men of brains of this nation for the past one hundred years have given thought to the serious question of annexing Cuba. That sooner or later this rich island of the Atlantic will form a part of the dominion of this government is looked upon as a natural sequence of time. There is a feeling in certain sections of the country, particularly the South, whose commercial relations with Cuba are of the closest, that the time is ripe for the necessary preliminary action.

What the leading men of this city and of the South think is shown in the following carefully collected letters. They can be regarded as a fair criterion of American sentiment on the question. Each man was asked two questions—if he believed in the annexation of Cuba, and, if so, what means should be taken to bring such annexation about. The letters follow :

FREDERICK RENE COUDERT.

You ask me whether we should annex Cuba. When you put the question in that way it sounds very much like inquiring whether I should add the late Mr. Gould's estate to my own, or take possession of Mr. Pierrepont Morgan's bank account—operations that would be pleasant enough in themselves, and of which I can descry the advantages without a microscope, but the parties more immediately concerned might make objections and invoke the law and its officers to sustain them in their unreasonable opposition. So to annex Cuba we must first find some plausible excuse, granting that annexation be desirable, which will justify us in wresting from a friendly nation its territory,

contrary to those laws which are based, it is true, purely on moral grounds, but which, nevertheless, are of great weight in the intercourse of all self-respecting nations.

If you can get over this objection by convincing Spain that she ought to drop Cuba into the broad lap of the United States then I am heartily with you. While I believe that, as a general proposition, we have all the territory that we need, and more than we can at present properly take care of, I am willing to make an exception for this, the gem of the Antilles. Her geographical position alone would make her almost invaluable to us, commercially and politically, and now that slavery has been abolished on the island the old objection that could have been raised in pro-slavery days has disappeared. Her mineral resources have not yet been tapped, her climate is unexcelled in its beauty, its variety, and its capacity to contribute, when properly taken advantage of, to the comfort and happiness of the world.

Indeed, her resources are almost boundless and, rich as we are in gold and silver and fruit and sugar and grain, this glorious little island would at once step to the front rank and be a subject of pride to our whole people. Metaphorically speaking, it makes the water come to my mouth when I think of the state of Cuba as one of our family, but I think we are as much bound to respect our neighbor's goods when we deal nationally as when we operate in the capacity of individuals.

Therefore I conclude, first, I know no ground upon which we can interfere without violating the decencies of international intercourse to take Cuba from Spain against the latter's will. Secondly, if Spain makes no objection, I should advocate receiving Cuba with open arms and a joyous heart. We would wonder in a few years how we ever got on without her.

F. R. COUDERT.

GOV. J. G. EVANS, SOUTH CAROLINA.

I think unreservedly that Cuba should be annexed to the United States. It is, you might say, a part of America, and should come within the "Monroe Doctrine."

The harbor of Havana is a constant menace to the health of our country, and when stirred up by one of our large ships an invasion of yellow fever invariably follows. It should be owned and thoroughly disinfected.

As to the steps necessary to bring about this result, I am not in favor of anything save a direct purchase from Spain. I do not believe in robbery under the guise of war, and Spain will never be so bold as to involve herself with this country in such an uneven conflict. Any interference on our part in the present troubles in Cuba would be entirely unjustifiable.

JOHN GARY EVANS.

GOV. WILLIAM C. OATES, ALABAMA.

You ask me if I think Cuba should be annexed to this country.

I am favorable to the annexation of Cuba. Owing to its situation it is of interest to us, but I do not think it should be obtained by invasion, filibustering, or unlawful means. I am in favor of obtaining it peacefully if we can do so upon reasonable terms. It would certainly be better for the inhabitants, and should belong to us because a near neighbor.

WILLIAM C. OATES.

GIDEON J. TUCKER'S VIEWS.

The question of the annexation of Cuba to the United States is one in which I took a great interest thirty or forty years ago. I was a member of a committee or junta organized in this city to promote that object. At the Baltimore Democratic Presidential Convention of 1852 we had quite a gathering of the sympathizers with Cuban independence, and Franklin Pierce, whom we then nominated, was understood to be favorable to annexation. Whether the situation which has resulted from our Civil War has effected any change as to the advisability of annexation is a question worthy of consideration.

If Cuba had liberated herself from Spain and been admitted as a state into our Union before our Civil War broke out she would have entered it endowed with all the rights reserved to the original states upon the adoption of our federal government.

But between 1864 and 1870 the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted. If Cuba were now admitted as a state every vestige of the existence of slavery there would of course be instantly abolished. The emancipated blacks would of course become, by the annexation treaty, naturalized citizens of the United States, as the Mexicans in New Mexico and California became citizens under the treaty of Guadeloupe. They would be entitled under the constitutional amendments to vote at all elections. How far this would resurrect that sectional animosity which has once already cost us so many lives and so much treasure I will not undertake to predict, but public opinion in this country may prefer domestic quiet to the danger attending an extension of national territory. I have always suspected that a dread of renewing the jealousy of sections has influenced President Cleveland in his policy of discouraging the annexation of Hawaii and the conversion of its motley population of Kanakas, Japanese, and Chinese into American citizens; and similar apprehensions may prevent the annexation of Cuba.

I should be glad to see our Congress give the Cuban insurgents recognition as belligerents as soon as they adopt a free form of government and proclaim their independence. The misgoverning dominion of Spain, so out of place at this end of the nineteenth century, cannot too soon be extirpated from every foot of American soil.

GIDEON J. TUCKER.

CONGRESSMAN J. A. LOCKHART.

I can see no good in the hasty expression, by public men, of opinions on grave questions. Reticence may deprive journals of some of their interest, but probably detracts nothing from their real usefulness. If the United States should ever acquire Cuba, it must be done by a diplomacy which will have the work consummated before that great force of know-alls and do-nothings are aware of what is going on.

JAMES A. LOCKHART.

GEN. MARTIN T. M'MAHON.

I am opposed to indiscriminate annexation because I believe

that it is a high privilege to be admitted into the Union, and should be only extended to communities which not only desire but deserve it. Both of these facts, that they desire and deserve it, should be made apparent by a sufficient term of probation. Texas went through this probationary period, and only became a state in the Union after she had established her independence and showed herself capable of self-government and defense.

If Canada should seek admission to the Union I should favor her admission, and believe it would be to the advantage of all the countries, including Great Britain.

I believe, too, that Cuba has ceased to be such a source of revenue to Spain as to make it even desirable that Spain should continue the connection. It would be an advantage to the United States to take in Cuba only after the United States had repeopled the island, at least to the extent of making its population familiar with our laws and language and the genius of our institutions. It would also be most desirable for the Cubans to join the United States, provided we ever reach a just, equitable, and constitutional tariff law.

What attitude ought the United States to assume toward the present movement? Enforce their own laws and observe a just neutrality as against both parties in the struggle. Our present neutrality laws were adopted after long and able debate to meet precisely the condition of things which is said now to exist in Cuba, and which did exist in the Spanish South American colonies when those laws were framed.

During the uprising in Cuba in 1870, the then administration permitted the most flagrant violation of these laws on the part of Spain and her agents in the building and equipping of war vessels to operate against "the colony or people of Cuba," then known to be in insurrection, while the same laws were enforced with unexampled rigor against the insurgents. The attitude taken by our government then was vigorously opposed by many of our able statesmen, notably by Wm. M. Evarts, Horace Greeley, Henry Wilson, C. A. Dana, N. P. Banks, S. S. Cox, General Francis P. Blair and others, all of whom, if I remember right, were members of the Executive Committee of the Cuban

League, the purpose of which was to secure the equal and just enforcement of our neutrality laws.

Do I approve of avowed hostility to Spain simply because she is a monarchy? I certainly do disapprove of hostility, whether avowed or otherwise. The Spanish people are as much entitled to their own form of government as are the people of the United States. We have no right, either of interference or suggestion, as to what that form should be.

M. T. McMAHON.

HENRY CLEWS AGAINST IT.

While the annexation of Cuba might be a good thing in some respects, on the whole I do not favor it. I don't think it is a wise policy for us to acquire territory in South America, so long as we have so much of our own already. The character of the people, with their hot-blooded nature and their reactionary traditions, is wholly dissimilar to ours, and will not be likely to mingle congenially any better than oil and water do in nature. The advantage of annexation, however, would be to make a good coaling station for our shipping interests; but that gain would not counterbalance the disadvantages growing out of extending our government so as to include that territory. We really gain all the advantages by our close proximity to Cuba through existing trade relations, and therefore the acquisition of the island would bring us in too close contact with all the other South American governments; and during their tempestuous periods, which are of frequent occurrence, Cuba would be sure to involve us in their struggles; at any rate, it would make complications at times that would be a source of weakness to our government.

HENRY CLEWS.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM ELLIOTT, FIRST DIST., S. C.

In answer to your letter of the 3d, I beg to say that I am opposed to the annexation of Cuba to the United States, as well as to all similar annexation schemes.

WM. ELLIOTT.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM SULZER, ELEVENTH DIST., N. Y.

Revolutions always accomplish something for the uplifting of

humanity and the amelioration of the human race. I believe in them when oppression can no longer be endured. They mean progress, the advancement of civilization, and the betterment of the masses.

In the present crisis in Cuba my sympathy is all with the heroic Cubans, and I sincerely hope they will succeed. Let the result be, however, what it may, I now predict that sooner or later Cuba will, and must be, free from the Spanish yoke, and the island ultimately ours by purchase, by annexation, or by conquest.

Cuba is to-day fighting for freedom, for liberty, and for independence. In many respects it is a similar struggle to our own revolution to escape an alien yoke, and cast off the oppressive exactions and abuses of many years of a foreign monarchical government which enriches itself by violating every precept of good government and every fundamental law of right and justice.

From what I can ascertain, and from what I can learn from authoritative sources, I believe this revolution in Cuba is destined to be successful. It is a battle of republicanism and democracy against monarchy and plutocracy, and in the fight for freedom every lover of liberty, every believer in the institutions of free government, and every friend of the people who believes that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, should sympathize with the struggling Cubans, and further the hope that their aspirations may be realized.

Cuba is the queen of the Antilles. It is the richest and most productive island for its size on the face of the globe. It is the key to the Gulf of Mexico, the solution of the enforcement and the triumph of the Monroe Doctrine, and if a part of the United States would mean the perpetuity of the sanctity of the unwritten confederation of the American republics on the western hemisphere—for defensive and offensive operations; and last, and above all, it is, and would be, the surest guarantee to our supervision and control of the Nicaragua Canal, which means a new and shorter gateway to the Pacific Ocean.

In the contest thus far we are merely close and sympathetic observers, and anxious and hopeful lookers-on, but if occasion

offers we must assert our rights in no mistaken tones, and brook no insolence from haughty Spain, puffed up, as she seems to be, with her own ancient pride, which, according to good law and precedent, goeth before a fall. Spain has run her course. Her days of conquest are past, and she is tottering to-day on the greatness of her own historic ruins.

I have strong convictions relating to Cuba, born of experience, and in regard to the true policy of this government to Spain. I believe that it is the duty of the United States government to recognize the revolutionists of Cuba as belligerents so soon as they demonstrate their ability to organize a stable provisional government and place an equipped army in the field to uphold and maintain it. If this is done Cuban independence is assured. We owe no debt of obligation, or favor, or gratitude, to Spain, and no government on earth can take exception to our policy if we comply with the letter and the spirit of international law. This, of course, will be done.

I believe Cuba belongs to us by right, and is essential to our preservation and continental supremacy. In a matter of this kind our policy, of course, should be broad and liberal, honest and equitable, and yet, at the same time, we should not quibble or falter, hesitate or split diplomatic hairs on the niceties of international law.

WM. SULZER.

EX-CONGRESSMAN JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

I am utterly opposed to the annexation of Cuba for two reasons. Economically, I believe our own country is already so extended that the interests of its 65,000,000 people will be better subserved in building it up than by offering special inducements for American and other capital and brains to be diverted elsewhere. And politically, while I am a thorough believer in popular government as the only one fit for a people capable of enjoying freedom, I appreciate too thoroughly the problems which we have already in hand to think it advisable to add to them either by trying an experiment of self-government with such a population as is that of Cuba, or of permitting an aristocratic or monarchical government to be established under our

protection, or of attempting to govern such a territory by a satrap or pro-consul.

Until we have a dearth of trouble at home it seems to me that we need not search for it abroad. As long as somebody else tries to govern the islands, while we practically control their trade, it strikes me that we have the milk, and the other nation the shell, of the cocoanut. I am aware that there is good picking even in the shell, but do not believe our institutions were ever intended for the strain of colonial administration.

JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

MAJOR JOHN BYRNE.

I am a stickler for the Monroe Doctrine, which, while it means that European countries shall not interfere in the affairs of this continent, also supposes that we shall not interfere in turn in the affairs of other countries, particularly when they do not menace or intrude upon our interests in any way.

I think the Cuban question should be left to the Cubans and to those who are now in controversy over it. As I understand the question, it is entirely one between the Cuban people and the government of Spain; my sympathies, of course, are naturally with the islanders in their struggle for liberty, but that is as far as I am willing to go upon the question just now.

JOHN BYRNE.

THOMAS BURKE GRANT.

Though Spain is no longer the land of champions, of colonies, and of cavaliers, and has sunk under the burdens of an enervating pietism, or of feudal grandees; though her navies no longer threaten the peace of nations, and the argosies of the world have ceased to pour their treasures into Cadiz or Madrid, it would be a mistake to assume that Spain has ceased to influence the councils of Europe, or could be coaxed or coerced to part with any portion of her dominions.

Spain still adheres to the gem of the Antilles as all that remains of the vast empire of Philip II., extending from both sides of the equator into the temperate zones, with the same desperate attachment as a gambler stakes his all upon the last

chance, or as the heir of an impoverished family preserves the last memento of a vanished splendor. Spanish statesmen are well aware that Cuba is an island of unique strategical importance, as well as of wonderful fertility, ruggedness, and beauty, certain to become more dearly prized when the Nicaragua Canal shall bring it directly into the highway of interoceanic traffic and makes Cuba a half-way house of the commerce of the world.

Spain, however it may surprise Americans, will never sell Cuba any more than she would mortgage the Cortes or voluntarily transfer the Escorial to Washington or to Chicago. Nor will she cede to the Cubans their independence, and without assistance from this country they are not strong enough to wrest it themselves. Sympathy with Cuba is therefore lost, and any attempts to aid the insurgents by Congress recognizing them as belligerents are not only to be deprecated, but are also likely to lead to far different consequences than resulted by our winking at rebellion in Honolulu or Hayti or in Samoa.

Mere sentiment aside, it is not desirable that Cuba should become an independent republic without the territory to maintain a fleet and an army for her own defense. No genuine friend to freedom need much enthuse contemplating another Spanish republic. South American republics seem destined for no nobler purpose than to enable some hidalgo on horseback to grasp power to override the liberties of the people, or to violate the constitution which he had sworn to defend. And Cuba as a republic isn't likely to inspire mankind with higher ideals than those of other republics, which are very fortunate if they each can escape a dictator or a revolution for six clear months at a time.

Cession of the island, or its independence, being thus out of the question, there remains the proposal of annexation to the United States. Those who appreciate Cuba most, and who know its people best, think that if annexed Cubans would long remain a non-assimilated portion of our American population. Spanish pride and Spanish customs would not disappear for ages from the Cuban people; indeed, it is difficult to see how the island

could be safely annexed without also being Americanized. This Americanization of Cuba could not be accomplished without re-peopling the country somewhat after the manner of England in the case of Ireland, and differing, as the islanders necessarily would, with the people of the mainland to which they were hinged, in race, religion, historical affiliations, and national traditions, it would be a sad work of conquest, difficult, unprofitable, and uncongenial to most Americans.

Cuba is therefore best left in the arms of her mother-country to work out her own destinies and in her own way. Such a course on our part is the more appropriate, since the two things which the United States do not need are fresh accessions of territory and ill-assorted additions to our population. Like the arms of Alexander, this republic now reaches from the confines of the east to those of the west. But even if the United States stood eminently in need of territorial expansion, or of a larger population, this great republic could not afford to force the annexation of Cuba, and thus toward the end of the nineteenth century to attempt the rôle of another Persia, by creating another Sparta in the bosom of the Antilles and in the maritime highway of the western world.

THOMAS BURKE GRANT.

ETHAN ALLEN, GRANDSON OF THE REVOLUTIONARY HERO.

Of course Cuba should be annexed as a part of the United States. Geographically she belongs to us, and why should we not take that to which nature gives us the title? If Spain owned the mouth of the Mississippi we would drive her away. She does hold Cuba and we need it; and we must drive her away. The great forces of liberty which Washington and his compeers inaugurated were for the world, not for a special locality. These forces are now encircling the globe, as does the air; and all should be permitted to enjoy. Monarchy has no right which we are bound to respect, to restrict this privilege.

So, if we need Cuba, in the round of our destiny as a people, take it. This nation should assume the right to seize upon whatever land in the western hemisphere that is needful for her development. This is the substitute to the Monroe Doctrine which

I announced five years ago, and it met with a round of approval. It is the right of political domain (like water the right of eminent domain), which as a power we ought to enforce, in the extension of the lessons of the American Revolution.

The Monroe Doctrine has become too small a covering to fit us now. Our broader shoulders need a more ample garment; and this is to take in and incorporate territory that we need. We will pay for it a fair price, if the owner will consent to sell; but let it be understood that a refusal to sell means confiscation to us, which is a rule to be enforced for the benefit of all mankind, since this nation is to-day the world's almoner of the liberty our fathers gained.

In the above I have outlined my law for the acquisition of Cuba by this nation. When politicians think more of public obligations than of private interests, this law will be applied and Cuba will be ours. I have no sympathy with these spasmodic efforts for independence. Cuba can cut no figure in the world as an independent nation. But as a part of the United States she is the gateway of our commerce east and west and north and south. She is the half-way station to South America, and from Cuban shores that southern continent at once becomes the customer at our shops. She is the fortress of the Gulf of Mexico and the armed American sentinel at the Nicaragua Canal. The objection to her population is possible. Cuba would be Americanized in six months after possession. We had no difficulty with California, nor with Texas, when they came to us with ignorant and foreign populations. That public man is stupid, or else a coward or a knave, whose entire soul does not thrill with the sense of duty that ought to prompt us to secure this island.

Spain, in her contributions to-day, contributes but little more to the world's progress in literature, art, or elevated government, than does the Comanche savage. Then why should they have greater consideration from thinking men who act for the good of mankind, by adding to the forces of this nation which drops her blessings like a benediction over all the earth? Spain has had her hour in history, and must pass on; and not be permitted in

her death struggle to drag into ruin the fairest portion of the earth. Then again, as I began, Cuba belongs to us by nature ; we need her ; we should take her. Pay a fair price, of course, but take her.

Canada will come in time ; Mexico will follow Texas and California, and drop into her niche under the stars and stripes, when we are ready. But we want Cuba now. It is cowardly to wait. The great spirits which gave us this republic and who now watch impatiently that it shall not fail in any step that advances its destiny, beckon to us—Go forward.

ETHAN ALLEN.

Colonel Fred D. Grant, son of the late general, did not care to make a signed statement, but granted an interview. He told about a visit he had made to Cuba twenty years ago with his father, and on the question of annexation said : "While not advocating a violation of the laws of nations, I am a believer in an aggressive policy always on the part of the United States." He could not, however, undertake to say that we ought to annex Cuba, but thinks that the subject is one for grave consideration. "Americans, I believe, have large investments in Cuba. We also buy most of their products and are in a position to sell the Cubans nearly everything they buy, and, therefore, whatever might be thought of annexation *per se*, reciprocity of trade relations is highly desirable." He remarked that the social conditions of the Cuban people had greatly changed since he visited the island with his father in 1875, and thought he was not in a position to speak with any certainty about the merits or the possible success of the present insurrection in Cuba, or to discuss the future.

When it was remarked that there was considerable difference of opinion among Americans about the propriety of annexing the island, Colonel Grant smiled and observed : "Oh, I am not surprised at that ; there are always a number of people who think that the United States ought to be prevented from doing the right thing."

A PLEA FOR THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY HON. W. R. HARPER.

I PREFER to go directly to the stronghold of this question, and leave the outposts to take care of themselves. I shall admit, for the sake of argument, that the demonetization of silver in 1873 was the crowning iniquity of the nineteenth century, that it was done secretly and fraudulently by one man, at the instance and request of Baron Rothschild and Wall Street; that its effect has been, as it was intended to be, wholly to impoverish the debtor and enrich the creditor.

I shall waive any effect that the coinage of silver at 16 to 1 might have in destroying confidence and disorganizing business. I shall admit, for the sake of argument, that its immediate effect would be to cause prices to advance rapidly.

On the other hand, I shall assume that I am talking to candid men who want to find the truth. I believe such men will be willing to admit that the present low range of prices, in some instances below the cost of production, is an abnormal condition which cannot be due wholly to any mere monetary system, or lack of system. For such men must know that an even more aggravated form of low prices prevailed in 1843, when free silver and so-called bimetallism were in full effect, as far as laws could control. And even now there is a manifest tendency for prices to so readjust themselves as to yield a fair profit to the producer. Prices cannot remain below the cost of production, under any system, for producers are too poor to work long at a loss. And right here it may be not out of place to say that arguments based on prices are of uncertain value, for the forces that go to make them up are so complex and hidden that the human mind cannot determine their resultant. I have heard of men who had written books on the price of a single staple, and when they put their money on it, its price went the other way.

But there are some things I will not admit that the free coinage of silver can do. I will not admit that it can change the nature of men. I will not admit that it can strip wealth of its power and greed of its cunning.

We know that in every community there are two classes of men, the one who makes just a little more than he spends, the ninety-nine who spend just a little more than they make. I shall waive any right or claims the former class may have, for I have been told that in all the varying conditions of laws and governments this little band has always been found able to look out for itself.

Thus we have narrowed the question down to the interest of the ninety-nine, or if you prefer to call them so, the debtor class. Now the only way I can conceive in which the free coinage of silver can help the debtors is by increasing the price of the products they have to sell. I presume it will be admitted that under the operation of so general a cause as silver coinage, if it be the cause, the prices of everything would advance in at least a common ratio, by virtue of the common cause. And it is very probable that in times of inflation the commodities in the control of the few will advance more certainly and more rapidly than the products in the hands of the masses.

Then what would be the result? On the one hand, we have a man who now makes \$1,000 and spends \$900 per year. With vastly higher prices for his products he might probably make \$5,000 and spend \$4,500. That man is safe under any system. On the other hand, we have a man who now makes \$1,000 per year and spends \$1,100. With high prices he might probably make \$5,000 and would probably spend \$5,500. So that at the end of the year he would have exactly \$500 of new debts to pay his old debts with. More than that, under the magic influence of big numbers and the apparent smile of fortune, the thrifty seem to become more thrifty, and the extravagant more extravagant. So that our latter friend, allured by visions of wealth, would seek for new worlds to conquer, and when he had cast his balance at the end of the year, if he were ever so wise, it might be found that he had spent \$10,000 or even \$15,000,

with assets of one gross of green spectacles and a title deed to a boom lot.

And thus it would go on, the ninety-nine forgetting the experience of the past, building hope upon hope and debt upon debt under the delusion that prices must ever go a little higher. But sometime there would be an end to it. And when the dizzy heights had been reached, instead of our ten debtors owing \$10, we would find 100 debtors owing \$1,000. And then pay-day would come, the lender would cease to lend, the buyer would cease to buy, money would seem to contract, and prices would begin to fall, the debts of the debtor would begin to double, hard times would come, and there would be distress in the land. And then twenty-five years after these poor debtors had suffered and died, some kind candidate would come to tell their heirs of the crowning iniquity of the twentieth century, twenty-five years too late. And the end of it all would be that the rich would be richer and the poor poorer.

I have but written the history of our people since 1865. I dare say that the people of this country built as good homes, as good churches, as good schools, had as good government, as good food, and as good clothes in the year 1894 as in the palmiest days before the crime of 1873, and that if the balance were cast, more debtors and greater debts would be found for the year 1867. And but for the debts made in that unhallowed period, from beneath whose load we have been so long staggering, more of our people might to-day look the world in the face and say, "I owe no man a dollar."

And yet there are good and true men beckoning us to come again to another feast of cheap money. And for what? That our people may load themselves again with another burden of big debts and leave their children to suffer as they have suffered. If our people are wise they will shun the debauch, for its pleasures are the pleasures of the drunken revel, to be paid for on the morrow; its promises, apples of Sodom, turning to ashes at a touch.

Let me tell you, the debtor is here, and he is here to stay. No scheme that has ever yet been devised, or that ever will be de-

vised, can get rid of him. The dead, let them be buried. Like brave men they have fought a good fight. But promises can do them no good now. Leave the old men to hug the misfortunes of the past, for the young men must turn their heads to the future and get ready for the battles that are to come. The odds are against the debtor at best. But if there be but one kind of dollar and that the best kind of dollar, when he borrows that dollar the chances are few that he can ever be made to pay back a better dollar. And any man's own good sense will tell him, without proof or argument, that prices are more likely to remain staple with cotton around ten cents, than with cotton around fifty cents.

He who talks about the evils of contraction and falling prices but states a shallow truth. Any tyro can tell of woes and crimes and things twenty-five years after they have happened. But the good thing and the hard thing to know is how to prevent them in the future. In my judgment there is no quack remedy that will work. If we would avoid contraction, we must abstain from inflation, for the one follows the other, as night the day. If we would not have prices fall so far, we must not let them rise so high, for all that goes up must come down.

But says one, "You may talk to me until the crack of doom, but the fact remains that money was plentiful in those good old days, times were good, and I was happy." Of course, spend-day is always a better day than pay-day, at best. And that is why it is so hard to bring this question home to men. And yet, sift the matter and we shall find the sole inheritance of that man from that time was a burden of debts. And even after men begin to see the truth, there still remains that combination of hope and vanity in us all that makes us feel that we will draw the prize in the next lottery; that next time we will be the one and our neighbors the ninety-nine.

Any undue, artificial stimulus of prices, call it by what name we will—inflation, cheap money, high prices—always begins in a boom and ends in a panic. It leads directly to extravagance, to speculation, and finally to corruption, both public and private. It lifts men up only to cast them down with a dull thud into the

gloom of hopeless insolvency. It can no more make a country rich and prosperous than a drunken husband can make a home happy. It creates no wealth, but takes from the many and gives to the few. Keep it up long enough and there will be nothing left but paupers and millionaires. The wild inflation of the war period alone made Goulds and Vanderbilts possible, and it may be set down as a truism that it always has been and always will be preëminently an era of debt-making and not of debt-paying.

But there is another class of silver men who pretend to deprecate cheap money and inflated prices, but clamor for more money, an increase of the per capita of good money. But if the value of money be not cheapened, how is that as a cause going to increase the price of commodities? And if it does not increase the price of the products of the people how in the name of common sense can it help them? What matters it to them how much money there is in the world, if they get no more of it? But the silver men may say that, while it will not increase prices, it will increase business. This popular notion is easy to understand, for we know that active business tends to increase certain forms of currency and to put to work all idle money, and thus make money appear more plentiful. And the untrained mind seeing this, mistakes an apparent effect for a moving cause. In other words, active business makes plentiful money, but plentiful money, that is not cheap money, never has and never will make active business. The most that any thinking mind has ever claimed is, that going from a cheap to a dear basis, business may be temporarily stimulated during the adjustment. But the idea that gold money in and of itself tends to depress business, and that silver money or more money in and of itself will permanently revive it, scarcely deserves a denial. For there is no country in which business is more uniformly active than in England, and none in which it is more uniformly sluggish than in China. Depression will come under any system. But if it be proposed to turn to cheaper money at every depression in trade, the lowest depths will soon be reached. Money laws ought to be made for time, and not for a day; for health and not for disease.

It has always seemed to me a strange freak of the human mind, that men are found to complain most that the capacity of the money machine is not sufficient to do the business of the country in dull times when there is little or no business to be done, and complain least when the business to be done is accumulating and active. If our money is not sufficient to do our business, we may be sure that it will make itself felt in flush times, and not in dull times; it will show itself in high rates of interest and not by depression in business, and let it appear thus, even in the wilds of Africa, and the money of the world will rush there to supply its needs. And as modern business has developed so many resources for meeting emergencies in demand for safe currency in this day and time it is practically impossible for legitimate business to stagnate long for want of a safe medium of exchange.

But as it is my purpose now to deal with the vital function of money as a measure of value, I shall leave for some other occasion the consideration of its functions as a medium of exchange, and the conditions of a sound currency.

The truth is, our money machine is now rusting for work, and begging for more. And yet there be silver barons who are urging us to buy more machines to add to our idle ones. Let us beware of the suavity of the machine agent, for he will tell us that if his appliance is not as good as ours it can be made so by an act of Congress, or the stamp of the government. I shall decline now to discuss whether Congress can make silver as good as gold. I will merely suggest that if Congress can make and fix values it has wasted much time that it ought to have put in at this good work. One thing I do know, that if Congress can impart value to a thing it can take it away.

A young man once applied to a Virginia judge for license to practice law. The old judge asked him what he had studied. He said, the Virginia statutes. "Well, young man," replied the old judge, "that is very good as far as it goes, but the trouble is, you will wake up some fine morning and find that the Virginia legislature has repealed all you know." And so it will be with our friends who put their faith in values that Congress may give.

They will wake up some fine morning and find that some John Sherman has repealed all they have, and their guardians won't find it out for twenty-five years. But it may be said that gold might be treated the same way. Well, there is one thing sure, John Sherman can't do it. Melt it, beat it, hammer it, take it to Timbuctoo, and you have the same thing still. Men now exchange their products for gold because they have it. Its use and its value is fixed, not in laws, but in the common consent of the business of the world.

If it be true that a burnt child dreads the fire, it does seem to me that our southern people would be the last to put faith in the power of written laws to stand in the way of great natural and moral forces. We once trusted in a little written parchment in Washington called a constitution, to guarantee to us our rights of property. And for nearly one hundred years we put our sweat and toil into slaves. But when the mad rush of a great moral force came, the little parchment fluttered in the breeze like a wounded bird before a storm, and left us cast down and forsaken.

The forces that have been marshaling for many years to settle this great question, in my judgment, are above the power of laws and lawyers, banks and bankers, politics and politicians—and, if I may be so bold, above the power of votes and voters. If these revolutionary forces that have been driving the world toward a gold standard can be wisely directed, and made to act slowly and steadily, it can but end in the good of all mankind. The danger is, that it may again break away from all its bounds and do much immediate harm. It would be bad for very many if all the nations were suddenly to adopt the gold standard. It will be good for all if this result can be worked out gradually and naturally through a long series of years. And to that end the wisdom of the people of the world ought to be directed. Unfortunately our southern people have always shown more courage in facing difficulties than foresight in providing against them. It may be brave to defy the waves, but it would seem to be wise to cling to a boat that is stanch enough to stem them.

But there is a third class of silver men, plausible fellows,

who say that it is not cheaper nor more money they want, but more stable money. So we all do. These men who call themselves bimetallists admit the impossibility of two standards at the same time, but they propose to declare for gold and silver at some arbitrary ratio as full legal tenders, and thus get what they call alternating standards. I will let Jevons, the great English writer, state how they think it will work. He says :

At any moment the standard of value is doubtless one metal or the other, and not both ; yet the fact that there is an alternation tends to make each vary much less than it otherwise would do. It cannot prevent both metals from falling or rising in value compared with other commodities, but it can throw variations of supply and demand over a larger area, instead of leaving each metal to be affected merely by its own accidents.

Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuations only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain mean level, and the effects of an excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals, gold and silver, circulating in Western Europe in late years, is exactly represented by the water in these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the law (of France) of the seventh Germinal, and which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender.

The force of this theory seems to lie mainly in the illustration, with its two reservoirs and little connecting pipes and stop-cock. It seems to me that the illustration is irrelevant, for if there be two things that do not tend to distribute themselves alike, they are water and money. But grant its relevancy, and the weakness of the theory becomes at once apparent, for it proves too much. If two reservoirs work so well, then three or four or five would work better ; and if we will only add nickel and copper and iron at an arbitrary ratio as full legal tender, the area will be so broad and the compensation so complete that we shall be rid of this money question forever.

Practical minds will at once see the weakness of this appliance as a working machine. It lies in the little connecting pipe and stop-cock, the seventh Germinal, and legal tender acts. For if this gets out of order the whole machine becomes useless.

When Germany conquered France the first thing she did was to turn the little stop-cock, and say, "I'll take mine out of the gold reservoir, if you please." Bimetallism didn't compensate them. And John Sherman just put a little peg into our connecting pipe and we didn't find it out until it had wrought its work. But perhaps there was something weak or defective in the money machines of America and France that made the so-called iniquities of 1873 possible, and, it may be, even necessary. The strength and value of the system is tested by its power to withstand the shocks of a crisis. Any ship can sail a peaceful sea; even a counterfeit coin will do its work until its fraud is laid bare.

So long as that law of God remains unrepealed, that "the borrower shall be servant to the lender," we may be sure that when there are alternating standards depending upon the acts and laws of men to make them alternate, that if they be made to alternate at all, it will be done at a time when it will do the strong the most good and the weak the most harm. In this bimetallic theory a "compensation" is worked out by the debtor getting dear money and paying back cheap money. But in practice it will somehow work out that he will get cheap money and pay back dear money. So that instead of a "compensation," the two metals will be turned into an upper and nether millstone.

If there be anything about money systems to be managed, the danger is that the cunning few, or the turbulent mob, not the sober masses, will do the managing. And that is why the old Democratic party in the days of its usefulness and its glory resisted every form of fiat money, either in whole or in part, and stood for money whose volume and value and fluctuations should be determined by the chance of events, and not by the designs of pliant lawmakers. The essence, then, of this alternating theory is, that given two legal tender moneys, if one becomes more valuable than the other, debtors will reject the dear and use the cheap money, and thus the increase in demand for the one and the decrease in demand for the other will soon reestablish their equality in value. But in practice it has been found that the

dearer metal will promptly put on its hat and take French leave of the mints and country where it has been undervalued, and seek the mints of that country where its value is recognized. Now these theorists admit this patent fact, but seek to avoid it by having all the world declare the same arbitrary ratio with full legal tender for the two metals, and thus deprive the dearer metal of any mint or country to take refuge in.

And this brings us to consider international monetary conferences—a subject which I confess I approach with something akin to awe. I am not going to say positively what such a conference can or cannot do, for I do not know. But I do know this, that when we say that the price of a bale of cotton is \$50, we mean that it is fifty times as valuable as that little piece of gold that we have named a dollar. Or, in other words, that the ratio of value of the two is fifty to one. And when we say that the ratio of gold to silver is as 16 to 1, we mean that gold is sixteen times as valuable as silver. So that if a conference can arbitrarily fix a ratio between silver and gold and make it stick, it is just as competent for it to arbitrarily fix a ratio between cotton and gold and make it stick, too. And it seems to me that it would be better for us to get them to fix the ratio of value between a bale of cotton and a gold dollar at 50 to 1, and thus we shall reap a genuine harvest by getting the price of our cotton doubled without increasing the price of anything else.

Now don't understand me to doubt that Congress and conferences can affect the ratio of values. Unfortunately they can. But so can demand and supply. Jay Gould's digestion, the wind and weather in Texas, the strike in Manchester, the greed of a conqueror, the whims of fashion, these all can affect ratios or prices, but not all of them together can firmly fix such ratios. A conference having control of the element in demand might affect the ratio of value of silver to gold by increasing the demand, but so long as the hundred other elements remain uncertain, so long as it cannot control the preferences of men, I do not believe that it can fix a ratio that will remain.

But assume that a conference has fixed an arbitrary ratio with full legal tender for both metals throughout the world. Now

business may be broadly divided for convenience into two kinds, cash and credit. Legal tender acts cannot and do not pretend to control cash transactions. Then suppose an insignificant part of the cash trade of the world should continue to demand gold exclusively. It takes no Solomon to understand that if there be 1,000 transactions in which gold will serve and only 999 in which silver can be made to take its place, then gold will do just that much more than silver, and hence is just that much more valuable. At first this preference may be so insignificant as to be felt only by the few in immediate contact with the one transaction. But if A persistently refuses silver from B, after a while B will find it more convenient to refuse silver from C. And thus the little force will act on, slowly and steadily at first, often checked and restrained, but ever reviving and growing in strength, until finally it will assume the swiftness of the geometric ratio, and in time, it may be years, it will permeate the whole mass of cash transactions. And thus the breach between the two metals will steadily grow apace, in spite of what the law may force on helpless debtors and creditors. These theorists seem to forget that the so-called Gresham law, that cheap money will supplant good, is no law at all, but a mere symptom of disease, brought on by the restraints of law in the formation and enforcement of contracts, and is permanently operative only at the point of disease. And except when legal tender acts can control, the doctrine of the survival of the fittest is as true of money as anything else. Else how could gold, single-handed and alone, have fought its way against silver with its hundred champions on every hill. Take away the restraints of law and this question would long since have settled itself. We know that under the freedom of our contract laws to-day every important transaction is carried on in terms of gold.

So international bimetallism would probably precipitate upon the world a conflict between a diseased and healthy organism. The human mind is too finite to work out definitely its final result, or to predict the effect of the crisis that it would involve. For my part, I confess I cannot see how a stable and healthy equilibrium could be maintained between two such forces.

All this is no mere theory. France has gone through every stage of bimetallism. She has stubbornly resisted every advance of the gold standard. Her lawmakers saw that the weakness of her system lay in the government's inability to force its theory on cash and foreign trade. So they made it a crime for a citizen to prefer one metal to another. And yet with all their detectives and spies and elaborate enforcing machinery, it ended in a farce. She then resorted to the Latin union. And this worked while the seas were calm, but it failed her in her hour of need, for she found herself in a condition of having to pay her indemnity in gold at the point of Germany's bayonets, with only silver coming into her coffers, and so she was forced to act, and from that day poor France has never dared to coin another silver dollar. And if we adopt free coinage at 16 to 1, with our great obligations now payable in gold, by contract, and with silver only available, we shall find ourselves in the position of France, and we shall be driven either to recede or repudiate. And as repudiation is the hardest way to pay a debt, like little men we will march up the hill and march down again.

And England, after floundering around for centuries trying to ride two horses that were liable to go at different paces, or in different directions at any time, gave up the hopeless task in 1816. And then it was that, like the great athlete, she stripped herself and unbound her fetters and began that race for wealth, the like of which the world has never seen. I do not pretend that her money system was the cause, but I do believe that it was the condition that made her success possible. It has made her the great creditor of the world, because the needy borrower knows that when he goes to her to borrow he will get British gold and not clipped coin. It has made her the banker of the world, because the depositor knows that when he puts his good money there, he will get good money back, and not shimplasters, or depreciated silver. Old England has simply made common honesty pay, and it is folly for us to refuse to learn from her experience.

Do you value illustrations? Is so, take the picture the alternating bimetallist draws. Strike out one reservoir, strike out

the connecting pipe and stop-cock, and double the area of the base of the remaining reservoir. I dare say, then, that you will have a machine so simple that even John Sherman can't get it out of order, and yet one that will "distribute the effects of an excessive supply or demand over as great an area" as both of the bimetallic reservoirs.

Perhaps the most feasible bimetallic scheme is that proposed by our distinguished fellow-citizen, Hon. J. A. P. Campbell, and suggested independently about the same time by the great English scientist, Sir John Lubbock, which makes all debts payable half in gold and half in silver. In theory it is eminently fair and just, but while free from many of the accidental objections, it retains the inherent weakness of all bimetallic schemes, in that its sanction is force and not consent. If that great and growing mass of business which is beyond the control of legal tender laws should freely accept it, it might work; if it should reject it, either for inconvenience or other cause, it would fail.

And now I come to what I may term the last ditch of the silver men. They say, "Your theory may be all very well, but there is not sufficient gold to do the business of the world." Few men know how much gold there is in the world, fewer still who know how much business there is in the world, and if both were known, none could tell whether they would balance until it was tried, for with a common unit and a common money system new conditions would prevail. Hence its value is a naked assertion that is unproved and unprovable. But I shall not discuss this question fully now, since it is one that for many years must be of more concern to the theorist than to the man of affairs. For if it be true, the best way, because the only way, to adjust this matter with any degree of permanency, is for the present gold countries to retain their standard, and to aid and encourage the present silver countries in retaining theirs, and then for all to coöperate in the use of silver in the small transactions of life. And a monetary conference could be of service in that direction. But in passing I may be permitted to suggest a few things that will help any one to think out this question on its merits. There is more gold in value in the world

than any other available money metal. Every grain of gold that is used in the arts serves quite as useful a purpose in giving character and stability to the unit of value as the gold that is coined into money. And if the only function of money was a measure value, in addition to that thus used in arts, a handful of gold would suffice to measure all the values in the world; just as a single pendulum that beats seconds in the Tower of London serves to measure all the lengths in the world. A good dollar will do more work than a cheap one. England, with one half the money of France, does more business, and does it better, than she.

Economy in the use of money is just as desirable as economy in the use of steam-engines or coal. The whole world's supply of money and all the appliances of modern business will be more readily available to furnish an abundance of circulating medium at any given point, if the measure of value be fixed and uniform throughout the world. There is nothing to be feared from a further increase in the value of gold, for it has for many years been doing substantially all the business of the civilized world, and the supply of it is steadily increasing—unless, as I have previously suggested, there should be revolutionary changes. The power of the few to manipulate gold is not measured by its quantity in pounds or feet, but the wealth that it will take to control it; and its difficulty will be determined by the breadth of its distribution as well as the quantity and source of its supply. I may say, without exaggeration, that it would take more courage and wealth for any set of men to undertake to corner the little twenty-two cubic feet of gold than it would to undertake to corner the world's supply of cotton, corn, oats, rye, wheat, iron, coal, copper, and steel. And the broader the use of gold becomes, the more difficult the task will be. Its strength is that its value is above the power of any set of men. At all events, it is less subject to manipulation than anything else.

I have left the enemy's citadel for the last. Its strength lies in its appeal to the law of self-preservation. It presents a front so specious that I am told it has frosted the wings of more embryo gold-bugs than all the other arguments combined. It goes about thus: no man can be elected constable who is not for

16 to 1. When I meet an argument too big to tackle, I bow, step aside, and let it pass.

When our people shall cease to depend on the promises of politicians and look to themselves for prosperity; when they shall accept conditions that they cannot control, they will fast become prudent and thrifty; they will learn to avoid debts, they will gradually accumulate capital, they will seek safe investments, they will build homes and churches and schools and factories; peace and plenty will follow; the lion will lay down with the lamb, the populite will beat his sword into a plowshare, the silver men will all get fat offices, gold-bugs will be elected constables, and sounds of joy will be heard in the land.

To love one's home and country is a common virtue, but honest men may differ about how to serve them best. It seems to me fortunate that our interests, as I see them, are as one with humanity, and that both demand that we should strive, in the end, for a simple stable unit, with the world for its base, with its value and its sanction written in the hearts and minds of the people, where no John Sherman can break through and repeal; for a dollar that will stand unchallenged through war and pestilence and famine, unmoved by the rise and fall of men and parties and dynasties; the same dollar for borrower and lender, rich and poor, high and low, good and bad, Jew and gentile.

One word, in conclusion, about politics. I have tried to deal with this money question fairly and without reserve. I am a gold-bug, pure and simple. I believe that some day, God speed the day, all the nations will write their money laws in these few words: "The word dollar shall mean twenty-five grains of gold, nine tenths fine," and that the people of the world will do the rest. I know that there are not many of our people who agree fully with me. But I am sure there is a large body of intelligent men in our midst who cannot fail to see the evils of cheap money, and a constant changing of the money standard. It is the duty of all such men to come together on some common ground for action, and to vigorously oppose the demand for the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1, without regard to any other nation." The time for men to stand firm is

when the multitude is moved by panic. If the masses of our people shall insult and degrade men, because they merely tell them of dangers that are ahead, and exalt men because they arouse hopes that can never be realized, make promises that can never be performed, and for their own purpose excite wounds that ought to be healed, then indeed has the republic fallen upon evil days.

W. R. HARPER.

THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL REFORM, 1894-5.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

PRIOR to 1894 the progress of municipal reform had been slow, although not unattended by encouraging features. With the opening of that year, the dawn of a brighter day and the indications of a more rapid and substantial growth appeared; but the most sanguine worker did not anticipate the unparalleled civic awakening and truly extraordinary development of interest in municipal affairs of the past fifteen months. At that time—January, 1894—there were a few more or less intermittently active organizations, and fewer really aggressive municipal reform bodies, mostly confined to the cities on the Atlantic seaboard; now there are close on to two hundred municipal leagues, city and good government clubs, civic federations, and similar associations, under slightly varying names, to be found in every section of the Union.

In January, 1894, the First National Conference for Good City Government was held in Philadelphia. In May, of the same year, the National Municipal League was organized in New York City, with sixteen affiliated associations. In December last, the Second National Conference was held in Minneapolis; and we have met at this time, in Cleveland, to hold the first annual meeting of the league and the Third National Conference. The bare fact of being able to hold four large, well attended, and representative meetings within the brief space of sixteen months, all to discuss the same subject, is of itself convincing proof of the deep and widespread interest in the question of municipal government; but such evidence becomes of secondary importance and almost lost sight of, when we come to consider the great and unprecedented progress of organized municipal reform effort; the already large, but constantly increasing literature of

the subject ; and the very general and continuous discussion of it in all the leading newspapers of the land.

When the National Municipal League was organized a year ago there were between forty and fifty municipal reform organizations, distributed among fourteen states ; a very small proportion only being found in the trans-Mississippi states. Now there are one hundred and eighty (180) organizations on our lists (not including those composed exclusively of women) distributed among thirty-one states ; and the western cities are as well represented, and as active, as their eastern sisters. In May, 1894, there were six organizations to be found in New England ; now, thirteen ; in the Middle States, the nineteen of a year ago have increased to sixty-six ; in the Southern Central States the increase has been from four to twenty-four ; in the Northern Central States, from nine to thirty-seven ; in the Western and Pacific States, from six to thirty-seven. From this summary we see the greatest increase to have been in the Middle States, and especially in New York and New Jersey, where the energetic assaults of Dr. Parkhurst upon Tammany misrule, the Lexow Committee's revelation of Tammany corruption, and the earnestness and vigor of the New York reformers have had a maximum of effect.

In May, 1894, there were eleven associations in New York and three in New Jersey, compared with thirty-six in the former and twenty in the latter, at the present time. In many other states the advance has been equally great ; for instance, in Wisconsin we learn that it has been from two to seven ; in California the same ; in Ohio, from two to twelve ; in Minnesota, from one to seven ; in Pennsylvania, from five to ten ; in Illinois, the same ; in Maryland, from four to eight.

Of the thirteen organizations in New England, six are in Massachusetts, four in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, and one in Maine. In the Middle States, Delaware alone is unrepresented on the list. All the Northern and Southern Central States now have active reform bodies within their borders—Ohio leading off with twelve ; Illinois coming next with ten ; Wisconsin third, with nine ; Michigan and Indiana have three each ;

Kentucky and Tennessee two each. In the South, Maryland heads the list with eight, Missouri and Georgia following with three each; Louisiana has two; Texas one; the District of Columbia three. In the West, the greatest activity is to be found on the Pacific coast, California leading with nine; Washington and Oregon each having two. In the interior, Minnesota leads with seven; Colorado has six, Iowa three, Nebraska, Kansas, and Montana two each, and Utah one.

If we may be permitted to take the league's correspondence as a criterion, there is no section of the land not agitated over the question of bettering the government of our cities. We have correspondents in every state and territory (except, perhaps, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, and Alaska). They all bear testimony to the necessity of taking immediate steps to rescue our city governments from the clutch of the selfish politician, and the establishment therein of higher standards of efficiency of administration and of character requirements for officials. They further bear testimony to the fact that while the reformer has a serious task on his hands to oust the politicians, entrenched as they are in spoils and power, he has a greater task in bringing the average American citizen to a full realization that his citizenship has duties attached to its exercise, as well as privileges. It is an encouraging sign of the times, however, that an increasing portion of the population, realizing the gravity of the situation, and the importance of redeeming our cities (if we are to preserve our great political heritage of representative government undiminished), are forming associations to combat the evils of apathy and indifference, seeking to neutralize their bad effects by inculcating a deeper sense of personal responsibility on the part of each individual citizen. May the National Municipal League prove equal to the task of forming and guiding this awakening spirit of civic patriotism to the end that there may be a speedy and permanent solution of the great present-day problem of municipal government!

Calling the roll of the great cities of the country, we find every one reporting with one or more active organizations. In Boston, the long-established Citizens' Association continues its work of

insisting upon a rigid enforcement of ordinances and a fulfilment of contracts. The Municipal League, under the inspiring leadership of Samuel B. Capen (vice-president of the National Municipal League) is pressing forward toward important victories, and doing yeoman service in securing an improved charter and creating an enlightened public sentiment; the work of these two exclusively municipal reform bodies being greatly aided by the occasional assistance of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship and the Massachusetts Reform Club.

In New York we find the City Club and the network of Good Government Clubs, the City Vigilance League (frequently spoken of as one of Dr. Parkhurst's societies), the City Improvement Society, the Committee of Seventy, and last, but by no means least, the Chamber of Commerce, all working steadily toward the same end—that of ridding New York of every vestige of inefficient and corrupt government, substituting therefor a non-partisan business administration of city affairs and laboring to maintain a public opinion that will be intolerant of anything short of the best attainable government for the city. Each organization is working in its own way, with different methods, but the problem is so complex and the field is so extended, that all the forces now at work find ample opportunity for effective exercise, without in any way interfering with one another.

The great victory of November, 1894, was brought about by the coöperation and coördination of the regular army of reformers and the volunteer army of the forces opposed to Tammany. The reformers have been busily occupied ever since in protecting the fruits of the hard-earned victory from those selfish enough to regard as entirely and solely their own everything in which they may have had a share, no matter how small a one.

Over in Brooklyn the citizens have been enjoying the benefits of a reform administration under Mr. Schieren. The Citizens' Union of Kings County, that did such admirable work in securing his election, although it has not had much to do since his election, is still in existence and ready for any emergency. There have recently been formed several Good Government Clubs, mostly for the purpose of promoting civic affairs.

The Municipal League of Philadelphia achieved a notable and a substantial victory in connection with several other organizations in a successful fight against the effort made by the "state boss" of Pennsylvania to treat the city as a pocket borough, by forcing his candidate for mayor upon the people. Its effort at the February election to rescue the city councils from the grasp of corrupt influences was not so successful, largely owing to the fact that national issues were injected into the mayoralty contest, and everything was sacrificed to the supreme effort made to enable "the Dutch to capture Holland" again. The league's 3,500 members regarded their councilmanic defeat as but temporary, and already it is girding its loins for future contests. The Citizens' Association, like that of Boston, is performing a much needed service in keeping a sharp eye on contractors. Both bodies took an active and prominent part in securing the appointments of a Senatorial Investigating Committee to inquire into the conduct of the city's affairs. The Committee of '95, formed during the recent councilmanic campaign, has coöperated heartily and cordially with the league.

In Baltimore, the Reform League and the Union for Public Good continue their good work; the latter has been specially active in organizing a number of Good Government Clubs. It proposes to keep up this good work until every section of Baltimore has such a club. The Citizen's Movement and the Taxpayers' Association are still at work in their special fields.

The great victory for civil service reform in Chicago is still fresh in mind, and the leading part taken by the Civic Federation and the success attending its efforts in other directions will always be a matter of pride to its members. The venerable Citizens' Association, with its long line of accomplished reforms, continues, as formerly, to work along lines similar to those of the Philadelphia and Boston associations. The purposes of the Christian Citizenship League are expressed in its name.

The activities of the Milwaukee Municipal League have perhaps met with more success during the past year than those of any other single reform organization. It set out last autumn to accomplish three things: the formation of similar associations in

leading Wisconsin towns, the enactment of a civil service and corrupt practices laws. It has been influential in accomplishing the first two and in pressing the third far along toward a successful issue. All this has been done in addition to carrying forward much needed local work.

The enumeration of cities and organizations could be continued almost indefinitely, but the various papers dealing with municipal conditions to be read at this conference will in all likelihood contain references to the other leading reform bodies. We have confined our comments mainly to those cities that were treated of at former meetings, and which find no formal place on this year's program.

Reference has already been made to the two national conferences thus far held, one at Philadelphia, the other at Minneapolis. The former preceded and led up to the formation of the National Municipal League; the latter was the first held under its auspices. At the Philadelphia conference the veteran reformers predominated. The Minneapolis conference was characterized by the attendance of a goodly number of younger men—those just beginning to take an active interest in public affairs and just coming to the front as champions of political purity and opponents of municipal misrule. The former was auspicious because of the deep and earnest spirit for the first time so generally manifested. The latter was equally auspicious because of the presence of the younger men.

The league was organized with sixteen associations enrolled as affiliated members. This number has increased to within two of fifty, with several awaiting admission. Its associate membership numbers 185. It has labored to bring all workers in behalf of higher municipal standards into closer fellowship; to aid in that exchange of opinions and experience which is so essential to progress and successful effort; to extend a helping hand to young and struggling organizations; and to prepare and disseminate literature at once instructive and inspiring. During the past year work along each of these lines has been carried forward. The league has sought in every way possible to promote the cause of better government. It has rendered assistance and

given advice when called upon. It has prepared and distributed 24,000 copies of pamphlets Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, making 400,000 pages of printed matter. This has been sent into every nook and corner of the land. No. 1 dealt with the question of "The Churches and Good City Government" and "What a Private Citizen Can Do For Good City Government"; No. 2 contained an "Address to the Public" and the constitutions and by-laws of the league; No. 3, "The Relation of Civil Service Reform to Municipal Reform," and No. 4, the constitutions and by-laws of the leading reform bodies of the country.

The league has done and is doing its utmost to coördinate all the forces making for civic righteousness and to bring into closer and more harmonious relations all workers in behalf of better municipal government, to the end that they may be brought to realize that they are all fighting the same battle, no matter how distant they may be from one another.

No account of municipal reform progress would be complete without a reference to the increasing activity and coöperation* of women. They are rapidly coming to the front, both in their own organizations, like the Health Protective Associations or Women's Clubs, and in organizations like the Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of men and women. We find them contributing largely to the study of the complex problems of the cities. There are few communities (Colorado is one of the exceptions) where women now have the right of municipal suffrage; hence their activity is of necessity limited to educational and agitational efforts, and to looking after the details of municipal housekeeping. Whenever their efforts have been properly and persistently directed in these channels, substantial results have been accomplished, for in these directions women have exceptional capacity.

We have considered the long list of reform bodies from the standpoint of their geographical distribution; it is a much more difficult task to classify them according to their form and methods. We will not undertake this in the present connection. A study from this standpoint, however, discloses that all associations, of whatever form, insist upon what we may justly term the condition precedent to true and permanent reform, the sepa-

ration of state and national politics from municipal affairs, and the elimination of partisanship from municipal business. The eradication of the spoils system and the substitution of the merit system for that of favoritism are likewise deemed essential.

Back of all the diversity of forms, we see a sturdy, resolute determination to remove the stigma that is resting upon American municipalities. It is the spirit of 1776 and 1860 manifesting itself in a new way. Some of the efforts are crude; some destined to failure; all to temporary defeats; but as surely as our independence was won and the Union preserved, just so surely will the evil of municipal misgovernment be eventually conquered and American cities placed where they should be—in the very front ranks of well-governed cities. This end will not be accomplished in a single campaign; it may not come in the lifetime of many now living; it will not come without a struggle and without sacrifice; but come it must and will, and when it comes it will be a moral as well as a political victory, for we are rapidly coming to see that the whole question is at the bottom one of eternal right and wrong, and the religious forces are ranging themselves on the side of those working for the emancipation of the American city and citizen.

What the coming year may have in store for the movement cannot be foretold, but of one thing we are assured—the whole question has come to be discussed as never before, and its importance has been brought home to a large number of those who value their political heritage and those interested in their country's highest development. Something more than all this, however, is necessary—a deep-seated determination to sacrifice everything, if need be, rather than permit the dearly earned liberties and reputation transmitted to us by our forefathers to be diminished or tarnished by selfish incompetency and inefficiency. The present situation which confronts us may not be so dramatic as that of 1776 or 1860, but it is equally as portentous to the future welfare and maintenance of our republican state.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

CIVICS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

I. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

BY FRANK JULIAN WARNE.

EVERY controversy with foreign nations, every financial crisis, every labor trouble should impress upon our young men the lesson that the future prosperity of this country depends upon their education in the duties of citizenship and in the principles underlying successful civil government. What is being done to prepare them for these duties? Good government clubs and like organizations are certainly doing an immense amount of good; but they cannot do all that should be done. What are our educational institutions doing in this direction?

This question is well answered by the University of Pennsylvania through its Wharton School of Finance and Economy. This school was founded in 1881 by Mr. Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia, and its object was to afford a training for citizenship and for various practical careers, no such training being then offered by any existing college course. It was an experiment, and for several years its growth was necessarily slow. But as the public began to realize its scope and usefulness it gained in strength and popularity until to-day it is one of the leading departments in the university. Other educational institutions throughout the country appreciate the importance of its work and are now providing for similar courses. At present, however, it is the only department of its kind in the United States open to undergraduates. On completion of the course the degree of Bachelor of Science in Economics is given.

The curriculum is so coördinated that the studies supplement one another admirably. An attempt to describe all the studies

* The first of a series of illustrated articles indicative of the attention given to civics (ethics, civil polity, civil jurisprudence, economics, and related history) in special schools connected with American universities.

included in the course would be out of place here, but I will mention a few of the more important ones bearing on this article.

One of the most prominent subjects is ethics. The professional duties, the family duties, religious morality, and the duties to one's self are taken up and explained. The student is made to understand his relation to his fellow-men, to their property, their liberty, and their honor. His relation to the state is thoroughly studied, and the necessity of his performing well those duties required of him is brought to his attention. The student is not only required to know what these duties are, but he must know why they are. The history of ethical theories is taken up and a study made of those typical moralists, Aristotle, Hobbes, Butler, J. S. Mill, Spencer, and others, whose influence has been greatest in determining the course of ethical speculation.

Another prominent study is that of sociology. It takes up and explains the social structure—the primitive family, marriage and divorce, the historical evolution of modern society through clan, tribe, and nation. Investigation is made into pauperism, poor relief, charity organization, criminology, and penology. The phenomena of association, the province and problems of sociology, and the theories of social progress form an important part of the work. The dependent, defective, and the delinquent classes and the duty of society toward them; American legislation and practice in the care of the poor, of prisons, and of reformatory institutions, all form an interesting field of work. In connection with this course, excursions are made to mills, factories, business establishments, and charitable and correctional institutions, where the student is brought into direct contact with the classes he is studying.

The subjects of political science, political economy, finance, and money and banking receive much attention. The theory of the state and the subjects of value, rent, population, wages, credit, taxation, free trade, and protection are thoroughly discussed. The student learns to speak intelligently upon the land question, the labor question, the railroad question, ballot reform, civil service reform, congressional reform, prohibition, and like economic and political topics.

To infuse new interest into these subjects and to encourage acquaintance with parliamentary procedure a congress has been established. The rules of procedure used in the national body are observed and important national topics are taken up for debate. In order to facilitate the study of problems of municipal administration, a council, similar to the Philadelphia City Council, is organized. This work is supplemented by frequent lectures during the year by the city officials of Philadelphia.

A course of great importance is that in American history by the eminent historian, John Bach McMaster. This course aims to give the leading facts of our political development, of the settlement and growth of the colonies, yet its chief endeavor is to discover and lay bare the very heart-springs of our national existence. It is not merely the what but the why. The professor is not content with teaching what battles were fought in the French and Indian War, for example, and by whom and where, but he tries to show how it was that such a war arose at all, and why it had to be conducted as it was, and how no other outcome was possible. This involves a careful study of the economic and social conditions of the time; it makes the student acquainted with the people as they were at that period; it leads him to see the enormous difference between our country to-day and our country then. In a word, it reconstructs that period in the imagination of the student and makes it a part of his mental furnishing for all time to come. A basis is thus provided for comparison and by this comparative method the acquisition and retention of the facts thus presented is made easy.

Each period is taken up and worked over, and when the student has completed the course he has a tolerably clear notion of our country's history in each of the great departments of our national life. For example, he secures a good idea of our financial history. The various tariffs are compared with reference to the rates of duty, articles taxed, fruitfulness of duties, system of administration, method of valuation, kinds of duties, etc.

Side by side with this course runs a course in the government of the United States. It embraces a careful study of the federal government, supplemented by a study of state and local govern-

ment. It begins with a consideration of the federal constitution, article by article. Much attention is given to the discussion of disputed questions with a view to bringing out the principles underlying our system of federal government and to training the student to understand the fine points of constitutional interpretation. This is followed by a discussion of the government and its various departments as they now exist. In a briefer way the same is done for the state and local systems of government. In this manner the student secures a knowledge of his own political institutions and his relation to the government under which he lives and in which he should take a part.

Supplementary to these studies, for the purpose of affording a basis for intelligent comparison, are courses in foreign politics and history. The governments of leading foreign countries are studied and compared, point by point, with our own. Thus the student increases his stock of knowledge and at the same time reaches a better understanding of our own political system. He is able to distinguish the essential from the accidental. He sees the weak points of our own system and the strong points of others. He acquires an inextinguishable interest in political problems and an earnest ambition to assist in the solution of them.

Parallel with these courses and supplementing them to a certain degree are frequent lectures by prominent men of affairs. Among some of the recent lecturers are Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, late mayor of Philadelphia; Joseph Wharton, founder of the school; William H. Lambert, Joseph H. Paist, Dr. James W. Walk, and Rev. Dr. C. Ellis Stevens, of Philadelphia; Dr. John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass.; Catherine Spence, of Sydney, Australia; Talcott Williams, of the *Philadelphia Press*; Edward Pepper, of the *Chicago Tribune*; and F. Churchill Williams, of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*.

Outside the regular course, and under the control of the students, are a number of organizations devoted to the discussion of important topics of the times. Prominent among such organizations may be mentioned the Franklin Debating Union, the Zelosophic Society, and the Philomathean Society. They per-

form an important work in preparing the student for the discussion of live issues.

The plan for instruction above outlined covers a broad and ever-growing field. Its importance and usefulness cannot be better demonstrated than by the increase in the number of young men who every year are seeking its advantages. Its object is a grand and noble one, and I trust that the time will soon come when such a department will be found in every leading university in the United States.

FRANK JULIAN WARNE.

NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY WALTER H. BROWN.

TO THE careful student of our political history, to the one who considers the theories and the facts of the past no less than the indications and bearings of the present, there is little doubt that we are on the verge of a great upheaval in the character of national political parties. The premonitory rumblings have been recognized for some time; but the terrific shock which came to the Republican party in 1892 and the almost equally disastrous one just passed, affecting principally the Democratic party, give cause for serious alarm.

As a basis for review, the political history of the United States may be divided into four periods: *first*, CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION AND LIMITATIONS (1787-1820); *second*, ECONOMIC (1820-1852); *third*, PSEUDO-MORAL AND SOCIAL (1852-1865); *fourth*, SECTIONALISM (1865-1892). We do not claim that this division is one of mathematical accuracy; but, while in each period there may have been many other chords that found responsive echoes in individuals, and even in small organizations, the great heart-throbs of the people were aroused by the consideration of questions of the character indicated and the drum-beats of the leaders marshaled the forces under two great banners, to oppose each other along these lines.

I. The Period of Constitutional Interpretation and Limitations.—Scarcely had the disputes and wrangles of the Federal Convention died away before the defeated Nationals organized themselves with the party name of Federal and, under the leadership of Hamilton, Adams, and others, attempted, by influencing legislation and judicial decisions, to gain by construction and interpretation what they had failed to have specifically incorporated into the fundamental law. The Federals desired to have

one strong, centralized, general government, whose power should be all pervading and ever present, while state lines should be politically obliterated, their governments retaining merely police regulations. Opposed to this was the Democratic-Republican party, led by Jefferson, Madison, and others, holding that, as the states had created the general government, the latter was one of strictly limited and delegated powers and that the autonomy of the states must be preserved politically as well as geographically. The adoption in 1791 of the first ten amendments, especially the tenth, decided, it would seem, the contest in favor of the Jeffersonian party. But agitation and fanaticism will frequently override the sober judgment and legal enactments of a wise people; so in 1796 we find the Federals elevated to power, with John Adams as president and a Congress in full accord. The passage of the Alien Law and the Sedition Law, however, so incensed the liberty-loving Americans of the day that at the next election the Federals were consigned to ignominious defeat, and, though they kept up a formal organization till the latter part of Monroe's administration, they never afterwards acquired any considerable power.

II. The Economic Period.—About the year 1820 many who had theretofore allied themselves with the strict-construction Jeffersonian school began to diverge from the regular party by taking advanced positions on great questions of finance, such as protective tariffs, national banks, and internal improvements by the general government, this faction at first assuming the name National Republican, which was pretty soon changed to that of Whig. The old Republican, or Jeffersonian, party about the same time took the name Democratic, which it has ever since retained. And for thirty years we had the battles of the giants! The halls of Congress became the arena in which speeches were delivered (not given permission to print)—delivered, not to empty benches and pieces of sole-leather, but to audiences that listened in rapt attention to oratory that influenced not only the legislation of America but the politics of all civilized countries—masterpieces that have become a common heritage and found a permanent place in the literature of the world. Merely to men-

tion the illustrious names of the period would fill a large catalogue ; these names are in every American history and known by every American schoolboy. This was the golden age of American politics, American statesmanship, American history.

III. Pseudo-Moral and Social Period.—The policy of the general government in regard to most of the great questions of finance having been definitely settled, the people became divided on other issues. The great men who figured in the economic period had not all died—nay, some of them had not been born—before a few fanatics began to agitate the question of slavery ; and, though posing as moralists and social reformers, they would enter the political arena, as offering the best and speediest means of accomplishing their purposes. At first ridiculed by people of all sections and all parties, they maintained a persistency which itself won admiration. The disintegration of the old Whig party—mainly brought about by the agitation of this very subject of slavery—offered these abolitionists an opportunity, and their ranks were speedily swelled ; and, under the name of Republicans, they soon became victorious at the polls. Success begat threats ; threats, bitterness ; and bitterness, strife. War followed ; and, while other questions were involved in that war, the most direct cause was the existence of slavery, and the fact most emphatically established was its abolition.

IV. The Period of Sectionalism.—The Civil War having settled the question of slavery and other incidental questions involved, the Republicans were left without a platform. There was no living issue between them and the Democrats ; their purposes had all been accomplished ; their mission was ended. But their power was not to be surrendered ; issues that were lacking in fact were manufactured in fancy, and party lines were more tightly drawn than ever. The Republican leaders (practically all northern men) fired the hearts of Union men against the re-admission of the Southern States on coequal terms with the other states. From the halls of Congress and the hustings came fiercer attacks upon Southern States and southern leaders than ever came from shot and shell. Northern Democrats were denounced

as southern sympathizers, and thus the Northern States were made Republican, while the bitter "Reconstruction" measures placed all the Southern States for a time in the Republican column. This "waving of the bloody shirt," as it was called, figured largely in every campaign from 1868 to 1892, and it was all that kept the Republican party in power. It gradually lost its magic influence and the sectional feeling was growing weaker. The Southern States, one by one, threw off the shackles of political slavery and joined the old Democratic party. Some Northern States were bold enough to affiliate with them.

Even in the economic legislation of this period the laws were so framed as to keep alive the sectional feeling. Under the pretense of protecting American industries, tariffs were so levied that the burden of taxation fell upon the southern people; the immense sums derived went partly to fill the pockets of northern manufacturers and partly to pile up a surplus in the United States Treasury. When this surplus became a menace, disgraceful and extravagant pension laws were made, by which pensions were given out, not only to deserving Union soldiers, but also to many others, on the silliest pretexts imaginable.

These and many other things tended strongly to bring a reaction. Sectionalism was dying; honest men from all quarters were thinking for themselves; condemnation was growing for the lack of statesmanship, of liberality, and of patriotism displayed by the Republicans. At the elections of 1892 the Republican party was swept from power by such an overwhelming defeat that the result was astonishing to both Republicans and Democrats. On March 4th, 1893, there was ushered into power at Washington a Democratic president, a Democratic House of Representatives, and a Democratic Senate—for the first time in thirty-two years. The presidency had once been held during this time, and the Lower House had several times been captured, but not since the inauguration of Lincoln had the Democrats held all three at one time.

Conclusion.—The great Democratic victory of 1892 was gained by a general arraignment of the Republicans for abuse of power and malfeasance in office. The Democrats promised to reduce

and equalize the burdens of the tariff and to distribute its advantages, to unearth and abolish the gigantic pension frauds, so as to bestow pensions only upon deserving Union soldiers or their heirs, and to establish a sound and stable currency. Its platform was broad ; yet every plank in that platform was clean and clear—not begrimed and besmeared by high-sounding equivocations or glittering generalities.

Scarcely had the present administration been ushered into power before there spread over the country a financial panic nearly as disastrous in its sweep as its predecessors of 1837 and 1873. The Republicans proclaimed the cause to be the advent to power of the Democrats, while the Democrats claimed that the panic was the result of iniquitous Republican legislation (McKinley Tariff, Sherman Silver Law, and Dependent Pension Laws) just now beginning to show their direful effects. While neither of these partisan claims was wholly correct, yet each undoubtedly contained an element of truth. Capital invested in manufactures surely became alarmed at the probability of any radical change in the tariff policy and hence began to curtail operations ; while banks and other financial institutions, aroused by the prospect of a sudden revulsion in currency legislation, began prompt collections and became cautious about making further loans. On the other hand, all impartial observers must see that the currency legislation of the Republicans was slowly, though seriously, affecting the investment here of foreign capital and our commerce with those nations that dread the undue favoritism which we have been showing for the white metal as currency ; while it is no less true that alarm was felt in nearly every quarter at the burden imposed upon the poor consumers by the exorbitant tariffs and at the raids upon the national treasury under the recent pension laws.

Whatever the cause of the panic, all agreed that something must be done. Accordingly, an extra session of Congress was called to meet early in August, 1893. It is from watching the proceedings of this body that we are strengthened in making our prediction of an early and a radical change in political parties. The repeal of the Sherman Silver Law was the only question of

importance that received attention at this extra session. On this subject sectionalism was forgotten and most members seemed determined to find out the truth, to see what was best for the country, and to vote accordingly. Some of the strongest advocates of repeal were Mr. Sherman and other Republican leaders, who interpreted the election to mean a desire on the part of the masses for a change in financial policy. All this augurs well for the country; it shows that there is much true statesmanship left that only needed this great crisis to bring it out.

Yet there is one dark picture to follow. When Congress came to consider the tariff question at the regular session in 1893-94, it was found that quite a number of Democrats were not in sympathy with their party; although elected on the regular ticket, with a clear understanding that the party was committed to tariff reform, they united with the opposition to defeat Democratic policy. A great many charges have been brought against these factious congressmen for their conduct; whatever may be true as to their motives, they certainly acted in bad faith with their constituents and their party, and deserve to be relegated to the shades of private life, as, indeed, has already been done with some. Taking advantage of misnamed "courtesies" and an established system of dilatory motions, they delayed and obstructed action for twelve months at a critical time, when any prompt and decided action would have been preferable to the suspense incident to inaction. Some are disposed to blame the whole Democratic party for the evil caused by these few obstructionists in their unholy alliance. Is it not a better plan to select the few on whom the blame really rests, as targets for our ballots, and give due credit to those noble men who fought to the bitter end for thorough tariff reform? Whatever differences in opinion as to policy to be pursued, it remains a fact that, while the Democrats had a nominal majority in each House, the defection of a few men reduced an apparent majority to an actual minority; so that, instead of passing a bill embodying real Democratic reform, a compromise was forced. Even this compromise measure, it is thought, is quite an improvement over the Republican tariff, and it has, at least, given the country a

settled policy for a while, so that business and finance may soon reach normal conditions.

This brings us to the recent elections, state and congressional, of 1894. The reaction against the party in power has been as sudden and as sweeping as was their victory of 1892. Whatever philosophy may be advanced, these sudden changes show dissatisfaction and unrest; the masses feel no allegiance to any party and vote for any change that promises better. Many honest workmen and laborers, not stopping to theorize, or even to examine facts critically, but smarting under financial stress, voted against the Democrats, simply because they believed (or pretended to believe) this party responsible for the panic, the reduction of wages, and the loss of employment. It is a repetition of the panic of 1837. And, just as the people lived to see, in the light of reason and a calm judgment, that Van Buren and his party were not responsible for the one panic, so people will soon reflect that Cleveland and his party could not be responsible for the other.

Still, so long as there is this large floating vote, no accurate estimate can be formed of future contests. These men are now drifting; they will rally to the boat that promises the speediest and surest voyage through the troublesome political waters. When once they find a party which they can trust, their allegiance will be fixed, and they will become as strong in their devotion as the rankest partisan.

Who, then, can doubt our prediction that before another presidential election there will be a complete reorganization of political parties? The Republican amulet, sectionalism, has ceased to charm; and, with all due respect to this party (some of whose members are wise and good men), in nearly all its legislation it has shown a lack of statesmanship; the Republicans, therefore, cannot enter another campaign without robing in a new apparel and proclaiming new doctrines. And, owing to certain vested interests, which would receive too great a shock from the prospect of any sudden change, even the Democrats cannot, immediately at least, carry out all the reforms which they had announced; so this party may have to undergo a mod-

ification in practice, if not in theory. It may not have to build a new platform, but it will have to place on the old one some soft rugs and cushions and easy chairs. The Populist party savors too strongly of that paternalism which relegated the old Federal party to oblivion. Its leaders in one Congress alone introduced bills which, if enacted into law, would not only have emptied our own treasury but would have drained the exchequers of the world. Its vagaries and untried theories do not commend it to thoughtful conservative people.

Will there be a change in the names of parties? We do not know—this matters little. There will certainly be no necessity for it. All parties try to get names that will catch votes, without regard to consistency. Democrat, Republican, and Populist all mean about the same thing; the selection in each case was clap-trap. Names of parties have beguiled many voters in the past, but they will have little effect in the future. During the past decade the American voters have received more instruction in citizenship than was disseminated in all the preceding century. They are no longer driven to the polls by the party lash, but are exercising an intelligence and an independence that stimulate our pride and our patriotism.

The successful party of the future must make a clear declaration of principles, and these principles—not the name which it adopts—will be considered by the voters. It must also put forward as its nominees clean, honest statesmen—not wire-pullers, demagogues, and camp-followers. When this is done, it will give little concern to the patriot whether the successful party is called Democratic, Republican, Populist, or something else; he will know and rejoice that behind and supporting that party—whatever its name—is the great body of intelligent American citizens.

WALTER H. BROWN.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

BY HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER, STATE SUPERINTENDENT PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, STATE OF NEW YORK.

“WHAT shall our public schools teach?” will always be an interesting question. By common consent it is agreed that our schools should lay the foundations of morality, virtue, and good character in the lives of all who enter them. This is a basis upon which all may safely stand. But as it is true that “our schools must make our citizens,” so the ground-work of our education—the true aim of our public schools should look beyond literature, beyond art, beyond culture, into that domain which includes questions of government—how governments are made—why they are made—how they can be kept pure, and how the laws and agencies which hold them together can be regulated and controlled. No country can enjoy an enduring prosperity without good government—good government can only come through good citizenship, and good citizenship must be a natural outgrowth of our educational systems. Therefore, there must exist a close relationship between education as a foundation and national prosperity as a result.

If there is one institution upon which the safety and prosperity of a nation rests more than upon any other, it is the common school. The men and women of the future will be what the common school may make them. The common schools are better safeguards of the nation than forts or standing armies. Unless education for citizenship comes through our schools, it may never come at all.

A young man may not know whether he will become a lawyer, a physician, a minister, a farmer, or a carpenter, but he ought early to know that he is sure to become a citizen, endowed with a citizen's rights and a citizen's responsibilities, and he should early be taught what these rights and responsibilities are.

The pressing need of all enlightened governments, in all ages,

is intelligent, high-minded, dignified citizenship. With it nations build upon an enduring foundation—without it they build upon the sand. With it come progress, development, growth—without it, decay.

We have special education for all the busy professions of life—why not, then, education for citizenship which may embrace all professions? And it is one thing to be a citizen in a legal sense, with the power to hold property and to vote, and quite a different thing to reach that plane from which one may study and understand the duties which go to make up the true citizen. The state is more than willing to give every child within its borders the benefit of an education, believing that education is the foundation of citizenship. The school tax is always paid by the state and the individual with less complaint than any other tax. There is a confident feeling that something is always paid back in fitting our youth for the duties of life.

If this system does not fulfil the desire and design of those who established and those who maintain it, in rounding out the lives of our boys and girls, if it is not making vigorous manhood and womanhood, if it is not pointing out the way for all to add to the glory of the state by a comprehension of the duties of the citizen, then in so far it is failing to do what we have a right to expect of it. It was never intended that the free school system of our state should mean simply scholarship. It means citizenship as well. The state does not want learned scholars alone, it wants them to be intelligent citizens, able and ready to assist in the work of making our state worthy of its great name, worthy of the sacrifices which are made to maintain her greatness.

Ninety per cent of those educated in the common schools of the state never go beyond the common schools—and yet they are sent out into the busy world as citizens without knowing what a grand thing it is to be a citizen, without knowing the rights or duties of citizenship.

There is periodical discussion as to whether we should have more Greek and less grammar—more of arithmetic and less of Aristotle. But that is not the vital point. The great question

should be, Are we doing what we can to make our children up-right, honest, intelligent citizens of the state and the republic? If we are not, we are surely not building a superstructure in character with the foundations which have been laid. If we are not, we are not making men who will be needed to grapple with the problems of the future which involve the welfare of the state. In all our schools, from the lowest to the highest, let there be taught in some degree some of the essential features of our government. What is the constitution of the United States, and of the state of New York? When and how and why were they formed? What do they say, what do they provide, what do they mean? What trials, what discussions, what fears, what dangers preceded their adoption?

Again, what of our own state? How are our laws made? How are our expenses paid, and how much are they? What powers have our legislature, the governor, and the heads of departments? These and a multitude of analogous questions may well be considered when we are seeking to prepare our youth to go out into life. This implies the teaching of a knowledge of politics, high-minded, honorable politics, that kind of politics which, without hypocrisy, considers public office a public trust—that kind of politics which has honor and honesty in it, and which does not stoop to intrigue or entangling alliances which blunt the conscience and destroy self-respect. There is a very close connection between honorable politics and intelligent citizenship. I would have our youth know what caucuses and conventions are, what they are designed to do, before they are thrust into them to learn of questionable methods from those who would use them for personal or corrupt ends. I would have them learn all these things with direct reference to their bearing upon the best interests of state and nation, rather than upon the interests of individuals—their relation to the highest type of citizenship, rather than the success or failure of schemes or schisms of men.

I do not desire to be understood as undervaluing the study of the higher mathematics, or of the dead languages, so called, as a means of mental development, but I would combine therewith proper attention to live languages and live questions. It is no

slight accomplishment to be able to write and speak the English language well. Good grammar and correct spelling are fully as essential as a ready knowledge of Greek and Latin roots. If we teach what statesmen and orators did and said in ancient Rome and Athens thousands of years ago, let us also teach what our statesmen and orators are doing and saying every year in Albany and Washington. If we teach how the Roman Empire rose and fell, let us teach how the constitution of our country was founded as the result of the Revolution. If the Gallic wars are worth remembering, then the lessons of the Revolution and Civil War should not be forgotten. If it is well to know who ruled kingdoms which have been extinct for thousands of years, so it is well to know more of a republic that has but reached its second history of progress.

I would have every schoolhouse, every academy, every college, a nursery of patriotism, where it should be taught that the true American citizen is the highest type of manhood. I would teach American history, American statesmanship, American valor, American pluck, to American boys and girls in American schools. I would have the American flag flying from every place where school is taught, or displayed in every schoolhouse as an object lesson that learning and loyalty go well together. I would have every national holiday observed fittingly in every school.

There is a direct relationship between citizenship and patriotism. Much is being done in our schools to create enthusiasm. The most effective work in this direction is being done by the members of the Grand Army posts, who are active in presenting flags to the schools of the country. Schools and scholars and people are becoming interested in the movement which is growing every year.

The state needs active, educated men, good, true citizens, who will meet the problems which must be solved. Our immigration laws need revising. We have opened our gates to indiscriminate immigration until we have found that we can afford now to demand only the best, and to reject the worst. We have found that all the socialism and anarchy in this country are imported. The honest and the industrious are always welcome—

the vicious, the ignorant, and the indolent should never be.

Our naturalization laws need to be amended, and made uniform in every state and regulated by the government. Judges should be more careful in judging of the fitness of those who desire to become citizens. Citizenship should be an honor worth striving for, worth studying for, and not a bauble to be had for the asking. Voters should be able to read and write the English language. There is safety, from now onward, in educated suffrage.

The laws governing our system of voting should be strengthened to the end that every legal vote may be fearlessly cast and honestly counted. The ballot-box should be made sacred. A result by ballot, in which fraud or dishonesty enters, is not a result but a farce.

The study of citizenship need not be confined to young men. While there are legal limitations governing the rights and powers of young women, there are no limitations to the enjoyment they may derive from the studies which relate to citizenship, or to their power of doing good in teaching others the things which lead to a love of country.

Women will be permitted to vote whenever as a united body they shall demand the privilege, and the day is bound to come when a woman who does a man's work equally as well as a man, will receive a man's wages. We must not forget that more than four fifths of all our teachers are women—and thus we show that we are willing to place our schools, our nurseries of citizenship, under their control. Why, then, should not our young women study the elements of citizenship which they are expected to teach? Women are already helping themselves in this direction. A society of young women has lately been formed in New York for the systematic study of the constitution of the United States and of the time and condition which led to its adoption. It is the purpose of these young women—and they are not of the strong-minded variety—to acquaint themselves by special study with the history and spirit of the system of government under which they live. They believe that it is as essential for them to know something concerning their country as to know who are to comprise "the four hundred" next year.

There is still another class of women who must not be forgotten, when we are giving credit for vital though quiet work in the direction of teaching our boys what it means to be honest citizens. God bless the mothers and sisters of the land, who steadily teach the principles of morality in the homes from whence our citizens must come—a morality which is the foundation of citizenship. A boy who loves and obeys his mother, and who is kind and respectful to his sisters, cannot make a bad citizen.

But we cannot teach the best citizenship unless we build a foundation upon temperance and morality. Good citizenship implies good morals. We may learn by the experience of France, where, with increased educational work, there is an increase in crime—because moral training has been neglected, because she does not teach the citizen for the state, but to please demands of a perverted society—for gaudy show. In all our schools I would associate citizenship with morality. Where religious instruction cannot be given in any other way, let it come through the morality of the teacher by noble example, for the moral influence of a teacher is sometimes more than the power of all sects or creeds.

And the true glory of our country consists, not in the height of our mountains, not in the length of our rivers, not in the broad expanse of our great lakes, not in the majesty of our forests, not in the grandeur of our cataracts, not in the fertility of our prairies, not in the boasted increase in wealth and population, not in the number of our states, nor in the length of our railroads. It does not consist in the millions which our state and nation spend each year for education, but it is measured by what that education is doing to give a national character to our people, and to inspire in them a love of country and an ambition for the highest form of enlightened citizenship. So the education of the future, whatever else it may bring us, will, I believe, teach that the glory of American citizenship is the sturdy manhood which it develops, and that the glory of American manhood is in what it does to build safe and strong, and wide and deep, the sure foundations of good citizenship.

CHARLES R. SKINNER.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

DECENNIAL AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

THE last issue of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, besides the encouraging record of the Institute's activities for the ten years past, presented the names of the two hundred and thirty-five citizens who constitute its grand corps of lecturers, including speakers of national reputation in nearly every state, who are prepared to aid in the promotion of "good government through good citizenship" by public addresses.

The present issue contains the names of the associate members of the faculty of the Institute, who coöperate with it as members of the faculties of some two hundred and fifty higher institutions of learning. Accompanying notes indicate the attention given to civics in all of these institutions, and the results of their constantly increasing efforts to contribute to the best possible equipment of the educated youth of America for useful service as citizens. There is also presented the names of the National Committee of Councilors, eminent citizens recently appointed for special coöperation in the Institute's patriotic propaganda, in cities and towns where it is already represented by members. With the aid of this noble committee of citizens, the Institute looks for an extension of its activities and influence which will enable it to enter worthily upon its second decade. These several rolls not only present the names of citizens of the highest ability and distinction, but include also the worthiest representatives of all parties and creeds, who, with all members of the Institute, stand upon the platform of true patriotism. Here men of varying political and religious opinions can cordially coöperate in the discharge of common duties, and here is the only certain and enduring bond of national unity.

To inspire and perpetuate the saving activities represented by such patriotism, and to thus avert as well as correct the civic and social evils due to the ignorant or vicious use of the citizens' power, is the aim of the Institute of Civics. To indicate to all of its members in what particular way their efforts shall be put forth is not attempted. They are asked, in the spirit of intelligent and consecrated loyalty to the institutions of our republic, to contribute, as they can, to the multiplication of the forces whose aggregated power will be manifest in the ascendancy of good citizenship.

EXEMPLARS IN CITIZENSHIP.—Attention is elsewhere called to the various bodies of citizens who are now proving their patriotism by their unselfish devotion to the cause represented by the Institute of Civics. Other citizens, whose services have been as willingly given to the same cause in the decade of the Institute's activities, have ended their earthly citizenship. The names of these honored members of the Institute's body of councilors, including some of its founders and first trustees, are worthy of grateful remembrance, and will be found under the heading "In Memoriam."

MEETING OF A. I. C. TRUSTEES.—This meeting was held May 28, at the Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C., the venerable ex-justice of the United States Supreme Court, Hon. William Strong, LL.D., presiding. The president of the Institute submitted his tenth annual report, the substance of which was embodied in the article which appeared over his name in the June number of this magazine. There was an interested discussion of plans relating to the Institute's future work, and provisions necessary to the proper conduct of its constantly enlarging activities. Amendments were made in its by-laws providing for the appointment of local officials in places where there are already members of the National Body of Councilors. An adjourned session of the board, for the further consideration of the interests of the Institute, and for attention to unfinished business, was appointed for June 18th, at the Institute's office in New York, report of which will appear in the next issue of this magazine.

**THE INSTITUTE
OF CIVICS
AND ITS MEMBERS.**

A. H. CAMPBELL, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), principal State Normal School, Johnson, Vt., reports the organization in that place of a good citizenship association under his presidency. Its objects are to accomplish the purposes set forth in the Institute's circular of advice to the members of its body of councilors. The association has already accomplished effective work in promoting efforts to secure better educational facilities and the selection of efficient and capable public officers. The organization has been enrolled as one of the Institute's local auxiliaries.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph.D., has succeeded Edmund James, Ph.D., LL.D., as president of the American Society for University Teaching, Dr. James finding it necessary to seek relief from some of the many activities in which he has been so usefully engaged. The executive management of this important work could not have been confided to more worthy hands. The American Institute of Civics has in this society an efficient coadjutor in the promotion of intelligent and upright citizenship. Both Dr. Devine and Dr. James are councilors of the Institute and members of its National Corps of Lecturers, and Dr. Devine has been at the head of the executive department of civics, which he has made one of the most valuable features of the society over which he

now presides. The society has given lecture courses averaging one hundred a year, and attended by over 20,000 people. Its work has been largely self-supporting. Those attending the lectures have been mostly women, and generally women of leisure, it being difficult, as yet, to interest business men, clerks, mechanics, and workingmen. The lecturers have been drawn from twelve leading colleges, and each course has generally consisted of six lectures, supplemented by indicated readings.

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FRATERNAL UNION, NORTH AND SOUTH.—The American Institute of Civics was the first great patriotic national movement after the Civil War in which the citizens of the South, irrespective of present or past political party relations, entered into fraternal union with their compatriots of the North, on the only possible basis of genuine national unity—that of unselfish and loyal devotion to the ideas and principles which must everywhere have supremacy if government of the people for the people by the people is anywhere to be maintained at its best. The perfect harmony which has marked the ten years of this union of the citizens of the South and North in common labors, is a significant illustration of the practical concord which has followed, and always will follow, efforts in which differences, due to sectionalism, partisanship, or religious opinions, are lost sight of under the inspiration of a spirit of catholic and unselfish patriotism. The members of this national institution personally represent differing schools in politics and religion; but in the service to which it calls them, their religion has no other part than that of reinforcing what is best in their politics, and both are consecrated to the service of country. In its National Board of Trustees, in its splendid corps of lecturers, in the National Committee of its Councilors, and the great body of its members, those who fought under the blue and the gray are brought together in united efforts for the accomplishment of purposes dear to the hearts of all true Americans.

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HON. HUGH McCULLOCH, LL.D.—Of this venerable and honored citizen, who was for some years one of the trustees of the American Institute of Civics, and who died at his home near Washington May 23, the *Congregationalist* says: "Mr. McCulloch was one of the ablest financiers who ever served the United States. He was born at Kennebunk, Me., Dec. 7, 1806, studied for two years at Bowdoin College, and then studied law. In 1833 he struck out for the West, and settled in Fort Wayne and in time became the ablest bank official of the then West. In 1863 he was selected by Secretary Salmon P. Chase to organize the newly-created system of national banks, and in this capacity he did rare work for the nation, but not to be compared to the service which he rendered after he became secretary of the treasury in March, 1865, in which place he served four years. President Arthur called him back to the same post in 1884. He was conservative, an open foe of depreciated currency, a far-sighted statesman, and independent as a citizen and party man."

HON. JAMES F. WILSON, lately a member of the United States Senate, died at his home in Fairfield, Ia., May 30. Senator Wilson, throughout a long and active public career, deservedly possessed the highest esteem of his constituents and his colleagues in office. His sincere devotion to what he conceived to be the real interests of both government and people was unmistakably manifest on all occasions. His colleagues of the American Institute of Civics, of whose board of trustees he was a most interested and useful member from 1877 until the time of his decease, deeply deplore the loss of one whose life made him such a conspicuous exemplar of the qualities in citizenship which the Institute seeks to promote.

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HON. JULIUS H. SEELYE, D.D., LL.D., president of Amherst College for the thirteen years ending in 1890, and connected with Amherst as teacher and president for a period of thirty-one years, died at his home in Amherst May 26, at the age of seventy-one. President Seelye was graduated at Amherst in 1841, afterwards pursued theological studies at the Auburn Seminary and in Germany, and in 1853 became the pastor of the First Reformed Dutch Church in Schenectady, N. Y., resigning the pastorate later to accept the professorship of mental and moral philosophy at Amherst. In 1879 he was elected to Congress on a non-partisan basis, and at the end of the term declined a renomination. His interest in public questions was always strong, and it was notably active as regards the Indian question. His political independence was strikingly illustrated at the time of the Tilden-Hayes presidential controversy, when he, though a Republican, opposed the seating of Mr. Hayes as president. President Seelye held important positions of trust in several educational institutions besides Amherst, was for some years president of the American Missionary Association, a trustee for two years of the American Institute of Civics, received the degrees of D.D. and LL.D. from Union and Columbia Colleges respectively, and wrote frequently for the reviews and weekly papers. Failing health compelled him to resign the presidency of Amherst in 1890. Among the notable changes made during his administration at Amherst were the abolishing of the marking system, the placing of the students upon honor as to conduct, and the instituting of the "College Senate."

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JOHN I. COVINGTON, who died in the city of New York early in April, at the age of forty-seven, was a worthy member of a distinguished Indiana family, a prominent alumnus of Miami University, and a widely known and successful business man. The *Fire Insurance Chronicle* of New York, in paying tribute to his memory, says: "He possessed an extraordinarily high sense of honor, and was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Good Samaritan. If not far enough above the average man to constitute an ideal character, he was sufficiently exalted in brains and in morals to be a model citizen, husband, and father." Mr. Covington was at the time of his death, as for

several years previously, a trustee of the American Institute of Civics, and was for two years its treasurer.

A SILENT REVOLUTION.—“The influence and result of the work of the Institute is not to be measured by direct results. In the sowing of the seed, it has done a great work and now a host comes forth to garner the harvest. In the ten years of its existence, a silent revolution has gone on and thousands are studying the problems of good government where there were ten.”—*General William Preston Johnston, LL.D., President Tulane University of Louisiana.*

THE AWAKENING OF CONSCIENCE.—“In that awakening of the conscience to the duties of citizenship which has characterized the last five years, it seems to me that the American Institute of Civics by its work in the last ten years has had a most honorable part.”—*Merrill Edward Gates, Ph.D., President Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.*

A BETTER PATRIOTIC FEELING.—“The non-partisan and unprejudiced presentation of every article in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS merits my hearty approval. That the Institute may succeed in stimulating a better patriotic feeling in this country, even beyond our most sanguine expectations, is my earnest prayer.”—*Hon. Jink Evans, Corsicana, Texas.*

HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER.—As the frontispiece of this number, we present a portrait of the newly elected Superintendent of Public Schools in the state of New York. Hon. Charles R. Skinner, whose appointment to that responsible position is a deserved recognition of able service rendered the state as Deputy Superintendent under the superintendency of Hon. A. S. Draper (A. I. C.), and as Director of Teachers' Institutes under the superintendency of Hon. James S. Crooker, his predecessor. The civil service principles of which Mr. Skinner is an advocate were never more worthily applied than in putting him at the head of the public school system in the state of New York.

Mr. Skinner has been a successful teacher in the district schools and academies, and was at one time editor of a daily newspaper at Watertown, N. Y. For five terms he represented Jefferson County in the legislature, and in his last term was a prominent candidate for speaker. He served four years in Congress as the representative of Jefferson, Lewis, and Herkimer Counties. During these nine legislative years Mr. Skinner kept educational interests in view, and strove to advance them by speeches, votes, and earnest efforts in numerous directions. Mr. Skinner is thoroughly acquainted with the needs of the public schools. The code of public instruction in the form in which he revised it passed the legislature one year ago.

Mr. Skinner has long been a useful councilor of the A. I. C., and as a

member of the corps of lecturers has made addresses which have attracted wide attention. A summary of one of his lectures on "The Foundation of Good Citizenship" will appear in the next issue of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

EXTRACTS GEORGE ALEXANDER RITTER, A. I. C., Nauvoo, FROM LETTERS. Ill.: "Civics as a science must be taught in our high schools. It should be a required study in all high schools and in an elementary way in lower schools. Instruction can be given in a way to make it stimulating and vital by supplementing text-books on the constitutions and historical reading with lectures, the study of current topics, debates on political matters, and sham elections, by way of practical illustrations. But in every method one high object should be ever in the teacher's mind—to inculcate in the pupils the greatest of virtues—patriotism."

PROF. CHARLES F. KOEHLER, A. I. C., Department of Civics and History, Minnesota State Normal School: "We are endeavoring to cultivate the spirit of good citizenship in this garden of the West, and hope to receive through the A. I. C. special aid."

PROF. W. I. TWITCHELL, A. I. C., President Connecticut State Teachers' Association: "I am persuaded that this very important study (civics) is postponed to a too late period in the education of the child. Then it is taken up as something to be learned like Latin or Greek. It should be a growth, a part of the child's life, from the home and the playground to the ballot-box and the office of trust."

CAPT. LUCIEN E. CARTER, Member of Lecture Corps A. I. C., St. Joseph, Mo.: "I will try to enlist some of our public-spirited and unselfish citizens in the noble work of the Institute. To the extent of my ability you are at liberty to command my services."

The problem of providing for the general efforts necessary to accomplish salutary results in affairs of citizenship "seems to be solved," says Mr. Carter, "by the A. I. C. Its plan certainly seems to be practicable and ought to be efficient. Wherein it proves to be deficient, it will be able to cure defects and strengthen its forces, thus enlarging its usefulness as the result of experience."

HON. LYMAN E. KNAPP, A. I. C., Governor of Alaska: "The work of the Institute is so noble and unselfish that I find myself becoming more enthusiastic in my admiration of it."

JOHN S. IRWIN, A. I. C., Principal Public Schools, Fort Wayne, Ind.: "The good effects that have already resulted from the work of the Institute show its power in the correction of evil; while the action of many public bodies in late days shows the great necessity of the long continuance of its work."

REV. F. B. LAWLER, A. I. C., Humboldt, Cal.: "I am glad that so many men through the Institute have been both able and willing to do so much for good government through good citizenship."

DR. THEO. B. COMSTOCK, A. I. C., University of Arizona: "You may be assured of my continued interest, and I shall do all my strength will permit in the cause which has been so ably advocated by you. The circular relating to Washington's birthday I most heartily indorse, and so far as I am able will coöperate in this particular. I wish you increasing success in your noble efforts."

EDWARD DENHAM, A. I. C., New Bedford, Mass.: "My heart is with the Institute of Civics. I believe the safety of this country is in the right training of its youths, by teaching them to understand what a republican government is, and that it cannot be safely conducted upon the spoils principle."

DANIEL R. NOYES, A. I. C., St. Paul, Minn.: "The objects of the Institute must meet the approval of all interested in the future welfare of our country."

F. B. GAULT, A. I. C., President University of Idaho: "Anything I can do for the Institute needs only the commanding."

WALTER H. SANBORN, A. I. C., Judge United States Court of Appeals, St. Paul, Minn.: "I am sincerely in sympathy with the purposes of your institution."

PROF. EDWARD E. SPARKS, A. I. C., Pennsylvania State College: "I shall be pleased to contribute my influence in furthering your very desirable aims. Having charge of a class in civics, I shall hope to be of service indirectly. If I can assist more directly, I hope to be commanded."

G. H. LAUGHLIN, LL.D., F. S. Sc., State Normal School, Kirksville, Mo.: "It seems to me that every live teacher must acknowledge that the work of the American Institute of Civics entitles it to rank as a powerful factor in American education."

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.
ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF FACULTY IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.

IN THE following higher institutions one or more members of the board of instruction, as indicated, is an associate member of the Institute's faculty. It is the aim of the Institute to serve as a medium through which these instructors may be brought into coöperation in the important patriotic service of promoting, in all higher institutions of learning, that adequate attention to the essential principles of popular government, practically as well as philosophically considered, which shall make high scholarship an assured qualification for best citizenship in private life and best service in public station.

In all of these institutions civics receives some degree of practical attention, in twenty-four there are special departments in civics, and in fourteen post-graduate schools of political science, history and political science, economics, etc. The reports made to the Institute by the associate members of its faculty for the current year are only partly in hand, but indicate a notable increase of attention to instruction in civics, especially in the branches of ethics and civil polity.

The numerals following the names of institutions refer to appended notes, embodying information as to instruction in civics thus far provided for the year 1895.

There has been a marked increase in provision for lectures, and in many instances the services of members of the Institute's lecture corps have been utilized to advantage. Many of the smaller colleges report an earnest desire to give larger attention to civics, and deprecate their present inability to do so because of insufficient endowments.

There is also evident an increased appreciation of the advantages growing out of the use of the peculiarly significant and appropriate term civics as applied to undergraduate or post-graduate departments devoted to the branches covered by this term (civil ethics, civil polity, civil jurisprudence, economics, and civil history), and where it is especially desired that the studies and investigations of students shall directly contribute to their fullest possible qualification for the practical and efficient use of citizenship powers, in elevating the standards of citizenship and promoting the conditions essential to good government and right social order.

Students in the institutions thus brought into relations with the Institute are entitled to compete for the "Hall Prizes" annually awarded (in June) to seniors presenting the best papers relating to civic questions.

The executive headquarters of the Institute, 38 Park Row, New York

City, always open to the public, is a depository of current literature relating to these institutions, and copies of books, catalogues, and other matter annually issued by them are requested for filing.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, as the official organ of the Institute, is a medium for the publication of matter of special interest and value to the instructors and students in these and other American colleges and professional schools. It has the assistance editorially of the president and other councilors, and cooperation in the way of contributed matter from many of the distinguished members of the Institute named below. The editors will be glad to receive appropriate matter from any of the Institute's faculty associates.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE'S FACULTY.

ALABAMA.

University of Alabama, (1)*
H. D. Clayton, President,
Colonel R. A. Hardaway Tuscaloosa.
Alabama State Normal College, (1)
James K. Powers Florence.
Lafayette College, (1)
George R. McNeill, Ph.D., President Lafayette.

ARIZONA.

University of Arizona, (9, 12)
Theodore B. Comstock, D.S., President,
Edward M. Boggs, Ph.D. Tucson.

ARKANSAS.

Arkansas Industrial University, (1)
Edward H. Murfee, A.M., LL.D.,
John L. Buchanan, LL.D. Fayetteville.
Ouachita Baptist College, (1)
J. W. Conger, President Arkadelphia.

CALIFORNIA.

California College, (1)
Calvin Easterly, President Los Angeles.
University of California, (2, 10, 12)
Professor S. W. Dennis, M.D. San Francisco.
Eugene W. Hilgard, Ph.D.,
Professor John LeConte, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Bernard Moses, LL.D.,
Irving Stringham, Ph.D. Berkeley.
St. Ignatius College, (1)
Rev. J. Sasia, S.J. San Francisco.
Mills College, (1)
Miss Mary Ellis, A.M. San Francisco.
Pierce Christian College, (1)
William Henslee, President College City.
University of the Pacific, comprising
San José and Napa Colleges, (2)
J. N. Beard, President San Francisco.
Leland Stanford University, (2, 10, 12, 13)
Fernando Sanford, Ph.D. Palo Alto.
State Normal School, (1)
Professor Ira More, Principal,
Melville Dozier, B.P. Los Angeles.

*For explanation of figures see last page.

COLORADO.

- Colorado Agricultural College, (1)
 Alston Ellis, President Ft. Collins.
 Colorado College, (1)
 Frank H. Loud Colorado Springs
 University of Colorado, (1)
 James H. Baker, President Denver.
 University of Denver, (1)
 William C. Main Union Park.

CONNECTICUT.

- Trinity College, (1)
 Rev. George W. Smith, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . Hartford.
 Wesleyan University, (2, 13)
 Willard Clark Fisher, B.A. Middletown.

DAKOTA.

- Sioux Falls University, (1)
 E. B. Meredith, B.D. Sioux Falls.

DELAWARE.

- Delaware College, (2)
 Albert N. Raub, A.M., Ph.D., President . . Newark.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

- Catholic University, (2)
 John B. Hogan, S.S., D.D. Washington.
 Columbian University (9, 12)
 Andrew F. Craven, Ph.D. Washington.
 Howard University, (1)
 Rev. Jeremiah Rankin, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . Washington.

FLORIDA.

- Florida Agricultural College, (1)
 O. Clute, M.S., LL.D., President Lake City.

GEORGIA.

- Atlanta University, (1)
 Rev. Horace Bumstead, D.D., President . . Atlanta.
 Bowdon College, (2)
 C. O. Stubbs, A.M., President Bowdon.
 Clark University, (8)
 Rev. David Clark John, D.D., President . . South Atlanta.
 Emory College, (1)
 Rev. I. S. Hopkins, D.D., LL.D. Oxford.

IDAHO.

- University of Idaho, (9, 12)
 F. B. Gault, President Moscow.

ILLINOIS.

- Augustana College, (1)
 C. W. Foss, A.M., President Rock Island.
 Chicago Theological Seminary, (1, 12)
 Graham Taylor Chicago.
 University of Chicago, (2, 10, 12, 13)
 Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D.,
 Professor Daniel Fulcomer, Ph.D.,
 Professor C. R. Henderson, Ph.D. Chicago.
 Illinois College, (2, 12)
 Professor Harvey Milligan,
 E., E.C., and H. mostly senior year . . . Jacksonville.
 Illinois Wesleyan University, (1)
 Rev. W. H. Wilder, D.D. Bloomington.

- University of Illinois, (9, 12)
 Professor David Kinley Champaign.
 Knox College, (2)
 Hon. Newton Bateman, LL.D., President . . Galesburg.
 Lake Forest University, (2, 12)
 J. J. Halsey, Ph.D.,
 Sp. Lec. Lake Forest.
 Lincoln University, (1)
 A. E. Turner, A.M., President Lincoln.
 McCormick Theological Seminary, (1)
 Rev. Herrick Johnson, D.D., LL.D. Chicago.
 Northwestern University, (2, 12)
 Henry Wade Rogers, LL.D., President . . . Evanston.
 Southern Illinois State Normal University (9, 12)
 Professor John Hull, Ph.D. Carbondale.
 Wheaton College, (3, 12)
 Charles A. Blanchard, President Wheaton.
 Westfield College, (1)
 Rev. J. L. Kephart, D.D. Westfield.
- INDIANA.
- DePauw University, (2, 12)
 Rev. John B. D. John, D.D. Greencastle.
 Earlham College, (1)
 J. J. Mills, President Richmond.
 Franklin College, (3, 12)
 W. T. Stott, President Franklin.
 University of Indiana, (2, 12)
 John K. Commons, Ph.D. Bloomington.
 Moore's Hill College, (1)
 Professor Monroe Vayhinger Moore's Hill.
 Purdue University, (1)
 E. A. Huston Lafayette.
 Union Christian College, (1)
 Rev. Elcharles A. Devore, Ph.D. Merom.
 Wabash College, (1)
 Charles A. Tuttle, Ph.D. Crawfordsville.
- IOWA.
- Cornell College, (3)
 Rev. William F. King, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . Mt. Vernon.
 Iowa Agricultural College, (1)
 E. W. Stanton, M.Sc. Ames.
 Iowa College, (2, 12)
 Jesse Macy, A.M. Grinnell.
 University of Iowa, (2, 12)
 Isaac A. Loos Iowa City.
 Upper Iowa University, (1)
 J. W. Bissel Fayette.
 Parsons College, (1)
 Rev. Ambrose C. Smith, D.D., President . . Fairfield.
 Simpson College, (1)
 W. E. Hamilton Indianola.
 Tabor College, (1, 13)
 Rev. W. M. Brooks, D.D., President . . . Tabor.
 Western College, (1) Toledo.
- KANSAS.
- Bethany College, (1)
 C. F. Peterson, A.M. Lindsburg.
 Garfield University, (1)
 H. W. Everett, Ph.D. Wichita.

- Kansas Wesleyan University, (1)
 Rev. W. H. Sweet, D.D., President Salina.
 University of Kansas, (9, 12)
 F. H. Snow, LL.D., President Topeka.
 Ottawa University, (1)
 H. C. Merrill Ottawa.
 Washburn College, (2)
 Rev. Peter McVicar, President Topeka.

KENTUCKY.

- Berea College, (1)
 L. V. Dodge, A.M. Berea.
 Bethel College, (1)
 John Phelps Fruit Russellville.
 Central University of Kentucky, (1)
 Rev. L. H. Blanton, D.D., Chancellor Richmond.
 Georgetown College, (1)
 Arthur Yager, Ph.D. Georgetown.
 Kentucky State College, (3)
 James K. Patterson, LL.D., President Lexington.
 University of Kentucky, (1)
 Colonel Robert Graham Lexington.
 Ogden College, (3, 13)
 William A. Obenchain, President Bowling Green.
 Winchester College, (1)
 S. W. Percy, President Winchester.

LOUISIANA.

- Leland University, (1)
 Rev. Edward C. Mitchell, D.D. New Orleans.
 University of Louisiana, (9, 12)
 Wilmot H. Goodale, Professor of Civics Baton Rouge.
 Straight University, (1)
 Dr. R. C. Hitchcock, President New Orleans.
 Tulane University of Louisiana, (2, 12)
 William Preston Johnson, LL.D., Pres. New Orleans.

MAINE.

- Bowdoin College, (2)
 William MacDonald, A.B. Brunswick.
 Colby University, (1)
 Shailer Mathews, A.M. Waterville.

MARYLAND.

- Johns Hopkins University, (2, 10, 12, 13)
 H. B. Adams, Ph.D. Baltimore.
 St. John's College, (1)
 Rev. Thomas Fell, D.D. Annapolis.
 Kee Mar College, (1)
 Prof. O. G. Klinger Hagerstown.

MASSACHUSETTS.

- Amherst College, (2, 12)
 Merrill E. Gates, Ph.D., LL.D., President,
 John Bates Clark, Ph.D.,
 Rev. John Franklin Genung, Ph.D.,
 William Lewis Montague, Ph.D. Amherst.
 Boston College, (1)
 Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S. J. Boston.
 Harvard University, (2, 10, 12, 16)
 Edward Channing, Ph.D. Cambridge.
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, (5, 12)
 Davis R. Dewey, Ph.D. Boston.

Massachusetts State Normal School, (1)
 E. Harlow Russell, Principal Worcester.
 Tufts College, (2, 12)
 Rev. Elmer H. Capen, D.D. College Hill.

MICHIGAN

Battle Creek College, (1)
 William W. Prescott, A.M., President . . . Battle Creek.
 Hillsdale College, (5)
 Hon. George Frank Mosher, LL.D., Pres . . Hillsdale.
 Hope College, (1)
 Charles Scott, President Holland.
 Michigan Agricultural College, (1)
 Lewis G. Gorton, President Agricultural P. O.
 University of Michigan, (2, 10, 12)
 Professor Henry C. Adams, Ph.D.,
 W. H. Payne, Ph.D. Ann Arbor.
 Olivet College, (1)
 Willard G. Sperry Olivet.

MINNESOTA.

Carleton College, (1)
 Charles H. Cooper Northfield.
 Gustav Adolf's College, (1)
 Carl J. Petri St. Peter.
 Macalester College, (1)
 Rev. Edward Neill Duffield, D.D. . . . Minnesota.
 University of Minnesota, (2, 12)
 Cyrus W. Northrop, LL.D., President,
 William W. Folwell, LL.D. Minneapolis.

MISSISSIPPI.

University of Mississippi, (9, 12)
 William Rice Sims, LL.D.,
 Professor P. H. Eagan University.
 Rust University, (1)
 C. E. Libby, S. T. D., President Holly Springs.
 University of the South, (1)
 William Henry Graham Sewanee.

MISSOURI.

Central Wesleyan College, (1)
 Rev. Herman A. Koch, D.D. Warrentown.
 Christian University, (1)
 Rev. J. W. Moncrief, D.D. Canton.
 Drury College, (1)
 Rev. N. J. Morrison, D.D., President . . . Springfield.
 University of Missouri, (2)
 Hon. James S. Robbins Columbia.
 Tarkio College, (1)
 Rev. J. A. Thompson, A.M. Tarkio.
 Washington University, (2)
 Marshal S. Snow, LL.D. St. Louis.
 William Jewell College, (1)
 W. R. Rothwell Liberty.

NEBRASKA.

Doane College, (1)
 Rev. David B. Perry, A.M., President . . . Crete.
 Gates College, (1)
 _____, President Neligh.

- University of Nebraska, (2, 12, 13, 14)
 J. S. Dales Lincoln.
 University of Omaha, (1)
 Rev. David R. Kerr, Ph.D., D.D. Omaha.
- NEVADA.
 University of Nevada, (9, 12)
 Leroy D. Brown, Ph.D. Reno.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE.
 Dartmouth College, (2)
 Rev. William J. Tucker, D.D., LL.D., Pres., Hanover.
 State Normal School, (1)
 Charles C. Rounds, Principal Plymouth.
- NEW JERSEY.
 Princeton University, (2, 10, 12)
 Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D. Princeton.
- NEW YORK.
 Alfred University, (9, 12)
 Lester C. Rogers, A.M., Professor of Civics . Alfred Center
 Claverack College, (1)
 Rev. J. B. Van Petten, Ph.D. Claverack.
 Columbia College, (2, 10, 12, 16)
 Franklin A. Giddings, Ph.D. New York.
 Columbia University Law School,
 Francis Marion Burdick, LL.D. New York.
 Colgate University, (2) Hamilton.
 Cornell University, (2, 10, 12, 13)
 Jeremiah W. Jenks, Ph.D.,
 S. G. Williams, Ph.D. Ithaca.
 Hamilton College, (2, 11)
 Rev. M. W. Stryker, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . . Clinton.
 Hobart College, (2)
 Rev. E. N. Potter, D.D., LL.D., President . Geneva.
 Manhattan College, (1)
 Brother Chrysostom New York.
 School of Social Economics, (2, 12)
 A. B. Woodford, Ph.D. New York.
 St. Lawrence University, (3, 11)
 Rev. A. G. Gaines, D.D. Canton.
 St. Louis College, (1)
 John P. Brophy New York.
 University City of New York, (2, 12)
 Rev. H. M. McCracken, D.D., LL.D., Chan. . New York.
 University of Rochester, (2, 12)
 William C. Morey, Ph.D. Rochester.
 Rutgers Female College, (1)
 Professor D. S. Martin New York.
 St. Stephen's College, (1)
 Rev. R. B. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D. Annandale.
 Syracuse University, (2, 12)
 Rev. W. P. Coddington, D.D. Syracuse.
 Vassar College, (1)
 Rev. James M. Taylor, D.D., President . . Poughkeepsie
- NORTH CAROLINA.
 Davidson College, (1)
 Henry L. Smith Davidson.
 Elmira College, (1)
 Rufus S. Green, D.D., President Elmira.

- Trinity College, (2)
 John C. Kilgo, President Durham.
 University of North Carolina, (1)
 George T. Winston Chapel Hill.
 Wake Forest College, (3, 11, 13)
 Rev. Charles E. Taylor, D.D. Wake Forest.
- NORTH DAKOTA.
 Fargo College, (1)
 Rev. R. A. Beard, D.D. Fargo.
 University of North Dakota, (6)
 Webster Merrifield, President Grand Forks.
- OHIO.
 Antioch College, (3)
 Rev. Daniel A. Long, D.D., President . . . Yellow Springs.
 Buchtel College, (1)
 Rev. O. Cone, D.D., President Akron.
 University of Cincinnati, (2, 10, 12)
 Hon. Jacob D. Cox, LL.D., President,
 W. O. Sproule, Ph.D., LL.D., Dean,
 Frederick L. Schoenle, Ph.D. Cincinnati.
 Findlay College, (1)
 Rev. J. R. H. Latchaw, A.M., President . . Findlay.
 Hiram College, (1)
 Edwin Lester Hall Hiram.
 Hopedale Normal College, (1)
 Rev. R. M. Coulter, President Cadiz.
 Kenyon College, (4)
 William Foster Peirce Gambier.
 Miami University, (1)
 Rev. W. O. Thompson, D.D., President,
 Rev. Andrew D. Hepburn, D.D. Oxford.
 Mt. Union College, (1)
 Rev. Tamerlane Pliny Marsh, DD., LL.D. . Alliance.
 Oberlin College, (2, 12, 15)
 James Monroe, Ph.D. Oberlin.
 Ohio Normal University, (2, 12)
 H. S. Lehr, President Ada.
 Ohio State University, (2, 10, 12)
 J. H. Canfield, President,
 George Wells Knight, Ph.D. Columbus.
 Otterbein University, (1)
 T. Sanders, Ph.D., President Westerville.
 Ohio Wesleyan University, (2, 12)
 Rev. James W. Bashford, Ph.D. Delaware.
 Urbana University, (1)
 Thomas Freeman Moses, A.M., M.D. . . . Urbana.
 Wallace College, (1)
 Rev. J. E. Stubbs, D.D., LL.D., President . Berea.
 Western Reserve University, (2, 12)
 Rev. C. F. Thwing, D.D., President,
 Rev. Hiram C. Hayden Cleveland.
 University of Wooster, (2, 12)
 Rev. S. S. Scovel, D.D., President,
 Lectures Wooster.
- OREGON.
 Pacific University, (9, 12)
 Rev. J. F. Ellis, D.D., President Forest Grove.
 State College, (1)
 B. L. Arnold Cornwallis.

PENNSYLVANIA.

- Bryn Mawr College, (9, 12)
 M. Carey Thomas, Ph.D., President Bryn Mawr.
 Dickinson College, (2)
 Rev. George E. Reed, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . . Carlisle.
 Franklin and Marshall College, (1)
 Rev. John S. Stahr, Ph.D., D.D., Pres. . . Lancaster.
 Geneva College, (1)
 James M. Coleman, A.M. Beaver Falls.
 Haverford College, (9, 12)
 Isaac Sharpless, Sc.D., LL.D., President . . Haverford.
 Lafayette College, (9, 12)
 Rev. E. D. Warfield, D.D., LL.D., Pres. . . Easton.
 LaSalle College, (1)
 Rev. Brother Fabrician Philadelphia.
 Pennsylvania College, (2)
 John A. Hines Gettysburg.
 Pennsylvania State College, (2)
 George W. Atherton, LL.D., President.,
 Professor Edward Earle Sparks, A.M. . . . State College.
 Pennsylvania College for Women, (1)
 Miss Helen E. Pelletreau,
 Miss Janet L. Brownlee Pittsburg.
 University of Pennsylvania, (2, 10, 11, 12, 13)
 Edmund J. James, Ph.D. Philadelphia.
 Pittsburg Female College, (1)
 J. Gordon Ogden, Ph.D. Pittsburg.
 Swarthmore College, (9, 12)
 William I. Hull, Ph.D. Swarthmore.
 St. Vincent's College, (1)
 Rev. L. Schnier, O.S.B. Westmoreland.
 Washington and Jefferson College, (1)
 Rev. James D. Moffatt, D.D., President . . . Washington.
 Western University of Pennsylvania, (2)
 Rev. W. J. Holland, Ph.D., D.D. Pittsburg.

RHODE ISLAND.

- Brown University, (2, 10, 11, 12, 13)
 Rev. E. B. Andrews, D.D., LL.D., President,
 Wilfred H. Munroe, Ph.D.,
 George G. Wilson, Ph.D. Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

- College of Charleston, (2)
 Henry E. Shepherd, LL.D., President . . . Charleston.
 Erskine College, (8)
 Rev. W. M. Grier, D.D., President Due West.
 Furman University, (1)
 Rev. Charles Manly, D.D., President . . . Greenville.
 Newbury College, (3)
 Rev. G. W. Holland, D.D., President . . . Newbury.
 South Carolina College, (2)
 Professor R. Means Davis Columbia.
 Wofford College, (1)
 James H. Carlisle Spartansburg.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

- Pierre University, (9, 11)
 Rev. William M. Blackburn, D.D., Pres. . . Pierre.
 Yankton College, (9, 15)
 Professor H. H. Swain Yankton.

- University of South Dakota, (2)
Clark M. Young, Ph.D. Vermillion.
- TENNESSEE.**
- American Temperance University, (9, 12)
J. F. Spence, LL.D. Harriman.
Bethel College, (1)
Rev. J. L. Dickens, D.D., President McKenzie.
Central Tennessee College, (8, 12)
Rev. J. Braden, Ph.D. Nashville.
Cumberland University, (3)
Nathan Green, LL.D.,
E. Lebanon.
Hiwassee College, (1)
Rev. S. G. Galbreath, D.D., President Hiwassee.
Knoxville College, (1)
Rev. J. S. McCulloch, D.D. Knoxville.
Milligan College, (1)
J. Hopwood, A.M., President Milligan.
Roger Williams University, (1)
Rev. A. Owen, D.D., President Nashville.
Southwestern Presbyterian University, (1)
Rev. Robert Price, D.D. Clarksville.
University of Tennessee, (9, 12)
Hon. Henry H. Ingersoll, LL.D. Knoxville.
Warren College, (1)
E. M. Wright Fullens.
- TEXAS.**
- Add-Ran Christian University, (1)
J. J. Jarvis, President,
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THIRD.—If the claim is sent you by an associate attorney, you are to send him one third of the commission with proceeds of the collection.

FOURTH.—If the claim is received by you from our commercial members, then you are to retain all of the commission and remit them only the proceeds of the collection.

FIFTH.—In making special reports to our members, be as prompt as possible. Promptness is the very life of this business. Should any subscriber fail to inclose the forty cents with his inquiry, or should he not report for his report within a reasonable time (after sending inquiry by wire), you are requested to notify this office.

TERMS FOR COLLECTIONS:

Each collection over \$1,000, 3 per cent; over \$200 to \$1,000, 5 per cent; over \$50 to \$200, 10 per cent; over \$20 to \$50, 15 per cent; of \$20 or less, 20 per cent; minimum fee, without suit, \$2; with suit, \$5.

CIPHER CODE.

The name "American" must be prefixed to every telegram when using this code.

INSTRUCTIONS.

Question.

American.—Indiana: Has there been any change in the condition of affairs of since last report?

Answer.

American.—Indianapolis: There has been no change in condition of affairs of since last report.

QUESTIONS.

Alabama: Have you received our letter of ?
Arizona: What line of business is he (or they) engaged in, prospects, and value of stock in said business?
Arkansas: Is party about whom this inquiry is made married?
California: Any real estate? If so, its worth, and in whose name is the title?
Colorado: To what race or nationality does , or do , belong?
Connecticut: Advise us whether is an incorporated company and, if so, its paid up capital stock, and the names of officers.
Delaware: What is the credit of , and upon what is it founded?
Florida: Has mortgaged either his or their real estate, if so, for how much and to whom?

Georgia: Has mortgaged his or their stock goods or personal property, if so, for how much and to whom?
Iowa: Shall we institute suit on your claim vs.?
Illinois: is willing to compromise your claim against him (or them) by a cash settlement of \$..... Shall we accept same?
Indiana: Has there been any change in the condition of affairs of since last report?

ANSWERS.

Montgomery: We have received your letter of and answer same on
Tucson: In answer to your wire, is engaged in business. Prospects are His stock goods is valued at \$.....
Little Rock: In reply to your inquiry as to whether the person named by you is married, we report that

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AUGUST, 1895.

BIMETALLISM AND CURRENCY.

BY JOSHUA DOUGLASS, ESQ.

I.

MONEY is that medium of exchange provided by a government to represent and exchange values and pay debts. It may be composed of anything capable of division and identification—division in order that the pieces may be convenient for handling, and identification that all men may know these pieces to be duly authorized units of money. So long as those pieces are capable of complete identification and can, regardless of the credit of the persons using them, be passed and received from hand to hand in the community, in final payment for commodities and services and in full legal discharge and liquidation of debts, they constitute money, without reference to the material of which the pieces may be composed. This is the teaching of history and the unavoidable deduction from the reasoning of the leading economists—a deduction from which there is no more escape than from the principles of human reason.

The value of money, of whatever kind, is measured by the cost of obtaining it after it has been produced, and not by the cost of its production, and this value is indicated by the general range of prices.—*Report of Monetary Commission*, page 36.

The value of the unit of money, so far as human wisdom can provide, should be unchanging. The expression "value of money" does not mean the commodity value of the material, but the money value of the unit. Money is valuable, not for the power of being transformed into one thing, but the infinitely greater

power—the power which the alchemist sought and which Aladdin foreshadowed—the matchless and magical power of commanding, as by the wave of the enchanter's wand, the transformation and transmutation of all things into one another at will. This is the power which constitutes money the greatest instrumentality of advancing civilization. In comparison with this all-embracing power how insignificant the power which commands the material thing on which money function may be placed, to the admiration of savages for the trivial purpose of decoration, whether the decoration be, as with more civilized people, for the wrist and neck, or, as among less civilized, for the ankle and the nose. Money has value for the reason described by the prophet—because it “answereth all things.” Money not being essentially a material thing, but an office or purpose served by a material thing, its value does not depend on the cost of production or reproduction of the material which may be selected to bear the evidence of monetary authority.

Labor is the source of all wealth, and the advance of any nation or community in material prosperity is largely dependent upon the extent to which labor is husbanded and devoted to product, and waste prevented. It has been said that “labor possesses a peculiarity in this—that it is the only commodity that perishes at the instant of production, and if not then put to use is lost forever.” Money of some kind is and has been the force and means by which labor has been conserved, utilized, and applied to the service of human interests. It is that which is universally accepted in exchange for labor or property and in payment of debts, by force of law or general consent.

The chief characteristic of money and that which gives to it its greatest importance and influence is the fact, that in the world at large it is the one thing which is acceptable to all men and in exchange for which they will give any commodity which they possess.

This article is of transcendent importance to civilization. It is the agency to which society has assigned the measuring of all material equities, and it is the sole agency upon which that incomparable function has been confirmed. It is in terms of money

that society computes the material value of all human labor; alike the highest efforts of genius and the daily toil and sweat of the millions who labor. It has always been employed as the most convenient and practicable medium of exchange of commodities.

Many things have been employed at different times and by different people in the world's history as money. The North American Indians used wampum; the ancient Greeks, cattle; the Abyssinians, salt; the Icelanders codfish. The Anglo-Saxons used living money—slaves and oxen—in payment of debts as well as in exchanges; the ancient Chinese, the bark of the mulberry tree.

Silver and gold have from a very early period of the world been recognized as best adapted for use as lawful money and the measure of value. Of these metals silver has the credit of the most ancient and largest use as money. In all the periods of Bible history silver is frequently referred to as money. It is recorded in the Sacred Book that Abraham on the death of his wife purchased a burial place for her with "400 shekels of silver, current money with the merchant" (Genesis 23:16). Joseph, his great-grandson, was sold by his brethren into Egyptian slavery for twenty pieces of silver, and when he became prime minister of the king his brethren brought silver in their sacks' mouths wherewith to purchase corn. The use of silver as money has been continued from that time to the present. It is said that there is no record in the Bible of the use of gold as money, although it was extensively mined and used as ornaments of the person, for images and decoration.

In the earlier ages silver was current by weight long before the practice of coining was adopted. The Lydians were said to have coined silver nine hundred years before Christ. The Romans coined the same metal three hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era, and gold one hundred years later. Since that time silver and gold coins have passed as legal tender in all civilized countries until within a recent period.

Neither silver nor gold is adapted for use in the vast body

of commercial exchanges except in small amounts. They are too bulky, and especially gold suffers too much by attrition.

At all times when the supply of money in circulation is abundant and sufficient to meet advancing wants labor will be fully employed and well paid, and prosperity will attend every branch of business where such conditions are found. Every resource for the production of the materials which minister to the comfort of the people will be developed and enjoyed. The abundant supply of money with any people has always been attended with such result.

Many years since David Hume in one of his great essays said :

It is certain that since the discovery of the mines in America, industry has increased in all the nations of Europe. . . . We find that in every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face. Labor and industry have more active life. The merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful, and the farmer follows the plow with more alacrity and attention. . . . The good policy of the state consists in keeping its continually increasing volume amongst the people, because by that means is kept alive a spirit of industry and increases the stock and rewards of labor in which consist all real power and wealth. A nation in which money decreases is actually at such a time weaker and more miserable than another nation which possesses no more money but has the same on the increase.

An observer of the condition of affairs in the United States for the twenty-five years preceding the panic of 1893 cannot fail to approve the wisdom of the reflections of this eminent essayist of the Old World. Notwithstanding the terrible ravages and destruction of life and property by the late war, the prosperity of every branch of human industry, the employment of labor, the possession of the means of a comfortable living by the laboring millions of this country, from 1861 to 1873, were marvelous and gratifying. Much of all this was due to the abundance of money in circulation, and, I may add, much also to the indomitable will and untiring energy of our people—ever alert, aspiring, and buoyant, with a fixity of purpose, pressing eagerly on, utilizing every conception of the brain and multiplying the possibilities of the hand; and at every turn directing the subtle process of nature to the best and wisest pur-

pose. No equal number of persons on the globe better deserve success or are better adapted to its enjoyment than the twenty-five million workingmen and women in these United States.

On the other hand, diminishing money and the consequent falling prices are not only greatly oppressive upon debtors, but cause stagnation in business, reduced production, and enforced idleness. Falling markets annihilate profits.

By act of Congress approved April 2, 1792, the government of the United States established $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver the *UNIT* of value—that quantity of silver to constitute a dollar. Gold was made money, its value was counted from the silver *unit* on a ratio of 15 to 1.

In 1834 the ratio was changed to 16 to 1, the silver dollar or unit was left the same weight, gold was changed from 24.7 grains to 23.2 grains. Both were legal tender in payment of all debts and the mints were open to the coinage of all that came.

This *bimetallic* basis was the law until 1873. On February 12 of that year Congress passed an act purporting to be a revision of the coinage laws. This act covers fifteen pages of the statute book. It repealed the unit clause in the law of 1792 and in its place substituted the following: "That the gold coins of the United States shall be a one-dollar piece which at the standard weight of 25.76 grains shall be the *unit* of value." It then deprived silver of its right to unlimited free coinage and destroyed it as legal tender money in the payment of debts except to the amount of five dollars.

At that time all were using paper money ; afterwards when specie payments were about to be resumed the people appeared to realize what had been done. The newspapers on February 13, 1873, and at no time in the vicinity of that period had any account of the change. General Grant, who was president of the United States at that time, said afterwards that he had no idea of it and "would not have signed the bill if he had known it demonetized silver."

The law of 1873 made gold the unit of values and that is the law to-day. When silver was the *unit* of value gold enjoyed free coinage and was legal tender in the payments of all debts ;

now gold is the unit, but silver does not enjoy free coinage. We might get along with gold as the *unit* if silver enjoyed the same right gold did prior to 1873. When silver was the *unit* the unlimited demand for gold to coin into money made the demand as great as the supply and thus held up the value of gold bullion.

At the time the United States demonetized silver in February, 1873, silver as measured in gold was worth \$1.02. The argument of depreciated silver could not then be made. Not one of the charges against silver was then possible. The charges of depreciation of that metal are all the illegitimate children of the crime of 1873.

The chief executive of the nation, the votaries of Wall Street, the Monte Carlo of America, and their associates throughout the land, revel in the overthrow of silver, the most honored and worthy of all money, and seek to establish gold interest-bearing bonds and private corporation currency as "honest money." This howl about "honest money" from the gold bugs and their devotees is a disgrace to our civilization.

The demonetization of silver by the act of February 12, 1873, was not generally known for more than two years thereafter. When aroused by the fact the indignation of the people was practically universal. The press, the pulpit, and the hustings denounced the law as an outrage and demanded its repeal. Public sentiment was too unanimous upon the subject to admit of its appearance as an issue of the ensuing campaign, and the Congress chosen in 1872 was committed to the repeal of the obnoxious law.

But the influences which had secured the destruction of silver money were as potential in 1874 as ever. Upon the accession of Mr. Hayes to the presidency the money power obtained for Senator Sherman the portfolio of the treasury, and shaped through him the financial policy of the government. From the time of his confirmation to the commencement of the regular session of Congress in December following, they confidently contended that any legislation in behalf of silver should exclude all government securities from its operation. "Honest

money" became the theme of the metropolitan press, and a few great journals, which still stood for the cause of bimetallism, were reproached as advocates of repudiation and assailed as blasphemers against the public faith.

On December 3, 1877, President Hayes delivered his annual message to Congress. He recognized the great importance of "the readjustment of our coinage system by the renewal of the silver dollar as an element in our specie currency, endowed by legislation with the quality of legal tender to a greater or less extent." He urged a change of ratio to the then commercial value of silver in gold and the exemption of all government securities from payment in silver, upon the ground that when the bonds were issued it was contemplated "by either the government or the holders of the bonds that gold was the only coin in which they should be paid." This recommendation gave unbounded comfort to the bondholders and their associates, but Congress received it with ill-concealed resentment.

Precisely one week after the delivery of the message, Senator Matthews of Ohio introduced his celebrated resolution. "That all the bonds of the United States were payable, principal and interest, at the option of the government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States containing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains each of standard silver; and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender as a payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor." This resolution was prompted by the practically unanimous declaration of the general assembly of Ohio, "that common honesty to the taxpayers, the letter and the spirit of the contract under which the great body of its indebtedness was assumed by the United States, and true financial wisdom, each and all, demand the restoration of the silver dollar to its former rank as lawful money." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 43 to 22.

In November, during the special session of Congress, Mr. Bland, the chairman of the committee on coinage, weights, and measures, had, under a suspension of the rules, secured the pas-

sage, by a vote of 163 to 34, of a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver which should be a legal tender, at nominal value, for all debts and dues, public and private, except when otherwise provided by contract. On January 29, 1878, the senate finance committee reported it to that body, with amendments authorizing silver coinage to a minimum of \$2,000,000 per month on government account which with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States should be legal tender for all debts, public or private, except otherwise provided by previous contract, provided for an international conference to be arranged by the president, and the exchange of silver coins for certificates of not less than ten dollars each. The bill, as amended, passed the Senate by a vote of 48 to 21, and the House by a vote of 203 to 72. It was promptly vetoed by President Hayes as "an act of bad faith," and he said "it was not to be anticipated that any future legislation of Congress or any action of any department of the government would sanction or tolerate the redemption of the principal of the bonds or the payment of the interest thereon in coin of less value than the coin authorized by law at the time of the issue of the bonds, being the coin exacted by the government in exchange for the same."

The bill was passed over the veto by 46 to 19 in the Senate and 196 to 73 in the House, and became a law February 28, 1878, remaining in force until July 14, 1890, when it was repealed by the act of that date, and the further coinage of silver by the United States mints limited.

On June 7, 1890, a bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes upon deposits of silver bullion passed the House by 135 to 119. On June 18, the Senate substituted for it a bill for the free coinage of silver, which passed by 42 to 25. This was rejected by the House on June 25, by 135 to 152. A conference committee was then appointed, which finally agreed to what has since been properly called the "Sherman Law." It passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 26 and the House by 112 to 90. On July 14 it received the executive approval. The first or "purchasing" clause of the act was repealed November 1, 1893. This act differed from that of 1878 but embraced all its question-

able features. It provided for the monthly purchase by the secretary of the treasury of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, and for the issuance of treasury notes in payment thereof redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the secretary. It made these notes legal tender except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, required the monthly coinage of 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion into standard silver dollars, until July 1, 1891, after which the secretary should coin so much as might be necessary to provide for redemption of treasury notes, and declared it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the *two metals* on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio as may be provided by law." The ostensible purpose of this act was to remedy the deficiencies of the existing law, and take another "step toward free coinage."

The constant decline in the gold price of silver bullion under the operation of the "Bland Act," it was thought, could be arrested by requiring the government to purchase a greater quantity of it, while the issuance of treasury notes convertible into gold or silver coin at the government's discretion would steady the ratio between the metals, and at the same time keep the government holdings of silver in active circulation. If the experiment succeeded it would be the equivalent of free coinage; if it failed the opponents of bimetallism would be strengthened in their resolution to demonetize silver altogether. What would have been the outcome of this remarkable piece of legislation had the duty of discharging its requirements been imposed upon the friends of bimetallism, is largely a matter of conjecture. That the exercise by the treasury department of the option to redeem the treasury notes in silver would have powerfully stimulated the gold price of silver bullion and made it impossible to drain the treasury of its gold, seems clear.

The protective feature of this legislation was in theory not more pernicious to the principle of free coinage than was the practical application of the law to existing conditions.

From February, 1878, to June, 1893, the secretary of the treasury made monthly purchases of the amounts of silver bul-

lion required by the existing law. For this he was required to pay under the Bland Act, "the market price thereof," and under the Sherman Act, "the market price, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver." The interest of the government naturally impelled it to seek the cheapest market and to patronize the customer who would part with his bullion for the least money. Such was the course invariably pursued. Under such a practice, the supply of bullion continuing, its price must inevitably decline, and instead of approaching the mint value at the established ratio, constantly receded from it. This divergence was accelerated by rumors opportunely created by the monometallists of contemplated sales of treasury bullion through congressional action.

Thus silver, classed as a commodity by the law, was constantly forced downward through its operation. The bullion value of the silver dollars fell as their number increased. The assertion that silver could not be restored by legislation to its old place with gold received apparent confirmation, and the metal was degraded and disgraced by the very agency which its friends were assured would be the means of its salvation. The melting pot reduced the silver dollar to sixty cents in gold; and that fact, notwithstanding its parity when coined, was made to do yeoman duty in undermining the friendship entertained by public opinion for the bimetallic system.

But the active cunning of the monometallist made the government purchases of silver bullion serve his cause most potentially in another direction. At the close of the fiscal year, on July 1, 1890, there was in the treasury, including bullion, \$323,804,555 in silver. On July 1, 1893, this sum had increased to \$481,371,103. Nearly all of it was in active circulation in the form of certificates and treasury notes; yet it was constantly and persistently asserted by the gold press and the gold interest, "that it was a useless and inert mass in the treasury vaults, which could neither be forced into circulation nor paid to the public creditor; that its presence in the public custody was a permanent embarrassment, and its constant accumulation a source of grave and serious apprehension; that its increase must inevitably force

gold abroad and reduce the republic to the condition of the silver-using countries of South America."

The silver dollar and its representative treasury note were made legal tender by these laws, save where expressly stipulated to the contrary. The government by this regulation conferred upon its citizens full authority to discredit a large part of its currency by denying to debtors the right to use it in payment of their debts. This authority was at once exercised. Loans for definite periods were made payable in gold. Municipal and other public securities were discredited unless the money for their cancellation was limited to gold or its equivalent. The bankers forming the Clearing House Association refused to accept silver coin or certificates in settlement of daily balances, and when national banks were prohibited by law from becoming members of such associations, they had a "tacit understanding" that silver should be unavailable for remittances of cash from one banking center to another.

These constant discriminations against the white metal and its paper representatives naturally brought gold in demand for payment of interest charges on millions of securities, increased its value by the depression of all other values, including that of silver, and placed the taint of repudiation upon all those whose sentiments applauded its use as money, or even urged the necessity of its international recognition at any ratio with gold.

The power given by these laws to contract against the receipt of silver in payment of debt is a curious one. We have seen that both acts were placed upon the most positive lines of protection, and designed to elevate the price of silver by governmental aid directly extended. But the insertion in them of this contract privilege made it easy for private avarice to destroy every possible benefit likely to result from government purchases and coinage. In vain could the government endeavor to restore parity to the two metals under the law, when that law permitted the gold bugs to stipulate for the repudiation of one of them. The selfish avarice of the most powerful class in modern society, swift to seize and utilize the opportunity, loaned silver and collected gold. They coldly but surely calculated that such a policy,

while bringing profit to them, must bring disaster to *bimetallism*.

But the culminating atrocity of this so-called silver legislation was the construction given by the secretary of the treasury to the redemption clause of the Sherman Act, which, it will be remembered, provides that treasury notes issued thereunder shall be redeemable in gold or silver at the discretion of the treasury. Mr. Bland, in September, 1890, aptly termed this statute a masterpiece of duplicity, and predicted that its declared purpose of maintaining parity between the two metals would be construed by the treasury department as requiring it upon demand to exchange gold for treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion. This is precisely what Secretary Foster at once began to do and what has been done by the secretary of the treasury ever since. Not until the government thus surrendered its right to pay the public creditor in gold or silver at its option did the treasury stock of gold begin to diminish. All the predictions of its disappearance under the operation of the Bland Law came to naught, but the new policy could result in nothing else. England, Germany, France, and Russia, whose enormous gold reserves are locked away as part of their military equipment, Austria, seeking to establish her finances upon a gold basis, saw a simple method of increasing their stock by a depletion of ours, and by the exchange of treasury notes, reissued only to be again exchanged for gold, its exodus began. Public apprehension became transformed into positive terror as the hundred million limit of reserve was reached; every fresh purchase of silver was denounced as the creation of an additional obligation redeemable only in gold, and the fear that we were going upon a silver basis ripened into a widespread conviction.

Germany, France, and Holland easily check the outflow of gold by paying public creditors in silver. They reserve the right to do so, and debts payable according to the terms of the contract are there conceded to be honorably discharged with silver or gold at the convenience of the government. The same condition is attached by our laws to every public obligation save gold certificates, yet its exercise is withheld because payment in silver is said to be repudiation. The mere announcement that

the treasury department would hereafter exercise its discretion in the use of gold or silver for the redemption of outstanding securities would arrest the outward flow of gold. Its payment of silver in a single instance where gold was demanded would tend to turn the golden current inward.

No silver dollar of the United States has ever been honestly obtained for less than a hundred cents, and no creditor could be in any wise injured by being obliged to receive the money of his contract. Yet the government, upon the plea that it can maintain parity between the two metals only by honoring one and making an outcast of the other, pursues its fatuous policy, whereby the public verdict is, that our silver legislation "has been given a fair trial and has resulted in disaster to that metal, and in confusion to our finances." It is said "to threaten public credit, to be a menace to the cause of 'honest money,' a vain attempt to arrest the operation of natural causes by human legislation, and it is asserted by the monometallist that the speedy and permanent abandonment of bimetallism is absolutely necessary to present needs and future prosperity." Such are the ravings of Wall Street and its votaries.

This superficial outline of the manner in which our so-called silver laws have been construed and administered is sufficient to sustain the assertion that they have been more potent for the postponement, if not the defeat, of just coinage than all others, which, ostensibly designed for a great and noble purpose, have been transformed into terrible instruments for its destruction.

The lesson to be drawn from the experiences is a simple one. The issue of bimetallism properly admits of no compromise. It should be accepted unconditionally. Its base is right and justice; and limitations imposed upon its free exercise can only result in evil. All compromises involve a surrender of principle, and unless confined to methods of accomplishing given purposes, rather than the ends themselves, they aggravate existing mischiefs and become a greater affliction than the calamities they were intended to prevent. Our country's history is eloquent with reminders of their dangers and their futility.

Every concession to slavery strengthened its grasp upon the

nation's life, and every concession to gold adds to the perplexities which beset the pathway of returning bimetallism. If we would accomplish the restoration of our original monetary system and again enjoy the incalculable benefits which flow from the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver, we must be ever deaf to the siren song of compromise, and bravely follow the teachings and examples of the illustrious founders and defenders of our republic.

JOSHUA DOUGLASS.

A PLEA FOR A SOUND CURRENCY AND BANKING SYSTEM.

BY ALLEN RIPLEY FOOTE.*

THERE is no truer standard by which to test the monetary honesty and intelligence of a people than that furnished by discussions of the currency and banking system by means of which they effect their exchanges.

Honesty and intelligence are an indispensable foundation for a sound, ethical, economic currency, or banking system; for good character; for confidence; for credit; for industry; for commerce; for progress, and for prosperity. Men must have intelligence enough to understand and honesty enough to obey the moral law before they can understand and properly apply economic law. Men must understand and willingly obey the requirements of economic law before they can properly formulate and intelligently adopt a sound currency and banking system.

All departures from these fundamental propositions are factors of error. The possibility of error creates doubt. Doubt destroys confidence. The destruction of confidence destroys credit. The destruction of credit destroys the value of the instruments of banking by means of which exchanges are effected. The destruction of the medium of exchanges destroys commerce. The destruction of commerce destroys industry. The destruction of industry destroys the opportunity to labor. The power of a laborer to produce by the labor of a day more than is required for the support of his life for a day is the power by the use of which property is created. The destruction of the opportunity to labor prevents the creation of property, arrests progress, and causes adversity to displace prosperity.

The certainty of reward induces diligence, energy, and skill. The certainty of the undisputed enjoyment of savings, profits,

*Author of the Discussion of the Economic Principles Involved in "The Law of Incorporated Companies Operating Under Municipal Franchises." Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

"Prosperity and Politics." Kensington Publishing Co., Washington, D. C.

and increments, induces care, thrift, and prudence. These are the factors of prosperity for every individual, from the lowliest laborer to the wealthiest capitalist. These are the foundations of character and of property.

All discussions of the economic principles involved in systems of industry, commerce, currency, or banking must deal with the twofold acquisitions of life, character and property. The moral law teaches honesty as a principle. The economic law teaches honesty as a practice. Honesty intelligently practiced is the most helpful condition that society can formulate for the welfare of the lowliest laborer. Honesty intelligently practiced is the most potent protection that society can formulate for the security of property. A plea for such a revision of currency and banking legislation as will bring its underlying principles and the daily practice of the people into strict accord with the divine law of morals and the natural law of economics, is a plea for the promotion of the welfare of all who labor and save, and for the security of the property created by their savings. A currency and banking system so founded is indispensable to progress and prosperity. It will secure for the laborer the opportunity to labor, by furnishing the means for his support while he is engaged in the processes of production. It will reward his labor, by enabling him to retain his honest share of the joint product of labor and capital. It will satisfy his desires by effecting the exchange of the surplus commodities created by his labor, for commodities created by the labor of others, and will thus enable him to command for the supplying of his wants, the enhancement of his comfort, the enjoyment of his hours of rest, the world-wide resources of industry and commerce. The man most directly and vitally interested in the formulation and adoption of a sound system of American currency and banking is the American laborer.

All history is a record of an irrepressible conflict between good and evil. The battle-fields change, but the underlying principles are changeless. History shows that in each period some question pregnant with far-reaching and vital issues for the welfare of mankind reached maturity and demanded settlement. It

also shows that the settlement of such a question absorbed the entire talent, energies, and resources of the people. For this reason, other questions of gathering force and of equal importance are compelled to remain in abeyance until the question demanding settlement can be dealt with and settled, and until a period for rest and recuperation can be enjoyed. In the life of humanity, principles and events are the real factors, men are incidents. We may wishfully call for peace, but there is no peace.

A question that was held in abeyance during the conflict for American political independence and for the integrity of the republic, has now reached maturity, and stands in the pathway of our progress and prosperity demanding settlement. It is the question of the formulation and adoption of a sound American currency and banking system. This question is as far-reaching in its consequences, as pregnant with good or evil for the welfare of the people, as was any question that has been solved by our predecessors. In the conflict now taking form the forces of good and evil are being marshalled under two standards of value; the dollar of gold, representing a gold dollar's worth of honest labor, and the dollar of arbitrary power, representing the fiat of government. The one is founded on the sound economic principle of self-help, the other is founded on the economic fallacy of state socialism. Self-help is founded on diligence, energy, and skill employed in the labor of production, and on savings, profits, and increments massed and employed as capital in furnishing the tools and supplying materials for production. There is but one honest way in which a laborer can prosper, and that is by producing more than he consumes and owning the difference. By no possibility can his margin for saving be honestly increased by the interference of the state. If the state increases the margin for saving for any man it can be accomplished only by arbitrarily transferring to him a portion of the savings of some other man. Such action violates the requirements of honesty and cannot be approved by those who are honest and intelligent. Repugnant as the teachings of state socialism are to the spirit and the purposes of the republic, much has been done under cover of the authority of national legislation to give them practical effect.

Such legislation is evidence that the people, though actuated by honest motives, have not been rightly informed by their political teachers.

Whenever monetary legislation becomes destructive of the prosperity of a people, it is evident that such legislation does not accord with the requirements of natural economic laws. Acts of Congress or of state legislatures may make a monetary system legal, but if it be in conflict with the requirements of natural economic laws, the time must inevitably come when natural laws will vindicate their sovereignty over man-made laws, and will exact a penalty for the economic crime committed. From the payment of such a penalty, no plea of ignorance, no proof of good intentions, no exhibit of honest labor can save. A vivid illustration of this truth is found in the attempt to establish the use of a fiat currency, through a large monthly purchase of silver bullion and the issue of silver certificates in payment for the same, which, together with our large stock of overvalued silver coin, is redeemable in gold. So long as these certificate issues and this coin are not redeemable in the commodity for the purchase of which they were created, or so long as the commodity bought cannot be sold to obtain the gold with which to redeem the promise made, the entire issue of silver certificates and silver coin is fiat currency. Intelligent men know that the government, vast as its resources may be, cannot indefinitely continue the policy of issuing fiat currency redeemable in gold. They know that as a final result of such a policy the day will come when the government cannot redeem its fiat currency in gold. They know that when that day comes, in order to maintain a gold standard of values, the question will be forced upon the people of making choice between stopping all purchases of silver or making silver certificates and silver coin redeemable in silver only, and, as a logical result, the adoption of the free coinage of silver and of a silver standard of values. The doubt as to the outcome of this question has destroyed confidence, credit, commerce, and industry. The loss so caused is enormously greater than the entire value of all the silver bullion ever produced in the United States. This loss falls on all

classes of the people. To-day the laborer pleads in vain for employment, on full time, at his former high rate of wages; in vain the farmer, the planter, and the manufacturer seek a market for their products at former high prices; in vain merchants and investors plead with you, the bankers of this country, to accept their securities for discounts at former high quotations; in vain you watch for the inflow of currency at your receivers' desks, which will enable you to make the discounts demanded for the healthful exchanges of commerce. There has been a wide departure from the fundamental requirements of a sound currency, and the penalty exacted with merciless impartiality from laborers, farmers, planters, manufacturers, merchants, investors, and bankers, is the cost of the error. From such an assessment, made by the logic of events, no plea of ignorance, no proof of good intentions, nor exhibit of honest labor, has saved or can save.

The cost of education through experience is enormous. It is necessary because society has not learned that it is as vitally important to disseminate correct economic education for the protection of prosperity, as it is to enforce well-devised sanitary regulations for the protection of health. When the disseminator of unsound economic teachings is recognized and isolated as is the distributor of the seeds of contagious disease, honest labor will prosper beyond the present conception of its most devoted advocates.

Our national monetary legislation is founded upon an economic fallacy. Such fallacies are most successfully urged by sincere and earnest men, who, through ignorance, seriously promote unsound currency measures for no other reason than a devout desire to lighten the burdens and brighten the lives of those whose labor secures for them the least comfort and happiness. The time was when all evil was ascribed to the evil-minded seeking the destruction of the good. To-day the fact is recognized that a large measure of evil results from the uninformed, or the wrongly informed, acts of the well-meaning. This is a tremendous gain for the intelligent discussion of economic questions.

All history is an object lesson. It is the extreme of folly to

fail or to refuse to learn the lessons taught by the experience of others. The errors of those who have preceded us, in so far as they were errors in an original course of action, were the necessary cost of experimental work. Such work having been once done and paid for, and its results duly recorded, we should profit by it. We have no right to acquire an education through the costly and severe process of our own experience, that can be gained with small outlay from the experience of others. We will not do so if we read history and make correct deductions from its records. Those who study history know that the monetary disasters and distress that we have recently suffered and are now suffering from, are absolutely without cause or reason except that which exists in unsound monetary legislation of our own enacting. The enactment and the further continuance of such legislation is a stupendous blunder. These disasters and this distress are as inexcusable as would be the spreading of a loathsome contagious disease through a failure to observe well-devised and widely-published rules for the protection of health. The people of this country now have serious and urgent reasons for studying the fallacies of our monetary system with the view of eliminating them. Our currency and banking system requires remodeling in the light of our recent experience and the teachings of history. This is the most urgent demand of our times. The organizers of the United States government wisely made no provision for the issue of currency by the general government. The legislation of the several states exhibits no attempt to develop a sound and uniform currency and banking system. We enjoy rich blessings bequeathed to us by our fathers, but we are called upon to deal with questions that had not reached maturity in their day. The only way in which we can enjoy to the full the good results secured for us by past conflicts, is to maintain every advantage and to advance the line of civilization. This it is our privilege and our duty to do.

To secure the results of experience requires: (1) an accurate knowledge of the facts; (2) the power to make correct deductions from these facts; (3) a detailed knowledge of the existing and prospective conditions of the people for whose benefit the

deductions are made ; and (4) a sound judgment as to the most helpful form in which to make practical application of the knowledge gained. History furnishes the records of experience, existing conditions the material to be worked upon, and the possibilities of the future the measure of expansive adaptability required.

Natural economic laws govern international commerce. The currency of international commerce is based upon commodities, the value of which is measured by the international standard of value—gold bullion. Commodities are money. Currency is the evidence of their ownership, in the form of a promise to make delivery on demand. In the deep, true meaning of the term, money has never been nor can it ever be created except by labor. The standard money of the world obtains its value and its use from causes over which no government exercises control. It is a currency upon which no government has ever fixed its stamp. It is that form of money which, when paid to the laborer, will buy for him to-day and will always buy for him, at his home or in any place to which he may carry or send it, the labor of others equal in value with his own labor which he gave for the money he received. This is the only form of standard money that honesty and intelligence can permit to be used.

The question of what shall be the currency and banking system of this country has never been discussed in its entirety, as an independent issue, and submitted to the people for their adoption as an independent measure. In the past, the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the country have been required to adjust themselves to the demands of party politics. This has resulted in the unsound legislation from which we are now suffering. No better reason than this can be given for calling upon representatives of the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the country to formulate by concerted action a sound American currency and banking system, and then to require political parties to adjust themselves to its adoption as a fundamental demand for the public welfare. The retardation of the currency and banking question by the exigencies of the past was necessary to its maturity. The date of its maturity has ar-

rived. It must now be dealt with and correctly settled before the people of this country can again enjoy an era of solid prosperity.

The present national currency and banking system was devised under stress of war necessities, when the people were divided by antagonistic interests and clashing in deadly conflict. With such an origin it was inevitable that the system should fall short of fully responding to the requirements of the whole people when united in the pursuit of the vocations of peace. Its fatal source of weakness is in its diminishing foundation—the national debt. The system contracts instead of expanding in response to the growing needs of a prosperous and an increasing people, and thus checks their prosperity and growth. The processes of contraction on the one hand and of growth on the other hand have now reached a limit beyond which they cannot go without producing disaster. For this reason there is an urgent demand for a far-reaching revision of currency and banking legislation. During the absence of a sound, practical, and uniform system of state banking, such as would maintain every currency dollar issued at par in gold values, in the hands of all holders, at all times, and wherever they may be, the ability of national banks to supply a sufficient amount of a sound and a satisfactory currency (which has been immeasurably superior to any currency formerly supplied by state banks when they were in unrestricted operation), has been a blessing of high value to the people of this country. In this matter the people have profited by their experience with state bank currency, and have willingly preferred to perpetuate the national banking system, rather than to deprive themselves of the use of the universally recognized and sound currency issued by national banks, a currency that has never failed to be worth par in gold values, nor has ever caused a loss to any holder, since the resumption of specie payment. This is an instance in which instinct has been stronger than reason. The people seem to know instinctively that state bank currency would drive national bank currency out of use, in obedience to a natural law that enables poor currency to always drive good currency out of circulation. While practically recognizing this

law, by protecting themselves from its operation, through continuing the suppression of state bank currency, some people do not appear to understand why overvalued silver currency drives gold out of circulation, and they clamor for the continued use of silver as a standard money of the country.

There is a real and growing necessity for a sound currency that will automatically respond to the growth and varying needs of the different sections of the country. Such a demand is now taking form and will gather force until it is satisfied. The danger in this demand is found in the false deductions, from the issue by the general government of legal tender paper currency and of national bank currency, made by the uninformed, who lead their followers into advocating unsound currency measures. Viewing the whole subject of currency legislation in its entirety, it is apparent that the time has come when it must be dealt with in every feature and detail, before the affairs of industry and commerce in this country can again rest upon a stable and sound foundation. In view of all conditions, present and prospective, which involve questions pertaining to bank currency, the dictates of duty and of wisdom conspire to cause those who are capable of discussing such questions with broad freedom and true patriotism, to assume the task of devising and fitting for practical adoption a currency and banking system that will automatically respond to all requirements for a sound national and local currency, and that will maintain every dollar issued at par in gold values, so long as it shall remain in the pockets of the people. When this is done, the acts of strained legality, made necessary by the exigencies of the past, can be safely repealed, as the scaffolding is torn away from a completed structure, revealing its beauty and strength, and opening it to its career of usefulness. *Until this is done, those acts must stand for the protection of the people.* To do this properly, the records of experience must be searched and their lessons carefully learned by sound reasoners capable of making correct deductions from the facts of history. A clear and correct conception of the true functions of banks and of the meaning and uses of their instruments of exchange, such as currency, notes, checks, drafts, bills

of exchange, letters of credit, etc., must be formed and brought to the knowledge of the people, showing that none of these are money nor a standard of value; that they are simply a means of using credit for effecting exchanges at gold coin values without the use of coin; that they increase the convenience with which business may be transacted, and serve to give to each individual the use of credit, wherever he may be. The usefulness of banks must be shown to consist in performing the exchange functions of currency, without creating values, and in aggregating, subdividing, and making available the funds of those who have capital to loan for the purpose of placing it at the command of those who, by reason of their ability to profitably employ more capital than they possess, are in position and can afford to be responsible borrowers.

But little thought will be required, on these lines, to show, while certain well-defined objects should be the common aim of all currency and banking laws, that there must be as wide differences in the business transacted under them as there are in the occupations of the people. While the aim is to afford the highest obtainable maximum of utility with the lowest obtainable minimum of danger, without overstimulating trade or departing from a stable standard of values, the fact must be recognized that this desideratum cannot be reached if the system is wholly devised within the limits made necessary by the present national laws for universal application. The national banking system must be perfected as an issuer of currency so that all United States government paper currency may be retired, and it must be supplemented by an auxiliary and uniform system of local banks of issue through which a natural automatic contraction or expansion of local currency will take place in exact response to all local requirements. The total absence of all state banks of issue creates an opportunity to construct a banking system entire.

In a paper limited as this must be, no attempt has been made to exhaust this subject. I am content on this occasion simply to indicate the wide and comprehensive scope that must be given to its consideration, and the results of high utility that may be

obtained. I hope sufficient has been said to justify my claim that there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the people of this country from devising, carrying into operation, and enjoying to the utmost the most stable, the soundest, and the most automatically adjustable currency and banking system in the world; a system by means of which we can gain and maintain our financial independence. To such a consummation all patriotic and well-informed citizens can afford to contribute their suggestions and support.

Such a work cannot be successfully undertaken by politicians who retain power by beguiling the people into the belief that their party has always been sound on questions of finance, no matter what the party platforms may say, or what financial measures may have been enacted by party votes. It can be well done only by those who have the patience and the courage to formulate a system which will be the best they can devise, done as they would write it if there were no obstacle in the way of its adoption as a whole, and as they would have it stand if its adoption were entirely within their own power. By so doing they will place before the people a model of excellence, the best that human wisdom can create. They will erect a standard of value by which all proposals pertaining to currency questions can be measured. They will centralize discussion on this standard. This will educate the people to an appreciation of its excellence, a process that must be accomplished before it can be intelligently adopted. By this means, through the general monetary knowledge they will acquire, and by the well-considered, sound, and adjustable currency and banking system which will result from such procedure, the people will be greatly benefited. Such work will simplify the labor necessary to secure final success by clearly indicating the obstructions that must be overcome and the special points regarding which there is the most urgent need to disseminate correct information.

Work of this character is particularly fitted for the American Bankers' Association. A special committee appointed by this association for such a purpose will undoubtedly receive the recognition and active coöperation of all industrial, commercial,

and financial organizations in the several states, on the request of the association, asking the election by them of one or more persons to represent the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the state, as members of a National Monetary Commission, and to name others to be conferred with as its advisers. Such a commission will have no party political significance or authority. Its spirit will be patriotic, its aims beneficent, its methods broad and comprehensive. It should have sufficient character and influence in its *personnel*, through representing the material rather than the political interests of the people of each state, to secure such changes in constitutions and legislation, national or state, as may be required for the complete adoption of the currency and banking system it may recommend. Its office will be to formulate the best system of currency and banking of which it is capable, for the advice and information of the whole people, and to point out the changes necessary to be made in national and state legislation to clear the way for its adoption.

Such an effort cannot fail greatly to improve, if not actually to define, the final form which a settlement of the monetary questions now demanding to be dealt with will assume. It ought to profit by the experience of older nations, and to result in developing and carrying into practical operation a system of currency and banking that will be best in its fundamental principles and working methods; best in its flexibility and ready adjustment to the needs of the people in all sections of the country; best in strength and helpfulness to industry and commerce; best in its power to conserve and properly apply to useful work the surplus energy of all productive employments; best for the general welfare and highest good of the whole people; without a peer in the history of nations, a new manifestation of the power, prestige, and glory of a republic, founded by men whom we honor, preserved by men whom we admire, and enjoyed by men able to perpetuate and to transmit untarnished, and with an added contribution of their own of equal value, for the benefit of their successors, all the good in their inheritance, a model of excellence for all nations.

ALLEN RIPLEY FOOTE.

THE TRUE BASIS OF POLITICAL REFORM.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

THE hopeful student of practical politics in the United States may justly feel encouraged at the multiplying signs of party unrest. The upheavals of the last three years, of opposite political tendencies as they were, may well inspire hopes of better days. They reveal a deeply seated and growing distrust of the modern party "leader," accompanied by an increasing desire on the part of the "led" to have more voice in the direction of public affairs. The signs of the times forebode future trouble for the party manipulator, but unhappily they do not presage immediate danger to his power. It is a long step from revolt to overthrow. The gap is wide which separates denunciation of bossism from substitution of honest leadership through displacement of the selfish and corrupting rule of the party boss. Yet long and hard as may be the road to political reform, it is one which may be successfully passed over. To concede otherwise would be to condemn self-government as inherently a failure. For the sole justification of systems of popular rule must be that the rule under such systems is, in truth, popular. By popular rule is meant that course of political action where public sentiment habitually finds expression in the acts of public servants and where public opinion through public officers habitually passes into public will. If this degree of popular rule is impossible of achievement, then free government is impossible of success.

The problem to whose solution the American people are imperatively summoned, is, how to make our governments—and more especially our local governments—popular. This solution is at once easy and difficult. It is easy because the people have but to will it and, *presto*, the problem will be solved. It is difficult because it will be hard indeed to persuade the people effectively to will that their governments shall be popular, and there-

fore shall be free. Where the minds of men must be moved, things easiest to be done are the hardest to accomplish. The average mind shrinks from a simple solution of a weighty problem. It pleases men to imagine that where the end is far-reaching the means must be complex. And when, at last, events force on the people a remedy so simple that a child might have named it, he who for the moment voices the decree of circumstances, reaps for himself the honors and rewards of genius.

We already have the forms of popular government and we have but to use them in order to possess the substance. Our troubles are due to the obstinate refusal or the wilful neglect of the masses to avail themselves of the powers placed unasked for in their hands. The people delude themselves into the belief that by yielding obedience to the flatteries of so-called leaders they are exercising the privileges of self-government. But voting on election day is not popular government. As well could the voting, in silence, of the legislative body of France on such matters as the Tribune chose to lay before it, during the consulship of Napoleon, have been called legislation. In theory, we select our rulers at the polls, but in practice this is impossible. In a modified sense, we elect but we do not select, and true election involves selection. As the legislative body of France could vote only on such measures as were laid before it by another body, so we, practically, can vote only on such men as are presented for our suffrages by others over whose action, too generally, we have neither influence nor control. We choose between men, one of whom we must have, but rarely do we select the man we would prefer were it possible to choose him.

In a word, the great majority of American citizens take no part in the initiative of government. Yet the initiative is the key to self-government. It is the vital essence without which all else is as nothing. With its popular exercise, forms of government matter little. Without its popular exercise, whatever the form, a people cannot be truly free. For so long as the many are content to let the few name candidates regardless of the wishes of the many, the country is, in reality, governed by the few to whose dictation the many bow. Under such

a system our elections are little more than plebiscites by means of which the decisions of a partisan oligarchy are given the form of popular will. Ours has become a government by an office-holding and office-seeking class. Government by the people and for the people is the dream which delights the fancy of the schoolboy, but government by the spoilsmen and for the spoilsmen is the reality which absorbs the energies and devours the substance of the man. For the evils of class rule may as truly be suffered where the subjection of the masses is voluntary and unconstrained as where subjection is maintained by terror and by force. Spasmodic and evanescent uprisings are but the exceptions which prove the rule. Were the general condition not as stated, uprisings and revolts would not occur. These sloughings off prove that life is still within, but they likewise show that disease infests the body politic. If we would throw off this degrading class rule then must we learn how to inspire the masses with a longing to be free. We must educate into the American citizen that degree of intelligence and self-respect which will make the sway of the party boss too odious patiently to be borne. We must cultivate that degree of insight which will enable the average voter to see that if not an office-seeker himself he has no interest in elevating office-brokers to power. We must make the difference between office brokerage and public service so clear that practice of the one will uniformly bring merited reproach and devotion to the other, as uniformly confer deserved honor.

The work of political reform is therefore subjective rather than objective. It is educational, but not in the sense of overcoming illiteracy. It depends on a change of mental attitude of educated citizens rather than on changes in governmental machinery. When men shall come to hold sane views of politics and government, we shall not merely be on the road to reform but reform itself will already be full high advanced. When the desire for good government shall be merged into a demand, fairly good government will be speedily attained. Merely to induce men to view politicians in their true character, to class them in public estimation according to their actual relations to the public, would be to

strike a powerful blow in the cause of good government. For we do not apply to politics the test we insist upon in other fields of activity. We accept a different standard of action where in the nature of things there is no distinction. We reverse the moral law where politics is concerned and then marvel at immoral results. We permit a system of public action based on sale of service and purchase of support, and then grumble at the corruption which follows as naturally as the night the day. False standards and low ideals, too long tolerated, if not encouraged, have created a moral and intellectual mirage until we have come to view public matters in inverted moral relations.

To a great extent it is true that in politics our judgment has become unbalanced and our moral perspective destroyed. Were the acquiescent smile of approval with which the "good citizen" now gives countenance to corrupt practices simply to be changed to a look of reproach, the power of the boss would speedily disappear. For the political boss rules not by a power over the acts, but by a spell over the minds of men. His sway is based not on might but on favor. It has no foundation in reason or in necessity. His influence is a fiction, his power is a myth. The entire structure which he has erected to fortify his rule and from which he exacts tribute from the brain and conscience of the country may at any time be blown over by a single breath of honest public sentiment. The boss is not even a necessary evil. He is an unmitigated nuisance which an enlightened public might speedily abate. Political reform involves, substantially, a change of point of view. It is as direct and simple as a military right-about-face and yet as difficult as the capture of a fortress. Throughout the civilized world an enchantment hangs over men which leads them to fawn upon those who despoil them of their liberties and rob them of their substance. This fact is a noticeable phenomenon in the evolution of the race. It marks an incompleteness of human development which renders self-government a perilous experiment. It seems to spring from an inborn desire to surround others with a halo and to invest them with a fancied superiority. It is manifested in the Old World by a senseless worship of royalties and princelings, and in the

New by as senseless an adulation of machine-made leaders.

The political problem, is, therefore, largely a question of moral optics. It involves an adjustment of moral vision until things political shall be viewed as they are. Men are afflicted with a sort of mental and moral astigmatism, which leads them to distinguish lines of duty and moral obligation when they run in the direction of private affairs and to be utterly blind to those same lines when they point toward public action.

The work to be done is from the top downward. It is not, as generally assumed, among the ignorant that our labors should begin. Our task is not to lift up the lowly. But it is to educate the educated, to convert the Christian, and to make of the man of brains a man of sense. It is not to teach the ignorant citizen to read and write, but to teach the cultivated citizen to use his learning to some public purpose. It is not to inspire the vicious with a love of justice in government, but to imbue the virtuous with a determination that government shall be so administered as to give us justice. It is not to impart to the venal a hatred of corruption, but to convince the honest that they are worse than venal when they suffer unnecessarily the corrupt to rule. It is not to make a good citizen of the politician, but to make a politician of the good citizen. It is not to invent means of circumventing the machine, but to learn how to use the machine in the interest of good government. It is to lift the work of government to that plane where it will be considered among the serious things of life. It is to seek purer politics not by vain attempts to reform the character of politicians but by drafting into political activity men whose characters need no amendment. It is, in short, to apply the same standards of honesty, the same tests of character, the same rules of conduct, and the same estimate of results in politics as we apply to similar matters in social and business life. For the work of honest government is not an intricate problem for the man of genius to grapple with, but is a question within the grasp of a "plain man's common sense."

Reform in politics is, then, to be educational in the highest sense. Every school and college, every church in the land has

laid upon it the duty, first of all, of teaching men to value their citizenship. We may flatter ourselves that the fires of patriotism burn brightly on American hearthstones, but the sober fact stares us in the face that each recurring triumph of vice in public affairs is made possible by the low value placed on their citizenship by educated and supposedly intelligent men. We are too prone to blame our illiterate brother for our political ills, and to point to the appallingly rapid influx of brutalized products of European despotisms as the one great danger to our institutions. There is real danger from this source, but the most imminent peril comes not from the ignorant immigrant but from the educated native. Indolence, according to Professor Bryce, is a no less pernicious foe to democracies than ignorance. "Indifference to public affairs," he says, "shows itself not merely in a neglect to study them and fit one's self to give a judicious vote, but in the apathy which does not care to give a vote when the time arrives. They who have their private ends to serve, their axes to grind and logs to roll are not indolent. Private interests spur them on; and if the so-called good citizen who has no desire or aim except that good government which benefits him no more than every one else, does not bestir himself, the public funds may become the plunder and the public interests the spoil of unscrupulous adventurers."

Numerous instances in our country testify to the correctness of Professor Bryce's views. The corrupt have made spoil of the public interests, yet they are not in the majority in any community nor in any political party. When they control it is not because of numerical strength but because of the acquiescence of the so-called "better element." Honesty can rule whenever it may choose to do so. Not, however, by prayer or denunciation, not by petition or remonstrance, but by united and intelligent action at the time when action counts. Good intentions count for little in politics. While good citizens are content to deplore evil, the authors of that evil will revel in the spoils. The blessings of good government will not descend from heaven as manna fell in the wilderness. A people who would be well governed must govern themselves, and self-

government everywhere calls for self-sacrificing public service. The educated and refined may prefer the quietude of study to stormy contests for control of public affairs, but they cannot shrink from the conflict without infidelity to the state. In government, as elsewhere, nothing worth the having can be had without its price, and the price of honest government is constant and intelligent activity on the part of honest men. There is no royal road to good government. If we would reach the goal, the way lies along the hard and unattractive path of political effort and political struggle.

Intelligent observation will readily disclose the low estimate placed upon their citizenship by voters who in the conventional sense are unpurchasable. In their speech and even in their thoughts they may regard it as a priceless heritage, but in their action they treat it as a thing almost without value. This cheap view of citizenship is not confined to the indolent who will not take the trouble to vote. It is, perhaps, shown in its clearest light by the trifling manner in which it is treated by men who always do vote, who are active in politics, and who would resent as an unpardonable affront any imputation that their votes are for sale. Yet a smile, a hearty hand-shake, a plea of personal friendship or of neighborly interest, will buy the votes of multitudes of self-imagined incorruptible citizens. Nothing is commoner than for men to give their votes to candidates simply because they have been personally solicited by flattering words. Such men cheapen their citizenship even more than they who sell their votes for cash. The price received is less. Is it to be wondered at that public sentiment can be so successfully defied when the individuals who constitute the public can be so easily bribed? A man's vote should be beyond the reach and influence of personal flattery or personal friendship as completely as it should be beyond the reach and influence of gold.

The ballot is a sacred trust. It is not the personal belonging of him who casts it, to be disposed of by whim or caprice. Think of the long line of martyrs to English liberty who perished at the stake, in dungeons, or on the scaffold, that the subject might have the right to participate in government, of the labors

and hardships of the men who founded our own government, and of the later sacrifices of the men who preserved it, and then think of the men, well educated, professedly good citizens, for whose very right to vote those lives were given, those sacrifices made, those hardships endured, bestowing this vote as a personal favor to whomsoever asks for it! Could there be more heartless civic ingratitude than this? Want of enlightenment is the probable explanation for it. Can and will our educational institutions teach the citizen to guard his right of suffrage as the apple of his eye? If so they will have struck at the source of most of our political woes. For when men shall value their franchise they will demand and they will find a way to secure the services of competent men. Our legislatures will be controlled by our best and not, as commonly now, by our inferior elements. Brains will then become a qualification for office and character will be no hindrance to political success.

The imparting of a higher sense of the value of civic rights and powers essentially involves a change of mental attitude in respect to politics. Of scarcely less importance and equally dependent upon the possibility of persuading men to see clear and think straight in matters political, is the creation of just notions of the purposes of government and the relations of public officials to the people. It may seem almost disloyal even to intimate that the average American citizen does not understand the functions of government or comprehend the duties of public servants, but candor compels the insistence that such, unfortunately, is the case. He may have mastered the theory of government but he lamentably fails in practice. In this, as in other matters, actions speak louder than words. The practical working of the spoils system to-day stands out as a colossal monument to the non-patriotism of the American people. It proves beyond question, that however firm may be their grasp of the principles of government, they have perverted those principles in their application. The prevailing system of treating public offices as prizes to be distributed by some fortunate manipulator among his obsequious followers is as far removed from the normal conduct of government as would be the dissemination of dis-

case from the natural functions of a board of health. No thoroughly sane people would tolerate it. Make the people politically sane, and the system will speedily fall by its own weight. For the people will then understand that it is no part of the duty of the state to furnish sustenance to pauperized politicians. Under the ruling system, we obediently follow, like political imbeciles, the leadership of men whose only claim to our support is that they are already drawing or hope to draw from our substance. We think

"We're kind o' fulfillin' the prophecies
Wen we're on'y jest changin' the holders of offices."

We permit ourselves to be cajoled into the belief that their cause is our own, when their single aim is to exact tribute from our purse.

Do we not need mental awakening more than we need schemes of government? Would not the power of the corrupt leader be gone the moment honest men should see him as he is—corrupt? Is it not true that the American people are, in some sense, hypnotized by their self-appointed guardians? Is it not apparent that incomplete mental development rather than imperfect moral sense is the root of corrupt American politics? We need, therefore, thoroughly to arouse the various educational forces of the nation to the necessity of inculcating rational views of politics and government. We must create a sentiment that will demand of every college graduate in the land some public tribute to the education with which he has been endowed. Wherever men glibly talk of patriotism and profess to seek the public good, there should be some one like Socrates, who will extort from them explanations of what they mean by virtue, justice, or patriotism, and by probing their answers expose their ignorance and hypocrisy to the world. When this shall come to be the habit of intelligent Americans, our political redemption will be near at hand.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

A CURE FOR THE GERRYMANDER.

BY JOHN HAYNES, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

JOHN FISKE in his "Civil Government" graphically tells us how Governor Gerry of Massachusetts achieved the unenviable distinction of giving his name to one of the most firmly rooted and reprehensible practices of American politics. The essence of the gerrymander was not invented by the governor, but was even before his time familiar in the famous rotten boroughs of England.

The practice known as gerrymandering is condemned by all on general principles and defended by all politicians at least as a means of self-defense against the other party. Its evils are universally admitted, yet not always fully realized. One of the greatest of these is the motive which the practice furnishes for holding voters in strict subservience to their party, lest a temporary triumph should enable the other party to gain a permanent advantage by this means. To show the capabilities of the gerrymander a single instance will suffice. In 1888 Ohio, being gerrymandered by the Republicans, sent fifteen Republicans and six Democrats to Congress. In 1890, having been in the meantime gerrymandered by the Democrats, it sent fourteen Democrats and seven Republicans.

The first essential of a good apportionment is approximate equality in the population of the respective districts. How far we are from having this may be judged from the following figures :

The population of the Sixth Indiana District is 139,359 ; of the Seventh District, 195,472 ; of the Fifth Maryland, 153,912 ; of the Second Maryland, 208,165 ; of the Seventh New York, 114,766 ; of the Fourteenth New York, 227,978, a difference of over 113,000. The population of the First Oregon District is 174,768, of the second 313,767, a difference of over 187,000 in round numbers.

In all these states except Maryland there has been a reapportionment since 1890, and there would have been one in Maryland if the legislature had done its duty.

Fairness as between the parties is seldom realized. Massachusetts probably has the best apportionment at present, as her governor was of a different party from the majority of the legislature at the time of the passing of the law, a fact which compelled a fair measure if any was to pass.

What are the possible remedies for this confessedly deplorable condition ?

In one or two states the decisions of the courts have been of some value in restraining outrageous inequalities of population. Not much, however, is to be expected from this source, and even were all the districts equal in population, they could be so arranged as to be unfair as between the parties.

David Dudley Field and other distinguished publicists have advocated proportional representation as the best remedy for this as for other evils.

It would be effective as a remedy for gerrymandering, but it is by no means certain ; it seems to me that the remedy would not be worse than the disease.

The writer ventures to propose another method, which he has never seen suggested. He would have a general law passed by Congress, according to which all states should be apportioned—a rule capable of exact statement and universal application which would secure approximate equality in population, fairness between the parties, and at least as compact districts as we now have. This rule should be based on the fact that the states are divided into counties, which are in turn divided into various minor civil divisions. In many states the counties are divided into state senatorial and representative districts. Colorado, Montana, and Florida divide their counties into precincts, Georgia into military districts, Mississippi into beats, the New England States into towns.

Maryland is the only state not completely divided into counties, but even Maryland would come under the rule, which is as follows :

I. Divide the number representing the population of the state into two parts to be called quotas. (1) If the number of districts to be formed in the state is even, the quotas will each be one half the population of the state. (2) If the number of congressional districts to be formed is an odd number, the quotas shall be to each other as the number of districts less one divided by two is to the number of districts plus one divided by two, and their sum shall be equal to the population of the state.

II. Divide the state into two sections as follows: (1) When the length of the state is from east to west, take as the foundation of the first section the most westerly county of the state, or, in case two or more counties are equally far west, the northwesternmost county. To this add the most westerly or northwesterly of the counties contiguous to the one first taken and so proceed, adding county after county till the addition of another county would make the section exceed the quota, or in case the quotas are unequal, the smaller quota. This border or marginal county shall be placed in that one of the two sections which would lack most of the proper quota without it, provided that the addition of the marginal county shall not make either section exceed or fall short of its quota more than 5,000. If its addition to either section would have that effect it shall be divided by having part of its *largest* minor civil divisions put with the first section. These minor civil divisions shall be taken in the same order as the counties were taken till the first section is complete. If the last minor civil division of any kind to be added shall be found too large it shall be divided in the same manner as a county. If a minor civil division on the margin be found too large and have no subdivisions it shall be divided by those charged with the duty of districting in such a way as to make the section as nearly equal to the quota as is consistent with clearly defined boundaries. (2) If the length of the state be from north to south, the first section shall be made up by beginning with the northernmost or northwesternmost county and proceeding in like manner as before, except that the northern or northwestern counties and minor civil divisions shall be added till the section is complete.

III. All territory not included in the first section shall make up the second section.

IV. If the taking of any county or minor civil division as a part of the first section in the order above given shall result in leaving the remaining territory of the state in two or more non-contiguous parts, that county or division shall be passed over till it can be taken without so dividing the territory of the second section.

V. If the state cannot be divided by proceeding by counties, the division shall be made using the largest of the minor civil divisions into which the state is divided or the largest which it is found can be used.

VI. If either of the sections formed as above is entitled to more than one congressman, it shall be divided into two subsections in the same manner as the state was divided, and each subsection shall be so divided and subdivided till the whole state is divided into the same number of sections as the number of congressmen to which it is entitled, and these sections shall be the congressional districts.

VII. Any two civil divisions shall be considered contiguous, if any part of one directly north, south, east, or west of any part of the other is separated from it by nothing but water.

VIII. If any county or minor civil division has been divided in the process of making a section, its parts shall be treated like entire counties or civil divisions in making all subdivisions of the sections. To illustrate these rules let us take the state of Massachusetts which, with the irregularities of boundaries and coast-line, serves as a fair example of the working of the rule.

The number of representatives is 13. The first quota is $1,033,358\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{13}$ of the total population of 2,238,943. The length of the state is from east to west, so we start with Berkshire County and add successively, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, Worcester, and Middlesex, which gives us a population of 1,019,244. The addition of the next county, Norfolk, would carry us far beyond our quota. It must therefore be divided. When we attempt to proceed by state senatorial districts, we find that the Second Norfolk Senatorial District is too large.

We then try the division by state representative districts, and adding the Eighth Norfolk Representative District get a population of 1,034,806, which is sufficiently near the quota. This completes the first section, which consists of the counties above named and the Western Representative District of Norfolk County.

Let us follow the subdivision of the eastern section, which has a population of 1,204,137, and is to have seven congressmen. We proceed from north to south. Essex County is taken, population 299,995. Suffolk County is too large to add and must be subdivided. We proceed by state senatorial districts till we come to the Fifth Suffolk Senatorial District, which is divided, the work going on by representative districts till we come to the Eleventh Suffolk Representative District, identical with Ward Eleven, Boston. This we find too large and proceed by precincts, taking the five northernmost, and get a population of 516,847, the quota being 516,058 $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the population of the larger section. These two illustrations show the working of the method. The difference between the largest district, having a population of 175,795, and the smallest, having a population of 169,174, is 6,621.

I have estimated that it would be theoretically possible in a state like New York for the largest district to differ from the smallest by 20,834, but we may say, from the law of chances, that the extreme difference would seldom exceed 10,000.

It might be objected that this method divides counties, cities, and even wards. In the case of Massachusetts, it divided four of the thirty-one cities outside of Boston which would have to be divided under any system. On the other hand, this has the advantage of limiting the power of the cities, which may easily become disproportionate. The division of counties, though not now common, is an absolute necessity if the districts are to even approximate equality.

Has Congress power to pass a law providing a general rule for apportioning congressional districts? There can be no doubt of this power under Article 1, section 4, clause 1 of the federal Constitution, which reads as follows: "The times, places, and

manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof, but Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations except as to the place of choosing senators."

It would make very little difference who was charged with the duty of performing the work, as it would be a mere matter of arithmetic, and the correctness of the work could be tested by any intelligent person.

The above rule has been framed with special reference to the dividing of states into congressional districts, but its underlying principle is capable of indefinite application. It could be used with proper modifications in dividing states into districts or cities into wards. In the latter case the division into sections might proceed by blocks.

We believe every one will admit the desirability of having all the states divided into congressional districts by a general rule, if there is a possibility of having such a rule which will be just as between different parts of the states and fair as between the political parties. The rule proposed is not given as an ideally perfect one, but as a proof that a general rule which would greatly improve present conditions is possible and therefore desirable.

JOHN HAYNES.

THE NECESSITY OF STATE LABOR TRIBUNALS.

BY NORMAN T. MASON, ESQ.

THE recent declarations of labor leaders that hereafter workmen must look to the ballot for redress of grievances give fresh importance to the discussion of political remedies for labor disputes. The ballot can furnish a remedy in but one of two ways; either by the election of executives who shall deliberately refuse to enforce the laws as they now stand, or by selecting legislators who shall make new laws.

It is fair to presume that the latter alternative is the one which has inspired labor to look to the ballot-box for what it has failed to obtain from the strike. Such a presumption, however, makes it all the more necessary that a practical legislative remedy be speedily found. For if this fails, the remaining alternative—the selection of executives who will not enforce the law—is but another road, and a short one, to anarchy.

The strike and “lockout” have not only proved inefficient, but so desperately wasteful and ruinous that they are worse than the ills they were meant to cure. It is plain, too, that they could never, under any circumstances, meet the necessities of the case. For if thereby labor should break the power of capital, the necessity of a rightful adjustment of the relations between them would still exist; and if labor's strength should itself be broken, there would still be the same necessity. Might does not, and would not, make right. The triumph of the strike means either socialism or despotism; its entire and final defeat means anarchy or slavery.

Neither can we look to profit-sharing for the speedy relief we must have. To compel the sharing of profits would be socialism; to obtain it otherwise is a matter of slow growth—the greater the need, the slower the growth. The more bitter the strife between employer and employed, the less likely is this method of

settlement to be adopted. Profit-sharing is and must be the offspring, as well as the parent, of peace, not of strife.

No more can be hoped from conciliation and voluntary arbitration. When parties agree to arbitrate, their difficulties are already half settled. It is when one of the parties either refuses to arbitrate, or to accept the results of arbitration, that the necessity of some other method of adjustment becomes apparent and overwhelming. The most important benefit derived from the New York and New Jersey state boards of arbitration is not what they have actually accomplished in the settlement of disputes, but in their demonstration of the fact that there is a middle ground in such controversies—one upon which the arbitrators can unite as reasonable and just; that there are facts which can be juridically determined, upon which a rational judgment can be based, and by which the rightfulness of the demands of either party can be definitely measured; that there is, in short, such a thing as justice between employer and employed, a thing which can be practically ascertained, and which ought to be capable of practical application.

The principles of the lowly Nazarene, if universally adopted in practice as well as in theory, would, undoubtedly, afford the long-sought relief; but from a human standpoint, the church militant is not yet ready to become the church triumphant, and the redemption of the race is still but a prophecy and a promise.

The logic of recent events seems to some to point toward government ownership of what are called "natural monopolies," as the solution of the problem. The numerous railroads now in the hands of United States receivers, with the possibility of others to follow (a possibility which will become a probability unless strikes and boycotts are speedily abolished), the increasing regulation of commerce by congressional legislation; the protection to common carriers sought and obtained from United States marshals and United States troops—all point indeed to that conclusion.

Aside, however, from the practical difficulties in the way of such ownership, there are two observations to be made: (1) Government ownership of natural monopolies would at best afford

but a partial solution of our present troubles; there would still remain differences to be adjusted in all other occupations and employments; in manufactures, and trade, and artificial monopolies. (2) Governmental ownership could only be effected in preventing strikes, etc., by compelling employees to accept the terms laid down by the government; otherwise the government would occupy no different position from that of any other employer. What government might thus do as owner, it might, with equal propriety, do as law-giver. The matter of ownership is, therefore, a non-essential detail, in so far as the problem under consideration and the power to regulate and control are concerned.

The first observation above made would not apply to socialism or nationalism, since all occupations would then be equally subject to the ruling power; but the second observation would still apply with full force; that which government could do as owner or employee, it could with the same propriety do as legislator and executive, and it would not be necessary to the end sought to invest it with the full attributes of socialism.

The deep-seated distrust of socialism among the masses and the more conservative of the leaders of the people is so great that, whatever the final outcome may be, there can be no reasonable hope of speedy relief from either of the last two plans. The same is true of the other methods outlined. While something may be hoped for in future years from a part or all of them, it is certain that no one plan will be so generally adopted in the near future as to furnish adequate relief, unless it be as the result of some social cataclysm—a catastrophe which, we must confess, seems each year more seriously imminent.

What, then, can be done? Could government tribunals be established with authority to hear and determine, under compulsory process, all labor grievances, and with power to enforce their decrees?

It is conceded that no man, or body of men, can be compelled to litigate that concerning which they have a perfect right to make their own choice; that all workmen have a perfect right to choose by whom, and the terms upon which, they will consent

to be employed; and that all employers have corresponding rights. If strikes or lockouts could be confined to private enterprises which are not affected with a public use or interest, and if their effects could be limited to the parties directly in dispute, there could, therefore, be no legal ground of interference.

Recent experience, however, clearly demonstrates that, with the increasing size and power of trade and labor organizations, any action taken by them must of necessity seriously interfere with the liberties and rights of others. The Great Midland coal dispute in England, it is estimated, cost the mine-owners directly involved, and the transportation companies and consumers against whom no grievance existed, over seventy-five million dollars. Over one million miners were idle, but over three and one half million were rendered destitute. The Lehigh Valley strike is supposed to have cost the parties directly interested from one and one half to two millions; while the loss indirectly occasioned to those in no wise responsible for the dispute, but who were compelled to share the suffering necessary to its adjustment, was probably not less. The railroad and Pullman strikes of this year, with estimated direct losses of eighty millions, vividly illustrate what we are to expect from present organizations and methods, the chief efficiency of which consists in the damage which they are able to inflict upon the public at large.

If bodies of men have the right to entail upon the community such losses as these for the purpose of establishing certain claims or privileges of their own, why have not individuals the same right? If they can accomplish such results indirectly by the use of means which necessarily tend that way, why can they not do so directly?

The answer is plain and conclusive. No man, or body of men, whether employers or employed, has the right to stop work with the intent to compel, and under such circumstances as ordinarily will compel, the cessation of work by others and entail loss on dependent trades and innocent third parties; for such others have the same right to continue operations that the discontented have to cease therefrom, and any intent to interfere

with this equal right, coupled with any conduct having that object in view, is a wrongful infringement upon the liberty of another.

If this be true, it is certain that government has not only the authority, but is clothed with the duty, under what is known as the police power, to compel labor and capital to adjust their differences by resort to tribunals created for that purpose. Trial by wager of battle has, in individual disputes, given way to that by jury. So in collective disagreements, trial by strike and lockout must give way to trial by court and judge. This is the only method which is in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, or which offers any hope of speedy and peaceable adoption.

But how would it be possible to enforce the decrees of such a tribunal? The state certainly could not compel either employers or workmen to carry out, by way of specific performance, an award as to wages, or other terms of service. To do so would be to make of itself a taskmaster, and of its subjects, slaves.

The state might, however, through its tribunal, say to the employer, "If you continue to avail yourself of the labor of those of your workmen who choose to remain with you, it shall be upon such and such terms"; and to the employees, "If you desire to continue in your present positions, it shall be upon such and such terms."

This would be no more than is now said to employers by workmen before a strike, or to workmen by employers before a lockout. Labor now says to capital, "If you continue to avail yourself of our labor, it shall be upon certain specified terms which we consider fair; otherwise we will force you to close your establishment." The employer retorts, "If you wish to retain your present positions, it must be upon certain other terms, which I consider just. If you do not choose to accept them, you may go." The sole difference would be that, as things now are, it is an interested party who fixes, or attempts to fix, the terms upon which the other shall continue operations; while under the plan proposed, it would be a disinterested tribunal which would fix such terms, and that only after the parties themselves had failed of agreement.

The master who gave less wages than those thus fixed by the tribunal might be fined an amount equal to the difference. The laborer who accepted more might likewise be fined, and the sum might be made collectible through his employer, who would be empowered to retain the amount from his wages. The employer could also, if necessary, be enjoined for a fixed period from hiring any one except upon the terms laid down by the decree, and the workmen could likewise be enjoined from accepting work of their old employers except upon the same terms.

As a result there would no longer be any motive for a resort to the strike or lockout, because nothing could be gained in that way; the terms of the decree could not be changed by a lockout, nor made more favorable by a strike. The only alternative to obedience would be a cessation of operations for the entire period fixed by the tribunal. Since nothing could be gained by such a cessation, it would not be likely to occur unless the decree were so unjust that work could not be continued without positive loss.

In addition to removing the motives which induce a strike or lockout, such a decree would have the affirmative sanction of natural forces. Why do workmen now accede to demands of their employers, or employers to those of their workmen? Either because they consider the demands just, or because they prefer to submit to some injustice rather than cease to work. Exactly the same reasons would exist with equal force were similar demands made by a tribunal instead of by interested parties. There would be no more, and no less, compulsion in the one case than in the other. Each party would, if dissatisfied, have the same right as at present to cease operations. His "personal liberty" would be as great then as now.

There would thus be the same motives to continue work after the tribunal's decision as now exist to avoid a strike or lockout. There would be the same desire of gain and need of livelihood; the same necessity of self-preservation on the part of capital, as well as of labor; and it would be these motives which would compel the acceptance of the decree and enforce its execution.

In addition, there would be the power of public opinion and the absence of all reason for disobedience.

That the decision of an impartial tribunal would be more likely to be just to both parties than any so-called "agreement" reached after a bitter and exhausting struggle, must go without saying. It is this principle—this likelihood of greater justice—which sustains the whole fabric of the courts as they now exist, and as they have existed since the days of barbarism. To reject it is to reject the corner-stone of our civilization. The refusal to apply it to bodies of men in the same way as to individuals is the beginning of anarchy. Organizations should not be allowed to resort to methods which have long since been denied to individuals. "Upon what meat do these, our Cæsars feed, that they should grow so great?"

The question at issue is simple. Shall we, in mistaken devotion to the ideals of personal liberty, continue to allow aggregations of men and of capital to inflict untold suffering and loss upon each other, and immeasurable damage upon the public? Shall we continue to allow them to endanger government, imperil liberty, and threaten the foundations of our civilization itself? Or shall we apply old principles to new conditions, and require organizations, as well as individuals, to submit their controversies for settlement to representative tribunals of the state and nation? It is a burning question and demands a speedy and unequivocal answer.

NORMAN T. MASON.

CLEVELAND CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

THE question of municipal reform has grown to be one of national importance; this was evidenced by the Third National Conference for Good City Government, held in Cleveland, the last three days of the past month, where every important city of the country was represented by a paper or by delegates. The widespread and general interest in the proceedings, as shown by the newspaper reports, emphasized the fact that no section of our land is free from the evil effects of municipal misgovernment and corruption; and yet, on the other hand, this may equally be regarded as evidence of an awakening that must sooner or later result not only in palliating many of our municipal maladies, but in completely exterminating them. Manifestations of sturdy determination were not wanting, in fact were numerous; and if the Cleveland conference was distinguished by any one feature, it was by the resolute courage exhibited in seeking and facing the true condition of affairs, and the avowed purpose of keeping up the agitation and the efforts at reform until permanent results are effected.

Papers were presented dealing with the municipal conditions of the Pacific coast cities—San Francisco, Seattle, Portland; with those of the southern cities—New Orleans, Chattanooga, Louisville; with those of the interior—Denver, Omaha, Indianapolis, Detroit, Columbus, Cincinnati; with those of the East—Washington, Buffalo, Jersey City, Allegheny, and Pittsburg. It was the same story everywhere, that of inefficiency, incompleteness, corruption, frustrated reform efforts; but the varying skill of each artist made the portrayal as interesting as it certainly was informing and valuable; and there were lights as well as shadows, especially in those on Chattanooga and Allegheny,

whose mayors were their reporters. These two accounts were encouraging as showing what can be done by the right kind of men in office ; and as enforcing a principle that must be accepted as axiomatic before any real progress can be made, that good government is a question of men, rather than of laws or measures, although both are important. As Carl Schurz, I think it was, once put it, "I would prefer to have the laws made by Lucifer and executed by Gabriel, than made by Gabriel and executed by Lucifer."

The papers almost unanimously bore witness to the fact that bad municipal government in American cities was largely due to the intrusion of national politics into municipal politics, and the government of municipal affairs on the basis of national partisan platforms. This idea was also the leading one, both of the president's annual address and the vice-president's paper on "Municipal Government by National Parties." Both may be said to have crystallized the thought that has come to be uppermost in the minds of reformers throughout the country. Mr. Richardson held that a national party was as unfit for governing a municipality as an ax for digging the ground, or a spade for cutting down trees.

To the same end President Carter said :

I conclude that the best, and indeed the only remedy for our municipal ills, lies in asserting as our platform the plain and simple doctrine that municipal administration is no proper concern of the national and state parties, and that they should not interfere in any manner with it, and in acting on that doctrine aggressively by arraying all who accept it in organizations for the nomination and election of candidates pledged to administer office absolutely without reference to national or state politics. This may be said to be orthodox Municipal League doctrine.

Another fact upon which nearly if not all the speakers agreed, was that many of our present-day political ills are due to the indifference and apathy of the citizens, not only of the recently naturalized citizens, but of all classes, even the so-called "good citizen." Mayor George W. Ochs' (of Chattanooga) statement can be regarded as a representative one, "The misfortune in our cities is the bad citizenship of good citizens."

This city has been peculiarly happy in the character of its population, having from its very isolation escaped the European outpouring to which many other cities have been subjected. No gold mines developed gambling or speculation ; it has prospered in ways entirely legitimate. Its educational standard is high and its inhabitants cultivated and refined. No question of unrestricted immigration or universal suffrage in any way complicates the problem ; *and yet*, we find there the same weak, inefficient, corrupt government, unfortunately common throughout the country. The people, so busy making money, have become indifferent, and the politicians profiting thereby have come in, as elsewhere, and taken full possession of the city's works and departments.

The conference demonstrated that municipal misgovernment is not a sectional one. New Orleans is as bad in proportion as New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore ; San Francisco and Portland as bad as Louisville or Indianapolis. The form of inefficiency and corruption may vary with the different cities, and the proportions ; but we find everywhere a complaint, nay, more, a demonstration, that American municipalities are not what they should be ; they fall far short of reaching even a moderate demand for efficiency and completeness. They are resting under a shadow of disapproval that must sooner or later become oppressive and life-destroying, unless dispelled and a newer and better era inaugurated. This abundant and general discussion, however, in national conferences and through the newspapers and magazines, will before long create a public sentiment in favor of, and a demand for, better city government, that will eventually carry all before it.

Another fact emphasized by the Cleveland conference was that the best elements in our various communities are beginning to interest themselves in the question and so to some extent remove the stigma that has thus far rested upon them. The best, not socially and financially necessarily, but the best from the point of view of citizenship and patriotism, are in the fore part of the fight for higher civic standards.

It would take several pages of *Harper's Weekly* to do justice to

all the very excellent papers read at Cleveland. They were of a high order ; some of them masterpieces of effective statement. They will be published in book form, like those delivered at Philadelphia, and distributed among the several hundred existing reform bodies and the scores of embryo organizations, to perpetuate as fully as possible the beneficent results of the meeting. Great as was the direct influence of the Philadelphia meeting, by far greater was its indirect influence, through the published accounts of its proceedings.

Lucius B. Swift, who is known the country over as an uncompromising civil service reformer, read a delightful paper on "The Municipal Condition of Indianapolis." He described the conditions which enabled his city at one time to a place in the front rank of civic failures ; the successful efforts to secure a charter ; and its inefficacy to give good government without the right kind of men. His testimony was to the effect "that the best of laws and rules become a humbug in the hands of knaves and fools," and further that "there can be no permanent reform in any city so long as its public service is open to be preyed upon by its ward-bummers." The reforms accomplished in Cincinnati through the establishment of Bi-Partisan Police and Election Boards were described by Charles B. Wilby, Esq. This system has worked well there because of the leaven of civil service reform contained in it ; but in other respects Cincinnati is no better off than the majority of her sister cities. D. E. Williams's paper on Columbus wittily described how the situation was complicated and aggravated by the fact that state politicians who had lost their hold and ex-office-holders settled at the state's capital to spend the remainder of their days, and prey, if possible, upon a smaller community ; as did those who, having been sent to the legislature and having betrayed their constituents' interest, were afraid to return to their homes and face their outraged and oftentimes enraged neighbors.

Frederick L. Siddons outlined the anomalous municipal conditions under which residents at our nation's capital must live. Without any voice in shaping their government, Washingtonians receive whatever Congress chooses to give them. Living under

several systems of laws, the precise limits of which can scarcely be accurately defined by the shrewdest lawyers, they have been unable to secure relief from a body charged with consideration of the gravest questions. Why they should be deprived of self-government does not appear, but the fact remains and the results are bad.

Judge E. J. Blandin, who drafted the law by which Cleveland is now governed, believes that a very substantial measure of reform can be obtained through wisely drawn laws. In his paper on "Uniform Organization for Ohio Cities" he maintained his argument to this end. He set forth in great detail and convincing clearness the ills that result from the atrocious methods of classification now in vogue in Ohio. In fact, he showed that it is possible for one city to be in several classes at the same time, and therefore subject to several sets of law. Akron is such a city. It is recognized as a second-class city of the third grade, but it has so many other hybrid grades applicable to it by special enactments under the guise of general laws, that, as Judge Voris of Akron himself has said, "no man knows what laws are applicable to it."

At former conferences methods of work and organization have always come in for consideration. The Cleveland meeting was no exception. George Frederick Elliott, Esq., described the working of a Law Enforcement Society; and Prof. Albion W. Small, taking the Chicago Civic Federation as a text, set forth the principles governing civic federations. The general question of municipal government was considered from woman's standpoint by Mrs. C. A. Runkle, of New York; from the physician's standpoint by John I. Billings, M.D., of the University of Pennsylvania; from the minister's standpoint by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., of Columbus, in a paper on "Civic Religion." John Willis Baer, of Boston, prepared a paper (read by Rev. J. Z. Tyler) on "The Work of Christian Endeavor Societies in Behalf of Good City Government."

It is no exaggeration to pronounce the Cleveland conference a distinct success; an inspiring and auspicious occasion, which will mark a distinct step forward in municipal reform.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

"WOMAN'S PART IN POLITICAL SINS": A REPLY.

BY MRS. E. R. MEREDITH.

IF ONE exaggeration can be canceled by another, the article in the June number of *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS* on "Woman's Part in Political Sins" may be considered as fully meeting the remark of the New York physician, who, in commenting on the corruption of politics in that city, said of its women: "They alone are innocent of these crimes and guiltless of all this disgrace." Behold the counter-charge. "Whenever a blight rests on any human life, it is generally because some woman has failed in her duty to that life."

In all the platform speeches from those women, whose thoughts according to this writer "are fixed on the superiority of woman and the inferiority of man," I have never heard one in which woman was so unduly magnified and man reduced to such insignificance, as in this article of Mrs. Winston's. Woman "controls the stream of life," "she has always been the controlling factor in human affairs." If the stream is impure, or the affairs ill-conducted, upon her, of course, the blame must rest.

Has fatherhood nothing to do with heredity and the former head of the family been decapitated? There are men who believe themselves to be the controlling power in their own homes, and in not a few instances their wives agree with them on that point. Even where the government of the family is thrown almost entirely on the shoulders of the mother, the influence of the father cannot be nullified. At least, he either supports or undermines. Not infrequently the children of happy homes, where both parents have earnestly endeavored to bring them up to love righteousness, furnishing example as well as precept, are led astray by outside influences. That judgment would surely be a harsh one which would hold those parents guilty of the misdoings of their children. How much more so the sentence

that holds the mother alone answerable for the after-life of children reared amid the adverse environment of homes in which they are not even equal sovereigns.

Nothing could be more untrue concerning the women who "work for various philanthropies," and desire the ballot as an instrument of power in their work, than the assertion that "these would-be reformers entirely ignore the home influence." They neither ignore nor wish to supplant, but simply to supplement it. They do not think their control over their boys will be lessened by going to the polls with them. They do know that the logical minds of children draw inferences unfavorable to woman from her exclusion from the franchise. The boy of twenty-one can vote, whatever his ignorance, or stupidity, or moral obliquity. Age confers no such right upon his sister who stood abreast with him in school. No matter how good his mother may be, or how wise his teacher, if she be a woman, in relation to the government they are perpetual minors. There is in this an implication of some incapacity in the feminine sex, which breeds insubordination against home rule.

The supposition that the women who are connected with the various philanthropic movements "spend their time in flitting from one convention to another" to the neglect of their homes and their children is quite baseless. Many of them have already raised their children and now have time for outside work. Others feel that the mental and moral gain to themselves more than compensates the home for their transient absence. One would imagine from the writings of anti-suffragists that the women who desired the ballot almost lived in conventions. To many they are the brief vacations in lives otherwise filled with home duties, which bring to them the chance of wider outlook and the inspiration of contact.

There are some whose abilities and opportunities make their calling and election sure to special lines of work, and from the ranks of these come the leaders necessary to success in any movement. Women have been praised for giving themselves to missionary work, in foreign lands so unhealthful as to make it certain that their children, if they had any, must be sent home

to their friends to raise. Why should the women who devote themselves to the cause of humanity in their own lands be censured?

It is true there are many ill-governed homes, and not only the "burden of motherhood," but many other of life's burdens are shouldered "in a make-shift sort of a way." These evils are diminished by any course of training that gives clearer judgment and more business-like habits, results of education more frequently found in those who do not confine themselves exclusively to the home atmosphere. Upon examination, the homes of women interested in philanthropic work, even those of the suffragists, on whom the chief odium rests, would be found to contain the average share of good government and domestic happiness. To them it is at least partly owing that enlightened educators have within the last few years awakened to the truth that in order to make good citizens, distinct instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship was advisable and that the love of country might be fostered by the various drills which promote devotion to our flag.

If the present governmental corruption is in any degree the result of the previous neglect of this training, the blame should rest lightly on the head of the disfranchised citizen, who, instead of sitting "always at the helm," has been to this date relegated to a chair in the cabin and given distinctly to understand she had nothing to do with running the ship.

The assailed point is the one to which the defenders rally, and in a controversy it often receives undue emphasis. When the question of educating woman was under debate some of its advocates went so far as almost to prove education quite unnecessary. So in the struggle for equality, the assertion of superiority may have been used in rebuttal of the counter-charge of inferiority. Generally it is claimed that women, especially those who do not want the ballot, need it, to arouse them to a proper sense of interest in and responsibility for our government. No other means produce such effects. Eight months after the franchise was given to the women of Colorado, the booksellers of Denver said there had been more demand for books on political

economy within that time than in as many years previous. Daily there came into the headquarters of the Equal Suffrage Association, women of the middle and lower classes, some of them foreigners, who said, "Now that we have received this new right, where shall we learn to qualify ourselves to use it intelligently?"

A great deal of severe and wholly unjust criticism has appeared in the newspapers all over the Union, concerning the effect of equal suffrage in Colorado. Colorado is not the only state that has failed to realize the glorious results predicted from an overwhelming Republican victory. The three women they elected to the legislature could hardly be expected to leaven so large a lump in one session.

They were not puffed up and did not behave themselves unseemly, the bills they introduced were good without exception, and contrary to the usual rule, the lower house, of which they were members, was more decorous than the senate. Mrs. Winston impugns the moral influence of woman's vote because they only "increased the temperance vote by 5,300." It was the Prohibition vote that was thus increased, and very few of the Prohibitionists expected their votes to do more than protest against the iniquity of the liquor traffic. Some, even of the Prohibitionists, voted for the party then in power because they believed they would be more likely to enforce the restrictive laws already enacted than the Republicans. It should be remembered that all temperance people are not at present Prohibitionists. And there are a great many women as well as men who had been so long trained to regard the Republican party as the source of all political good that they could not shake off their allegiance. Even after they had gone into a convention which showed them that a combination of all the women and all the good men unused to the machinations of politics were no match for an organized machine which went on grinding out candidates contrary to their will, they concluded, in many cases, to support the nominees because although they were willing to admit the Democratic ticket to be the best in the field, it could not be elected, and in this crisis it would not do to throw away

one's vote, and risk returning the state into the hands of the Populists.

It is unjust to the women of Wyoming to say that they "have not attempted to improve politics." In a state where they are so greatly in the minority they have not attempted the impossibility of closing the saloon. They have aided in restrictive legislation and favored liberal educational laws. In some mining localities the proportion of childless men has been such that if the women could not have voted there would have been no schools. All parties have become more careful as to the moral character of their candidates and the elections are quiet and orderly. The same conditions were seen at the polls last fall in Denver. The unusually large vote was cast before the middle of the afternoon in perfect peace and quiet, and during the whole campaign there were at the headquarters of all parties an unaccustomed absence of liquor and an unusual decency in the use of tobacco.

Much ado has been made over the advice of the suffragists, especially in the Kansas campaign, to "rally to whatever party would give their aid to this measure," and the declaration of the W. C. T. U. to "oppose no party which stands squarely for prohibition," etc. These organizations are accused of bartering principle for assistance. There is a fallacy in the use of the term "principle." It may refer to a political opinion with no ethical quality whatever, or to a question of moral right. At a time when party lines are so wavering, when the difference between tariff and free trade is resolved into a scramble as to what shall be protected, when a Democratic president depends on Republican support to carry out his financial policy, when men of all parties are dividing or combining on the question of bimetallism, it is manifest that political principles are mostly questions of expediency. To suffrage, which is a question of justice, and to prohibition, which is one of righteousness, belongs the right of way. There is no corruption in subordinating questions of expediency to those of right. Corruption always begins the other way. When during the Civil War party lines were cast aside and men united on the ground of loyalty, did any one accuse them of "elastic principles"?

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THE CHILDREN OF CHARITY.

BY ALMA SEYMOUR SHERMAN.

THE poor ye have with you always" is as true to-day as when said more than eighteen hundred years ago, and the problem of their improvement and their care is nearly as old as man himself.

The old adage reads: "Find out a law of nature and work along its line for the improvement of man, and success will crown your efforts"; but the wisdom of generations was not keen enough to find out this law until 1852 when Mr. Charles Loring Brace began his "Boys' Meetings" and established the work of the Children's Aid Society in the tenement quarters of New York City. In his simple remedy—"Prevention, not cure"—we have our modern charity. "The motive, spirit, and varied possibilities of the family plan" and the placing of neglected and homeless children in good family homes, seem to indicate that the great law of nature is well nigh in operation. The little child, after all, is the important factor in the world. When the old king demanded of the Spartans fifty of their children as hostages, they replied: "We would rather give you a hundred of our most distinguished men." This was but a fair testimony to the value of the child to any commonwealth and to any age. Lord Bacon said: "Give me the child and the state shall have the man"; while Ruskin asserted that "the true history of a nation is not its wars, but its households; and that the state should make it her duty to see that every child born therein should be well housed, well clothed, well fed, and well educated, until it reached the years of discretion." The idea of preventive work is generally adopted by most organizations of the present day—working for dependent children and for many juvenile offenders. It is reaching the child, reaching the house-

hold, and bringing them together as one wherein lies the strength of this modern movement in charity work.

Self-respect is the most elevating feeling with which the mind can be inspired, and it is this self-respect which may be cultivated by placing neglected children in good families, there to be taught individual responsibility and to receive individual care. Mr. Brace says: "There is no difference in the needs of the poor children and those of the rich. They require sympathy and hope, steady occupation and the prospect of success, just as all children do. Indifference is just as chilling to the one class as to the other. Each poor, deserted, unfortunate creature in the streets is an individual like no other being whom God has created. He must have sympathy, individual management, encouragement for good conduct, pain for bad, instruction for his doubts, tenderness for his weakness, care for his habits."

Signs are abroad that an era of more natural methods in humanitarian work is drawing near; and yet the vast majority of children, in the care of child-helping agencies, are still provided for in institutions, "shut away from the wholesome atmosphere of every-day home life," and, until we fully realize and utilize the great natural forces of life, such as home and friends and neighborhood, we need not look for, nor expect, great success. Many people there are who yet look to the orphan asylum for help for dependent children and to the reformatory and jail for saving the criminal child. But such asylums are bequests of monastic days, and children reared in them often grow up singularly backward and stupid, showing a want of pluck, unable to shift for themselves, with little experience that will fit them for the thousand petty hardships of a poor man's life. They are taken care of by machinery, as it were; by pressing the button, all of the electric splendor of modern invention surrounds them—"a poor preparation for a boy, who must live in a small house, who should build his own fires, split his own wood, light his own lamp." They go, three times daily, to the table to partake of food prepared and set before them, without effort or care upon their part. Many are the girls who have been returned to these institutions, pronounced stupid, not knowing even the names,

much less the uses, of common utensils they were constantly called upon to employ in the family home procured for them.

We desire to do the wisest possible work for these children, for they are the hope of our nation ; and sometimes I fear that we do not comprehend the importance of looking after them properly. Se we have erected and maintained institutions of all kinds—reformatories, jails, prisons, orphan asylums, and schools, while waiting for Mr. Brace to teach us that the family is God's reformatory, and the only institution needed to reach the dependent, and many times, the criminal children. This wise world has stood still with the apparent feeling that the children were a small part of the community, hardly worth serious attention or especial care, forgetting that the law-breakers, as well as the law-makers, of the morning of the twentieth century are in the arms of their mothers, in care of the charity organizations, or upon the streets of to-day. We think, however, that we are beginning to realize that the morality of the child is the morality of the world.

Benevolent people everywhere are making a careful study of this important question, and we sometimes feel that, if the Children's Aid Society and similar organizations of the country could to-day take all of the unfortunate children of the streets under their care, while they are yet very young, another generation would find no need of further study of the dependent child problem.

"We need clear-headed and clean-hearted American citizens," and, as they should be the product of our American homes, we are learning to think that, through the family, we may look for regeneration. It has been said: "Every high, pure aim of father and mother, every honest, modest custom of a young man's home, the cleanly life of his boyhood, the habits of reverence, the prayer he learned, are so many stones in the rampart which shall defend his middle life from storm and ruin."

We look with pride and satisfaction upon the success which has followed this method of operation, until it has extended its arm to and been accepted by the continents across the ocean, and by the islands in the seas. But may not the time now be ripe

for us to gather from them new ideas which shall give to us methods whereby we may accomplish the most important work?

Ought we not to look with deepest solicitude into the problem of how best to help these unfortunate children in their homes, and, through them, their parents? For we find affection and love among the very poor, alas! many times more true than we do in the homes of the very rich, and poverty is no warrant that we may take the child from its natural parent.

This new charity is sweeping through the whole length and breadth of the world. "Its supreme purpose is to establish more humane, or reach more divine relations between those who are well-to-do and those in distress, to make life full of the realities of personal service." There are grand possibilities of this personal service in our "college settlement" and "hall home" undertakings. May such efforts receive from us the encouragement they deserve. Massachusetts has her state, primary, and industrial schools, which are most excellent—taking care of her dependent, homeless, and often criminal children who cannot be provided for by their friends. The state forbids these children being condemned as paupers, thus in the very beginning inspiring them with self-respect.

These are preparatory schools where children are trained for good family homes: while the Children's Aid Society has an agent who attends the municipal criminal courts daily, gives bonds for juvenile offenders placed on probation under their care, many of whom are allowed, while on their probation, to remain in their own homes. Influence and encouragement in every way are thrown about them to keep them from becoming more depraved. This, surely, is meeting these early offenders at the front doors of the reformatories and jails by never allowing them to enter, or their young lives to become burdened with attending disgrace. There has been attendance at court in the interest of offenders 24,000 cases, 13,500 investigations of homes, and more than 28,000 visits. This work is done by paid agents of the Children's Aid Society; besides which there are about one hundred women—volunteer workers—who visit girls placed in homes from the state, primary, and industrial schools.

Another branch of the work being done is for the homes of the poor in Boston. We wish to call particular attention to the "home libraries." The method certainly will commend itself to any one who will take the time and trouble to study it.

Michigan was the first state in our Union to see her duty and accept the care and maintenance of her dependent as well as of her criminal children. At Coldwater is the "State Public School," an educational and protective institution supported by taxation, the same as the common schools, where the unfortunate children of the state are cared for, but not as criminals, until a good family home can be provided for them; or, under some circumstances, they are returned to their own parents. The county agents, working with the school, make the method of operation similar to that of our own Children's Aid Society, except that in Michigan it is the work of the state.

Much has been said against the rearing of children in institutions, but experience has taught us that the institution, with its enforced habits of neatness, regularity, and obedience, is almost indispensable for a limited period, but for a limited period only, for many children are taken from homes of neglect and squalor; and we know them to be great factors in preparing these neglected and often decidedly unattractive children for reception into homes found for them. We thus accept the institution as of great and lasting benefit for a short time, as a preparation for family homes.

Children placed in free homes suffer most from the fact that they are taken to fill the places of cheap servants. Could we have a state school, or plan of boarding out, with expenses paid by the state, and thus avoid the haste and necessity of placing children in free homes to reduce expenses, we could overcome much that tends to make our work superficial.

Few of our states are alive to their duty in this matter; but, since virtue is obtained by early training and habits, the children of a republic must be trained in ways of honesty, industry, and self-culture. It matters not who they are, the state cannot afford to allow them to grow up in ignorance and crime.

Fifty years ago the "prevention, not cure" idea took root,

and has resulted in the great work with which all are familiar. But to-day, I think, we are beginning to see that, although this work has been, and is still, the best as far as it goes, yet it does not accomplish the greatest good to the greatest number. Our future work must continue to be for the children, but it should be for the very little child, largely in its own home.

Juvenal says: "The man's character is made at seven. What he is then, he will always be." Many needy children have been turned back and left in the streets because there was no place for them, either in private or public schools, where they could receive the necessary care and instruction for the proper development of their character, to make them worthy men and women.

The story is familiar but will answer as an illustration: From a single neglected child in a wealthy county of New York State there has come a notorious stock of criminals, vagabonds, and paupers, imperiling life and property in the communities in which they live. Not less than 1,200 persons have been traced as the descendants of six children born of this perverted and depraved woman, who, if when an innocent child proper influences had been thrown about her, might have given to the world 1,200 descendants who would have blessed their day and generation.

We are in the habit of viewing our public school system with that complacency which comes from entire satisfaction. We legislate for the compulsory education, but hardly give a thought as to the right kind of instruction. The amount of training obligatory should be what is absolutely required as a foundation for honest and intelligent citizenship. Our New England ancestors felt that every one should have the foundation of an English education at public expense, but for their higher education they established our colleges and universities. With preparation for these colleges came the introduction of the higher branches into our common schools. This for the then existing conditions was safe and right, but, with the changed conditions, which made Europe discover America as a refuge for her paupers and criminals, "and with this class landed and distributed over our country to breed moral disease among their fel-

lows, and to propagate their kind," we may well ask what is the best instruction for the state to give. Statistics show that, while population increased 170 per cent, criminals increased 445 per cent. Should not our system of public instruction be remodeled for our present population? "The effect upon our community and upon our children cannot be overestimated." The majority are utterly different from the original stock for whom our public schools were established. The whole course is now planned for the higher education of all, while our table of figures shows that only four per cent of those who enter our public schools in the primary grades are able, from inclination or necessity, to take advantage of the opportunity offered. An important question is how best to instruct and train the 96 per cent. In our cities it is estimated that only one in a hundred and twenty-eight boys who enter the public school goes through the high schools. We would not curtail the opportunities for higher education, but we must consider facts as they are. We would extend our system, if possible, and give to this 96 per cent manual training in industrial and trade schools. As soon as a boy becomes a criminal, he is sent to the reformatory and there taught a trade. Why not teach him a trade first, and see if the reformatory will not be cheated of its prize?

Our children must be taught action and industry. "Cultivate the powers for creating and organizing, and then the desire for doing and accomplishing will take the place of the desire for having and getting." It is much more important to the welfare of the general public that this ninety-six per cent should have the proper training for industry and good citizenship than that the four per cent should have the free high school. The state cannot afford to neglect this work, but, until she is convinced of her duty, the private philanthropist has a large field before him.

We must take these children from the very earliest, knowing, as we do, that thousands of them receive little or no education or training from their parents, who are working all day or lounging about the saloons or street corners. The children of necessity receive only such training as the street can give them, and after five years of such freedom, they may enter the public

school. Is it any wonder that from this class come our truants, who furnish recruits for our large and growing army of tramps and criminals? A gentleman, having had thirty years' experience in one of our houses of refuge, said: "It is more essential to have the plays of our children watched than their work." The kindergarten starts work at the beginning and is the best instructor in children's plays. Its design is to prevent crime. It trains the child physically and intellectually and morally. Here he is not only told to be good, but is inspired, by help and sympathy, to be good, taught to manifest love in deeds rather than in words.

In a report by the Children's Aid Society of New York City, which conducts more than a dozen kindergartens in connection with its thirty-seven industrial schools, we find that "very soon it makes itself felt in the streets and what goes on there, as any one can see for himself by observing the plays of the children in a tenement neighborhood where there is a kindergarten, and again where there is none."

Generally speaking, the kindergarten is now only within the reach of the child of the well-to-do parents, and is considered by them only as an educational factor. To the children of the street, it would be almost the only moral factor in their whole lives.

Mrs. Peabody asserted that "no greater benefit could be conferred upon our country than the far and wide spreading of the kindergarten as an underpinning to our noble public school system." Here is to be gained the instruction which will engender the qualities of heart and mind that will make the boy and girl fit for all the various relations of their fellow-men.

And now, having considered various systems in this work for children of the street, we should take great care lest we foster that false sympathy which is proving one of the greatest drawbacks to the Christian and philanthropic work of to-day. Sad as such facts are, there are in this beautiful world of ours crime and criminals, and crime should be suppressed by the punishment of the criminal. Even Jesus Christ, with his message of love, did not leave us without a law of justice, and al-

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Few of our states are alive to their duty in this matter; but, since virtue is obtained by early training and habits, the children of a republic must be trained in ways of honesty, industry, and self-culture. It matters not who they are, the state cannot afford to allow them to grow up in ignorance and crime.

Fifty years ago the "prevention, not cure" idea took root,

and has resulted in the great work with which all are familiar. But to-day, I think, we are beginning to see that, although this work has been, and is still, the best as far as it goes, yet it does not accomplish the greatest good to the greatest number. Our future work must continue to be for the children, but it should be for the very little child, largely in its own home.

Juvenal says: "The man's character is made at seven. What he is then, he will always be." Many needy children have been turned back and left in the streets because there was no place for them, either in private or public schools, where they could receive the necessary care and instruction for the proper development of their character, to make them worthy men and women.

The story is familiar but will answer as an illustration: From a single neglected child in a wealthy county of New York State there has come a notorious stock of criminals, vagabonds, and paupers, imperiling life and property in the communities in which they live. Not less than 1,200 persons have been traced as the descendants of six children born of this perverted and depraved woman, who, if when an innocent child proper influences had been thrown about her, might have given to the world 1,200 descendants who would have blessed their day and generation.

We are in the habit of viewing our public school system with that complacency which comes from entire satisfaction. We legislate for the compulsory education, but hardly give a thought as to the right kind of instruction. The amount of training obligatory should be what is absolutely required as a foundation for honest and intelligent citizenship. Our New England ancestors felt that every one should have the foundation of an English education at public expense, but for their higher education they established our colleges and universities. With preparation for these colleges came the introduction of the higher branches into our common schools. This for the then existing conditions was safe and right, but, with the changed conditions, which made Europe discover America as a refuge for her paupers and criminals, "and with this class landed and distributed over our country to breed moral disease among their fel-

lows, and to propagate their kind," we may well ask what is the best instruction for the state to give. Statistics show that, while population increased 170 per cent, criminals increased 445 per cent. Should not our system of public instruction be remodeled for our present population? "The effect upon our community and upon our children cannot be overestimated." The majority are utterly different from the original stock for whom our public schools were established. The whole course is now planned for the higher education of all, while our table of figures shows that only four per cent of those who enter our public schools in the primary grades are able, from inclination or necessity, to take advantage of the opportunity offered. An important question is how best to instruct and train the 96 per cent. In our cities it is estimated that only one in a hundred and twenty-eight boys who enter the public school goes through the high schools. We would not curtail the opportunities for higher education, but we must consider facts as they are. We would extend our system, if possible, and give to this 96 per cent manual training in industrial and trade schools. As soon as a boy becomes a criminal, he is sent to the reformatory and there taught a trade. Why not teach him a trade first, and see if the reformatory will not be cheated of its prize?

Our children must be taught action and industry. "Cultivate the powers for creating and organizing, and then the desire for doing and accomplishing will take the place of the desire for having and getting." It is much more important to the welfare of the general public that this ninety-six per cent should have the proper training for industry and good citizenship than that the four per cent should have the free high school. The state cannot afford to neglect this work, but, until she is convinced of her duty, the private philanthropist has a large field before him.

We must take these children from the very earliest, knowing, as we do, that thousands of them receive little or no education or training from their parents, who are working all day or lounging about the saloons or street corners. The children of necessity receive only such training as the street can give them, and after five years of such freedom, they may enter the public

school. Is it any wonder that from this class come our truants, who furnish recruits for our large and growing army of tramps and criminals? A gentleman, having had thirty years' experience in one of our houses of refuge, said: "It is more essential to have the plays of our children watched than their work." The kindergarten starts work at the beginning and is the best instructor in children's plays. Its design is to prevent crime. It trains the child physically and intellectually and morally. Here he is not only told to be good, but is inspired, by help and sympathy, to be good, taught to manifest love in deeds rather than in words.

In a report by the Children's Aid Society of New York City, which conducts more than a dozen kindergartens in connection with its thirty-seven industrial schools, we find that "very soon it makes itself felt in the streets and what goes on there, as any one can see for himself by observing the plays of the children in a tenement neighborhood where there is a kindergarten, and again where there is none."

Generally speaking, the kindergarten is now only within the reach of the child of the well-to-do parents, and is considered by them only as an educational factor. To the children of the street, it would be almost the only moral factor in their whole lives.

Mrs. Peabody asserted that "no greater benefit could be conferred upon our country than the far and wide spreading of the kindergarten as an underpinning to our noble public school system." Here is to be gained the instruction which will engender the qualities of heart and mind that will make the boy and girl fit for all the various relations of their fellow-men.

And now, having considered various systems in this work for children of the street, we should take great care lest we foster that false sympathy which is proving one of the greatest drawbacks to the Christian and philanthropic work of to-day. Sad as such facts are, there are in this beautiful world of ours crime and criminals, and crime should be suppressed by the punishment of the criminal. Even Jesus Christ, with his message of love, did not leave us without a law of justice, and al-

though the execution of this law is often difficult and offensive, should we not use great care lest, in extending our system of greater charity, we lack wisdom and place temptations in the way of the erring youths of our country? Our nineteenth century conditions present problems of great weight for our consideration. But "light has been so strongly turned upon the evils of many of the older methods that abuses have dropped in many places"; yet we will still seek in darkness for a better and more perfect way.

First of all, the state should provide for her dependent and unfortunate children, as well as for her criminals. New York City, the very birthplace of Children's Aid Society work, is supporting an average population of about 14,000 boys and girls in private institutions, at an annual expense of nearly \$1,500,000. In the state \$50,000,000 are invested in asylums, poorhouses, hospitals, etc., with an annual outlay of at least \$20,000,000 to maintain them, and this does not include her reformatories, jails, and prisons.

Ohio, with her system of county homes, took care, during one year, of 3,573 children, with an average expense per child of about \$87. The same year, California paid \$231,215 for the care of 3,600 of her children; while Michigan, with about double the population of California, had only about 200 dependent children, who were all cared for in the state primary school at an annual expense of \$35,000.

The system of placing authority in the probate courts of the state to grant admission into the school, and as to the surrender of parental authority, deters many from throwing off the care of their children, that, under other systems, is encouraged.

In our own state of Pennsylvania one of our greatest needs is more united work. Divided as we are, with more than one hundred institutions and organizations working to save children, we have diverse methods, all more or less good, but which would result in much greater benefit by more hearty coöperation.

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The cares, the duties, and the pleasures which bind and keep the fortunate mother and her child in the home, which require her first and best thought and consideration, leave but little time for most of us to yield to this work the careful thought, the strength and time that it deserves, and which we would gladly give it. We hope the time is near at hand when our state will see the economy of taking charge of this work and of employing paid agents—good Christians, philanthropists—whose duty it shall be to execute, without delay, well-laid plans of consecrated workers.

ALMA S. SHERMAN.

INDEPENDENCE AND UNION.

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, PH. D., HONORARY FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE chief problem in historical research deals with the life of the period to be studied. There is an influence at work which is dynamic and not static in its nature. In history, the laws of growth are everywhere illustrated. Long ago, the king would call around him men with whom he would confer in regard to the affairs of state, and finally these men claimed that they had the right of determining such things for the king. Instead of being merely advisory, they became a determining body. Thus arose the English Parliament. The colonists held to this idea, thus producing the Revolution and the Constitution. This idea has grown and taken possession of all our life. Every industry is organized on the representative system. We see the persistence of ideas all through history, and we must follow these ideas if we would study history aright.

The American people and the English had a common interest; they gloried alike in the Magna Charta and the common law. Then why did they choose different paths? The people who came to America were the most democratic, while those who remained at home were the most aristocratic. The Americans were separated by three thousand miles of ocean and the spell of aristocracy was broken. Many of the colonies were granted the most democratic charters. In 1611, Virginia received a charter which contained a germ of American liberty, which was also found in the later charters of Massachusetts, Carolina, Maryland, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. It was the clause granting the colonies the right to establish local government in their own assemblies, and to make laws not inconsistent with the English constitution. Under these charters the colonies continued to make laws up to 1776,

Laws," the leading doctrine of which is the natural rights of man. Jefferson grasped this thought and applied it to the pressing wants of the American people. During the two weeks, Jefferson prepared his draft, and was ready to report it on June 28, with a few slight changes made by Franklin and Adams. After debate and amendment, the Declaration was adopted. Little is known of the character of the debate on the Declaration, but it turned mainly on the wisdom of issuing it at the time.

The colonies finally gave their consent to it, and it went forth, producing great effects, uniting the people, infusing the army with new courage, and attracting the attention of the world. Walpole exclaimed: "I rejoice that there is still a great continent of Englishmen who remain free and independent, and who laugh at the impotent majorities of a prostitute Parliament." William Lee wrote from England that the Tories hang their heads and keep a profound silence on the subject; the Whigs do not say much, but rather seem to think the step a wise one on the part of America, and what was the inevitable consequence of the measure taken by the British majority. The sentiment in favor of American independence spread rapidly throughout Europe. Adams wrote in 1780 that he was convinced that all the powers in Europe, except Austria, rejoiced in American independence, and considered it as for their interest and happiness from many points of view.

Thus the first great political campaign was ended. There was to be no other campaign on this subject. It was settled forever. We may differ to-day in regard to policies and administration, but the principles of the Declaration are fixed for all time.

The establishment of independence was accomplished through revolution, and the classic passage on the right of revolution has found its way into the Declaration of Independence. The right to change the form of government is also found in all the fundamental statements of the constitutions of the forty-four states. It is a commonly accepted principle of government and a reserved right true at all times. It is such a cardinal doctrine of the state that we ought to trace it. Besides the ordinary political concept of the right of revolution there is also the

economic concept, which has received but little attention in historical studies. The economic concept of the right of revolution is illustrated in Franklin's examination in the House of Commons. He shows how the colonies are increasing in economic wealth. He claims that they are very productive and that their interests are by nature diversified. This industrial condition of America was such as to give it a national life of its own. We must remember, however, that when Franklin lived this was pure theory, as no industries had yet developed. If a country has industries and a people capable of government, then we have arrived at the natural conditions of a state. Revolution was precipitated when England struck a blow at these economic interests of America. The Navigation Laws made Holland disappear as a carrying nation. The productions of the colonies were all required to pass through the custom-house before being sold, and to sell goods to another nation, they first had to be taken to England and then reshipped. Every vessel had to report at an English custom-house, thus filling the British treasury. The result was a discrimination against the colonies. Their markets became glutted and there was no outlet for their products. Franklin, Burke, Chatham, and Barre all argued that the industrial wealth here was sufficient for a nation. But when was that nation to come? Franklin was conservative and was not in favor of revolution until he saw that we had a good industrial basis, such as food and arms. When the economic system became such that they could carry out their ideas, then the Revolution began.

The sentimental idea of the Revolution must not be forgotten. Franklin said: "All that binds us to England is kinship." This is sentiment. Awaken the sentiments of the people, and they can be controlled. Burke in the Lower House and Pitt in the Upper House, caught up the sentimental ideas. The things that cling to us through life are sentimental. The majority of people all through the colonies were against the war. The vested interests are always conservative, as revolution disturbs them, but when the sentiments were awakened, the conflict soon came. Washington, Hancock, and Adams went into the move-

ment on philosophical grounds. Patrick Henry went in on sentimental grounds. He was an eloquent woodsman and he touched the imagination of the people. If we can fire the imagination we make the best soldiers. In war, they always have the band play. It is as necessary as the piece of artillery. The sentimental element helps to make the state. In looking at the right of revolution, we must remember the sentimental side.

The growth of the idea of separation from Great Britain cannot be traced out unless we also follow to its source the idea of union. The same slow elements of growth are here discovered. The first thing we notice in tracing union is the presence of obstacles to delay union. In New England there were religious qualifications for membership in the Confederacy of 1643, and these conditions the other colonies would not accept. Hence the first element necessary for union is perfect religious liberty. Penn's plan of 1697 contained provisions for extradition, commerce, taxation, and representation. These were the conditions under which the final union was made. He lived a century before his time. The Albany plan of 1754 was of a commercial nature. It was rejected because the crown thought it gave the colonies too much power, and the colonies thought it gave the king too much power. This plan did not propose union against Great Britain, as it is commonly taught. Franklin's motto, "Unite or die," simply referred to commerce and protection against the French and Indians. Our history may be divided into colonial, revolutionary, confederate, and national. The colonial charters existed up to the Revolution and taught the colonists their lessons in self-government. In 1760 the colonies were isolated, but the course of events caused a thrill of common feeling to run through them and they drew together. From 1760 to 1776 they united in defense of the rights of Englishmen. From 1776 to 1781 they stood together for the rights of man. From 1781 to 1789 union was based upon the rights of states, while union under the Constitution made it possible to develop the national idea. The controlling body of our revolutionary condition was the Continental Congress, called into existence by the war. It declared independence in 1776, and in 1777 it gave

itself a legal character by adopting the Articles of Confederation. The Continental Congress was not the parent of the Federal Congress. It was an assembly of delegates from the thirteen states from the year 1774. There were no distinct executive officers. Important matters were referred to committees and boards. It was not a distinct sovereign body and its powers were vague.

Besides the committee on the Declaration another one was appointed to draw up a system of government. This committee reported on July 12. The plan was debated for over a year, and then the Articles were sent to the states for ratification. As the consent of all the states was required, the Articles did not go into effect until 1781. Although not adopted until the close of the war, the general policy of the Articles of Confederation was carried out through the struggle. The Declaration of Independence united us against external foes. The Articles of Confederation placed in the background the national principle and put forth state rights. The Articles were framed in harmony with the Declaration, and there were only glimpses now and then of nationalization. It may be that it was well for Maryland to hold off in ratifying the Articles, for in the meantime the country learned that a better system was needed. The confederate system is a transient form. It does its work in a period of transition. But the Articles created only a weak central authority and revealed a maze of contradictions. There was a struggle between the central and the local governments over the distribution of power.

Long before the war closed there was an attempt toward nationalization. Washington sent out a first farewell address as a circular letter to the governors, recommending an appeal to the legislatures for a stronger bond of union. This letter produced a great deal of sentiment, but after the war closed they forgot the words of Washington. On another occasion Washington declared the condition to be no better than anarchy. In 1782 Morris wrote that the want of coercive clauses on the states will be productive of the most fatal consequences, and four years later the Confederacy was bankrupt.

The "more perfect union" was to come in another way. The commissioners who met at Annapolis would affect not only Maryland and Virginia, but the whole country, as all the states traded with one another. They learned that no matter what regulations for commerce were made, there was no power to enforce them. So they decided to call a great national constitutional convention to amend the Articles and put trade restrictions in the hands that could enforce them. A call was made to the states to meet in 1787. The Continental Congress looked jealously at it; but Shays' Rebellion had just occurred and it stirred up the people to do something. Then Massachusetts, formerly opposed to the idea, at once favored it. Washington at first held aloof, but after Shays' Rebellion his friends urged him that his time had come and he answered the call of his countrymen. When the delegates met at Philadelphia, they learned the Articles could not be amended. The states had instructed them toward amendment, but they found it necessary to go counter to their instructions. When they decided upon this, their actions were revolutionary. The world had not solved the problem these men were to solve. The world had established monarchies and confederacies, and America had formed a confederacy. They knew of the ancient confederacies, for they were students of the political science of the world, and they also had great experience in local government; but from that point their path was through the wilderness, and no nation had carved the way.

But we did not have the full union sentiment at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. From Washington to Lincoln there was a contest for union. There were frequent threats of secession. Sentiments are not formed by a majority. We often teach that the nation went off full fledged; but the sentiment of union is a growth. The fabric stretching to-day from sea to sea is only the product of a century's toil and sacrifice. The principles of the Declaration and the Constitution had to be rewritten with flaming swords dipped in human blood, and then, in the language of Lincoln, the nation had a new birth of freedom.

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

POPULISM, CONSIDERED AS AN HONEST EFFORT FOR THE SECURING OF BETTER CONDITIONS.

BY ROBERT H. WILLIAMS.

IN a recent issue of this magazine appeared an article on the People's party, by Mr. C. W. Wiley. On reading his article one could not doubt that Mr. Wiley has, as he says, drawn his conclusions from an actual observance of Populism in its natural state and by personal contact and conversation with its advocates. Agreeing with Mr. Wiley in the honesty of his intentions and in the sincerity of his motives, as well as in many of the statements that he makes and the conclusions that he draws, there is yet room for argument as to the unqualified verity of his closing words. Whether the advent of Populism is an event to be deplored, its present existence a cause for apprehension, and its "hasty dissolution" a necessary desideratum with every lover of his country, are questions upon which some broad-minded and patriotic citizens might differ. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to defend the principles of the Populist party, to vindicate its leaders, or to justify its practices; but as an observer of its formation, growth, and present existence, I wish to consider it as Mr. Wiley has considered it, from the impartial standpoint of one to whom its existence is a matter of concern only so far as it may be a factor in our country's weal or woe. For to me it seems that one with motives as sincere, and perhaps with sources of information as reliable, and judgment as clear and rational, might reach some different conclusion.

As to the origin of the Populist movement, probably all will agree with Mr. Wiley, for he says, "It is the product of distress and dissatisfaction," and that is what its members declare. That there has been a widespread and growing sentiment of dissatisfaction with the principles and usages of the two leading parties

there, which cannot bring the results a combined effort would assure.

"We must learn to take hold of one another's hands, and, forming a breakwater thus against the rising waves of pauperism, find ourselves strengthened into better ways of relieving suffering."

The cares, the duties, and the pleasures which bind and keep the fortunate mother and her child in the home, which require her first and best thought and consideration, leave but little time for most of us to yield to this work the careful thought, the strength and time that it deserves, and which we would gladly give it. We hope the time is near at hand when our state will see the economy of taking charge of this work and of employing paid agents—good Christians, philanthropists—whose duty it shall be to execute, without delay, well-laid plans of consecrated workers.

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The American people and the English had a common interest; they gloried alike in the Magna Charta and the common law. Then why did they choose different paths? The people who came to America were the most democratic, while those who remained at home were the most aristocratic. The Americans were separated by three thousand miles of ocean and the spell of aristocracy was broken. Many of the colonies were granted the most democratic charters. In 1611, Virginia received a charter which contained a germ of American liberty, which was also found in the later charters of Massachusetts, Carolina, Maryland, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. It was the clause granting the colonies the right to establish local government in their own assemblies, and to make laws not inconsistent with the English constitution. Under these charters the colonies continued to make laws up to 1776,

and in the meantime the evolution of the government in America went on. Our ancestors were learning the lessons of self-government, and working out the principle later declared by Lincoln, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The idea of separation from Great Britain was a slow growth. It is true that as early as the time of Charles the Second complaints were made that there was a desire for independence. But before any revolution could take place, the colonies must be one in thought, spirit, and action. The two elements necessary to independence were unity and separation. Burgess well expresses this idea when he says that ethnical and geographical separation and unity and identity of interests were the two forces which awoke the consciousness of the people of the thirteen colonies to the fact that they had attained the natural conditions of sovereignty. Its first enduring form was the Continental Congress. The Revolution was an accomplished fact before the Declaration of 1776, and so was independence. The act of July 4 was a notification to the world of an accomplished fact. A nation and a state did not spring into existence through the Declaration. The people simply testified to the consciousness of the fact that they had become a whole and distinct nation.*

In 1760, a set of acts was passed by England for the better government of the colonies. They produced great effects by uniting the colonies and leading to the final separation from the mother-country. The colonists claimed that the ground they took was constitutional. The total effect was to unite them and break the bonds that held them to the British throne. At the meeting of the First Continental Congress in 1774 there were already some ideas of independence. The Congress of 1774 decided to defend New England in her struggle. In doing this, they justified the idea that they were willing to use force. New England and Virginia armed and so did the other colonies; yet, at the same time, they disclaimed the desire for separation. They were only defending themselves. Bunker Hill was fought, and then the Continental Congress organized the army with Wash-

*Burgess, "Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. 1.

ington as commander-in-chief. Congress also organized expeditions, and encouraged the colonies to do so. The news soon came that the king intended to enlist mercenaries, and employ the Indians against them, and cause the slaves to rise up. When this news reached Congress, it made a great impression. Measures were taken to send agents abroad in secret missions, and the advice went out to tear down the king's local governments and make their own state governments.

In January, 1776, Paine issued his pamphlet, "Common Sense," and it was spread over the country. Its arguments in favor of independence had much influence. Then the colonies were urged to adopt state governments. The great colony of Virginia held a convention. The governor fled and a new government must be made, and they authorized their delegates to draw up a plan for independence. John Adams also had passed a resolution that the king's authority could no longer be tolerated. But yet in June, 1776, they were not all ready for independence. The New England and the southern colonies were most in favor of independence, while the middle colonies were against it. New York and Pennsylvania were most opposed to the idea, while it is clear that New England with her town-meeting was most democratic and should lead in the movement. In the middle colonies the governments were not so popular, being proprietary, and this is probably the reason why they were so conservative. It was wise that the middle colonies should be conservative, to hold back the radical element.

There was another element in America that did not favor independence, fearing anarchy. John Dickinson argued that to form a foreign alliance with France was a dangerous thing. He feared that even though we gained independence, the House of Bourbon would encroach upon us. The Adamses and Franklin favored independence, while Dickinson and Wilson spoke against it. The resolution was laid aside two weeks in order to draft a declaration, and report a plan of union. In drafting the declaration, Jefferson played the leading part. He was well equipped in every sense of the term to compose this great political document. His political guide was Montesquieu's "Spirit of the

Laws," the leading doctrine of which is the natural rights of man. Jefferson grasped this thought and applied it to the pressing wants of the American people. During the two weeks, Jefferson prepared his draft, and was ready to report it on June 28, with a few slight changes made by Franklin and Adams. After debate and amendment, the Declaration was adopted. Little is known of the character of the debate on the Declaration, but it turned mainly on the wisdom of issuing it at the time.

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Thus the first great political campaign was ended. There was to be no other campaign on this subject. It was settled forever. We may differ to-day in regard to policies and administration, but the principles of the Declaration are fixed for all time.

The establishment of independence was accomplished through revolution, and the classic passage on the right of revolution has found its way into the Declaration of Independence. The right to change the form of government is also found in all the fundamental statements of the constitutions of the forty-four states. It is a commonly accepted principle of government and a reserved right true at all times. It is such a cardinal doctrine of the state that we ought to trace it. Besides the ordinary political concept of the right of revolution there is also the

economic concept, which has received but little attention in historical studies. The economic concept of the right of revolution is illustrated in Franklin's examination in the House of Commons. He shows how the colonies are increasing in economic wealth. He claims that they are very productive and that their interests are by nature diversified. This industrial condition of America was such as to give it a national life of its own. We must remember, however, that when Franklin lived this was pure theory, as no industries had yet developed. If a country has industries and a people capable of government, then we have arrived at the natural conditions of a state. Revolution was precipitated when England struck a blow at these economic interests of America. The Navigation Laws made Holland disappear as a carrying nation. The productions of the colonies were all required to pass through the custom-house before being sold, and to sell goods to another nation, they first had to be taken to England and then reshipped. Every vessel had to report at an English custom-house, thus filling the British treasury. The result was a discrimination against the colonies. Their markets became glutted and there was no outlet for their products. Franklin, Burke, Chatham, and Barre all argued that the industrial wealth here was sufficient for a nation. But when was that nation to come? Franklin was conservative and was not in favor of revolution until he saw that we had a good industrial basis, such as food and arms. When the economic system became such that they could carry out their ideas, then the Revolution began.

The sentimental idea of the Revolution must not be forgotten. Franklin said: "All that binds us to England is kinship." This is sentiment. Awaken the sentiments of the people, and they can be controlled. Burke in the Lower House and Pitt in the Upper House, caught up the sentimental ideas. The things that cling to us through life are sentimental. The majority of people all through the colonies were against the war. The vested interests are always conservative, as revolution disturbs them, but when the sentiments were awakened, the conflict soon came. Washington, Hancock, and Adams went into the move-

ment on philosophical grounds. Patrick Henry went in on sentimental grounds. He was an eloquent woodsman and he touched the imagination of the people. If we can fire the imagination we make the best soldiers. In war, they always have the band play. It is as necessary as the piece of artillery. The sentimental element helps to make the state. In looking at the right of revolution, we must remember the sentimental side.

The growth of the idea of separation from Great Britain cannot be traced out unless we also follow to its source the idea of union. The same slow elements of growth are here discovered. The first thing we notice in tracing union is the presence of obstacles to delay union. In New England there were religious qualifications for membership in the Confederacy of 1643, and these conditions the other colonies would not accept. Hence the first element necessary for union is perfect religious liberty. Penn's plan of 1697 contained provisions for extradition, commerce, taxation, and representation. These were the conditions under which the final union was made. He lived a century before his time. The Albany plan of 1754 was of a commercial nature. It was rejected because the crown thought it gave the colonies too much power, and the colonies thought it gave the king too much power. This plan did not propose union against Great Britain, as it is commonly taught. Franklin's motto "Unite or die," simply referred to commerce and protection against the French and Indians. Our history may be divided into colonial, revolutionary, confederate, and national. The colonial charters existed up to the Revolution and taught the colonists their lessons in self-government. In 1760 the colonies were isolated, but the course of events caused a thrill of common feeling to run through them and they drew together. From 1760 to 1776 they united in defense of the rights of Englishmen. From 1776 to 1781 they stood together for the rights of man. From 1781 to 1789 union was based upon the rights of state while union under the Constitution made it possible to develop the national idea. The controlling body of our revolutionary condition was the Continental Congress, called into existence by the war. It declared independence in 1776, and in 1777 it gave

itself a legal character by adopting the Articles of Confederation. The Continental Congress was not the parent of the Federal Congress. It was an assembly of delegates from the thirteen states from the year 1774. There were no distinct executive officers. Important matters were referred to committees and boards. It was not a distinct sovereign body and its powers were vague.

Besides the committee on the Declaration another one was appointed to draw up a system of government. This committee reported on July 12. The plan was debated for over a year, and then the Articles were sent to the states for ratification. As the consent of all the states was required, the Articles did not go into effect until 1781. Although not adopted until the close of the war, the general policy of the Articles of Confederation was carried out through the struggle. The Declaration of Independence united us against external foes. The Articles of Confederation placed in the background the national principle and put forth state rights. The Articles were framed in harmony with the Declaration, and there were only glimpses now and then of nationalization. It may be that it was well for Maryland to hold off in ratifying the Articles, for in the meantime the country learned that a better system was needed. The confederate system is a transient form. It does its work in a period of transition. But the Articles created only a weak central authority and revealed a maze of contradictions. There was a struggle between the central and the local governments over the distribution of power.

Long before the war closed there was an attempt toward nationalization. Washington sent out a first farewell address as a circular letter to the governors, recommending an appeal to the legislatures for a stronger bond of union. This letter produced a great deal of sentiment, but after the war closed they forgot the words of Washington. On another occasion Washington declared the condition to be no better than anarchy. In 1782 Morris wrote that the want of coercive clauses on the states will be productive of the most fatal consequences, and four years later the Confederacy was bankrupt.

The "more perfect union" was to come in another way. The commissioners who met at Annapolis would affect not only Maryland and Virginia, but the whole country, as all the states traded with one another. They learned that no matter what regulations for commerce were made, there was no power to enforce them. So they decided to call a great national constitutional convention to amend the Articles and put trade restrictions in the hands that could enforce them. A call was made to the states to meet in 1787. The Continental Congress looked jealously at it; but Shays' Rebellion had just occurred and it stirred up the people to do something. Then Massachusetts, formerly opposed to the idea, at once favored it. Washington at first held aloof, but after Shays' Rebellion his friends urged him that his time had come and he answered the call of his countrymen. When the delegates met at Philadelphia, they learned the Articles could not be amended. The states had instructed them to ward amendment, but they found it necessary to go counter to their instructions. When they decided upon this, their actions were revolutionary. The world had not solved the problem these men were to solve. The world had established monarchies and confederacies, and America had formed a confederacy. They knew of the ancient confederacies, for they were students of the political science of the world, and they also had great experience in local government; but from that point their path was through the wilderness, and no nation had carved the way.

But we did not have the full union sentiment at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. From Washington to Lincoln there was a contest for union. There were frequent threats of secession. Sentiments are not formed by a majority. We often teach that the nation went off full fledged; but the sentiment of union is a growth. The fabric stretching to-day from sea to sea is only the product of a century's toil and sacrifice. The principles of the Declaration and the Constitution had to be rewritten with flaming swords dipped in human blood, and then, in the language of Lincoln, the nation had a new birth of freedom.

LEWIS R. HARLEY

POPULISM, CONSIDERED AS AN HONEST EFFORT FOR THE SECURING OF BETTER CONDITIONS.

BY ROBERT H. WILLIAMS.

IN a recent issue of this magazine appeared an article on the People's party, by Mr. C. W. Wiley. On reading his article one could not doubt that Mr. Wiley has, as he says, drawn his conclusions from an actual observance of Populism in its natural state and by personal contact and conversation with its advocates. Agreeing with Mr. Wiley in the honesty of his intentions and in the sincerity of his motives, as well as in many of the statements that he makes and the conclusions that he draws, there is yet room for argument as to the unqualified verity of his closing words. Whether the advent of Populism is an event to be deplored, its present existence a cause for apprehension, and its "hasty dissolution" a necessary desideratum with every lover of his country, are questions upon which some broad-minded and patriotic citizens might differ. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to defend the principles of the Populist party, to vindicate its leaders, or to justify its practices; but as an observer of its formation, growth, and present existence, I wish to consider it as Mr. Wiley has considered it, from the impartial standpoint of one to whom its existence is a matter of concern only so far as it may be a factor in our country's weal or woe. For to me it seems that one with motives as sincere, and perhaps with sources of information as reliable, and judgment as clear and rational, might reach some different conclusion.

As to the origin of the Populist movement, probably all will agree with Mr. Wiley, for he says, "It is the product of distress and dissatisfaction," and that is what its members declare. That there has been a widespread and growing sentiment of dissatisfaction with the principles and usages of the two leading parties

of the country, needs not to be asserted; and this sentiment seems to have crystallized, and the diverse elements seem to have united into a party, that, as Mr. Wiley says, "is utterly and irremediably" at variance with the "acts, principles, and tendencies of the Democratic and Republican parties." Populism is, then, as its name indicates, a popular movement; and it is generally acknowledged that it sprang into being almost simultaneously throughout the larger number of the states, of course making more rapid progress in some than in others, according to the disposition of the people, the extent of the dissatisfaction, and the wisdom and ability of its leaders.

As to whether grounds for dissatisfaction existed or not, Mr. Wiley has not discussed; but a manifestation of dissatisfaction might be more readily excusable, however unwise or imprudent the manner of its assertion, if a real cause existed. The existence of a cause will hardly be denied, for whether as a result of legislation or the lack of proper legislation, or as the result of inevitable circumstances, a large number of the people found the means of sustaining life and of securing homes and comforts growing more difficult, and the opportunities for placing themselves beyond the necessity of depending upon the rewards of each day's labor for their support less frequent—found that if they exerted their talents and energies in any particular direction, in which there seemed to be a demand, it was only to find that such exertions must lead to an overproduction in that line, while the field for diversified industry had become narrowed to limits before unknown; and this in the face of the notorious fact that a large part of the wealth of the country was being concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small number of its citizens. Recognizing that such a state of things would be impossible in the absence of social organization, it was not a great step to assume that the machinery of such organization had become the means by which the wealth of some, through a complicated system of exchange, had come to be appropriated to the use of others.

Thence resulted the Populist party, not with an avowed purpose to abolish social organization or government as the source of

the people's woes, but rather to invoke its forces and powers to devise and establish conditions under which a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth might be effected. That all the means it has advocated, and all the theories it has advanced for the accomplishment of this purpose should be wise and well calculated to promote its object, could hardly be expected; and it is no doubt quite true that the Populists have sometimes abused and censured persons who rather deserved praise. But who can deny that a precedent had been well established for abuse and vilification as a method of political warfare, and a foundation well laid for a wholesale lack of faith and confidence in public officials by the press and politicians of the country, before any premonitions of the Populist upheaval had been discovered? If the American public had not learned by long acquaintance with the abuses of a free press to place little confidence in the statement it makes concerning the character and conduct of public men, but had, on the contrary, accepted its reports with unquestioning credulity, we would to-day have as little confidence in the good intentions of our public servants as the Russian anarchist has in the humane sentiments of the czar. Had our grand juries considered newspaper reports and popular rumor sufficient reasons for investigating the official conduct of public officers, probably the names of one half of those who have been honored with public position of late years would have been brought before them for consideration. On the contrary, misrepresentation and falsehood seem to be expected, and so attract but little attention.

In view of this prevailing practice on the part of the political press of making extravagant assertions and abusing opponents, it seems to me that Mr. Wiley has placed more emphasis on the fact that the Populists are somewhat inclined to question the motives of their political opponents than is well to convey to the uninformed a correct idea of the esteem in which the Populists hold their enemies, as compared with that of the ordinary partisan for the leaders of an opposing party. If Populists are to be especially censured for abusing and misrepresenting noted Democratic and Republican leaders, then it might be in order

for the political press of the country to state that they were only indulging in a little political sparring which was mutually understood when they applied similar language to men of an opposite political faith, and that they did not really mean what they said. It is indeed a fact to be deplored that the party press of the country is so ready to publish any report that might furnish a foundation for undermining the reputation or influence of a leader of an opposing party ; but in this the Populists have only adopted the tactics of their opponents.

Mr. Wiley says that while the principles of the Populists are not in themselves anarchistic, yet the tendencies of their teaching are such. But I would venture to assert that the acknowledged and unpunished corruption of one public official would do more toward the propagation of anarchy than the preaching of a hundred or the violent acts of a thousand unruly strikers. When this government is no longer in the people's eyes the shield of their liberties and the defender of their homes and property, and they have no hope that it can be made such, then its days are few ; and probably nothing would so much conduce to the establishment of such a belief as the prevalence of an impression that public officials are generally corrupt.

Mr. Wiley's description of Populists and Populism from his actual observation might be, and perhaps is, somewhat amusing to one who has seen and heard them, were one inclined to look upon the amusing side of the case, for he portrays so truly their characteristics that one would at once recognize his acquaintance with his subject. But when you come to analyze this "subject for psychological research" and consider him in the light of a factor in our civilization, there is room for grave reflection. The fundamental difference between the "self-constituted Populist" and the ordinary citizen is that the Populist seems to have in some way become the possessor of an intuitive idea that, by virtue of every man's being a man, he has a natural right to an equal share of the natural resources of the earth, and that by a judicious use of this original endowment, and an equitable exchange with his fellow-men, every one should be able to support himself, while the average citizen accepts without question

the customs and usages he finds existing and congratulates himself on his advantages over his forefathers. But the fatal error that many Populists make is in supposing that this ideal state of bliss is the one that, in the natural course of things, would have evolved had it not been for the "vicious conspiracies" and "unholy combines" of corporations and capitalists. Corporations in their eyes have been an unmitigated evil from the time of their invention; and they fail to recognize that the capitalist system of production and distribution was evolved from the necessities of the times.

Mr. Wiley expresses surprise that logic and arguments have no effect in diminishing the enthusiasm of the Populists, or in weakening their faith in the correctness of their principles, but any argument in favor of the existing capitalist system they reject as repugnant to their axiomatic principles of human equality. But even comparing this seeming invincibility to logic with the usual effect of argument on political belief, it is still possible that it is as effective in winning Populists from the error of their ways as in changing the political faith of the ordinary citizen. Few campaigns in modern politics are fought and won on the virtue of the cold logic of the principles advocated alone. In fact, our system of party politics expects a young man almost before he has completed his high school or academic course to express his sympathy with some party, adopt its principles, and emulate its leaders, surrendering his convictions to the resolutions of party conventions; and in the light of no maturer reflections is he at liberty to reconsider his choice, under the penalty of being considered of a somewhat versatile character.

But, if the Populist is infatuated with the idea that the whole force of social organization is perverted from its rightful and legitimate course, and made to subserve the unholy purposes of the enemies of mankind, instead of being the bulwark of its defense, it might be remembered that the public in criticising their theories has possibly taken as questionable ground in assuming, or rather in seeming to assume, that for the first time in the history of humanity have any considerable number of

people found it necessary to enter such vigorous protests against the tendency of legislation. While the Populist worries over the calamities that are, and those which his imagination (or foresight) sees impending, the ordinary citizen sits complacently down on the time-honored proposition that this is the greatest country on the face of the earth, and marvels that any should be dissatisfied, forgetting that in every age, at least since the dawn of our modern civilization, men have been willing to give up their family ties and property to wander about without hope of material recompense and preach crusades against real or imaginary wrongs. But now in this commercial age a whole civilization is at a loss for terms to express its astonishment at the very idea that men of ignorant training and uncultured habits should forsake the pursuit of mammon and go forth to right the grievances of a suffering world !

The Populist uprising and the individual responsibility that its members seem to feel to propagate the faith, certainly ought to be no marvel to one who has traced the history of our race, and studied the character and motives of popular movements in the past. The underlying principle of popular movements has ever been some great moral idea, easily within the mental grasp of uneducated minds ; and when the potential energy of a popular conviction can be directed in its release in the path of wisdom, by the unerring judgment of a mind, or set of minds, that sees beyond the depth of the popular grasp, as was the case with our American Revolution, the almost inevitable result is the amelioration of the conditions of life and consequent increase of human happiness. The Revolution could never have been a success without its popular character, and, but for the wisdom of its leaders, it might have left the people in a worse condition than it found them. To the student of "mental science" (who ought also to be a student of sociology), the Populist movement must seem entirely in keeping with the nature and history of a race that would follow the leader of a crusade away from home and friends and through perils and trials innumerable to rescue a land its religion made sacred from the possession of the infidels.

The conviction already obtains to a large extent, and is gain-

ing ground, that those who perform the labor of the world are entitled to the fruits of their toil; and that under the present system they are defrauded of these results. This is a proposition sufficiently plain to gain the popular support; and when once they are agreed upon its truth they will have a remedy. The course of wisdom is not to attempt to check the movement, but rather to direct it in the choice of its remedy toward such measures as will best secure its ends, for certainly nothing is to be feared by any lover of justice and humanity, in the nearest possible approach to such a system.

The Populist idea of economics is no doubt, as Mr. Wiley says, a characteristic feature. While this is not the whole gospel of Populistic economical law, one of their chief fundamental ideas is, that as money, either gold, silver, or paper, cannot be applied objectively to the satisfaction of our physical needs, it must depend for its value upon its exchangeability, and they have jumped to the conclusion, or we might say have reached the principle by inductive reasoning, that prices as quoted in it vary directly as the quantity in circulation and inversely as the amount of business done. The erroneousness of this theory might be demonstrated with mathematical certainty from the fact that time remains a variable quantity and that the unit of value is not absolute; but this demonstration would be, as Mr. Wiley says all reasoning is, "entirely lost on the average Populist."

Two other statements made by Mr. Wiley here invite our criticism. After speaking of the use the Populists make of hard times in winning converts to their cause, he says, "In fine, lawlessness and suffering seem pleasing to them; and they would look on business revival and peace and contentment as calamitous"; and again he says, "There is scarcely an ill-wisher of this country to-day to be found outside the fold of the Populist party." I am loath to believe, either with the Populists themselves, or with Mr. Wiley (for they both seem to assume such to be the case), that there are really very many people in this country who if it were to have no effect on their own circumstances, out of pure enmity and malice toward the human race,

would be pleased to see calamity spread abroad and human suffering increased. But I doubt not that there are those who are slightly more interested in their own personal welfare and in the accumulation of wealth and power than they are in sacrificing their personal interests and ambitions for the public good; and perhaps some few of these might be found among that class of capitalists that have not, as yet, in any considerable numbers espoused the Populist cause.

But when Mr. Wiley says, "It is very doubtful if one can be a full member of that party" (the Populist party) "and a good citizen at the same time," he is using language that to one who has been accustomed to accredit Populists with a measure of the good faith that should be conceded to the membership of all organizations whose professed mission is the establishment of a better social order, seems somewhat strong. That there are those who hope to use the Populist party as a means of weakening governmental authority probably no one will deny; but if a majority vote could be taken of all those who have affiliated with that party, there seems to me but little doubt but that they would declare that bad laws should be obeyed until good ones can be legally enacted to supersede them.

And, as to the leaders of Populism—that has heretofore been largely a matter of chance. A new party is always at a disadvantage in the selection of its leaders, for the reason that its members are usually unacquainted with one another, and therefore cannot choose wisely unless a number of men of prominence and of unquestioned integrity join them from other parties. But men who attain prominence in any political organization are usually those who are satisfied with the principles and practices of that party; and as few men of political ambition were willing to forego their chances for success through the regularly organized dispensers of public honors, the first Populist conventions were under the necessity of making their selections from men of untried abilities and principles—oftentimes those who had failed to attain prominence under former organizations, or those who had hitherto paid no attention, beyond a passing interest, to political affairs, being selected to fill places of grave responsi-

bility. That this is the character of the present leaders of Populism, I would not be understood as insinuating. Their acts must form an index to their character and abilities before an enlightened public. But there can be no doubt that the abuse and ridicule which have been hurled at themselves, their leaders, and their principles, have aroused that spirit of combativeness in the "regulation Populist" that is so marked a characteristic of the species.

Mr. Wiley says: "Throughout the West the Populists have added largely to their numbers by advocating free coinage of silver. By making this their main issue and by keeping quiet on their numerous lunatic theories, they have received a much larger support than they otherwise would. Should they throw off their silver mask and openly espouse their socialistic and communistic doctrines, a large part of their following in that section would soon fall away." The declaration so commonly heard from Populist authorities, that the free coinage of silver is but a step in the right direction, would seem to indicate that the Populists are aware that that measure alone would not be a complete panacea for all our woes; but does not necessarily imply that they are in favor, as a national organization, of making any sweeping innovations in the rights of property. The probability is that they will not "throw off their silver mask" unless it shall become evident by the course of events that free coinage is not a step in the right direction, or until its correctness shall have been proven by the incontrovertible proof of actual experiment; and then it will be, it is to be hoped, for the advocacy of some such principle or policy as reason and justice may evolve from our present bitter experiences, for the more equitable distribution of the products of human toil and of nature's bounty, according to the merits of the individual as evidenced by his productive genius or his service to humanity.

The church which preserved to modern society that religion which promises to make all men brothers, through the stormy passions of a barbarous age, was not wholly virtuous; the acts which were committed in the name of that reformation which purged society of the evils of a despotic ecclesiastical dominion,

and gave mankind the liberty of conscience, were not altogether righteous ; the struggles which won in England the civil liberty which is the basis of our own were not always just ; the wars which gave to us political liberty and preserved us one people, did wrongs that can never be righted ; and is it reasonable to expect that a party would at once arise free from all the ills and imperfections to which their species is heir, and, without a single act of injustice or folly, deal with the conditions that confront us ?

"Some of their principles," Mr. Wiley says, "will, doubtless, survive and be incorporated in a party that will have influence and standing in the nation." Whether it is itself the party that will finally forsake all erroneous theories and establish itself on some sound doctrine that will bear the test of reason, remains to be seen, but it seems hardly possible that it will die out, and no other party rise to take its place ; and that the people will remain content to live under a system of finance where over fifty per cent of the intelligent and far-sighted business men make a failure at some time in their financial career, to say nothing of the number who are never able to make a failure because they never get a start. But as the forerunner of the party that is to solve the problem of the hour, whether it is to be an entirely new organization, or a reorganization of itself, or some other party, it has been almost a necessity. Some party to collect the scattered elements of dissatisfaction and loosen the strength of party ties, was needed to prepare the way for the coming of such a party. Such has been the work of the Populist party. Perhaps its life has been "unsavory" in some localities, owing to the ignorance or viciousness of its leaders, but all are not agreed that its existence has been entirely superfluous, and it is to be hoped that "every lover of his country" will learn to care little for the life or death of any party, except as a possible factor in his country's welfare.

ROBERT H. WILEY

BALANCE OF OCCUPATIONS.

BY R. C. BARNETT.

AMONG the various phenomena which are to be met with in the study of sociology, we notice a set of actions in each of the various stages of evolution of the social organism which purpose to the same end—ministering to the wants of man. From the lowest savage who hunts for berries and digs up roots to satisfy his immediate hunger, through the intervening grades of less savage tribes who develop some skill in hunting and fishing, or those of a still higher type who follow pastoral life, and yet others who till the soil, and so on until we come to the most enlightened people, we notice that this set of actions increases in extent and complexity as the social organism approaches its most evolved form. It is the purpose of this article to investigate the cause of these actions, their correlation, and the effect upon man and his environment, both direct and reciprocal.

The first and most important requisite is for man to keep alive; failing in this he fails in everything else. This want persists in the social organism taken as a unit. Want is the economic motive force that causes man to labor, to strive for those things which will gratify his desires. All of man's actions may be traced to this ultimate cause, want.

There is an extensive variation among the members of any society. No two individuals are precisely alike. Each man has different abilities and is actuated by desires of different intensities. In other words, no society is strictly homogeneous. So that the incident force of want acting upon this slightly heterogeneous group will have the tendency toward differentiation of acts. At the same time that differentiation occurs there will be a tendency toward integration of the members of the tribe into groups; for example, warriors, hunters, etc. differentiation and concomitant integration.

lution, will continue until equilibrium is reached. What must be the correlation of wants and acts?

For convenience we may consider wants as being divided into primary, secondary, tertiary, etc. These gradations are purely arbitrary, one class gradually shading off into the next. It is conceded that the primary want is the desire for sustenance. This being satisfied, other wants make themselves felt in the order of their urgency. The acts or occupations which the several wants give rise to may be divided into primitive, first derivative, second derivative, and so on. Each want gives rise to its own set of primitive and derivative occupations. It may be possible as wants become diversified that occupations would overlap; that is, one derivative occupation might be common to several primitive occupations. However, this will not change the principle involved.

The scope of this article does not permit of our formally investigating the origin and growth of each and every social organism that has existed and those that continue to exist. But we may picture in our imagination a typical or ideal social organism and the changes it undergoes, and deduce laws for its growth. The scientist bases his conclusions upon ideal conditions. The astronomer in calculating the orbit of a heavenly body cannot take into consideration the gravitating effect of *all* the heavenly bodies. He assumes ideal conditions; and as his assumed conditions approximate those of nature, his calculated results approximate the actual. Even in so apparently a simple thing as a lever we assume conditions that do not and cannot exist, yet the equation of moments furnishes us with a very close approximation. So in dealing with the ideal typical society, our deductions, if true, will hold for the actual society to the extent that our assumptions approach the actual conditions.

In the first stages of growth of a typical society we would find each individual shifting for himself regardless of how his actions affected others. Each one would strive to get direct from nature enough food and shelter to satisfy simply his individual wants. While each separate act would not be identically the same as the acts of others, yet his *general* mode of obtaining a livelihood

would be the same. This would be a relatively homogeneous state and consequently would be unstable. But each man not being endowed alike, either in ability or inclination, and each following his own path of least resistance, there would early arise the tendency to pursue different lines of action.

The man who could run swiftly would have an advantage in hunting, and there would be a tendency for him to neglect other pursuits and follow this one. Another man would be a good swimmer and diver. He would thus be better adapted for the occupation of fishing. Instances of this kind might be multiplied. What we wish to notice is that *differentiation of occupation* has begun.

The swift runner who hunts game would find aid in the use of clubs and missiles. At first the club would be merely a branch broken from the nearest tree. After a while would come the specially prepared club, superior in fitness for the end in view to the broken branch. The missiles, at first stones gathered at random, would gradually become spears, arrows, darts, etc. As man finds that he can accomplish more with the aid of these specially designed weapons, he will follow the path of least resistance and provide himself with such before going on a hunt. At first each hunter would make his own crude weapons, but there would arise some who would be more expert in making these tools than their fellows. These would have the advantage in securing game. Others would seek to have tools made by these experts and would offer to share some of the game with the tool-makers in return for the weapons. The maker of weapons, seeing this was an easier and more certain way of getting game, would follow the path of least resistance and devote more and more of his time to tool-making, and finally give up the hunting business. Thus differentiation has progressed another step.

This applies to the fisherman and any others engaged in different lines of work. The man who makes weapons for the hunter could readily make something of the kind for the fisherman. The savage who cultivates the soil, in a crude way to be sure, would find it an advantage to have tools. Thus the tool-maker would receive another impetus to his business. Which-

ever occupation predominates, hunting, fishing, or farming, there would be a demand for tools. Thus we see that the desire to get food with the least trouble has led to the differentiation of occupation. The primary want has given rise to the primitive occupation of hunting, fishing, and farming, which in turn has caused the first derivative occupation of tool-making to spring up.

To cut the wood and shape the flint arrowhead, the tool-maker would sooner or later recognize the utility of a cutting tool. At first he would make something of the kind for himself. But this takes his time away from the main part of his job, making the spear and the arrow. Should any of his fellows have better facilities for getting or making cutting tools, it would be easier for him to get his cutting tools from the others by sharing with them his share of the game which he receives for the tools. Thus a second differentiation has taken place, and we now have the second derivative occupation called into existence by the wants of the first derivative. So might the wants of the second call into existence the third derivative, and that in turn the fourth; and so on indefinitely. Now man has other wants to satisfy than that for food. Perhaps it is shelter or clothes, or even decorations for the body. A little consideration will make it plain that each of these wants, or in fact any want, will have its set of primitive and derivatives if differentiation induced by environment proceeds far enough.

While this differentiation of occupation has taken place, there has been an integration of men into groups of hunters, fishers, farmers, wood-cutters, tool-makers, etc. The social organism has become more complex. Heterogeneity has taken the place of homogeneity. The indefinite and incoherent mass of men is now replaced by several groups, each of greater definiteness and coherence. Likewise the indefinite and incoherent acts of man in the earliest stages, when he was hunter, fisher, or farmer, as the occasion might require, have become specialized, more definite, and more coherent. In short, there has been an evolution of industry. This evolution will continue until equilibrium obtains.

This condition of economic equilibrium is the best that can be

obtained or even conceived. The relation that would then exist among men would be that of equality of opportunity ; that is, each and every member of the social organism would have an equal opportunity to work to his full capacity, and the relation of occupations would be so nicely adjusted that each would receive the highest possible wages. This would not be the kind of equality that statutes grant, but rather the kind that nature seeks to maintain. When this state of equilibrium is reached, the path of least resistance will have been traversed. There will be no inducement for a man to change his occupation. He will get the most and the best that his individual efficiency permits.

But what are the conditions of equilibrium ? What relation will then exist among the occupations ? The ultimate recompense of any man in any occupation is a portion of the primitive output. Then, for a given number of persons, the greater this primitive output the greater will be each one's portion. The great desideratum, therefore, is that the primitive output be the maximum.

Let us consider the farming class of our typical society. Here the primitive occupation is tilling the soil. The first derivative occupation will be the making of farming implements, and, in the higher evolved societies, this first derivative occupation will have several succeeding derivatives. Since the relation that any derivative bears to its succeeding derivative is the same as the primitive bears to the first derivative, it will be sufficient to consider these two alone, as the principle we shall discover will be applicable to all. We may now state the problem in this form : What relation should exist between the number of men engaged in the primitive occupation and the number in the first derivative, so that the maximum output may be realized ?

Let us assume that before differentiation began one hundred men were engaged in farming, each man making what tools he required. It is evident that only a portion of his working time could be spent in actual farming. The other part of his time would be spent in tool-making. But some of these men would be able to make better tools and with less personal trouble than would others. Suppose ten of these men would go into the tool-

making business, leaving the remaining ninety men to do the actual farming. The ten men, having more time to devote to tool-making, would become expert and the tools would become more efficient as the result. The ninety men would have their efficiencies increased by the increase of skill due to concentration of effort and also due to the improvement of the tools made by the experts in the derivative occupation. The increase in efficiency might be great enough to balance the effect of the decrease in the number of men, and the total output of the ninety men might equal or even exceed that of the one hundred men working under the first assumed conditions. Should there be an increase, the maximum is being approached. If there be too few men making tools, the farmers would not have enough tools to go around, and the total output would be relatively small. If there be too many men in the derivative occupation, there would be more tools manufactured than the farmers could use, and the total output would be small because of the lack of farmers to use the tools. There is, then, some point between these two conditions where the tool-makers would be just able to supply the demand of the farmers, and the farmers would be just able to use the tools to the utmost capacity. This maximum having been reached, the individual share would be the maximum also. This would be the best that he could do. There would be no inducement for any one to make a change; for in doing so, the *balance of occupations* would be destroyed and the output would become smaller. Now the numerical relation between the number of men engaged in any primitive occupation and the number of men engaged in its first derivative occupation cannot be given here for want of sufficient statistics; but the general rule may be stated thus: (a) *There is one, and only one, certain ratio which permits of the maximum output being realized.* (b) *The maximum primitive output and balance of occupations (equilibrium) are concomitant effects of the same cause and are realized only when this certain ratio is attained.*

Now let us investigate the conditions which permit of men changing occupation, say from the primitive to the first derivative or *vice versa*. In order to induce a man to leave the primi-

tive and enter the derivative, his share of the output must be greater in the derivative than it was in the primitive occupation—that is, the output with respect to the amount and character of the work.

Let S represent the share of the output when working in the primitive and S_1 the share in the derivative. Also let R be the resistance he encounters in the primitive and R_1 the resistance in the derivative. If $S-R$ is greater than S_1-R_1 , he will remain in the primitive; if less, he will seek the derivative. But because of the economical inertia the man does not readily adjust himself to the new conditions; so that the difference between S_1-R_1 and $S-R$ becomes relatively great. Then men will flock to the derivative in excess of the number required to produce the maximum primitive output and gradually $S-R$ becomes greater than S_1-R_1 . This difference increases until it overcomes the inertia of the men, and then there will be a flow back to the primitive until the supply becomes excessive, which will after a time be followed by another movement toward the derivative. This oscillation will continue until man learns by experience to decrease his inertia. As this inertia decreases, the amplitude of oscillation becomes less and finally disappears, when the inertia becomes zero. Then man will be able to instantly adjust himself to conditions, thus preventing the balance of occupations from being disturbed.

Let us next consider the effect of environment upon the social organism and the reaction of the social organism upon the environment. The character of our typical social organism depends upon its habitat. Whether hunters, fishers, or farmers predominated would depend upon the kind of food the habitat offered in greatest abundance and the ease with which it could be procured. The character of the social organism also depends upon its individuals. The acts of the individuals are constantly modifying the environment; for example, the farmers in tilling the soil would decrease the area of the habitat of the animals which the hunters seek. This change of environment would have the tendency to decrease the number of hunters and cause the less successful to find another occupation, such as farming.

This change modifies the environment still more, which in turn makes further changes in the social organism. This action and reaction continues until man's susceptibilities are no longer sensitive enough to respond to the changed condition, or his ability of adaptation is such that he is unable to respond and passes out of existence. This fact of direct and reciprocal actions being conceded, it now remains for us to see if these deductions for the typical society are applicable to our present social organism, and if we can intentionally react upon the present environment in such a way that the attendant evils of our own society may be lessened and perhaps finally eliminated.

As before stated, the scope of this article does not permit of our reviewing in detail the numerous societies that have existed and those that continue to exist. The student of sociology is familiar with the data already given in the works now extant. The conditions we have assumed for our hypothetical society are substantially those which confront any society. The incident force of want always manifests itself in some form. The variability of individuals is universally acknowledged. That man follows the path of least resistance is true in such a large majority of cases that the generalization is not vitiated in the least by the exceptions. The deduction that differentiation of acts and the integration of individuals into groups is confirmed by the experience of previously existing societies. All social organisms experience this to some degree. Our own society differs from others in the extent to which evolution has progressed. Believing that our typical society is a close approximation in the essential features to our present society, we will apply to it the laws already deduced.

We have seen that equilibrium is a desirable condition, toward which we are gradually approaching; also that equilibrium is reached simultaneously with the maximum primitive output. We have further seen that the economic inertia of the individual retards the equilibration process. All evolution tends toward equilibrium; and since the cause of the evolution of the social organism is the economic motive force, then the greater this force, the sooner equilibrium will be reached. The ma

whose wants are few and simple is not so active an agent in the progress of civilization as the man of many and complex wants. The problem now presents itself in this general form: How can we react upon our environment so that the economic motive force will be increased and the economic inertia decreased?

The economic evils which confront us to-day are but symptoms of derangement and disease which afflict the social organism. Our effort should be to remove the cause rather than try to obliterate the symptoms. This cause is the unbalanced condition of occupations. There is a strong tendency nowadays for people to leave the primitive and enter the derivative occupations. As we have previously seen, this tends to lessen the primitive output; but at the same time this tendency is counter-balanced up to a certain degree by an increased efficiency. Beyond this point there is an actual decrease in the primitive output. It is the primitive output that is consumed in satisfying want; and the man who produces this primitive output will have the first chance to use it. The derivative output will not satisfy directly any want. It must be exchanged for the primitive. If there is a scarcity of the primitive and an excess of the derivative output, all who are in the derivative occupation will not have a chance to exchange their output for a portion of the primitive. They will suffer more than those in the primitive who have a better opportunity to satisfy their wants. Therefore it is better for the social organism that there should be a greater tendency toward the primitive occupations than toward the derivative. In other words, there would not be such dire suffering if there were an excess of farmers than if there were an excess of mechanics. Therefore the tendency of legislation should be, for the present at least, to increase the desirability of farming, rather than otherwise.

Now what steps should we take to cause this greater attraction toward the primitive occupations? The important primitive occupation of our own society is farming. We should enhance the attractiveness of this occupation. Instead of unemployed men flocking to the cities, they should be encouraged to go to farming. What will cause them to do this? A change in our

system of land tenure that would permit of any one going to the best available unused land and farming it, is desirable and would have the tendency to attract unemployed men back to the primitive occupation. Good and cheap transportation facilities, enabling the farmer to get his produce to the best market, would be another attraction. Free agricultural schools should be established near the large cities so that they might get recruits from that class of people who are not able to make a living in the cities. These schools would form complements for the trade schools, and would give the country a class of trained and to some degree scientific farmers. An industrial bureau giving out information about the prospective demand for any article, and whether the supply had been previously deficient or not, would let the people know the best occupation to enter. No doubt many other methods tending to bring about a balance of occupations will suggest themselves to the interested reader.

R. C. BARNETT.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

POLITICAL PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.—Hon. Wm. Dudley Foulke, A. I. C., contributes to the Institute of Civics **AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** Department in *Public Opinion*, June 6, an able article under this heading, which concludes as follows :

"To summarize: What will be the effect of proportional representation, first upon the constituency, and, second, upon the representative body ?

"First, upon the constituency.

"1. Instead of nearly half the voters being practically disfranchised, the ineffective votes would be infinitesimally few.

"2. Each voter would have one or more representatives, whom he could consider his own. The relation between representative and constituent would be closer.

"3. There would be more independence among the voters. They would not be obliged to make their vote conform to the dictates of one of the two great parties. They would not be remitted to the choice between two unsatisfactory men.

"4. Proportional representation would bring out a fuller vote. Voters would not stay away because their votes would be useless.

"5. Bribery would be greatly reduced.

"Second, what would be its effect upon the legislative body ?

"1. This would become for the first time really representative. Every shade of thought would be represented in its proper numerical ratio. It would be the image on the camera, the reflection in the mirror.

"2. The gerrymander would be impossible.

"3. There would be a larger field than the district from which to select candidates, and better men would be obtainable.

"4. Distinguished representatives would be sure of obtaining a quota of votes somewhere in the state. Their time need not be spent 'in mending their fences.' Genuine leadership would become efficient by the return of the leader again and again.

"5. The discussions, representing many forms of political thought presented by their ablest advocates, would lead to better results than where two parties only were represented.

"6. Ring rule would be more difficult."

POCKET-BOOK WISDOM.—Never until the masses can be made to feel that the public funds are recruited from their pocket-books, will they insist on purely business methods in municipal affairs, and until the vast majority do thus insist the city's business will be conducted along the old lines and with very much the same net results financially that have hitherto obtained.—*Albany Journal*.

CORRUPT PRACTICE LAWS.—Minnesota, by vote of the last legislature, falls into line with New York, Massachusetts, California, Missouri, Colorado, Michigan, Indiana, and Kansas, as the ninth state having enacted corrupt practice laws.

The law which Minnesota will test in its next campaign and election is in many respects an excellent one. Next to the laws of Missouri and California, it is the most carefully drawn of the nine. It requires sworn publication after election of all moneys received and spent, by candidates and committees, and places maximum limits to expenditures in all cases. These limits are fixed in the same manner as in the Missouri law, that is, on a ratio based on the number of voters, as follows: for 5,000 voters or less, \$250; for each 100 voters over 5,000, and under 25,000, \$2; for each 100 voters over 25,000 and under 50,000, \$1; and for each 100 voters over 50,000, 50 cents—the number of voters to be ascertained by the number of votes cast for all the candidates for such office at the last preceding regular election. The tariff of the Missouri law is the same except that the amount allowed for 5,000 voters or less is under that law only \$100, instead of \$250.

The provisions for enforcing the Minnesota law are copied mainly from the Missouri law, and permit the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes to that cast for the successful candidate, at any time during the latter's term of office, to make application by affidavit to the attorney-general to bring an action to have him ousted from office on the ground of violation of any of the terms of the act. Such application must be accompanied by a bond of \$1,000 as the means of paying possible costs to which the state may be made liable under the suit, and the attorney-general must begin the suit within ten days after the application is filed. In case of refusal of the prosecuting officers, the contestant may bring suit in the name of the state, but at his own expense. If the charges are sustained, the defendant is to be ousted from his office, and that office is to be awarded to the plaintiff, unless the latter be found guilty of some violation of the law, in which case the office is to be declared vacant, and is to be filled either by appointment or by a new election.

In New York City an admirable agency exists for the enforcement of a thorough-going corrupt practice law in the Good Government Clubs. These, by making it their business to collect evidence and to bring suspected violators into court, could make such a law a veritable terror. The politicians scent this danger from afar, with their habitual vigilance, and consequently refuse to take any chances. Whenever the Platt majority in the last New York legislature got sight of a measure

converting the present state law into a statute which might be made effective in practice, they showed it no mercy. No less than three such measures were defeated in the lower house. This is the best testimony possible that a good law, fearlessly and thoroughly enforced, would be a deadly enemy to corruption in elections, and it ought to lead to an awakening of public interest in the subject. No law would be complete for New York which did not include nominating conventions as well as elections, for it is in those that the money is used which the bosses of both parties collect as the "price of peace" from the corporations.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES. MARION, INDIANA.—The Good Citizens' League is successfully combating the saloon power in politics.—FRANKLIN, N. J., has an Independent Citizens' League, just organized, with George L. Rusby president, N. H. Bishop vice-president, and J. H. Malees secretary.—NEW YORK CITY.—The Good Government Clubs have resolved "That notwithstanding that the Senate to be chosen this fall will assist in the election of a United States senator, the Good Government Clubs should make independent nominations for the Assembly and Senate, except where the nominees of the Republican or Democratic party give satisfactory pledges to carry out the principles of the Good Government Clubs.—UTICA, N. Y. has a Good Government Association, organized June 11 at an enthusiastic meeting of representative citizens of all parties, with Charles H. Searle president, Edward Lewis and Dr. Smith Baker vice-presidents, and E. J. Wager secretary. In an address Mr. Searle said: "At the time of making nominations we can go to the party leaders and say we have an association of 1,000 men, and they are absolutely non-partisan. Partisanship doesn't count a feather weight with them, but character and capacity count for all. These men will act as a unit. If you expect to win, you will have to see to it that you name men who will bear close scrutiny, and if you nominate a man with a flaw in his record, he will be voted down. This statement made to political leaders will make it necessary to nominate men above reproach and of far higher character than have heretofore graced or disgraced the office. When that statement is made to business men, the men who pay taxes, it appeals to their common sense, and they will say we are for such a movement and will vote for it."—WHITESTONE, N. Y.—The Good Government Club is enforcing the Sunday observance laws, including the sale of liquor at excursion resorts on that day.—BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—T. L. Robertson, through the *Age-Herald*, has called for a meeting of citizens to effect an organization in the interest of economical and honest public administration.—KNOXVILLE, TENN., has a Christian Citizenship League, with Rev. P. M. Fitzgerald, D.D., president, and W. B. Henderson corresponding secretary.—TERRE HAUTE, IND.—Under the auspices of the Good Citizenship League a rousing mass meeting was held in the Superior Court-room the Sabbath previous to July 4. The call for the meeting reads:

"The need for a deeper interest in the affairs of state, for less indifference for the shameful abuse of law and order, and for a more widespread prevalence of all elements pertaining to patriotic citizenship is patent. This call is issued that patriotic sentiments may be aroused and engendered and that lethargy and indifference may be superseded by zeal and courage for the right." — WILMINGTON, DEL.—Rev. Robert Watt, D.D., and Rev. J. H. Howard, D.D., are conducting a crusade against vice and crime in this city, in which they have the cordial support of large numbers.—JURY REFORM ASSOCIATION.—Monroe County, New York, has an organization under this title which was effected at a meeting in Rochester July 5. Its objects are to further the interests of the "Jury Commission Bill" in the next legislature, and to generally "promote reform in the selection of jurors; to elevate their moral and educational standard, to remove their selection from political action, to the end that crimes against the morals of society may be punished." President, Edward Harris; secretary, Fred C. Hanford.—MONTGOMERY, ALA.—The beginning of a municipal reform movement has been made in this city by the action of the Ministers' Union in presenting a petition demanding that the municipal laws against prostitution, gambling, and Sunday liquor selling be enforced to the letter. Since that time the ministers have been sharply on the lookout, and for several Sundays past it has, for the first time in the history of the town, been well-nigh impossible to purchase whisky. In the majority of instances the screen doors of the saloons were found to be propped open and the lights burning, so that from the street the entire interior could be seen. Dr. George B. Eager, pastor of the First Baptist Church, is president of the union, and Neal L. Anderson secretary.—SAN FRANCISCO.—The Civic Federation has entered upon the work of extirpating the lottery evil which has long been securely intrenched and defiant in that city. *The Argus* thinks that success in this movement must be preceded by the election of honest police judges and the reorganization of the police department. Possibly the letting in of light upon police connection with the "Little Louisiana Lottery Company" of San Francisco is the best way to secure these wholesome results. All of the good citizens of the land give "God speed" to those who are holding up the standard in San Francisco.—OXFORD, IND.—Hon. S. E. Nicholson, of Kokomo, spoke here June 26 to a large audience. An after-meeting was held, at which a Good Citizens' League was organized.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND POLITICS.—The *Baltimore Methodist* in spirited editorials and in letters from correspondents, is urging upon its readers the imperative necessity of Christian activities which shall include vigorous efforts for the purification of politics and government. The same may be said of the *Congregationalist*, *Outlook*, *Presbyterian Observer*, *Christian at Work*, *Indiana Baptist*, and all of the religious journals on the exchange list of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS. This as it should be. Christians who are not loyal and faithful in the d

charge of the duties they owe to the earthly commonwealth in which they now live, will find themselves poorly prepared for citizenship in the Commonwealth of Heaven.

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LIBERTY BELL AND LIBERTY PRIMER.—The new Liberty Bell Anniversary, with its appearance at the Columbian Exposition, has already rung itself into public recognition as a silver-toned apostle of manhood sovereignty. The chairman of the Liberty Bell Committee, Mr. W. O. McDowell, A. I. C., has issued a "Liberty Primer" giving the dates of the anniversaries which it is proposed that the voice of the bell shall aid in commemorating. The primer gives a graphic description of each of these events in its ninety pages of interesting matter, and will be a most useful hand-book for all who desire to be informed as to patriotic anniversaries. The Institute of Civics will send it to any address prepaid upon receipt of twenty-five cents.

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CIVICS UNIVERSITY OF WOOSTER.—This vigorous and progressive Ohio institution, of which Rev. S. F. Scovel, D.D., associate member of the faculty of the Institute of Civics, has long been the honored and successful president, and in which special attention is given to instruction in civics, has just celebrated its quarter centennial.

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STATE LAWS RELATING TO CIVICS.—In North Dakota and Montana, in accordance with laws recently enacted, civics is included among the branches in which teachers must pass examination for certificates of all grades. In North Dakota the examination is chiefly confined to history and civil polity; and the teacher must also be a citizen of the United States, or a resident for not less than one year. In Montana, examination is required in "Civics of the United States and Montana."

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CIVICS IN TULANE UNIVERSITY.—The annual university manual of Tulane University of New Orleans announces a uniform course of instruction in civics in all of its departments. The A. I. C. representatives in this popular and progressive institution are President William Preston Johnston, LL. D., and W. O. Rogers, LL. D., secretary of faculty.

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CIVICS IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS.—The *Examination Bulletin* of the University of the State of New York for the year 1894, just issued, affords an interesting view of the methods employed by a unique state institution. The fact is noted that among the examination papers submitted, those in history "are still the worst." Civics has only recently been added to the studies of the schools under the care of the regents of the university, and in this study, pursued "by older students," the *Bulletin* reports that the papers "are much more satisfactory."

AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF CIVICS

GEO. ALEX. RITTER, Nauvoo, Ill., speaks appreciatingly of the A.I.C., as follows: "The day is not far distant when the American people will recognize in the *A. I. C.* a *powerful factor* in educating the rising generation in the art of good and pure government. It is a genuine patriotic organization and is doing more to-day in the way of bringing about a true and loyal standard of public morality in the administration of affairs in the body politic than all other forces combined. Wherever its influences are at work, it has produced a healthy public sentiment and pure government has been the result. Good citizenship must and will prevail in this country under the auspices of this national organization, and the *republic* will live and flourish under such benign influences."

Another councilor writes:

"The Institute, beginning its work in a period of profound apathy as to the interests which it is intended to serve, has behind it ten years of successful effort devoted to the widest possible dissemination of ideas calculated to bear fruit in the future; to the enlistment of individual interest in its aim; to the furnishing of incentives to right action; to the quickening of the public conscience; to the promotion of wholesome legislation; to the securing of more adequate attention in schools and colleges to instruction in civics; or, in other words, proper preparation for citizenship duties. It enters upon its second decade with the gratifying assurance that it has everywhere won the confidence of upright citizens; has aided in the accomplishment of most useful and far-reaching results; and that it has before it opportunities for far wider activities and results of correspondingly greater importance."

MEETING OF TRUSTEES.—An adjourned session of the tenth annual meeting of the trustees of the A. I. C. was held at the Institute's office in New York, July 18. It was reported that trustees elected to fill vacancies had accepted election as follows: Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D., LL. D., bishop M. E. Church and chancellor American University of Washington, D. C.; Colonel Henry Herschel Adams, commander Lafayette Post G. A. R., of New York; and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary National Municipal League, of Philadelphia. The session was chiefly devoted to the discussion of plans which will enable the Institute to more fully meet the increasing demands upon its efficiencies growing out of its successful work in the past. It was found that the needs were almost wholly financial, there being no lack of willing co-operation on the part of citizens throughout the country, in its various activities calling for personal effort. A special committee on finance was appointed, consisting of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, James Stokes, and Charles H. Denison, charged with the duty of reporting a plan calculated to secure the coöperation of the Institute's body of councilors, and its friends generally, in efforts to provide it with the funds necessary if it is to keep pace with its constantly increasing opportunities for usefulness. The results of the deliberations of this impor-

tant committee will soon be made known to every citizen connected with the Institute. Whatever the proposal which it places before them, we bespeak for it careful consideration and a prompt response. To be associated in joint labors such as those in which this national institution has enlisted the best representatives of American manhood and womanhood, may well be regarded by any citizen as not only an honor and a privilege, but a patriotic duty. The honor, the privilege, and the duty, should, and we believe will, include the bestowal of funds in sufficient amount—and to this end all can contribute something—to enable the Institute to become what it may be (if it is not so already, as suggested by Mr. Ritter's letter on another page), the most commanding and useful single instrumentality for the betterment of political, social, and all civic conditions in the United States.

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ACTIVITIES **PROF. H. B. ADAMS, Ph.D.,** Johns Hopkins University, **OF A. I. C.** of the A. I. C. corps of lecturers, recently addressed the **MEMBERS.** Twelfth Ward Good Government Club of Baltimore, on the "Relation of Science to Good Government." His able exposition of vital truths will be of great benefit wherever he can be induced to present it.

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NEW BIRMINGHAM, TEX.—Dr. Thomas Ward White, A. I. C., has accomplished a great work in promoting the civic and moral welfare of the Alabama Indians in Polk County, Texas. He has also interested himself in the special work in which the coöperation of all good citizens was solicited by the A. I. C. in a late issue of this magazine—that of supplying wholesome reading matter for those confined in jails and penitentiaries. Through *The Outlook*, New York, and through these pages, he presents the following appeal: "The great empire state of Texas has between three and four thousand convicts in its penitentiaries. Many of them are worked on farms. They are perhaps more kindly treated than any convicts in the Union. Please send papers and magazines for them to Colonel T. L. Fairris, Alto, Texas, marking them 'For Convict Farm.'

"THOS. WARD WHITE,
"Councillor American Institute of Civics."

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REV. CHARLES F. THWING, D.D. (A. I. C.), president Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, in a very acceptable address before the American Institute of Instruction at Portland, Me., said:

"I cannot but believe that the American college should be made as little sympathetic as possible with the luxuriousness of American living. There should be one place in a democratic country where men are measured and men are influential not by their wealth, not by the elegance of their bed chambers or the splendor of their raiment, but by simple and sheer character. Our peril is that increasing luxury shall result in diminishing intellectuality.

"The college may help the life of the nation through an intelligent

and sympathetic treatment of all sociological questions. There can be no doubt but that the twentieth century is to be a sociological century. The eighteenth century was a theological one, the nineteenth has been a scientific one, and the twentieth is to be a sociological age. From God to nature, from nature to man, is the progress. The college is the most important agency in this progress."

THE Kobe (Japan) *Herald* speaks in high terms of the Hon. B. G. Northrop, LL.D. (A. I. C.), of Connecticut, who is now making a tour of that country. The authorities attribute to him largely the passage of the Shimonoseki indemnity bill.

GOOD GOVERNMENT, STATE AND LOCAL, DES MOINES, IA.—The local Good Government Club proposes, as a municipal reform measure, that instead of choosing city councilors on a general ballot for the entire city, that they be elected from much smaller local divisions than those now existing, and at least one councilman for each five hundred voters, thus making the neighborhood represented so small that the voters may know each other and may know their representative. This experiment is worthy of trial, and its results would be watched with interest.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—"Civic Duties" was the subject of address in all of the important pulpits in this city on a recent Sunday, and on the following Tuesday evening a public mass meeting of Christian citizens filled the largest hall in the city to listen to an address on "Municipal Reform" by Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D. (A. I. C.), editor of *The Outlook*.

YONKERS (N. Y.) CIVIC LEAGUE.—Two hundred women gathered in the hall of the Women's Institute recently and listened to an interesting address on "The New Patriotism," delivered by Mrs. James Scrimgeour, president of the Woman's Health Protective Association of Brooklyn. She spoke about an hour, describing the work of the Brooklyn association. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Civic League, of which Miss Mary Marshall Butler is president. At the close of the address Charles E. Gorton, superintendent of the Yonkers Public Schools, said the principals and teachers of the several public schools would aid the league in its work.

NEW ORLEANS.—A great public mass meeting in the interests of good government and the enforcement of law and order, was held here June 3, under the presidency of Hon. Wm. Preston Johnston, member of the National Board of Trustees of the A. I. C., and with the following members of the body of the A. I. C. as vice-presidents: R. M. Wamsley, J. C. Morris, Geo. Q. Whitney, and W. H. Masters. The *Picayune*, commenting editorially, says:

"The object of the meeting was that the people might give an expression of their will that the laws which they have made through their representatives in the General Assembly of the state shall be enforced."

Concurrently with this proper demand, the supreme court of Louisiana renders a decision confirming the punishment inflicted by an inferior court upon, as the *Picayune* describes him, one of New Orleans "aldermanic felons." The revival of the patriotism which includes civic conscience is sweeping on.

ALBANY CIVIC LEAGUE.—In its constitution and plan of work, this organization is progressing on intelligent lines, and affords a model to the earnest men and women of many other places, large and small, interested in the subject. The league is non-partisan, non-sectarian, and non-sectional. It aims to advance the highest municipal interests through a systematic federation of all individuals and associations willing to coöperate for the common good.

IN VARIOUS PLACES.—The reform mayors in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Chattanooga, and other cities, continue to justify the trust of electors by their efforts to correct abuses, and administer the laws with the single purpose of promoting the best ends of government. Mayor Ochs (A. I. C.), of Chattanooga, Tenn., presented an excellent paper on methods of administration at the late Municipal League meeting in Cleveland. In New York City the new board of police commissioners appointed by Mayor Strong are a unit in matters of reform, and the discredited chief of police, and one of his principal lieutenants, have already thought it the part of wisdom to resign office, having nothing to hope for under the new *régime*.

FACTIONALISM IN FLORIDA.—The Florida *Times-Union* asks the legislature to abolish factionalism by the passage of a law guaranteeing pure primaries. It says:

"The people of Florida are sick of factionalism. How can it be ended? By a law providing honest primaries. What causes factional divisions? Dishonest primaries, or the belief that primaries are dishonest. Remove the cause, and the effect will cease. Give the people confidence in nominations, and no fight will be made within the party on nominees. Party fights are necessary so long as people differ on questions of principle. Such fights need not be bitter. Factional fights are made on charges of fraud, and they cannot fail to engender bad feeling. The bitterness caused by factionalism has done the state unlimited harm."

RECENT LEGISLATION.—The Utah Constitutional Convention has refused to submit the question of prohibition to vote in a separate clause of the new constitution. Retailers of malt and other spirituous liquors

in Michigan will hereafter pay a uniform tax of \$500. The Massachusetts house has passed a bill to prohibit the manufacture and sale of cigarettes. The Minnesota legislature enacted a law prohibiting the selling of pools or horse-races in that state, which was stolen from the governor's room while awaiting his signature. In compliance with the Anti-Lottery Law, the American Express Company has instructed its agents to refuse handling lottery business.

. . . .

ELECTION OF JUDGES.—When it was first proposed to elect judges by popular vote in this country, there was a loud outcry. The independence of the judiciary would be gone. Their dignity would be compromised. Their impartiality would be lost. It must be confessed that the experiment was a bold one. John Stuart Mill, always friendly to our institutions, condemned the idea. Yet, after all these years, experience vindicates the innovation. In states where the judiciary is elective, the men are, as a rule, more competent than their appointed brethren. Pennsylvania, for example, has an unusually learned and able judiciary. New Jersey, on the other hand, does not elect its judges, and they are far from a credit to the state. New York, in the case of the notorious Maynard, has had an experience which may be deemed conclusive. The governor appointed a convicted felon to the bench and kept him there in defiance of the people until they had the opportunity of ousting him at the polls. Had the judiciary not been elective in the Empire State, a scoundrel would now be a member of the highest court within the commonwealth. We may be pretty sure that if the people were permitted to elect their senators the character of the men sent to our highest legislative body would be materially improved. As it is, we must allow the tools of the money power to represent us.—*Twentieth Century*.

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS. CITY CHARTERS.—The New York State Commission on City Charters, consisting of Judge Robert Earl, of Herkimer, James G. Cutler, Rochester, M. E. Driscoll, Syracuse, Alden Chester, Albany, and David M. Greene, Troy, at an important meeting in Rochester June 9, listened to various papers suggesting charter reforms. One of the most important, that of Mr. Eugene Whitney, is presented in full elsewhere. The Rochester Municipal Club submitted a report, from which we quote as follows :

"The Municipal Club strongly advocates the following propositions as fundamental to any scheme devised for the better government of our municipalities :

"First, A complete separation of legislative and executive powers

"Second, The adoption of the so-called federal plan of city government—executive powers and responsibilities to be intrusted to mayors and heads of departments appointed by him, or in part made elective, but no appointments made by a mayor shall be subject to confirmation by councils.

"Third, Strict enforcement of civil service laws in appointments to office.

"Fourth, The adoption of home rule in the management of municipal government to the fullest extent permitted by constitutional law.

"Fifth, The exclusively ward system of electing councils is believed to be pernicious and should be so modified as to provide for a division of wards into election districts, as is now the practice in some cities, or, and in either case, that provision should be made for representatives elected at large.

"Sixth, That municipal government is business and not politics, and therefore national and state politics should be eliminated by provisions of law as far as is practicable, since municipal contests for supremacy of leadership, in regard to policies and measures, are of local import only, and have no relation whatever to national or state affairs. It is recognized, however, that in regard to this obviously sound proposition, we shall have to depend chiefly, for the present at least, on educational rather than legal measures to correct the glaring inconsistency of our present methods.

"We trust that you gentlemen of the commission will at least devise a plan by which the legislature may relieve the cities of the second class in the state from the 'spectacle,' as was satirically said years ago, 'of the aldermen discussing their own recommendations and solemnly making grants of money to be expended by themselves as members of committees.'

"In closing this brief exposition of views, we may remark that we are fully aware that whilst good laws are indispensable as a foundation for good government, it is of paramount importance that eternal vigilance should be exercised in the selection of good and competent men to execute them, and to this end the energies of all good citizens should be specially directed; but under existing methods of making nominations, it is a patent fact that the will of the people has no real voice. It is very easy to exclaim, 'Go to the caucuses,' but the going, except in rare instances, proves to be simply an abortive butting of heads against the machines of party politicians. The remedy for this evil ought to be devised. What form should it take?

"NELSON MILLARD, Chairman."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—There is now lacking only the president's signature for the extension of the civil service reform rules to the employees in the government printing office. The rules agreed upon do not interfere in any way with the trades unions, nor do they affect the status of the employees now in the service. The initiative in this extension of the rules was taken by the latter, who will profit materially by the increased security of their tenure.

There seems to have been at first among some of the union leaders a little of the misapprehension, so diligently cultivated by the enemies of civil service reform, that the competitive system plays into the hands of college graduates by the requirements which it exacts. The rules

adopted, however, are of so practical a character as to relieve any such misapprehension. Applicants for appointment must be able to give proof of five years' service in their trade, at least one year as journeymen. Besides this, the educational requirements are only such as may reasonably be exacted of representatives of a trade implying so high a degree of intelligence as does "the art preservative."

For the extension of the reform rules over the offices under the government of the District of Columbia it is believed that a special act of Congress is necessary. When that is secured there will be no spoils left at Washington, under any fair administration of the system, though the performances of Logan Carlisle have shown that many abuses are still possible, when powers of appointment and removal rest in the hands of those who are not in sympathy with reform.

Two great reforms remain to be accomplished, upon which there should be a concentration of intelligent public sentiment. These are the extension of the competitive system to posts in the consular service, and the enactment of Senator Lodge's bill, or some similar measure, for regulating the appointment of fourth-class postmasters. The United States suffers greatly in prestige and its business and commercial interests in prosperity by reason of the incompetence of our consular agents, who are appointed and removed at the caprice of intriguing politicians, and with little or no reference to their fitness for their work.

As to the post-offices, they are openly apportioned as spoils, to the detriment alike of the public service and the public morals. If by one bold stroke they could be taken out of politics, the country would be the gainer. We would have better service and cleaner politics. The post-offices would not be made the rendezvous of small politicians, and we should be spared the absurdity of shifting the postmaster at every crossroad whenever there was a change in administration. These may seem like great reforms, and so indeed they are; but the difficulties in the way of their accomplishment are not so serious as those that have been overcome in securing the substantial gains already recorded.—*Boston Transcript*.

STATUARY IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.—Thirty years ago Congress instructed each state to contribute two statues to be placed in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. To their shame, only twelve have responded, and not all of them in a manner which does proper credit to their and the nation's illustrious dead. Among the statues furnished are the following: Rhode Island, Roger Williams and General Nathaniel Greene; New York, Governor Clinton and Robert Livingstone; Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman; Vermont, Ethan Allen and Jacob Collamer; Massachusetts, John Winthrop and Samuel Adams; New Jersey, Richard Skinkle and Philip Kearney; Maine, William King; New Hampshire, General John Stark and Daniel Webster. The statues last named were unveiled during the session of the last Congress, with an address by Senator Morrill (A. I. C.), a personal friend of Webster, one of whose utterances which he repeat

and is worthy of remembrance was, "I bring forth nothing without labor."

VARIOUS INCOMES AND HOMES IN FRANCE.—In Benjamin Kidd's **MATTERS.** "Social Evolution," which is one of the most notable treatises on evolution in its sociological aspects of the decade, the author refers to a paper recently read by M. Claudio Jannet before the French Academy, in which he states that there are not now in France more than seven or eight hundred persons with an income of \$50,000 a year and not more than nineteen thousand with an income of \$10,000 and upwards. He shows also that although the national debt has doubled since 1860, the native holders of the debt have quadrupled in number. The number of small holders of bonds or rents tends to greatly increase. One half of the bonds of the city of Paris are owned by holders of a single bond each. M. Jannet states also that of the 8,302,272 inhabited houses in France 5,460,355—more than sixty-five per cent—are owned by their occupiers. The average value of the village home is \$2,244; the average mortgage is \$846.

The summing up of the matter is that about two thirds of the families of the country pay tribute to landlords. Of the homes to which their occupants have title nearly a third are mortgaged. It will be a fortunate day for the United States when the proportion of home-owners is equal to the proportion of home-owners in France. As matters now stand the proportion in France is double that in this country.

IN WOMAN'S FIELD. **FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY.**—Alameda County, Cal., has a Woman's Political Equality Society, just organized at Oakland, with Mrs. Ada C. Van Pelt, of Oakland, president, Mrs. Lloyd Baldwin, of the same place, recording secretary, and Mrs. Heath, of Alameda, corresponding secretary. Branches are to be formed in every town in the county.

"THE 'NEW WOMAN,' says the *New York Times*, has arrived, is with us, to an extent which makes a jest a serious matter and dwarfs even if it does not explain or answer the befuddled tariff argument of our misguided neighbor. We are not now mainly concerned with whether or not the disproportionate increase of female laborers explains the difference in growth between protected and unprotected industries. That seems a smaller matter than the emancipation of a sex from old-time shackles. The time when it was unwomanly for a woman to be economically—that is, morally and intellectually—her own mistress is passing, if not past. This is the interpretation of the 'new women' and 'bachelor girls' abounding on every hand." *The Post Intelligencer*, Seattle, says of men and women, "as sex to sex, they are equal. Intellectually woman has gained; the only fear is that she may lose in gentleness, refinement, and domesticity. While credit is deserved by those women who seek to earn an independent living by their own skill

and labor, the prospect is not a pleasant one. The evolution of the new woman has its advantages, but it destroys the ideal of the petted daughter and sister, the companionship of wife and the home-loving mother."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STUDIES IN CIVICS.—The continually increasing attention given to affairs of civics in American schools of every grade arouses a corresponding degree of interest in the literature of the subject on the part of patriotic and progressive school officers and instructors. The "best books," suitable for the use of the teacher alone, or the use of classes, have been increasingly demanded, and old and new publications, the former in revised shape, are catalogued under the head of "Civics" by the American Book Company, University Building, Washington Square, New York City.—George H. Martin's *TEXT-BOOK OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT*, as the name implies, presents an outline of some of the most essential facts relating to forms and methods in the government of the United States and the states and minor divisions as illustrated by Massachusetts. It follows, practically, the usual course pursued in similar publications not of recent date, and is chiefly devoted to outline views of constitutional provisions relating to governmental methods.—Alexander J. Peterman's *ELEMENTS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT* is a book of fewer pages, with similar scope, but in some respects higher merit in the arrangement of facts. It has useful chapters on Suffrage and Elections, Party Machinery, and Revenue and Taxation. It approaches the studies presented from the point of view of the home or family, as the unit in society, treating successively of the school and school district, town, county, state, and nation.—The *MANUAL OF THE CONSTITUTION*, by Israel Ward Andrews, D.D. (A. I. C.), is a book so well known to the educators and the public generally that extended comments are unnecessary. As its title indicates, it is devoted, with the exception of a chapter on the Constitution of the State of Ohio, almost wholly to the consideration of the Federal Constitution, and the colonial agreements which preceded it. It is without doubt one of the very best manuals of its kind.—Under the title *STUDIES IN CIVICS*, J. T. McCleary presents a text-book somewhat similar to Mr. Peterman's in the order of arrangement of facts, but more voluminous in its treatment of them. Separate chapters are given to governments in general and to commercial law (contracts, partnerships, etc.), and an appendix treats briefly of international law. No one of the four books above referred to, considered as text-books in civil polity (which is the only branch of civics to which they give serious attention), is free from conspicuous defects, such as characterize nearly all present books of their class. We ought, perhaps, to except from this statement Andrews' "Manual of the Constitution" when properly used as a purely constitutional text-book.—Charles Nordhoff's *POLITICS FOR YOUNG AMERICANS* is a book quite different in many respects from the hand-books already named. It can claim very little in the way of orderly arrangement in the subjects of which it treats, which is one of

its chief demerits as a text-book. Its brief statements concerning the subjects upon which it touches are lucid and interesting, and cover a wide range of facts in the fields of civil polity, law, ethics, and history. It is, in truth, a most interesting, suggestive, and helpful aid to studies which touch, in a haphazard way, all branches of civics. As a help to teachers or pupils in studies which have been systematically planned, it may have great value, and it will be found especially useful in connection with young people's organizations for the study and discussion of public affairs.

An excellent text-book, treating of a distinct branch of civics, is J. Laurence Laughlin's *ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*. It is perhaps safe to say of this compact, well-arranged treatise that it represents the best efforts of one of the ablest and most conscientious students in the field of economics, and that in its merits as a text-book it is unexcelled. It may also be commended as a valuable and trustworthy hand-book of the subject for the use of civic clubs and citizens generally.—Paul Janet's *ELEMENTS OF MORALS*, American edition, translated by Mrs. C. R. Corson, is a fairly successful effort to present the most obvious and important facts of moral science in such manner as to make them clearly apprehensible, especially to the young. As an exposition of the doctrine of duties in society, or applied ethics, it will prove a suggestive aid to teachers who desire to give oral instruction, and will be useful as a text-book for class instruction.—*AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIETY*, by Albion W. Small, Ph. D., and George E. Vincent, is a book which its authors inform us is to be "judged by experts not as a supposed contribution to sociological knowledge, but as a proffered help in the training of beginners; . . . not a report of research upon the material of social knowledge, but the proposal of a method of preliminary investigation adapted to the use of college students." This frank disavowal of any pretense to a thorough and exact treatment of the subject considered, forbids much of the criticism to which the book would otherwise be subject. The statement on page 16, that "sociology is nothing but systematic knowledge of human beings," may be capable of an interpretation which will render it acceptable, but can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory or creditable definition. In view of the uncertain significance of this omnibus term, and the almost appalling scope of the field which it claims or is claimed for it, the preparation of a manual seeking to point the way for those who would enter the domain of sociology as students, is by no means an easy or enviable undertaking. The author tells us that "the puzzling world is the student's own world, and he may as well begin to resolve the puzzle in his own street or school district." In acting upon this proposition, however little of "the puzzle" they have solved, the authors of this book have made a contribution to the study of the facts of organized society which must, under all the circumstances, be regarded as useful and creditable. All of the volumes above referred to are from the publications of the American Book Company, New York.

OUR CIVIC RENAISSANCE, an account of municipal reform movements in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, and Albany, by Albert Shaw, Ph. D., A. I. C., with portraits of twelve municipal reform leaders, including Hon. S. B. Capen, A. I. C., and Edwin D. Mead, A. I. C., of Boston, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, A. I. C., of Philadelphia, and Dr. J. M. Gregory, A. I. C., of Washington.—*Review of Reviews*, April.—“The Political Depravity of the Fathers,” some of the doubtful political methods in vogue in the early days of the republic, by John Bach Mc Masters; “Dr. Rush and General Washington,” reminiscences of the political warfare against Washington, by Paul Leicester Ford.—*Atlantic Monthly*, May.—“A Southerner’s Plea for Peace,” by Thos. J. Middleton; “The Palladium of Liberty,” by Victor Yarros; “An Open Letter to Thos. B. Reed,” by Geo. W. Pepperill; “San Francisco and the Civic Awakening,” by Adaline Knapp; “An American Financial System,” by J. E. Dean; “Crime and Enforcement of Law,” by H. C. Vrooman.—*Arena*, April.—“Italians becoming American Citizens.”—*Church at Home and Abroad*, May.—“Religious Teaching in the Public Schools,” by Lyman Abbott, D.D. (A. I. C.)—*The Century*, April.

THE AMERICAN BIMETALLIST, published weekly at Huntington, Ind., is a new journalistic champion of what is called bimetallism. It proposes to present “a record of the sayings and doings” of those who participate in “the movement for the full restoration of silver.”—PUBLIC OPINION, June 20, in its A. I. C. Department, treats of “Bureaus of Free Legal Information as existing in France and Denmark” June 27, of “Indian Education,” by R. H. Pratt of the Carlisle School July 4, of “Working Girls’ Clubs,” by Grace H. Dodge.—SOCIAL ECONOMIST, July, in an article on “Integrity of Economic Literature” emphasizes the necessity of honesty in the presentation of data in economics. It discusses also the monetary question, considered historically, and European opinion on bimetallism.—JOURNAL OF ETHERICS, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Prof. J. H. Hyslop presents “Causes and Proposed Remedies for Labor Troubles.”—THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY.—Miss Isabel Eaton writes of “Receipts and Expenditures of Wage-Earners in the Garment Trades.”—HARPER’S MAGAZINE.—“Some Questions of the Day” is the title of a thoughtful article by Seth Low, A. I. C., in the June number, dealing with the labor question in some of its newer aspects.—POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, 70 Fifth Ave., New York.—“The Modern Use of Injunctions” is discussed by F. J. Stimson, in an exceptionally able article, in which he sharply criticises some recent judicial acts. S. Moffett raises the question “Is the Senate Unfairly Constituted?” and answers it in the negative, presenting effective arguments.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY.

BY THOMAS E. WILL, A.M., PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN
KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

WHATEVER touches the city touches civilization itself. It is in the ancient city that civilization first found its seat; it is in the modern city that civilization has attained its highest expression. When nomadic Greeks, proceeding on the lines of organic national evolution, massed families into clans or phratries, clans into tribes, and tribes into states, the result of this final aggregation was the famous *city-states* of antiquity; it was *Ægina*, Corinth, Sparta, Athens. And in these communities it was, on the ragged coasts of Hellas, that art, eloquence, poetry, philosophy, reached an eminence that, in some respects, has never yet been surpassed. Proofs of the favored position of the city's-man may be found embedded in the very warp and woof of language. The "polished" man lives in the *polis*, the city; the "urbane" gentleman is from the *urbs*; the "civil" man is the *civis*, the citizen, the city-dweller; and from the same root comes the word *civilization* itself.

When the city societies of ancient Greece fell it was that they might give place to another civilization whose center and soul was a city—the Eternal City—Rome. Freeman, in an eloquent passage, has declared in substance that it was the vast reservoir into which were gathered all the streams of antiquity; and the inexhaustible fountain from which flow forth the rivers of modern national life. The City on the Tiber was the mighty heart from which, and back again to which, with tireless diastole

and systole, pulsed the life-blood of the ancient world. Rome, in the imagination of the time, was endowed with a charmed life; it was an object of worship; and with its fall civilization itself was believed to have perished, to be revived only with the establishment of the Heavenly City, St. Augustine's City of God.

What the ancient city was to the peoples before the flood of barbarian migration the modern city is in many respects to the peoples of to-day. It is the center of civilization's light and heat; it is the dynamo that drives the vast machinery of the nineteenth century world. Do we seek art? It is to the city that we go to find it, in a Boston Art Museum or a Corcoran Art Gallery. Do we desire music? Again the city with its Symphony Company or its Thomas's Orchestra furnishes the supply. Would we drink of the wisdom of the ages? Again the city, with its huge public library, beckons us; and if we would find in dynamic activity the power the library furnishes us in static form it is to the university, in or hard by the city, that we turn. Railroad, telegraph, and telephone systems center in and radiate from the city. Here industry and its active factors are concentrated. Here conventions, political, religious, scientific, humanitarian, are held, and World's Fairs have their seats. One who, drawn by lightning, speeds over thoroughfares rivaling the Appian Way; through boulevards, parks, and gardens; past noble mansions—the habitations of men, and splendid buildings devoted to art, industry, commerce, statesmanship, and religion, may readily understand why heaven itself was compared to a city.

But the city has its other side. It has been taken as the type of heaven; the poet Shelley declared that hell was a city much like London. Mr. John Burns, after seeing our typical American city, averred that Chicago was a pocket edition of hell. It is in the city that the extremes meet. Here we find the wealth that, rightly used, may lift man highest from the plane of animalism; and here, by its side, we may find poverty so dire, so hideous, that we turn from it with sickening heart. Beauty stands *vis à vis* with ugliness. Virtue the most lofty, patriotism the most

sincere, philanthropy the most noble, are here ; while, skulking in their shadow or flaunting its brazen face in open day, is vice, most hopelessly depraved. On the one hand we see the environment which, of all known environments, material, intellectual, social, æsthetic, spiritual, we would most desire as that in which to rear a child ; on the other may be found those dens, the knowledge of which led Professor Huxley to declare that had he his choice of being born into a savage tribe in the midst of the wilderness or in the poorer quarters of one of our great cities he would unhesitatingly choose the lot of the savage. If in the city may be seen the abodes of the blest, in it not less may be found the prison-houses of the lost.

I have alluded to the problem of poverty in the city. Some years ago England was startled as by a voice in the night. A little pamphlet had been launched upon the world. It was called "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." In more recent years poverty has been made a subject of systematic study. Dickens, with his tireless industry and unsurpassed powers of observation, devoted years to the task of revealing to the more comfortable classes how the other half lived. General Booth published his "Darkest England" ; and Mr. Charles Booth, in his great work, "Life and Labor of the People of London," has given to the world the one truly scientific study of poverty. In America Mr. Jacob Riis, Rev. Louis Albert Banks, Mr. B. O. Flower, Mr. William T. Stead, and home missionaries, congressional investigation committees, and college settlements have unearthed the facts to such a degree that no one, willing to know, need longer be ignorant of the conditions that actually exist in "civilization's inferno."

I have noted that ugliness exists in the city side by side with beauty. It is an interesting fact that some of the most earnest, nay, in cases the most uncompromisingly fierce of social reformers are artists and art critics. A celebrated artist once explained this singular phenomenon to the writer on the ground that the artist is accustomed, by his habits of study, to consider a work not simply in detail but in its *tout ensemble*, and to look for symmetry and harmony in all its parts ; to demand, in short, per-

fection. That certain portions of a picture or statue are carefully wrought and finely finished means little to the artist so long as other parts are crude and unsightly, and the work, as a whole, is unsymmetrical. Conceive, now, an artist emerging from a studio filled with works of art and models of beauty for a ride through certain sections of a modern metropolis. He boards a horse car, dingy from age or painted in a style that violates every canon of art; and starts down a muddy street, gutted for blocks by some corporation that is laying pipes or wires, or tearing them out. His ears are regaled by the shrill cries of the newsboys, the oaths of hackmen, the jingle of the sheep-bell on the car-horse, the wail of the hand-organ, and the discordant clangor of the street band. On either hand loom huge, unsightly buildings of the type of the rectangular goods-box balanced on end. Here the equilibrium has been disturbed by age and failing foundations, and the cornices lean toward each other across the street like Towers of Pisa. Overhead the sky is darkened by coal-smoke and countless wires. Presently he enters the tenement district. Crazy, dove-cote buildings tower story above story, and stand like drunken men. From out the grimy, cobwebbed, or broken windows peer faces dark with filth and sin, or wasted by hunger and disease. The narrow street and narrower pavements swarm with dirty, ragged children—such a job lot as made up Squeers's famous Yorkshire school. These children inhabit the street because there is no room for them within doors; and, the houses standing flush with the sidewalk to save ground-space, there are no yards. Perhaps, if actually on a "slumming" tour, our artist, accompanied by a policeman and a city missionary, ventures into the courts and alleys off the main street, climbs the rickety stairways, sees whole families huddled together in a 13x14 den, making children's knee pants at eight cents per dozen; the garments piled about the room in which the family eat, sleep, cook, work, and vegetate. Some of these clothes lie on the bed in which a child is dying of scarlet fever; in a few days they will be exposed for sale in a great department store on Main Street and we will buy a pair and carry death into our home.

Leaving the sweater's den, where people work from four in the morning till ten o'clock at night, seven days in the week, for the privilege of existing in a pig-sty, menaced by constant dread of non-employment and eviction, our tourist glances into the gin palace, sees men and women in all stages of drunkenness and children carrying liquor home to drunken parents; stops for a moment at the cheap concert hall and the variety show where the people are seeking such art as their purses can buy and their undeveloped or depraved tastes appreciate. He calls at the employment bureau and notes the crowd of work-hunters, most of whom are doomed to disappointment, follows some of them to the police station where they will sleep on the bare floor, and then turns his face homeward. Remembering his training and his ideals, is it a matter of surprise that the artist should declare our civilization a dismal failure? And is it a matter wholly inexplicable that, should he lack somewhat in philosophic balance, we should see him on May-day in Hyde Park—"artist, scholar, poet—amid a motley crowd with red and black flags inscribed 'Anarchy,' announcing to the workmen that they are slaves, rich men their owners, their natural enemies, and existing society a war"? *

Not only is it true that poverty and vice and crime and ugliness squat, like foul toads in a flower-garden, beside wealth and virtue and beauty; it is further true that in the city popular government has most nearly reached utter failure. Aristotle's analysis of governmental forms and of the cycle of degeneracy and revolutions is familiar to students of politics. Basing a wide induction upon well-known facts in the history of Grecian states, Aristotle maintained that there were three types of normal government, each liable to be followed by a degenerate form peculiar to itself. The three normal types were: Monarchy, the rule of the one strong man; Aristocracy, the rule of the few; and Democracy, the rule of the many. Monarchy, however, though likely to be successful when conducted by the strong ruler, bent upon the good of his people, tended to degenerate into a tyranny in the hands of his incompetent children. As a

* M. D. Conway on "The Right of Evolution," in *The Monist* for July, 1891.

result there would follow a revolution, led by the nobility who now themselves assume the reins of government. In time, however, Aristocracy degenerates into a senile, obstructive, self-seeking Oligarchy, to be overthrown, in turn, by a vigorous Democracy. Democracy, however, tends in time to lapse into Mobocracy and Anarchy, and society, out of utter disgust and despair, welcomes the "Man on Horseback," the Caesar, the Napoleon, the Monarch, in some form or other; and the cycle is thus complete.

Aristotle's cycle cannot be exactly duplicated in the American city, yet she seems to be developing a cycle of her own. Monarchy we abrogated a hundred years ago, and attempted the democratic experiment. How far we have degenerated from the democratic ideal may be appreciated when we consider the Tweeds, Kellies, Crokers, and McManesses who, unchosen by people and unappointed by executives, have ruled our great cities with a rod of iron. It is in the American metropolis that one of these self-chosen despots systematically plundered the public treasury, purchased immunity with a fraction of the spoils, bought or terrorized the regular organs of public expression, and insolently asked the people "what they were going to do about it." When this first ruler in the dynasty was overthrown, it was only to be followed, in time, by others like himself; one of whom, by sheer force of bullying, it is said, lifted himself from the position of leader of the Fourth Avenue Tunnel Gang to "a throne of municipal Caesarism more absolute than that of Lorenzo the Magnificent when Florence was queen of the cities." Croker, too, is overthrown, but another uncrowned king, operating from Albany, has seized, it would seem, most of the fruits of the victory.

From the tyranny of the boss the next step in the governmental evolution of the city should be to popular government—or monarchy in some form. Does the Brooklyn experiment mean that the last alternative has been chosen?

But there is another form of city government that Aristotle did not dream of in his philosophy; it is government by the corporations. Mr. William T. Stead, in his book on Chicago,

speaking of the Englishman's "old ideas about the sovereignty of the American citizen," declares he cannot believe that things are as bad as every one he meets tells him they are. . . . It is only after a long time that he begins dimly to discover that upon the ruins of popular liberty and republican theories there has been established a plutocratic despotism as sordid, as tyrannical, and as lawless, as ever was permitted to scourge a people for its sins.

I have watched the rapid evolution of social democracy in England. I have studied autocracy in Russia, and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia, in the first years of the reaction occasioned by the murder of the late tsar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism than that which prevails among the masses of the so-called free American citizens, when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of the corporations. "Wealth," said a workman bitterly to me the other day, "has subjugated everything. It has gagged the press, it has bought up the legislature, it has corrupted the judges. Even on the universities it is laying its golden finger. The churches are in its grasp. Go where you will, up and down this country, you will find our citizens paralyzed by a sense of their own impotence. They know its injustice, they know better than any the wrongs which they suffer; they mutter curses, but they are too cowed to do anything. They have tried so often and been beaten so badly they have not the heart to try again."

What this man said I have been hearing on every side, in all classes of society. There is the most helpless hopelessness, utterly strange to me. (Pp. 188-9.)

The problem of the city is the problem of civilization. This problem, in a word, is how to abolish, or at least how to mitigate, the terrible poverty that festers in the slums; how to provide economic occupation for the unemployed; how to eliminate the vice and crime; how to modify the fierceness of the competitive struggle; how to establish popular government; how, in short, to present a clean bill of health.

No sociological inquiry can be adequate that stops with phenomena instead of going back to find the cause or causes of those phenomena. Our municipal problems, while themselves causes, are at the same time effects. What is their origin? Can it be found and removed?

Some have found the cause, in part at least, in the rapid, mushroom growth of the American city. It has sprung up, as

it were, in a night ; our urban population has enormously gained in numbers relatively to our rural population. This phenomenal growth has caught us largely unprepared. The statistics may make this point clearer.

At the time of Washington's first inauguration to the presidency the populations of our leading cities were as follows : Philadelphia, 42,000 ; New York, 33,000 ; Boston, 18,000 ; Baltimore, 13,000 ; Brooklyn, 1,600. Now these five cities have a population of more than 4,000,000, or more than that of the United States in 1789. Chicago then had no existence ; Denver and San Francisco were yet to be born. The gain of city over country is shown by the statement that "whereas, in 1790 the population of the United States was scarcely 4,000,000, and out of each 100 inhabitants only 3 dwelt in cities and the other 97 in rural places ; on the other hand, in 1880, when the population was over 50,000,000, out of each 100 inhabitants 23 dwelt in cities and 77 in rural places." Most of this growth, furthermore, has accrued since 1840. "In 1790 there were six towns in the United States that might be ranked as cities from their size." In 1800 the number was the same ; in 1810 it was 11 ; in 1820, 13 ; in 1830, 26 ; in 1840, 44 ; between 1840 and 1880 the number of new cities born was 242 ; while the urban population was over eleven millions ! "Nothing like this was ever known before in any part of the world, and perhaps it is not strange that such a tremendous development did not find our methods of government fully prepared to deal with it."*

It is doubtless true that the Jonah's-gourd character of the American city has something to do with its peculiar problems ; yet, before attaching too much weight to this factor we must remember that London, "the unregenerate monster," dates back to the time of the Roman occupation ; while Paris, whose darker aspects have been immortalized by the genius of Victor Hugo, is as old as Julius Cæsar.

Much importance, again, has been attached to the question of immigration. The European was once welcomed with open arms to America ; and he is still welcome when personally un-

* John Fiske, "Civil Government in the United States," pp. 119-20.

objectionable, self-supporting, and not unduly numerous. But the character of the immigrants is changing, and for the worse; America is called the "dumping-ground of Europe's filth." The numbers of immigrants are vastly increasing.* Steamship companies compete for the passage-money and pay agents so much per head for the trade they work up. The prospect of "cheap labor," furthermore, is a tempting bait to the American employer, whether he hires the foreigner himself or uses him as a club with which to beat down the wages of the American laborer. The result is that the ocean barrier that once separated the New from the Old World is now practically removed; while the inflow has been compared to the migrations of peoples (die Völkerwanderung) that preceded the break-up of the Western Roman Empire. Not only so, but these immigrants, in many cases, resist assimilation; they congregate, each nationality by itself, in certain sections of the city, forming thus a polish quarter, a Bohemian quarter, a Hungarian, an Italian, and a Jewish quarter; and so on for the various nationalities. Thus grouped, these people live in semi-isolation, each preserving its own language and its own peculiar manners, customs, traditions, and habits of thought. This maintaining of a state within a state and the consequent resisting of the process of integration and unification is, when viewed from the sociological standpoint, of transcendent importance. A healthy city is an organism with all its parts bound together like the various organs and members of the human body, all parts conscious of and responding to an impulse given to a single part. But a city thus composed of a congeries of nationalities, representing all Europe and much of the world, each holding aloof as far as possible from all the others, is more like a body composed of a score or a hundred different and unlike bodies tied together in mere physical rather than or-

*The figures for the years 1890 to 1893 are as follows:—1890, 455,302; 1891, 560,319; 1892, 579,993; 1893, 440,793.

The following figures show how large a proportion of the immigrants are regarded, because of their nationality, undesirable:

	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.
Austria-Hungary.....	56,199	71,042	78,937	57,420
Russia and Poland.....	46,671	74,923	122,047	58,684
Italy.....	52,008	78,055	61,831	72,145

The falling off for 1893 is attributed to the strict quarantine regulations and the panic.

The figures are from "Publications of the Immigration Restriction League No. 1," Boston, Mass.

ganic union. Obviously the very life of the city depends upon the assimilation of the various elements that compose it and the integration of all its different parts into one harmonious whole.

Yet even upon the immigration factor, important as it is, we must not lay undue stress. Foreign cities that have suffered far less from the influx of outsiders have their problems, perhaps more serious than ours. Few of us, I imagine, would care to exchange even a Chicago or a New York for Constantinople or Cairo or Peking.

A satisfactory study of causes must penetrate beyond external circumstances to man himself. The source of our troubles lies in ourselves. We are too intensely egotistic; too self-centralized. We are individually pursuing our own fortune, our own promotion, our own happiness; and we leave our fellow-man to do the same. As for civic duties we forget, too often, that such duties exist for us. We are over-individualistic, partly, perhaps chiefly, because of our ignorance. Most of us do not know that we cannot realize ourselves and attain our own individual development, or satisfaction, or happiness—whatever may be the name we apply to our chief object of endeavor—while working thus individually, and ignoring other individuals and our corporate life as well. If we desire beauty we ignore the fact that this cannot be attained and enjoyed in the midst of ugliness any more than music can be cultivated in the midst of discordant sounds. Similarly we forget that wisdom cannot be attained by one living in a society of fools; nor righteousness, in a community of rascals; nor purity, in the midst of vicious surroundings. We forget the profound scientific truth embodied in the old maxims that "evil communications corrupt good manners" and that a man is known "and largely made by the company he keeps." If our aim be no higher than merely to seize the shining dollar and to buy our products and our labor in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, we fail to see how our self-seeking, unmodified by a more generous spirit, defeats, sooner or later, its own end. Yet nothing is simpler. Note, for example, how bad distribution injures and tends ultimately to ruin trade. Conceive a society in which the purchasing power is largely concen-

trated in the hands of a small fraction of the population. Remember that production and trade are carried on, generally speaking, only for buyers. Is it probable that the rich, by any effort they are likely to put forth could consume or even waste the bulk of the wealth that a vast and highly organized society, employing modern machinery driven by steam and electricity, is able to produce? The very thought is appalling. The rich would simply buy what they wanted; other members of society would buy what their slender incomes would permit, and the market would then be supplied. Evidently, the farther this process of concentrating purchasing power into a few hands is carried the worse for business in general. Yet how many hard-headed captains of industry and promoters of enterprises who know, as they think, all about business, have ever seriously considered this point? Even economic writers seem almost to ignore it, often slurring over the truth with the doctrine that a "general glut" is an impossibility.

Not only are we ignorant, densely so, on some matters relating most closely to our most vital interests; we are selfish to a degree; and we make of our selfishness a virtue. We pride ourselves upon "minding our own business and leaving others to do the same"; we "look out for number one"; we see to it that our "charity begins at home" and ends there. The logical result is that, each one looking out for himself and minding his own business, only such are left to look out for public business as will make it their own business and run it on the principles that generally prevail in the market. The natural consequence is the modern "boss," with his trusty thanes and vassals, the "Mickeys" and "Jimmies" and "Billies," who fix the primaries, round up the vote on election day, and see that the spoil is properly apportioned in their several bailiwicks. All of these, be it noted, are simply operating on the generally accepted principle; they are minding their own business and looking out for number one, as Mr. Croker distinctly declared. The "good citizen" does what he can to perpetuate this self-constituted despotism by rendering the specified tribute; and he pays this blackmail because he regards it *cheaper for him* to

buy immunity than to attend to his political duties and seek to maintain good government. He gets what he pays for and what he deserves.

The purely selfish principle, unmodified by altruism and public spirit, it should be evident, is divisive, anarchical, destructive. Had it full sway society would be bound together only by a rope of sand. It would be like a planetary system, in which the centripetal force ceases to act, while the centrifugal force, unbalanced, is left to tear the system to pieces and send each body off on a path of its own. Fortunately we are coming, though slowly and faintly, to apprehend these truths, driven by the merciless logic of the laws that govern social life ; and the better spirit, often latent but never wholly dead—else social life were impossible—is asserting itself, as seen in a hundred different manifestations. Upon it, chiefly, we must rely. For however great importance we may attach to political, social, and economic reforms, these reforms can be enacted only by human beings, men and women ; and only as the better spirit is aroused to action will men and women be impelled to study the conditions that need reforming and to adopt such measures as may be wise and timely and as will aid in bringing in the better day for the great American city.

THOMAS E. WILL.

A STANDARD OF VALUE.

BY ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

MR. ARTHUR KITSON attempts to settle the question, "What is economic value?" by arraying one imposing set of authorities against another, accepting the *ipse dixit* of one of these and, from that premise, arguing the absurdity of the opponents. But what if we do not accept the premise?

John Stuart Mill says: "The value of a thing means the quantity of some other thing or of things in general which it exchanges for."

Professor Jevons, on the other hand, denies that that is a correct definition, and says, "A student of economics has no hope of ever being clear and correct in his ideas of the science if he thinks of value as at all a thing or an object, or even as anything which lies in a thing or an object. . . . Value in exchange expresses nothing but a ratio."

Mr. Kitson accepts Professor Jevons' assertion as unquestionable, and argues, "Now, if value is a relation, a ratio, what sense is there in the expressions 'standard of value,' 'inherent or intrinsic value,' and 'a unit of value'?" Starting from this point, Mr. Kitson maintains that "no substance can possibly express, represent, or measure a relation. So that it is the climax of absurdity to speak of gold *measuring* values, or becoming a *unit* of value, if the term is to be understood in the sense of a relation. . . . On the other hand, if value is to be understood as purchasing power, it is quite possible to suppose a certain commodity to represent a definite amount of purchasing power, *at any given time*. So, also, a *single* quantity can express purchasing power. . . . While a given quantity of any commodity (such as $25\frac{1}{2}$ grains of gold) may be said to acquire and to have a certain amount of purchasing power, this power necessarily fluctuates from time to time, as the supply of

or demand for gold fluctuates, similarly with all other commodities. Hence it is impossible for any definite weight or quantity of any substance to constitute a permanent unit or standard of purchasing power. The only unit that is possible and which is an invariable unit is the purchasing power of a commodity at any particular time. . . . At present it is impossible to tell how much gold varies, since it is used as a permanent standard. The error here is in confounding the substance, gold, with its purchasing power. The former is material and the latter ideal," and so on.

Now, it seems to me that Mr. Kitson's conclusions are erroneous, and that their fundamental error lies in his acceptance of Professor Jevons' misunderstanding of Mill's definition of value as a thing. What do we mean by "a thing"? The word originally meant "a discourse," or "a subject of discourse," and, therefore, a perfectly correct definition of "thing" is, "that which can be thought of." Thus "thing" may be both material and ideal, if Mr. Kitson wants to make such a distinction, but is it not evident that Professor Jevons has no warrant for objecting to Mill's definition? We certainly can both think of, and discourse upon, a gold dollar and the quantity of some other thing or of things in general which it exchanges for, and in so thinking and discoursing it is as legitimate to use the term "value" as pertaining to the gold dollar as it is to use the term "length" as pertaining to the yard-stick in measuring the exchange of cloth, or the term "weight" as pertaining to the pound in measuring the exchange of grain. Neither that length which we name yard, nor that weight which we name ounce or pound, nor that size which we name bushel, is "material." Each is purely ideal, a fiction which we have agreed upon for mutual convenience in the business of exchange. Each expresses "a relation"; the relation of a piece of stick to all cloth, ribbon, etc., which is to be bought or sold; the relation of a piece of iron to thousands of merchantable commodities, and the relation of all sorts of substances to a modern vessel.

But how unwarrantable would be the conclusion that there is no sense in the expression "a unit of length," "a unit of weight,"

and "a unit of measure," simply because length, weight, and size are ideal and their material representatives express relations to other things! Yet this would be just the blunder which Mr. Kitson makes. And a very serious blunder it is (as our country is now experiencing) to confuse the popular mind as to the necessity of having a fixed standard of value.

It is true, and may be readily admitted, that it is "fictitious" to speak of anything in this world as "fixed." But, all our conventions for social convenience are fictitious. Speech itself is fictitious, but that does not make it either absurd or useless. It was fictitious to cut a piece of wood of an arbitrary length and declare that it should, henceforward, be a fixed standard in deciding length. It was fictitious to name a lump of iron, of fixed size, "one ounce," and pronounce it a unit of weight. It was fictitious to construct a vessel of a fixed size, to christen it "one bushel," and declare it a fixed standard of measure. It was, likewise, fictitious to decide that $25\frac{1}{10}$ grains of gold should be designated "one dollar," and henceforward serve as a fixed starting-point in determining what quantity of some other thing or of things in general it should exchange for.

But the reason for as much fixity as we can assume is the same in each of these cases of fictitious social conveniences. It was found that a bushel is not an unvarying measure for wheat, that there is more intrinsic substance in some bushels of wheat than in others, and in large exchanges of wheat for other commodities the bushel measure does not enter into the transaction. Yet that fact does not militate against the necessity for the existence of the bushel measure of fixed size, nor against the necessity of estimating the world's grain crop in bushels.

The same thing holds true with the dollar of $25\frac{1}{10}$ grains of gold. Intrinsic worth, is, of course, the worth or value which inheres in a substance according to mankind's estimation. And it is, of course, true that if there were no mankind, there would be, so far as we are concerned, no intrinsic value in any commodity. But there is mankind, and mankind has definitely estimated the intrinsic value of gold. Precisely as mankind has generally agreed: "Something inheres in wood which makes it

desirable for use as a bushel measure," so mankind is rapidly coming to the general agreement: "Something inheres in gold which makes it desirable for a dollar measure." There was a time when all weights and measures were more unsettled than the gold dollar question is now. It took people a long time to perceive the convenience of fixed weights and measures, even after some genius had conceived the idea and many followers had accepted it. The world is now going through a similar education in regard to money—the general exchange measurer. Doubtless, the ultimate evolution of all weights and measures will be one fixed, uniform fiction for the whole globe, especially in money, as the present variable and various standards inflict endless trouble, annoyance, and loss upon the world's exchanges of commodities. The more closely interknit the interests of human beings become, the more we brothers and sisters of the globe visit each other and deal together, the greater will become the necessity for uniform money, of a definite weight in gold, as a basic measure in our dealing, even though paper representatives of gold, alone, should circulate.

The chief cause of the present widespread clamor against gold among our farmers and laborers is, that they have been led into the fallacy of believing it an essential thing for a nation to have its money increase as its commerce increases. Men, whose arithmetical training is better than their reasoning powers, calculate that commerce is increasing at a rapid rate, while the stock of gold coin is enlarging very slowly. These spread abroad alarming reports about contracting currency, etc., and, at once, every business disaster is attributed to scarcity of gold. It would be equally sensible to attribute such disasters to a scarcity of bushel measures. No one wants to keep money when there is no uncertainty about it. At such times every one tries to pass it on to some one else. Thus, a little will serve the purposes of very many when the standard is agreed upon.

The essentials for successful business are integrity, intelligence, skill, and a proper balance of egoism and altruism in the captains and workers of business transactions, joined with sufficient good sense in all the people of all the world to allow competition

perfectly free play. It is the dishonesty, or the stupidity, and the excess of egoism in our captains, joined with the dullness of a people continually asking to have legislative fetters put upon them, which continually creates panics. The business world can scarcely take a step without dashing itself against some wall, devised for its "protection," but really acting as an obstacle to its own free movements, as walls must do. Petty jealousies contract the mental vision. Dishonesty checks credit. And these defects, added to uncertainty concerning the standard of value, are the causes of commercial embarrassment.

Mr. Kitson asks, "If value is a thing, how can it increase or decrease, appear and disappear, without the thing itself undergoing similar changes?" And he adduces the following as evidence that the phrase is "meaningless." "Suppose a book sells for a dollar. We are told by some that the value of the book is the dollar, *per se*, and the value of the dollar is the book, *per se*. Now, if these things are themselves values, each of the other, how is it possible to destroy their values without destroying the things themselves? Suppose, at the time the above relation existed, we place the dollar and book together in a fire-proof safe, and at the end of a year take them out. Both are in perfect condition. It is impossible to find any defect or deterioration in either. And yet we find the value of the book is probably only half the dollar and the value of the dollar is now two books. What has happened to the book to cause it to lose half its value during this period?"

Now, this is a funny question for Mr. Kitson to ask in reference to such a case. For, if it really is "impossible to find any defect or deterioration in either," the value of the book will still be, must be, one dollar. But if, on the contrary, we find, at the end of the year, that no one will give more than half a dollar for the book which, at the beginning of the year, sold for a dollar, that is presumptive proof that the public has now discovered a defect in the book which it had not perceived a year ago. And, if the dollar which a year ago exchanged for a yard, or a pound, or one of any other certain thing, or of things in general, will now likewise exchange for any one of these

same things, then we have all the positive proof we need that there has been no change in the value of the dollar.

What had happened, in each case, would be, simply, that the public had made a mistake in rating the book as worth a dollar, either at the beginning or at the end of the year, and spoke confusedly in saying "the value of the dollar is the book, *per se*." Correctly speaking, the value of the dollar is $25\frac{1}{10}$ grains of gold. The one dollar unit of value will always exchange for a fixed amount of gold dust or bullion. Its relation to commodities is affected only by the change in the world's attitude toward those commodities.

For instance, in the region of a gold mine, where many hungry men are to be fed and where provisions are exceedingly scarce, one dollar may have to be given for one dozen eggs. But in a country village, in the same state, at the same time, one dollar may obtain ten dozen eggs. At the same time, in the same state, both at the gold mine and in the village, a book may be vainly begging a purchaser at one dollar, while, simultaneously, in both places, blackberries may be selling for one dollar for ten gallons. This would not prove, as Mr. Kitson seems to think, that the supply of or demand for gold was fluctuating in that state. It would simply demonstrate that men's desires fluctuate according to their tastes and needs, and that every commodity fluctuates with that variability. But all the time, the gold dollar, as an ideal measure, registers the rise and fall as satisfactorily as any imaginable ideal could do.

Why, then, does Mr. Kitson seek to substitute for this already settled, tangible thing, that new and vague creation which he designates "the purchasing power of a commodity at any particular time"? Any particular time is, really, no particular time. He might as well propose to have the year begin at any particular time, on the ground that there is no such material thing as the first day of January.

All this dissatisfaction with the gold dollar as a standard of value seems to have grown out of an absurd suspicion, among those unfamiliar with economic questions, that such use of gold is, in some mysterious way, especially beneficial to the banker,

stock-broker, or general capitalist, but especially detrimental to the interests of poor laborers of every grade. All classes of Americans are bitten with the delusion that high prices are a sign of prosperity. Unheeding the palpable facts of our own history during the last two centuries, men still blindly assert that high wages and high prices depend upon each other, that the supply of gold raises or lowers prices, and that the present low prices are caused by the contracting volume of gold; and from this has followed the clamor for the abolishment of gold as a standard of economic value.

The truth is, that within the last forty years the world's stock of gold coin has more than doubled, yet the world's price-level has fallen ten per cent, and the world's wages have risen from forty to ninety per cent, which shows that increase of coin does not raise prices, and that a fall in prices cannot prevent the rise of wages. In our country, between the years 1862 and 1892, the proportion of currency per capita more than doubled, yet in these thirty years, with a doubled circulation, there has been a decided decrease in the price of grain, cotton, wool, sugar, and tobacco, and in nearly all manufactures, while land has risen in price, and wages have either risen, or remained stationary, in almost all occupations. And during this period the price of silver in the world has fluctuated from 61.2 pence per ounce to 46.5 pence per ounce. Now, it is a singular thing that those who admit that the disuse of an ordinary commodity will affect its price, neglect to admit that there has been a sufficient decline in the use of silver in manufactures to account for its fall in value.

Not a writer in this country, so far as I have been able to observe, has noted that in Great Britain, alone, "the official returns of silver stamped for plate or ornament show an annual average of 1,091,000 ounces in the years 1821-50, but only 790,000 ounces in the decade ending 1880," a difference of over 300,000 ounces less, annually. Yet there would be no question as to the probability that such a difference in disuse of any other commodity would lower its price, from the mere fact that no artificial halo is thrown about the relation of iron, wheat, or

cotton to gold money, though prejudice strives to compel a fixed ratio between gold money and silver.

Those who advocate that anomaly, a double measure of economic value—two different standards for the same thing, base their claim on the undoubted fact that there was a time when gold and silver varied less in their relation to each other than they do to-day; and they point to the high prices of our period of inflated currency as reason for inflating the currency again with silver dollars. But high prices are not a sign of prosperity. We are told that wheat which sold for \$1.29 in 1873 is to-day selling for fifty cents; that cotton which then brought the planter sixteen cents a pound now yields him but six cents, and that corn, oats, and hay have fallen nearly 48 per cent.

The main point for consideration, however, is overlooked. Notwithstanding the fall in grain (which is two fifths of agricultural products) and in sugar and wool, in the total agricultural products there has been, since 1850, a rise of eleven per cent in prices. And, "in the same period the price-level of manufactures has declined exactly twenty-five per cent." Thus, even if the purchasing power of gold has increased, even if it has risen in value, no harm is done so long as agriculturists can buy their manufactured necessities for twenty-five per cent less and get eleven per cent more for their products as a whole. Mr. L. Bradford Prince says: "It is calculated that if the aggregate of agricultural products raised in 1893 could be sold for the bi-metallic price of 1873, the gain to the farming community would be nearly or quite \$1,500,000,000. In other words, they have lost that vast amount on the crops of a single year through the demonetization of silver and consequent rise in the value of the remaining money."

No wonder farmers and planters are excited over the demonetization of silver, if that is the way they reason! There was a time when Rhode Island made one dollar in paper legally equal to one in gold. But the world refused to consider paper as having a fixed ratio to gold and the time came when six dollars in rag money could not buy one in coin. Now, did the believers

in the rag money standard really lose "a vast amount," reckoned in the true gold standard, or did they only lose a bubble which, from the very nature of bubbles, was destined, sooner or later, to burst and vanish?

What does it profit a people to go back thirty years and calculate what they might make now, in "a single year," if prices could be kept up somehow to what they were thirty years ago? Shoes, good ones, too, can be bought to-day at half the price of three decades ago. Yet thousands of people are earning a good living at shoe-making, better fed, better clothed, and better interested in life than in the former period. Books are infinitely cheaper, yet all printers are paid vastly higher wages. Should manufacturers of books waste time in lamenting the good old high prices of long ago? Formerly none but the rich could indulge in the comfort and pleasure of open-air rides. Now the poorest laborer and family can ride miles on their summer holiday for the trifling sum of five cents each, possibly forty cents for a whole day's jaunt into the country for the entire family. Formerly, all laboring women were limited to cotton clothing. Now all can afford wool, and the competition between wool and cotton for their patronage may yet bring the cost of both lower. These are some of the things not seen by the aggrieved partisans who keep their gaze glued to the price of grain.

We may as well face the prospect that the price-level of the world will fall very much lower in time to come. As the working-people learn by their experience that legislation cannot help them, save as it leaves them perfectly free to make their own contracts, to reside on what continent they choose, and to develop their own native energy and intelligence, the distance between rich and poor will inevitably decrease, as it has already decreased even with the present gain in knowledge and power of the laborer. As knowledge and skill multiply, inventions will vastly multiply, simplifying labor and adding to human comfort and pleasure. With knowledge and skill will come power to save judiciously. Every laborer will become a capitalist of greater or lesser degree, according to his ability. Capital, thus growing plentiful, will make money abundant and cheap,

and we shall then have the most prosperous condition, socially, which mankind can attain, for, as the only mastery is of the mind, equal mind development will produce social equality, necessarily.

At present our greatest causes of social misery are threefold : ignorance of the fact that any sort of a social standard—whether for money or morals—must be, from the very nature of standards, a unit of definite character ; ignorance of the fact that the more liberty is given to commerce the more naturally and healthfully it can, and will, adjust itself to the production of the greatest good to the greatest number ; and ignorance of the fact that legislators can do nothing whatever, of a beneficial character, save to protect equal individual liberty in society, and record such results as society's conclusion that a unit of length shall be agreed upon as an inch, a unit of weight as an ounce, a unit of size as a pint, or a unit of value as a dollar, made of some one valuable substance. When this latter ignorance has been overthrown by knowledge and common sense, then shall peace spread its wings over the money question, and the time and thought of mankind be turned to something higher than weights and measures.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

BIMETALLISM AND CURRENCY.

BY JOSHUA DOUGLASS, ESQ.

II.

THE two greatest events that have occurred in the history of mankind have been directly brought about by a contraction and, on the other hand, an expansion of the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed in ignorance to slavery, egotism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about largely by a decline in the silver and gold mines of Spain and Greece. And, as if providence had intended to reveal in the clearest manner the influence of this mighty agent on human affairs, the resurrection of mankind from the ruin which those causes had produced was owing to a directly opposite set of agencies being put in operation.

Columbus led the way in the career of renovation. When he spread his sails across the Atlantic he bore mankind and its fortunes in his bark. As a result of his discoveries the annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe was tripled; before a century had expired the price of every species of produce was quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxes insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase in the volume of silver and gold in practical use.

Money was never intended to be used as an instrument to rob the producer, or for hoarding, but as an instrument of association, a tool of trade, to assist in the production of wealth, and should be so regulated as best to insure its continuous circulation.

The *ideal financial system* will provide for the issue of money in such manner as to preserve and guarantee the equity of contracts, the volume to be regulated by the legitimate demands of the business of the people, instead of, as now, being regulated by the greed and avarice of a lot of financial freebooters who

expect to live by the sweat of other people's faces. In a proper financial system as much importance attaches to the manner of getting and maintaining the money in circulation, as to the question of coinage or issue of the same. The coinage of a true financial system should consist of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, supplemented by issue of paper money, all full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

The free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one by a nation like ours, whose shops and factories turn out over one third of all the manufactured products of the civilized world, would maintain a parity between these metals at all times, and enable our people to use both gold and silver at their standard valuation to pay off and extinguish our debt. By this means we could maintain a uniform price for the products of gold and silver mines and supplement them by the issue of paper money based upon the wealth of the nation, and, issued as business development and the needs of the government demand, this would place the products of farm, mine, factory, and transportation on an equal and indiscriminating basis.

A financial system of this kind would reduce the rate of interest and at the same time would carry out the principle of "free and unlimited coinage" of silver and gold. The secretary of the treasury should be authorized and directed by law to purchase from time to time, as required to keep the mints in full operation, both silver and gold bullion at the market price and pay for each United States standard silver and gold coins—certificates or treasury notes at the option of the government and the parties from whom the bullion was obtained. This would effectually guarantee our government's money, every dollar of which would be equally good, and thus bring us to a fair, practical, and honest business basis. If unusual demands for coin money in other countries should make an extra demand for our gold or silver money, government paper equally good would take its place; instead of causing the banks to call in their back issues and contract their loans at a time when business men are least able to pay, as they do under our present gold-standard system.

The terms "free coinage," "unlimited coinage of silver," which so terrify the monometallists and their newspaper harpies, mean the coinage of so much silver as the business of the government and the people require, and no more.

With a currency consisting of silver and gold and legal tender notes valid for the payment of all debts, public and private, all the gold in the country might go abroad without causing any serious storm on the financial sea of business interests, and every dollar which went abroad would cancel just so much debt and stop just so much interest.

Silver, treasury, and national bank notes are the money of the people. Gold is largely hoarded and in the vaults of capitalists and the government. It is practically not in use by mechanics, tradesmen, or laborers, and its absence from the country would not materially affect the masses of the people. The bulk of exchanges in this country is made with checks and drafts.

The Venetian Republic used a system of "fiat" book money for over six hundred years, from A. D. 1171 to 1797, when the victorious French armies wiped the republic from the face of the earth as a nation, without a single revulsion in business, and for six hundred years of this time the "book money," although absolutely irredeemable, bore a premium of sometimes as high as twenty per cent over gold. The beneficial result of the use of this money was shown in the fact that while carrying on almost a continual warfare with petty tribes and nations, Venice steadily grew from a group of island villages to be the commercial metropolis of the civilized world. No coin or bullion was ever paid out by the Bank of Venice to depositors, and this fact was well known and understood by every man who made his metallic deposits in the bank. The metal was used by the government in its foreign wars. This gave to the government, as a loan without interest, all the coin and bullion which the merchants of the republic could spare, and to the people "a credit money" better than gold and silver, far safer and more convenient than coin, free from levy by the sheriff, and not subject to incumbrance.

The late Peter Cooper has recorded the fact that during his long business life in this country he had witnessed ten disastrous

money panics, every one of them caused by contraction or suppression of currency. The financial system of Venice did not admit of contraction. The bank deposits increased with the growth of the republic, and with the increase of wealth and business of the city. Credits in the bank were the money of business. Deposits once made could never be withdrawn in specie. As there could be no contraction, there could be no panics. No safer, sounder, or more just and simple money system could at that time have been devised.

During the War of the Rebellion, it was the soldiers and sailors and those who furnished them with supplies and ammunition whose services and products were coined into greenbacks and went into circulation to bless the whole people with prosperity and plenty. It was the lives of half a million of as brave men as ever faced a cannon, and the services of a million and a half more, that were coined into greenback dollars, and depreciated by the government which coined them, by refusing to accept them as payment on imports, yet compelling the most of its creditors to accept this same kind of money, which the soldier, sailor, and everybody else were patriotic enough to take without a murmur. The crowning infamy of the legislation following the late war was making the principal of the bonds payable in coin, at a time when the soldier and sailor were accepting this paper without a protest, with the contract printed on the back of every bill that this bill should be "a full legal tender for the payment of the principal of all debts." History and experience have proved that every dollar of paper money issued by our government during the war would have remained at par with coin if it had been made to pay all the debts that coin would pay. The "demand notes" issued under act of July 17, 1861, although payable on demand at the treasury department in coin, became depreciated twenty per cent in three days after being put in circulation; but as soon as they were made receivable for all debts and dues to the government by act of August 5, 1861, they became at par with gold and have so remained from that hour to this. This is another remarkable evidence that receivability as legal tender has more power to give stability to money than the

promise to redeem in coin. By a system of this kind every dollar of government issues would go into circulation as money and perform all its functions. That such an increase of money would be for the benefit of civilization and the uplifting of mankind we have but to read some of the evidences of the past.

Senator Jones said, speaking of the effect of the increase in the money of the world by the opening up of the mines of California and Australia in 1849 and 1854 :

In twenty-five years after the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the world made more progress than it had in the previous two hundred years.

Sir Archibald Alison, speaking on the same subject says :

The annual supply of gold and silver for the use of the globe was, by these discoveries, suddenly increased from an average of 10,000,000 pounds to one of 35,000,000 pounds. Prices rose rapidly and rose steadily ; wages advanced in a similar proportion, exports and imports enormously increased, while crime and misery rapidly diminished. Wheat rose from forty shillings to fifty-five and sixty shillings ; but the wages of labor advanced in nearly as great proportion ; they were found to be about thirty per cent higher on the average than they had been five years before. In Ireland the change was still greater, and probably unequaled in so short a time in the annals of history. Wages of country labor rose from four pence a day to one and six pence or two shillings ; convicted crime sank nearly a half ; and the increased growth of cereal crops under the genial influences of these advanced prices was for some years as rapid as its previous decline since 1846 had been.

If the government will impose the highest rate of duties upon imports of luxuries or those articles which can be fabricated equally well by American fingers, we shall thrive as we did from 1862 to 1873. Restore the condition in which the farmer got his one dollar and a quarter for his wheat and the planter fifteen cents for his cotton, and like the sweep of the fairy's wand you will transform a nation from universal gloom into sunshine of happiness.

Senator Stewart of Nevada was right when he said that "gold is not sufficient for the human race ; that legal enactments have their share in the fall of the price of silver, and that silver standard, referring to India, is an advantage for the wheat culture of India against America." Again, on page 419, urging the wisdom of Europe adopting a bimetallic system, he says :

"But in declining to do so Europe must keep in mind that she places America face to face with a choice which, however it may turn out, must in any case be fateful to Europe."

I could quote many authorities of the Old World and New, who, viewing this question not as politicians but as statesmen and philosophers, indicate the marvelous advantages which must accrue to this nation if we but have the foresight to take advantage of our opportunities. Three fifths of the people of the globe are to-day upon a silver basis. They want our products of factories, of furnace, of forge, and loom and spindle. Come once more to the world's money, to the money of our fathers: correct the follies of 1873 and 1893, and the commerce of the world comes to your harbors. The one fifth of the people who have the single gold standard take from us only the absolute necessities of life; they take the products of our fields; they take them because they must have them to sustain life. They cannot take less than they do already, but the products of our mines and looms and workshops they do not want. They with cheap labor can make them at less cost at home. Their trade we have already. Why not strike out then for the world's trade, and become the masters of the great maritime marts of the world, and within two years all Europe, losing her outlets for products, will restore bimetallism, and America, through the possession of silver, will be impregnable in her power, and the most grovelling suppliant in the whole list of nations will be imperious Albion, whose money lords have so long been deaf to the pleas of a plundered people. To maintain parity and stop the drain of gold from the treasury let Congress declare that the acts of July 14, 1890, and November 1, 1893, are not to be construed as an obligation to redeem in gold all legal tender money of the United States at the will of the holder, but that the option of redeeming in either gold or silver shall be vested in the secretary of the treasury, and that it is the policy of the United States to maintain all its issues at parity by making no discrimination in favor of any one form of legal tender money in payment of dues, public or private; and the further declaration that contracts calling for gold payment alone are contrary to—

public policy and may be fairly discharged in any lawful money of the United States.

France has a population of 38,000,000 of people, and has the following sums of money: Gold (more than), \$850,000,000; silver (more than), \$700,000,000; paper, \$690,000,000; total money, round numbers, \$2,240,000,000; population, round numbers, 38,000,000; money, per capita, \$59.91.

The paper in circulation, as given for January 12, 1893, in the statement of Carnot, president, found on page 143 of "Coinage Laws of the United States," is over \$17 per capita of paper alone.

France, while not coining silver at this time, maintains the parity of all her money, gold, silver, and paper. She has more than eight hundred and fifty millions of gold, more gold than any nation on the globe, and keeps it by reserving to herself the right to pay in either metal. Whenever the attempt is made to deplete her gold reserve she tenders silver. France also has more silver than any other nation on the globe, some seven hundred millions, all at a parity, carried at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. She has more money, gold, silver, and paper, per capita, than any other nation of the earth, and to-day stands alone as the only nation of Europe that is not in the throes of financial convulsion. Her people are prosperous and happy. Were we to open our mints to free coinage to-morrow, before we could coin the same per capita circulation of silver that France enjoys would require the uninterrupted efforts of our mints for more than ten years.

It is a fact, within the remembrance of every man, that after the Baring failure in 1890, except for the loan of fifteen millions of gold made by the Bank of France, the Bank of England would have been forced to suspend; and it is therefore pertinent to inquire why, when seeking for a European model upon which to found our system of national finances, we should adopt the weaker rather than the stronger? The one system has insured to its people prosperity and happiness; the other largely idleness and misery for its laboring classes.

President Andrews, of Brown University, one of the delegates to the International Monetary Conference at Brussels, in a recent address in our city said, among other things:

In general it is true that the poorer nations as well as some of the wealthier use the gold standard. As to the trade of the silver nations, for America it is very important. That trade has made England rich. We trade comparatively little with gold nations of Europe except it be in agricultural produce. Now, the manufacturing interests of this country have become so immense, either they must have an immensely larger home market or they must have a foreign market. Suppose by free coinage or in any other way we could get hold of the trade of the silver-using countries? The result would be unparalleled prosperity—such a boom in American manufacturing interests as has never taken place since we had a national being. China, for instance, is about to open the grandest market for cotton goods. England is waiting for it. If we had silver in abundance, so there could be facile trade and current money communication between China and Japan on the one hand and America on the other, we would have a better chance than England. The trade of the silver-using countries is not a bagatelle.

Suppose the manufacturing industries were to boom as suggested, what would be the result on farming communities of this country? You would have a home market such as you never could have under any other policy. I think if we could command the markets of the silver-using countries, or a very large part of them, the manufacturing plants in this country would double in from fifteen to twenty-five years. That would be the best policy always. If we alone had to make an everlasting choice I would say choose silver, for the reason that ultimately the trade of the silver-using world would be more important to us than what trade we could have with England, and other gold-using countries.

If we reinstate silver with the coöperation of a number of nations we enlarge the basis of fundamental money, and that is what tells on prices. That is a fact that Dr. Griffith, an ardent gold monometallist, is forced to admit. He has shown that any amount of change or subsidiary coinage, coinage that had to ride upon the back of some other form of money, will never raise prices. That is true. Prices have not been much affected by the amount of silver we have coined in this country because it has not been *free coinage* of the silver; we have had to ride upon the back of gold. Until within a little over a year the amount of gold available for the purposes of money has been falling off, absolutely a little, and relatively a great deal, to the demand for general money. Therefore our coinage of silver, large as it has been under the Bland-Allison Act, and under the Sherman Act, has affected the price of commodities perhaps not at all and certainly not very much. If the law now before Congress (the

Carlisle Banking Law), to put a great amount of paper money into circulation, should go into effect, I think that we would find that except locally prices would be very slightly changed; because all that money, if it had any basis at all, would have a gold basis, and gold, though perhaps increasing a little this year because of the great output of South Africa, is decreasing in proportion to the amount of it needed for money.

The wage-receiver is the most hard beset in the long run of any of us in this matter. If we could have all the work possible for the laboring population under a different system of money, and also have the purchasing power of the dollar paid for wages increased as it has since 1873, then of course the wage-receiver would be better off by that system. The rest of us would be worse off. But that is just the state of things we cannot have. We cannot multiply industry, we cannot provide labor for the wage-receiver to do, and therefore the highest and most disciplined classes of labor even in the long run must submit to a curtailment of wages, as they have. It is a very great mistake to suppose that the wages of labor as a whole kept up until 1890. The wages of skilled labor, at least of many kinds, did keep up until about that time. But the wages of wage-receivers, classed all together, have been steadily falling since 1873. And that must always take place when prices are falling. In other words, while the mere increase of purchasing power of a dollar in wages is a good thing for labor, yet if we introduce a state of affairs which means the cessation of a great deal of industry, a great many failures in industry, it is impossible that the laborer should keep on in his old line of prosperity. Since 1873 we have had more strikes in this country than in all the history of the country before; we have had more than England, more than France. Let us suppose, therefore, that the United States decides upon the free coinage of silver. Silver rises in value. Perhaps European governments, despite Windom's prediction, may succeed on that occasion to get hold of some fraction of the greatly over-estimated gold circulation of America, even though it be at an increased price of silver, and thus to offer some transient relief to

the gold market in Europe. The prices of the two metals converge. Silver is relieved of a part of the loss which it thus far suffered through lack of esteem, but it does not rise to fifteen and one half. This result is indicated by the ratio of production, the consumption of gold, and the experience of the slight effect of previous silver purchases on the price of the metal. A premium remains for silver countries, all the more because the causes continue which promote the scarcity of gold.

A pan-American standard may be established on the basis of silver alone. Not without reason does the silver party adhere to Mr. Blaine's theory: "The outcome of such a movement must be the partition of the earth." "In fact, a silver land finds it very difficult to buy of a gold land, and will always prefer to seek its necessities in a land having the same standard."

In Bolton, near Manchester, the cotton manufacturers decided to work only four days in the week and to lie idle for three days. And while in Europe there is thus taking place a displacement of the conditions of production, for which comfort is vainly sought in the cheapening of a few of the means of living, a cheapening which, for the most part, vanishes in the retail trade, the chamber of commerce of Bengal at the same time passed a resolution which likewise complains bitterly of the present state of things. The confidence in the silver rupee under orders from Threadneedle Street is said to have sunk in business circles. No European capital is said to go any longer to India; the relations between the East and the West are said to be stagnant. The Indian government would either have to make a move toward international agreement or, if that be unattainable, it would have to introduce the gold standard into India at once. Thus the tension is increased and both parties suffer. The utterances of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce lead us from the commercial to the financial relations. Indebtedness in gold, especially when it rests on a silver land, manifestly rises from year to year with the divergence of values. While any economic gain due to the premium in the silver land is distributed among thousands of hands, in the figure of interest which is due in gold, the burden finds concentrated expression, and it increases with every frac-

tion by which the ratio rises. Many a statesman of an honestly toiling, upward-striving land watches with anxiety this figure which withdraws from his country undeservedly and inexorably a part of the fruits of its industry, and conveys to the bondholder unearned and unexpected gain. The crises of recent times have furnished abundant examples in which the paying capacity of a debtor country was exceeded and a good part of the capital was lost along with the interest.

Here I would like to quote from a work of Balfour's on this subject :

Money is said to be also the measure of value of deferred payments. The longer the period of deferment the graver must be present circumstances, the consequences of the progressive divergence of the values of gold and silver. The silver land is loth to buy in the gold land, but it must be yet far more careful not to incur long-time gold debt. The almost complete cessation of the emission of foreign loans in London in 1891 is a consequence of the experiences in South America, which, however, have become as instructive to all other debtors as they are to the creditors who have to bear the loss. That, and not the success of the gold *régime*, is at this day the reason of the cheapness of loan-money. Hence any international agreement, though urgently to be recommended, will at this day much more than in former years, after the bond, unfortunately, has been prematurely severed, bear the marks of a transition measure. The object of this measure would be to prevent the partition of the earth till the moment, perhaps distant, perhaps near at hand, when Asia shall be more opened up, or when the world shall be ready to dispense entirely with the monetary services of gold.

Europe, I fear, is laboring under a grave delusion. The economy of the world cannot be arbitrarily carried on in the mere hope that somewhere a new California and at the same time a new Australia may be found, as in 1849-52, whose alluvial land may again give relief for a decade. The present small undulations in the figure of production, however, are without any further significance for the grand process. Under these circumstances it might indeed happen that the results foreseen by Lexis would ensue, to wit, that even with a very high ratio within a bimetallic union a premium on gold would grow up in the course of years, called forth not by the demand for gold for exportation but by the demand for gold within the area of the league itself. But any condition is better than the present one in which we are drifting on toward the partition of the earth into two trade areas.

We assumed the case that the United States, despite all warnings, establishes the free coinage of silver. At one blow the pan-American standard is established. All Asia joins in. The gold standard is limited to Europe and the English colonies, but without India. That, we said, is the partition of the earth. This idea of a partition of the earth

into a silver sphere and a gold sphere has already come forward repeatedly.

In the gold area, too, there would at first be improvement, but soon there must ensue more and more contraction, fall of prices, injury to labor. All obstacles now thrown in the way of commerce by traffic would dwindle into insignificance compared to the barrier that would be erected by the partition of the earth into two areas of different money standards.

As the silver area comprises all zones, all natural products, and, in the United States, also all industries, a great independent economic unit would be constituted, by the silver area. Exportation from the gold area would be rendered difficult, and yet the gold area would be dependent on the other for many products, as is proved by the balance of goods, already passive in a high degree to-day, of Great Britain, Germany, and France. Silver capital would grow up in the silver area and silver lands would borrow only silver capital. At the same time, however, in the whole silver area industry would continue as hitherto consuming gold. That is the "walling-in of Europe."

Whether the United States will make this or some other choice is now known, but in any case some deductions arise from the present situation. First of all, it is certain that Europe, in case of refusal to enter into an international agreement, leaves America's hand free to enact measures which must exert the most profound influences on a commerce and on the money affairs of Europe herself.

Furthermore, it is certain that gold alone can never become the standard of the whole earth, but that, on the contrary, a time will come when it will have been entirely absorbed by industry. Let us not forget Soetbeer's results, according to which the entire monetary stock of the earth is smaller by almost one third than the production of the last forty years. From this it follows, furthermore, that, assuming that the system of metallic coinage continues to exist (and I see as yet no practical substitute), silver will become the standard metal of the earth.

Before a French monetary convention in 1869, testimony was given by the late M. Wolowski, by Baron Rothschild, and by M. Rouland, governor of the Bank of France. M. Wolowski said: "The sum total of the precious metals is reckoned at fifty milliards, one half gold and one half silver. If, by a stroke of the pen, they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service, they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors." Baron Rothschild said: "The simultaneous employment of the two metals is satisfactory and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined which serves as the measure of the value of things. The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation."

In further corroboration of these statements of the learned essayist reference is made to a late article in the *North American*

Review from Count Von Mulach, member of the Prussian House of Lords, and of the German Reichstag. In this article the count quotes from the secretary of the treasury, who said in open session of the Reichstag :

Just view, I pray you, the present situation of the coin and standard questions—at the conference convened by the former chancellor, even the monometallists acknowledged that the depreciation of silver entailed serious damage to our industrial life. It is indubitable that the lessened value of silver has exercised a disadvantageous influence upon our internal manufactures and exports. . . . It cannot be doubted that there is something essentially wrong in the considerable undervaluation of the current silver coin. . . . The question is a far-reaching one—from the solution of which a great part of the agricultural population of Germany promises itself a benefit, and in view of the representation, which this question has found, and the overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, it becomes the duty of the chancellor to urge a full consideration of the matter.

He then adds :

The economic condition of Germany calls loudly for a solution of the silver question, and this can be made practicable through an international bimetallic arrangement. The economic necessity of a solution of the financial question here is grounded upon the agricultural situation irrespective of the equal interests of our industries and trade. . . . The cost of the production of grain has for a considerable time, under the operation of the single standard for money, been greater than its value in the market.

Treasury notes issued by the government, paid out for improvements, pensions, expenses, etc., would make an immeasurably better currency for the people than the notes of national banks or the issues of state banks or private banks.

Thomas Jefferson said :

I believe that the banking institutions are more dangerous to our liberties than standing armies. Already they have raised up a money aristocracy that has set the government at defiance. The issuing power should be taken from the banks and restored to the government and the people, to whom it belongs. Let the banks exist, but let them bank on treasury notes.

Andrew Jackson said :

If Congress has the right under the constitution to issue paper money, it was given them to be used by themselves, not to be delegated to individuals or corporations.

Abraham Lincoln said :

— Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only fruit of labor, and could never have existed had not labor first existed. If a government contracted a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracted money volume before the debt was paid, it is the most heinous crime that a government could commit against the people.

Horace Greeley saw what comparatively few saw as clearly as he did, viz.: that the establishment of the British system meant slavery not only to the blacks, but to the whites; and that these were the words for which the bankers of New York drove him from the office of the *Tribune* with a broken heart to the grave. He said :

We boast of having liberated 4,000,000 of slaves. True, we have struck the shackles from the former bondsmen and brought all labor to a common level, but not so much by elevating the former slave as by practically reducing the whole working population to a state of serfdom. While boasting of our noble deeds we are careful to conceal the ugly fact that by our iniquitous monetary system we have naturalized a system of oppression more refined, but none the less cruel, than the old system of chattel slavery.

It is not intended to discredit our national bank system. The government determined more than thirty years since to divest itself of the privilege of making paper currency with private corporations, and these have been established and are in full operation under wise rules and regulations in every part of the United States.

If it has been wise upon the part of the government to find out the right and privilege of coining currency, to private corporations, the system adopted was probably the best that could be devised and has worked quite successfully. Most of the banks established under the law have been honestly managed, by successful men, and their operations have tended to supply the people with a part of the money necessary for the transaction of business which the government has omitted to provide.

Treasury notes with the legal tender indorsement would be more serviceable and supply the people with a better medium of exchange than national bank currency and this more effectively accomplish the purposes of money.

On November 1, 1894, there were in the treasury of the United States lost and in circulation :

Legal tender notes	\$ 497,821,584
Gold certificates	64,308,349
Silver certificates	337,712,504
National bank notes	207,565,000
Currency certificates	54,325,000

Total \$1,161,732,527

Of this sum \$106,507,154 is reported in the treasury, leaving \$1,065,225,473 in circulation, or outside of the treasury. These figures are taken from the official reports, and include all the issues of the several departments, but make no deductions for loss by use, fire, and otherwise, on land, rivers, lakes, and seas. This loss is estimated by eminent financiers to be fully one fifth of the whole, leaving \$852,180,379, in round numbers, in circulation, a per capita for 65,000,000 of people of \$13.11.

The official reports show gold and silver in the treasury November, 1894, \$621,265,635. Of this \$373,273,927 was in silver and \$66,616,899 in gold. There are reported \$337,712,504 of silver certificates outstanding, and the secretary refuses to pay out one dollar of silver for any purpose save upon silver certificates. The holders who present these certificates demand gold, and the secretary, carrying out the policy of the administration, pays the gold and leaves the three hundred and seventy-three millions of silver coins a useless mass in the treasury.

The plan of hoarding \$100,000,000 of gold in the treasury is a gigantic waste of the people's substance. It costs the taxpayers four and five per cent interest on this, equal to four or five million dollars a year for nothing, and the money instead of lying there idle should be used at once to pay off its equivalent in debts and stop so much interest. The credit of this nation is sufficient for all purposes without even one dollar lying idle in the treasury.

The present financial policy of the government will ultimately, and I trust soon, be changed and a policy which makes silver, gold, treasury notes, and certificates the lawful money of this nation and proper payment of all debts and claims, both public and private, and redeemable by the treasurer in silver and gold or such issues of the government as may be most convenient, will be adopted, and prosperity and happiness will prevail throughout our beloved land.

JOSHUA DOUGLASS.

THE NEW FACTOR IN THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT.

BY JAMES A. COLLINS.

TO INSURE the greatest good to society, political and social institutions must be adapted, as best they may, to the development and requirements of the age of progress in which the society affected by them stands.

Primitive systems are as illy adapted to advanced conditions as advanced systems to primitive communities. In all civilized societies constant change of methods and systems, a constant readaptation of methods and systems to constantly changing conditions is imperatively requisite.

The most advanced communities are those which have undergone the most changes. This is illustrated by contrasting the new civilization of the western world with the paralyzed autocracies of Asia, which still preserve the venerated customs of the fathers, the methods and systems of antiquity ; these are the crystallized result of conservatism. Discussion discovers the most beneficial manner of making this readaptation and accomplishing the result necessary or desired.

The present universal restlessness is indicative of dissatisfaction with present conditions ; of the unfitness of some existing systems for the altered conditions which they control, or rather interfere with. This restless desire for a change will aid most effectually the unavoidable reform which must come. Conservatism points to established custom, the long-venerated institutions of the fathers, those systems which, although beneficial at the time of their institution, have outlived the period of their usefulness and become really dangerous to the advanced societies which they affect and threaten. Progress points to the grand achievements and brilliant possibilities of the future. Conservatism desires us to bear the miseries which afflict us, for fear of possible mistakes, or the loss of some selfish advantage :

progress demands the abandonment of such antiquated systems as interfere with the irresistible impulse to advance, to better our condition as individuals, and the condition of the human race. The object of what we term progress is nothing more than the bettering of the condition of man, the raising him to a higher plane of intellectual and social existence.

What is the nature of the change required, of which the present unrest is indicative? Discussion is industriously searching in every direction for a solution of the question, but, as yet, no satisfactory conclusion has been reached.

By reviewing the history of our civilization and noting the origin and development of our various systems, social and political, their effect upon society in the various stages of its evolution, the changes found necessary to readapt those systems to altered conditions, and the effect of those, continued beyond the period of their usefulness, we may discover some guide which may point us in the direction of the knowledge of which we are in search.

In reviewing the process by which our civilization has been evolved out of a primitive condition of savagery, we find that the race has, up to the present time, passed through three marked stages. First, the era of preparation, as it might be termed, when the binding together of societies and nations was accomplished by centralized power. The first requirement to enable men to live together in societies was law; and to bind together and control fierce and savage human animals, this law was required to be rigid, firm, and unfailing in its measures, prompt and energetic in its execution. The object was to secure the best results from a military standpoint, to bind the ignorant and fierce savages together and enable them to act as a unit for purposes of defense against their more savage neighbors, and to enable them to operate successfully in their attempted conquests. The more centralized the power, the firmer the binding together, the more harmonious the action, the more assured the success of these military societies. So, the first requirement toward civilization was strong centralized power—autocracy. The first requirement toward securing liberty for man was tyranny. The

greatest danger civilized man has to fear was at one time a necessity.

The second step or era was that of conflict; when the organized societies of primitive men struggled with each other for the mastery. In this age of conflict the best organized societies, those where the binding together was most perfect, the tyranny most complete, succeeded, and either exterminated those less susceptible to discipline, or reduced them to slavery and so assimilated them, reducing all to an average discipline or subjugation to law. Thus slavery, that most dreaded of all conditions of man, had the time of even its necessity; it was an important factor in civilizing man, because, in this age of conquest, the societies least fitted to succeed were exterminated; at least the most fierce and ungovernable were, while the remaining men were made slaves and the women married by the conquerors; so they were gradually absorbed into the body of societies best fitted to be perpetuated, and raised to the level of the conquerors. This was an age of violence, and the great requirement was a centralized power which could mold all men alike, make them think alike, act alike, and in harmony; and the societies which most readily submitted to discipline were the best fitted to succeed.

The third era was that of dispersion, of variability and individual exertion. After the era of conflict was passed and man had succeeded in civilizing himself, after the societies best fitted to survive had established themselves and assimilated their savage neighbors, the time of the necessity for this centralized power was gone; the military organization was no longer a prime necessity. The new conditions of life evolved made new demands, appealed to the industry and ingenuity of the individual for a thousand different requirements unknown to a savage state; the combined armies were dispersed and scattered in every direction to seek out the various paths of industry which might supply the demands of the social body now on the high road to civilization and enlightenment. The centralized power was inimical to the development of the natural ingenuity of the individual. It was necessary that individual enterprise

should have the fullest sway, in order that the best results should be secured, and so centralized power was, in the most advanced societies, destroyed and replaced by freer institutions; the freer the institutions, the less trammelled the individual, the greater the progress of the society.

In this last stage, the era of individual and independent action, we find the most advanced nations of to-day; but we have gone far on this stage of our advance. It is scarcely probable that any one will admit that man and his social and political systems have reached their final limit; indeed it appears, to the student of sociology, that man has but gained firm footing upon the pathway of progress, and that there lies before him a future grander than his most extravagant fancy has ever painted. Many, however, think that we have reached the limit of effective individual exertion; that individual enterprise and ingenuity have opened up all the paths of industry and developed them to the limit of individual capacity; that the requirements in each field are beyond the power which the individual can command, and that combination is required to accomplish the necessary results. It is proclaimed that again an age of combination has dawned.

It is true that there is a strong tendency toward combination in every kind of enterprise, a tendency toward a socialism of some description. This is evidenced by the municipal control of water supplies, of lighting systems, the growing sentiment in favor of government ownership of railroads, of telegraphs, and telephones. The government control of the postal service is an actual step in that direction. Another evidence is corporate management in the transportation system, in manufacturing enterprises, in great financial and commercial undertakings. This development of great executive energy by means of combined action, the rapid growth of corporations and their system, and the application of this system to great leading industries do certainly seem to indicate that a new era is about to dawn, and that there must be a readaptation of our methods and systems to the requirements of the new conditions developing.

The great corporations with their capital, machinery, special privileges, and other advantages are overwhelming the indi-

vidual, reducing him to the condition of a mere tool, to be used in their great undertakings; of no more consequence than a piece of dumb machinery, of little cost, and consequently little value. This corporation system is really a species of socialism, we might say a limited socialism, operated by and for the benefit of a small society, *i. e.*, the stockholders, and against society as a whole. The question raised by the socialists is, whether these great undertakings, which are operated successfully by a portion of society for their benefit, cannot be operated better, or at least as well, by governments for the benefit of all. With this question we have nothing to do, nor does there seem to have been any practical results arrived at from the discussion which has been had. There seems to be no question but if this limited or perverted socialism is continued to its legitimate result the individual will be overwhelmed, he will be lost, he cannot compete, and we will return again to an era of centralized power, a condition of industrial feudalism. This tendency toward combination, toward some kind of socialism, is too pronounced to be ignored. What is to be the outcome of it? What is to be the character of the power growing out of it? Is it to be intrusted to favored individuals who will direct it in their individual interests, or will it be controlled by some wise system yet to be devised, in the interest of the whole people, for the benefit of all alike? Discussion must decide this question, and if a change must take place, what shall be the character of that change? What are the indications as to the nature of that change? Let us see what history would lead us to expect the nature of such a change to be.

In reviewing the steps by which our civilization was evolved we find man in his primitive state living in a condition of anarchy, of unhampered individual freedom; next we see him grouped into tribes and nations; the grand whole of which was made up of *social* units alone. Next, during the age of conflict we find nations augmented by other units, the conquered tribes and nations. This condition added another class of units, the *political* unit, and here progression stops.

These groupings have never been changed, and government

are still composed of only social and political units, these only having representation in such systems as have been developed, considering only these in their formation. In our system, states, congressional districts, municipalities, etc., form political units.

During the era of intense individualism, and up to this time, no further progression in our form of social and political organization has been found necessary; the industries were closely allied to and identified with the individuals who lived by them; practically there were no great industrial combinations to compete with the individual; the laws which related to the duties and responsibilities of the citizen covered the entire field of legislation; the individual and the industry were one. Since the growth of industrial combinations there has been a divorce of the citizen from his industry, as it were, a drifting apart, the individual and the industry being now two distinct entities; the industry itself has become a factor in the problem; the individual is lost sight of, and his interests, even his rights, often seriously compromised, or endangered by the legislation which concerns especially the industry by which he lives. The great captains of industry and barons of trade direct legislation in the interest of the combinations which they govern, regardless of any interests other than those of the combination. The ability of the individual to compete is destroyed, he is driven from the field, his independence crushed; he is forced to seek a support in other fields of employment and finds these all monopolized by combinations, and so, finally, he is reduced to the condition of a dependent upon some powerful corporation of fortunate individuals; he becomes a feudal vassal at the same time that he is proclaimed a free citizen of a free republic.

The class of laws pertaining solely to the relations of the individual to society, those which regulate his moral conduct, his family relations, and his social obligations to his fellow-citizens, that direct him as to what he may do and what is criminal, are in no way onerous or burdensome, and such change as seems necessary can be secured with the greatest ease and facility. There seems to be no reform urgent, or especially necessary, so far as the *social* unit is concerned.

The class of laws pertaining to the political organization and machinery and its operation, the demands and obligations affecting the individual of a purely political nature, seem to be well adapted to the advanced condition of society. In this feature of our system the only fault seems to lie in the perversion of power in the hands of corrupt officials, the tampering with the franchise, the rings, and machines, and their corruption. These evils are of such a nature that when they become of sufficient consequence to excite the indignation of the people, a common uprising of insulted citizenship at the ballot-box is generally sufficient to clear the political atmosphere and make the necessary changes. The *political* unit seems to be satisfactorily adjusted and well adapted. The class of laws which affect especially the industries, as such, are especially difficult to adapt and direct in the most equitable manner. It is here where the great need of reform seems to lie, here that the readaptation seems to be required.

It appears to be an urgent necessity that some means be devised to prevent the monopolizing of vast fields of industry by strong combinations, for the purpose of shutting out competition and turning the vast aggregate of profit into the hands of a very few individuals, and shutting out the great mass, who depend upon such fields, from employing their industry in them except by permission of the monopolists upon such terms as they may choose to dictate. If this system of combination is to prevail, then some measure of return must be provided for the individuals thus robbed of their opportunities. The dangerous feature of this corporate system appears to be, that the great combinations step in between the citizen and the government and levy such tax as they may choose, imposing the most severe penalties in the form of idleness, destitution, and the suffering of dependent families, for refusal to comply with their demands. The individual is thus subjected to the domination of two distinct powers, one the power of the political government, which taxes him and controls his relations to his fellow-citizens, which power is of his own creation and is submitted to voluntarily; the other controls the necessities by which he exists, and only

by permission of the combination which controls his field of industry can he exist at all. This power is in the nature of a conquest, brought to bear against his will and only submitted to because he is unable to resist it: in this sense he is a slave.

In this way the monopolist dictates the condition of life of the citizen, the very quality of food he can eat, the kind and quality of clothes he can wear, the kind of shelter which he may allow his family; sumptuary laws are liberal beside such conditions.

In all of this the government is helpless to protect the citizen: he suffers from the tyranny of other individuals whose power over him is far greater than that of the government, and against this power the government does not protect him; a power which is totally irresponsible, a tyranny that is utterly heartless because responsibility rests in no one. It is by the controlling of the circumstances and conditions which govern a man's life that the most abject slavery is established.

A man is a creature of circumstances, the slave of necessity; and the man, or combination, who controls these necessities is the master: called by any name whatever this is simply and plainly slavery. An individual may live under the most liberal political government on earth and yet be a most abject slave; the difference only lies in the name.

Under this growing modern system of industrial combination the political government is but a secondary matter; the field of industry in which the individual is engaged influences the conditions of his life to a far greater extent. This field is open to invasion and conquest by speculative combinations, which are as much the enemy of the individual as the fiercest savages; profit is the prey they seek, and the comfort and happiness, even the lives, of those engaged in such field are as utterly disregarded as they would be were they the object of attack by savage cannibals. In this way the era of conflict is revived; if we are judged by the teachings of history the best organized will succeed and the individual is doomed; let us hope that human intelligence has sufficiently developed to devise a means of defense for individual liberty; if not, we are on the threshold of another dark age, an age of industrial feudalism. What will be the defense?

This great development of power in each of the various fields of industry; the tendency toward combination in each separate line; the direct and terrible influence from this source which so powerfully affects the conditions of life of the individual citizen; the fact that the rapidly growing power stands between the citizen and the political government, and practically overshadows the latter, seem to point to the necessity for the addition of another factor in our governmental system, another unit to enable us to progress—the *industrial* unit. In other words, has it not become necessary, in order to preserve the supreme power of the government, and the liberties of the people, that the various lines of industry, as such, should have representation in our political system as well as groups of families and political divisions? The progress of man has ever required the coöperation of men, and nations are but coöperative groups. The condition of these coöperative groups depends principally upon the manner in which the industry upon which each depends may thrive, and those engaged in any particular industry are best capable of suggesting the kind of legislation most likely to benefit them. Our legislative bodies are made up without regard to this fact, and yet the great mass of their legislation is directed toward the various industries of which they know nothing.

This condition renders easy and almost necessary the intervention of a lobby, which is a most prolific source of corruption. The legislator, knowing nothing of the industry toward which his action is directed, must get his information from some source, and the source most ready to supply it is not likely to be the mass of individuals who live by that industry; the conditions, indeed, offer the very best opportunities for speculative bodies to secure the assistance of the government in the exploiting of the industrial masses.

Does it not seem that the time has arrived when either representatives of each classified industry, chosen by the voters who live by it, should have places in our legislative bodies; or that a congress of industries chosen by the people engaged in them, discuss and formulate the legislation pertaining to this important factor of our social and political system and submit their con-

clusions to the legislative branch to be enacted into law! In this way the individual can have a voice in establishing the conditions which affect him most seriously and vitally. The government will be placed, as it should, above and superior to any power which may in any way oppress or injure the citizen. The great combination will be brought under the supervision of society, as it were, and any abuse of power guarded against without injury or violence to any equitable rights to which they may be entitled, while the advantages of combined action may be preserved to society.

The political system of the future will evidently be largely affected by this tendency to combination; it will become a prominent feature, but just how it will become assimilated of course discussion must decide. It does seem that the addition of the *industrial* unit is now a necessity in our system. The time has come when the question must be given prompt attention. On its solution the future of the nation depends.

JAMES A. COLLINS.

BLIND PARTISANSHIP AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY JOHN S. EVANS.

IF I mistake not, the work of the American Institute of Civics is on a line with my convictions so far as government and citizenship are concerned. I have been a close student of political economy, the trend of public affairs in our government—national, state, and municipal; and I am forced to the conclusion, so vividly foreseen and deplored by George Washington, as portrayed in his farewell address, that modern partisanship in politics has so blinded the intelligence and usurped the personal independence of citizens that the combined greed of the money power and liquor oligarchy are making such an onslaught upon our moral, religious, social, industrial, and political structure—national, state, and municipal—as to make it necessary that some powerful moral force be speedily brought to bear in the selection of an officary, from the lowest to the highest position, freed from greed for office and the possibility of being swayed from the path of rectitude by the system of bribery and corruption that seems to be so rife throughout our land. I have come to this firm conclusion: that no permanent reform can be expected until the citizens favoring law and order and the purity of government band together—regardless of party affiliations or predilections—to see to it that officials who are elected (by whatever party) do their duty fearlessly and impartially, and keep themselves free from compromising alliances. However it may be in other parts of our country, it is certainly true here that no law the people may enact is of any account whatever (I state it without qualification), except as the officary, for such reasons as to them seem best, see fit to attempt an enforcement thereof; and even in such exceptional attempts, it generally turns out that an advantage is taken of some technical violation of law by some person that is known to the officary to

be an earnest advocate of law and order, and has in such earnestness of heart, perhaps, passed some criticisms upon the laxity, incompetency, or corruption of such officary in failing to enforce laws against the criminal and corrupt class.

We have here a city of about 5,500 inhabitants: what might be called a "residence city"; made up in its population largely of retired farmers and business men, with a sprinkling of manufacturers; the people as a class highly intelligent, well-to-do, and I believe above the average in moral and religious standing—and the same is true of the whole county. The voters of the county are opposed to the liquor traffic, and in favor of its entire prohibition three to one, and it is Republican in politics almost two to one. In 1887 a vote on a prohibition constitutional amendment carried in the county by about three to one, and it is, I think, freely admitted that such amendment carried in the state, but was counted out and defeated by corrupt officials by fraud, the same as after amendments have been shown to have been counted as carried, increasing salaries of officials, when in fact lost by the vote of the people. The incipency of this corruption in thwarting the will of the people concerning their fundamental laws was, as aforesaid, in the defeat of the said prohibitory amendment at the dictates of the liquor league, and when the frauds were shown by sworn proofs to the legislature (strongly Republican), and an investigation then and there asked, which if had would doubtless have prevented the after frauds referred to, such political or other influence seems to have been brought to bear by the lobby for the liquor interests, that the matter was pigeon-holed by the legislative committee, and is still quietly reposing in "innocuous desuetude." But a sop was thrown out to "temperance counties" in the shape of a "Local Option Law," purposely made illegal and afterwards so decided to be by the Supreme Court; but not until it had had its desired effect to some extent, of disgusting the people with the defeat of their cherished desires. That law was voted into being in this county by about two to one.

After its defeat in the court as aforesaid, another "Local Option Law" was given the people, so complex in its make-up

and provisions for being voted into force, and devoid of good and wholesome provisions for its easy enforcement, and yet of sufficient force, when rightly voted into being, that with a "willing officary" the traffic could be easily banished from the county, that it tended further to disgust the people with the idea of ever accomplishing much in the line of their earnest desires. After waiting two or three years for the politicians who claimed to favor such law to put it before the people, and no steps being taken by them, by a popular movement that law also was brought into legal being in this county by vote of the people—but with largely reduced majority. The local politicians at once began to assure the people that it would prove a failure, that it could not be enforced, and assured the saloon element in the county that if they would stubbornly hold on for a time and persist in a disregard for the law, that they would see that it could not be enforced, and that it would soon be repealed; and such influence was brought to bear upon the local officials that they became satisfied (?) that it was a hard thing to enforce the law (without making even an attempt), and to get anything accomplished the citizens had to take the matter in hand, and by forming "Law and Order Leagues" and employing at private expense outside detectives, succeeded in obtaining a number of arrests, the object being to use local witnesses known to be cognizant of the violations of law as witnesses on the trial to convict. They were all bound over to the court for trial, and the names of local parties known to have patronized the saloons, including some prominent politicians, furnished as witnesses; but the prosecuting attorney (who claimed before he was elected to be in sympathy with the enforcement of the law) failed to use any of such local witnesses, and made the cases as devoid of force as seemed possible—leaving the proofs entirely to the detectives so far as the merits of the transactions were concerned. Then a systematic onslaught was begun by the officary and partisan papers upon the "foreign hirelings," "imported for the purpose of inducing men to commit crimes," etc., and then maintaining that it was the proper office of the local police to enforce the law, etc., which was true, but the said foreign hire-

lings were not pressed into service until after the local police had had plenty of opportunity to show their skill, and not until after such local officials had assured the populace that they could not "catch" violations of the law, and that it would be necessary to get foreign detectives to "catch" the offenders.

After some delay, and no further arrests being made by the local officary, some of the cases were brought on to trial, and to the great surprise of the prosecuting officials the jury insisted upon convicting even upon the discredited testimony of a single "foreign hireling"; and the people began to throw up their hats and cry "victory," but all at once the counsel of the temperance and law and order element was dismissed by the prosecuting officials, and some other influence began its deadly work. Prosecutions were then and there stopped, and the community soon began to be treated to the insinuating information that there was some question as to whether the informations were legal and would stand in the Supreme Court, and after some time the cases were dismissed upon payment of a certain amount each "as costs"; and no further complaints were made, and no further arrests had. The law-and-order citizens were disheartened; their money had been spent in vain; and then the officary of the county, the local politicians, and the party press (for political considerations, or otherwise), all professing their devotion to the cause of temperance reform, and their belief in the great evils of the traffic, were, however, satisfied that the "law was a failure," and pointed to the fact that it had not been enforced, and that it was "openly violated," and that it would be better to return to "license," and make the saloons pay a tax to help defray the expenses of caring for the results of their traffic.

We had in this city a Democratic marshal, whom the Republicans pointed out as elected as the special friend of the saloons, which appeared to be true, and that while all of the county officials were Republican, and the law was a county law, yet all the responsibility was thrown by the county officials upon the city officers, and by the city marshal upon the county officers, because it was not a city law. And so it went. No stone was

left unturned, however, to enforce upon the public mind the fact that the "law was a failure," and "openly violated," and ought to be repealed; and officials took the first steps toward getting it repealed—starting out very quietly, by drafting petitions for an election to repeal it, and officials and their friends circulating the petitions. After the petitions were started out, then, of course, the officials were relieved from responsibility for the further enforcement of the law until after the people had expressed themselves upon the question whether the law should be repealed "because of its non-enforcement," and two new saloons started into business openly and defiantly, but with an apparent full understanding that no interference need be feared, one of the parties having gone out of the business soon after the law was voted into effect, when there was some prospect of an enforcement thereof, and not reëngaged in the business for almost two years until thus assured that he would not be interfered with, and that there was to be an "official" attempt to get the law repealed; and the officials and the partisan press referred to these new accessions to the ranks of "open violators" of the law as additional reasons why the law was a failure and should be repealed. About six weeks before the vote on such repeal, however, there was a local election of city officers, including mayor and marshal. The Democrats put up a man for marshal that was known to be in league with the liquor element (a clerk of one of the hotels), and the Republicans put up a man, supposed to be clean morally, and the local party committee issued a printed circular, and the party press (Republican) printed articles calling the attention of "people in favor of law and order" to the necessity of supporting the Republican nominee for mayor and marshal—especially the latter—and pledging that if they were elected they would strictly and impartially enforce "all laws," having special reference to the failure to enforce the Local Option Law by the preceding marshal, and the candidate himself (for marshal) personally pledged himself to me, to Ex-Governor Luce, and other persons anxious for the enforcement of law, that if elected he would strictly enforce that law as well as others, and in this way the good and law-abiding people, re-

ardless of party, were induced to vote for him, in hopes that by having all city and county officials of the same party, and a marshal pledged to the enforcement of the law, that the saloons would be at once closed and the people of the county thus induced to continue the law.

The marshal was elected by a very large majority; but we were soon given intimations from those who claimed to know, that we could not expect anything different than before, and that our supposed law-and-order marshal had, in fact, obligated himself to the saloon element, many of whom, it was claimed, secretly supported him, thus explaining his overwhelming majority. We could hardly believe it, but the results sustained such claim at least, for he did not do one single thing, so far as discernible, to enforce that law, but did go to the saloons and order them not to sell to minors (one of the prohibitions of the "license" law that they hoped to reenact), thus giving them tacitly to understand that they could sell to any one else, and also by act showing that he knew they were violating the prohibitory law; and they all continued openly in violation of the law, and the brewery in the city, that had been closed down for the two years of the Local Option Law, was rented, stocked with ice, and arrangements made to open up business at once—in view of the expected return to "license," which was said by those favoring it would lessen the number of such institutions. The result was that the law was repealed by about the same vote of the sympathizers with licensed evil as the negative votes on the law at former elections, by reason of the fact that those law-abiding and sympathizing voters of the county who had put the law into force refrained from voting against its repeal out of disgust with the failure to try to enforce it. There has been no change of sentiment on the merits of the question, but hope so long deferred resulted in passive disgust. As soon as the "license" law was restored, the "reform" mayor and marshal ordered all saloons closed at once until their "license was paid," and they were tightly closed until each one had paid the "blood money"; and since that they have not been interfered with by the officials, and only when an outraged public conscience ex-

left unturned, however, to enforce upon the public mind the fact that the "law was a failure," and "openly violated," and ought to be repealed; and officials took the first steps toward getting it repealed—starting out very quietly, by drafting petitions for an election to repeal it, and officials and their friends circulating the petitions. After the petitions were started out, then, of course, the officials were relieved from responsibility for the further enforcement of the law until after the people had expressed themselves upon the question whether the law should be repealed "because of its non-enforcement," and two new saloons started into business openly and defiantly, but with an apparent full understanding that no interference need be feared, one of the parties having gone out of the business soon after the law was voted into effect, when there was some prospect of an enforcement thereof, and not reëngaged in the business for almost two years until thus assured that he would not be interfered with, and that there was to be an "official" attempt to get the law repealed; and the officials and the partisan press referred to these new accessions to the ranks of "open violators" of the law as additional reasons why the law was a failure and should be repealed. About six weeks before the vote on such repeal, however, there was a local election of city officers, including mayor and marshal. The Democrats put up a man for marshal that was known to be in league with the liquor element (a clerk of one of the hotels), and the Republicans put up a man, supposed to be clean morally, and the local party committee issued a printed circular, and the party press (Republican) printed articles calling the attention of "people in favor of law and order" to the necessity of supporting the Republican nominee for mayor and marshal—especially the latter—and pledging that if they were elected they would strictly and impartially enforce "all laws," having special reference to the failure to enforce the Local Option Law by the preceding marshal, and the candidate himself (for marshal) personally pledged himself to me, to Ex-Governor Luce, and other persons anxious for the enforcement of law, that if elected he would strictly enforce that law as well as others, and in this way the good and law-abiding people, re-

guilty of the same offense as a city official, but was there compelled through his bondsmen to make good the deficit ; and yet this party, who has a political following of the baser element that can "balance" in elections, is not prosecuted, nor he or his bondsmen compelled to make good to the county the amount of his defalcation. And so we have utter anarchy permitted and winked at and participated in by the officary in this, one of the most intelligent and moral communities in the land ; and so many business men afraid to say their souls are their own, or to do anything tangible toward checking this evil tendency.

I have given this recital as a sample of what seems to me to be the great and almost universal tendency of the age ; and as a proof to me of the great necessity of some generally concerted effort to check such evil tendencies, which if not speedily checked must eventually sink us into universal anarchy and barbarism.

JOHN S. EVANS.

pressed its feelings in some threatening manifestation has anything whatever been done to induce even a pretended regard for the beneficent restrictions of the law. Every saloon that was running under local option (including the two that opened "in view of license") have paid the local license and run "legally," and more have paid the local license than were carrying United States license under the local option *régime*. And, instead of no brewery, as it was then, and no brewery wagon parading the streets daily, our local brewery is now running its factory and wagon, and a Chicago brewing firm has built a local warehouse here, and its "grand outfit" parades our streets, making its début by a grand parade preceded by a band of music through the crowded streets on the day of a band tournament, and when a new saloon is opened it is done with a blast of trumpets—a brass band.

As was anticipated by advocates of law and order, the results of such a victory by the lawless with the aid and consent of the officary and politicians are that all good and wholesome laws are openly set at defiance, and very little, if any, attempt made on the part of the police or prosecuting officials to check it. And worse yet, what do we find, but that this "reform" marshal, who was to "impartially enforce all law" (for election purposes) has not only winked at commission of crimes, especially lotteries and gambling, but invested, with his deputies and other officials, in the illegal enterprises, and personally set up for raffle on a new system of double chance a piece of property on his own behalf, and personally solicited and sold the tickets to officials, merchants (some of whom said they had to invest to pacify him on account of their own enterprises in the same line), and private parties who are always looking for some scheme to get something for nothing. As this is not only a violation of city ordinance, but a state's prison offense under the statute, it is difficult to imagine how we can expect any attempt on the part of such officials to enforce other laws against other criminals who would be in a splendid position to get even with the officials. We also have cases of admitted defalcation and embezzlement on the part of an ex-county official, who was found to be

guilty of the same offense as a city official, but was there compelled through his bondsmen to make good the deficit ; and yet this party, who has a political following of the baser element that can "balance" in elections, is not prosecuted, nor he or his bondsmen compelled to make good to the county the amount of his defalcation. And so we have utter anarchy permitted and winked at and participated in by the officary in this, one of the most intelligent and moral communities in the land ; and so many business men afraid to say their souls are their own, or to do anything tangible toward checking this evil tendency.

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JOHN S. EVANS.

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

BY WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

THE problem of poverty, how to relieve it, or, better still, how to abolish it, is as old as human history. The earliest records show practically the same condition of affairs which exists to-day; men and women with insufficient food, clothes, and shelter, living on a part of this planet possessing all the natural resources necessary for supplying their wants. Yet in one important respect the poverty of the primitive man, of the early civilizations, and even of many countries at the present time, differs widely from that of enlightened nations. The poverty of uncivilized man is due largely to his ignorance or weakness, which prevents him from satisfying his desires. The poverty of civilized countries is due almost entirely to unjust laws and social institutions which shut out from employment men and women able by working to support themselves. It is this latter phase of poverty which is the burning question of the day.

To avoid a misunderstanding as to the nature of the disease with which our modern society is so grievously afflicted, it is necessary first to define the term "poverty." The condition described by that word is a negative one, implying the absence of the artificial aids, food, clothing, and shelter, which are needed to sustain life and the consequent dependence of the "pauper" wholly or in part on the assistance of other members of the community. Through a careless use of words, the term "poverty" is often applied to the condition of that part of the population which is self-supporting, though but scantily fed and clothed and meanly sheltered. This error results in confusion regarding the nature of poverty, and is partly the source of the popular belief that its abolition is impossible, for, it is said, there must always be a class which will be relatively poorer than

the average worker. This must be admitted, yet it has no bearing on the condition of those who are not merely poor, but dependent. Nor need I consider here the support by public or private charity of those who, through mental or physical infirmity, are unfit to perform any useful service. These unfortunates are but a small percentage of the assisted classes, and would doubtless rapidly decrease in number if their friends and relatives, their natural supporters, were not prevented by present economic conditions from maintaining them. Besides, most of the diseases which fill our hospitals and asylums are largely caused by insufficient nourishment, or by the unhealthy conditions in which so many men and women are forced to work and live. Nearly all of the poverty resulting from these causes would disappear under a social system which raised the standard of living of the whole people, and it is, therefore, not relevant to the inquiry into the much more important question of the poverty which exists because of the failure of willing workers to find employment.

It can hardly be necessary that I should refer at length to the vice, sin, suffering, and degradation which are the invariable concomitants of poverty. The subject has been the theme of many pens for centuries, so that now its features are familiar to every one. Even did we avoid the thousands of books which directly or indirectly treat of the woes of poverty, we cannot escape from it. We find its daily records in our newspapers. We meet its victims on every city street. Its influence as a barrier to social progress is felt everywhere. Slavery has been called "the sum of human villainies." Poverty is the sum of human miseries.

The first impulse of the sympathetic man or woman who realizes the evil of poverty with which they are surrounded, is to relieve it through some form of charity. "Here is one hungry, ragged, and homeless," say they, "we will feed and clothe him and give him shelter." After a time it is found that the number of those seeking aid is beyond the power of individual assistance. Then charity becomes public, and the community recognizes as a valid claim the request of the needy to be provided for at the expense

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

BY WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

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of the public at large. In many cases private charities are organized and large sums of money expended in trying to diminish suffering and want among the unemployed. Workhouses, in which the willingness to work of the applicant for aid is tested, are a prominent feature of charitable methods. Employment bureaus, which aim to find work for the idle, and emigration societies, which seek relief through sending the unemployed to other lands, are also forms of charity. In nearly all civilized countries the governments, either national or municipal, make provision for such a minimum of food and clothing as will keep alive all who are in actual want.

Clearly, then, there are not lacking abundant means for the relief of poverty. Yet nothing is more certain than that all the agencies of public or private charity have so far failed utterly to diminish the total of pauperism. On the contrary, statistics show that the tendency is steadily toward an increase in the number of those who are dependent on charity. And, indeed, it could not well be otherwise. The food, clothing, etc., furnished by charity are a direct drain upon the stock of these articles produced by the workers. If a certain percentage of the product of the industrious goes to support an idle class it follows that there is so much less left for their own comforts, or for investment in new industries. The result is that the available capital for investment in trade and manufacturing is decreased, and consequently the number of the unemployed increases.

Not only does charity fail in this way to accomplish its ostensible objects, but by the ease with which its bounties can be obtained it is often a direct inducement to a considerable number to forsake the ways of industry and to rely upon the gifts of others. The records of organized charities bear testimony to the effect of public or private assistance being to weaken the idea of self-reliance and to strengthen the tendency toward parasitism. And all efforts looking to the permanent relief of poverty through charity have, on the admission of those prominently identified with charitable movements, signally failed.

Experience having shown the inadequacy of all measures tried for relieving poverty, there remains the question of abolishing

it. Before the eighteenth century the possibility of eradicating this greatest evil and disgrace of civilization was not seriously considered. But with the intellectual revival in France, with its prying into old abuses and its keen analysis of the shams and formulas of society, came an inquiry as to the natural justice of a social system in which there were millions of half-starved peasants and a few thousand elegant nobles and gentlemen. Rousseau, in his "Discourse on the Inequality among Men" and in his "Social Contract," endeavored to prove that all the miseries and suffering resulting from poverty were caused by the errors and crimes of governments, which had by unjust laws shut men out from the common bounties of mother-earth. This idea influenced the successful revolutionists of 1789, who sought to correct the evils of the feudal system by dividing the land of France among the peasants and farm laborers. The establishment of the empire and the long period of European wars which followed, prevented a fair test of the first attempt to abolish poverty on a large scale by establishing approximately just economic conditions. But in so far as France is to-day the one nation in Europe which is comparatively free from pauperism, there is no doubt that had the ideas of Rousseau been put in force during a century of peace, the result would have been the entire extirpation of poverty.

After the French economists the next writer of prominence to deal with the question of poverty was Malthus, an English clergyman, whose views, as given in his "Treatise on Population," published early in this century, were distinctly opposed to those of Rousseau. Starting out with the assumption that population always tends to increase in a geometrical ratio, while the means of subsistence increase only in an arithmetical ratio, Malthus argued that poverty existed as a natural condition from which there could be no escape. Notwithstanding the errors and absurdities of his reasoning, contradicted flatly by the facts of every-day life, the plausibility of his arguments has so influenced the public mind that "Malthusianism" has been popularly accepted as a name for the doctrine that poverty is simply the result of natural laws and as such can never be abolished.

and provisions for being voted into force, and devoid of good and wholesome provisions for its easy enforcement, and yet of sufficient force, when rightly voted into being, that with a "willing officary" the traffic could be easily banished from the county, that it tended further to disgust the people with the idea of ever accomplishing much in the line of their earnest desires. After waiting two or three years for the politicians who claimed to favor such law to put it before the people, and no steps being taken by them, by a popular movement that law also was brought into legal being in this county by vote of the people—but with largely reduced majority. The local politicians at once began to assure the people that it would prove a failure, that it could not be enforced, and assured the saloon element in the county that if they would stubbornly hold on for a time and persist in a disregard for the law, that they would see that it could not be enforced, and that it would soon be repealed; and such influence was brought to bear upon the local officials that they became satisfied (?) that it was a hard thing to enforce the law (without making even an attempt), and to get anything accomplished the citizens had to take the matter in hand, and by forming "Law and Order Leagues" and employing at private expense outside detectives, succeeded in obtaining a number of arrests, the object being to use local witnesses known to be cognizant of the violations of law as witnesses on the trial to convict. They were all bound over to the court for trial, and the names of local parties known to have patronized the saloons, including some prominent politicians, furnished as witnesses; but the prosecuting attorney (who claimed before he was elected to be in sympathy with the enforcement of the law) failed to use any of such local witnesses, and made the cases as devoid of force as seemed possible—leaving the proofs entirely to the detectives so far as the merits of the transactions were concerned. Then a systematic onslaught was begun by the officary and partisan papers upon the "foreign hirelings," "imported for the purpose of inducing men to commit crimes," etc., and then maintaining that it was the proper office of the local police to enforce the law, etc., which was true, but the said foreign hire-

lings were not pressed into service until after the local police had had plenty of opportunity to show their skill, and not until after such local officials had assured the populace that they could not "catch" violations of the law, and that it would be necessary to get foreign detectives to "catch" the offenders.

After some delay, and no further arrests being made by the local officary, some of the cases were brought on to trial, and to the great surprise of the prosecuting officials the jury insisted upon convicting even upon the discredited testimony of a single "foreign hireling"; and the people began to throw up their hats and cry "victory," but all at once the counsel of the temperance and law and order element was dismissed by the prosecuting officials, and some other influence began its deadly work. Prosecutions were then and there stopped, and the community soon began to be treated to the insinuating information that there was some question as to whether the informations were legal and would stand in the Supreme Court, and after some time the cases were dismissed upon payment of a certain amount each "as costs"; and no further complaints were made, and no further arrests had. The law-and-order citizens were disheartened; their money had been spent in vain; and then the officary of the county, the local politicians, and the party press (for political considerations, or otherwise), all professing their devotion to the cause of temperance reform, and their belief in the great evils of the traffic, were, however, satisfied that the "law was a failure," and pointed to the fact that it had not been enforced, and that it was "openly violated," and that it would be better to return to "license," and make the saloons pay a tax to help defray the expenses of caring for the results of their traffic.

We had in this city a Democratic marshal, whom the Republicans pointed out as elected as the special friend of the saloons, which appeared to be true, and that while all of the county officials were Republican, and the law was a county law, yet all the responsibility was thrown by the county officials upon the city officers, and by the city marshal upon the county officers, because it was not a city law. And so it went. No stone was

tries, just as was done in the early years of this country's history. "But," it may be said, "the unemployed of our cities would not all go to farming. There is still much cheap land and they will not go to work on it." I do not pretend that all the idle classes should become farmers. There are hundreds of other occupations which would be thrown open by the mere freeing of vacant land in our cities and towns. For instance, valuable lots, now unused, would soon be covered with factories, stores, or residences, their erection calling for more laborers, carpenters, bricklayers, etc. So with other industries. So long as there exists, as there undeniably does, a demand for far more of all kinds of labor products than can now be supplied, there need be no question as to the opportunities for the indefinite increase of all kinds of productive industry.

And here I may say a word in reference to the "overproduction" theory of the cause of poverty. According to some recent writers the reason why men and women are hungry, ragged, and homeless, is because we have too much food and too many clothes and houses. The mere statement of this explanation is enough to show its utter absurdity. Under-consumption, due to the inability of would-be consumers to get through working the means to buy goods, is the real cause of the overstock in many lines of commodities. Under conditions of economic freedom there would be no "overproduction."

The proposal for the abolition of poverty by the simple but radical remedy of allowing the unemployed to go to work upon the valuable vacant land now held out of use for speculative purposes, is not socialistic, nor does it attack the rights of private property. Believing most firmly in the right to property I maintain that only under a just system of landholding can that right be secured. Through the assertion of the basic principle of individualism, the right of each individual to a place on the earth on which to live and work, the way would be opened for relief from the semi-socialistic schemes of public charities. And with the possibility of employment for every one who was willing to work, the arguments for state-ownership and management of the means of production would soon cease to be heard.

Granted that the great mass of poverty exists because of lack of work, that this lack of work is due to the monopoly of land, the sole opportunity of labor given by nature, the final question is: "How can the right to the use of the earth be best secured under the complex conditions of modern society?"

Various plans for land nationalization have been put forward during the past twenty years, most of them involving the direct control and regulation by government of the land. But one proposal has been marked by its freedom from all paternalistic features, providing as it does for the least possible interference on the part of the government. I refer to the doctrine popularly associated with the name of Henry George, whose searching inquiry into the cause of poverty, and its remedy, was given to the world in "Progress and Poverty" some fifteen years ago. Briefly stated, Mr. George's proposition is: the freeing for use of all vacant land by the simple method of taxing it on its full rental value. Or, in other words, by taking for public purposes that entire land value caused by increasing population, which is generally called "economic rent." This change in our system of taxation would at once have the effect of destroying the selling value of vacant land and thus throwing open to all who chose to use it the valuable natural resources now monopolized and held out of use for speculative purposes.

The many advantages which this solution of the land problem offers above all others have already won for it a host of advocates in this and other countries. Public sentiment is being rapidly crystallized in its favor, and there can be little doubt but that at an early day it will receive a fair trial on a large scale. Its universal adoption will entirely abolish all involuntary poverty and free the progress of man toward a higher civilization from that dread incubus.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

ABOUT PRODUCTION.

BY E. P. POWELL.

THE two problems of political economy are to secure equality in production and equity in distribution. No such problem can ever be absolutely solved. The ideal is evolution and betterment, not equilibrium. My purpose to-day is to consider how much gain we may hope from nationalism in the matter of an equitable distribution of the burdens of society. The answer which Mr. Bellamy and his followers make constantly is that it will be possible to induce the people under state control to take up the trades least easy and agreeable, instead of crowding those less onerous and offensive; that by grading the hours of work to each kind of occupation there will be an equalization of all employments, in point of attractiveness. That is, if scrubbing be reduced to two hours a day, and sewing occupy ten hours, the two employments would be equally likely to attract workers. Two hours for scavenger work would, in the same way, make it equally sought after as bookkeeping at ten hours. This is a vital point; for if nationalism cannot distribute producers and equalize production, it fails at the outset. We are therefore bid to remember that with the advent of nationalism, "the perilous, insalubrious, and revolting conditions" which now involve many forms of labor, will be done away with. That is, every form of toil will at once, by legislation, be freed from danger to life and limb, from insalubrity, and unsanitary conditions, and from whatever revolts the eye or ear or stomach. It will not do to slur over this point; for if it means anything it means that legislation is going to achieve at a stroke what science is not yet able to even apprehend. We are barely beginning to understand what constitute "the perilous and insalubrious conditions" of life. Take for a single instance our combat with microscopic foes. Can Mr. Bellamy's "nation" do anything better than

follow slowly in the wake of the patient investigations of Binet and Koch and Pasteur? If not, there is very little prospect of any more being achieved than is now steadily accomplished under individualism. The only other escape from the perilous and insalubrious must be by deserting such employments as imperil life or health. The missionary will cease going to Africa, because of unwholesome fevers, and the equally unwholesome habits of sharp-teethed natives. The farming of prairie lands is associated with miasmatic chills that no government can legislate out of the way. It will, therefore, be the positive obligation of the state as proposed to remove all farming operations out of the river bottoms and deltas, to the healthy hillsides; whereas increasing population demands the utmost product of universal tillage. There are perils of steamships and railways; and plainly the "nation" will have to give up exposing its citizens to loss of life or limb by methods of travel and commerce, that, with the most intelligent care, involve collisions and explosions. It is needless to pursue this proposition, to show how it would debar the fireman from exposing his life to rescue mothers and babes from burning buildings; and in fact would abolish heroism altogether.

But Mr. Bellamy is fertile of resources; and is sure that if the state still lacked miners, stokers, scavengers, scrubbers, printers' devils, missionaries, and whoever else might object to special dirt, special danger, special stenches, and special providences in the way of explosions, cannibals, or thugs, these could surely be secured by offering longer vacations. "Let us imagine that the length of the vacations given to the miners and stokers was so increased that they had to work but six months out of the year, while other trades worked perhaps eleven." That is, the state would say to Biddy, the dish-washer, "You shall have four nights out a week, but Nelly, the chamber-girl, shall have but two, and the sewing-girl but one. The miner need not work but two hours a day, and shall have a vacation twice as long as the carpenter who works eight." What Nelly and the sewing-girl will have to say need not be inquired. Of course it follows that four times as many men must be miners as

now, in order to get out the same proportion of fuel and metals. These must be clothed and fed as if there were but one fourth as many; and this of course must be done out of the profits of mining. That is, mining under nationalism would require four times as many to endure its severities, and would cost more than four times as much as under the present industrial system.

But what will you do with the shiftless and shirking element? You cannot discharge these; you must feed them; they are a part of the state. Nationalists always fail to answer this point with integrity. They assume that the "state" will have to deal only with positive vagabonds, and that these can all be turned over to state institutions designed for them. But so can any industrial system get on with downright tramps. The real question is, How will you manage to make the shirking element of *workers* do their full and fair quota? How will you equalize production? It is very certain that those who come up to a maximum in quantity and quality will not patiently observe others doing half as much, half as well. There are plenty of people who, in ten hours, do not now get in five hours of achievement; and as many more cannot put in over half work, from lack of skill or tact. At present only the employer suffers; and he must balance affairs as he best can by an adjustment of wages. But under "nationalism" the loss from shirking and lack of skill will fall on other workmen. No sort of social peace can be established with this universal friction. If we undertake to level, level it must be. Every one must do his just and level best in and for the common stock. To anticipate any such achievement or purpose, even on the part of the bulk of human beings, is to assume human perfection so far ahead of the present as to be out of comparison. What remedies does nationalism propose? "Loss of promotion." "Increase of hours of work." "Severer occupation." Bellamy has in mind and gravely proposes to enlarge our district school system into an industrial plan, to cover the United States. But in such case the pupils will be the teachers, and the teachers the pupils. The offenders will include over half of all the people, if not three fourths; for at present

not nearly one half of us do as much as would satisfy a neighbor compelled to share our task with us. The system proposed makes every one anxious that his neighbor shall do his best, and equally it reduces the stimulus on each one to do his own best. Remedy—"loss of promotion." Who is going to do all this imposing of penalties? Shall we be provided overseers, like the old slave plantations? The system *must* provide a universal espionage, a set of judges and courts, in constant session, to decide concerning complaints arising at every point—"tribunals existing for the purpose." But give a thought to the enormous ramification of such tribunals; deciding as to the honesty of the day's labor of each man and woman in the land. Here at once you withdraw from public production an army of lawyers or advocates, judges, jurymen, or whoever else may constitute these universal perpetual national tribunals.

But "public opinion," says Mr. Bellamy, "would make goalers' duties very light." It clearly would be impossible to have any public opinion where the work of every man is the object of criticism. Let me place two passages from a magazine article of this gentleman's side by side. "Nowadays in the better part of the United States a man who does not find some regular occupation is an object of such general contempt that he must be exceptionally thick-skinned to be able to take comfort in his leisure." Again in the same article he says, "The adventurer who lives by his wits nowadays, scorning honest labor, is a hero and fine fellow among his set; and so long as he avoids open lawbreaking is tolerated by society." Which of these statements is the underlying truth on which state production is to be based? Nationalism must recognize every man who endeavors to evade the duty of contributing his full share to production "as a thief and picker of everybody's pocket." That would put more than half the population in jails; or turn them into brigands. In fact, it would disorganize society.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review* Mr. Bellamy classifies the motives to diligence as: (1) the sense of moral obligation to do one's duty (true honor); (2) the love of approbation; and (3) a desire for power, authority, and leadership. This is

precisely the classification that belongs to honest work in present social conditions. Only let us understand that there never yet been shown the slightest reason for supposing that the first motive would be any stronger under nationalism than now. On the contrary, I believe it can be seen that where nationalism is now the controlling social idea there is a weakening of the sense of personal obligation. To go no farther, let us observe the effect which schools have had in relieving partly of a feeling of responsibility for the intellectual and moral culture of their children, beyond sending them to school. As the second class of motives named by Mr. Bellamy, that is, love of approbation, I cannot see how nationalism can possibly increase its force. Diligence under such a system will not attach to one's own achievements. The personal will be merged in the public. Can it accrue otherwise than that the individual of the average sort, say more probably ninety-nine hundredths of all men, will lose the satisfaction of feeling their comparative merit? It is assumed that each one must do his level best; but whoever does not will be "a picker of everybody's pockets." Instead of a universal self-gratulation we should most certainly see a universal suspicion and jealousy that others were not doing their utmost. We should not be satisfied if we had done our own best, and contributed more than our share to the public fund. To work for the world is a charming theory, but with the world that eats at our expense includes the shirks, loafers and scamps, their admiration of our ability will be a poor equivalent for shovels full of dirt and hearty pulls at the rope. As for the third motive suggested, namely, love of power and precedence, we must remember that if you could subtract this motive from our present régime, or could reduce it to very modest dimensions, you would rob individualism of its most beautiful features. I cannot see how its development under nationalism could work anything but disaster.

By a curious ignoring of history, and interchange of titles with Mr. Bellamy, and the same is true of his *confrères* generally, he insists on calling nationalism fraternalism, as opposed to paternalism. Now, if disposed to yield this point, I should look at it

for some illustration of fraternalism in history ; and I know of no more striking illustration of the principle than that afforded by the sons of Jacob. There was a revolt against paternalism and an assertion of fraternalism in the case of Joseph as it would most surely operate under nationalism. The French Revolution of '98 was also and above all "fraternity"; that absolute leveling principle that made all equal citizens, with equal governmental powers and with common obligations and common rights at the public trough. France had great difficulty in getting over its fraternalism, to establish a democracy based on advancing individualism. But strictly it must be understood that paternalism and fraternalism are parts of one and the same system ; that they always coexist, and that individualism alone is the opposing principle. It is, however, not worth considering or discussing, since a play of words or an interpretation of a private sort can lead to endless dispute. I only refer to it because many sincere men seem to imagine that they have enlisted for some original and humanitarian principle when they declare themselves to be fraternalists. That we should all be brothers is not disputed by any. I suppose the czar, when he speaks to all Russians as his children, implies that they are all brothers ; but the highest ideal of brotherhood has always been a preparatory stage. Farther, to illustrate what we should understand by fraternalism, Mr. Bellamy in one article calls our attention to the ancient civilization of the Incas "as profoundly worthy of study, it being the only organization of industry on a large scale on record." What he calls "the flower of benevolent despotism ; while nationalism will be the fruitage of democratic equality." He has simply overlooked the fact that Egypt and Assyria and China were equally flowers of benevolent despotism ; and that statism, if at all like these, is fatally like. Beyond the Incas he observes nothing illustrative of what he admires, except the Jesuit system of obedience, and the standing armies of Europe. These are his own words :

To fail to see in these wonderful examples of what method and order may accomplish, in the concentration and direction of national forces, prototypes of the industrial system of the future is, in my opinion, wholly to fail of rightly interpreting one of the most significant of

contemporary phenomena. I wish to call attention to the fact that fundamental principle of the modern military system, as illustrated in Europe and as theoretically recognized by all nations, is that every man, able to do military duty, is bound to render it on fixed and equal terms. I wish to call attention to the converse fact that, while the duty of service from the individual to the nation is exacted only of those able to serve, the inability, however complete, of a citizen does not charge the nation from the duty of protecting that citizen with the whole power of the state. In other words, the duty to serve depends on the ability to serve; but the right to protection depends solely merely on citizenship. I call attention to the fact that these two principles are the *basic principles* of nationalism, and that "nationalism" therefore, merely involves the application to the business of national maintenance of the principles already freely acknowledged and applied in the business of national protection."

In return, allow me to call attention to the fact that Mr. Bellamy, in "Looking Backward," has a very different conception of armies; and says that governments are "accustomed, on the slightest international misunderstanding, to seize upon the bodies of citizens and deliver them over by hundreds of thousands to death and mutilation"; while he emphasizes the fact that under nationalism there will be "no military expenditures, no army, no navy or militia." But it remains that no antagonist can more completely illustrate the supreme fact that nationalism is an absolute principle that must reduce every citizen to the rank of the lowest and exalt him with shoulder straps.

It is now clearly evident that the nationalistic idea of how to secure maximum work from a maximum number is that of the New England schoolmaster. It sees human nature at a single angle. Did Mr. Bellamy understand humanity in its many-sidedness, he would see that in the distribution of an infinite variety of duties his scheme of short days, long vacations, ribbons and badges, and other inducements to obtain willing stock-miners, scavengers, and diggers is superfluous. Nature has already provided as infinite a variety of tasks and sentiments as she has needs and works. What one man abhors another enjoys; and we must not for a moment suppose that the average scavenger would exchange places with the author of "Looking Backward." The garbage collector is a garbage collector in many if not in most cases; and the pity bestowed on the c

boy by the Harvard boy is superfluous. The gypsy of whom I asked the other day, "Why do you stroll about the country without house or home?" replied, "Because I likes it. You likes to live inside a 'ouse; and I don't. That's why, Zur!" Her life to me is disgusting; mine to her intolerable. My stable boy enjoys his work; but he hates books. Individualism can work on the basis of this universal variety of natures; nationalism cannot.

The real difficulty is to make men work their just share; for it is clear that if distribution is to be equalized, production must also be equalized. The parasitic classes must in some way be turned into honest producers; and not a rational suggestion has yet come from the nationalists as to how they propose to do this. They must come squarely to face this fact that the nation must say that whoever will not work shall not eat; and then you will have exactly the state of affairs that now distresses us. It is begging the whole question to assume a nation of industrious people, all willing to do their best for the common weal, and the majority able to contribute very nearly an equitable share of the common stock. It is not a question of getting dirty work done, but of getting work done at all, by all. I am sure we should have as much trouble in getting the majority of idlers to be jewelers as to be stokers. The army of the unemployed does not consist of more than ten per cent of skilled labor. If induced or compelled to work at all, their chosen employments would be those which skilled labor declines, and cultivated taste abhors. I do not imagine that nationalism, notwithstanding its ignoring moral conditions and intellectual, would be embarrassed for a long period for lack of miners and vault-cleaners. Its chief trouble will be, if it ever secure a chance to experiment on society, that it will steadily tend to obliterate the upper class of workmen. Removing ambition, it will level down to the toilers of least brain in proportion to muscle; whereas now, with great difficulty to be sure, the trend of individualism is the other way.

I have aimed to show that the real problem of the state ahead is not how to equalize distribution, but how to equalize production.

These are the two equally important social efforts. Individualism tends to make distribution partial; nationalism tends to make very unequal the tasks of production. Any discussion of this subject would be uncalled for if it were not true that the *isms* advocated by a handful of illogical enthusiasts are finding a place in the best and latest economic programs. The sociological struggle is forging more and more to the front. The twentieth century will unquestionably largely recast social methods. The drift is toward a larger degree of socialism. It is vitally necessary that we shall not build into reform structures vagaries that belong only in visions and dreams. Human society demands a sincere study of its parts and elements as they are. Nor can we ever accomplish anything laudable except by aiming, not at paradisiacal conditions, but at betterment. What we want is a social organism that tends to make each individual a little wiser, a little more hopeful, and a little more comfortable each day.

E. P. POWELL.

THE POLITICAL MISSION OF REFORM.

BY L. P. GRATACAP.

I.

THE ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 6, 1894.

ON NOVEMBER 6, 1894, an election was held in New York City which resulted in the expulsion of Tammany Hall from power, in its political disgrace, and in its financial impoverishment. But it lost more than all this. It lost opportunity—the opportunity for it to make itself a stronghold of civic loyalty, civic pride, municipal wisdom, and municipal energy. It lost the opportunity—that opportunity which the lost souls desire—of reforming itself, of gathering into itself the elements of conscience without which the political body, like the corporal, will fall a prey to its instincts of greed, of passion, and of malice. It lost the opportunity of winning for itself allegiance among the people, the *real* people, the industrious, thoughtful, aspiring, and educated. It had become so infiltrated with the weakness of jocularity and conspiracy that it failed to appreciate the movement of society, the new creations of ideals, the emancipation of men and women from the utilitarianism of vice, the growing resistance to lubricity, pothouse pens, and lucrative crime.

And yet this stalwart and ancient house had within it strong men of common sense, good men of virtuous purposes, enthusiasts in the imaginative creation of a beautiful metropolis. It had within it the power of self-renewal which might have cleansed its members and brought on recuperation from the weakness of corrupt practices, vicious designs, and infidelity to trust. But it failed in moral fiber, in the intuitions of self-respect, in the power of self-examination, and in the refinements of idealization. It was practical, thievish, and dissolute. Low

ideas, or no ideas, of responsibility, and the ingrained tendencies toward political maneuver, chicanery, and vagabondage gave it, perhaps deceptively, a superficial expression of scoundrelism. And there were scoundrels in it, purveyors, conveyors, and receivers of stolen money, there were members in it who regarded it as a means to an end, and that end was self-promotion and wealth. It patronized the slums, and their filth entered into the circulation of its life and fed with purulent nutriment its substance. Like the fabled Scylla,

*Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo,
Pube tenuis ; postrema immani corpore pristis,
Delphinum candas utero commissa luporum ;*

and these lowest levels of its edifice seemed steadily sinking into the rising mire of personal depravity. But there were and had been movements of reorganization, of reform even, of purification even, within it ; a partial concretion of sense, patriotism, and cleanness, accompanied by sharper insights into practical needs, measures, and men. They went far enough to make it a useful machine, moderate enough to regard the judiciary with respect and strong enough to give to the city some proportionate return for the money it was asked to spend. The city had good judges, and the new court house had been built without scandal. Had such a movement been more permanently established, had candor entered into the councils of Tammany Hall, and contrition into its heart, and the frontier of its membership been extended, and the legacies of its trade in sin been repudiated, it might yet be alive. But too variously it had sucked into its veins the disabling miasma of *dirtiness*, and it was weak when organization, public scorn, and the wrath of contempt rose against it and smote it.

If we look closely at this election in the city of New York which returned Strong to the mayoralty, and Goff to the recordership, and defeated the Tammany candidates, Grant and Smyth, we find in the analysis currents of feeling directed by national, state, and local issues. It had become evident that the instrumentality of an investigating committee, such as the Lexow, which under the picturesque and peculiarly scrutinizing

guidance of Mr. Goff had elicited details of vice which appeared to involve the whole city government in a reciprocal exchange of protection for crime on one side and a price for the protection on the other, was the most effective means of rousing the people, and finally shaking up their apathetic inertia into the semblance of rage. No community is to-day so debased, at least in the current *régime* of civilized and Christianized nations, as to listen with unmoved temper to such stories as from the mouths of green-goods men, dive-keepers, brothel managers, gamblers, saloon-keepers, faro-bankers, and the trailing camp-attendance of thieves and loafers, which follow the development of metropolitan existence, convicted the police force, and inferentially Tammany itself of collusion with crime. Hardened as has become the hearts of men at the inevitable presence of sin, and contemptuous as is the sentiment of men frequently for the ideals of social renovation, yet there are constantly added to the world young hearts to whose yet blushing sense of wrong and natural alienation from crime, these stories, this hidden process of profitable trade in vice, were dreadful and odious. It inflamed them with an almost ungovernable indignation, and they flung themselves into the contest with a freshened ardor, a militant enthusiasm, as if they had met a personal antagonist or felt themselves arrayed against an enemy who besides being dangerous was hateful, cruel, and vulgar. The imagination quickly rouses an indomitable zeal when it stimulates anger with a picture of a loathsome and defiled opponent. This election became a crusade, and numerous groups of young men to whom the franchise was a lately acquired privilege, exulted in a combat so vigorously assertive of decency as this one was. It stirred their blood like a baseball match or a football tournament. There are growing and verging into manhood yearly those men who by reason of the refuge of homes, the cultivation of study, and their hopes of heaven yet wield the sword of St. George, and rush upon the dragon when fairly uncovered, when fairly seen in the remorseless glare of day. Five thousand men reach the age of twenty-one in this city yearly; two years had elapsed since the last election for the mayoralty; ten thousand men who

had never before cast a ballot confronted an opportunity with few or none of them cared to miss. If seventy-five per cent that number voted against Tammany Hall it made seven thousand five hundred votes cast against the ticket led by Grant Smyth. Therein lay one element in the overthrow of this establishment, which in spite of all revelations, in spite of denunciations, polled for its candidates 110,000 votes.

And the religious sense, the professional church members of this city, was animated unitedly by an almost fanatical impulse to destroy Tammany. This feeling extended beyond limits of puritanism, evangelism, and Protestant bigotry. It was felt in the Roman Church, which by reason of race, of circumstance, and the elastic nature of its ethical professions had been or seemed to be affiliated with Tammany Hall, was indirectly its beneficiary, and discerned its own members thus investing the ordinary avenues of metropolitan revenue. Father Ducey realized that the best policy as well as the right feeling of the moment was for the Roman Church to discharge completely from public consciousness the ill-concealed impression that the pope and Tammany were somehow intertwined in a compact of reciprocity, that the tail of the Tiger moved beneath the skirted cassock of the successor of St. Peter, or its purr and its growl ranged in the harmonies of the mass. This movement was partially checked by the combination, in the campaign for reform, of the motives of the American Protective Association. This singular and radical body professed its fixed purpose to eject from public life all Romanists, and drew over itself a veil of secrecy, behind which was supposed to dwell the invisible genius of American institutions. Without discussing the proper occasions for this society's existence, not always chimerical and fatuous, it is true that in coloring the election of November 1894, with the bitterness of religious prejudice it helped Tammany, by holding back the vote of Romanists who held their fealty to their church inclosed a wider area of virtue than a vote, to their judgment, perhaps problematically cast for the supremacy of the moral law; the Ten Commandments, as Parkhurst had said. In spite, however, of all desultory

plexities, the church vote in New York City went against Tammany. The ministers ran in and pushed on the combatants. They were eloquent and earnest, and almost fierce, almost unjust. The old stagers in theological conceptions saw the recrudescence of the Devil himself in Tammany, and their moral sense concentrated in imagination the impulses and the intentions of evil, as arrayed against the higher law and the maintenance of the moral order in this contest. There could be no doubt of that; they impelled men by their rapid and incessant attack to join in the movement of revolt.

And the socialists, the professional agitators who desire to remodel the conventional status of society, the state and nation, fought Tammany. The desperation of their temper exceeded even the vehemence of the church's anger. They felt instinctively in Tammany Hall the presence of a cruel contempt for all they prayed and worked for. In the matter of dollars and cents Tammany Hall was economically sound, conservative, *i. e.*, it was consistently mercenary. Dreams of social regeneration, of financial parity, of abolition of the institution of private property, were well calculated to disgust a group of men who packed their pocket-books with the comfortable returns from rents and contracts. The socialist in New York City had often been compelled to submit to a wise repression of his ardor at the hands of the New York policeman; he seized the favorable moment for inflicting a less muscular but almost as effective a retaliation through the ballot-box. The socialist felt in the establishment of Tammany Hall a fixed antagonist to all plans or projects for removing the limits of proprietary rights, or reorganizing society upon some strictly humanitarian considerations. Tammany Hall possessed many talents for government, and those talents were naturally repressive of schemes which floated into the realm of visionary ideals. The socialists of New York have increased their numbers, have been added to by immigration, and they united against the reigning representation of authority.

The papers of New York were almost unanimous in their condemnation of Tammany Hall. *The Sun*, with peculiar ingenuity,

and with its unaffected scorn for pretence, threw the spray of its ridicule over the reform movement, and with also its usual misdirected zeal for statistics proved that Tammany Hall would win. The papers of New York were almost solidly against Tammany. They placed in the most prominent places of their issues the sins and omissions of Tammany; they worked to excite disgust at its mean associations and obtuse apathy and ignorant abuse; they made it repulsive by their descriptions and fed the growing contempt for it by their pictures. Dr. Parkhurst swept, like some presaging comet, through the city, rousing the cultivated and moral sense of the community by his burning and contagious ardor, his fearlessness, and his withering denunciations. The revolt, the desire to purify New York politics, to secure the restoration of the people against the usurpation of bosses, and rings, and machines, spread by a fashion of contagion. From mouth to mouth the encouragement to vote against Tammany was whispered. The lower wards of the city, the previous strongholds of Tammany influence and friendship, wherein the congenial comradeship of its district leaders permeating the welcome and always popular largess of saloon treats and free lunches, chowder parties and equivocal soirées, had established the patronage and *clientèle* of the machine—these wards were entered and the spirit of resentment against the arrogance of Tammany insidiously awakened. It was popular to despise Tammany, to call its members by their nicknames, and conjure up the unpleasant impression that this city was being run by an unsavory gang of Mikes, Pats, Dans, Nicks, and Tims. The undiscerning ear of culture, as well as the discerning eye of experience, was excited by this array of names, and at least throughout the educated and socially refined classes Tammany was often or always blindly associated with foulness, brigandage, and incompetency.

Then there was prevalent discontent with the Democratic party; the party had allied itself with various heresies, and the bold determination of its leaders to change the financial policy of the country frightened the laborer, the artisan, and the small capitalist. The times had been hard, the future seemed uncer-

tain, the advent of new conditions under a new tariff bill was awaited with trepidation, and right or wrong the people to whom livelihood naturally means the chief end of government reverted again to a party—the Republican—with which at least their associations were now remembered with affection, now when work was scarce, enterprise at a standstill, and wages decreased.

These were the numerous factors entering into the result of this election in November, 1894, and they conjointly indicated that Tammany must be defeated. There could have been in the view of well-informed observers little doubt as to that, for strenuous as Tammany's control over its friends and sympathizers was, and generously as it may have strengthened that friendship by considerations less platonic than expressions of esteem, yet the whole political atmosphere was dark with a rising storm of public execration. The election took place, Tammany was defeated, and defeated by large majorities, but after the dust and the tumult of the conflict subsided the extraordinary fact was revealed that over 100,000 men had stood unflinchingly by Tammany Hall. And this was the real marvel, the really greatest surprise of the election. After an exposure of corruption in the police department of New York which seemed to grow in dimensions and deepen in strangeness and cruelty and viciousness, after the strongly advertised and partially proven inference that Tammany Hall knew of this corruption, permitted it, and profited by it, after this in a community of normal men, with normal instincts, and customary morals, over 100,000 should vote for the perpetuation of a political power generally believed to be involved in these atrocities, was a subject suggestive of reflections. And it seems that upon the character and comprehensiveness of those reflections the permanence of the reform movement depends.

Tammany Hall was a reality to those who voted for its ticket, into which sense of realism entered the bonds of friendship and intercourse. It was known to its supporters as an organization of persons with whom they entertained cordial relations; the institution as a political device became interpreted to its in-

dividual supporters through the vicinal assistance of treats, hand-shakes, badinage, intercession, help, family visits, stories, talks, walks, daily greetings, and the amenities of a fellowship in which cigars and liquor, coin and chowder tickets were a good substitute for lectures on municipal reform and sanitary tenements. Its district leaders possessed that genial and wonderful familiarity with men and women and even children that made them local favorites and threw into their control over their bailiwicks the half-simulated tenderness of paternity. A district leader knew the streets and corners of his domain as a farmer knows the peculiarities, features, and slope of his lots. He knew the stores, the denizens, the tenements, and rendezvous, and made himself the "familiar" of the leading spirits, the jocular helper of the wags, and the accidental but welcome associate of bar-room discussions and lyceum entertainments, could, even with propriety and a facile versatility of means, turn a leg at a dance or joke a father at a christening. He patronized and he attended, played many rôles with many people, was subservient to advice, strenuous in council, explosively sympathetic with a "gag," and deferentially interested in calamity. With all outward seeming there followed a practical sagacity, a fine political tact that knew the value of votes and despised the morality of methods. Such men, modified, of course, in temperament but all schooled in the handy ways of holding men, of gaining their ears and keeping their hearts, served Tammany effectually.

Tammany Hall hoped to make itself a personality to a wide class of rough men, good-hearted in the main, fond of company, indifferent to what they considered strained conventions in manners or perhaps in morals, and it hoped to increase this class, building them up as a solid foundation in its electoral structure, and then, with that fixed contingent which no mere criticism could detach, to make itself appear indispensable to a group of other men, less affiliated with it but crudely conscious that a strong government which gave security to life and insured health was, in a practical way, the best for this city. It failed in really giving this city the good government, to the full extent it required, and it miscalculated the moral force of a com-

munity which, while it may be defective from a Calvinistic point of view, preserves yet enough inherited or acquired culture, even with its hedonism, to despise a government which unites the functions of justice with the protection of rum, harlotry, and swindling. But in respect of its effort to make men like it, believe in it, and stick to it, this vote last November of 108,000 was the most extraordinary proof of success. It is the power of impersonation that a party possesses that establishes with the masses its popularity or the reverse. These people, less favored with distracting sources of pleasure and the recurrent avenues of social promotion and distinction, often feel themselves aggrieved by existing conditions, and in their vote fight the social classes, who represent to them the power of money and the arrogance of education. A party which cajoles, flatters, and sympathizes with them often is paid for its obsequiousness by their support. Tammany Hall appealed to these men as a companion; it came to them in the genial form of its district leaders, called them by name, drank with them, listened to their views, and refrained from dogmatism. Tammany Hall might be deficient in wisdom, but it was companionable; it might not be a model in manners or sentiment, but it understood ordinary weaknesses, and rather liked them, and in a very amiable way insisted on no unattainable standards. To those who worked for it it was indulgent, even generous; it understood the average inclination to sloth in men, forgave it, overlooked it, and finally in public work did not shrink from regarding it with kindness. The "sojer" who recently entered such fields of political usefulness as a kind providence offers to the activities of disembodied candidates was an example of a generous, friendly, and wholesome man who affected his district with undeviating devotion to his political interests. There were other men who, in less attractive and commendable ways, secured a constituency whose personal sympathy for Tammany Hall was the exact measure of their personal attachment to some men or man. But this positive impersonation of Tammany Hall was a great source of strength to the organization.

But some large portion of this extraordinary vote of confi-

dence in a machine which was being exposed day by day as the beneficiary of crime, was the consequence of far more alarming conditions. It meant the subservient attachment of men who were blind to the most glaring public atrocities, deaf to the intelligent criticism of reformers, and defiant to the appeals and the warnings of common morality. It meant more. It meant a latent admiration for or indifference to crime, a real delight in its sustained prevalence and protection. It meant cynicism and contempt for professions and ideals of virtue and an absolute confidence in money as the "best thing" in the world, to be won at all hazards, in all ways, and everywhere. It meant a degraded sense of public responsibility, and it accompanied a blunted appreciation of public needs, so that inefficiency in public office became as excusable as corruption. All this had an ever-widening influence upon the demands of the average unenlightened and untraveled citizen. He had known nothing better than the government of New York, and the really noticeable improvement in its condition, brought about by a deepening intention on the part of Tammany Hall to advance the sanitary expression of the city, with all the ameliorations introduced into living by modern devices and the recent building developments, seemed to him to indicate genuine progress, and he felt reasonably content with things as they were. He too had become so accustomed to the venality of politicians that the prevalent sufferance of a moderate incapacity seemed tolerable as long as his taxes were not exorbitant, or did not seem so, and the city as he saw and knew it seemed peaceful and healthy. So lethargy finally entered into this vote, as well as sympathy and viciousness, and men were content to leave unchanged what they uncertainly thought might be changed for the worse.

But the result, in spite of all the frantic efforts of Tammany Hall, its hypocritical appeals, its alliance with Rome, its professions of reform, its stealth, its jocose affectations of ease and confidence, its sneers, and its ingenuity, was an overwhelming verdict of condemnation. The effective agent was the Lexow investigation. The results of that inquiry were too startling, too intrepidly published not to act like an earthquake upon a

sleeping public. The public did leap to its feet, old affiliations were forgotten and repudiated, and the *shelved* voters who had been snoring in fancied metropolitan security were shaken from their hiding-places and rushed to the polls. The cry of "danger" was indeed sounded widely and incessantly. Good Government Clubs were started all over the city, and their organized efforts were effectual in keeping together all the antagonistic forces which were arrayed against Tammany and leading them solidly onward, upon the issue of two, and only two, local tickets, to a complete and memorable victory. Tammany took no heed of its own peril. It was too strangely infatuated with its past successes, too base in its estimate of the human heart in New York, and too lewdly free in its self-adulation. The part of policy was forgotten by it, and the real game of shrewdness which might have mitigated its defeat was poorly played. That game was to begin its own reform, to seize the implements of immolation from its torturers, and, following a wise maxim in religious teaching, pluck eye or hand from its infected body and cast them from it. Yet, perhaps its reluctance to sacrifice its friends might have been regarded as a lingering remnant of that virtue, which among men stands high, the heroism of fidelity in danger. It *might have been* so regarded if a closer scrutiny had not revealed the fact that Tammany had become pachyderm and stupidly bigoted, that it hated purity and progress, and that it felt that to be clever politically was to be mercenary and immoral.

Finally, in looking at the circumstances and teachings of this election a final element, of much interest in its relations to the future, must be mentioned. It is the recrudescence of political philosophy as a study, a subject of reading and discussion among the classes of society here in New York City. Schools of political philosophy have been opened, one in connection with Columbia College; monthlies devoted to these themes have been and are being issued, and a public series of discussions upon the ethics, mechanics, and chemistry of cities invites the contributions of all thinkers, experimenters, and experts in such topics. The examples of other cities, the legislative acts of the

the history of municipalities with the commingled topics of social purity, liquor control, police powers, judicial vigor, are being described, debated, and studied. With this is also growing a local pride, a civic pride, which will regenerate the fallen aspirations of our citizens. And practical motives in a sane, practical, and helpful measure have entered this field of speculation and suggestion. The men who have begun to think of these things will naturally crave place in the public service, and in no other group of applicants is it probable that such adequate material could be found. This elevation of the type of public servant will be incalculably beneficial. Emoluments in office are often inviting, and we may expect that, as in the capitals of Europe, the future race of office-holders will present at least the semblance of culture. The men who were engaged in these studies, those whom they interested, those whom they instructed, formed another compact and earnest group who insisted and worked for the overthrow of Tammany Hall. Such are the conclusions of an analysis of the election of November 6, 1894, in the city of New York. The details of that election in figures are the following:

<i>Governor.</i>		<i>Lieut. Governor.</i>	
Hill, Dem.	126,554	Lockwood, Dem.	129,42
Morton, Rep.	123,759	Saxton, Rep.	119,60
Democratic plurality . . .	2,795	Dem. plurality	9,82
<i>Judge Court of Appeals.</i>		<i>Mayor New York City.</i>	
Brown, Ind.	130,194	Strong, Ind.	151,42
Haight	116,181	Grant, Tam.	107,82
Plurality	14,013	Ind. plurality	43,62
<i>Recorder New York City.</i>		<i>Judge Superior Court.</i>	
Goff, Ind.	155,300	Beekman	149,74
Smyth, Tam.	102,220	Truax	111,35
Ind. plurality	53,080	Plurality	38,391
<i>Pt. Board of Aldermen.</i>		<i>Sheriff.</i>	
Jeroloman, Rep.	138,238	Tamsen, Rep.	143,906
Peters, Tam.	98,548	Sohmer, Tam.	109,531
Rep. plurality	39,690	Rep. plurality	34,435

L. P. GRATACAP.

THE ADOPTED HOME OF THE HUN: A SOCIAL STUDY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY WILLIAM FUTHEY GIBBONS.

WE ARE all familiar with the slums in these days, whether we have ever lived or labored in them or not. The flashlight, the vivid pen of a Riis, the eloquence of a Schaufler, and the equally eloquent statistics of a Strong or a Loomis, have made us familiar with the lives of the other half, even though we never joined a college settlement or accompanied a slumming party. By reason of such graphic information, some of us have come to believe that the slums themselves are the cause of the sin and misery they contain, and we fancy that if the people who live in the blind alleys and filthy courts could have ample housing and helpful surroundings, could be paid fair wages for their work, could have proper religious and civil restraints thrown about them, much of their wickedness and all of their misery would disappear.

The coal regions of Pennsylvania afford a good opportunity to study this question. Here was a highly civilized community to begin with. Here the wages are fair, although not high, when the danger to which the men are subjected is considered. Here land for building purposes is plentiful and the surroundings are naturally the most healthful and beautiful. Here schools and churches abound. Into these coal-fields are gathered representatives from every nation of Europe, from Syria, China, India, and Japan, as well as from Africa. But especially have those who once followed Romulus and Attila made peace together long enough to invade this part of America, through the help of the Hungarian banker and the Italian padrone.

To understand this state of affairs it will be necessary to go back a little. Since about the year 1878, soon after the great strike, the thoughtful people in the coal-fields have been slowly

coming face to face with this new and perplexing phase of the labor problem. At that time individual coal operating had been mostly wrecked by the policy of the railroads and by the great strike which was the partial outcome of that policy. The leases for coal-lands fell into the hands of corporations allied to the railroads, and the mines have for the most part been operated by these companies ever since. Those were the palmy days of company script, company stores, and contract labor when the company hired its men in Europe, encouraged them to live in company houses, compelled them to buy goods in the company store, and forced them to take their pay in company script, while in some cases they retained a part of the men's wages for the company doctor and another part for the company priest. About that time the English, Welsh, and Irish who had been the workmen in the mines, were beginning to be Americanized and were disposed to assert themselves at the ballot-box and elsewhere. The great strike brought matters to a crisis. Partly as a measure of self-protection, partly as a means of revenge, perhaps, the coal companies began to import the patient, submissive, and oppressed denizens of Southern Europe, the Italian, and the Hungarian.

The company's immigration agent inserted the entering wedge. The Hun had found his way into what was to him a laborer's paradise. At first having been brought, he afterwards came of his own accord. The guilelessness, willingness, and strength of these men made them at first exactly the laborers that the companies sought. Their conquerors had said of them in a former age, "to suffer injuries is their duty; to resent them is a crime worthy of punishment." They would work for wages on which men of any other nationality, excepting their Mongolian cousins, would starve to death. They were as obedient and docile as sheep; they were clannish and avoided labor organizations; they were economical and frugal; but they were unsanitary when sober and desperate when drunk. Besides this they sent most of their wages out of the country. Such are the men whom the providence of God and the cupidity of men have brought into our midst to be

assimilated by us as a nation and to be evangelized by us as Christians.

The following table, gathered from the United States census reports, will show where these races have settled in this country in the largest numbers :

	<i>Hungary.</i>	<i>Poland.</i>	<i>Italy.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>
Whole number in United States .	62,425	147,440	182,580	182,644
" " " Pennsylvania .	24,901	25,191	24,662	17,315
" " " New York . . .	15,598	22,718	64,141	58,466
" " " Illinois . . .	3,126	28,878	8,035	8,407
" " " Michigan . . .	637	15,669	3,088	11,889
" " " Wisconsin . . .	486	17,660	1,123	2,279

These people are not widely scattered throughout the states where they have settled. They are gathered within certain rather narrow limits, so that there is even now a congestion of foreign-speaking people in these localities, forming distinct communities. We have the greatest congestion of Hungarians and Poles in the limited area of the anthracite coal regions of the Schuylkill and Wyoming Valleys of Pennsylvania. For example, in Luzerne County there were in 1890 over 5,000 Hungarians and nearly 7,500 Poles, being nearly as many Poles as there were in New York City and Chicago together, and as many Hungarians as there were in the whole state of Ohio. These two nationalities comprised one fifth of the foreign-born population of Luzerne County, and one tenth of the whole population of the county. Since the taking of the census, in spite of hard times and remigration, the number of Huns, Poles, and Italians has materially increased. A community which under a reign of terror suffered the loss of so many lives as were sacrificed a score of years ago by the Molly Maguires in this part of Pennsylvania, may well be apprehensive when a lawless foreign population congests in plague spots without the healing salve of church or school. The great trouble is that the salve is at present so thinly spread in any community and in many it is not applied at all.

These races are found for the most part in villages and towns which cluster along the narrow valleys beside the coal breakers. In some places the whole town is given up to the Hungarians. Where the towns are old, or where the houses are of that va-

riety of barracks known as "company houses," these towns are veritable slums, although situated on the tops of the mountains or in valleys naturally most salubrious. It is the people who make the slums as well as the slums that make the slum population. There are old stone houses in certain districts, which were at one time used as mule barns, which have been refitted for the occupancy of these foreigners by the companies. And the tenants had to submit. But the influence of their surroundings has not depressed the moral tone of these immigrants so much as they have lowered the moral tone of the communities into which they have come. The first influx of these laborers into any given community marks a distinct drop toward barbarism. The streets fill with garbage; the boarding-houses fill long past the last degree of comfort; the English language becomes an unknown tongue. The Sunday after pay-day brings out the worst features. The saloons are filled with drinking men and the town becomes a pandemonium. The boarding-houses are the scenes of brawls and murder over the barrels of beer and the buckets of *polenka*. Small wonder that of the original inhabitants every one who can moves out and the community becomes a law unto itself. In some villages hardly a handful of voters remains. Of the foreigners some one man a little more powerful than the rest becomes a sort of "king" among his fellows, and a policy of absolute subjection, tempered with assassination, rules the community. Sometimes it is the "king" who is assassinated, sometimes the subject. The laws of the state are seldom appealed to except when some constable or detective becomes the prosecutor, and even then the alien community unites to shield rather than to bring to justice the guilty party.

It must not be supposed that this happens every day. For the most part quarrels are rather infrequent, and the men sit about peacefully enough when off work, or loll from the upper windows of their boarding-houses, idly smoking their iron pipes; but when crazed with liquor, as described above, and fired by some Old World political grudge, or frightened by the efforts to capture them by some officer of the law which they do not un-

derstand, they will slay like demons, fighting friends and foes alike. In these battles it seldom happens that any one but a Hungarian is hurt. If such is the case, it is almost always by accident. When once the battle is over the community settles down again to its ordinary work, without making any effort to avenge such slaughter, until the next spree rouses their wrath. If the survivors be approached and urged to call in the law, they will grunt expressively and remark with more or less distinctness, "Dead Hungari no good." Perhaps their whole course of conduct is only the modern working out of an old Slavonic proverb which says, "Fear God little; and as for the government, do not know that it exists." The Slav has had so little chance to forget the government for the last few centuries that, when he gets out of range of the ever-present *gens d'arme* so familiar in his native village and comes to the land where the constable whom he may have helped to elect spends his time loafing in the cigar store or the saloon, he fancies that he can do what he pleases and that nobody will hinder.

It is startling to see what a slight value is put upon human life in such a community. A partially successful attempt was recently made on the Wilkes-Barre mountain to blow up with dynamite a shanty containing within its narrow confines between fifty and sixty Hungarians. This fiendish outrage may have been committed by Italians and may have been perpetrated for revenge as the culmination of a long series of acts of hostility between these two races; but robbery was the only apparent motive, from the fact that the bodies of the dead and the house, which the Slavs abandoned in their terror, were stripped of valuables. If the battery used to explode the dynamite cartridges had worked successfully, exploding four cartridges, as planned, instead of but one, not one person could possibly have escaped alive. As it was, five persons perished and seven were wounded, the Slavonic inhabitants fled in terror, and no arrests have yet been made. The thieves obtained perhaps \$300!

This sort of frantic butchery stirred a thrill of horror even in the breast of the most hardened detective; but an ordinary murder, to which there are no English-speaking witnesses and no

clews, passes almost without comment. Not long ago an Arabian peddler was found stabbed to death and robbed in a dangerous suburb of a city of 40,000 inhabitants in the coal regions. The incident was dismissed by the best and most enterprising morning paper of the city in exactly five lines. Nothing further has ever appeared concerning the matter. This was not because of any carelessness on the part of the police, but because of the impossibility of obtaining either news or evidence among the foreigners who inhabit that part of the city.

If these tragedies of injustice are too bloody, then the following sample of comedy may serve to illustrate the majestic workings of the law: Scene—The untidy street of a coal-mining village. Time—Pay-day. *Dramatis Personæ*—John Krzyanski, a Hun; Mike Mulherrin, a justice of the peace; Patrick Laferty, a constable; Gustav Schwab, a saloon-keeper; Bernard O'Boyle, the prosecutor; witnesses and spectators, especially spectators. Enter John Krzyanski and Bernard O'Boyle from opposite sides. O'Boyle, who is fighting drunk, staggers against the Hun.

"Hello, John, you fight?"

Krzyanski (retreating)—"No! Me no like fight."

O'Boyle—"You no fight? Then come, you stand treat!"
(Catches him by the coat and drags him toward Schwab's saloon.)

Krzyanski—"No! No! Treat him take too much money. Me keep money; send old country; get *frau*."

O'Boyle—"You no treat! Then take that and go back to yer own country, ye dirty blackguard, for sthealin' the bread out o' an honest workin' man's mouth! An' take that an' that!"

Krzyanski tries to run away and falls. Enter Constable Laferty, who arrests the Hun for disturbing the peace and takes him before Squire Mulherrin. O'Boyle appears as prosecutor, charging that John Krzyanski struck him and forced him to defend himself. The justice fines Krzyanski ten dollars and costs. After this is paid Krzyanski departs and the justice, the constable, the prosecutor, and the witnesses retire to Schwab's saloon to drink up the fine and the fees.

This is not the only way in which the Hun is wronged. At

the company store, where he is obliged to buy, in many cases he must pay more than the same goods can be bought for in other places. In the mines he is often overcharged for powder and squibs by dishonest officials, who pocket the proceeds of their dishonesty. He is blackmailed in various petty ways by English-speaking miners, who "borrow" mine supplies and never repay. What wonder that the Hun learns to hate the company store and to do his own store-keeping when he can! What wonder that he learns to buy goods on credit and sell them for cash and then move away to another village and change his name!

Especially is the Hun learning to do his own saloon-keeping. Every year at the proper term of court a large number of liquor licenses are transferred by parties bearing Irish or German names to men whose names are unmistakably Slavonic.

Politics are always closely allied with the saloon. The Hun is getting even with us with a vengeance; he has gone into politics. We have already looming over us in some communities the shadow of the coming Hungarian political boss. Only a local boss as yet, a "king" who can influence a score or so of votes, but bosses can be trusted to grow. In every list of honorary vice-presidents at the great political meetings prominent places are given to men bearing such names as Arsenius Tsrnoievitch or Kubo Zlotlorzinski. The compact communities in the coal regions and the clannishness of these foreigners make it easy for the politician to "work" his followers as voters. Just as the Huns were brought into the country, in the first instance through no foresight of their own but by the greed of corporations, so they have been brought into politics through the schemes of corrupt politicians. Now they are no longer content to hunt up the undecipherable and unpronounceable directions on their letters from the glass cases where the despairing postmasters have stuck the letters for identification, but they are demanding that men of their own race shall be appointed as postmasters. This request has been granted in some cases. They are also electing their own justices of the peace. This is not wonderful, considering the hard experience

they have had at the hands of various 'squires, who have regarded them as legitimate plunder.

Here, then, is the field. The first stage of camping out in the company's house under the sway of the boarding-boss has been passed, and the people are beginning to own their houses and to settle permanently. Many have shown themselves decent, law-abiding citizens, as far as they understand the law. Some are educated or professional men; some, alas! are professional criminals. Many are rude or lawless peasants, who came to this country to avoid the army or to escape from debts. They are beginning to have their own builders, store-keepers, undertakers, and priests. Some of their business men have grown wealthy. These Slavonic races cannot be called ignorant. They may be ignorant of our institutions and alien to our American type of civilization, but they are not illiterate. It is almost impossible, even among the rude, unskilled laborers, to find a man who cannot read his native language.

But the problem of the second generation is already upon us. The parents having escaped from the stringent school laws of the Old World, have misapplied their new-found liberty to put their children to work as early as they please that they may the sooner pay the installments on houses or furniture. Very few of the children go to the public schools. In the larger cities where there are congregations large enough to warrant it there are parochial schools, but these are not as a rule either well kept or well attended. For the most part educational and humanizing influences must come from Americans. They will not thank me for saying so, and yet it is true that for years to come Christianizing influences must come from the same source. So long as the people as a whole are poor, shy, and divided into factions they cannot be expected to do much to help themselves along these lines.

What they have done for themselves in religious matters would almost appeal to our American sense of humor if it were not so pathetic. We call them all alike Hungarians or Slavs or Poles, but there are German, Russian, and Austrian Poles, and even those who come from the same district represent various dif-

ferent and antagonistic races. When it comes to building a church they will probably all unite at first, but having no strong paternal government back of the church organization to keep the peace, a quarrel is almost inevitable. Sooner or later in almost every church congregation some difficulty arises over some Old World political matter or some question of state church polity which we Americans cannot understand, which ends in blows or perhaps in bloodshed. Priests have been assaulted at the altar while in the midst of their sacred duties and driven from the church, while their supporters have been dragged out for further vengeance or left for dead within the walls of the holy place.

Our attitude toward the Hun has changed more than once. At first our manner of treating these people was one of suspicion. We regarded their coming as a continuation of the invasion of the barbarians. They were the objects of some injustice and much misunderstanding. We found it as hard to comprehend their point of view as they did to understand ours. Then we grew indifferent to them and contented ourselves with putting up signs in their own language, warning them to keep off the grass and to behave like decent creatures in our railroad cars. At the present time there is a disposition on the part of the better class of people in the community to look with greater favor on them. Efforts have been made to elevate and instruct them both religiously and morally. Kindergartens have been established and night schools opened, in which the children are taught manners and morals and the older persons are taught English and some of the rudiments of self-government. Nevertheless we are not beginning to do what we ought for the Hun and we are not doing what we ought for ourselves. Our attitude must change a good deal more, if the slums are not to multiply at our doors. But this is a large question.

WILLIAM F. GIBBONS.

IS PROSPERITY IN SIGHT ?

VIEWS OF VARIOUS FINANCIERS.

DURING the last year there has been a great deal of talk about the death of the hard times and a revival of business prosperity. Subsequent events have largely shown these prognostications to be premature.

Within the last few weeks, however, there has been such a unanimous change for the better and the business people of New York have taken on such a hopeful look that to the careful business student it seems as if the commercial millennium were at hand. Interviews with the ablest business and financial minds of the metropolis have been gathered on the subject. They speak for themselves, as follows :

Washington E. Connor, who represents large Wall Street interests, said :

“There can be no question but business in every direction is improving, and that the outlook is very promising. It is not the silver lining that appears in the cloud, but the cloud has utterly passed away; the advance in the prices of iron, cotton, and grain represents so much additional wealth for the whole country. The advance in wages, which is perhaps as striking as that in any other commodity, is also an excellent test of the times. That advance represents the immediate benefit which labor is getting from the changed situation, a benefit which in turn makes the consumption of the country greater in the end.

“While the change since last February has thus far been very great, I believe it would be even greater and more permanent had it not been for the silver agitation in the West. People in this country know that it is simply impossible to pass any free silver law during Cleveland's administration, but this is how the injury of all this agitation is done: Foreigners, who are not so

well acquainted with our political situation, are influenced by the continued agitation of the subject, and it prevents them from sending to this country the amount of money which we would otherwise have from them. When foreigners buy American securities freely that money enables the various corporations in their turn to buy equipment, and to make large expenditures for supplies and general improvements. These purchases increase the business of the various manufacturing industries whose owners are also compelled to employ more hands and to give better wages. One interest thus depends upon another, and all stand or fall together. The corporations are perhaps the first to suffer; they understand how important it is that this country should maintain its credit and its character, and so have the benefit of foreign capital.

"I have great faith in the common sense of the masses of the American people, when they have had their attention once called to the true situation, and this, I am glad to say, is now being done by the advocates of sound currency and by the press opposed to free silver. Our continued prosperity depends upon the success of this course, and it is gratifying to know that every contingent interest has become awakened, and what is more, every interest has demonstrated before its eyes the fallacy of disturbing the even flow of the currents of trade. The farmer has learned that grain could go up without having silver legislation; the business man has seen his receipts increase pleasantly under our present system; there is more demand for the necessities of life at the corner grocery; the laborer has seen that wages can advance without free silver, and, in fact, the masses are beginning to realize that arguments heretofore used, that without adjustment of the silver question the country could not prosper, were false and without foundation; the masses are also beginning to realize that more than nine tenths of the whole business of this country is transacted on a basis of credit and of confidence, while only a very small portion is effected through the actual handing over of cash of any kind, whether gold or silver. Therefore, if we had four times the amount of cash in circulation that we have to-day, it would not prevent hard times

or obviate business depression, unless we had an abiding confidence established at the same time.

"One has only to look at the enormous financial operations of England and the small amount of gold upon which they are based to appreciate how far the vital element of confidence is necessary toward producing and making permanent this revival in trade, in wages, and in the transaction of all American business affairs. Without this feeling of confidence there can be no security, and in the absence of it the present return of prosperity must be ephemeral and transient. England's reputation for sound financial views is the very foundation stone upon which her immense commercial greatness rests, and let it be once understood that we in the United States are as firm as England, and our influence would be as great as hers, if not greater, in the commercial world to-day. I believe that the silver craze will soon come to an end, and when it does I feel sure there will be such an outpouring of foreign capital into this country that we will all see better times and a greater increase in business than we have ever experienced since this government has been in existence."

WASHINGTON E. CONNOR.

JOHN CLAFLIN'S IDEAS.

"Business is, I am glad to say, improving every day, and we look forward to a better fall this year than at any time since 1892. Great corporations and manufacturers are inclined to make more liberal expenditures and feel actuated by a desire to come to the rescue of the country. The prosperity that has now set in seems permanent, too, and will be the certain antidote to the free silver movement, which is pretty certain to cure itself. When the farmer in the North gets a better price for his grain and the farmer in the South fifty per cent of an advance for his cotton, he will not give much heed to the nostrums of the free silver men. We have nothing to fear from this source; things were not better for years and every matter is sure to come right in the end."

JOHN CLAFLIN.

WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.

"To my thinking, the alleged era of prosperity is not in sight.

We have had and are still having recoveries from extreme depression with some advances in wages from figures that were below a living scale. But signs of exhausted recuperation appear already with a decided lull in at least three important branches of our manufacturing industries. Cheap talk of higher prices for iron mentions also new trusts and proposed combinations among iron men which are usually in restraint of trade rather than harbingers of widening prosperity. The great staples of wheat and cotton having been depressed beyond reason, and rebounding naturally have been advanced speculatively to prices equally unreasonable, but at a time when the farmer and planter are not benefited.

"Both of these staples are now threatened with a new demoralization in market with consequently poor returns to the producers for the incoming crops. The present money market in New York— $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum for five months strictly prime commercial paper—is not the prognostication of an era of prosperity. On the contrary, it is the seal upon the proof of a new sacrifice of the little prosperity that appears. It betokens a lack of profit to borrowers in any use of money and presages such prices as discourage buyers of merchandise for a future market. Therefore, the silver lining is wanting from the cloud, and is neither here nor even in sight.

"As grounds for my impression that the reopening of our mints to silver is essential to an era of even moderate but continuing prosperity, I remark as follows: The prices that are governed by the volume of current money are normal prices. Scarcity, on the one hand, or superabundance, on the other hand, of any commodity relative to the demand for it will yield abnormal price for that commodity. Scarcity, abnormally high price; superabundance, abnormally low price. Which is to say that price means money. What is its price means how much money for it. Hence a normal quantity of any commodity relative to the demand for it will afford a high price or a low price for that commodity according to the scarcity or the abundance of money. Our normal price of wheat—the price upon which as a fulcrum our scale of prices for wheat

swings up or down—is set absolutely by the volume of our current money. Therefore, if we enlarge the volume of money as by a reopening of our mints to silver we shall raise the normal price of all commodities.

“Hence, as we are conspicuously a nation of producers, our national prosperity is favored by enlarging the volume of money so as to increase the prices of what we produce. To reopen our mints to silver is thus to put a premium upon production rather than upon consumption, and to bestow upon the producer a liberal share of the wealth for which our consumers are thus debtors. When such is done we may see an era of prosperity that has come to stay.”

WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.

GEORGE GUNTON.

“The present revival of trade is the result of causes the opposite of which created the depression which began early in 1892. Capital is very heroic when it feels perfectly safe, but it is the most cowardly thing on earth with uncertainty or danger in sight.

“There are two important facts that explain the changes of industrial confidence. One occurred in 1892, and the other in 1894. In 1892 both legislative and executive departments of the federal government passed into the hands of a new party. This of itself would not necessarily have exercised any particular influence but for the fact that the specific object of the new administration was radically to change the revenue system, which everybody knew would disrupt existing industrial and business relations. This certainty of industrial disturbance created uncertainty in business everywhere. The immediate effect, therefore, was cancellation of orders; closing of factories, mines, and furnaces; discharge of laborers and savage reduction of wages all along the line until what was first a panic settled down into a sullen, widespread industrial depression. Until the fall of 1894, no new industrial event had occurred to change the current and break the monotony of solemn depression. The election of 1894 was an emphatic, unequivocal reversal of

the election of 1892, and, consequently, set exactly opposite forces into operation.

"For the same reason that the election of 1892 destroyed business confidence by assuring anti-tariff, and, consequently, business disrupting legislation, the election of 1894 gave the assurance that all such disturbing legislation should stop, and at once created confidence. As soon as this assurance became a settled conviction capitalists, who had been afraid to invest a dollar in a new enterprise or in any way project industry beyond the narrowest limits compatible with not incurring greater loss, began to take a hopeful view of the immediate future. This confidence steadily increased with the certainty that the election was a permanent event, and railroads and other industries which had been static for several years began to take advantage of the low price of labor, and made ready to extend operations with the certainty that a return of prosperity would soon be at hand. Hence it is that the iron industry shows the greatest revival of activities. It is not that there is an actual greater demand for railroad facilities, but the certainty that there will be in the near future warrants the preparation for it.

"In proof that this revival is not the result of increased home consumption but of anticipation of future prosperity, much of it is being carried on by borrowing money from abroad through the sale of American securities. And the possibility of selling American securities is again the result not of the business now being done, but of the certainty of returning prosperity.

"The rise of wages is a necessary part of this returning confidence and preparation for business revival, but you will observe that though the increase of wages is somewhat general, the amount of the increase is very slight. In most cases five, and only in a very few ten per cent, whereas the reductions were fifteen, twenty, and not infrequently twenty-five per cent."

GEORGE GUNTON.

FREDERIC R. COUDERT.

"I proceed to answer your questions, but without the slightest claim that my opinion upon the subjects named by you can be of

any value whatever to the public. Still, such as they are you are welcome to them.

"As to the prospect of better times. Of course, the prospect is there, and the whole country is beginning to feel the benefit and the exhilaration that grow out of general hopefulness. We have emerged, apparently, from the slough of despond, and are looking at the future with an optimistic eye. This only proves that a great country like ours cannot be kept down for an indefinite period, but will reassert itself and will administer in one season the needed tonics to its own body. But it is only just and prudent to add that we have not yet laid any deep foundation for improvement in business. We want good crops in the South and in the West, and we want them gathered into our barns. So far, they exist only in faith, but alas! Faith is the evidence of things unseen, and those you cannot sell to foreign markets. Still, the wheat crop ought to be fairly secure, providential rains have made whole states emerge from despondency, and our people as a whole are throwing care to the winds. We shall have better times, because we are bound to have them, and because we feel satisfied that sullen fortune has wearied herself out, and is tired of persecuting us with drouths and storms and tornadoes, sultry winds, and mischievous strikes.

"The policy of the West to make better times should be to encourage eastern and foreign capital. Now, capital is not to be bullied or scared into submission. It is as bashful and timid as a blushing girl in her teens, and a coarse word or threat or any brutality of treatment will scare it away at a rate of speed that no bird in its flight can ever equal. The West seems to forget at times that it is closely wedded to the East; that each needs the other, and that jealousy of the bloated bondholders of the East has become an anachronism. The men who, when boys, have gone to public schools know that one member of the body cannot suffer without involving the whole, and that to dam up the enriching fountains of gold that flow from the East is simply suicide. And, above all, the West should remember that capital thrives on confidence and stability. It must have

perfect faith in the integrity of those that handle it, and if it believes that any large class of our people is ready to tamper with its promise or connive at evasion or suffer the sacred obligation of a promise to be frittered away, then capital will make its exit, and prosperity with it.

"We cannot afford to disregard European opinion in treating affairs, whether that opinion meets with our views or not. As individuals dealing in great communities to their mutual satisfaction must be tolerant of each other's opinions, so must it be with nations. Of course, we know more than all Europe combined—that goes without saying—but until we have had an opportunity by gentle treatment and confidence to dispel European errors, whatever they may be, we must humor them to the best of our ability. There are many dealers in the great centers of the European continent who fear that we may some day break faith with them. We should be careful that no slipshod expression of petulant irritation shall encourage such a heresy. Let us keep our name untarnished even by suspicion, and the rest will follow."

F. R. COUDERT.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES. PHILADELPHIA.—The Christian League has completed its organization and is to secure a charter. One of its chief objects is "to confer and act in concert with the civil authorities in all the matters which may promote the moral and physical welfare of the people." Rev. George D. Baker, D.D., is president and George Griffiths chairman of the executive committee.

LOUISVILLE.—Under the efficient and energetic direction of F. Hartwell (A. I. C.), president, the Good City Government Club has entered upon an active campaign, with plans for organization in wards and precincts. The members of the board of control will be chairmen of the ward meetings, and each precinct will have a precinct chairman to preside at precinct meetings. The precincts will be under the supervision of the ward committees, the ward committees under the supervision of the board of control, and neither will take any action in conflict with the constitution, by-laws, and declarations of purposes of the club.

NEW YORK.—The Advisory Committee of the Good Government Clubs has adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, Home rule is the foundation of good government, and is the cardinal principle of the good government movement in the city of New York,

"Resolved, That the subject of excise regulations, as far as each municipality, town, and village is concerned, should be relegated to the control of the citizens of such locality, and that they should have the final decision of the entire question, including the right to determine whether the sale of liquor, wines, and beer should be permitted at all, and if so, on what terms and conditions and at what times.

"Resolved, That in accordance with the foregoing resolution, the citizens of New York should be permitted to vote upon and decide the question whether or not liquor, wines, and beer may be sold on Sunday.

"Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be referred to each Good

Government Club in the confederation for discussion and ratification at the earliest possible date."

NEW JERSEY.—Political depravity has of recent years made inroads upon public virtue which will require patient and persistent efforts on the part of good citizens to repair. The following item, one of a number selected from the report of the New Jersey legislature's Committee of Investigation, is painfully significant :

"In the furnishing of coal, lumber, and other supplies for the state house there was deliberate systematic swindling. Quantities and prices were falsely raised, goods being billed to the state and paid for that were never furnished ; large percentages were added to bills, sometimes undoubtedly for the benefit of state officers, at other times, possibly, for the benefit of the dealer. The state was by the collusion of bidders and others made to pay \$1,350 for a flag-pole and flag on the state house. By the collusion of a state comptroller and in the face of the protest of other state officers against the waste, the state paid \$21,847 for the construction of pigeon-holes and similar appliances which could readily have been obtained for \$7,500, and still have afforded a liberal profit to the maker."

PHILADELPHIA.—"Our Civic and Religious Duties toward the Immigrant Population of the United States" was the subject of a stirring address by Rev. D. G. McMillan, D.D., before a recent meeting of the Presbyterian Social Union.

CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS. EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph.D., president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and member A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers, has gathered and published in *The Citizen*, of Philadelphia, valuable information as to the conduct of elections in several cities, as follows :

"*Voting According to Law.*—In theory our government is based upon the will of the people. Its whole machinery is in the hands of persons chosen directly or indirectly by the electors. It is fundamentally important, therefore, that voting should be according to law, and that the returns of election officers should be in accordance with the facts of the voting. To insure these results the greatest possible care must be taken that those who are entitled to vote should not be prevented from doing so ; that those who do not possess the right should not be allowed to exercise it, and that supervisors of elections should be honest and intelligent men, subject to all practicable checks upon their conduct.

"*Registry Lists.*—The use of registry lists is the ordinary device for informing election officers as to who has a right to vote. They are employed for this purpose in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, but the way in which they are prepared and used in these cities is not the same. The system in Philadelphia does not appear to be as good as in the other places named. We venture to say that it

is so imperfect that it is a question whether a transfer from one party to another of enough votes to make important changes in the control of the municipality would be reflected in the returns. There are about 1,000 election divisions in this city. If, in each division, an average of five votes, cast for one party, were counted for the other side, or ten illegal votes were allowed, there might be an error of 10,000 in the return of the total vote. It is true that in Philadelphia there is not much probability that a qualified elector will be prevented from casting his ballot, but the door is wide open for illegal voting.

"Registry Methods.—In New York the registry lists are compiled by officers appointed by the police commissioners. In each precinct there are four registration officers, who are also inspectors of elections. Not more than two can belong to the same political party. In Chicago the Board of Election Commissioners selects three persons for each election division, who serve as registering officers and judges of elections. They cannot all belong to the same party; they must be householders, citizens of the United States, able to read and write English, skilled in the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, of good understanding and capable, and they cannot hold any other office, national, state, or local. In Boston there is a Board of Registrars, consisting of the city clerk and three other persons—appointed by the mayor, with the consent of the aldermen; not more than two members of the board can belong to the same party. This board appoints for each ward four assistant registrars, who cannot all be of the same party. In Philadelphia the registration officers, called assessors, are elected, one for each division; there is no educational qualification, and each assessor necessarily belongs to the dominant party in his division.

"Election Registers.—In New York the boundaries of all election precincts and the location of the places of registration and revision are publicly advertised and can be found in an official publication, *The City Record*. In Chicago the Board of Election Commissioners must advertise the registration, and print the completed register, arranged by streets and numbers, to meet all demands. Upon application a copy is given to any resident. In Boston lists are prepared for every precinct, giving each building in the city which is used as a residence, in the order in which it stands—with the names, ages, and the occupations of the persons residing in it, on the first day of May, who have been assessed for a poll tax. These lists are printed in pamphlet form for public distribution. In Philadelphia there is no publication of the registration lists or of division boundaries for general distribution. The list for each division is to be found before elections on the door of the voting place, or in the case of a temporary polling booth, at the assessor's house, but there is no ready way of finding out where the voting place is or the boundaries of the division.

"Registration Methods.—In New York the registration begins four weeks, in Chicago five weeks, and in Boston nine weeks before election. In all of these cities the lists can be corrected up to within two weeks of the day of voting. In Philadelphia the lists for the Novem-

ber election are made nearly six months in advance, and the day for correction in the case of both the November and the February elections is two months before election day.

"In New York the registering boards sit four days, each of which, except the first, is a day of revision. Electors must appear personally before the boards. The same is true for Chicago, except that the last session is solely for revision. In Boston the registry list is based upon that of the poll tax assessors, who make a house to house visitation, but no name can go upon the registry list unless it appears upon the voting list for the previous year, or the bearer of the name personally appears before a registration board and proves his qualifications, which include his ability to read and write. In all of the above cities the revision of the lists is guarded with scrupulous care and is made by boards, the members of which belong to different parties. They are also furnished with the names of persons deceased since the last election.

"In Philadelphia the revision of lists is conducted by the same persons who prepared them. Each list is corrected by one man. There is no provision for informing him as to the names of persons who have died in his division. As an illustration of the character of the Philadelphia registration lists it may be noted that before the November election of last year about 3,000 names were struck from the assessor's lists, merely as a matter of mutual agreement between party leaders. One of the names registered happened to be that of a pug dog.

"*Registry Revisions.*—In Chicago and Boston the acts of the local boards are subject to revision by a general board. In New York, Chicago, and Boston, no vote is received from a person whose name is not on the registry list. In Philadelphia any man who takes an oath as to his qualifications and is vouched for by a qualified elector of his division is allowed to vote.

"In the three cities which we have taken for purposes of comparison the election officers who superintend the polls in each precinct and count the vote, are appointed, and cannot be all of one party. In Philadelphia these officers are elected and in a large number of election divisions they may all belong to one party. An analysis of the votes in the different divisions shows that this is frequently possible.

"It is idle to persuade men to express certain opinions at the polls if illegal voting and dishonest counting be an easy matter. Honest men may differ as to the wisdom of supporting one party or the other. There are many things which touch politics, or are touched by politics, in regard to which good citizens have different ethical standards, but there can be only one opinion among reputable men, whatever their party, as to the duty of guarding the ballot-box with all possible care."

**CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
AND
GOOD CITIZENSHIP.**

The noble influence exerted by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. in the development of the highest qualities of character, has not yet had a due measure

of public appreciation.

The persistent and pervasive power wielded by these organizations

has always been indirectly contributory to the promotion of good citizenship. But until very recently no general efforts to make these associations directly contributory to this result have been attempted. Obviously it is not the province of such organizations to engage in any activities looking to the promulgation of partisan political views or intended to inure to the benefit of any particular party organization. It is probable that the hesitation, hitherto, to give any large degree of attention to the citizenship side of the Christian life has been due to the fear that in attempting this there would be danger of introducing divisive issues. The fact that efforts properly put forth are not attended by this danger has been so clearly proven by the experience of the last few years, and the need of summoning all the forces of Christianity for the reinforcement of right influences in politics and government is so obvious, that there is now a general willingness on the part of these influential bodies to adopt suitable means by which they shall become directly helpful in elevating the standard of citizenship. It is clearly evident that they can but accomplish this result by influences which shall lead those under their influence to rightly appreciate the responsibility of citizenship; which shall help to qualify them for the intelligent discharge of civic duties, and which shall cause them to carry into the activities of citizenship the unselfish devotion to truth and justice in all things which should be the distinguishing characteristic of the God-fearing citizen.

That work for the uplifting of the standards of citizenship may be harmoniously conducted by the adherents of all political parties and religious creeds, has been most clearly demonstrated by the ten years' entirely successful experience of the American Institute of Civics. This national institute, in connection with its Christian Citizenship Department, now seeks the coöperation of all Christian associations in the great work to which it is devoted.

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION CLASSES IN CIVICS.—The Institute asks the officers of associations—young women's as well as young men's—to invite the formation of volunteer classes in civics, composed of those who are willing to devote some of their time, however little, to the study and discussion, from the Christian point of view, of affairs of vital present concern to the welfare of government and to the best interests of society, locally and generally. The first aim sought is the promotion of serious thought as to the duties of the Christian citizen. Such thought may be depended upon to evoke the plans of procedure and the activities which will enable these associations to contribute mightily to the betterment of civic and social conditions.

PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR, D.D., of the Chicago Theological Seminary, member of the Institute's Advisory Faculty and Corps of Lecturers, and whose able conduct of the department of civics in the *Young Men's Era* has given him a favorable introduction to association members everywhere, has consented to give the Institute especial assistance.

ance in its efforts to secure the coöperation of the associations in work of the character indicated. More definite statements as to plans are being prepared with his aid, and will be shortly ready for distribution. It is proposed that classes, or circles, wherever even a few members are willing to accept the proposal, be formed as auxiliaries; for example, "Mt. Hermon Y. M. C. A. Auxiliary, American Institute of Civics." The relation of these auxiliaries to the Institute will be wholly voluntary, and will not involve the assumption of any specific obligations, financial or otherwise. The object sought by the Institute is solely to establish helpful relations in efforts to give larger application to the lofty principles of the Christian religion as applied by its professors in the relations of citizenship.

CIVIC CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.—Two hundred delegates PROBLEMS. attended the late annual meeting of the National Conference on Charities and Correction, at New Haven. Robert Treat Paine, A. I. C., presided, and presented one of the ablest papers ever read before the conference. During the six days' meeting there were thirteen general sessions and fifteen section meetings, comprehending sixty papers advertised by title, besides any amount of discussion. One of the most important departments of the field of civics is that to which this conference annually contributes the best thought of experienced and earnest workers.

TO PROMOTE TEMPERANCE.—The Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Union held a national meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, August 7, with an attendance of some 60,000 persons. Numerous overflow meetings were necessary in order to properly care for the great throng. It was a significant meeting in its revelation of the strength of the temperance cause among the adherents of this great church, and of the cordial sympathy with the work of the union entertained by the chief American prelates of the church, many of whom were present. One of the notable incidents of the occasion was an address by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, president of the New York Board of Police, in which he unequivocally declared his sympathy for the cause of temperance, and was greeted with salvos of applause, long continued.

AN EXAMPLE FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS.—Excise laws enacted under corrupt legislation with the intent of using them only as a means of levying blackmail, are being honestly enforced by the new commissioners of police in New York City. In reply to the maledictions which a righteous regard for their oaths of office is bringing upon himself and his colleagues, Theodore Roosevelt, chairman of the commission, says:

"I had to choose between closing all the saloons and violating my oath of office. I choose to close the saloons.

"The American people will not ultimately sanction the systematic violation of the law.

"I would rather see this administration turned out for enforcing laws than see it succeed by violating them.

"I am an executive, not a legislative officer. I indulge in no theorizing about the performance of duty.

"We suffer from over-legislation and lax administration of legislation.

"The present Excise Law was enacted by the party which is now howling against its enforcement.

"The law was enacted as a political club for machine purposes.

"Discrimination in the enforcement of the Excise Law has been at the bottom of police blackmail and corruption."

Mr. Roosevelt speaks truly, and his example is worthy of emulation.

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LIBERTY: ITS SECRET AND ITS PERIL.—Liberty is a word of enthusiasm, hope, and heroism, and yet liberty is a principle of license and folly. It is a difficult thing to speculate about and to enjoy liberty. The nations who have enjoyed liberty have not speculated about it. In France they have said most about liberty and know it the least. Can it be that it destroys liberty to speculate about it? When we wish to be most ourselves self-consciousness breaks the charm. Liberty is a thing to have, not to speculate upon. We sometimes think that the looser we are from binding ties the more at liberty one is. It is not so; the freest engine is the best adjusted one. The moment I defy controlling forces the more I am controlled. We master nature by understanding her. Liberty consists in a certain sort of a negation of the general acceptance of the general meaning of the word. It is, in a person, always reserved strength, or restraint, which we admire, and not the absence of restraint. Liberty belongs to mature years, and not to youth. That is the one compensation in growing old—that we lose ourselves in doing for others, and so come into perfect harmony with humanity, and your own soul grows larger and stronger for the reason of the *masse* with which you move.—*Prof. Woodrow Wilson (A. I. C.), of Princeton, at Wellesley College.*

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AN ANGLO-AMERICAN COURT OF LAST RESORT.—There is nothing I know of in our constitution to prevent the House of Lords, if it should think fit, from desiring the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, by some indirect process, if not directly, and as a matter of personal favor, to communicate their collective or individual opinions on any question of general law, nor, I should apprehend, can there be anything in the constitution of that most honorable court or the office of its judges to prevent them from acceding to such a request if it could be done without prejudice to their regular duties. It would be still easier for the Privy Council, a body whose ancient powers have never grown old, and whose functions have never ceased to be expansive and elastic, to seek the like assistance. And if the thing could be done at all, I suppose it could be done reciprocally from this side with no

greater trouble. Such a proceeding could not, in any event, be common. It might happen twice or thrice in a generation, in a great and dubious case touching fundamental principles. . . .

From Westminster to Washington is, for our mails and dispatches, hardly so much of a journey as it was a century ago from Westminster to an English judge on the northern or western circuit. Opinions from every supreme appellate court in every English-speaking jurisdiction might now be collected within the time that Lord Eldon commonly devoted to the preliminary consideration of an appeal from the Master of the Rolls. At this day there is no mechanical obstacle in the way of judgments being rendered which should represent the best legal mind, not to this or that portion of the domains that acknowledge the common law, but of the whole. There is no reason why we should not live in hope of our system of judicial law being confirmed and exalted in a judgment seat more than national, in a tribunal more comprehensive, more authoritative, and more august than any the world has yet known.—*Sir Frederick Pollock, of Oxford University.*

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CORPORATIONS.—The corporation of the nineteenth century is but an instance in which a private interest has availed itself of public functions, originally designed for public ends, and applied them to private ends. The social results are: (1) To defeat responsibility. The only guarantee against mischief is that responsibility should be commensurate with liberty. But corporations can take risks which individuals cannot. The great and dangerous reactions of instability and activity are not due to great industries, but industry organized under the irresponsibility of corporations. (2) Thus is created a peculiar species of personal property, not limited by personal credit or ability. The protection of competition is destroyed and strategic equality is made impossible by indiscriminate incorporation. (3) The moral sense in business is weakened, as there is no real person behind corporations, but only a legal personality claiming all the privileges intended for individuals; managers will do things they never would do by themselves. Thus corporations having no soul infect the community with the bane of soullessness, and society is denied the strength of the principles of integrity and honor.—*Religious Herald.*

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UNDUE RELIANCE ON THE STATE.—No one can be blind to the fact that of late years governments have been enlarging the scope of their action, and in many ways for the good of mankind. They have intervened to protect the individual, who was comparatively helpless, especially women and children, against cruel industrial usages. They have put many checks on the greed of soulless corporations. They have provided free public education. They have enforced wholesome laws of public sanitation in spite of hard-hearted landlords. We all rejoice in these and other similar acts. But is there not a desire on the part of many to go much further than this, and to resort to legislation

which will tend to break down the self-reliance and enterprise of men? Is there not a tendency to ask the government to do for us what we ought to do for ourselves? How many men in our times seem to think that for every evil, real or imaginary, by which any of us are afflicted, some legislative panacea can be found! Competition, that spur to individual enterprise, we are urgently recommended to extinguish by law. England is seriously considering whether she shall not follow Germany in pensioning laborers. . . .

There is in some quarters too much disposition to coddle men with the idea that for the overwhelming majority of us there is any way for us to gain an honest living except to work for it day in and day out with all our might. No other plan has ever yet succeeded. We have no good grounds for supposing that any other plan ever will succeed. It is demoralizing to a people to be cherishing the notion that by any jugglery of legislation this necessity of striving with all our keenness of mind and with all our industry to accomplish something can be escaped.

You will not understand me as commending a spirit of selfish disregard of others. We are all members of society. All men are our brethren, children of the one Father, and we are bound to remember our duties to them. We are to do them no wrong. We are to help them according to our ability. We are to make sacrifice for them, if need be. But what I am deprecating is what seems to me an increasing tendency to substitute for the old-fashioned American individuality and enterprise and pluck, which hewed down the forests, turned the wild prairies into farms, builded towns and cities, a weak and whining dependence on Utopian schemes of legislation or social reconstruction for our prosperity. What we need is not so much new laws or new social devices as to keep up the race of men, brave, intelligent, industrious, capable of standing squarely on their own feet and breasting the storms of life. So long as we can rear these we shall have laws and a social organism adequate for our needs.—*President J. B. Angell (A. I. C.), of the University of Michigan.*

THE "PEE-DEE" SUFFRAGE PLAN.—A plan for restricting the power of ignorance in the suffrage, proposed by a correspondent of the Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier*, who signs himself "Pee Dee," is attracting considerable attention in the Southern States. The *News and Courier* describes it with comments as follows:

"The plan in brief is that every man, white and colored, shall have one vote to begin with, and one vote additional for every five hundred dollars' worth of property on which he pays taxes, up to a limit to be determined hereafter, but not perhaps to exceed \$5,000. To extend the privilege of an extra vote no farther than to the owners of \$500 worth of property, according to Mr. Kennedy's estimate, would wipe out the colored majority of 40,000 voters and insure a white majority of 20,000 besides, and we think it unnecessary to consider the plan beyond this point, as such a majority would solve the problem

effectually and finally and the lowest property limit would be the most acceptable and the best for every reason.

"The chief merit of the plan, of course, is its effectiveness. It will certainly settle the suffrage question—the most important and troublesome political question before the people of the state, and the one which the constitutional convention has been called for the purpose of settling. That much can be said in its favor, and it is a good deal to say. So much cannot be said of any other plan that has been suggested. It has the additional merit that it will meet the condition so imperatively insisted on, and the promise so positively made, that no white man shall be deprived of his vote. Every white man can vote under the plan.

"It has the additional merit that it meets squarely the requirement of the federal constitution that no man shall be deprived of his vote on account of his race or color. Every colored man can vote under the plan.

"It has the additional merit, as stated by Mr. Kennedy, that 'there is no place or temptation in it for fraud. All fare alike. The same rule applies to all, white and colored.' It involves no kind or degree of fraud or even unfair conduct on the part of any registration or election officer in the performance of his duty."

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

DR. CARLOS MARTYN, member A. I. C.
Corps of Lecturers, late pastor Sixth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, is delivering in that city a course of thirteen lectures on "Municipal Reform."

GEORGE ALEXANDER RITTER, A. I. C., Nauvoo, Illinois, calls attention to the fact that a law requiring the national flag to be kept floating over all schoolhouses in Illinois is now in force. He describes the fee system of certain officials in that state as "rotten to the core," and refers to other civic evils. But "with the Civic Federation working in Chicago, with similar organizations working in other cities, and the A. I. C. working everywhere," he thinks the outlook for the future full of hope.

THE WORK OF THE A. I. C.—*The Pathfinder*, Washington, D. C., refers appreciatively to the A. I. C., as follows:

"'Good government through good citizenship,' is the motto of this patriotic association of eminent citizens, whose aim is to organize and promote efforts in the direction of good citizenship through intelligence and good morals. This great institute now has a national body of 2,000 councilors, men actively coöperating in different parts of the country. It has associates in the faculties of 250 colleges, a national corps of 235 lecturers, and extensive educational and publishing agencies. In the latter department it has issued in the last ten years the equivalent of about 18,000,000 pages of octavo matter. It is worthy of note that all of its extended and useful work has been accom-

plished without salaried officers and in sole dependence on the spirit of citizenship which it seeks to foster, and has done so much to develop

CORPS OF LECTURERS.—Associations of citizens in any part of the country desirous of securing qualified and dispassionate speakers upon affairs of citizenship, government, and social order, will find it to their advantage to refer to the list of speakers composing the grand corps of lecturers of the A. I. C. Residents of all parts of the Union are represented in this noble body of patriotic laborers. Their names will be found in the June number of this magazine. Inquiries may be sent to the lecturers direct, or may be addressed to the Institute, 38 Park Row, New York City.

DECENNIAL RECORD.—For the benefit of the members and friends of the A. I. C. and for public information THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS has issued an extra publication, wholly devoted to matters of public interest in connection with the objects, plans, and history of the ten-year work of the American Institute of Civics. Patriotic citizens everywhere will find in the interesting record of the successful work here presented occasion for encouragement and gratification. It affords significant evidence of the fact that true men and women in communities throughout the land are not wanting even in the midst of the present rampant spirit of "mercantilism," when the call goes forth for volunteers, meeting to unite in non-partisan gratuitous and entirely unselfish efforts for the protection and promotion of the highest interests of government and society. The A. I. C. has been fittingly described as an "Academy of Patriotism." Among the various institutions of national scope the country has need of such an academy whose sole purpose shall be through all the years of the nation's history to unify and send forth influences calculated to inspire and perpetuate the noble spirit and the lofty ideas which made the foundation of the American Republic possible, and which can alone be depended upon to secure its perpetuity and highest success. The register of the members of a national academy such as the American Institute of Civics has already become, represents a roll of honor upon which any citizen may consider it an honor to have his name recorded.

PATRIOTIC CO-LABORERS.—A member of the A. I. C., who fully appreciates its aims, writes as follows:

"We must regard ourselves as co-laborers in efforts to promote the revival of genuine patriotism; as fellow-helpers in the vastly important work (now for the first time entered upon as a carefully ordered national undertaking) of making the facts vitally related to the welfare of free institutions; first, an essential feature in provision for the education of American youth, from the kindergarten to the university; and secondly, a study commanding the attention of adult thinkers, from the humblest toilers to the foremost leaders, in the many vocations from which the free and equal citizens of the republic come to the exercise of their sacred and all-important privileges."

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

OCTOBER, 1895.

STEAM AND ELECTRICITY—A STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY.*

BY PRESIDENT A. A. JOHNSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING.

IN solving problems, and in forecasting the future, men are constantly thrown back upon *first* principles. With these principles fully in hand as keys, we may open new chambers of thought and enlarge our vision of the future. Knowledge is, therefore, relative and progressive.

In the discussion and statements of this article, I shall attempt to gather up the great facts of a century's economic struggles, and, putting these facts alongside of present social conditions, seek a solution of the twentieth century problem, which may be termed "The World's Social Crisis."

The subject is a broad and far-reaching one. It demands a horizon of vision only to be had from the summit of the nineteenth century. This theme lays under its tribute the past, with its successes and failures. It appeals to the present, to know the reason of its struggles, unrest, and conflicts. Gathering up the facts of this economic history, and interpreting the present voices, clamoring and discordant, we are to cast a prophetic eye on the future.

The close of this century witnesses an age of unrest, conflict of ideas, and a general discussion of the basal and vital principles of our civilization. It is felt in the financial world, heard in the discussions of church gatherings and heresy trials, and seen in the social unrest of the masses. We seem to be in a transition period; and the opinions of men, the affairs of the

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business world, and the social relations of mankind, seem to be "out of joint." Problems are arising on every hand for solution; uncertainty and want of confidence have seized the masses; stagnation and depression exist everywhere in the commercial and financial world, and men are looking for a Moses who shall lead the hosts of our civilization out of the impending Egyptian darkness.

There is no doubt that we face an almost boundless problem as we enter the twentieth century—a problem made up of many minor problems which overlap and interlace each other in a most intricate manner; and the solution of this tangled web of human conditions will probably crown some man as the great American statesman of the ensuing century.

One of the remarkable things of this transition period is that the age is intensely practical. Very little regard is given to the theories of men which have not a practical working basis. Much of the teachings of socialists fail at this point. They are too theoretical. The spirit of the age, while *optimistic*, is practical, and demands a solution along practical lines. The established and well-accepted theories of men, as set forth by many and various schools of thought, are failing. They break down under the test of a practical age. Political economy, as taught in many of the books to-day, is too theoretical, and is only on the rim of the great problems now before the American people. Political economy must go deeper, and carry with it ethical principles which will direct in the application of economic principles.

It is the individualistic and competitive order of the day that is filling our national horizon with storm clouds, and threatening us with ruin. Whence came these diseased and disordered economic conditions of to-day? They are the product of false economic theories; theories promulgated by Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations," and accepted by the English people over a century ago. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the economic education of the last century, under the influence of Adam Smith's theories, has produced a selfish individualism which seems to have no regard for the social relations of men which are basal to the welfare of the state and the common good of mankind.

To clearly diagnose the present social disorder, and to establish the proposition just stated, we must appeal to the facts of history. We must deal with the facts and causes of the English industrial revolution. Before this revolution the English Guild System of Trades, which had many social advantages, went down in the gulf of struggling humanity who were intensified by the revolutionary spirit of that age. In the place of the guild system came the factory system and the wages system of to-day. Here we find the beginnings of the social unrest and conflict, the force of which is now felt as a world-wide social crisis. This revolution was so violent, and the changes in the economic forces of production came so fast during the last century, that the social life did not and has not adjusted itself to the new conditions. The struggle to do so, to abandon the old order and to adjust itself to the new, has brought all this confusion and suffering into our social life. Society, doubtless, would have adjusted itself to the new conditions, and men would have toiled on in harmonious social and industrial relations long before this, had it not been for the false and pernicious economic theories which were accepted in this revolutionary age of the eighteenth century.

Before stating these false economic theories, we must allude to the condition of thought prevalent in the middle of the eighteenth century. This condition of thought prepared the way and made the acceptance of these economic theories easy. The spirit of the Cromwell revolution a century before became prominent again about 1760, and a tremendous revolt was begun against the whole system of government, religious, political, and economic, and in favor of civil, religious, and economic liberty. The result of this revolt is to be traced in three distinct and almost contemporaneous movements. Religiously, this spirit took the form of the Wesleyan movement under the leadership of John Wesley, who inaugurated "Christianity in earnest," both in faith and conduct, as a protest against the indifferent and dead spirit of the Anglican state church. Politically, this spirit expressed itself in the American Revolution, producing patriots like Washington and Jefferson, who led our revolution-

ary fathers to establish a republican form of government on the American continent as a protest against the tyranny of the monarchical governments of Europe. The restrictions upon trade and the industries were contentedly accepted for a brief season, while the passion for civil and religious liberty almost extended to fanaticism. The great men of France caught the spirit and encouraged as well as aided the struggle for political liberty in America. It is said that Rousseau went further and "stormed against the artificiality of society and the restraints of the industrial systems, and summoned men to free themselves from its restraints, and to return to nature." This French thought won the sympathy and influenced Thomas Jefferson, who became its exponent in America as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the founder of the Democratic party.

In such a universal struggle for freedom as I have outlined the economic life of the people could not be left out. The same year that Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, asserting that all men are by nature free and equal, Adam Smith, a professor in Glasgow University, published his "Wealth of Nations," said to be the most influential book ever written on economics. Its central idea is the same as that of Jefferson, only applied to economics rather than political life. I quote Richard T. Ely's summary of Adam Smith's economic principles: "Men are by nature free and equal; the law should not establish artificial inequalities among them; what men need in business is not protection, but liberty. Under free competition each man seeks his own interests, and in seeking his own interests promotes, as a rule, the best interests of society." I confess that these seem to be plausible statements, but most fallacious and vicious in their effects on the industrial world.

The teachings of Adam Smith were formulated into three distinct statements, which were accepted as axioms, and have been used as mottoes in the industrial world during the last century:

1. "*All men are by nature free and equal.*" This statement is false both scientifically and philosophically. Men are not, never have been, and never will be, by nature "free and equal." The strong and the weak, the wise and the foolish, the learned

and the ignorant exist together ; and the weak must necessarily go down in the struggle of competition under the present industrial law, "the survival of the *strongest*." The strong must bear the burdens of the weak and educate the masses toward an ideal civilization. Thomas Jefferson saw the fallacy of Adam Smith's first statement, and meant, although he did not state it in the Declaration of Independence, that all men by nature should be and are "free and equal in the sight of the law in a republican form of government." Under such a form of government the law cannot, and ought never to be, a "respector of persons."

2. "*Absolute non-interference of the state*" in the regulation of industrial matters. This was wrong, and introduced an evil which society has long struggled to correct. In the light of subsequent industrial history it can be clearly seen that such economic doctrines gave opportunity for what has been termed the tyranny of "soulless corporations" to oppress the people. It deprived the weak of legal protection and left them to perish for bread under the grinding law of a selfish individualism, whose sole aim was to accumulate wealth.

3. "*Competition will regulate all industrial evils*." Adam Smith practically said : Destroy the guild system, remove all legal restriction, and turn everybody loose in the industrial world. Competition will act as a balance wheel, and as a law of gravitation in the social world to keep every man at his best, and prevent the evils of adulteration of food, shoddy in clothing, and the oppression of the laboring classes (masses). But competition has miserably failed. Adam Smith did not see, as has been practically demonstrated a thousand times, that among twenty men competition enables one mean man to force nineteen others, disposed to do right, to be mean also in self-protection in business matters. And what is true of twenty men is true also of the whole industrial world. These principles of Adam Smith were readily accepted by that restless, liberty-loving age, and his book became a gospel of economics, and inspired the economic policy of the nineteenth century. Adam Smith claimed that the adoption of these economic principles would make the nations wealthy. He was correct in this one respect. His prin-

ciples of economics introduced that marvelous factory system of England and the remarkable industrial activity of the past century by which a few individuals have amassed great fortunes and created marvelous powers of production until the world is full of unconsumed goods. But what about the masses, and the vast under-consumption of goods, because of poverty, and the unequal distribution of the goods which these economic principles, intensified by the power of steam and the inventive genius of man, have produced? Yes, we have great wealth, and we have great poverty; thousands, unemployed to-day in the United States, are begging for work and asking for bread. A nation may be wealthy, like Rome, and yet be tottering to its fall because of its poor and unequal social conditions. A nation is strong when it has a high standard of life among the masses, and a social compact based upon ethical principles.

Let us now turn our attention to a remarkable coincidence, and to another factor which enters into this problem, and which has intensified the baneful effect of Adam Smith's economic axioms. In 1769 James Watt invented the steam engine. It is an interesting fact, stated by Dr. Ely, that James Watt and Adam Smith were intimate friends, and when the city of Glasgow refused to let Watt work at his trade because he was not a member of the guild at that place, Adam Smith allowed him to set up a shop on the university grounds outside the city's jurisdiction. There Watt invented his steam engine, and thus the two great forces, the one mental, the other material, which created the industrial revolution of the last century, were born close together. The substitution of steam power for hand power soon followed, and its first influence was to stimulate the inventive genius of men, and this influence has followed the steam engine wherever it has gone until the mechanism it operates, the fruit of man's inventive genius, is the marvel of this age of steam. A series of inventions rapidly followed during the next fifty years, enabling the power of the steam engine to completely revolutionize the manufacture of cotton, woolen, linen, and silk goods, and working a hardship on the industrial classes by the confusion of new methods, and thus throwing many out of em-

ployment. The steam engine and the blast furnace were soon applied to the manufacture of iron, and that industry was revolutionized. The steam engine has afforded man rapid and powerful means of transportation, and hastened our material civilization a thousand years. The great ocean steamer, a city in itself, stronger than wind and waves, and the mighty 100-ton locomotive, as it moves over the hills with its thirty cars, is the fit emblem of our vigorous, rapid, selfish, mercenary, and material civilization. Neither cares for a man, grinds him under its ponderous wheels, or steams on, leaving him to perish in the sea. Neither can afford to stop for a man under the pressure of a selfish competition. Both are alike deaf to the appeals of the overworked man and the cry that comes from his wife and children for more bread and a better home. Both answer, "Our owners care for dividends and wealth, and not men." It is the gladiatorial days of Rome over again, only robbed of their cruelty by a boasted Christian civilization, which is not Christian at all. Under these conditions we naturally ask with Dr. Ely, "Have all men become brothers, or are they all enemies?" Opinions will differ, but few will claim that men, in their business dealings, are very brotherly. The "let alone" theory of our civilization leaves every man to take care of himself. The result is that we have but little law for the protection of the weak, and less moral sense in our economic life. "It would be a sad mistake," says Dr. Ely, "to suppose that men are less moral than formerly, but circumstances have turned moral effort into other channels, and left the economic life relatively non-ethical."

Thus it can be seen that in what we call the *progress* of the past was born a great foe to the social relations of men. It was a selfish individualism, now grown, by the fostering care of our economic theories, to a great giant, who walks through the land as the mighty emperor of the nineteenth century, dominating our politics, controlling our Congress and legislatures, and saying, "Give us liberty to *accumulate*, no matter who suffers, no matter about the methods, whether by fair means or foul, so long as we keep beyond the grip of the law. Hands off; no in-

terference by the state, only give us liberty to accumulate." This individualism is the Napoleon of this century who is attempting to control the economic conditions, as the Napoleon of the past attempted to change the politics of Europe. This individualism applied to government, as expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, has been a real blessing to men, and has cleared the ground of the rubbish of caste and "the divine right of kings." But in the field of economics it has been disastrous to society. "It has not laid," says William Clarke, "one single stone of the social edifice of the future." It has, however, given mankind the most difficult problem for solution that has ever appeared. On one side of this problem is to be found selfishness, cupidity, and materialistic greed about external possessions as the one great thing to be obtained. This spirit of Dives says: Life consists in the abundance of things which a man possesses, and in this race of greed it is everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost. On the other side of this problem stand thousands of poor wage-earners unemployed, and their families crying for bread as they walk the streets, asking for work. Yet these men are free men, with the power of the ballot in their hands and the spirit of desperation in their hearts. Bring these two factors together under certain conditions and you have the explosive force of dynamite to blow our civilization into atoms. Such is the problem of forces to be harmonized in the ensuing century.

Now, be it said to the honor of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, they are the only two men who possessed sufficient intuition to discern the tendency and future evil of individualism when applied to church, state, art, and economics. Against these impending social evils Carlyle wrote and stormed, and was abused by his age as a sour cynic. But Carlyle was right. Time has vindicated his intuition, and the next century will add laurels to his brow in vindication of his humane genius.

William Clarke, in his excellent article on Carlyle and Ruskin and their influence on English social thought, in *The New England Magazine* for December, 1893, states Carlyle's perceptions

of the future effect of the false economic theories then predominating English thought, as follows :

Carlyle saw as in prophetic vision a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich ; society divided into two classes, those with money and those without, and the latter, be they never so free in mere theory, being the slaves of the former ; a society dominated by vulgar, sordid aims, with the accumulation of money as its chief ideal, with the frantic, eager rush of competition becoming keener and more unscrupulous as accumulation becomes more and more difficult ; people shirking work and trying to become rich by smart trickery, by lucky plunges ; a heated, feverish anxiety pervading the whole social body, excepting the unfortunate " dead beats " and a few unsuccessful, quiet people, old-fashioned enough to believe in honesty. Remember, when you read Carlyle's fervid denunciation of democracy, that this is what he means by it ; that is what he sees, or thinks he sees, as the outcome of the economic democracy as it was understood early in the century.

Carlyle was right, as present conditions now prove. The economic democracy of Adam Smith has not performed what it promised, and never will so long as it remains on the "let alone" lines of selfish individualism. This individualistic commercialism has invaded everything which ought to be held sacred by a free people.

1. It has a tendency to make both the buyer and the seller dishonest in business matters. The seller, under the law of competition, resorts to shoddy and adulteration, in order to undersell his competitor, and the buyer is constantly wanting something cheap in order to get a bargain, or more than the value of his money. This fact is illustrated by the following incident, which happened in one of our eastern cities : A wealthy manufacturer was walking along one of the residence streets. He was a man who had made his wealth by buying cheap and selling at high prices, and by adulteration, as well as the various "tricks of the trade." He came across two boys on the side-walk selling lemonade. The boys were about twenty-five feet apart. He stopped at the first boy and asked the price of lemonade, and was informed that it was five cents a glass. He went on to the other boy and asked the price of lemonade, and was told it was two cents a glass. The wealthy man said he would take a glass. The boy served him, and after drinking the lemonade and paying his pennies, this wealthy manufac-

turer turned to the boy and said, "And now, my little man, tell me, if you can, how you can sell lemonade at two cents a glass; this kind of competition will run the other boy out of business and make you wealthy." The boy, who had caught the spirit of the age, replied, "Now, Mister, that's all right; that other fellow is my partner; he is my brother. But the puppy fell in my lemonade last night and I am selling it out cheap."

2. It has debauched our politics by the mercenary "spoils system." Party principles and platforms are abandoned without hesitation by factions clamoring for office, and willing to make any kind of promises to get these offices. Lowell puts this "spoils system" in its true light when he writes:

"Ef you get me inside the White House
Your head with ile I'll kindly o'nint,
By getting you inside the light house
Close by the end of Jaalam p'int."

Patriotism, the social welfare of the people, and the eternal principles of justice and equity are trailed in the dust by the trading of politicians. Combinations, barter, and sale for office! Is that democracy? Is that the genius of Republican institutions? No. Democracy means the rule of the people; it does not mean the rule of politicians any more than of kings. Walt Whitman aptly says: "The never-ending audacity of elected persons who are constantly putting up the fences for another term is now a greater menace to human progress than is the power of any sovereign living."

3. Our theology and religion have been tainted with individualism and distorted by a selfish sectarianism which the masses dislike. The masses believe in Christ and his humanitarian spirit, and not in the modern churchism of to-day. We have emphasized only one side of theology. We have talked about God, his attributes, and man's relation to the Creator, and have said but little about the Christian sociology of the Gospel, and "loving our neighbor as ourselves." We have been urging men to strive for heaven and avoid hell, forgetting that heaven and hell are here on earth, dependent on human conduct, no matter what the creed or faith may be. The truly redeemed soul is not

selfish, seeking a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," but interested in heaven on earth in human hearts, made so by the right social relations of all men. Too much creed ; too much one-sided theology ; too much churchism ; too little of the Christ spirit in social relations.

4. Our sentiments, and the love of the pure and the esthetical in literature and in life generally, have been vitiated by the mercenary spirit of this money-getting and money-loving age. Our press and light literature are prostituted to the almighty dollar. When some men write the question asked is, "Will it pay ; is it sensational ; will it please the publisher, who serves these worshipers of the goddess of fun and money ?" not, "Is this thought true ; will it inspire noble conduct ?" When the sentiment of America was struggling with the problem of selecting a national flower, an editor of a daily paper expressed, in sarcasm more than in poetry, the thought of the vast majority about this subject of beauty when he said :

" France has the lily, and England the rose ;
And everybody knows where the shamrock grows.
Scotland has the thistle that grows on the hill,
But the emblem of America is the One Dollar Bill."

Against this mercenary utilitarianism, which dethrones art and destroys sentiment, Ruskin protested as he followed Carlyle in his comprehensive vision of the future effect of economic democracy on the artistic sense of the people. Ruskin's "Political Economy of Art" is a protest against the greatest curse in America, "the perpetual domination of business," the wild rush of competition, which robs men of the leisure necessary to admire and enjoy the beautiful.

In this awful rush of business success means great wealth, and wealth, selfishly acquired, means luxury. "Luxury," says Dr. Ely, "is materialistic and selfish ; it retards the mental and spiritual development of a people, and tends to impoverish a nation." The result of past economic theories and forces, together with their effect on civilization and society, is a social crisis, world-wide and international, and as yet no panacea has been found to quiet the discontent of the masses. The work of

the nineteenth century has been one of preparation, and irresistibly leads up to this social crisis, which the twentieth century must face and settle. The nineteenth century has been one of democracy in almost every respect; and, as Dr. Strong puts it, "Democracy necessitates popular education, and popular education multiplies popular wants. If the many have the same wants as the few, they will demand the same means of gratifying those wants. To give the poor like tastes with the rich is to create an inevitable demand for substantial equality of condition, and to stimulate discontent until such equality is secured." We have had a century of popular education, and now we have the popular discontent of the masses, a discontent that is widespread and clamorous. Time forbids me to outline this discontent, but the restless masses are reading and thinking, and what they think and propose will ultimately determine our future civilization.

What is the significance of this world-wide social crisis? I will let Dr. Strong answer in language better than I can command :

It is as true of society as of the individual, that self-dissatisfaction is a sign of upward, not downward, movement. Popular contentment marks a stagnant civilization—China; popular restlessness marks a progressive civilization—Japan. New wants are rungs in the ladder of progress; and civilization, reaching up to them, mounts to something higher.

The discontent of the masses means that they feel the pulsations of a new life, born of increased intelligence. As we have seen, to add to a man's knowledge is to enlarge his horizon, to make him conscious of new wants, and to show him new possibilities. The popular ferment of to-day means a struggle to realize the possibilities of a new and larger life.

Twice before in modern times has there been a deep and widespread discontent among the people—once on the eve of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, and once on the eve of the French Revolution. Certain conditions which appeared just before the former reappeared just before the latter. It is most significant that these same conditions, among the most important of which is popular discontent, have again reappeared.

The first of these great movements was primarily religious, the second was political, the third will be social and economic. The first destroyed spiritual despotism; the second struck the death-blow of political despotism; is it not quite possible that the third will put an end to economic despotism?

These paragraphs give Dr. Strong's philosophic and historic reasons for his "New Era," which is to be a solution of our great sociological problems along the lines of a peaceful evolution. I believe that Dr. Strong is right, and "that men are unconsciously seeking to harmonize in modern society the two great principles of individualism and organization, and so to readjust our social and economic relations as to coördinate these two seemingly conflicting principles." Can this be done? I think so, with the aid of a superintending Providence, who has never lost sight of the world in its upward progress of liberty and noble manhood.

It is a fact of history that the world of mankind thinks slowly and moves like a great pendulum in its arc. But God limits the extremes and starts the pendulum backward in its movements. Some day we will settle down to the center of the arc and find the truth, which is always found between the extremes. For a century the pendulum has been swinging toward the extreme of individualism, till a fearful social crisis is upon us. In this social crisis the pendulum has started in the other direction toward a better social organization, which shall be dominated by the ethics of the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount.

A century after the invention of the steam engine, which has so ministered to a rampant individualism, another force appeared in our civilization. It is the dawn of the age of electricity. It begins with Edison, and will find its culminating glory in the twentieth century. Electricity means now, without any regard to its future application, illumination, social unity, and sympathetic brotherhood, as symbolized by the electric light, the telegraph, and telephone—all prophetic of a better social organization, based upon the brotherly sympathy and the close relations of mankind. Already the wail of sorrow and the note of sympathy come and go across the Atlantic and the world gathers around our breakfast table by means of daily press, as neighbors, kings, parliaments, wars, famines, pestilences, strikes, and the thoughts of great social and political leaders are there. As we read our horizon widens, and the world sits at our feet. Our emotions are stirred and sympathy flows, and were it not for our

pressing business, which prevents reflection, we would enter the love and sense of a world-wide brotherhood.

We are now living in the sociological age of the world. Its problems are to be solved. Having stated the problem and the discontent with present conditions, I now ask where, whence, and what is the solution? Can education solve the problem? No. Education does not of itself make people better off. What it does is to awaken aspirations, quicken latent powers, create new wants, and raise a healthy discontent, and so pave the way for those changes which men hail as the dawn of better days. We have had, and are having, the education, and that is one of the causes of the present condition. Education is the electric light of the twentieth century. Its shining has caused men to see that old ways are unsatisfactory, and old principles need new adjustments and applications. Because of this education, Longfellow said :

" Out of the shadow of night
The world moves into light ;
It is daybreak everywhere."

Can socialism, born in France and Germany and transferred to America with some modifications, solve our social difficulties? I answer, No. Socialism is theoretical, has great weakness, and is impracticable. It has, however, rendered good service to society by calling attention to social problems, compelling us to look at all problems from the standpoint of the public welfare, and not merely of the individual gain, and urging upon us the functions of government as regards all industrial activities. Dr. Ely says: "Socialism makes its strongest claim in its plea, first, for a scientific organization of society, and, second, for a just distribution of the annual social income." "Justice is also a strong plea in the progress of socialism, and this appeals to our ethical sentiment." The basal proposition of socialism is, that competition is wasteful and oppressive; therefore, they ask for intervention of the state, which shall give us coercive coöperation for all competitive pursuits, and government control for monopolistic undertakings. Socialism says, "Expand the business functions of the government, until all business is

absorbed." Then we shall have, says the socialist, "distributive justice" dispensing the annual products of society. Here is the weakness of socialism, and its impracticable nature. It deprives men of freedom, and would not work in actual life. Besides, if the government should fall into vicious, mercenary, and unscrupulous hands, the last state of society would be worse than the first. The domination of such an industrial principle is dangerous to our civilization—far more dangerous than the "competitive mercantilism" which now threatens us. The freedom of man must not be impaired. Therefore, social reform is what the next century demands. It must be, as has been said, a free and peaceful evolution of our industrial institutions, but not a radical departure from our fundamental civil institutions. The Constitution of the United States and the principles of our civil institutions are as elastic as the Gospel. They fit the conditions of every age, and afford us ample scope to adjust ourselves to new conditions and maintain the supremacy of law.

Where, then, can we find the force that is reformatory, and yet preserves all our civil and religious liberties? That force is found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ and his ethical teachings. This Gospel does not contain a detailed system of social science, and especially of organized industries; but the principles of a sound sociology are found in Christianity. The ethics of the Golden Rule must leaven competition, and the gospel of the brotherhood of man must eradicate the selfishness and tyranny of rich men and great corporations. It seems clear that the religion of Christ presents the only theory of industrial and social order, and that the reforms of this age must be accomplished under the guidance of Christian sociology. The methods of Christianity are individualistic, and the ethical redemption which society needs must still depend upon the divine redemption of the individual. While this is true, it is also possible for Christian men to formulate the principles of Christian sociology, based upon the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount.

Christianity has marvelously changed the civilization of the world during this century, has banished slavery from the earth, and now faces the greatest problem of the age. It seems that if

Christianity is to endure it must find its final triumph among men in the new and better adjustments of our social and industrial relations. If Christian law can become the ultimate authority, to rule our social practices, then we may hope for a peaceful solution of our present difficulties. The church, used in its broad and catholic sense, is the representative of the reformatory force which is to produce the coming society. But the church of to-day does not reach the masses. Why? For a century the church has been saying, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," emphasizing only one side of theology, and thus ministering to an individual Christianity, which was thinking all the time of heaven, and but little of earthly relations. But Jesus said that the second commandment was as important as the first: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." The church has not emphasized the second commandment, has not insisted on love and brotherhood in human conduct and business relations, and has not taught a Christian sociology based on the ethics of the Golden Rule. The church believes in the importance of all this; it is implied in her teachings, but she has not emphasized and enforced it in her discipline and government. The masses dislike individualism in churches and religion, and turn away with the same feelings that lead them to resist the tyranny of oppressive industrial corporations. Strange to say, the masses are not looking to the churches and the Christian sentiment of the land to aid them in the conflict for a higher standard of life and better social relations. And yet the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to redeem the world, as well as men, and bring about a brotherhood in social conditions. The Gospel is world-wide in its principles, is no respecter of persons, and the ethics of Jesus is the only force suitable to deal with the conditions of the world-wide social crisis; uniting organized capitalists and organized laborers in a helpful, coöperative brotherhood, and alike protecting the interests of all by that great law of love, the Golden Rule.

The church is awaking to her great opportunity, and will

meet the emergency of the next century. Institutional churches, missions to the poor, the building and endowing of hospitals, and the gospel of Christian sociology, all proclaim that the church will yet rescue the masses, solve their social problems, and leaven society with a universal brotherhood. Here is my hope and expectation of the coming society.

When the church fully embraces her opportunity and meets the conditions of to-day with the emphasized ethics of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and statesmen apply these principles in the solution of present problems, then the outlines of the coming society may be seen and portrayed as follows :

In theology, the coming society will be Christo-centric. His life, his spirit of sympathy and tender regard, will unite all sects into a federation of brotherhood which will soon bring the "kingdom of righteousness" on earth. Dr. Strong says, "In adopting *E Pluribus Unum* as the motto of the United States, our political fathers unconsciously adopted what seems to be God's motto of the universe; and it will be the motto of the perfected society toward which the world is moving."

In economics, the coming society will be inaugurate, profit-sharing, and capital-sharing in all great industrial enterprises, and the law will see that every man gets his rights, if he works, is competent, and merits success. Then we shall have a reign of industrial peace, and strikes will be no more. Wasteful competition will be reduced to a minimum, and the age of "shoddy" and adulterations will be history, of no value, except to show the trials of past generations. Among the nations we shall have peace, no great standing armies impoverishing a people with their burdensome taxes; diplomacy will be confined to industrial and commercial affairs, and arbitration will protect national interests and settle international disputes. Then we shall have in reality Tennyson's vision seen in Locksley Hall :

"When the war-drums throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled,
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

The coming society will dethrone politicians and become a brotherhood in public relations and social interests. Rich men we shall have, but they will be respected for their intelligence

and Christian manhood. No select circles of wealthy aristocracy, living in luxury while humanity is dying for bread in back alley tenements. A universal benevolence and a Christian sentiment will compel the strong to bear the burdens of the weak. Woe be to the man who plays "Shylock" in those days, evicting his tenants and grinding his brother into the dust to collect the last pound of flesh. In short, the coming society will be based upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. All caste spirit obliterated; the rich, the poor, the capitalist, the skilled laborer, the professional man, the artisan—all cultured and permeated with Christ's spirit of charity and tender regard, will give to the coming society its resplendent brotherhood. The gospel and ethics of Him who has become the world's great Teacher will bring this desirable state of society by a peaceful evolution. When? In answer, I close this article in the noble language of William Clarke:

Not till the general mind is set in the direction of something higher than mere mechanism, mere accumulation, mere business; not till there is a reaching forward into a higher plane of the general human consciousness, will our political and social life be better.

If men believe in a lie, if they act a daily fraud, that lie, that fraud will haunt them everywhere; it will vitiate their art, degrade their literature, lower their politics, destroy their affections, and send the social order of which they are a part down, down, down into ruin, as so many civilizations have perished on this planet of tragedy and mystery. We must have the interaction of the two forces—social reform on the one hand, individual aspiration on the other. We must humanize our industry and purify our politics. We are here on this earth for one thing only—to create what St. Augustine called "The City of God"—which is not a celestial palace of precious stones beyond the clouds, in the distant recesses of the luminous ether, but which is reared in the nearer, and yet deeper, and more unfathomable recesses of the human soul.

A. A. JOHNSON.

THE DECADENCE OF HOME-OWNERSHIP.

BY H. L. BLISS.

AN article in a late number of **THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS**, by Mr. J. A. Collins, showing the decadence of home-owning calls forth from the Honorable Gilbert L. Eberhart a reply published in the March number, in which he inveighs against modern reformers in a manner which calls to mind the denunciations of forty years ago from the defenders of conditions then existing.

Could the feeling then prevalent, North as well as South, regarding such men as Garrison, Lovejoy, Parker, Phillips, and others who appealed to the higher law in their denunciations of an institution that was at that time defended from the pulpit as of divine origin have been better expressed than in the words of Mr. Eberhart denouncing present-day reformers as "one of

and total defeat of the good results which only obedience to law and jealous regard for the rights of others ever have achieved or ever can achieve so long as civilization shall endure."

The agitation of the slavery question seemed forty years ago inconsistent with a "jealous regard for the rights" of the slaveholder; present agitation seems inconsistent with a jealous regard for the rights of those who, through the enjoyment of special privileges, appropriate the product of others' toil. The ownership of men was once considered as well tested a law of civilization as is private ownership of land at the present time. Those engaged in the present crusade for human freedom maintain that private ownership of land involves the practical ownership of those who dwell upon it. This was discerned by some of those engaged in the crusade against chattel slavery, Gerritt Smith making the striking prophecy, "Abolish slavery to-morrow and land monopoly would pave the way for its reëstablishment," and Horace Greeley asserting, "Wherever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth there is something very like slavery."

Mr. Eberhart's denunciations of present-day reformers were called forth by Mr. Collins' exhibition of facts disclosed by our census investigations regarding farms, homes, and mortgages. In reply he maintains that our people who are tenants are so from choice, and declares that "every man who has the health and the will to get a home in America can do it," and cites Mr. Collins to the fact that "in the city of Philadelphia one hundred thousand homes were built by poor men in twenty-five years by the aid of building and loan associations."

Mr. Eberhart's statement as to home building in Philadelphia is likely true, as that city has been famed as the city of homes—this being so only serves to establish beyond controversy the contention of Mr. Collins that landlordism is rapidly increasing, for our census investigations show that of the homes in that city but 46,489 were in 1890 owned by their occupants, and that of these nearly thirty-nine per cent were incumbered. Of the 204,292

families in that city owning or renting homes, 77.24 per cent hire and but 13.95 per cent own their homes free of incumbrance. Allowing for the homes owned by the wealthy, how many of the hundred thousand homes built by poor men remain the property of that class? Mr. Eberhart's showing of a large increase in the number of owned homes in certain of the newer states seems but an evasion. With increased population there are, no doubt, in those localities absolutely more owned homes than formerly, though relatively there are less.

It may be remarked that a comparison of the number of owned and rented homes, in which a Kansas dugout counts equally with a valuable city home, is more favorable than would be a comparison of the value of such homes. In Oklahoma and other localities where the presence of population has not yet greatly increased land values home-owning is the rule, but as Mr. Eberhart shows, in cities of 100,000 population seventy-seven per cent are renters, "thus proving," he asserts, "as I have already said, that many find it cheaper, especially in the larger towns and cities, to rent than to own homes." Strange logic, surely, for to suppose that this proves that the people are tenants from choice is to assume that the masses are provided with means to purchase, if they choose, the homes they occupy. As to the condition of the tenant class, the writer would refer Mr. Eberhart to an article on the concentration of wealth in the United States published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1893, from the pen of George K. Holmes, who, with John S. Lord, had charge of the investigations of the present census regarding farms, homes, and mortgages. After stating his method of estimation, Mr. Holmes says: "Otherwise stated, ninety-one per cent of the 12,690,152 families of the country own no more than about twenty-nine per cent of the wealth, and nine per cent of the families own about seventy-one per cent of the wealth of the country. Four thousand and forty-seven families are worth not less than ten or more than fifteen billions of dollars—say twelve billions, or about a fifth of the nation's wealth. Only nine per cent of the wealth of the country is owned by the tenant families and the poorer classes of those who own their

farms and homes under incumbrance, and these together constitute sixty-four per cent of all the families. As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families—that is, by the tenants alone.” The 4,047 millionaire families are those included in the list of millionaires published some time ago by the *New York Tribune*. These families, it appears, possess more of the wealth of the country than the 4,767,179 families engaged in agriculture.

As to the condition of the agricultural families, we have the testimony of the late Hon. Jerry Rusk, whom possibly Mr. Eberhart may also regard as a dangerous “pessimistic” writer. In the last year of the Harrison administration Mr. Rusk said in his report: “The American farmer is going from bad to worse, and every effort to extricate himself sinks him deeper in the mire of failure. The only proper course lies in a reduction of acreage and production to meet the demands of domestic consumption. The conditions that have at last overwhelmed cotton growers now threaten wheat growers, and unless there is a speedy reduction by choice there will be a reduction by force of circumstances.” Whatever may be our opinion of Secretary Rusk's proposed remedy, there can be no question that he correctly states the facts.

By census bulletin 378, regarding agriculture, it is shown that from 1880 to 1890 the number of farms had increased 13.86 per cent, the number of acres 16.25 per cent, the number of improved acres 25.58 per cent, and yet that the value of the farms had increased but 30.23 per cent, and the value of farm products but 11.19 per cent. At the same time it must be remembered that the estimated wealth of the country increased 49 per cent.

It appears, also, that the value of the land, fences, and buildings was in 1890 \$13,279,252,649, of implements and machinery \$494,247,467, of live stock \$2,208,767,573. If from the value of the farms, over thirty-four per cent of which are rented, we deduct one third as the value of such farms (which is undoubtedly below the mark) we have remaining as the value of the farms owned by farmers \$8,852,835,098. If to this we add the entire value of machinery and stock (a part of which is not

owned by the farmers) we have a total of \$11,555,850,138, from which deducting farm mortgages standing against farms owned by their occupants, we have remaining \$10,469,954,178. Taking no account of such indebtedness as store accounts, chattel mortgages, or machinery and stock or crop liens in the South—the latter estimated by census officials at \$350,000,000—but allowing the debts to offset wealth not included in this estimate, we have a total of \$10,469,954,178 as the wealth of 4,767,179 farm families. To make a round number and be above rather than below the mark, if we add \$111 per family to cover additional wealth otherwise invested, we have a total of \$11,000,000,000, or seventeen per cent of the wealth of the nation as the wealth of the farm families, who constitute thirty-seven and a half per cent of the families. This is an average wealth per family of \$2,300. The average wealth of the remaining families would be \$6,800, or nearly three times that of the farm families. This at first sight might appear to disprove the claim that landownership enables the land-holder to appropriate the earnings of the landless, but the value of farm lands is insignificant in comparison with that of the land used by railroads and for commercial and manufacturing purposes. The farmers are not land monopolists but the victims of such monopoly. Nominally they may own the farms which they cultivate, but who enjoys the fruits of the farmers' toil practically owns the farm. The railroad monopolies, that confiscate a large portion of the value of his products, that interest may be paid on watered stocks; the trusts and combines, that enhance the prices of those things for which his produce is exchanged, and the beneficiaries of our protective tariff, that refuse him the opportunity of exchanging his products in those markets where he can obtain the most in return, have him as surely by the throat as though they possessed a title to his lands and a mortgage on his chattels. These monopolies absorb and appropriate all the benefits of cheapened transportation and production resulting from mechanical and chemical discoveries.

If we follow the product of the farm to the consumer's table we find that notwithstanding the reduction in the price the

farmer receives the consumer who purchases at retail pays no less than formerly.

Though the farmer gets but fifty cents per bushel for his wheat the consumer in our cities pays as formerly five cents for the one-pound loaf, containing at present prices but little, if any, more than a cent's worth of wheat. The larger part of the difference between the farmers' and consumers' price is absorbed by rent. The gold dollar will purchase more agricultural and manufactured commodities, but it will pay less rent and purchase less land, so that notwithstanding the cheaper production the purchase power of the dollar has not increased. With increased wages the laborer finds it harder to live than before.

The farmer and laborer can only hope to improve their condition by a reform in our methods of taxation, for our present system not only fetters industry but shifts upon them nearly the whole burden of taxation. We have taxes on imports paid by the consumer, taxes on dwellings paid by the tenant, taxes on commercial and manufacturing property, as well as of goods in stock shifted to the consumer of the goods, and taxes on mortgages paid by the borrower. Single taxers propose to do away with all these indirect taxes, substituting a direct tax on franchises and land values. While this would squeeze the water out of stocks and do away with land speculation it would impose on the farmer and home-owner a tax on the bare value of his land irrespective of improvements. How the vast wealth of the country has been concentrated in the hands of the few Mr. Eberhart shows in part, saying: "Men who owned small tracts of land a few years ago, with the city a mile or two away, have since found it at their doors ready to fold them in its municipal arms. They sold out, and as a matter of economy put their surplus cash, which came from the increased value of the 'little home,' in the savings bank."

This increase of values which the land-holder does not create, but which the people do, it is proposed to take for the use of the people in taxation. Can any one suggest a way of obtaining revenue more just? If not, why denounce those who advocate it? The writer little envies the man who can go into our great

cities and, witnessing the want and degradation existing in this land of boundless natural wealth, can say it is well.

There existed no wrong or outrage under the former system of chattel slavery that cannot be more than duplicated under our present system of industrial servitude.

While strong men vainly seek employment, little children, who should be in school, all the mirth and joyousness of youth crushed out of their young lives, toil from early morn till night in store and factory, and frail women, who should be cherished wives and queens of happy homes, work for a pittance in store or sweat-shop, often having the choice of starvation or dishonor.

Rome was destroyed by savages from without, but we are rearing in the midst of us those savages that may some day tear down this fair fabric of which we have all been so proud. Surely he who, seeing the danger, cries out in warning and seeks the remedy is not an enemy of his country.

H. L. BLISS.

THE POLITICAL MISSION OF REFORM.

BY L. P. GRATACAP.

II.

THE mission of reform in New York City may be considered as involving two possible courses of action with the exercise of a third indispensable educational influence. Without the last the reform itself is practically nugatory. Reform may limit itself to properly dispensing the laws we have, or it may undertake their improvement. It is likely that good government could be easily secured under existing statutes, if the officers who executed them were faithful and competent. It is also clear that legislative changes could be made which would make, at least in the police department, the relations of politics to justice less intimate and demoralizing. But it is finally certain that either in the old or in the new way, all permanent advance in the system of municipal government depends primarily upon the attitude of the voting class in this city to questions of public morality and public trust. Nothing could give the enlightened and disinterested student of city government a clearer conception of this truth than the fact that 108,000 voters in this city last November indorsed Tammany Hall after the exposures of the Lexow Committee; exposures which have from that time increased in their severity and importance. Granting, as may be granted and as has been urged by the author, that Tammany Hall was endeavoring, in some directions, to administer the affairs of this city with discretion and vigor, and that it had in reality conducted a fairly (judged by ordinary political standards) honest disbursement of the city's money, that indeed it possessed the means of making itself a strong, useful, and preponderating political school—granting all this, the revelations of the Lexow investigation, coupled with the indisputable inference that Tammany Hall must have been cognizant of all this in-

iquity, and tolerated it, made the further existence of this selfish organization a menace to social order in this city. No community capable of self-control and willing to exercise it could have permitted so monstrous a moral anomaly, and no individual ordinarily sensitive to the appeals of reason and moderately endowed with judgment would have permitted himself to vote for its continuance. And yet 108,000 votes recorded the existence of a great army of such men. No reform can be permanent until those 108,000 men are minimized by education or persuasion. Education will affect their minds so that they will learn the value of the best government, and persuasion will in-close their affections within the area of government that is moral.

The political mission of reform is missionary, a crusade of tracts and example. The location of the majority of those 108,000 men can be readily determined. Let the best results of a better administration of affairs be made apparent among them. Let their eyes, ears, noses, and bodies be sensibly convinced that there has been a change for the better. Let clean streets, sanitary tenements, curbed nuisances, public work, rendered possible by economic and useful dispensation of public moneys, prove to them the benefits of the change which has begun. It must be remembered that this city has not been so utterly mismanaged, so clumsily and recklessly controlled, during the last few years as to make it uninhabitable or dangerous, and that the mission of reform can be accomplished only by forcing on public attention a sharp and favorable contrast with what it has been by what it is or will be. It might be even wiser, where possible, to keep existing statutes and regulations and departments, and by their efficient execution and conduct emphasize more directly the benefits of honest and disinterested government. Reformers might often consult with profit the remark of Phocion in Landor's "Artificial Conversations": "He who would strike out a novelty in architecture commits a folly in safety; his house and he may stand: he who attempts it in politics carries a torch, from which at the first narrow passage we may expect a conflagration."

The impetus and atmosphere of men, not systems, are needed, and an example of official rectitude, skill, and energy will do the most toward creating a realization among men of the fact and the meaning of good government. There are two distinct theories of municipal government however diverse and various may be the statutory regulations revealing both. Those principles are the individual and the communal. In the first a city is governed for the people. The people occupy it, enjoy it, are busy in it, but are not in organic incorporation in it. It becomes a boarding-house in which they live and from which they pass and from whose avenues and squares they derive the pleasure which lighted and decorated halls or attractive parlors and clean bedrooms afford the guests of a hotel. Their relations to the city are domiciliary, not proprietary. The city is cleansed, beautified, taxed, policed, administered by a supervision not representative of the people, not cognizant of the people, except so far as the popularity of the city for occupation, like that of a hotel for board and lodging, attracts residents. The system may be constructively perfect. The best talent, unfettered by political obligations, untrammelled by multitudinous interferences from political claimants, and substantially permanent in their authority, perform the functions of government, that is city government, ideally. Men selected for fitness take pride in making the city they control admirable. They solicit, from motives of vanity, from motives of reputation, from a desire for retention in their office, the highest praise from discriminating critics.

The pride of the hotel-keeper, the theater manager, the publican, greatly enhanced by the dignity and ubiquity of a management concerning thousands, instead of fifties, and meeting a social environment composed of the life of men in its widest capacity rather than in its most narrow—this pride is theirs. The people will be the gainers by this system. It is attended with the minimum demand for exertion on their part and the maximum of gratification. It cannot, because it dare not, become immoderately excessive in its expense or ruinously wasteful. Either would mean revolt, and in such examples of it as we may con-

template to-day the authority of the people *ultimately* forms its support, so that in such a system the comfort and unruffled contentment of the populace must consistently be sought. In less democratic times the prudent ruler found that the people's interests were his own, and his own comfort, in the dispensation of government, was best consulted by considering theirs. Machiavelli's "Prince," which Mr. Champernoune has made popular through his ingenious analogy drawn between its subject and the Boss, contains this astute advice: "A wise prince should therefore at all times conduct himself in such a manner that at all times, and under every change of circumstance, his subjects may feel the want of his directing hand, and then he may rely on their unshaken fidelity." The governors of cities who to-day stand in an absolute relation to their populations will find it advisable to govern wisely, and, so far as they desire their position, maintain their place by an equitable and beneficial administration; the more so as they are themselves the creatures of appointment. In our own country such a municipal government is exemplified in the national capital, whose administration is placed in the hands of commissioners appointed by the president and Senate, who act under the direct legislation of Congress.

Washington is a type, and a favorable illustration of the theory of individual government. The city is well governed; intelligence, taste, and executive precision distinguish its government. It is, in a great measure, free from the contamination of the ignorant heeler, the vulgarity of the common politician, or the viciousness of the boss. Its population, made up of visitors, government office-holders, and an ephemeral official vicinage of fashion, with the resident shop-keepers and caterers to this world of politics, show, and miscellaneous enterprises, suffers no inconvenience from the periodical protestations and dispute of candidates for their votes. And they have in exchange for the nuisance of espionage and watchfulness of their elected rulers and a poor result in government, a well-regulated, fascinating city prepared to entrap and keep the holiday world that at set intervals revives among them and to whose preten-

sions and display they can either as participants or spectators merchants give their ardent attention. And the city is what ought to be for such purposes, a city of cleanliness, accommodation, and entertainment. It is made a city of sights with importunity to eye or ear or nose from execrable side-walk shiftless thoroughfares, and dirty streets. The policy of the shop-keeper who dresses his window with delicate fabrics delicately shown, the method of the inn-keeper whose hotel is replenished with properties of beauty and comfort are just adopted by the commissioners of Washington, with a sentiment perhaps in their minds of the purpose which stimulates shop and hotel—custom. The train of art, of commercial effort, of scientific thought, of political rivalry, and of national design sweeps in and out with the least friction against its physical environment, and the engendered sense of delight in all brings forth the best fruits of fashion and of mind.

Such is the ideal of the theory of individual government. It is attractive, brilliant even, and surpassingly pleasant, but it is not the parent of civic pride. It does not breed the wholesome robust, self-conscious spirit of civic devotion, the stalwart nature of Antwerp, of Salamanca, of Jerusalem.

The people of Washington are proud of their city in a disembodied way. They are happy in its popularity as a mark of distinction to the place they like and happen to live in. They do not boast of or extol its features as a connoisseur in architecture might the façade of a hostelry where he habitually dined, or the perspective of a cathedral in which, from choice, he usually said his prayers. The aloofness and the enthusiasm of the feeling are of course aided by the fugitive relations of a large part of the population of Washington, at least its influential portion, to the city. They come and go and each affluent and affluent wave of visitors is different from its predecessor. With the government of Washington, its intimate management by its officers and justice, they have nothing to do. They feel no responsibility in its care, do not consider, are not required to consider, any problem of municipal management, and exert but little influence in the councils of its commissioners. The

metropolitan sense is not developed under these conditions, that peculiar earnestness of pride which animates the citizen of a city to which he bears a filial relation, in which he exercises a personal control, to which he offers and from which he draws the natural legacy of a franchise used in its behalf, is absent with those who have no concern in electing their governors, in whom the fires of political ambition and controversy are both extinguished because the fuel of their flames has never been furnished.

From the view-point of utility the theory of individual government in cities seems to provide an adequate and unexcelled government, one that can be both progressive and economic, and one more appreciatively considerate of the claims of art. But from the view-point of self-government it is defective and demoralizing. Its ease and approximate sufficiency have a tendency to bring into disuse the critical and watchful attention of men who are given the task of managing their own affairs. It has no broadly educating political influence. It further has an unmistakable tendency to separate classes, for the one ground of equality, which for the moment levels all artificial distinctions, that of the equality of manhood at the polls, is ignored. However disturbing to the fastidious or even the thoughtful is the spectacle of a misgoverned city wherein the votes of the bad, the selfish, the debased, the bribed, and the ignorant count for as much as the votes of their opposites, yet apart from this area of social irresponsibility, the influence of the voting power upon men in the lower walks of life, as in the higher, is distinctively educational. And whether or not the first results of promiscuous suffrage are disappointing, in the long run, at that far-off end toward which all experiments of self-government are tending, the true amelioration of life comes in the democratic unity of all men who think alike, upon whatever social plane they live.

The theory of communal government is the theory adopted in this city, emphasized unmistakably by an unrestricted franchise, and on the basis of that theory reform is to elevate the tendencies of the 108,000 men who voted for Tammany Hall last No-

vember. The participation in government has always aided the mental strength of a nation, and the fact loses none of its significance in its minor exemplification in a city. The growth into independent thought, the power of self-assertion, are the results of the privileges of franchise. The men who vote upon the problems of municipal government, who select a city's rulers, who expend consideration in their selection, and become participants in the public struggles by which men in political contests secure their ends or lose them, are strengthened in a natural way by this exertion, the reading, the argument, and the attendant scrutiny of men and measures. But political ambition and the lower mercenary motives of political greed have brought into being the political boss, the creature who is without conscience, merciless in his single aim to get power, to manipulate men, to surround himself with parasites and servants, with an incidental reference, not always minute, either, to his own personal advantage. The dangers of the communal theory of city government are the deterioration of practical government, the inevitable rise of parties who wish place for the power of bribery place gives, and the emergence of the astute leader who guides the boat of party over all the sinuous channels of flattery, insinuation, intrigue, and device, and keeps his crew together in the bond of mutual interest. Party and leaders can subserve the highest purposes of government, are in a sense the essential concomitants of free communities. But their legitimate sphere of action is in the arena of opinion, not in the subterranean avenues of conspiracy and barter. New York as a great self-governing city adopts the theory of government which makes every man in it a governor. We know how cruelly are disappointed the hopes of any instantaneous amelioration of social problems or political questions which such a theory promises. Carelessness, ignorance, malice, hide-bound associations, dictation, weakness, all converge immoderately to make this general or universal suffrage in city government a partial, perhaps at times, a total failure. And the vendible nature of some men's opinions aggravates these evils. Upon this basis, with 108,000 men voting for the continuation of the power of an inadequate machine, how must

reform act to withdraw the support of those men from Tammany Hall?

In the first place, it may be assumed that a great number of these men have no professional nor constitutional enmity against good government. They may have been deluded by the professions of Tammany Hall, its repudiation of police corruption, or more likely their belief in its ultimate purification and a general confidence in its motives to give New York a fair government. In the second place, there was a large number who voted for Tammany because they liked Tammany. They liked it from custom and from nature. Both of these classes are to be changed, or at least reform should aim at such an object, because their elimination means municipal improvement. And, in the third place, there was the great number who voted for Tammany because it paid them to do so; their interests were with Tammany and its defeat meant their personal distress. These men and their sort can be dissipated when it is so ruled that political service is no guarantee for political place, when civil service laws define promotion and appointment. In accomplishing the redemption of all these classes, if it may so be called, reform will strengthen the adherence of those men who, in the election of November, voted for principle and men rather than party. The mission of reform is to make, then, every citizen feel that he lives in a better city than he did before, and to do such things as will give to every citizen a new conception of the possibilities of our city's improvement, of the possible phase of comfort, beauty, and interest it may assume.

Reform in this city cannot be satisfied altogether, if it is to convert the 108,000 men who voted for Tammany, or any large portion of them, to its support, by administering the laws as they stand effectively. It must in a sense renew the city, and a *different* city from what we have known must somehow be created. How? In one respect the city admits of slight improvement. It is to-day made a healthy city and it is orderly. Life in its organic functions and in its avocations is well guarded. Police corruption can, however, be stopped and some absolute limit imposed upon vice. The vice that has flourished

in the past, that has been "protected," has not seriously interfered with living, has not defaced the city with brawls, public indecency, and clamor. In these respects New York is to-day a different city from what it was twenty years ago. Vice has become hidden, and obsequious. It lives a tacit and legalized life, it does not disturb the inhabitability of the city. In a demonstrable degree its supervision and localization conduce to peace, and prevent molestation of the public. The moral aspect of this question is different, and the moral aspect in an American community can never be disregarded, but it is not exactly upon considerations of a moral nature that reform will modify the views of the 108,000 Tammany votes.

Reform can practice economy, or rather it can insist upon proper return for the moneys expended, and this will mean more public works, better work, and attractive results. Our streets can be kept clean, our parks beautiful, and new public buildings can be erected; a water-front of strong and useful docks can be built, and the efficiency of public service increased. In many minor ways reform can in the aggregate of its intentions and activities impress its enemies and retain its friends. But we believe reform can pour into a new channel of expansion the life of the metropolis, and can inflame our metropolitan enthusiasm by a new attitude toward the relationship between the government of this city and its people. That new channel of expansion is an autonomous city, a city-state. That new relationship of the government and the people in this city is a non-inceptive paternalism. Permit a moment's examination of these propositions. It has been noted that we adopt in this city the theory of communal government. It is reasonable to insist that that theory of government should claim complete exemplification. It is now incomplete. We elect our officers, we do not make our laws.

Increasing regard is indeed paid to the requisition and views of our mayor, but we are very near seeing his position modified to suit a boss, who would be powerless in this city, but holds some sort of presumptive lien on our legislators. The whole position is fallacious and foolish. If we can discern what is

best for us, why should we not have the power, the means, the place, to secure it? Is the expediency or justice of any measure improved, in so far as it relates to us or any other city, by passing through the gauntlet of legislative amendments and opposition? The concentrated essence of legislative power should be held by this city, and the last tenuous thread of divided authority, over our own interests, between us and the state severed. We are or should be none the less a part of the state because we govern ourselves, nor is the structure of the state integrally less permanent, because we are beyond the reach of its interference. The system of the judiciary would be the same, the militia would still be state militia, the state taxes would still be paid, and we should still have representation in Albany debating all measures concerning the interests of the state. We should have a chamber of legislation in this city and our mayor should have the power of an absolute veto. The appropriations we need we would give. It is anomalous, contradictory, and imprudent to give to an alien body the supervision of our own support. Our plea, urged elsewhere, may here be quoted :

But New York must be independent. New York must assume the responsibility of her own government ; she must occupy the legislative functions of her own wisdom to make her own laws ; she must become a city-state exercising the prerogatives of political autonomy unhindered in the development of her system, unchecked in the evolution of her characteristics, and the elements and features of a completely furnished government. The moment New York rises to the higher level of a political unit, the moment her present officers rise into the conventional attributes and dignity of state officials, the moment she treats and is treated as a realm, then a new impetus in her political regeneration is started. Freshened hopes and wide ambitions, touched with a poetic prophecy of greater beauty and power for all her belongings, will gather a strong intellectual force from her scholars and writers and thinkers, her business men, her clergy, her workmen, and turn into channels of improvement all the currents of her financial, moral, and mental strength.

And this would recreate our city. It would put upon the stage of our political history a new political unit. The intense interest of our independence, the awakened pride and the just ambitions excited would attract talent and design, and thrust

upon us forcibly the sense of self-existence. This would our citizens, would place upon recreancy in political du stamp of ignobleness, and a new thoughtfulness would en a leaven those men of that stubborn army of 108,000 Tan supporters and chasten them into some semblance of carefu This is one great end in the political mission of reform.

The second is the development of an inceptive patern All socialistic sentiments or apologies are to-day, by a larg servative, substantial class of thinkers and possessors, reg with dismay. By an inceptive paternalism I do not mean tured, deliberate communism, only a little more accentuated ernment service. All governments that are good are pat They must be. As government has in mind the protect the governed, the distribution of justice, and the warding of injury, it puts on, in its first exercise, the expression of nalism. And the more solicitous a government is to disc its strictest duties to the people, the more, in spirit, is it nal. In republics it is a paternalism designed and limit the objects of its care.

There are four avenues of access to the command of the lic happiness in this city, and they can be considered legitim as being properly occupied by the government of the transportation, tenement-house supervision, free bathing amusements. Amplify, improve, and distinguish these, associate the idea, means, and results of doing so with re and the resurrection of Tammany Hall is impossible. Th volves an inceptive paternalism. But there is nothing about it, nothing startling, unheard of, or revolutionary. ment inspection is required to-day under the health law, transit is to be provided by the city, free lavatories are an institutions for the proper maintenance of health, and am ements have been recognized as a public need in parks and lic concerts, zoölogical gardens, and parades. But reform now an opportunity to bring all these to a high pitch of e lence and so furnish and enlarge them as to give the pub new sense of delight, of confidence, of affection in our gov ment. This relation, just, wholesome, as it is, will take

place of the Tammany hand-shake, the mutual or convivial cocktail, and the promiscuous chowder-picnic. And because it is a substitution of an elevated benefaction for a low charlatanism it will react educationally upon its beneficiaries. It marks the sure road to permanent success. It will rob trickster politicians of their "good name" and make them "poor indeed." The details of a scheme of this sort are numerous, and there is both danger and delicacy attending its adoption. The taint of political socialism should be absent from it, but the spirit of ethical socialism should pervade it. All of these questions are coming daily into more frequent discussion. Rapid transit is to be treated by a commission, and the relation of the city to the road to be built is semi-proprietary. It would seem an advance, in the question of an equitable relation between the railroad and its employees, to have all passenger traffic in this city conducted by the city, its control being vested in a commission or department similar to those of public parks, building, public schools, etc. The tenement question has received ardent study from philanthropists. Let their suggestions acquire a mandatory place in the rules of the department. Excellent headway has been made in the improvement of the modern tenement, and the goal of a perfected lodging, under the artificial conditions of our narrow and crowded city, seems to be steadily drawing nearer. The subject of free bathing, lavatories, public urinals, etc., has been treated by Messrs. Faure and Tolman before the City Reform Club.

If reform takes up these topics and accomplishment marks its connection with them public gratitude will more and more cover Tammany Hall with forgetfulness.

But reform has now an opportunity, seized, too, by private organizations throughout the city, to educate public opinion. A reformation of our board of education could be made the means of introducing into every school instruction in civic affairs, the history of the city, the story of its great and good men, and no graduate from any public school could receive his diploma without a successful examination in these subjects. The Committee of Seventy has prepared its bill for the displacement of the

police justices. These measures will aid the deeper dislodgment of the old Tammany Hall. Tammany can no longer exist as it was. It would be covered with curses and with ridicule. Competition with reform on these new levels will drive it into the processes of self-purification. Tammany Hall must then meet its enemies under a new political standard, a new arbitrage of favor, a freshened category of requirements by the people.

The subject of amusements is one of great interest, and the relation of the government to the people in this matter has not, it would seem, in these modern days and especially in this new country, been frankly treated. In the past the pandering to the people, by despots or ruling classes, by free entertainment and a sort of nationalized "free lunch," was a thinly veiled effort to repress discontent and pacify into somnolence the mutterings of revolt. It kept people in good humor and "pulled the wool over their eyes." It was the ingenious expedient both of despots and cowards. It has been regarded among the advocates of an ultra individualism as dangerous for the rulers of a nation to provide too liberally, or at all, for the recreation of the people, that expenses should be cut down to the cost of running the government, and that "deeds of donation" to the people were a precursor to the establishment of legalized communism. But a conception of government, gathering into its outlines some of the best features of the old idea of king and subject—devoid, of course, of all superstition or venerable folly—whereby we begin to appreciate the *remedial* functions of government, its *therapeutic* efficacy, has slowly spread. The government of a city or a nation may properly undertake to bring into the lives of the people daily the charms of enjoyment which the favored have. It can give them music, object lessons in history through public pageants, cheapened drama, free museums, beautiful parks, free lectures, zoölogical gardens, free libraries, halls of art, and gardens of botany. All of these services are approximately rendered to the people now, but they might be more systematically done and more rigidly, exactly, intelligently supervised. A Department of Public Recreation could be justly asked for, a part of whose duties would be to see that the use of public

moneys for such purposes was well and adequately made. Much money now expended on parks and museums is inadequately used and much wasted. In such a department professional knowledge should be made the criterion of service. It is complained that the city can bear no new unnecessary burdens. Perhaps not at once, but it is well to remember that an efficient, honest, economical government in the past would not have placed upon the city a debt which constantly confronts every desirable expenditure to-day. If this city had received value for its outlays all of these adornments and helps to life might have been successfully and easily supported.

Reform has the power and the people's confidence. Let it strengthen that by advancing our city's life, by making it independent, by familiarizing itself with common needs, and imposing no limits to the equality of its treatment of poor and rich quarters, while it infuses a new aspect of pleasure into the street and public life of every one, and Tammany, as it was with its 108,000 blind followers, will become irrecoverably dead.

L. P. GRATACAP.

AN AUTOMATIC VS. A FIAT CURRENCY.

BY E. L. RECTOR.

IN ORDER to determine the relative merits of an automatic or a fiat system of currency, we are first led to inquire, What is money?—and this inquiry is intimately connected with the subject of exchange or commercial values, with which alone money has to do.

After having determined the essential nature and functions of money, the student is prepared to consider the methods, limitations, and securities, proper and necessary for its issuance, distribution, and circulation.

John Ruskin has perhaps given as accurate and comprehensive a definition of money as has yet been formulated. He says: "All money, properly so called, is an acknowledgment of debt."*

Again he says: "All money is a divisible title deed, of immense importance as an expression of right to property, but absolutely valueless as property itself." These seemingly paradoxical definitions are, in fact, but simple statements of axiomatic truths. This becomes apparent from an analysis of exchange values, which represent the exchange price of labor, or its products—labor itself being a merchantable commodity. When there is an exchange of commodities the balance is usually paid in money, or an obligation for money, or, as is often the case, a commodity may be exchanged entirely for money. As money, in itself, satisfies no human want, and gratifies no human taste or desire, the question becomes pertinent, Why do we exchange a useful article for one we cannot use?

The person to whom I sell a valuable commodity, and from whom I get no valuable commodity in return, is evidently my

* "Sesame and Lilies," p. 172.

debtor for the value of the commodity sold. This indebtedness may be evidenced in several ways: (1) He may give me his promissory note payable on demand, or in the future; (2) he may give me an order on some one else for the value of the commodity, as a draft, or bill of exchange; or (3) he may pay me the value of the commodity in money. In either case, I have become a creditor, to the extent of the value of the article sold, either of the individual with whom I dealt or of the community or nation at large.

But it has been contended that metallic money is a commodity of value, and that the transactions into which it enters are only barter of so many grains or ounces of metal, for other commodities; in other words, that they are only exchanges of commodities. The fallacy of this contention is apparent, when we consider that the precious metals cease to be commodities when coined into money, and that the coins have no commodity value as articles of commerce, while they circulate as money. I take the coins, not for any use I can put them to, but simply with a view of exchanging them for something I desire and can use; and as long as they can be so exchanged—in other words, as long as they are current—they are simply evidences of credit, like the negotiable note, or bill of exchange, and, like them, they are also acknowledgments of debt. If I am creditor some one else is debtor to an equal amount.

Taking this definition, then, as established, that money is simply an acknowledgment of debt, or an evidence of credit, it is important next to notice the distinctions between this public general credit represented by money and the special individual credit represented by negotiable paper. And first we notice that these special obligations are computed in terms of the public credit. Their covenants are for money, and their penalties and forfeitures are to be settled in money. Thus money forms the basis of most obligations and contracts, and its influence and effects extend far beyond the range of its actual circulation. In the progress of civilization, the primitive barter system has been superseded by the credit system, which now monopolizes and dominates all the avenues of trade, both

domestic and foreign. Another important distinction between money and all other evidences of credit is, that contract obligations are secured by and enforceable against the capital and resources of the obligors; while there is no contract obligation, either of the government or of individuals, to make good the public credit represented in money.

The bonds of the government—the contract obligations of a sovereign state to pay its debts—cannot be enforced, and may be repudiated; and yet the moral and legal obligation to pay exists; but in reference to the money coined, or issued, by the government, it incurs no debt, and assumes no obligation, in its issuance. It neither guarantees its value nor its circulation. It simply certifies to the denomination and genuineness of the money token. It claims no ownership in the money. It acts not for itself, in its corporate capacity, in issuing it, but for its citizens. In view of these facts, the assertion that the credit of the government and the wealth of the nation guarantee and secure its irredeemable, inconvertible paper currency is simply absurd.

There are two vital questions in regard to money, upon which economists and financiers are not yet agreed. The first is as to what determines its value. The second is as to how its value is secured. The first question is of vastly more importance and far wider application than the second, because practically all evidences of credit are expressed in terms of money, while but a small percentage of outstanding credit is actually evidenced by money.

The correctness of the automatic or of the fiat system of currency is determined by the answer to these two questions. An automatic currency is one based upon specific securities deposited either in the currency itself or in the national treasury; and the value of the currency is regulated and determined by the value of the security on which it is based. A fiat currency, on the contrary, is not based on any specific security, but acquires its value from the certificate of the government, whose stamp, coupled with its arbitrary fiat that it shall be a legal tender for all debts, alone gives it value as a

evidence of credit, without regard to the material upon which it is impressed, and without any security or guarantee. There has never been, perhaps, a fair, practical test made of a purely automatic system of currency. Under the bimetallic single standard, with free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, we had the nearest approach to an automatic system, and yet, under that system, the attempt to establish and maintain a fixed ratio of value between gold and silver was in violation of the economic law upon which the system is based. This one arbitrary, fiat feature involved a surrender of the foundation principle on which the automatic theory rests, and was sufficient to destroy its practical success as a system of finance.

Under a purely automatic system, with free unlimited government coinage, the value of the coin would be determined by the commercial value of the metal it contains; this would be necessarily so, since the owner of bullion could put it in the shape of coin without any additional expense. While this is true, it is equally true that the government, by making the precious metals a standard of value and a security for credit, thereby increases their value by enlarging the demand for them, and thus giving them a wider utility.

In opposition to the automatic system, the advocates of the fiat theory of money contend that there is no law of economic or exchange value; that it is an ever-varying relation between different commodities; that it is the expression of a fluctuating ratio, a ratio as variable as man's desires and caprices, and altered by countless external and accidental circumstances that do not affect the commodities themselves; that the expressions, "intrinsic value," and "standard" or "unit of value" are therefore illogical and absurd; that a ratio cannot be measured, but may be numerically expressed; that the employment of a definite quantity of any commodity as a unit of value, as has hitherto been done in the monetary systems of the world, is fallacious and absurd in principle, and confusing, impractical, and ruinous in its consequences; because, the standard itself being subject to fluctuations in value, it cannot serve as a reliable expression or common denominator of values. They

contend that economic value is not a property inherent in things, but is an ideal relation, or ratio, between things, and that hence the term "intrinsic value," as applied to metallic money, is meaningless.

This theory of economic value is clearly in the main correct; and the verbal criticisms of current financial terms are to some extent just; nor do we question the importance of accuracy in the use of terms, especially in a system so complicated and abstruse as the credit system. But as shown above, under an automatic system of free and unlimited coinage, the metal in the coin serves a double purpose. (1) It determines the value of the credit stamped upon the coin. (2) It serves as security for that value. The beauty of this automatic standard is that the *value* and the *security* of the coins are automatically adjusted, and vary together. And when we reflect that the precious metals are practically indestructible, and are constantly accumulating in volume through the ages, we see that the fluctuations in amount, of the annual product of the mines, can have but a very slight and ever-diminishing effect upon these vast aggregate accumulations of all time. And the contention that the fluctuations in value of the precious metals during recent years is due far more to arbitrary legislation than to natural causes is well supported by a reference to the financial history of the world during the past twenty-five years.

It is not claimed that the automatic system is a perfect system, nor that the metallic standard of values is an invariable and perfect standard; but when the advocates of the fiat theory propose to substitute for it a purely arbitrary and ideal standard of value, on which they propose to base a perfect monetary system, we shall do well to pause before we cut loose from our old metallic anchors and float into this shoreless ideal sea.

We are first led to inquire, What is an ideal standard of value? Does it belong to the realm of fact or of fiction? Has it any meaning; or can it have any real, practical existence? We may get some light upon this question by an argument from analogy. By the specific gravity of a body we mean its density, or the ratio of its weight to its magnitude. We have

no uniform law for determining the specific gravity of bodies, any more than we have for determining their exchange value.

On the theory of the fiatists, we should not take the specific gravity of water as the unit in which to express the specific gravity of all other bodies, but we should take as our standard an abstract ideal unit of specific gravity. Let us take the abstract numeral one as such unit. Now, I ask you, what is the specific gravity of lead, or of water, expressed in terms of our ideal unit? In order to determine the specific gravity of these bodies, we must compare them with our standard of specific gravity, and if that standard has no specific gravity there is no ground of comparison. If we knew the specific gravity of one body, by comparison with it we could compute the specific gravity of all bodies. But, with our arbitrary ideal standard, we can never compute the specific gravity of a single body in the universe. The same argument applies with equal force to an ideal standard, or unit, of value. Economic or commercial value attaches only to concrete realities; it is not a property of abstract numbers. And values cannot be expressed in terms of something that has no value. If "all reasoning is a comparison of *related* ideas," then the fiat theorists have gotten beyond the domain of human reason. But the arbitrary ideal standard of value is advocated upon another hypothesis, before which the beautiful, metaphysical, mystical theory of an absolute, unchanging ideal unit of values melts into thin air.

It is claimed that their arbitrary unit of exchange value, which does not represent the exchange value of anything in the heavens above or in the earth beneath, becomes definite in the concrete volume of credit to which it is applied. In other words, that the value of the unit is determined by the number of units issued; and that this value varies inversely with the volume of the circulating currency. It is claimed that the government, by regulating the volume of money, can keep the standard practically uniform and unvarying; thus giving it an immense advantage over the present variable metallic standard, affected, as it is, by every fluctuation in the commercial value of the precious metals.

This phase of the fiat theory finds an able champion in Senator J. P. Jones, of Nevada. It is plausible and easily understood, but the difficulty lies in its practical application. In the first place, the money or certificates of credit issued by the government would only constitute a small per cent of the outstanding evidences of credit, and there would be no fixed or definite ratio between the money in circulation at any one time and the volume of credit, other than money, in existence at the same time. For this reason there would be no uniform ratio between the volume of business transacted and the volume of money in circulation.

In the second place, if this were not so, if all business were conducted on a cash basis, and all balances in exchange were paid in money—in other words, if all credit transactions were evidenced by the certificates of credit issued by the government—still the exigencies of trade, and the varying demand for money to settle balances in exchange, and the manipulations of speculators, in withdrawing money from circulation, and thus creating an artificial scarcity, would all conspire to produce far greater and more disastrous fluctuations in value of the money unit than under a purely automatic system.

From the foregoing considerations, we conclude that the defects of an automatic system of currency would only be exaggerated by permitting the government or any combination of governments to arbitrarily issue irredeemable, inconvertible certificates of credit to circulate as money.

If an automatic currency is the best and most practical that has yet been devised or suggested, the question arises, What hope is there of escape from the ruinous succession of booms and panics, of speculations and failures, which have with monotonous uniformity marked the progress of modern industrial development, and strewn its pathway with wrecks?

As far as the national currency is responsible for these disasters, the obvious remedy is to make it strictly automatic, both in the method of its issuance and of its circulation. As we have seen, this is impossible under the bimetallic single standard. There being no fixed or uniform ratio of value

between the metals, the effort to arbitrarily establish and maintain such ratio is not only futile, but leads to endless complications and business demoralization.

It arms the government with the arbitrary power, by its legislative edict, to at any time destroy the equities of time contracts, to disturb the regular channels of industry, and to disorganize and derange the industrial enterprises in which the capital of the country is vested, and thus involve the investors in bankruptcy and ruin. No such arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible power should ever be intrusted to human ignorance and frailty.

There are but two ways in which an automatic currency can be secured, viz: (1) To adopt a monometallic standard of value, either gold or silver, or (2) to adopt and legalize a double standard of value, making each metal independent of the other, giving to the coins of one a different denomination from those of the other, and making both a legal tender in payment of debts or penalties. Legal fines, penalties, and forfeitures could be fixed and stated in the coins of either metal, with the proviso that they might be settled in coins of the other metal, of equivalent exchange value. Contracts should be legally satisfied, either in the coins stipulated for or in coins of the other metal of equivalent exchange value.

This plan of a double standard, embracing both metals, has been suggested and outlined before; and its entire feasibility and practicability have been shown. Prof. H. A. Scomp, in an able article, published in the January number, 1895, of *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*, points out in detail the practical working of such a system. If this theory of a double standard of values be untenable, I have seen no serious argument designed to establish that fact, possibly because it is easier to ignore it than to refute it. It may be that it smacks too much of conservatism and conciliation for these radical, revolutionary times. Whatever its merits, it comes with the olive branch of peace. It offers to the warring factions of gold and silver a basis of compromise that is absolutely impartial and unquestionably just and fair. It demands no concessions from the

one that are not required of the other. The character of its claim and the spirit of its mission demand for it a patient and an earnest hearing. It is the last and only hope of an automatic bimetallic currency.

Gold and silver hold their place in our currency by the same right. Their claims are equal. Their average value, utility, importance, and availability as standards of value and as security for credit, throughout the world, are about the same. In native strength and in popular favor they stand about equally matched. As twin giants they have come down the centuries hand in hand, and upon their powerful shoulders they have together borne the burden of the modern credit system, and rendered possible the stupendous commercial and material development of modern times. They are the twin pillars on which the automatic system rests, and no folly more blind and suicidal could be devised or conceived than that of pitting them against each other, and thereby compassing the overthrow of one or both as a standard of money, and with them the downfall of the automatic system.

But the advocates of gold and silver respectively, while claiming to be bimetallicists, have abandoned the true theory of bimetallicism and ignored its essential conditions.

Both sides advocate on the part of the government an arbitrary interference with and regulation of the value of the legalized currency, while at the same time preserving some of its automatic features. Both abandon the principle of a self-regulating, self-securing, automatic currency, and both accept and advocate, either avowedly or unconsciously, fiat doctrines.

If the fiat theory is correct, then the gold standard, or the silver standard, or the gold and silver standards, are all equally fallacious and absurd. But if the automatic theory is correct, if unsecured acknowledgments of debt or promises to pay are without any market value, if the evidences of credit, either public or private, depend entirely for their commercial value upon the specific securities on which they are based—then these opposing champions of gold and of silver are sacrificing for a

temporary and insignificant advantage the fundamental principle upon which their contention rests.

The controversy between the advocates of gold and of silver has impressed upon the minds of those who are outside of the trenches and neither blinded nor deafened by the smoke and roar of the conflict, the truth of the following propositions :

(1) That either gold or silver, or the two metals together, are for many reasons better adapted than anything else to be used as a standard of values in an automatic system of currency.

(2) That these two metals are about equally adapted to this purpose, neither having the advantage of the other.

(3) That by a long series of legislative tinkering, gold has become the standard of value in our financial system, supplemented by nearly one billion dollars of silver and paper legal tender fiat money.

(4) That the present agitation is narrowing down to an issue of gold or silver monometallism—an issue in which the debtor and creditor classes and the mine-owners are chiefly concerned.

(5) That above and beyond the special pleas of special classes, the question for disinterested statesmanship is not whether we shall have a single gold or a single silver standard, but whether we shall have a single standard of either metal or a double standard embracing both metals automatically and impartially.

In seeking an answer to this question, we are led to inquire, What advantages would we derive from the free and unlimited coinage of our silver bullion into lawful money, in coins of different denominations from gold coins, and with no fixed ratio between them ?

By thus making it a security for our circulating credit, we would increase the demand for, and value of, our silver bullion. We would thus create a home market for one of our important products. The effect would be either to stimulate the productive development of the country and accelerate the accumulation of wealth or to supersede the European gold that has been so largely invested here, and to pay off our foreign debts and make us independent of our foreign creditors. I will not stop to discuss the desirability of such a result. I am simply

attempting to state the logical effect of the adoption of a double metallic standard.

But the free coinage of silver on the plan suggested would be a far greater and more universal boom, by enlarging the basis on which our credit system rests, and thus making it more difficult for speculators to corner the money market, and thereby manipulate and control prices of commodities generally.

It has been estimated, by calculations based upon the relative quantity and cost of production of the two metals, that the world's supply of silver is about equal in aggregate value to its supply of gold. Thus by making both the basis of our circulating currency, the foundation of our credit system is doubly secure.

We now have a credit business of ten times the volume of the circulating currency, which is made possible through modern banking and exchange facilities.

The larger the percentage of cash used in floating this immense volume of business, the safer and more conservative the business will be; the less subject to inflation it will be; the less danger there will be of reckless speculation; the less risk there will be of abnormal depressions and sudden panics; in short, the healthier and more prosperous it will be.

The present enormous volume of credit being mostly evidenced by contract obligations redeemable in current money, and there being perhaps not one tenth enough money in circulation to redeem outstanding contracts, there is a great temptation to create an artificial scarcity of money by withdrawing it from circulation; and thus to squeeze the debtor classes and compel a sacrifice of valuable collateral securities; and hence the more nearly a business can be conducted on a cash basis, the safer and more satisfactory it is. From which we conclude, the larger the volume of sound money in circulation, in proportion to the volume of business, the safer and healthier is the industrial condition of the community.

There is another class of currency, which has long been in use, which performs many of the functions of money, and which is often confused in the public mind with money. This

is known as bank-note circulation. These notes not being legal tender for all debts, and being redeemable in money on demand, are not money. Even though their payment be secured by the guarantee of the government, they are only negotiable paper, or contract obligations, which may be enforced against the obligors, and when secured, the security is collateral to the obligation. The obligation is for money, and the security is not money.

But under an automatic system the coin is simply worth its weight in the metal it is coined from. It claims nothing else. It calls for nothing else, and it secures exactly what it calls for.

It is important to keep these distinctions in mind when we come to consider the various propositions to invest this class of currency with all the attributes of money by making it a full legal tender for all purposes. This is usually proposed to be done through a system of government loans, either upon a deposit of property in pledge, as in the sub-treasury scheme, or upon a deposit with the government of collateral securities, such as stocks, bonds, mortgages, etc.

This scheme of fiat money is perhaps presented in its best form and placed in its clearest and most attractive light by Mr. James E. Hill, of Chicago, in his scheme of government banking. His plan, in brief, is to receive the people's money on deposit in the government banks, paying three per cent interest per annum on long-time deposits, and to loan it out on collateral securities at four per cent interest per annum, loaning only half the cash value of the security. Under this plan, the money could be redeposited and reloaned as often as borrowers could be found who would put up the required security. Checks covering the amount deposited would be given to each depositor. These checks Mr. Hill proposes to make a legal tender in payment of all debts. In other words, he would invest them with all the functions of money. He would thus create a legal currency capable of indefinite expansion, and based on ample collateral security. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the propriety or the practicability of the government receiving the people's money on deposit and loaning it out on deposited securities. We will assume for the purposes of this

argument that this is all right. We will suppose that Mr. Hill's dream is realized, and that all the money in circulation and that has been coined or issued is deposited in the government banks. That by a succession of deposits and loans ten times the amount of money deposited has been loaned out, and that the government has issued deposit checks, or orders on itself, for this amount; and that these checks are put in circulation as money, and invested by law with all the functions of money. These checks are an obligation, on the part of the government, to pay on demand a certain amount of gold and silver, and a certificate that it has this gold and silver on deposit. The certificate is false and the obligation impossible of fulfillment. The government has given an order on itself for ten times the amount of money in its possession, or within its jurisdiction; as it holds all the money of all its citizens on deposit. There are only two ways of escape from the dilemma in which it has placed itself. The one is to hawk its securities in foreign markets, and sell the property of its citizens to foreigners and aliens. The other is to repudiate its obligations. The latter alternative would of course be adopted. The government has premeditatedly undertaken an impossibility, with the easy outlet of escape through repudiation in full view.

It is true the government would hold a mortgage lien on nearly or quite half of the permanent wealth of the nation. This wealth is of presumably greater value than the government checks circulating upon it. The owners of this wealth, having parted with these checks, could not perhaps redeem at foreclosure sale. The circulating checks being invested by the fiat of the government with the purchasing and debt-paying power of money, the holders of them might not care to invest in these forfeited securities, and the government might have to buy them in. In which case the government might, in the course of time, become the owner of a large property, which it would have to employ and operate in some way to get a revenue out of it and to pay the expense of taking care of it. Thus the government would soon be converted into a huge industrial corporation, in competition with its citizens. In the

meantime the government checks would flow in for redemption even more rapidly as the security dwindled away, until repudiation became general. Gold and silver would entirely vanish in the presence of this fictitious money, and universal bankruptcy would speedily follow. I have said that these results might follow the adoption of this scheme. And I think the picture I have drawn would far more likely be realized than the glowing one presented by Mr. Hill. My predictions, I think, are based upon the broadest experience and soundest logic. An automatic currency represents paid-up credit. It represents an investment of property values in credit. The commodity value of the metals is incorporated and absorbed in the credit; it is not collateral to it. While the credit exists there is no commodity value.

But in the supposed issue of government checks only one tenth of them would rest upon property values transmuted into credit. The balance would be an unrealized credit, advanced upon the faith of future accumulations and accretions of value, to be created and added to the wealth of the community. The title and possession of the property represented by the deposited securities remains with the depositor. He has parted with and turned over to the public no property values upon which he is entitled to draw his checks. He has simply put up a forfeit in case he fails to make and replace the values he draws out of the community. The whole scheme is a sort of national gambling on the future. It is not contemplated that the checks will be paid by foreclosure and sale of the securities. If such were the usual result, the whole thing would be a practical failure. Such a scheme depends, for its safety and success, upon an uninterrupted flow of business prosperity. The history of the past does not justify such a hope. Man is ever too sanguine and confident in his anticipations. He is ever too ready to risk the accumulations of the past upon the doubtful ventures of the future. The government, in giving him the opportunity to indulge this propensity, might be only aiding him to compass his own ruin. A too great inflation of business may be as disastrous as a too great contraction. The pendulum of trade is forever vibrating between these two extremes.

We are prone to forget that demand is as important a factor in the commercial world as supply; and so-called *unproductive consumption* plays as important a part in the realm of trade as *reproductive capital and labor*. If all men lived on bread and water, and dressed in corresponding style, and devoted all their wealth to reproduction, there would soon be no market for their products, and commerce would be dead.

One of the greatest evils in our modern social development is that we worship the god Mammon. Our lot has been cast in a mercenary age. The accumulation of wealth is pursued as an end in itself, rather than as a means to the intellectual and moral development and elevation of the race.

In what has been said it is not intended to condemn the use of a bank-note circulation, as a means of mobilizing credit, when issued under proper limitations and restrictions, and used as an auxiliary to, and not as a substitute for, money. Our national bank notes furnish a limited currency of this class. One of the chief objections to the national bank notes is that they are too restricted to be of great practical importance. In the first place they are only issued upon deposits of government bonds in the national treasury, which furnish a limited and ever-narrowing basis of security. In the second place, they are issued for private corporations, which are also banks of deposit, and receive and use other people's money without paying interest or giving security, and are therefore directly interested in issuing a minimum, instead of a maximum, of secured notes.

The crying evil of modern banking is this vicious system of unsecured deposits. The people at large are virtually compelled to loan their money without interest and without security to these banking corporations, whose real status as trustees for their depositors is not recognized in law, nor their obligations and duties as such enforced. Leaving out of view the temptation to dishonesty, there remains the temptation to wild and reckless speculation in doubtful investments, without any legal or even conscious moral responsibility. For illustration, we will suppose that a bank has one hundred million

dollars of paid-up stock, and ten hundred million dollars of deposits. The opportunity of loaning or investing these deposits at a profit of ten per cent per annum would enable the bank to double its original capital stock each year. In taking the risk, it is balanced, not against the legitimate interest, but against the immense profits to the bank involved in the transaction. The moral responsibility as trustees is scarcely ever considered. Weak human nature is beset at its most vulnerable point. The gambling instinct grows stronger with every successful venture, until prudence and discretion are swept away, in the alluring game of chance, played with the money of depositors, who set up the stakes, pay all the losses, and get none of the profits. And this process is termed "legitimate speculation." It might often more aptly be styled "legalized gambling."

In criticising the vices of the banking system, no reflection is intended upon those who are engaged in it, as a class, nor is it implied that many banking institutions are not conducted on strictly prudent and conservative business principles. These, as well as all other legitimate business enterprises, are, through the defects of the system, placed at the mercy of visionary, reckless, and unscrupulous adventurers, who are enabled to inflate business, and to divert it from its legitimate channels, and thus to precipitate financial panics and universal bankruptcy, involving all in a common ruin. A system which furnishes the opportunity and the temptation to such abuses is radically and inherently defective and wrong. When we reflect that the banks are the general depositories of the money of the world, and the chief agencies through which it circulates, that the great business enterprises of all countries are conducted to a large extent upon borrowed capital, and that the bank is the usual intermediary between the borrower and the lender, and that the money of the world flows through its vaults in a constant stream, we cannot fail to see that a currency, absolutely secured in its issuance, may become utterly insecure through the medium of its circulation.

As the business of the world is now organized, the banks are

a necessity. They are an indispensable part of the machinery of modern commerce. They give to trade a flexibility, elasticity, and expansive power it could not otherwise attain. Their universal convenience and utility are generally recognized. The one great unsolved problem is how to make them safe and secure as the custodians and trustees of the people's money.

Our hybrid system of national banks, with their secured circulating notes and their unsecured deposits, and with their partial and inadequate government supervision, has signally failed to furnish a solution to this problem.

There is now a widespread desire to do away with the deposit of government bonds as a security for bank note issues, and a formidable effort, originating with the head of the executive department of the government, has been made to eliminate these securities entirely, and thus take away the limited and partial protection and security they afford, and leave the people entirely helpless and unprotected to the mercy of these powerful corporations.

There is a disposition in many quarters to turn to the government for financial relief and protection, and to seek security through government monopoly and control of the entire banking business of the nation. This scheme, if practicable at all, could only be made so by a radical change in the systems of banking now in vogue. The government, in undertaking to circulate the people's money, should act in the capacity of agent and trustee, through bonded officers, under prescribed rules, and strict supervision and rigid accountability. The profits, after paying the expenses of the system, should all go to the depositors, and they should also bear the losses, when not due to the fault or negligence of the agent, just as in other cases of principal and agent. The miserable fiction of regarding the bank as the owner of the depositors' money, or as a kind of independent executor, without bond and with unlimited discretionary power, should be abolished, and something more fair and just and reasonable should take its place. This is a question of no little difficulty. It is a question of vast importance. It is a question of protection and security for the property rights of the people.

It is a question of justice between man and man. It is a question that demands a patient and careful study. It should be studied in a calm, conservative, disinterested, non-partisan, and patriotic spirit. While the natural laws of free trade and free and fair competition should be respected, the higher and eternal laws of justice and righteousness should be maintained and enforced, at whatever temporary sacrifice or inconvenience.

The prosperity and safety of our credit system is gauged by the extent of public confidence in the ultimate redemption of its outstanding evidences of credit; this ultimate redemption is always in valuable commodities—in the wealth of the nation. The negotiability of credit finds its most complete and flexible application in money, which is virtually redeemed and reissued in every purchase made with it.

As we have seen, the negotiability or currency of money, and hence its value, depends upon the security on which it rests, or is supposed to rest. The public may be deceived as to this security, and money may thus acquire a fictitious value; but like the house that was built upon the sand, the first financial storm that strikes it will sweep it away.

E. L. RECTOR.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.*

BY W. DUDLEY FOULKE.

OF ALL the systems of electoral reform, the cumulative vote is that which is the best known and has been most often adopted. It has been used in the municipalities of Pennsylvania, in the school boards of England, and in the House of Representatives in Illinois. It has been practiced in the elections in the Cape of Good Hope, after an experience of more than thirty years. In Illinois the state has been so divided that from each senatorial district three members of the House of Representatives are elected. The voters may cast for each of the three candidates three votes, or they may divide their suffrages so as to give three votes for any one candidate, or two for one, one for another, or one and a half votes to each of two candidates. The result has been that in every district in the state the minority party, whether Republican or Democratic, has at least one representative in the legislature. Under this system the party having a majority can always elect two out of the three, and if the minority have more than one quarter of the votes they can elect one member. This system of cumulative voting has been in use in that state ever since 1872. There has been abundant opportunity for ascertaining its merits and defects. Mr. M. N. Forney, the secretary of the New York association, undertook an elaborate investigation of the effects of this system, sending to every part of the state inquiries as to its practical operation. The replies showed that the system secured representation to minorities of more than one quarter, that there was little difficulty in its practical operation, that it lessened the evils of the gerrymander, and led the people to take more interest in public affairs. It made a change of representation easier to accomplish, and by giving a more just rep-

* Address delivered before the American Proportional Representation League, at its meeting in Saratoga, August 27.

representation to both parties in each district it lessened party bitterness.

But the voter must designate on his ticket how his votes were to be distributed, and he might miscalculate. If each voter in the majority party should divide his votes among all three candidates and the minority party should combine upon two, it might happen that the minority would elect two members and the majority only one. In other words, to secure a proper result, each party must estimate with reasonable correctness its own strength before the election. The cumulative system permits proportional representation, but it does not secure it. Moreover, it occasionally happens that when a very popular man is nominated an undue proportion of votes are concentrated upon him and the remaining candidates are elected by a minority. The difficulty is that a voter cannot tell when he is casting more votes than is needed for his favorite. This difficulty is greatly increased where there are more than three candidates in one constituency. For instance, in an election in England for the Finsbury School Council, where there were six members to be chosen and fifteen candidates, the six elected received 27,000, 10,000, 8,000, 6,000, and 6,000 respectively, and the defeated candidates 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 3,000, and 1,000. This result shows that the representation was not proportional, and that there were a great number of superfluous votes cast for the first candidate. The cumulative vote is a system of minority representation, but not a system of proportional representation. The present system allows minorities no representation at all. The cumulative system allows these their proper representation if they calculate their chances correctly. Certainly this is a great gain, but it is far from perfect.

The contrivance next to be considered is what is called the limited vote. A number of candidates are elected from a single district and each elector is permitted to vote for a certain proportion of these—say two out of three, or three out of five. Where there are two parties only it is evident that this also will give a representation to a minority of sufficient size. The plan was tried for some time in England in the election of certain

members of Parliament. It was also put into operation in Brazil. The natural effect of this vote is to prevent the formation of more than two principal parties in any one district. The voter is still constrained in his choice, and the system after some years of trial in England was abandoned.

Another arrangement has been proposed to secure representation approximately proportional. It is known as the Burnitz system, or the graduated vote. A number of members are elected from each district; each voter may vote for any number of candidates he pleases (not exceeding the number to be elected) and may indicate his preferences by figures placed opposite the names of each, 1, 2, 3, etc. His first choice will count for a full vote; his second choice for half a vote, and his third choice for one third of a vote, etc. In counting the votes his first, second, and third preferences are counted separately. The total number of his first preferences is left undivided, the second preference votes are divided by two, the third by three, etc. The quotients thus obtained for each candidate are added together and their sum will be his elective quotient. Candidates having the highest elective quotient are declared elected. The system is a simple one and it secures a far better proportional representation than the cumulative vote in most cases; but still under this system it is occasionally possible for the minority party to elect a majority of the candidates. Let us suppose a district casting 10,000 votes, with three candidates to elect. The Republicans cast 5,500 votes and the Democrats 4,500. The candidates of the Republican party are A, B, and C. The candidates of the Democratic party are D, E, and F. A is the first choice upon the Republican ticket and receives 5,500 votes. B is the second choice and receives 2,750; C is the third choice and receives 1,375. On the Democratic ticket the voters divide their first choice votes between D and E. D therefore will receive one half of the first choice Democratic vote, 2,250, plus one half of the second choice, 1,125. His total will therefore be 3,375. The total of E will be the same, 3,375; F will be third choice on all the tickets and will receive one third of 4,500 votes, or 1,500 votes. Now it is evident that A, D, and E are elected

—that is, one Republican and two Democrats from a constituency returning a majority of Republican votes. Such a contingency in practical experience is quite improbable; but something approximating this may occasionally occur where there is a favorite candidate of one of the parties who is likely to receive nearly all the first preference votes.

The fourth system which we shall consider is that proposed by Mr. Sladowsky of Prague. In this the number of members of the representative assembly is changeable. The majority of the electors will choose a fixed number of representatives, and supplemental members will be added for the minority in the ratio which their votes bear to those of the majority, each party being proportionally represented. Suppose there are fifty members to elect to the legislative body, the Republicans cast 5,000 votes, the Democrats 4,500, and the Populists 1,000. The fifty Republican members will be elected. Forty-five Democratic members will be added and ten Populist members. The system is simple enough and it secures proportional representation; but it is hardly applicable to American institutions, where the number of the representative body is usually fixed by the constitution and not subject to change at each election.

The fifth method proposed may be designated as the proxy system. By this system each elector votes for some person to be his proxy in the legislature. A certain number of votes are necessary to enable the member to take his seat. Every member is then to have a voting power in the legislature equal to the number of votes given to him. Persons who had received votes below the minimum might transfer these either to a party having more than a minimum or to make up the quota of one who had received less. But one objection would remain. Two or three very popular members might perhaps constitute a majority of the legislature, and even a single one might hold in his hands the entire legislative power. This would destroy the deliberation which we consider necessary in legislative bodies.

The three remaining systems proceed upon the principle of electing a considerable number of representatives from one constituency, or where the number to be elected is not too large the

entire state may be regarded as one constituency. The entire vote cast is divided by the number of representatives to be elected, and the quotient represents the quota of votes necessary to secure an election. Suppose there are ten candidates in a constituency casting 11,000 votes; then any candidate who receives 1,100 votes or more is entitled to a seat. Indeed, to be mathematically accurate, even a less number of votes will entitle a candidate to the place. If he receives more than one eleventh of the entire vote cast—that is, more than 1,000 votes, the remainder will be less than 10,000 and no other ten men can have votes amounting to as much as 1,000 each. To secure them a quota mathematically correct, divide the number of votes by the number of candidates to be elected plus one and add one to the quotient. This will give the proper electoral quota of each member. Among those who do not receive a full quota, the candidates having the greatest number of votes are necessarily elected to the remaining places. The three systems which we are now to consider, the Hare system, the Gove system, and the Swiss system, apply this principle of the quota in different ways. The great problem in each case is to prevent the waste of votes. If a candidate receives more votes than his quota, what is to be done with the surplus?

The system proposed by Mr. Hare in England is the single transferable vote. The vote is given for one candidate whom we will call A, and under his name is placed the name of the second choice, B, and under the name of the latter the third choice, C, and so on as far as the elector desires. If A has more than a quota, the surplus votes are transferred in the first place to B. If B has more than a quota, then to C, etc. If A has not sufficient votes to elect him, the transfer is made in a like manner to B and C. Thus nearly every vote becomes effective. This system was proposed many years ago by Mr. Andrae of Denmark, and was introduced into the electoral system in that country, where it is still in successful operation. The difficulty lies in determining which of the votes cast for A shall be counted for him, and which of them shall be set free to make up the quota of B, C, etc. When the votes are all opened and counted in one

place, this question is determined by the order in which they are drawn from the ballot-boxes. Each vote is numbered as it is drawn out, and those which are first drawn for the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes are counted for him. Then his name is erased from the remaining ballots. The like process is repeated with the candidate who receives next to the highest number of votes, and so on until all those who have received a full quota are declared elected. Then the judges of election begin at the other end. They take the candidate who receives the lowest number of votes and cannot be elected. His name is erased and his ballots are transferred to the second choice of the electors who voted for him, the names of candidates already elected being disregarded. This process is now repeated with the candidate having next to the lowest number of votes, and so on until the list is exhausted. All those receiving quotas are then declared elected, and those receiving the highest number of votes less than the quota fill the remaining places.

The system proposed by Mr. Gove of Massachusetts is a very simple one. It is much the same in substance as the method suggested by Ernest Saville for elections in France and by Mr. Baily for the cumulative vote. Each elector votes for one candidate only, and each candidate at a prescribed time before the election publishes a list of the other candidates to whom he wishes to transfer any ineffective votes cast for himself. Every candidate who receives a quota is declared elected. Those who receive more than this and those who receive the least number of votes cast now cast their ineffective votes in favor of the candidates named in their published list, so far as this may be necessary to elect such candidates. The result is that representation is proportional and that there are very few wasted or ineffectual votes. The objection urged to the system is that it does not give the voter sufficient liberty of choice in determining for whom his ineffective vote shall be cast, and that when a candidate has received a large surplus which he has transferred to another, the person to whom these votes are transferred owes his election to and will be the political subordinate of the candidate transferring them.

The last plan which we shall consider is that of the competition or free list system, which has been adopted in the cantons of Ticino, Geneva, Neuchatel, and Zug in Switzerland, and is in most successful operation in these cantons. A bill introduced in our House of Representatives by Hon. Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, applies this system to congressional elections, and it may be applied in like manner to state and municipal elections. Each voter has as many votes as there are representatives to be chosen, and he may distribute them as he pleases among the candidates, giving one vote to each. The parties to which each of these candidates belong are separately designated by title in the ballot paper. Should the voter not use the entire number of votes to which he is entitled, his votes are counted for the party which he designates. Votes cast count individually for the candidates as well as for the parties. The sum of all the votes cast is divided by the number of members to be elected to give the quota of representation to each. Each party is entitled to as many members as it has quotas, and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes in each party ticket are the ones elected. After all the candidates receiving quotas are elected, those receiving the largest fractions of quotas fill the remaining places. This plan is as simple as the Australian ballot system, which it supplements. If any citizen desires to run as an independent candidate, a petition signed by one per cent of the voters constitutes a separate nomination and to that extent an independent party. If the voter does not wish to vote a particular ticket, he may vote simply for such candidates as he chooses. In this case his vote will not count in making up the quotas of the respective parties, but it will count in the choice of the candidates within those parties. The plan has already been tested by practical experience and found to be successful. Representation under it has been practically proportional. In Geneva last summer I asked from many sources whether the system was satisfactory and if there was any talk of repealing the law. The answer was uniform that the new plan gave entire satisfaction. "How can any one object to it," asked one of the officials, "when every voter has his fair share of representation?"

These are the systems whose comparative merits it is for you to discuss. Other modifications and suggestions will no doubt be made. Those systems are applicable to all elections to deliberative bodies, congressional, legislative, and municipal. To apply them to the legislatures of our various states some amendments will have to be made in the constitutions of several of these states. This is often a difficult matter; but for congressional elections and for city elections no such changes will be necessary. And it is in the administration of our municipal affairs that the adoption of these new methods, which are immediately applicable, will bear its most valuable and precious fruit. In municipal affairs there is little need for the predominance of any political party. Good business administration, with the interest and wishes of all classes of citizens proportionally represented, is the greatest need of our municipal government at the present time. Legislative and congressional reform will come later.

In conclusion, let me say if you do not believe in government of the people, then you ought not to advocate proportional representation, for the representatives which our system will give you will be the people themselves in miniature; they will be the image in the camera—every color, light, shadow, form, and motion all reproduced in miniature within the physical space necessary for deliberation and action. But if you have faith in our institutions, do not hesitate to trust that representation which will for the first time truly embody them.

W. DUDLEY FOULKE.

THE FOUNTAINS OF PATRIOTISM.

BY THOMAS E. DAVIS.*

“CIVICS,” which is the philosophy of civil government and politics, is something which ought to be largely taught to the American people. Side by side with financial economy, it should be made familiar to American youth, so that when they come to be men, charged with the public duties at least of voting, if not of holding office, they may have some intelligent conception of the principles of their governmental system, and some fair knowledge of the system upon which the finances of the country depend.

The lack of a proper knowledge of these important matters has entailed a vast amount of distress upon the people, and a perplexity and confusion in public finance from which to-day the entire country is suffering. Men with no knowledge of any national system by which a public revenue is raised, and who are ignorant of the functions and office of money, claim to be the leaders in the political philosophy of this country, and their crude theories and impracticable doctrines have greatly assisted to retard and prevent the relief which wise legislation and sound principles of national finance would have given the country.

But since those who are ignorant of these matters seek to control, and may possibly be able to force their notions upon the country, there is likely to result an experience which will do more than anything else to teach sound doctrine. Sometimes, when the wayward child insists on putting his finger in the flame of a lamp, and will listen to no advice from his elders, it is a good plan to permit him to get burned, in order that he may thoroughly learn a useful lesson.

But the whole science of civil government does not stop with public economics. There are matters such as patriotism, and

* Editorial staff of the *Picayune*, New Orleans.

the benefits due to the people from their governmental system, and the duties which the people owe to the government. These form an important part of civics, and they are being now taught in the schools of the country where, a few years ago, such themes were little heard.

But the writer finds in recent discussions of the origin and nature of patriotism a strong tendency to teach that it is a grand, heroic sentiment that grows out of the contemplation of nationality and the power and greatness of a country. This is all very fine; but it is not human. Men rise to the love of country through the love of home. The citizen reaches that quality after having first had his affections and interests aroused by the circumstances of the family. The country commences with the home, and the state begins with the family.

A man may entertain a just pride that he is a citizen of a great and powerful country; but if he have no home and family, there is but a slender foundation to his patriotism. A man who declares that the world is his home, and mankind his brothers, is organized on too vast a scale to accomplish anything useful in the small affairs of county, city, or state. Moreover, it is well known that the citizens of small and feeble countries are just as devoted in their patriotism as are those of great and powerful nationalities. This is particularly the case with mountaineers, whose patriotism is confined to the mountains that shelter their cots.

During the American war between the states the patriotism of the people was for their states first, and this was particularly so in the southern part of the country. The men who fought without pay, with scanty provisions and inferior munitions, were certainly as true types of patriots as were those who were provided with everything and had a powerful paternal government behind them.

But, to treat the matter more philosophically, if patriotism is the outgrowth of the fact that a man is a citizen of a great and powerful nation, and that he is an inheritor of all its prowess and glory won on the battle-field, where is the patriotism that fires and inspires men in the beginnings of those great countries?

When the thirteen American colonies set out, without prowess and before they had made any distinguished history or had gained any national glory, to found the great and powerful nation they created, where was their patriotism? They were fighting for home and rights, and nothing more. Were they not as devotedly patriotic as were the men who composed, more than a century later, the grand armies of the Union?

No, the consideration of the greatness and power of a nation all came afterwards. They had no part in the building of the nation. That important work was done by men fighting to preserve the integrity of their homes, fighting to protect and maintain their families. The men who fought for their humble cots were certainly not less devoted than were the men who had palatial residences and great wealth to protect, and not a few of these hired mercenaries to do the defending for them. Patriotism starts with the home, and the state or nation begins with the family, and any doctrine which proposes to rob the humble cottager on the lowly plain, or in the wild mountains, of the sentiment and inspiration born of the love of home and wife and children, is not only false civics, but it lowers the home and family life to the lowest place, whereas it must occupy the highest in the social system of civilized nations. When the home becomes of no consequence, and the nation is the paramount inspiration of patriotism, that country is near to the end of its greatness. When there is no longer any home love or home life, then the people, like those of Rome in its last days, are only concerned, not for what they can do for their country, but for what plunder they can get out of it.

THOMAS E. DAVIS.

THE DECADENCE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

BY SEYMOUR H. RANSOM.*

A GREAT deal is heard nowadays about the essentials of citizenship. The schoolboy declaims about it at commencement; the college graduate works it off in his baccalaureate oration; the pulpit grows tedious, the platform eloquent, the newspaper press voluminous, over the interesting theme. Men look wonderingly into one another's faces, and shake their heads ominously over the dangers that seem to threaten the republic. "The citizen should be educated," they declare with emphasis; "he should be taught to think, to feel, and to know about the questions of the day. Public sentiment should be awakened, the conscience of the community aroused, and the people made to realize that the very existence of republican government is imperiled—that unless an active, earnest, vigilant spirit shall take hold of the heart and head of our citizenship the American experiment with democracy will speedily end in failure and disgrace."

Such is the cry that greets the public ear and appeals, not altogether without reason, to the public understanding. Undoubtedly there is—as, indeed, there always has been—need of stern and sensible insistence upon the essentials of citizenship. Eternal vigilance is the price of American institutions as well as of liberty. Yet, granting the necessity of frequently emphasizing the safeguards of republican government, one may profitably consider some causes of the present discontent. Why is it that to-day we feel so intensely the pressing importance of intelligent citizenship? What forces have been working in the social and political life of the people of the United States to disturb them "like the sound of a fire bell in the night"?

In the early days of the republic the fathers were beset with

* Editorial staff of the *Philadelphia Record*.

difficulties as serious and were tortured by questions as critical as the questions and difficulties that face their children. They knew full well the perils of the experiment they were making, and they met the dangers frankly and fearlessly. They soon learned that the safety of the republic rests upon one never-to-be-forgotten principle—the participation of every freeman in the affairs of the nation. At the beginning of the century public questions were everywhere of imperative importance. Men discussed politics with interest and intelligence. In New England the “town-meeting” was the great educating force. There men of every class and condition met on terms of equality and talked over matters of local, state, and federal importance. The citizen was a thinking man; and his thought made and preserved the purest democracy, perhaps, that the world has ever known. In the South the “town-meeting” was absent; but another though different force was quite as active and beneficial as the New England institution. This was the lyceum, or the county court-yard, where an intense interest was taken in everything by everybody. Southerners have always felt at ease when set to talking. Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Pinckney, Macon, and Monroe mingled and talked to the people, grew familiar with their wants and wishes, and were in turn weighed, questioned, and studied by their countrymen. Every freeman in the community was as good as his neighbor; the idea that “all men are born equal” was peculiarly significant. Politics was a passion. Every one was interested in the questions of the day, and all spoke freely and frequently their opinions on the issues that came before the country. And so the people became thoroughly educated on all public questions, from a highway improvement to an international treaty.

A similar spirit of activity was manifest in the Middle States, though perhaps in a less marked degree. For in Pennsylvania and New York were first sown the seeds of “machine” or “boss” rule—seeds that have borne ample fruit in the political organizations which to-day disgrace these commonwealths, and which have made possible a system of government that strikes at the very root of free institutions by turning the citizen into a

piece of machinery and robbing him, as well as the state, of his individuality.

During the past half century new and disturbing factors have entered into the equation of our national life. The settlement of the great West sent the high-spirited sons of the Atlantic seaboard to seek homes west of the Allegheny and Rocky Mountains. To New England and the Middle States has come what to some might seem a dangerous horde of foreigners, while in the South has appeared a still greater menace in the rapidly multiplying negro population. Together with these changed conditions have come greater opportunities for money-making; and through this temptation the people have lost their interest in politics. They have grown too busy to attend the primary elections, to take part in the town-meeting, to keep closely in touch with their neighbors on the public square. The robust realism of our earlier, open-air life has at length given place to a hurly-burly, rush-and-go existence in which "the main chance" is the ruling factor. The result has been that while the people have progressed wonderfully from a material point of view, little has been gained in the science of government. Active interest in the questions of the day has been lost. It is an incontestable fact that many persons have become too elegant to soil their hands with anything so vulgar as practical politics. With this decline in individual activity the people have learned to believe that the government is a great organism quite apart and distinct from themselves, and that it can easily get along without their participation. Machine rule has come in and taken the place of personal influence. Democracy is ceasing to be a mass in which the individual citizen is the unit.

There is but one way to remedy this evil. The people must go back immediately and earnestly to the simpler, wiser, better ways of their fathers; they must again seek the old moorings from which they have drifted so far. They must remember that man is, after all, an intelligent being, and that when he surrenders his heaven-given individuality to a "machine" he forfeits the best and priciest privilege of democratic citizen-

ship. Above all, they must insist that from childhood even to old age the citizen shall carry with him an interest in the welfare of his country—for is not this the sum of patriotism?—and engage actively in every movement that concerns the township, city, county, state, or Union. He should remember that a land which was worth fighting for and dying for in the days of his fathers is surely worth living for in this later time. Political indifference should cease to be a habit. “While good men sit at home,” says George William Curtis, “not knowing that there is anything to be done, nor caring to know, cultivating the feeling that politics are tiresome and dirty, and politicians only vulgar bullies and bravadoes, half persuaded that a republic is the contemptible rule of a mob, and secretly longing for a strong man and a splendid and vigorous despotism—then remember it is not a government mastered by ignorance; it is a government betrayed by intelligence. It is not the victory of the slums; it is the surrender of the schools. It is not that bad men are politically shrewd; it is that good men are political infidels and cowards.” Is not this absence of interest the real cause of decadence in American citizenship?

SEYMOUR H. RANSOM.

A FINANCIAL PREDICAMENT.

BY HENRY B. RUSSELL.

IN AN article appearing in this review for the month of February, 1894, I undertook to state briefly some reasons for the opinion that this country with its existing foreign indebtedness could not maintain a gold standard of currency without a large measure of protection against imports of merchandise, unless issues of bonds were regularly resorted to; and that even such a remedial device, while affording temporary relief, would only aggravate the underlying difficulty and add to the seriousness of the ultimate collapse, inevitable if such a policy were long continued. The speculations I then made as to the future of the federal finances were based on the Wilson Bill as it was submitted by the Ways and Means Committee and on the further supposition that it would go into effect before June 1. The gravity of the situation was lessened by the extensive changes made in the Senate, and the modified law did not go into effect till August 27.

Yet these altered conditions, unforeseen by even the Democrats themselves, and by many still lamented, do not at all affect the general principles on which the statements made in this review last February were based. Some events since that time have brought into evidence the very influences therein described. In this paper I shall endeavor to call attention to some of these influences and make some calculations as to federal finances, under existing conditions of the new tariff, which for the sake of clearness and distinction from the original Wilson measure, I will call the Gorman Law.

We have some advantages in the way of certainties now which did not exist early in the year. Besides a new revenue law actually on the statute books, we have given the fact that the general currency balance on the day the Gorman Law went into effect

was \$126,498,130, of which \$54,969,305 was gold uncovered by outstanding certificates. In other words, with the gold reserve \$46,000,000 below what is regarded as a thoroughly safe limit and a general currency balance leaving a somewhat small margin of really available funds, the treasury was in no condition to stand a long period of losses following the enactment of the Gorman measure. What was needed and what the tariff reformers predicted was a decided improvement.

Another fact which we may count on with certainty is that the current fiscal year will not develop any lightness of money. When a commercial people have fallen into a panic the period of extrication is usually marked by an abundance of loanable funds. And this fact is of importance, as it tends to repel imports of specie, just as a high premium on money tends to attract specie this way.

We may also count upon federal expenditures of something over \$30,000,000 monthly. Under normal business conditions and under tried customs and internal tax regulations we might also calculate with reasonable accuracy upon a definite amount of revenue. But in the current process of slow and difficult recovery from business stagnation and under our untried revenue law, the revenue for the fiscal year becomes unfortunately one of the problematical factors in the case, as the differing predictions of the authorities of the treasury department show.

We may also expect in the latter half of the fiscal year the inevitable demand for bills of exchange, occasioned by remittances to pay dividends or interest on foreign investments in this country, and also by Americans going abroad.

With these certainties in mind we may note certain elements in our present situation which bear upon the case. At this writing the Gorman Law has been in effect one year, and we notice :

A considerable increase in the total value of imports of merchandise.

No very considerable increase in the revenue, and none possible at present without a greater increase in the value of imports.

A decrease in the volume and greater decrease in the value of exports of merchandise.

A decrease in the price of the principal exports.

An indisposition abroad to continue to invest in American securities.

The increased withdrawal instead of investment of the income from securities which foreigners already hold.

A rapid decline in the general cash balance in the treasury and no material increase in the gold reserve.

A firmness in the market for sterling exchange, very unusual at this season, resulting in some shipments of gold.

Every one of these features is embarrassing in view of present conditions. Hopefulness would require just the opposite tendencies. Some, if not all, must disappear before the situation can improve, and if they do not the government must resort to the temporary remedy of borrowing money, if not to pay current expenses, then to keep the gold reserve even in the impaired condition it now is. Such a remedy is a dangerous one, as I have said, for money derived from the issue of bonds which eventually go toward paying current expenses really differs little from the issuing of fiat money; indeed, it is somewhat worse in one respect, for the government has to pay a high rate of interest on it while securing no profit from seigniorage or otherwise.

The recent increase in the volume and value of imports of merchandise would not be a serious matter if the volume and value of exports increased correspondingly. Whatever may have been the theory on which the Gorman Law was constructed, it has not shown yet indications of that opening up to our industries the markets of the world so glibly promised in the oratorical stage of its development. There are reasons for fearing that the law will reduce the annual volume of our exports in one way and further reduce the value in another. The practical abrogation of the reciprocity treaties with South American countries must reduce exports to those countries, so increased in the short time in which the treaties were in working order, while our imports from those countries are of such a

nature that they will not decrease. Germany has also shown symptoms of retaliation.

But perhaps the most potent influence exerted against an increase in the value of American exports at present is the exceedingly low price of staples. In the ten years 1883-92, inclusive, the average annual excess of exports of merchandise over imports was \$67,631,465; of gold, \$8,610,271; of silver, \$12,072,675—total, \$88,314,411.* In spite of a large excess of exports of both merchandise and silver over imports, an excess of gold exports over imports was still required to square accounts, and this, too, during a period when European capitalists were making large investments in the securities of this country. So far as these securities were purchased with foreign capital, or so far as they were purchased by the regular earnings of previous investments in this country, they tended to depress the rates for sterling exchange and render exports of gold unnecessary. Yet they were necessary to an increasing extent in the face of increasing exports of merchandise.

If an excess of gold exports over imports was necessary under such conditions in a decade when the prices of our principal exports ruled nearly twice what they do now, their present necessity seems rationally established. The reduced price of our great staples is of the greatest importance in making calculations as to the effect of future commerce on our monetary relations. If that class of statesmen who advocate both a gold standard of currency and a low tariff and who by some economists of the classical variety are given the credit of knowing many things which practical men of business do not, have not taken into consideration the effect on our commerce and money of the reduced price of wheat and cotton, to say nothing of other largely exported commodities, they are likely to be somewhat amazed by the developments of the near future. It is quite true that such a decline in prices would seriously affect the value of exports under any customs law, but a lower tariff inviting imports, especially of articles the price of which has not proportionally declined, produces another disagreeable complica-

* United States Statistical Abstract, 1892.

tion, another adverse influence. Were it not for the fact that we as a people are greatly in debt to Europeans a balance of trade against us would be of little consequence. But as we are greatly in debt, it is of the most serious consequence.

During the decade which I have instanced (1883-92) the average price of No. 2 red winter wheat was 94 cents per bushel. It is now about 54 cents. The average annual exports of wheat for that decade were 130,000,000 bushels, so that the reduced price makes a difference of over \$50,000,000 a year in the value of an equal average of exports of a single cereal. When we couple with this loss the loss occasioned by the greatly reduced price of that other important export, cotton, it requires no further evidence to show that the balance of trade may regularly turn against us even if our imports do not increase in volume and value. And it should be borne in mind that unless our imports do increase largely the revenue so derived threatens to be insufficient.

It is, therefore, a very pertinent question—what we may expect both as regards revenue and the stock of gold, on which so much currency hangs, if the annual balance regularly shows up against us, when during the last ten years, with an average annual balance in the merchandise account in our favor of nearly \$70,000,000, we still exported more gold than we imported, the total excess, indeed, being considerably larger than our coinage of gold for those years.

That these adverse influences are working against us at present seems to be evident. Notwithstanding the extensive withdrawal of goods from the warehouses directly after the passage of the Gorman Bill, the total receipts of the treasury department from customs, internal revenue, and miscellaneous sources during the first month (September) amounted to only \$22,621,228, or an average of \$754,040 a day. The total receipts for the second month (October) were \$19,139,240, or an average of but \$637,974 a day. For both months the total receipts were \$41,275,589, an average of \$687,926 a day. The September expenditures were \$30,323,018, October, \$32,713,039, a total for the two months of \$63,036,057, or an average of \$1,050,600.

The deficiency for the two months, therefore, aggregates \$21, - 275,589, or \$354,600 a day. At such a rate the deficit for the current fiscal year would be over \$125,000,000.

Of course, such a state of things will not continue. The question is, How much will it improve? Three excuses are now made for the low revenues of September and October. They are :

(1) The oversupply of sugar imported free before the tariff law went into effect.

(2) The withdrawal of whisky from bond in July and August to escape the higher tax.

(3) The continued depression of business.

But even if the treasury had the benefit of a tax on a whole year's supply of sugar the revenue, according to Secretary Carlisle's estimates, would amount to only \$40,000,000. This, however, is an overestimate. Such a revenue would not be immediately probable even with a greater consumption due to general prosperity, and even at no higher prices than those ruling under free sugar. The lower rate for adulterated sugars makes a hole for a leakage of revenue. The rapidly growing beet sugar industry will decrease importations of raw sugar. At all events, the sugar tax will help the treasury comparatively little for the current fiscal year.

The excuse regarding whisky affords little consolation. It must be remembered that the treasury has already had the revenue within the current fiscal year, at 90 cents, of all the whisky withdrawn in July and August to escape the higher tax. It would have made a difference to the treasury of less than \$5,000,000 if all the whisky so withdrawn had been taxed at the higher rate. Even at this rate and with as much withdrawal for consumption as prevailed in 1892, the treasury could not reasonably expect over \$8,000,000 a month from all distilled spirits, and it certainly cannot expect an average of one half that from whisky for the current fiscal year.

When the continued depression in business is made an excuse for a falling off in revenues we may assume either that it is not a good excuse or that the accounts of a widely-felt revival of

business are circulated for political effect. As a matter of fact, it is a very good excuse. Business depression undoubtedly continues, and consumption continues limited. But even if affairs gradually mend during the fiscal year the aid thereby given to the revenues must be given through increased customs receipts rather than by any marked increase in internal revenue, a fact which will tend to keep the rate of exchange at the gold shipping point.

After giving the government the benefit of all it may hope to gain from internal revenue and all other sources for the remainder of the fiscal year, there is likely still to remain a prospective deficit of \$80,000,000, which must be made up, if at all, from the revenue from increased importations. What the average rate collected on both free and dutiable imports will be remains to be seen, but if we assume that it is as high as twenty per cent, then, to derive even \$60,000,000 additional revenue the value of imports must be increased for the remainder of the year fully \$300,000,000. But even now our imports exceed exports in what is usually an exporting season !

The Gorman Bill, therefore, under existing conditions, places this unfortunate administration in a curious predicament. There is need of a larger gold reserve and a larger cash balance. If the government gets sufficient revenue to meet expenses it must pay out gold for export. If it keeps its gold or gets more it must fail to receive sufficient revenue. To get gold it must sacrifice its cash ; to get cash it must sacrifice its gold. The devil is on one side and the sea on the other.

Of course the treasury can hang on by borrowing money. It can secure both cash and gold by creating new debts, but every time this device is resorted to in a time of peace the sea runs up a little nearer on one side and the devil approaches a step on the other, obligations are growing while the basis is shrinking, and with it the credit. It is a losing and dangerous policy.

HENRY B. RUSSELL.

CIVIC APHORISMS.

BY ADOLPH ROEDER.

WHAT self-control is to the individual, self-government is to the nation.

That nation is best governed which has learned self-government.

Civics and politics differ as essentially as religion and theology.

Those who think while toiling will always govern those who toil without thinking.

When the market price of a vote is \$2.50, what is the value of citizenship and how high does manhood come?

Official incompetency is as great a menace to the state as official insincerity or official dishonesty.

It is not sufficient for the citizen to know what he does *not* want in the way of legislation; it is absolutely necessary that he learn what he *does* want.

One of the primer lessons of civics is that the nation is a unit; it is impossible to touch the individual citizen without through him touching the state and the nation.

Commercial principles are excellent things, but they are criminally out of place at the ballot-box and on the inspector's bench.

The individual, the family, and the nation, these three are the Trinity of civics; and they are a divine Trinity as soon as their humanity is recognized.

It was the object of the state in the past to produce noblemen; it is the duty of the state in the future to produce noble men.

The individual, the family, the state, the nation, the race, are simply a series of units in the eye of the student.

To the intelligent reader, history is the story of men ; to the intelligent student, history is the story of man.

The mechanism of state is not a machine ; it is a human organism ; it is a distinct humanity—the humanity of the aggregate, each cell of which is an individual humanity.

If all citizens were as intelligently anxious about the world of to-day as some are about the heaven of to-morrow, the world would gain unspeakably and heaven would not be the loser.

It is an educational anomaly to find a scholar who can bound Mozambique and who can tell the exact interval of time that elapsed between Charlemagne and Henry VIII., but who is unable to distinguish the duties of a municipal office from a trolley-car fender.

Matters religious and matters secular are not as antagonistic as they may at first appear : the state which teaches its children to become true citizens of the world cannot be far at variance with the church which trains its children to be citizens of heaven.

It is possible for a nation to control its own government, by permitting itself to be intelligently and wisely governed and by producing in and for the individual citizen the conditions of mind and body which will make intelligent and wise government possible.

It is unwise to consider external manifestations of national life as causes, when they are in reality effects. To mistake a symptom of disease in the body politic as a cause of disease has been and is one of the most frequent mistakes of student and statesman.

Law and legislation are not, or should not be, artificial things. The law of a growing national or municipal organism is begotten of its own requirements and adapted to the stage of evolution reached, to be set aside when that stage is passed. The cradle and the bib may be articles of necessity to the infant, but they are most decidedly "*articles de luxe*" for the adult.

A public officer is a public servant. True ; but what is the

servant to do if the master does not know his own will? How can a public officer perform the will of the people when the people have no will and express none? Let the citizen learn what he wishes his servants, the officials, to do, and they will very soon obey him. Why does a close corporation obtain its wishes in the halls of legislature? Because it knows what it wants. Does the average citizen know what his state and his community need? And if the individual have no definite wish, how is the aggregate to express one?

All the power of citizenship lies within the law. Outside the pale of law there is no power. Overstepping the boundaries of law is civic self-destruction. For as I must build a steam engine along the line of the laws governing steam in order to derive all the power of steam, and just as an overstepping of the laws of steam means a destruction of the engine and possible injury to its builder, so the citizen has power only along the line of the laws which govern the aggregate citizen or the nation. It is for this reason that the mob, though sometimes a terrible agent of temporary destruction, lacks all real power.

ADOLPH ROEDER

THE SINGLE TAX: A REPLY TO MR. KITSON.

BY GEORGE BERNARD.

IN THIS magazine some time since there appeared an article by Arthur Kitson, entitled "A Criticism of Henry George's Single Tax Theory," which, although not calculated to impress those who have even an elementary knowledge of the question, might possibly mislead those who have not.

I have, therefore, thought it worth while to attempt a reply. But Mr. Kitson exhibits such a complete misunderstanding of the fundamental principles upon which the single tax doctrine rests, and such a ludicrous misapprehension of the means by which it is proposed to give practical effect to those principles—in fact, such a thorough ignorance of what Mr. George's teachings really are—that it would be impossible within reasonable limits of space to deal thoroughly with his essay.

The most I can hope to do is to point out some of his most obvious errors, and to set forth what I conceive to be a correct statement of some of the points at issue, and thus convince those who wish to understand the single tax that they must read, not Mr. Kitson, but Henry George.

And now, let us begin at the beginning.

The principle upon which the single tax is based is that by which, in the Declaration of Independence, the founders of the American Republic justified their action. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That is to say that all men are at birth endowed with certain equal and inalienable rights; that each man has the right to live; the right to liberty, that is, the right to himself and the right to live as he pleases, provided that he injures no one, and does not encroach on the equal right of others; and

the right to the pursuit of happiness; or, as we may put it, the right to use his faculties in his own way for his own benefit. From this we deduce the following: That since no man can live without a place in which to live, or use his faculties to provide for his wants without material on which to use them, it necessarily follows that all men have equal rights in the earth, on which and from the use of which alone they can live. For equal rights to life imply equal rights to the use of the only means by which life can be sustained.

If a man's rights in the earth are not equal to those of every other man, his rights to life are not equal to those of every other man; if he has *no* rights in the earth he has no right to be alive.

I do not now stop to argue this proposition; to do so would take up far too much space, and for the great majority of my readers it would, I hope, be unnecessary. I merely wish to point out the principles which, whether right or wrong, underlie the single tax.

As a practical method of applying these principles, the following plan is proposed: To substitute for all existing taxation, direct or indirect, a "single tax" upon land values (not land area), and to take ultimately the whole annual value of the land, as nearly as may be practicable, for the use of the community.

The term "land" includes all kinds of land, whether city, farming, or mining land; it excludes all buildings and other improvements resulting from the application of labor and capital to the land.

The tax would thus take the value of the bare land, apart from all improvements. It would depend, not on the use of the land, but on its value. Wherever land had value, that value would be taken, no matter whether it was being used or not; land that had no value would pay no tax, no matter what use might be made of it. The tax would be levied in the same way that taxes on real estate are raised now; that is, the assessor would estimate the value of each man's holding; but he would deal only with the land, exclusive of improvements, and

would assess it at what he considered its actual value. Any man who wished could appeal against either his own or his neighbor's assessment. So that there would be no question of the state dispossessing any one, or "letting" land to any one, or becoming in any way the "universal landlord" in the sense which is usually attached to the words. Nor would any man be able to "bid" for another man's holding. On the surface, all would be as at present; men would apparently own land, would buy, sell, and bequeath it, but with this proviso, that they paid its annual value to the community.

That, I think, is a fair summary of the single tax plan as laid down by Mr. George, and since I wish to keep what I have to say strictly within the limits defined by Mr. Kitson, when he called his paper "A Criticism of Henry George's Single Tax Theory," I do not propose to touch on anything else. For this reason I omit any reference to the question of interest. It has no essential connection with the single tax, and to examine thoroughly the grounds on which justification of interest is based would require an article devoted to that purpose alone.

Mr. Kitson's article is chiefly remarkable for the courage and confidence which it displays. Questions which have engaged the earnest attention of philosophers are here solved in a sentence. Established axioms of political economy, doctrines accepted by Smith and Ricardo, by Fawcett and Mill, are tossed contemptuously aside, settled forever by Mr. Kitson's *ipse dixit*. Even the law of rent (called by J. S. Mill the *pons asinorum* of political economy), after being cruelly destroyed in a page of elaborate sarcasm, is, together with Mr. George, finally consigned to its eternal resting-place in the Temple of Fame, side by side with the astronomical theories of the Rev. Mr. Jasper.

It may be that Mr. Kitson, with a fine regard for the superior weight of antiquity, has confined his economical researches to the book of Deuteronomy, the only authority, with the exception of Mr. Bernard Shaw, to which he refers. This would account for his opinions differing considerably from those of mere moderns like Ricardo and Mill, and might also explain his discovery of so much ambiguous and contradictory teaching in the

writings of Mr. George, who, probably, searched the Scriptures rather for moral than for economical principles, and might thus easily fall into those ridiculous absurdities which have afforded Mr. Kitson so much amusement.

I think, however, that it is evident that these absurdities really pertain, not to Mr. George's presentation of his case, but to Mr. Kitson's distorted version of it. Almost the whole of his "criticism" can be placed in one of two categories—either it is an error of fact, or it is an error of reasoning; either it is a misstatement of what Mr. George actually does teach, or it is a misapprehension of the arguments by which his teaching is supported. So that it is a curious and suggestive fact that although, as Mr. Kitson tells us, Mr. George has written almost a complete library of economic works, reference is made to only one, "Progress and Poverty." And I venture to think that if he had read even this one book with a little care and attention, and a desire to understand what Mr. George really means, the greater part of the article we are now considering would never have been written. For instance, we are told, page 352, that Mr. George is endeavoring to exalt the state into the position of universal landlord. As I have shown above, this is entirely inaccurate in the sense which Mr. Kitson attaches to the words, a sense which is shown not to be the one in which Mr. George uses the phrase by referring to the quotation (given on page 355) from "Progress and Poverty," in which it occurs.

So, too, on page 353, Mr. Kitson states that the amount of the single tax "is to be determined by auctioning off land to the highest bidder, like pews in a church." Not only is this in direct contradiction to all Mr. George's explanations of his proposal, but it is expressly repudiated by him ("Progress and Poverty," Book VIII., Chap. II.). Again, on page 356, the single tax is defined as "payment for the use of land." This, as I have already shown, it is not. It is payment for the *value* of land, whether that land is used or not.

Then, on page 358, "But it will be urged by Mr. George that since he proposes to use the proceeds of his tax for the benefit of the taxpayers, it is not robbery." On the contrary, Mr.

George proposes to use the proceeds of the tax for the benefit of the whole community, making no distinction between those of its members who are "taxpayers," that is, users or occupiers of land, and those who are not. A curious illustration of Mr. Kitson's method of procedure is afforded by what (page 366) he says about Malthusianism, from which it would appear that he could never have read—not the "Essay on Population" itself, that would be asking too much, but even a short summary of its doctrines in an economic work or encyclopedia. The essence of the principle asserted by Mr. Malthus and controverted by Mr. George I take to be this: That population always tends to increase faster than subsistence, and that wherever this tendency is not checked by limitation of births it will be checked by increase of deaths arising from the vice and misery which spring from abject poverty and the actual want of the necessities of life. And from this theory J. S. Mill draws the following practical deductions:

It is but rarely that improvements in the condition of the laboring classes do anything more than give a temporary margin, speedily filled up by an increase of their number; . . . the most promising schemes end only in having a more numerous, but not a happier people. ("Political Economy," Book I., Chap. X.)

And again (Book I., Chap. XIII.):

The necessity of restraining population is not, as many persons believe, peculiar to a condition of great inequality of property. A greater number of people cannot, in any given state of civilization, be collectively as well provided for as a smaller. The niggardliness of nature, not the injustice of society, is the cause of the penalty attached to overpopulation. An unjust distribution of wealth does not even aggravate the evil, but, at most, causes it to be somewhat earlier felt.

That is to say, that nothing, not even exact justice in the distribution of wealth, can have any permanent effect in driving away poverty and want, unless and until people can be persuaded to restrain the increase in population.

But Mr. Kitson's version of it is:

Malthusianism simply recognizes the fact that so long as labor is a commodity, so long will it be subjected to the laws of supply and demand.

But leaving questions like these, which can be decided by

any one who will compare Mr. Kitson's article with the books to which he refers, let us deal briefly with some of those instances of confusion of thought which characterize his arguments. Chief among these is his utter failure to grasp the nature and meaning of rent. Mr. George's definition of rent, which is in accord with that given by all modern standard writers on political economy, is this :

Rent is the share in the wealth produced which the exclusive right to the use of natural capabilities gives to the owner. ("Progress and Poverty," Book III., Chap. II.)

Or, as J. S. Mill puts it :

The land is the principal of the natural agents which are capable of being appropriated, and the consideration paid for its use is called rent. . . . It is at once evident that rent is the effect of a monopoly ; though the monopoly is a natural one, which may be regulated, which may even be held as a trust for the community generally, but which cannot be prevented from existing. ("Political Economy," Book II., Chap. XVI.)

And it must be particularly noted that the existence of rent, in the economic use of the word, does not depend upon the owner letting his land, instead of using it himself. "Whoever has at his command better land than the worst cultivated, holds rent."

The value of land, and the consequent amount of rent it will yield, is, under circumstances of free competition, in no way subject to the whim or control of its owner, but is governed by a law which, accepted by practically every economist of repute, is thus laid down by Ricardo :

The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.

That is to say, that on the *most* productive land in use a given amount of labor and capital* can only secure, as their share of the produce, an amount equal to that which they could obtain from the *least* productive land in use. Rent takes the rest. For if the produce left to labor and capital on the more produc-

* Mr. Kitson states that "Mr. George is apparently undecided as to how many factors there are in production. In one place he says two, and in another chapter, three." A very full and careful explanation of this point will be found in "Progress and Poverty" (Book III., Chapter I.).

tive land was more than could be obtained on the poorest land, there would be among those who were using the poorest land such an active competition to be allowed to use that which was better, that the rent of this latter would quickly be adjusted so that the returns from it left to labor and capital would be no larger than could be obtained elsewhere. This, I think, is self-evident. It makes no difference what the land is used for, whether for farming or manufacturing, for mining or for building sites, the same law governs it.

And this law, which is not *invented* by man, but discovered and formulated, is as immutably fixed in the constitution of things as any of the laws which govern the physical organization of the universe. Mr. George did not manufacture the law of rent or of wages, or fix the returns to labor, nor does he propose to attempt anything so absurd, as Mr. Kitson would appear to suppose. He might as reasonably be accused of enacting the laws of motion, or of fixing the temperature at which water will freeze.

Rent, then, is the measure of the value of land. But Mr. Kitson entirely confuses this value with the wealth given in consideration of it—the abstract quality with the concrete substance; he treats them, indeed, as identical terms. Thus, on page 360 he says :

Mr. George openly declares that all the wealth which would go to the state under the single tax, or what he terms "economic rent," is produced without the exertion of any known factor of production.

And he proceeds to justify this statement by the following quotation from "Progress and Poverty":

While the value of a railroad or telegraph line, the price of gas or of a patent medicine, may express the price of monopoly, it also expresses the exertion of labor and capital; but the value of land, or economic rent, as we have seen, is in no part made up from these factors, and expresses nothing but the advantage of appropriation. Taxes levied upon land cannot check production in the slightest degree.

It is only necessary to read this quotation to see that Mr. George's statement is quite different from that attributed to him. He does not say, as Mr. Kitson asserts, that all the wealth which, under the single tax, would go to the state is not

the product of labor and capital—that would be a manifest absurdity. What he does say is, that the *value of land*, or, as he calls it, economic rent, is not the produce of labor and capital, but is the creation of the whole community. And in this he is quite correct. For the value of land arises, not from the expenditure of labor and capital on it (that creates value in improvements), but from the demand there is for it, from the number of people who are willing to pay for the privilege of using it, and this of course depends on the presence of the community. And this value always exists, and must always be paid for by those who use the land. At present payment is made to the owners of the land; the single tax would take it again from these owners for the use of the community. But to this Mr. Kitson objects, saying that by Mr. George's own arguments it would be robbery; for every man is entitled to all that he produces, but to take from him payment for the value of the land that he uses would be to take from him part of his produce. But this contention, though plausible on the face of it, has no real validity.

The one great principle which "Progress and Poverty" asserts is that of the equal rights of all men to the use of the earth. Laid down in explicit terms over and over again, it is the animating and guiding spirit of the whole argument. And it is explained that each man's equal rights are bounded and limited by the equal rights of others, so that every man's rights to use the earth for production are limited by the rights of every other man to do the same.

When, therefore, Mr. George affirms the right of every man to all that he has produced, it is to all that he has produced on terms of equality with other producers. If he has encroached on their equal rights, if he has appropriated to his own use a natural opportunity superior to that which is at the command of others, then he must make such a payment as will place all on an equal footing. And in the very chapter of "Progress and Poverty" (Book VII., Chapter I.) from which Mr. Kitson quotes, the method of doing this is thus explained :

Yet, it will be said : As every man has a right to the use and enjoy-

ment of nature, the man who is using land must be permitted the exclusive right to its use in order that he may get the full benefit of its labor. But there is no difficulty in determining where the individual right ends and the common right begins. A delicate and exact test is supplied by value, and with its aid there is no difficulty, no matter how dense population may become, in determining and securing the exact rights of each, the equal rights of all. The value of land, as we have seen, is the price of monopoly . . . and always measures the difference between it and the best land that may be had for the using. Thus, the value of land expresses in exact and tangible form the right of the community in land held by an individual; and rent expresses the exact amount which the individual should pay to the community to satisfy the equal rights of all other members of the community.

So that here we see the answer to Mr. Kitson's numerous assertions that Mr. George proposes to tax men for exercising their equal natural rights, that he will allow the state to continue to rob the producers as landlordism does now, and so on.

So long as a man only uses land that no one else wants to use, not only will he pay no tax, but he will receive, in one form or another, his share of the tax paid on the more valuable land that others are using. But as soon as he exercises, not his equal right, but an unequal privilege, as soon as he occupies land that others also want to use, and to which their right is as good as his, then he will pay what is in reality not a tax, but a rent, a rent paid to the community in satisfaction of those rights which, equally vested in all members of that community, are now enjoyed exclusively by him.

The present system exacts wealth from producers for the use of land, and turns it over to individuals who, on our principles, have no moral title to it. It thus commits a robbery. Under the single tax the state would take the annual value of land, which belongs equally to all its individual members, and it would use the wealth so taken for the equal benefit of those members, thus giving them the value of their own. It would thus commit no robbery.

But Mr. Kitson has other objections to offer. In general terms he accuses the single tax of being socialistic, communistic (identical terms, apparently, to Mr. Kitson), and, descending to particulars, he declares that it is identical in principle with protection.

It is not very easy to deal with such vague statements. With some men every plan to improve the condition of humanity is either socialistic or communistic, or, as in this case, both ; so that such phrases really express nothing but general disapproval. And indeed it is hard to see how socialism (much less communism) and the single tax can be confused. "Socialism," in the words of one of its most active supporters, "is the common holding of the means of production and exchange, and the holding of them for the equal benefit of all." It entails state possession of land, state ownership of capital, state direction of industry, and state division of produce. Under its sway the most valuable right that a man can possess—that of living his life in his own way—would be lost, individuality and strength of character would be repressed, and every man would tend to become merely a wheel in a gigantic machine. The essence of socialism is restriction and compulsion ; compulsion for the good of those compelled, no doubt, but still compulsion.

Compare this for a moment with the single tax, a system whose chief note is individuality and freedom, which proposes nothing more than to secure to each man his rights in those good things which are provided by nature, and which, having secured those rights, will leave him, freed from all taxation on his wealth or labor, to enjoy them in the way that may seem to him best. Compare these two plans, and it is at once evident that he who confuses them misunderstands certainly one—probably both.

And if Mr. Kitson wishes to place Mr. George among the socialistic prophets, he will have to produce a more devoted follower than Mr. Bernard Shaw, who, in the very address from which Mr. Kitson quotes, expresses his distinct disapproval of Mr. George's plan. That they both agree with the standard economists as to the nature of economic rent hardly makes a socialist of Mr. George, any more than of Ricardo or J. S. Mill.

It is not worth while to go into the question of protection, which is merely a partial application of socialistic theories. Its fallacies and absurdities are very clearly and radically dealt

with in Mr. George's "Protection or Free Trade?" to which book I would refer those who are inclined to think that protection is identical in principle with the single tax.

When beginning his task Mr. Kitson led us to infer that he did not propose to criticise Mr. George either from the philosophical or the orthodox economic standpoint. That he carried out his intention has, I think, been evident, but if more evidence were wanting it would be found in his statement that all taxes are taxes upon production. Here are his words (page 362) :

Every tax, no matter what be its nature, form, or character, whether it be a tax on land values or a tax on imports, a tax on money or a tax upon commodities, is necessarily and unavoidably a tax upon production, a tax upon the labor of individuals, since it is a part of wealth, and all wealth is earned by some individual or individuals.

With such logic as this, that every tax is a tax upon production *because* it is a part of wealth, I shall not attempt to deal, but a few words upon the subject of taxes upon production may not be out of place. A "tax upon production" means a tax on the act of producing, a tax which depends on some specific production; and of this kind of tax we have many examples. Take, for instance, the tax raised by municipalities upon real estate, that is, land with all its improvements, where a man's taxes are raised in proportion to the improvements which he makes on his holding. He is being taxed for producing wealth; his assessment is raised because he produces wealth. This is clearly a tax on production. So, too, with taxes upon exchange, such as import duties. They are taxes paid in consequence of trading, and according to the value of the goods exchanged, and are thus taxes upon production of which exchange is a part. Many other instances might be given, but they are unnecessary. All such taxes act as deterrents of the production of wealth, and, logically, involve the idea that it is an evil to be checked, not a good to be encouraged.

But there are other kinds of taxation which are entirely different in their operation. Chief among these is taxation of monopolies, and the most important monopoly, and the one with which we are specially concerned, is the monopoly of land. A tax upon

land values—the taking of economic rent in taxation—levied upon all land which has value (on land which has no value there is nothing to tax), whether used or not, is in no way a tax upon production. As Adam Smith says, “It does not obstruct the industry of the people.” It would be paid whether production on any particular piece of land went on or not, and would take nothing that would otherwise be left to producers. Of such a tax Adam Smith thus writes (“Wealth of Nations,” Book V., Chap. II., Part II.) :

Both ground rent and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the state, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labor of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before.

So, too, J. S. Mill (“Political Economy,” Book V., Chapter III.):

A tax on rent, therefore, has no effect other than its obvious one. It merely takes so much from the landlord and transfers it to the state.

And again (Book V., Chapter II.):

This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth, created by circumstances, to the benefit of society, instead of allowing it to become an unearned appendage to the riches of a particular class.

A tax, then, which is paid as a condition of producing, is a tax upon production, and thus checks industry, for it makes it less profitable to be industrious. But a tax which would merely divert wealth from non-producers to the state would not be a tax upon production, but by enabling all taxes to be taken off industry, it would greatly encourage and stimulate production. So that even if, as Mr. Kitson appears to think, there were nothing in the single tax but taxation, we should still reap immense benefits from its adoption.

But surely his vision is limited who can see in the single tax nothing but the revenue actually collected! That we should be freed from all our present taxation, the expenses of the community being defrayed out of the revenue derived from the

common heritage, and that this revenue should also provide us with various conveniences and services for which we now have to pay, would certainly be an immense boon.

If the single tax gave us nothing more than these direct benefits, would it not be well worth striving for? But this is, indeed, the least part of it.

Take, for instance, the addition to the available supply of land. At present immense quantities of land, more productive than a great deal of land that now has to be used, are kept idle by speculators and others. Now the single tax would take from these men the annual value of all this land, and would thus render it impracticable, except in very rare cases, to keep valuable land (whether mining, farming, or city land) unused for any length of time. For no one would continue to pay its annual value for the mere pleasure of holding it, and there would be no chance of making money by any increase in its value, for the tax would rise with the value. Speculation in land would be destroyed. So that I think we may take it for granted that practically the whole of the land which is now kept idle would be thrown open for use, with the possible exception of small pieces which the owners themselves intended to use within a short time.

It would, therefore, not be necessary to use land of such small productiveness as some now used, as there would be all this better land which is now kept idle to fall back on, so that the least productive land then in use would yield considerably more than the worst now used, and the returns to the labor and capital employed on that land being proportionately higher, so would be the returns to all labor and capital. Or, to put it in another way, producers would then pay the real economic rent, not, as at present, a rent artificially increased by "cornering" land, and holding it for a rise.

And, in addition to this, think of the wonderful stimulus that would be given to production by the removal of those oppressive taxes of which I have spoken.

The present method of taxation operates upon exchange like artificial deserts and mountains; it costs more to get goods through a custom-house than it does to carry them around the world. It operates upon

energy, and industry, and skill, and thrift, like a fine upon those qualities. . . . We say we want capital, but if any one accumulate it, or bring it among us, we charge him for it as though we were giving him a privilege. We punish with a tax the man who covers barren fields with ripening grain; we fine him who puts up machinery, and him who drains a swamp. . . . To abolish these taxes would be to lift the whole enormous weight of taxation from productive industry.

And again :

Consider the effect of such a change upon the labor market. Competition would no longer be one-sided, as now. Instead of laborers competing with each other for employment, and in their competition cutting down wages to the point of bare subsistence, employers would everywhere be competing for laborers, and wages would rise to the fair earnings of labor. For into the labor market would have entered the greatest of all competitors for the employment of labor, a competitor whose demand cannot be satisfied until want is satisfied—the demand of labor itself. The employers of labor would not have merely to bid against other employers, all feeling the stimulus of greater trade and increased profits, but against the ability of laborers to become their own employers upon the natural opportunities freely opened to them by the tax which prevented monopolization. ("Progress and Poverty," Book IX., Chapter I.)

And for the moral results of these and the numerous other advantages resulting from the single tax :

To remove want and the fear of want, to give to all classes leisure, and comfort, and independence, the decencies and refinements of life, the opportunities of mental and moral development, would be like turning water into a desert. The sterile waste would clothe itself with verdure, and the barren places where life seemed banned would ere long be dappled with the shade of trees and musical with the song of birds. Talents now hidden, virtues unsuspected, would come forth to make human life richer, fuller, happier, nobler. (Book IX., Chapter IV.)

Think of the powers now wasted; of the infinite fields of knowledge yet to be explored; of the possibilities of which the wondrous inventions of this century give us but a hint. With want destroyed; with greed changed to noble passions; with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear that now array men against each other; . . . and who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar? Words fail the thought! It is the Golden Age of which poets have sung, and high-raised seers have told in metaphor! It is the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendor. It is what he saw whose eyes at Patmos were closed in a trance. It is the culmination of Christianity—the City of God on earth, with its walls of jasper and its gates of pearl! It is the reign of the Prince of Peace. (Book X., Chapter V.)

But strangest, perhaps, of all the strange charges which Mr.

Kitson brings against Mr. George is this, that he "appeals for support to the cupidity of certain classes," that he is, in effect, fighting his way to the City of God with weapons borrowed from the devil. Those who have read Mr. George's writings, who have found in them the highest and the purest principles, the noblest thoughts, the most stirring and eloquent appeals to all that is best and most unselfish in them—they indeed know how preposterous is such an accusation.

But to those who have not, to those who know nothing of him beyond what Mr. Kitson has told them, I will let Mr. George speak for himself, so that, judging between him and his accuser, they may perhaps form some imperfect and inadequate idea of the spirit which through all the writings of him whom many of us are proud to call master, summons each and all to take a stand on the side of eternal right and justice.

The sentiment to which I would appeal is not envy, nor yet self-interest, but that nobler sentiment which found strong, though rude, expression in that battle-hymn which rang through the land when a great wrong was going down in blood:

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom to transfigure you and me,
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free!"

And what is there for which life gives us opportunity that can be compared with the effort to do what we may, be it ever so little, to improve social conditions and enable other lives to reach fuller, nobler development? . . . Envy the rich! Who that realizes that he must some day wake up in the beyond can envy those who spend their strength to gather what they cannot use here and cannot take away? The only thing certain to any of us is death. "Like the swallow darting through thy hall, such, O King, is the life of man!" We come from where we know not; we go—who shall say? Impenetrable darkness behind, and gathering shades before. What, when our time comes, does it matter whether we have fared daintily or not, whether we have worn soft raiment or not, whether we leave a great fortune or nothing at all, whether we shall have reaped honors or been despised, have been counted learned or ignorant—as compared with how we may have used that talent which has been intrusted to us for the Master's service? What shall it matter, when eyeballs glaze and ears grow dull, if out of the darkness may stretch a hand, and into the silence may come a voice: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; though hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"? ("Social Problems," Chap. IX.)

GEORGE BERNARD.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES. —LOUISIANA: MONROE.—Prof. H. E. Chambers, this city, is conducting an active campaign hoping to secure an amendment to the provision of the state constitution inhibiting local communities from taxing themselves in so far as relates to school affairs. All school funds are now provided by state taxes, and in their distribution many towns seriously suffer from insufficient educational privileges. The New Orleans *Picayune*, with its usual progressive spirit, favors the amendment. —NEW ORLEANS.—The grand jury is continuing its thorough investigation of city affairs, and its relentless pursuit of corrupt officials. Three ex-councilmen serving sentences were recently brought in court to give testimony against their former co-partners in crime. —ILLINOIS: SPRING VALLEY.—Thirty saloon keepers who persisted in violating the Sunday laws have been indicted and placed under arrest. —OKLAHOMA: GUTHRIE.—A mass meeting of church members has voted to ignore politics entirely in city affairs and stand together in an effort to break the power of saloon rule. A Law and Order League has been organized to enforce the Sunday closing laws and saloon regulations. —INDIANA: HOBART.—A triumph of the law-abiding and Sabbath-respecting elements has been achieved by the closing of saloons and other places of business on Sunday. —ILLINOIS: SPRINGFIELD.—The grand jury of Sangamon County has been instructed by State's Attorney Graham to investigate charges of corruption made against certain members of the legislature, and called on the grand jury to sift the matter to the bottom. He claimed that the charges made in the press of the state, and especially in Chicago papers, were so definite and detailed that the jury and the prosecuting authorities could not afford to ignore the matter. —TEXAS: DALLAS.—The instructions of Attorney-General Crane, of Texas, in answer to the question of the sheriff of Dallas County as to how far he can go in preventing the Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight at Dallas may be summed up in the words "no limit." The prize-fighting crowd will be wise to take the advice of the *Powder Dispatch*, says that paper, and stay away from Texas. The Texas climate is not healthy for law-breakers and bluster does not "go" in the state. —MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON.—The success with which the

people of this city have met the problem of saloon control is clearly set forth by L. Edwin Dudley (A. I. C.) in a recent article in the *Boston Commonwealth*. It appears that up to 1882 the laws affecting the control of the liquor traffic in that city, while sufficiently stringent to restrain it in large degree, were enforced or disregarded, as until recently in New York, almost wholly in the interests of corrupt politicians. In that year a large number of the prominent citizens of Boston came together and formed the Citizens' Law and Order League and declared its single purpose to be "to secure by all proper means the enforcement of the restrictive features of existing laws for the regulation of the liquor traffic." The membership of the organization embraced the foremost clergymen of all denominations, leading lawyers, merchants, and men of affairs generally, without regard to party lines. Their first step was to get the legislature to pass an act by which the control of the police force and the administration of the liquor laws were transferred to a state board of commissioners appointed by the governor and confirmed by the executive council. This secured police authority in a board wholly independent of local political influences and which, therefore, could perform its duty without fear or favor. The police officers were no longer subject to intimidation by ward politicians. Their next step after three years of effort was to secure a law limiting the number of saloons to one for every one thousand of the population for all cities except Boston, and one for every five hundred of the inhabitants of that city. The result was at once to reduce the number of places where liquor was sold from over two thousand to less than eight hundred. The third step taken by the league was to procure the enactment of a law by which the license fee for saloons was raised from \$125 to \$1,300 each. The result was to increase the yearly revenue derived from liquor licenses from \$258,000 to over \$1,000,000. The number of applicants for licenses is now so largely in excess of the number of places that can be licensed under the limitation law that if a license is forfeited for violation of the law it is practically impossible to have it reissued to any one else for the same place. The value of licenses under this system is indicated by the fact that one recently sold by an owner to his successor in business brought \$5,000. Saloon keepers, whose licenses have cost them so much and are worth so much more, have a selfish interest in protecting their valuable property rights, by obeying the law on Sunday and at all other times. Their licenses are absolutely at the disposal of the licensing commissioners. They know that they will have no difficulty in renewing them from year to year if they obey the law, and, on the other hand, they know that the local politicians, no matter which party is in power at the city hall, cannot prevent their revocation if they break the law. They are entirely free from the necessity they formerly felt of interference in city politics and of making contributions to city campaign funds. The better class of saloon keepers agree that the present system is better even for them than the old one, and there is absolutely no agitation for the repeal or modification of the present statute. There are, of course, unlicensed

sales, but these are limited in extent, and are chiefly confined to low "dives," and the violators of the law here are in hostility with licensed sellers, as well as in constant fear of the police and courts, from whom they can expect no mercy. Drunkenness and crimes resulting therefrom have notably decreased, and it is the judgment of Dr. Hale and other citizens of the highest character that Boston's present policy with reference to the liquor traffic has resulted in great gain to the cause of good government, good morals, and social order.—NEW YORK CITY.—Preparatory to the fall elections, Theodore Roosevelt, chairman of the police board, announces that "the Good Government Clubs in each district will investigate the characters of the men whose names are submitted to us for appointment as election officers. In addition a full inquiry will also be made direct from this department. The men will also be put through a good stiff examination to test their mental qualifications. If any come short either in character or efficiency they will be rejected, and the party which submitted their names will be asked to name people in their places. If the parties fail to give satisfactory men we will choose our own men with the help of the Government Clubs." The Republicans and Tammany Democrats are entitled each to one half of the election officers.

CIVIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TERM.—Jackson was the first pronounced advocate of the wisdom of the one-term policy. His public utterances, undoubtedly sincere, were emphatic as to this matter. It is nevertheless true that up to his administration the common expectation was that a president acceptable to his party should be renominated for a second term, and with the exception of the two Adamses, who were defeated because they had aroused an unwonted degree of public hostility, up to Jackson's time, every president was reelected. Jackson himself, under party compulsion, in spite of his own views, was reelected. But thereafter the usage changed, and the one-term rule prevailed until the days of Lincoln and Grant, who, under extraordinary circumstances, and for special reasons, were borne into office a second time. The one-term policy was again pursued in the cases of Hayes, Arthur, and Garfield, Cleveland at the end of his first term, and Harrison. The reelection of Cleveland after an intermission of one term was a solecism in the choice of presidents, and was opposed by many of his own party as a violation of the single term principle which they deemed worthy of permanent establishment.

As to a third term, when Washington, the only president who could have been chosen a third time without question, emphatically refused renomination, a precedent was established which is not likely to be changed. The people, it may be said with assurance, have come to regard non-election for a third term as having the force of a law, unwritten but nevertheless inviolable. Public sentiment as to this matter was thoroughly tested when a large contingent of the Republican party, in violation of this law, attempted to force the third

candidacy of Grant. Party machinery was never used with greater skill and force, and it was used in the interests of a popular hero, but without success. The third-term idea is not likely to be entertained by the citizens of any party, and if by peculiar manipulations a party shall ever put a third-term candidate in nomination, with any respectable candidate opposed to him, he will be overwhelmingly defeated. Sentiment as to the matter of a second term seems to be steadily shaping itself in a negative form. It is probable that a popular vote of citizens, on this one question, would disclose an immense majority in favor of a one-term policy, and an almost equal majority in favor of a single term of six years.—*H. R. Waite.*

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.—A conference of American citizens who favor proportional representation has just closed an interesting and encouraging session at Saratoga, under the presidency of Hon. William Dudley Foulke, A. I. C. The *Philadelphia Telegraph*, referring to this conference, says :

"The devotees of the new system are many, not only in this country but abroad. The most prominent advocate of proportional representation in America, perhaps, is Mr. William Dudley Foulke, who has studied his proposed reform in every different light, apparently; and as president of the league he delivered an address describing the various electoral systems of this kind, and reciting the arguments for and against them. It was a remarkably temperate speech, appealing to men's reason in the highest sense of that word; and the matter is now presented in a shape so that all who may have more than the curiosity of passing interest in it can study the problem and take sides with Mr. Foulke or against him. Mr. Foulke names as many as eight different methods which have been proposed for securing minority representation in legislatures. Some have been tried, and we are able to judge of them by actual experience. Others, however, are mere ideas from the brains of reformers and agitators. Three systems seem to be regarded as the most feasible, and these are respectively the cumulative vote, the limited vote, and the graduated vote. The first continues to be in highest favor, it would seem, among the advocates of proportional representation. This is the system which has been in actual use in Illinois since 1872, and it has been employed elsewhere both in this country and abroad. In any district where there are three candidates to be elected, for instance, the minority party, if it have one quarter of the votes cast, can by this plan elect one member. Mr. Foulke, however, thinks the system is "far from perfect." Until its advocates can agree upon some method of which this cannot be said others perhaps can afford to withhold their too enthusiastic approval. Our present system may very truly be quite imperfect, but when we adopt new things we would like them to be above all possibility of criticism."

THE SWISS SYSTEM RECOMMENDED.—The American Proportional

Representation League, before adjourning, adopted the following :

"The League calls public attention to the numerous defects of our present system of representation, which divides the community into districts, each electing one member to run various legislative bodies, municipal, state, and congressional.

"First—By this system, every member of a minority party in each district remains politically unrepresented. There is a vast and unnecessary waste of votes cast for defeated candidates.

"Second—It depends wholly upon the construction of the districts, and often upon chance, whether the wishes of the majority of the people are reflected by the representative body. Often, by means of the gerrymander, the popular will is purposely thwarted by those in temporary possession of legislative powers, for the purpose of securing large and unfair majorities and of retaining permanent control of the representative body.

"Third—Men who think alike and desire to vote together are prevented from coöperating by arbitrary district lines, and by the same means voters are thrown together who are not united by common sentiments and interests and who cannot properly select any common representative.

"Fourth—By creating closely contested districts where the change of a few votes will alter the result, the present system furnishes special facilities for carrying elections by the bribery of a small percentage of electors.

"Fifth—The election of representatives from small districts leads to the selection of small men, 'available candidates,' of weak convictions and poor talents, whereby the character of the representative body is greatly impaired.

"Sixth—In place of the district system, the conference of the league held at Saratoga August 27 and 28, 1895, invites consideration of the system now in operation in several of the Swiss cantons, where the people are divided into large communities, each one of them electing a number of representatives by means of proportional representation. The entire vote in each constituency is divided by the number of members to be elected from each. This gives the quota of representation, or the number of voters who are entitled to one representative. Each party then receives as many representatives as it has quotas in the vote polled. The candidates in the list of each party who receive the highest number of votes are the ones returned. The candidate receiving an independent nomination is treated as a separate party. This conference recommends the Swiss system as applicable to our institutions and to our present Australian system of voting. It has been found practically successful after a trial of four years in Switzerland, where it has given a just system of representation, and has elevated the character of legislative assemblies.

"Seventh—The Swiss system secures greater liberty to the voter by allowing him to choose his candidate from all parts of a large constituency, instead of from a small one electing a single member. It requires

just representation, it makes the gerrymander impossible, it lessens corruption, it greatly diminishes the number of wasted votes, and the disaffection of a hopeless minority, and it procures men of greater independence and higher character for the representative body.

"We especially recommend this system for early adoption in our various municipal elections."

THE RESULT.—Proportional representation, in the belief of the *New York Times*, would be mischievous. It thinks "the result would be to obtain in legislative bodies a number of groups, instead of two great party divisions, and as a rule with no one group or party able to control the proceedings. This is altogether undesirable in any legislative body that is properly regarded as political, like the Congress of the United States or the legislature of a state. There a party division is upon questions of public policy and the principles that underlie them in both nation and state, and it is better that one party or the other should control legislation and accept responsibility for it. A multiplicity of groups, with power nowhere, does not work well where it is found, and would not work well here. It may be different with the councils of the Swiss cantons, and it might be different with municipal councils here, if we get partisan considerations out of our city elections. At present proportional representation is rather a matter of academic discussion than of practical reform in this country."

MUNICIPAL LIGHTING.—The city of Springfield, Ill., was unable to escape the exorbitant charge of the private lighting company, amounting to \$188 a year for each arc lamp, for the reason that its debt, being up to the legal limit, would not permit the establishment of a desired public plant. But sixty public-spirited citizens stepped forward and advanced their credit for the purpose. The new works were leased to two electricians for five years on a contract to supply light at the rate of \$60 a lamp by the year. The city, however, makes its lighting appropriation at the rate of \$113 a year a lamp. The difference forms a sinking fund, which wipes out the debt at the end of the five years, when the plant, without encumbrance, becomes the property of the city. Thus, with no outlay, and saving \$25 a year on each lamp, the city secures its own electric lighting works. The *Boston Herald* thinks such an example of public spirit, combined with good business policy, worthy of imitation in other municipalities where conditions are favorable. The citizens make a safe investment for their money, and secure good interest for five years, while they confer a great benefit upon the public. Springfield proposes to supply light for private purposes when it comes into possession of the plant, if it can obtain authority to do so. The Illinois law, while it permits a public plant for street lighting, will not permit its use for commercial purposes. Chicago has its own electric plant, and the chief of the department says that, with the right to do commercial lighting, the charges for street lighting could be reduced by one half. The economy is so manifest that the

Civic Federation of Chicago is agitating in favor of a change in the law so as to permit the city to undertake the business.

THE cost per electric light lamp per year before and after public ownership, the "after" service being the same as or better than the service it replaced, is shown by Prof. Frank Parsons in the following table:

	Before.	After.
Bangor, Me.	\$150	\$48
Lewistown, Me.	182	55
Peabody, Mass.	185	62
Bay City, Mich.	110	58
Huntington, Ind.	146	50
Goshen, Ind.	156	77
Bloomington, Ill.	111	51
Chicago, Ill.	250	96
Elgin, Ill.	266	43
Aurora, Ill.	326	70
Fairfield, Ia.	378	70
Marshalltown, Ia.	125	27
Jacksonville, Fla.	24	5

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN ENGLAND.—In Dundee, Scotland, says a writer in the *New York Tribune*, the gas supply is owned by the town. The street car lines, if not actually operated by the municipal government, are owned by the corporation and leased to the highest bidder at good rentals under restrictions which promote the comfort and convenience of passengers. Not only are the markets owned by the town, but all the slaughter-houses are conducted by the municipality under rigid sanitary inspection. The city has its public school system and also its own free library and art gallery, for the support of which every house-owner and rent-payer is taxed a penny to the pound. Moreover, a large portion of the city debt has been incurred by municipal condemnation of plague spots and organized attempts to open new streets and to improve the housing of the working classes. An American who spends a week in a Scotch town like Dundee will readily be convinced that municipal government has assumed a distinctively collectivist phase in the United Kingdom. Experiments in town ownership and control which would be regarded in his own country as radical, if not socialistic, are going on here without observation, and are accepted as the necessary results of the growth of large towns.

The shrewd, canny Scotchman does not understand why a town cannot regulate the gas as well as the water supply, and believes that every community would be better served by public agents than by private corporations. Outside London there are two hundred or more cities and towns which now own and control the gas supply. The rate of gas has been reduced, even when there has been a necessity of providing for interest charges and sinking funds; and eventually, when the debts incurred through the purchase of the property of private companies have been liquidated, the bills will go lower.

In the same spirit the Scotchman will advocate municipal ownership

of street railways. He will assume that the city ought never to surrender control of the public highways; that all improved facilities for rapid transit should be regulated by the municipality; that the tracks ought to be laid at the expense of the town, and the cars operated either by municipal servants or by companies which pay a good rental into the city treasury.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.—Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts of the A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers has just completed a series of able addresses at the Summer Conference in Clifton Springs, N. Y., before large and appreciative audiences. From the full reports of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, we make the following extract:

"The solution of the industrial problem which confronts us to-day is not an easy one. Two things, however, are clear. First, that the old political economy of selfishness was a monstrous mistake, and that brotherhood must be mixed with business in order to save both business and society. Second, the rise of cities, the introduction of machinery, the division of labor, the dependence of each upon all in commercial prosperity, make individual independence in commerce no longer safe, and social control a necessary defense, and not an abridgment of human rights. Many are restive in the new social condition because they have not recognized that the doing away with the old individualism must necessarily curtail personal liberty, both in commerce and in moral conduct. The fallacy of the personal liberty cry as raised in questions of appetite is recognized by many who do not yet see that it is just as fallacious, though more respectable, when raised in problems of labor. The liberty of each producer to be just to his employees and to the public requires a law of justice for all. Those who wish to be just should have their agreements made compulsory on each other, and on all who are too unjust to join them voluntarily, by having them enacted into laws. Only by such social compulsion can such evils as sweat-shops and child-labor be abolished."

RELIGIOUS SOCIALISM—Under this head the *Boston Herald* says:

"When sociology and economics have a fair place in the theological seminaries, and men are trained to understand the bearings of these issues upon the social life of the day, they [clergymen] may be equal to the task that many have set before them, but for a long time the pronouncements of the clergy on social and economic questions, however honest they may be, must be received with great caution. The feeling is strong that the church ought not to be out of touch with the welfare of society, and this interest in socialism indicates that the sympathies of its leaders are where they ought to be; but if the church is to carry weight in these social reforms, it must make no mistakes and stand on the right side. It will not do to vaporize and put forth froth. This is precisely the danger point at the present time. It will not do to speak too confidently where all are feeling their way to a right solution of questions that affect the whole of society, and a sympathetic

reserve is better than many words. The power of Christianity has always been in its opportunity to speak by indirection. It once ruled the world, because it held to an ideal that the world wanted, and it will rule in the settlement of social and economic questions mainly by speaking the wise word at the right time."

THE DECREASE OF FARM-OWNERS.—Once the glory of New England, says the Boston *Herald*, was that every man owned his own farm, and from his broad acres could defy the world, but between 1880 and 1890 in the six New England states the owning farmers diminished 24,117, and the tenant farmers increased 7,248. The number of tenant farmers in Massachusetts was in 1890 nearly double what it was in 1880, and the percentage of farmers in Vermont and Connecticut at this time was over 17, and 25 per cent of the farmers of Rhode Island were then tenants, not land-owners. This change, if confined to New England, would be startling, but in the South in 1890 there was an increase of 13,915 owning farmers and 275,785 tenant farmers. In Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas there was a gain between 1880 and 1890 of 47,882 owning farmers and 114,510 tenant farmers. A large proportion of these are persons who were formerly slaves, and now are tenants. In the Middle States, during this interval, the owners have decreased 24,304, and the tenants have increased 24,075. In eight states of the Northwest the number of owning farmers was 129,322, and the number of tenant farmers 108,507. In Iowa the number of tenant farmers increased 16,563, in Kansas 30,463. In forty-seven states and territories the number of owning farmers had in 1890 become 158,951, and the number of tenant farmers had grown to 599,337. These figures, which might be greatly extended, show that all over the country the number of the farmers who own their land is decreasing, while the number of those who are tenants at will is rapidly increasing.

THE MULTIPLICATION OF LANDLORDS.—According to the same authority, this brief statement of the general situation shows that all over the country the land is more and more in the hands of landlords, who rent it out to tenants on such terms that whenever a bad season comes, or the crops cannot be sold at a high figure, it means disaster to the farmer. He cannot pay his debts, and is at the mercy of the owner of the land. More and more, these owners are non-residents, living in the East or in a foreign country. For a long time the average size of the farms had been decreasing, but in 1890 the census showed an advance over all the Northern States. The increase was most notable in farms of from 500 to 1,000 acres, which showed the presence of the landlord and of hired hands. The evidence obtained from every quarter goes to show that the creation of landlord and tenant classes is going on everywhere at a rapid rate. In New England the cheaper farms have been given up to the Irish and the French-Canadians, who can make a living where a native American would starve, but it means the subordination of intelligence and education

to toil, and the bringing forward of a class of people who are illiterate, and in no sense the successors of the sturdy yeomanry who founded New England and the far West. Everything goes to show that the same process is taking place in this country which has gradually become fixed in Great Britain. The small land-holders are slowly giving up their properties because they are too deeply in debt to hold them, and the increase in the tenant class means a lower public spirit, inferior living, and a falling short in whatever goes to make strength of character.

THE SINGLE TAX SYSTEM.—A reader of this magazine asks, "Where can I find the meaning, advantages, and disadvantages of this system set forth in a few simple words?" The *Syracuse Post* attempts this as follows:

"Briefly stated, the single tax system is a system by which all taxes are assessed upon the rental value of the bare land regardless of improvements and regardless of the future. The objections that have been made are that this system would rob the land-owner of his rent and would retard improvements and would itself promote favoritism, because land-owners would be the only ones to pay taxes.

"Mr. Nelson answers these objections by stating that to the real estate owner who is making the proper use of his land the change from mixed taxes to a single tax on land value would be very slight. To those who are not making the best use of their land, but who have, for instance, encircled it with a high board fence and are waiting for a rise in value, the single tax system would be a stumbling block, as its advocates believe it should.

"Two objections seem to place themselves in the way of a single tax scheme, one, the great difficulty of securing its adoption on account of the radical changes it proposes, and the other the total exemption from taxation of a large portion of the population. If the single tax people propose to make all the land in this country government property and parcel it out among the inhabitants, we predict difficulties in the parceling process. If they propose to allow the land to remain in private ownership, as it is now, the majority of the people would enjoy representation without taxation."

AN UN-AMERICAN LAW.—Florida, greatly to the discredit of her legislators, has recently enacted a law prohibiting the co-education of the races. It affects both teachers and the parents of children, who are subjected, if they violate this extraordinary statute, to imprisonment in a county jail for from three to six months. While teachers, for example, who are engaged in the education of colored youth, cannot teach their own children in their own schools without danger of imprisonment! The constitutionality of such a law may well be questioned, and it is announced that the American Missionary Association will receive and teach pupils, white or black, who apply for instruction at Orange Park; and there will be teachers who will run the risk of imprisonment.

IMPROPER PUBLICATIONS.—A local committee of the Society of Friends recently addressed to the editor of each newspaper in Wilmington, Delaware, a letter in which they "earnestly request that in the newspaper under your care you avoid as far as possible long and elaborate accounts of crimes and immoralities, the shocking details of which we believe tend to debase the minds of their readers." The editor of *Every Evening*, in a leading editorial, expresses himself as "in hearty sympathy with the desire of these good people to prevent the publication of all matter of a debasing character." It is, he says, alive to its own great responsibility in this direction.

He adds: "We trust that our good friends who have addressed the above letter to us will not fail to appreciate that it calls for some conscience and self-control for a newspaper to pursue a wise and public-spirited course in this matter. As harmful as it is, every newspaper man knows that a sensation-making paper will find a large clientele. The people seem to be morbid. They want to hear about murders, violence, and other crimes, about immorality and scandals. They want all the details, and they like to have them told in a graphic and suggestive way. The New York *World* can always sell more papers than the New York *Times*. Probably our friends know this and think it is unworthy of the great power of a modern newspaper to stoop to what is low and pander to what is vicious in human nature. We think so too."

It is to be hoped that the number of publishers and editors who entertain similar sentiments will increase; and good citizens can hasten this most desirable end by following the example of the Wilmington committee of the Society of Friends. If newspapers represent public opinion, those who represent the best opinions have a duty to discharge in the matter of using their influence.

THE LATEST INDIAN TRAGEDY.—Concerning the slaughter of Bannock Indians in Colorado, Margherita Arlina Hamm writes:

"The trouble is but another pitiful chapter in the history of the ruin of a great race by the rapacity, cruelty, dishonesty, and cowardice of our own civilization. Despite all our missionary effort, despite our churches and Indian societies, there are still no Indian rights which white men are bound to respect. To an Indian we must seem the most terrible, cold-blooded, and ferocious monsters that a savage imagination can depict. We pretend to be truthful and honest, and we violate every treaty and even every provision of every treaty which we make with them. We send out an Indian agent, who so far as the law stands should hold the attitude of a father toward little children, but who robs them, starves them, sells them liquor, and, as if to increase the ghastly humor of the situation, sells them rifles and ammunition, with which, when driven to the wall, they can slaughter the race of which he is a representative. In this present trouble the United States of America gave the Bannocks the free and unconditional right to hunt game, wherewith to support themselves, their squaws and

children with their daily bread. The state of Idaho calmly prohibits this hunting which the nation had given to them, and when they dare to kill one wild animal with which to satisfy their hunger, they are arrested and shot down in cold blood or chased like wild beasts from one wilderness to another. The only hope appears to be that they will be killed off as rapidly as possible, and to save themselves years of pain, disease, privation, and suffering, which fate has in store for them."

CHARLES ROBINSON contributes an interesting article to the September number of the *North American Review* about the remarkable charitable project known as "St. Anthony's Bread," which bids fair to do more toward bringing about a solution of the social problem in France than all the congresses and conferences that have been held and all the books and articles that have been written with that end in view. This charitable movement, though started less than three years ago, "in the back room of a small store on a side street in Toulon," is rapidly assuming the proportions of an international economic movement of the first magnitude, and has become an object at once of the astonishment and admiration of all Europe. "St. Anthony's Bread" comprises not only food, but also clothing and medical attendance; everything, in fact, necessary for the relief of the poor in general, and of the sick and afflicted poor in particular, for its directors wisely hold that with this class one should always "make the good God visible." They ascertain the names of the laborers in the various parishes who are out of employment, and help them to procure work quite irrespective of their religious belief, or want of religious belief. Orphans are sent to school; the aged, the blind, the deaf and dumb, are all placed in special establishments; letters are written for those who are themselves unable to write, and advice procured from either doctor or lawyer when needed. While the deserving poor are thus sought out and all their wants supplied, professional beggars are tracked out and exposed. The writer of this article describes having witnessed the workings of "St. Anthony's Bread" in the "toughest" quarters in Paris, and declares that he discussed its various phases with Frenchmen of every shade of belief, all of whom with one accord acclaim its promoters as the nation's benefactors. "Indeed," he says, "it will be surprising if 'St. Anthony's Bread' does not result in the complete regeneration of the French working classes—and if of these, why not of the working classes of all Europe and beyond?" For the scope of "St. Anthony's Bread" is no longer confined to France. As at the start it spread from town to town throughout France, so now it is spreading from country to country throughout the world. It is interesting to learn that this great work is to be introduced into the United States during the coming winter. The result will be watched with interest.

LAW REFORMS. NATURALIZATION LAWS IN NEW YORK.—During the "rush time" in our naturalization courts previous to the fall elections the newspapers are always filled with reports of

the scandalous proceedings by which Tammany Hall judges expedite the work of the district bosses in their efforts to add to the least desirable classes of our citizenship, wholly regardless of the plain provisions of the Constitution. The new law now in force is intended to correct these abuses by prescribing rules for the naturalization of aliens which will protect the ballot-box against systematic fraud. It provides among other things that the names and addresses of persons applying to be naturalized and those of their witnesses shall be posted conspicuously and that due notice of the time when their applications are to be heard shall be given, making it possible for good citizens to investigate the applicants' right to naturalization and appear in court to oppose the granting of the franchise to those unworthy of it.

The constitutionality of legislation of this character has already been passed upon by the highest courts. State legislatures have the power to regulate the procedure of the state courts in these respects. This has been so held by Chief Justice Story, by Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, and by every court that has passed upon the question. The state of New Jersey has placed a similar law on its statute books.

UNIFORMITY IN STATE LAWS.—The *Baltimore Sun* says:

"It is generally assumed that the common law of England is the common law of the United States, but this is not strictly true. Thirty states have adopted it with certain reservations. The Maryland declaration of rights declares the people of this state to be entitled to the common law of England. In five other states only such parts of the English common law as were in force within its territory prior to the adoption of the state constitutions are declared to be in force, and only so far as they are consistent therewith. In twenty-four other states the common law of England is adopted so far as it is applicable under their constitutions and laws and "is adapted to the conditions and wants of the people," which is a decidedly loose limitation. In Florida and Dakota there is declared to be no common law. In the other fifteen states and territories the statute books are silent, but the English common law is generally presumed to prevail except as it is set aside by special statutes. Some of our states have adopted all English laws in force prior to a certain date. The Virginians, for example, have adopted all statutes in aid of the common law with reference to remedial and judicial writs enacted prior to the fourth year of James I., with specified exceptions, and Pennsylvania adopts all that were in force on May 10, 1776. On the other hand, New York has expressly denied any effect to English statutes since May 1, 1788. Nevertheless, the courts of all the states do, in fact, continually render decisions based upon those important principles that are held to form the common law of England. Next, there is a large body of colonial laws still in force in various states. But the diversity of the laws under which the American people live is chiefly occasioned by the statutes of the different states enacted since the War of Independence.

It is with a view to straightening out this tangled web of diverse legislation that the Saratoga conference will shortly meet to report the progress toward uniform state legislation during the past year, and to concert measures for carrying on the work of bringing all the states into agreement on certain fundamental laws.

The *Atlanta Constitution* remarks :

"In the matter of purely local concerns uniform state laws are not needed, but they are needed in marriages, wills, deeds, etc. In New York a marriage is valid without the aid of either a clerical or a civil officer, but in many states it is not. The common law marriage is not recognized in many states. In some states there is only one ground for a divorce, and in other states there are eight or ten. Then, the laws regarding corporations are widely variant, and commercial transactions are governed by no general rule.

"In important matters it would seem that some degree of uniformity is needed, and the thirty state commissioners who are to discuss the subject at Saratoga will have a very inviting field for reform before them."

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JURY REFORM.—Commenting on the article by Horace F. Cutter, A. I. C., in the June issue of this magazine, the *San Francisco Call* says :

"There will never be a cessation of the outcry against the absurdities of our criminal jury system until its imperfections have been eliminated. Like many other things which we have borrowed from England, instead of having the originality and independence to create standards better suited to our needs, this feature of the English common law is so absurd in its application here as it would be ridiculous in the criminal procedure of the continental nations. The fact that the English law requires a unanimous verdict of twelve jurymen to convict means nothing more than that the law seems to suit Englishmen: and yet in all the things that go to make up the national life of America there is hardly a country of Europe to which our national temperament is not more closely allied than to that of Great Britain. Had it not been for a series of peculiar accidents, including our partial descent from the British, the heritage of the English language and of the written laws of England, a nearer geographical contact, and certain business relations, the salient temperamental differences between Americans and the English would have made them natural enemies.

"The American criminal jury system is one of a series of absurdities which operate to shield the criminal, discredit the courts, encourage crime, and make lynch law the final resort of justice. Equally absurd is that grotesque fiction of the common law that the accused is deemed innocent till his guilt is proved. In these two absurdities lie the beginning of the inadequacy of our criminal courts.

"As Mr. Cutter very truthfully declares, the civil jury system of California providing for a verdict by nine of the twelve has proved most

successful and satisfactory. Even a verdict of ten out of twelve in criminal cases, as proposed by Senator Perkins, while giving a defendant in a criminal action an advantage not enjoyed by the defendant in a civil case, would be a great improvement on the present plan. In a country whose whole system of government is based on the will of the majority we find the requisite of a unanimous verdict in criminal cases a gross anachronism. Even the Supreme Court of the United States, deciding as it does questions which may affect the vital welfare of the whole nation, is permitted to render a simple majority verdict, and that is very much looser than a five-sixth verdict by a jury. Mr. Cutter rightly declares that there is nothing in the federal constitution requiring a unanimous verdict, and he leaves the clear inference that such a verdict is contrary not only to the principles upon which our government is founded, but also ignores a universal knowledge of the fact that unanimous concurrence is foreign to the mental processes of our race.

"We are to hope, therefore, that Senator Perkins' bill, which was referred to the judiciary committee, will be revived at the next session of Congress."

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CIVIC AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION. — The **ASSEMBLIES.** thirtieth annual meeting of this most useful body was held in Saratoga September 2 to September 5, with an excellent attendance. Valuable papers, made the subject of interesting and profitable discussion, were presented in the departments of Health, Jurisprudence, Finance, and Social Economy. The president, F. J. Kingsbury, LL.D., in his annual address, ably discussed the serious problems of life in the great cities. Dr. Frank B. Sanborn, general secretary, presented an encouraging report as to the work and progress of the association. L. Duncan Bulkley, M.D. (A. I. C.), discussed the legal control of certain dangerous communicable diseases; E. V. Reynolds spoke on the Swiss Referendum; W. P. Prentice on state laws in New York relating to prison labor; Walter S. Logan (A. I. C.), of the New York bar, on Mexican laws; Prof. J. W. Jenks (A. I. C.), of Cornell University, on the silver question, and General Francis A. Walker, Hon. A. J. Warner (A. I. C.), Hon. M. D. Harter (A. I. C.), and Arthur B. Woodford, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), followed on the same topic. A full report of the addresses and proceedings will be issued hereafter.

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THE HIGHER MEASUREMENTS OF CHARACTER.

BY WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

WE ARE all more or less familiar with what M. Bertillon has done for the world in his wonderful system of anthropometric measurements by which the criminal can be branded as conclusively as was Cain, so that the task of detection in subsequent transgressions is rendered a comparatively easy one. But the system of M. Bertillon takes account merely or mainly of physical peculiarities, and whatever we may think of our advancement in the higher system of the study of character and heredity, the fact remains that the study of human nature in a scientific way is as yet in its less advanced stages, and this perhaps is one reason why the bank cashier emerges from the very precincts of the Sunday-school where he has been superintendent, with the well-lined satchel in hand, to take the train for the seclusion which a pretended suicide or foreign travel grants. We wait for character to develop, instead of taking time by the forelock and developing character itself under the camera of science and by the aids which physical peculiarities, no less than mental, are ready to give us if we will but spend time and pains in looking them up.

There are several classes of men, and women too, who are compelled to approach the study of human nature according to more or less well-defined rules and on certain bases of inference in which experience and intuition must be a rule of itself. There are the police, for instance, who within their somewhat narrow though apparently broad limits must form conclusions rapidly

and act upon them still more rapidly. There is the Christian ministry, which, whether in the priestly confessional or in the conferences of the pastor's library, is necessarily more or less conversant with the mental as well as spiritual life of others. Perhaps arguing from a strictly scientific and critical standpoint, it will be contended that the ministry do not gain, after all, a clear insight into the character of those with whom they are thrown under circumstances so sacredly confidential. If the human heart is prone to self-deception, in its desire to screen from itself its own depravity, is it likely that a more or less perfunctory analysis of one's life and feelings, made to another, will be sincere and thorough? It must be remembered that the confessed and shriven must look the confessor many times thereafter in the face.

I am not attracted particularly to the cynicism of those who would have it that we go all our lives under a mask; because the habit of mind which generates these suspicions of others may be just that in which we judge others by ourselves. But it must be obvious to any thoughtful person that in the study of human nature for the prevention of crime, we must trust a great deal less to the speech of the person than to our knowledge of his record, and I as firmly believe that we must trust to something more occult than the study of records; for these may not be very pregnant with suggestion. It seems to me that the open sesame to the knowledge of human nature for preventive purposes must be simply and sheerly what some call intuition—what to be blunt and honest we had as well call prejudice.

This thing of men and women studying each other impartially and coldly is arrant nonsense. They do not do it. The judicial faculty, where it is really possessed, is rather mental and moral sensitiveness to certain impalpable but secretly transmitted impressions of the subject under consideration. To be a just judge, as we would call it, therefore, does not presuppose an ideal impartiality or an absence of human feeling. It merely means that the person thus set in judgment has not only an honest purpose and admitted personal rectitude, but that he has a keen moral sensitiveness which enables him to read character and trend by

certain signs which would be totally lost upon many other very excellent but less acute and "sensitized" people.

It is notorious that in the detective line mistakes are much more apt to be made as to the character and purpose of refined and highly keyed persons under suspicion than where the subject is of a grosser and more ordinary type. The detective who has had dealings principally with the criminal class is very easily thrown off the scent when he comes into contact with what I might call without invidiousness creatures of finer clay. He simply does not understand the signs. But there is probably no profession in which a man learns to have more absolute confidence in his own powers of judgment and discrimination than that of the detective. Whether hit or miss, he must decide quickly, and it is the man that decides quickly who, as a rule, is most encouraged by his successes and least cast down by his failures.

I leave out of account mere hypnotism, mediumistic arts, and the like. These are necessarily occult to a large proportion of the men whose lives must be mainly devoted to the prevention of crime by a knowledge of the character and habits and general trend of suspected persons. While the power of hypnotism is now admitted by the medical faculty and is no longer merely empirical, still it is not, as an art, entirely at the service of the ordinary police or detective force, and the object which I am considering is the prevention of crime, or at any rate the finding of the ways and means to prevent it, by a study of types, aided, I frankly insist, by the personal, class, and educational prejudices of the detective mind. After we have built up a science of detection of this sort, then may come the effort to engraft it upon our national jurisprudence. The opposition to this will be something tremendous, for we are still fighting King John, with the barons, at Runnymede. "Every man's house is his castle," "Every man is innocent until he is proven to be guilty," "Better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer," and so on through the whole repertoire of wise saws and Magna Charta inspirations, the original application of which was in the interests of liberty and was a relief in a super-

stitious, semi-barbarous, wholly feudalistic age; but which has long been suspected as an anachronism by some of the most acute jurists in the English-speaking world.

If society wishes to protect itself it must possess the weapons and must be allowed—that is, it must allow itself—to use them. Theoretically, it is against the law to carry concealed weapons without the permission of the chief of police. But if the express messenger, for instance, knows that he is likely to be attacked while in the performance of his duty or otherwise, “in the peace of God and of the state of” etc., he is apt to deposit the magic little persuader in his hip pocket, whether it is convenient to see the chief of police or not. Just so, if it is clear to the officers of the law, reasoning from their knowledge of the habits of certain individuals, or from general impressions, rendered easier to get at from a knowledge of criminal ways, that a certain individual is on the way to the commission of a crime, have I not as many rights to protect society as he has to enjoy his liberty until he shall have done something overt? College and school disciplinarians must proceed on this extra-legal line not unfrequently. They cannot wait for the overt; because it is their business to forestall just this very thing. What good does it do the victim of a cruel, perhaps disfiguring, haze at school, that the perpetrators should be punished, if they can be found and can be clearly convicted? If it is known that a certain individual, whether at school or in outside life, is disposed to disturb the peace, perhaps imperil the lives of others, the next step is to cut short his opportunities of so doing. But in doing this you at once transcend the limits of the legal into the extra-legal—or, as a vast number of people from a mistaken idea of personal liberty would call it, the “illegal.” Thus it is illegal to arrest a man for a crime which you feel he is purposing unless he has given you some tangible indications of such purpose which would be recognized as such by people of ordinary acuteness and knowledge of human nature. It is not a crime in all countries, not even in all so-called enlightened and Christian countries, to deprive the theoretically suspect of his liberties, for, if it was, treason would soon compass its ends. The evidence must

be in the mind of the man or men whose business it is to ferret it out and prevent its evil consequences. We of the English-speaking race, on the contrary, seem more solicitous for the liberty of the theoretically suspect than for the safety of our bank safes or even of our own lives. The threat of suit for false imprisonment is one of the most potent means which the intentional criminal holds as a rod over the heads of those who should have larger powers for the prevention of crime in its very embryonic stage.

It is always disagreeable to assume the airs of a reformer, for it seems to imply that one is wiser than his own day and generation and at least in his own conceit. It is also disagreeable to undertake a crusade which one foresees will be, for his day and generation at least, a failure. Still, the class of experts in criminal statistics and especially criminology proper, as a science, are forced more and more irresistibly to such conclusions as these if they set out with the postulate that the first and foremost object of such jurisprudence is the prevention of crime. If it is the punishment rather than the prevention, then their whole structure of preventive science falls to the ground. The officer of the law, the detective, etc., must at any rate allow the crime to be committed in order that he may punish it. The assumption of the law is that every man is innocent until he is proved to be guilty of the particular offense. The conviction of the detective in the case is that the man is capable of committing such a crime and that he will commit it just as surely as his liberty is allowed him. But this conviction is of doubtful utility to the detective in question: for how does he know when the wife and children will be murdered or the bank cracked? And in the case of crime in the higher circles of society, bank wrecking, conspiracy to defraud in the matter of an executive trust, etc., the injustice of repression in advance (in the eyes of people generally) is all the greater, for it crushes down the individual, who after all may be innocent, and sets him in a pillory of social shame where his family and friends must stand with him. This theory of the overt is indeed a powerful lever in the hands of criminals. It is rather late to lock the door after the horse is

stolen, or to assure depositors of the law's intention to make this man a warning when he has not left enough in the wrecked institution to pay them ten cents on the dollar !

The most difficult question of all, however, yet remains: How to apply prevention without a system of espionage which would reduce a free society to the condition of Asiatic serfs. Let me qualify the above by asking, Is it not just as difficult to get along without some change? In the rapidly shifting character of our population through emigration of all sorts, we begin to suspect that it is a European, not merely an American, problem which we will have to solve. Solve it we must, and the sooner we get ready the better. The gangrene of the wound is not materially aided by delay in applying the surgeon's knife. If we must have increased police authority and diminished recourse to *habeas corpus* and the law's delays, then the way will be made plain. Nature has a remedy for every known ill, and even prussic acid has its use in the pharmacopœia. To my mind, the first step in the direction of controlling the loose, ignorant, and vicious is (though the most unpopular in Anglo-Saxon ears) the passport. Nothing ever did or ever will locate a man, against his will though it be, more effectually than this, as Victor Hugo has shown so graphically in the story of Jean Valjean's later struggles with the implacable hostility of the non-criminal world. In Jean's case it worked great hardship, and so modern criminals released from prison are prone to complain that the world is cold and harsh. But, as a matter of fact, the convict fresh from the lock step may marry and go into society in a strange place if he is willing to risk the chance of subsequent identification and exposure. It may be well, however, that the ex-convict, if a promising subject, be given a chance to show the best that is in him and not be handicapped by being placed in a fresh pillory of notoriety. There are enough other criminal subjects whose cases come up in this connection.

The rogue's gallery of course is a convenience to the police, though not so much to the general public. The tramp and crank are as yet untouched by legislation. The coming peril from these classes will be great, but the common law of England

has made no special provision for the control of these classes which did not exist in a feudal age. Instead, we clothe these fungous growths with the dignity that hedged about the Norman baron, after Runnymede's battle of parchment was fought and won. He cannot be touched until he has done something overt. Of course we all admit that there is a police privilege of requiring suspects to show visible means of support, and we also know how miserably inoperative it is. Besides, it amounts to this: that while the man who has no money and no work is probably deserving of the workhouse, the man who has money, even if he have no work, is as impregnable as Gibraltar's rock until he perpetrates some great social or financial offense.

It ought to be clear, therefore, that whether we are going to hug the old Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman idea of personal liberty or not, there should be some development of the study of criminology, especially as affected by heredity and as foreshadowed and symptomized in the gait and tastes and style and appearance generally of individuals whose life is shadowy. Our population is becoming every year more complex. The old American type is rapidly changing. New shades of criminality inevitably present themselves in the wake of this more rapid fusion of elements. Marriage, business association, and the impact of one form of civilization on another in other ways, do surely produce new types of criminals, just as surely as the national blood is in many instances revived by a proper fusion. We must prepare for the evil as well as recognize the good. The new criminology of our country will be a fruitful theme.

WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

REFORM AND REFORMS.

BY DUANE MOWRY, OF THE MILWAUKEE BAR.

I ADHERE to the conviction that the average professional reformer is an unsafe, if not a positively dangerous man ; that the public is justly wary of him ; that his honesty of purpose is not above suspicion ; that his constructive ability is not beyond question.

I insist that to the American ear reform is becoming a most distasteful term ; and that the majority of so-called reformers are looked upon as obnoxious individuals.

I maintain that a reformatory movement in the interest of the public service of this free country, to be tolerably successful and generally acceptable to the masses, must invoke such methods as shall make the masses feel that the attempt to improve existing conditions is begotten solely of a high and lofty desire to advance the common weal, and is thoroughly unselfish and genuine. A reform movement not so begotten and not so nurtured ought to meet, and generally has met, ignominious defeat. The transparent insincerity and monumental selfishness of many professional reformers have tended to awaken distrust in all attempts at reform ; have arrayed the foes of good government in one solid phalanx against a most vulnerable point in the armor of the friends of true reform ; have rendered nugatory many well-directed efforts which had in process of realization meritorious reform movements ; and, worse than all else, have been the unholy precursor of untoward defeat and failure.

Self-aggrandizement and a *personnel* of dishonest and insincere friends largely in the majority, are not the only obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of any very marked improvement in the public service. Absolute incompetency is too often the death-blow which true reform meets in the camp of its enthusiastic, overzealous, and unreasoning friends. Such support can afford

no advancement to any attempt at better government. Such alleged champions retard the onward march of genuine reform movements. Such friends are better avowed enemies. True statesmanship has been defined to be that quality which sees not only the existing evil in human government, which evil it is ready to destroy, but is also able to propose a remedy which, in the final outcome, shall not only remove that evil, but effectually prevent greater evils to follow than it has been sought to avoid. The statesman, therefore, is not merely destructive in his methods; he is constructive as well. I have thought that this definition needs but slight, if any, modification, to be applicable to the true reformer. We all know that it is easy enough to find fault. The smallest and the narrowest mind, worthless in practical affairs, can do this. Destructiveness is not confined to a class, to a section, nor to an age. It is a universal quality. Not so with constructive power. It is the possession of wisdom, of profound thought, of the highest and most complicated forms of human endeavor. I contend, therefore, that constructive ability must supplement every honest attempt at genuine reform in the administration of the public affairs of the country.

A proposed reform must be genuine. It must indicate a real evil that exists; it must suggest a reasonable remedy. The idle cant and political intrigue of the unthinking multitude will not suffice. An appeal to unfair and dishonest motives must be condemned. True reform has to deal with the present. The conditions to be considered are of to-day. The temper of the people is generally right. Do not trifle with it. If you fancy that you can better existing conditions, if the people will permit it, go to work with the people as fair and reasonable beings, and aim to convince them of the sincerity and correctness of your position. If successful, the people will be with you. If you fail to convince them, you ought not to expect their support to your proposed scheme. There is an infinite amount of hard, common sense left with the great voting mass, and it only remains for the would-be leaders of public thought and action to find it out. A movement in the interest of good government, a genuine reform movement, means self-consecration and self-

sacrifice. For it should never be forgotten that the existing order of things is to be attacked. It may be overturned, and possibly some nefarious scheme defeated, some corrupt contract lost, or some favorite candidate found with the minority. Antagonistic efforts always awaken opposition, and opposition sometimes means loss of prestige in one form or another. It cannot be expected that the true reformer, who is essentially a fighting character, will have naught but a bed of roses to walk on or sleep on. His is hard work in the field of high and noble endeavor.

The true reformer is not necessarily dangerous. Most alleged reformers, however, who constitute the great majority of the supporters of reformatory movements, are sometimes dangerous and always unsafe. This for two reasons: absence of integrity and presence of gross ignorance. The danger we have to meet in the reformer comes not so much from the intention, as from the absence of definite, intelligent purpose. In either case, however, the effect of honest efforts to improve present governmental conditions is always disastrous. If we are ever to advance we must do so under the guidance of men who shall, by reason of their personal qualities mainly, secure our admiration, confidence, and respect. If every attempt along the lines indicated is hypocritical, then the border-line of danger is unpleasantly near.

Most reformers seem to have a very slight and brittle hold on the average American citizen. They seem unable to obtain hearing before the average audience that is at all commensurate with the importance of the questions to be considered. I have thought that this is because of the unwillingness of the workers to get down to a common level with the people and apply practical remedies to the eradication of patent and gross evils; to the absence of the practice of right living among themselves; to the surrender of themselves to absolute ease, at whatever cost to those who are made to suffer on account of the conditions about which they prate so loudly and so glibly.

Wherein, you may ask, lies the success of any attempt to secure better government? How is a genuine reform to be

obtained? Primarily, convince the public that an evil exists in the machinery of government, and that you propose substantial relief, and success will not be far distant. But this may mean a great deal of labor and an infinite amount of self-sacrifice. The public does not readily take up with every new scheme suggested; it is suspicious of those who come with soft hands and easy consciences to propagate a remedy for fancied ills. Education is necessary to a successful outcome of such an attempt. This must be pursued along several lines—in the pulpit, on the rostrum, and in the press, and by word and deed. You can add the lie to your word by your deed. This is failure. You can add the truth to your word by your deed. This will mean glorious success. Reform is indeed a disagreeable word to the American ear. But the very best human government is the ever-welcome condition of right-minded citizens everywhere.

DUANE MOWBY.

WASHINGTON'S VALEDICTORY.

BY WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

AS THE second presidential term was drawing to a close the public hope was indulged that George Washington would, for a third time, accept that high station in which he had won the gratitude of the people, and thus insure to the new form of constitutional government a continuance of the honorable and dignified administration so favorably begun. In response to this wish of his countrymen, which had been expressed and yielded to at the end of Washington's first term, he makes announcement of his resolution to retire from the affairs of state in an address to the American people. He stamped this address with that integrity and simplicity which mark all his writings, and with a clearness and determination that left no room for misconception.

As if in anticipation of the affectionate appellation we have attached to his name, he speaks like an experienced parent, interested in the felicity and welfare of his children, and gives us the wisest counsel for future conduct. No archives contain another document embodying so much patriotism, displaying so much political wisdom, and expounding, with such fidelity and solicitude, the policies and principles which should regulate a nation's foreign relations. He did not write as a philosophical theorist, or present an abstract essay, but rather an epitome of his experience as chief magistrate, and a plain statement of the principles which, he assures us, guided him in the discharge of his official duties.

Consider the obstacles to be overcome by the first executive. An untried system of government awaited experiment. Waiving the question as to whether a nation was formed from a confederacy, it has since been shown that the new constitution had all the elements of national life. The supreme test of a democ-

racy had not been made when it was proven that it could fight successfully. A great army of citizen soldiery had been disbanded; would it remain in the ranks of peace? Factionous and even disloyal men were in the community; would they disturb the public tranquillity? Dissatisfaction and lack of confidence existed; would the progress of the new organization be thereby impeded? But history renders it unnecessary to particularize further; Washington's administration raised the nation from confusion and weakness to order and strength.

A careful reading of the Farewell Address will deepen one's admiration for the author and suggest much that is of practical importance to-day; for while men pass away and times change, principles survive. No prayer for union in 1861 was more fervent than Washington's. No one has ever seen with clearer vision than he the dangers of foreign alliance and influence, of sectionalism, of party spirit and localization, of constitutional alteration, of individual usurpations and impositions; no one has realized more fully the value of public credit and education, neutrality, commercial intercourse with other nations, and a defensive military organization. Never has the American idea of liberty more thoroughly permeated one's soul. After asserting that it is not a lack of gratitude or patriotism that prompts his resolution to resign from public life, but that a proper consideration of all the duties of citizenship, and a necessary regard for his own health, as well as a propitious time in the nation's affairs, dictate the step, he yields to his successor the mantle of his authority with such grace and naturalness as to inspire confidence in the future; and then, as if the fruit of his mind ripened amid the experiences of his public services belonged to his country, he presents for our contemplation the parting admonitions of a sagacious observer. And first, a topic of transcendent concern is Union. "It is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize." He refers to the advantages of Union, its necessity. The attempts that would be made against it from external and internal sources.

The causes and artifices leading to these attacks. The constancy and activity which would characterize them. The importance of a careful watch, and resolute frowning upon the first indication of an attempt to separate one portion of the country from the rest. From sentiment, the Union should be preserved, "citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism." And to be an American meant to be imbued with American ideas; it meant conviction in the principles of free government, it meant liberty.

The North and the South, the East and the West, must have the unrestrained intercourse promoted by a common government and community of interests, protected by equal laws, thus freely exchanging their respective products, encouraging commercial and manufacturing enterprises, and improving internal communications.

United, all sections must feel greater strength and resource, and proportionately less danger from external aggression. Likewise they avoid the rivalry which opposing alliances and attachments would create, and are relieved of the burden of making large military showings. "These considerations," observes Washington, "speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire."

The South chose to disregard the wisdom of Washington, preferring to submit questions of constitutional right to physical strength, an appeal which no law can prevent. But had the discussion been confined to real interests, had reason, instead of arms, been appealed to, the force of Washington's argument would probably have been admitted by the southern people. It is safe to say that the Union is now indissoluble, that, indeed, we have become accustomed "to think and speak of it as the palladium of political safety and prosperity." And this is well.

Union has a legitimate purpose, which is briefly stated in Washington's valedictory. It is as important that this should be understood now as it was in 1861. Some people seem to for-

get that the essential benefit they derive from union is of a negative character, and they look for positive material, one might almost say pecuniary advantages. A great many of these notions are foreign to the purposes of a plain democratic government; they rather emanate from a monarchical system, where tradition and instinct incline to a centralized, parental government; where everything is the state, its glory, its aggrandizement; where individuality is weakened, and a dependent subject takes the place of a self-reliant citizen. Such ideas belittle the negative power of government, yet are a recognition of this power—the mere fact of the strength in union, that gives us a standing in the eyes of other nations. Individual liberty also is negative. It is a security from wrong, a removal of obstructions, an opening of a field for individual freedom; no positive happiness is bestowed, only a way cleared to enable one to achieve his own happiness. The chief political good all governments promote is negative. In a word, the highest good of the Union is its preservation of peace relations, holding us in a friendly sisterhood of states, united for common objects, and leaving us, as a people, to accomplish our own happiness through individual energies.

This is apprehended to be the primary purpose of our Union; nor need the extent of its functions be disparaged, for, when understood, we find so many blessings poured out upon us, so much happiness and prosperity, that it is with ill grace we ask for more. It may be that there are other ends of a general government not yet in operation here, but it requires a close observer, in view of what has been done, to discover wherein the present limitations have retarded enterprise or advancement. Our danger now does not lie in the Union's dissolution, but in centralization. There are those who want national growth, enterprise, excitement; and we to-day must watch with the vigilance recommended by Washington to see that the *object* of union is not perverted by demagogues and speculators.

Washington next warns us against "characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—Atlantic and western." There are many apparent reasons for this advice.

Localize party, and the extreme evils of party spirit, of which Washington subsequently speaks, would be likely to follow. A political party extending over an immense territory is free from the embittered controversies which would arise if confined to sections. Defeat in one section is partially compensated for by success in another, and as the result is made to depend upon many districts and states, the heat of an election is not so great at any particular spot. The leaders of a sectional party would curry favor at the expense of other sections, and thus establish discordant relations between them. The interests of different parts of the country would be represented as opposed to each other, whereas a party unbounded by geographical lines will tend to preserve harmony by moderating the selfish sentiment of any section.

The inherent weakness of an alliance or confederation was of too recent a demonstration to call for comment. "Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns."

Respect for law and authority is enjoined upon each citizen, and only so far as it is observed can there be any liberty. Combinations to awe the deliberations of the regular administration are only the resort of cunning men, who would first destroy the constituted authorities, proceed to usurp their prerogatives, and then crush the very associations with which they had connived. This was not a prophetic dream, it is one of the lessons of history.

On the subject of constitutional amendment, which may be the chosen means to subvert the constitutional system, Washington says: "In all changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as other human institutions, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much rigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable."

Washington next considers the influence of party spirit; we

would prefer to say party passion, for party spirit, temperate, independent, intelligent, is as necessary as it is natural. Nothing can be worse than blind, excessive party spirit, unless it be an utter disregard of politics. The writer could not indorse a word from any source which discouraged moderate party spirit. That it was not a temperate spirit to which Washington referred is plain, for he calls it a "spirit of revenge," causing such miseries as result ultimately in persuading men to seek security in the absolute power of an individual. The other extreme, an absence from the polls, strangely enough, would lead to the same end; a few active politicians would be in complete possession of the government. We shall speak of that party spirit which, delineated in its strongest colors, fosters plots and counter plots, winks at corruption, destroys decency, excites jealousies, provokes revenge, violates friendships, abolishes candor, creates enemies, stifles patriotism, banishes confidence. A party spirit that effects all this, that follows names and banners, that does not consider men and measures, engenders all the mischiefs to which Washington alludes. It is "a fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

The scope of the address cannot be more forcibly impressed than by indicating the subjects dwelt upon, in appropriate proportions to the whole, in the remaining paragraphs. In arrangement it is a composition hard to criticise. Simplicity is interwoven with dignity, and his argument carries with it conviction.

The separation of public functions into the three departments, executive, legislative, judicial, is enjoined with a cogency of reasoning which is amazing when the time the address was written is taken into consideration. The tendency of encroachment, prompted by an insatiable yearning for power, had evidently already asserted itself. No matter what the government be in name, the consolidation of the three departments into one would render it in fact a despotism. A constitutional distribution of the functions of administration, placing limitations upon its recognized divisions, is called in modern political language, the checks and balances of government. The equilibrium estab-

lished by the Constitution between the different depositories of power, is the best assurance we have of national stability, and it is the foundation of individual liberty.

Of the duties of men and citizens, their respect for religion, morality, and virtue, and for the general diffusion of knowledge, we make but this passing reference, for all know so well the sentiments of him who combined the highest ideals of a citizen, Christian, and American.

He next advises us to preserve public credit, to avoid the "accumulation of debt, not only by shunning the occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burdens which we ourselves ought to bear." An extravagance in public affairs during times of peace, so as to render necessary the continual issuance of bonds or unreasonably high taxes, duties, or excises, ought not to be indulged in, and it is our representatives, as guardians of the national treasury, whom we should hold responsible for the waste of public money. The lavish way in which the people's money is expended is frequently urged as an excuse for the begrudging spirit in which some meet their contributions to the public funds.

In the observance of exact justice and good faith toward all nations, two serious mistakes are averted: the first, a permanent antipathy against certain nations, which leads to a rigorous and overbearing foreign policy, causing friction and irritation, and subjecting calm judgment to haughty ostentation. And second, the other extreme, which Washington himself had to contend with, is a strong attachment of favoritism extended to a particular nation. Such a sentiment, substituted for justice, is as conducive to foreign entanglement as an obstinate policy. It brings to our secretary of state considerations which belong to outside nations. It precipitates us into quarrels on behalf of the favored nation, thereby depriving us of that neutrality and independence we ought to retain, and needlessly incurs the ill-will of other powers. Either of these deviations from simple justice toward all nations, whether it be passionate hatred or

fond attachment, is thus seen to be a source of embarrassment. There have always been those in this country who devote themselves to alien interests at the sacrifice of our own, and many times this has been a safe cloak used by the unscrupulous to disguise their attempt to win the confidence of voters who have come here from the favored country.

With an emphasis nowhere else exhibited in the address, Washington says, "against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government." Such a jealousy must be impartial, for the same reason that our national policy should be impartial, as otherwise the intrigues of a favorite nationality would not be detected, while the less fortunate foreigner would be too easily suspected.

We should seek commercial, but not political, relations with the foreign world; this Washington declares to be our true foreign policy. Controversies will arise in Europe, and as our peculiarly isolated position removes us from them, why bind ourselves by artificial ties that drag us into unnecessary difficulties?

Live up to the obligations assumed, but do not be deceived in extending them under the delusion that something may be gained without a corresponding release of our own rights; provide respectable defensive establishments; make *temporary* alliances if advisable to meet an emergency; stand on the vantage ground of neutrality; "these counsels of an old and affectionate friend," concludes Washington, "I dare not hope will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; . . . but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impositions of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated."

WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

REMEDIES FOR POLITICAL EVILS.

BY HENRY HERZBERG.

IN THIS hour of political skepticism, an analysis of the operating causes and attending effects of certain specific evils which cloud our political horizon may not be untimely. The question whether or not disintegrating agencies are coeval with governments themselves, if exhaustively treated, would demand a review of the past history of human society; but for the writer's premises a more restricted observation will suffice. The social institutions and laws of those countries whose governments were shaped by Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, and Alfred were not unlike those of modern civilization; the dissimilitude being less marked than is commonly supposed. Perhaps the history of no country in the world is as pregnant with lessons of pivotal uncertainty of political institutions as is that of Greece from the very dawn of its chronicled events to the present day. The adoption of Solon's constitution with its subsequent amendment by Cleisthenes conducted in no insensible degree to the intellectual and political development of some of the Greek states. As is well known, letters, arts, sciences, and philosophy distinguished the history of the Athenian commonwealth. However, progress even under the impulse of such wise and equal institutions was widely impeded in its march. Without premonitory crises, monarchies were altered to oligarchies, and these in turn were overthrown by the ascendancy of tyrants. Again, the ordinances of the great law-giver of Sparta, Lycurgus, worked great changes in the very constitution of society, yet with all the equality of man's relations which Lycurgus's constitution enunciated, an authority has said "that he ended with creating a community in whom not merely the love of preëminence but even the love of money stands powerfully and specially developed." Likewise, if we examine the

first decade of constitutional government in modern Greece, we shall find it to be a record of party struggles for supremacy, turbulent elections, ministerial changes, and insurrections.

An historical retrospect will disclose the fact that Greece and the medieval Italian countries essayed well-nigh every system of polity known to nations, from an oligarchy to a democracy, and were variously great in all those achievements to which a high civilization in its exalted vaunts may aspire; yet their decline was irresistible and anomalously such decadence was effected through the self-same system of government as was their ascendancy. It would then appear that the stability of nations is indicated by such criterions as these ancient countries afford and is not wholly dependent upon any particular scheme or form of government.

Disintegrating forces which have dissolved nations owe their origin to various causes: Foment has been produced by the ambition of tyrants, by oppressive legislation of intolerant rulers, by warring factions and belligerent parties, finally resulting in intestine wars; but the *vital and paramount agency* which has disrupted aristocracies, monarchies, and democracies alike, is the profligacy of a people. Indissolubly linked with the stability of a nation are the morals of a people. Quite early in the life of the republic our patriots in no uncertain tones sounded the danger of public immorality. Washington with aptness observed: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable. In vain would we expect that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest supports of the duties of men and citizens." In concurrent manner, Webster expressed this opinion: "It is only religion, morals, and knowledge that can make men respectable and happy under any form of government."

When the Federal Constitution was conceived, the predominant thought in the minds of its projectors was the creation of such a government as would best conduce to the accomplishment of true liberty, the basic principle of which is "equal and exact justice to all men." Yet the fathers of the republic fully

realized that concomitant with its very establishment, contingencies would arise exacting an eternal vigilance. Lamentably we have heretofore ignored these warnings, relying upon the anchorage of an exuberant national strength when threatened by storm or tempest.

But an investigation is pending. We have discovered a cankerous growth corroding our body politic, which evil if not checked will extend beyond control, as noxious weeds spread if not promptly uprooted. However, before we can apply a remedy, we must first study the pathology of the evil. That the elevation of the state can be subserved only by the moral purity of the individual is deducible from the philosophy of many deep thinkers. This psychological inference strongly appeals to our reason, yet I believe the degradation of our politics barely a subjective refraction of the American character as developed in our homes. But the leaven of corruption was engendered by a rapacious greed for wealth in which the baser passions and sordid promptings of man have been acutely nurtured and finely developed, and this insidious spirit, altogether foreign to the prime end and aim of government, was incurred by naught else than the loose administration of our laws which a perversion of liberty has incurred. Our institutions were gradually shorn of the garb with which true liberty in its essence did so sacredly clothe them, and with this subversion of liberty, steadfastly the patriotic stamina was eradicated from the fiber of the American citizen.

But is there weighty evidence that we are in the midst of a retroactive movement? Is our form of government incompatible with a high civilization? Are our institutions with their solid substratum at variance with an elevated morality? I say no.

Wisely, most countries adhere to those forms of government which their past history and traditions have commended. As Jefferson observed: "Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." New forms ingrafted in the scheme of government in many countries would more nearly tend to disruption than rehabilitation.

I believe that there is less urgency for a change of our institutions than there is an essential demand for a closer study of their intricacies. There is an appalling ignorance extant of the character of our institutions, as colored by that great instrument, our Constitution, and even public men have been remiss in a close consideration of its complexities. Contrary to popular belief, history imputes various constructions of the Constitution by its very framers. As a matter of fact, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson differed in their interpretation of the great document. Jackson advanced further than any of his predecessors, virtually instituting democracy without precedent or even the influence of an unwritten code; wholly assuming that the people desired a more popular government than they had yet enjoyed. At present we are deeply concerned with but one thought—that of the corruption which has surreptitiously crept into our politics.

A number of expedients may be employed to clarify the atmosphere of political bacillus with which it is so copiously charged. Prominent among these is the "Good Government Club" plan, and, judging from the readiness with which such clubs have been already formed, argues either much in favor of their possible utility or more to the paramount need of specific measures of reform. However worthy in intent may be these clubs, material results are unlikely to be realized, simply by reason of their inability to attract the masses, and the masses or the voters being uninfluenced, the power of such clubs cannot but be contracted. Further, it is not improbable that the enemy of good government, the arrant knave wearing the stern and forbidding countenance of the reformer, will stealthily gain admission and delude the belated but honest citizen by fraternizing in the most fervid Damon-and-Pythias-like fashion.

This paper would signally fail of its practical aims did it offer no pertinent and feasible suggestions leading to the purgation of our political life and the enhancement of its environs. It is now proposed succinctly to outline a process of reform. If the expressions herein employed be less staid and more tart than those to which a genial public may be inured, its kind indulgence is craved.

Thus far political thinkers have been unable to define the limits of the powers of the state. In every procedure of life the guiding principle should be prudence, which dictates that extremes are to be avoided. A government should neither adopt the "*laissez faire*" or non-interference plan, nor approach a socialistic *régime*, but it should occupy a position which is a mean between the two. In its very name, the state should possess a magnetic influence and the indisputable and incontrovertible privilege to govern: thereby is meant not the coercive state, not the tyrannical state, not the despotic state, nor the state which is synonymous with perverted liberty—that liberty which is but a name, hollow and inane, that liberty which develops into a ribald license when the freeman considers himself manacled as with the fetters of a bondsman—but let us have the humane state, I should term it; the state which controls all human interests with a justice as nearly even and exact as is consistent with man's fallibility; the state which shall be the rigid guardian of all her subjects and shall grant alike to all the sweets of her unifying influence.

In a country vast as is ours, the temptation to centralize power and wealth for private emolument is great, and in extenuation of the former the plea is advanced of minimizing patronage—a most desirable end, but not through such means. Therefore, America must adopt such stringent but equal laws as will likewise accrue to the protection and freedom of the masses independent of all classes, and the laxity in the administration of existing laws for the preservation and furtherance of peace must inevitably yield to a more rigid enforcement of such statutes, lest through our proverbial looseness we shall still further sink into a state of torbid neutrality and the condition of placid supineness.

To carry the reform a step further, the "merit" system should be extended without reserve, which means the release of the remorseless grasp of the "boss" upon politics and the annihilation of every vestige of that infamous "spoils" system; a system whereby the victor, as the triumphant fighter is termed in pugilistic parlance, assumes control of office, governs with

his henchmen, and at will and without cause evicts a worthy incumbent. The damage wrought upon public morals by this "spoils" system may be better understood by the following lines from Mr. Eaton's admirable treatise on "Civil Service Reform in Great Britain":

The spoils system not only imperils the purity, the economy, and efficiency of the administration of the government, but it destroys confidence in the method of popular government by party. It creates a mercenary political class, an oligarchy of stipendiaries, a bureaucracy of the worst kind, which controls parties with a relentless despotism, imposing upon them at the elections issues which are prescribed not by the actual feelings and interest of the country, but solely by the necessities and profit of the oligarchy, while to secure this advantage, party spirit, the constant and mortal peril of republics, is inflamed to the utmost. Government by the people, four fifths of whom simply vote for the ticket or the measures prepared by the oligarchy, sinks practically into the empire of a corrupt ring.

Unfortunately our civil service was unprovided with a safeguard to preserve its purity. Coincident with the growth of the country, the machinery of government became cumbrously complex, but the rustic simplicity which originally characterized the appointment of officials in the civil service, continued until comparatively a recent period, as the Civil Service Act was executed with but sluggish activity. Henceforth we should clothe the Civil Service Commission with more sweeping authority, which no party shall dare ignore, since as soon as the principles of the "merit" system are applied to all the departments of the government we will have at once heightened the standard of public morals. Describing the results of civil service reform in Great Britain the before-mentioned authority says: "The system, in short, is a grand triumph of patriotism, character, education, and capacity over selfishness, official favoritism, and partisan intrigue, and marked the highest elevation that government action has ever reached." Furthermore, when our civil service shall have been thoroughly reformed, many voters who at present support candidates purely for reward in the substance and shape of some paltry office (be it as lean as Pharaoh's kine) would virtually become so disinterested in elections as to forfeit their suffrage—a consumma-

tion not to be despised. It may also be not untimely upon the eve of an election to revert to Section 14 of the Civil Service Act, more especially for the benefit of those who are unwilling to be reminded of the salient provision :

That no officer, clerk, or any person in the service of the United States shall directly or indirectly give or hand over to any other officer, clerk, or person in the service of the United States, or to any Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, or Territorial Delegate, any money or other valuable thing on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.

In the wake of these suggestions there should follow what might not inaptly be termed the ballot reform. An imperative need of the hour is that every citizen who is a citizen in thought and action be more piously imbued with the moral force of the franchise. The voter who shuns the polls on election day through sheer indifference annuls his influence as a citizen and to my mind is guilty of criminal negligence, whether or not he be willing to admit the gentle impeachment. Indeed, the business man practices false economy who devotes no time to public affairs, and virtually hands the reins of government to any candidate who claims recognition; thus by shirking the duties incident to self-government he abrogates his sovereignty ; and thereby deals a blow to popular government itself. I believe nothing more effective to measure fully the value of the franchise than an educational qualification, though the restriction be at first but meager. With such a change the franchise would cease to be a meaningless symbol—a plaything, as it were, with which every reprobate may toy and at a single idle stroke invalidate the vote of the honest and well-disposed citizen. With such a change certain degraded voters who now sell the privileges of citizenship for a mess of pottage will be deprived of suffrage. Further, with such a change all the respectable classes will exercise the power of suffrage and voters assuming a certain degree of moral responsibility will wield the ballot with both a painstaking care and an animated interest. It should be remembered that the present system of enlarged and universal ballot did not antedate Jackson's administration, and since its adoption was not authorized by precedent or law, its

amendment if essential to present needs is not to be deprecated.

In the train of the expansion of all the departments of government incident to our phenomenal growth we find another pressing evil: the immense patronage of parties, the diminution of which would be an accomplishment more glorious than the acquisition of Hawaii, the annexation of Canada, the success of insurgents in Cuba, or illegal Bering Sea seizures—all of which would contribute to the delight of the bellowing “jingoist.” This reduction of party patronage is to be effected by divorcing the relationship between municipal and state parties from national parties, absolutely avoiding their interdependence and thereby making complete the autonomy of each and heightening the purity and morality of both. Moreover, it may serve to weaken the intense spirit of party fealty. In the past, fanatical party bias has been highly prejudicial to the best interests of the nation, virtually stifling independence of thought and making its adherents slaves to the dictum of party managers and the behests of “practical” politicians. Too often parties have been moving forces in the wrong direction, in which event if the voter but relinquish this fanatical party zeal, he will be still a native freeman with judgment and patriotism overbalancing the prejudices and passions of party. In his Farewell Address, Washington with prescience expressed his solicitude:

Let me warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes under all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. Do not encourage party spirit, but use every effort to mitigate and assuage; a fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

Likewise among living exponents of broad and lofty statesmanship, unswerving and unfaltering patriotism, a figure towering high above all parties, Grover Cleveland has not been led by his party, but on the contrary has made the most determined efforts to lead it. Narrow-minded critics of a malignant par-

tisan type may not accord him just recognition, but it is a most gratifying sign of the times that a man of the president's stamp is appreciated and loved, for dearer in the hearts of the plain people of the land is no living public man. Party devotion must be dissolved and such dissolution will the speedier occur as we remember that *men and not the platform of parties give color to institutions*. The latter-day politician with subtle cunning decoys the unwary citizen, as Satan with wily craftiness beguiled the mother of mankind. The platform of a state party is but the "tuning of the proem" prior to a siege of unmitigated corruption. Our state legislatures are proverbially depraved. The record of state legislative bodies recently adjourned not only affords a most palpable illustration of the defeat of the will of the people, but the gross inordination of our public servants disgraces the American commonwealth. In turn, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Michigan, each was engulfed in a slough of degradation. A Philadelphia journal commenting upon the work of the Pennsylvania State Legislature said: "The leaders held high commissions from the people to riot in profligacy and to divide all the public plunder in sight among the laborers in the party vineyard." This criticism is but an estimate of the extreme danger of overzealous party spirit. I believe that the immediate and unequivocal divorce of state and national parties is the incipient wedge of reform of the government of our cities and states. The defeat of a municipal or state ticket becomes more irksome as it is intrenched in the folds of a national party, and the voter is less inclined to proscribe the action of a city or state legislature as he may be fettered by a "national party" zeal and bondage. This alienation of national and state parties may perhaps be further conducive of reform; there would be less occasion to employ the cunning device of "gerrymandering." A grosser practice of political theft could not be well conceived—an abuse which has too long blemished the fair name of so many states.

We shall next consider the best methods of attracting capable men toward politics. At present, when for the most part the honorable citizen eschews the field of politics and the average

American values government as but a necessary evil, it is not strange that good men are not aspirants for political honors. But when our civil service shall be reformed and placed upon a moral basis; when the ballot shall be exercised by those capable of appreciating its true work; when state and national parties shall be alienated, reducing party patronage and diminishing the vice of parties; when the dictatorial "boss" shall be banished from politics, then will capable men, happy in the enjoyment of the ambient air of political freedom, be once more attracted to office, but then only under one condition. It has been suggested that under improved auspices incorruptible men could be found who would serve without compensation. Doubtless this is wholly infeasible, as was demonstrated recently in New Orleans, where the plan was given a practical test and resulted in dire failure. Able men engaged in honorable callings and legitimate vocations are naturally not given to relinquish the pecuniary benefits resulting from earnest efforts and serve their country either without pay or for a nominal consideration. Positions of responsibility and trust should command salaries commensurate with their exacting duties. Further, by reason of the wide area, the capitals of the various states in most cases are far distant from the residence of legislative members, necessitating protracted absence from their homes and consequent inattention to private interests. In consideration of such sacrifice public positions in order to secure the best men must needs offer large compensation. It is also highly desirable that the scholar receive recognition in politics. The work of American universities is in harmony with our practical daily life. The theoretical pedagogue of the past has been displaced by the "practical scholar," and the latter term is no longer valued as a paradoxical expression. We require learned politicians, men who are schooled in affairs of state. In our legislative halls under the tutelage of political economists and statesmen "made of the sterner stuff," we may enjoy a rule devoid of that taint which has vitiated our national and state legislatures. Furthermore, when good men again occupy office, a cure may be effected of that flagrant misdemeanor, "lobbyism," a modern

genus of refined crime which peremptorily demands suppression.

Department of Agriculture. It is aimed in this paper to give a brief exposition of the work of this department of our government. While it is intimately associated with those whom it is designed to benefit, and its patrons recognize its masterly efforts in behalf of agriculture, its salutary work should be more generally appreciated. It is overshadowed by the accomplishments of no other department. Its influence as a vital force in the nation should be preëminent. Science is here wonderfully blended with practical wants. The success of farmers throughout the land will be proportionate to the interest manifested in the practical experiments of the various agricultural stations. The reader may here pause and inquire, Why should he (unless he be a farmer) be interested in the work of this department? This is the very economic aspect of the matter now to be presented. The farm is the very heart of the industrial world. From it ramify multifarious arteries whose blood sustains the very life of a country. For many years our farms have been bereft of much of their brawn and muscle, affecting the physical, moral, and financial condition of farmers, whose sons have drifted to overpopulous cities only to augment urban congestion. Hence it would be a panacea for many social ills incident to the unemployed were urban population relieved of its density. Also, were the work of the Department of Agriculture more widely advertised, not a few men eking out a precarious existence in large cities would seek to establish a home upon cheap farm lands capable of cultivation. The bulletins of the agricultural stations are temperate in statement, alluring not the indolent by roseate and false declarations, but rather indicating to the thrifty the way to successful farming by virtue of improved and scientific methods. After all, if we sought real intrinsic pleasures, we would find them obtainable in greater degree in the free and independent country life. Moreover, amidst the bustle and excitement of city life, the spirit of patriotism has languished; its revival lies in the hope of attracting men from overpopulous cities to the country, where some of America's noblest sons first drew the breath of life, and then we will not

have been oblivious to Jefferson's warning: "That we shall remain virtuous as long as agriculture is our principal object."

The Press. Of vital import is the revival of interest in true citizenship and the best means which will insure instruction to our youth in its primary and higher elements. Aristotle has said, "Man is born a citizen." For present needs a transcription is necessary: Man is born, to become a citizen—but by what means is it to be accomplished? By the introduction of militarism in our public schools, the last remnant of an effete feudalism? I conceive that citizenship can be best subserved by the enlightenment of the masses, and this education can be diffused only by the newspaper. Upon this subject, Washington in this manner declared himself: "Promote as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Truly dull is that person who underestimates the value of the American press. In the past the newspaper was essentially the organ of a political party. Partisan sheets reveling in inglorious tirades against the opposing party, outraging decency and morality, were rather the rule than the exception. But a brighter era has dawned upon us. The press is rapidly becoming independent in thought and expression. Indeed, when public opinion shall have become healthy it will stoutly oppose blind leadership by the organs of any political party: the press must be the voice of the people and not the mouth-piece of a party. The liberty of the press has clothed news journals with well-nigh unlimited influence, but if they overstep not the precincts of decency and propriety, resorting not to fulmination and abuse, but religiously diffuse knowledge to the masses, they will become the fulcrum on which public opinion shall rest. The separate parts, as it were, of public opinion are its citizens. Strengthen each part, you strengthen each citizen, until the whole will have become one vast, momentous, and cohesive governing force.

At this very juncture, when the conception of the money question by men high in the councils of their party is at best

deformed, it devolves upon the newspaper to educate the masses. Yes, it should be a solemn duty of the press to counteract the evil influences of the frenzied silver-inflationists, who are armed with wily and specious arguments. Their chicanery, productive of a "calumnious art of counterfeited truth," will delude the unthinking and unwary, and can be combated only by honest and thoughtful discussion.

The press of the future must also be a searchlight penetrating the dark recesses wherein nurture unhealthy schemes and propagandas indigenous to foreign soils. It must crush in embryo any dastardly attempt to despoil our institutions of their form and color. It must with circumspective eyes watch that church and state ever remain separate. It must further prevent the various "isms" which are fed by the dregs of pseudo-educational systems, from taking root in the popular mind. In short, the press must become our vigilance committee, and the guardian of both public and private interests.

The matter of electing our senators directly by the people has also received mature consideration from thinking minds. However, since it would materially tend to alter the complexion, if not the very constitution, of the Senate, the change at this time is perhaps ill advised. In his "Defense of American Constitution," John Adams thus describes the Senate: "The rich, the well-born, and the able must be separated from the mass and placed by themselves in a Senate." It will be seen that our government as originally conceived virtually savored of an aristocracy, or rather the Senate was intended to act as a check upon the people themselves, which is the House of Representatives. At all events, radical changes in the fabric of our government are to be discountenanced, existing ills can best be combated with the accession of better men to politics.

RECAPITULATION.

1. We should more rigidly enforce existing statutes and adopt yet other stringent laws, as will inure in greater degree to the protection of life and property.
2. We should clothe the Civil Service Commission with

greater power, whose authority no parties dare waive. Civil service reform *in toto* should be extended to every department of the government, insuring efficiency and economy in our public service and heightening the standard of public morality.

3. We should require an educational qualification of the ballot, or ballot reform, tending to enhance the moral force of suffrage.

4. We should divorce national and state parties, thereby destroying their interdependence, which shall reduce party patronage, nullify party bias, and make possible the reform of municipal and state governments.

5. When the standard of morality by virtue of civil service reform is heightened, we shall again attract capable men toward politics, but they will command salaries commensurate with the exacting duties of important positions.

6. A more general interest should be manifested in the work of the Department of Agriculture, serving to attract men from congested cities to farm-life, thus relieving the density of urban population and minimizing the evils incident to the unemployed.

7. Every citizen should keenly appreciate the sacred mission of the American press. We should value it as an exponent of lofty citizenship, and through its influence the masses will be enlightened and in turn public opinion fortified.

And, finally, when we are mindful of the absolute sovereignty which popular government vests in every citizen, and that it can be subserved only by a strict performance of duty, then will the latent spirit of patriotism be kindled in every American heart, and we shall become the arbiters of our grand destiny.

HENRY HERZBERG.

A RETURN TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SELF- GOVERNMENT.

BY L. ELSEFFER.

THE thoughtful student of biology, in seeking for the causes of the actions of men, as exhibited in the different phases of life from the primordial conditions of society up through the so-called civilized states of Greece and Rome and medieval Europe to the polished and cultured nineteenth century man of England and America, is at once amazed and perplexed at the exhibit which mankind makes for itself in these latter days. He is led to believe that the moral standing of man at present, when compared with the more advanced state of the Roman citizen of the Augustan Age, or the Athenian in the age of Pericles, is not an ideal one by any means; nor one even to be commended as a model for future generations to pattern after.

If we may believe the chroniclers of those times, there were in the Eternal City, at the acme of its material grandeur and moral degradation, preëminent examples of modesty and virtue among its beautiful daughters and stately matrons; and while Roman homes were thus adorned, the nobler qualities of manhood must have been frequently identified in many of its sons.

Licentiousness in private life and shameful extravagance in public affairs, indulged in by the wealthier and representative classes of the community, soon cast a baneful shadow over the whole mass of the body politic, insidiously creeping into the cottage of innocence, blasting the home of industry and thrift, implanting the seeds of envy in the breasts of respectable poverty, and by its debauching and enervating influence weakening the solidity and besmearing the grandeur of the civil fabric, which soon totters to decay and rapidly passes to utter destruction.

If there be any one thing of which this age and country boasts

of more than another, it is our mental and moral greatness. But wherein are we morally great except in our asseverations? In the pure realm of mind we are making great progress and we have made wonderful advancement in the mechanic arts; but that this material progress shall prove a permanent blessing, it must necessarily be complemented by moral advancement. The one cannot rise to the height of honorable conspicuousness and retain its commanding position without being supported and maintained by the fair fame of the other.

The love of gain and individual power is instilled and encouraged by a natural law, and when exercised under the guidance of the moral law works in harmony with the subtler law of our being; lays no hardship on others in the exercise of its legitimate functions; encourages patriotism and philanthropy in the masses, and virtue, sobriety, and frugality in the individual; enshrines the home with respect and love, and stimulates the world to an honorable ambition. Though seeking its own advancement, it is attentive to the rights and efforts of others; and, like the true laborer, it insists in lightening the burdens of its more oppressed attendants while it raises the weight of its own.

Selfishness, then, though at the base of all that is discreditable in the human struggle for existence, is, nevertheless, one of the most commendable of attributes, when moderated by prudence and tempered with justice. Paradoxical as this statement may at first seem, a moment's reflection will make its truth apparent. Without a certain degree of selfishness there would be no advancement; for without a love of self there could be no love of home, or parental or filial affection; in fact, no desire to establish a home or permanent place of abode. Self-love, therefore, is the very sub-foundation of all individual prosperity and social blessing; but without a moral force accompanying it, it leads the individual into the grossest intolerances and the most filthy debaucheries, and society into the most abject sensualism and debasing avarice.

Admitting the statement to be true, that selfishness is at once the cause of our virtues and our crimes, we will inquire as to municipal reform; what it is and how it can be accomplished.

We first state this axiomatic truth, that "justice, integrity, and religion can alone preserve a country." With either of these lacking, there is wanting an element of prosperity; if in the beginning of its organization it can make no permanent advancement for the betterment of its condition, and if lost or unobserved at any time during the progress of its term, its retrogression will commence at once and its utter disintegration will in time follow. Therefore, in any state or condition of society of which we have any knowledge, or which we can conceive to be possible among mankind, wherein the majority of its people enjoy, or can enjoy, the largest liberty with the greatest blessings, this triad must be acknowledged by the citizen as of paramount importance in the government, and to be fairly observed in the every-day life of a large proportion of its people.

A reform, then, is a change from an objectionable state of social and civil life, which has become unbearable to a large class of the people, to a commendable, tolerable, pleasurable existence, wherein the rights and privileges of the many are respected by the few who have power and authority, official, legal, financial, or otherwise.

These attributes of good citizenship and national perpetuity being admitted, let us inquire under what conditions the people of the United States made their start in the race for national existence; why they have retained their commanding position among the nations of the earth; what signs of decadence, if any, are observable; and, if any be found, what remedies should be applied in order to prevent the calamity of destruction which has befallen every nation that has ever existed.

The Spanish and French adventurers who first sought the shores of the New World were actuated by the love of conquest, to add to the material grandeur of the mother-country, or the desire for gold, in the pursuit of which personal aggrandizement and individual avarice were stronger incentives to effort at colonization or conquest than love of empire. The hordes that followed in the wake of the advance assassins and freebooters came with no higher motives than their leaders, and were impelled to exertion toward permanent settlement by no heroic

principles. The consequence was that they were not the fittest to survive the wrack of time, to found a dynasty of true nobility, to establish freedom in the world, and provide for the permanent security of the eternal rights of man on the western hemisphere. Such magnanimous task was left for, seemingly, far weaker minds, with naught of worldly pomp and martial grandeur to aid them in their cause. The actors in these heroic achievements were the proscribed children of the British monarchy, with deep-set principles of Christian virtue, outcast in poverty from England's milder shores to bleak New England's coast; and there, on Plymouth Rock, to found a nation, acknowledging Israel's God alone to be the head and source of all power and authority and justice, truth and valor to be the fundamental requisites to lasting honor and renown. Puritanic principles prevailed over Spanish, Dutch, and French aggressions; the marauders of earth for dominion and gold were finally relieved from supremacy; and England, the true Ephraim, with her Bible and her brains, held undisputed reign.

Recreant to the principles she professed, forgetting the God of her fathers and the author of her material prosperity, with iron hand she sought to wring from exile subjects here the rights they held while in their island home; and, in her arrogance, forgetting that the blood of Englishmen coursed in the veins of her occidental dependents; that they had brought the blessed law of Israel with them to this distant clime, and that the God that England worshiped was the same divinity invoked by the descendants of the Plymouth band to aid them in throwing off the oppressor's yoke and to absolve the bonds which held them to the mother-land—England fought alone, without her God, who was now with Gideon's band, and by his aid, in accordance with his just designs, was founded on these wondrous plains a nation which should eclipse in moral and material grandeur all the monarchies old earth had ever known.

The prayer at Valley Forge; the self-sacrifice of the mothers of the Revolution; the daring of their sons; the heroism of their daughters; the solemn call on the God of Heaven by the signers of the Declaration of Independence to lead the remnant

of the American army against the hosts of lordly England—*these* were the causes that founded the American Republic, and the continued recognition and observance of these same principles have been the cause of our national prosperity and advancement to this day. Assign to other causes our success in arms who may, JUSTICE, INTEGRITY, AND RELIGION were the basic principles at the first; claimed to be such by the fathers at the incipency of the idea of self-government; acknowledged to be such by the masses of the people at the time, and recognized as such by all true historians to the present time. Other peoples have started on their national careers with principles less true, with objects less grand, with valor unsurpassed, with purely human ability unequaled; but they all forgot one important element to their success, they left the God of Israel out of their calculations; consequently, having attained the summit of their greatness commensurate with purely human effort, they declined, and the owls and the bats have for centuries made their nests within their ruins. How shall we escape a fate so solemn and an obliteration so profound?

That we have attained our position among the galaxy of nations well into the second century through an acknowledgment of and a more or less strict adherence to the principles so firmly held by the Pilgrim fathers, it seems would need no additional testimony to prove. As a nation, we believe in the God of Heaven. We acknowledge him in a thousand ways, nationally. The oaths administered by our courts of justice call on that God to witness the truth of our testimony. Our national, executive, and state magistrates are all sworn into office by calling on that God to witness the sincerity of their obligations. The national and state legislatures are opened every morning of the sessions with prayer to that unseen power whom all acknowledge as omnipresent. The laws of every state, as well as of the United States, recognize the church of God and its ministers and communicants as a most important factor in the body politic; and these churches are all erected to God and dedicated to his holy service as prescribed in the Bible, which the nation acknowledges to be the Word of God. In thus acknowledging

him in all our ways, he certainly is directing our paths. Hence there can be but one conclusion: that so long as our national life comports with our public profession, we must always exist. For *us* there will be no dissolution. This is the logical conclusion, if the premises are correct. There can be no mistake about it. If Christianity is not as exact a science as geometry, then we are not absolutely certain about anything that pertains to a future existence, or that there indeed be any future. The only trouble is, we are not so well posted in Christianity as we are in geometry. But, if the only light we have about that country whither we are traveling were as earnestly and carefully followed as we follow the reasonings of mathematics, there would be no doubt as to the correctness of our course; what we should meet on the way thither and what we should do when we arrive in that unseen land. Let us examine ourselves, therefore, by means of that great light before referred to, the Bible, to know certainly whither we are tending.

If the conditions for perpetuity were absolutely complied with—a very large portion of our people were God-fearing and God-serving—there would be no question as to the permanency of our institutions. They would last as long as time itself. But a doubt is here interposed. Are we what we profess to be? Are we *really* guided by that omnipotent power which we publicly and privately acknowledge in so many ways to be the author of our existence and by whose favor we are prospered? The records of the daily press, with its multiplicity of items of embezzlements, forgeries, malfeasances and misfeasances, will contests, divorce proceedings, arson cases, murders, suicides, poverty, wretchedness, and crimes of every conceivable variety and degree, tell the sad tale of a people who have strayed far away from the ancient landmarks set by Omnipotence at the beginning of the way of life; a people who have forgotten the God of their fathers and gone after strange gods; who have magnified their own importance, and whose almightiness exists only in their own imaginations. In reality, we are deteriorating and enervating ourselves with our debaucheries and losing our true nobility by our follies. Harsh as such a charge is and unreasonable as it

may at first seem, it is nevertheless the truth, and a little serious reflection will convince us of it. The Book of the Law, which was at first our guide, is discarded for another code, which has been formulated by human agency to suit our fancied emergencies. It is true we honor the God of Israel with our lips, but our hearts are very far from him; therefore, he has given us up to our lusts and our avarice, and the fate of Tyre and the desolation of Nineveh will be our portion at no very distant period unless we check ourselves in our mad career.

This is no false alarm. These are not the ravings of a diseased brain, the rantings of a crank. The cry has gone up all over the land, in many thousands of voices, for national, state, and municipal reform. It is patent to the most casual observer of passing events in our social history that we are on the highway to ruin, rushing thereto in delirium with frightful velocity; and sober-minded, conscientious people the world over, of high and low degree, are becoming frightened at the prospect—the catastrophe which must finally happen. The engineer is whistling for breaks, and they must be set at once, wherever they are, or the momentum with which we are now moving down this awful incline will carry us to utter destruction. The United States expects every man to do his duty to save the Ship of State from the doom that awaits her.

In this great national uprising, the pulpit is once more assuming its legitimate prerogative and is hurling its anathemas against high-handed corruption in municipal affairs; the deeds of darkness and venality are condemned in the house of the faithful. Political leaders and official aspirants prefer the flesh-pots of Egypt to the Land of Promise; and too many of their henchmen in our large cities prefer a short and merry life, with all that that implies, to the quiet respectability without the glamour of opulence, which should be the enjoyment as it is the prerogative of the American citizen. When good people everywhere, regardless of political affiliation, not only in the city but in the country precincts, are earnestly pleading that something be done to stem the tide of oppression and avert the danger which threatens both themselves and the nation from the

greed of the money power, the blighting influence of the brothel, the saloon, and the gambling den, the loathsomeness of infectious diseases which is inoculating the youth of the land through an introduction to a shameful profligacy, the usury taken in defiance of law by unscrupulous Shylocks, corporate blindness to the rights of the community, labor's disregard for the rights of the accumulations of industry and economy, the encroachment of organized capital on the natural prerogatives of labor—when all these crying evils are unblushingly paraded daily in the open columns of the public press, it is time that desultory thought was crystallized into operative conditions and action begun to reverse this tendency to disruption. When the jails, asylums, and almshouses of our country are crowded to their utmost capacity with criminals and unfortunates, it is time that the promptings of a common humanity should call for a halt and demand an inquiry into this abnormal condition of society. Certainly something is wrong in our social make-up, and it is very necessary that a change be instituted at once in any direction where relief is supposed to be secured. If the cry for relief is general, the wrongs complained of must be uniformly diffused through society; and if this be so, our situation is alarming, and it behooves every lover of honor, virtue, decency, and home to join in the effort to eradicate these evils; for if allowed to become more deeply rooted in our social fabric, their influence will soon be too great for any earthly power to cope with, and the ruin of Rome and the desolation of Babylon await the American Republic. The downfall of this nation is just as certain, under the continued blighting influence of public debauchery and private vice, carried on to the extent which we now see it, or are led to believe it exists from the cry for its suppression that is made, as there is a God who rules the universe.

We profess to believe in the statements of Scripture; and there is nothing therein contained that is more clear and unmistakable than that which relates to those nations who despise the law of the Lord, disobey the commandments of Sinai, and follow the lusts and revelries of the heathen world. As the

fall and final ruin of the cities and states of antiquity, so is the destruction of the United States assured, if the crimes of our people are not hastily checked, and the Lord of Hosts is not feared and honored as required by his law. Scoff who will, deride who may, "But the land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled; for the Lord hath spoken this word; for the earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances and broken the vessels of the covenant." This is the fiat of Jehovah, and there is no escaping it.

While there is time to avert so fearful a catastrophe, shall we not take warning from the voices of the ruins of the past and resolve to rescue our land from the horrors of extinction? The signs predicting our success and advancement in the last century were plain. The Book of the Law says: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." The fathers of our nation trusted in the God of Jacob to deliver them from their oppressors. That prayer which ascended for justice was believed to have been answered. "The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." Gideon's band was small, but it was mighty, because the Lord God Almighty fought for Israel.

The greatest national crime of the ages was American slavery; in a land consecrated to freedom, whose streams ran red to the seas with human blood to seal perpetually the continuance of that crime of barbaric years, that its horrors and baneful influence might be handed down the ages of futurity as "God-derived" and "God-acknowledged." That was blasphemy, so recognized by the world's civilization to-day, and millions in our land believe that in that awful conflict, He who fought for Gideon fought for Grant; that prayer brought Israel support, and prayer brought succor to the Union arms. The field of conflict was only transferred from Assyrian valleys to American plains, and the interval only about three thousand years. The cry of the oppressed ascended to heaven, and the God of mercy heard and the thunders of his wrath were visited upon the people.

Through the throes and horrors of war was the nation cleansed from her iniquity ; purified and redeemed from the curse ; and now, the angel with another vial of wrath is about to break the seal over this unhappy land as a punishment for other crimes whose terrible growth we as carelessly permitted as we did that of human slavery.

High-handed rascality in public places being acknowledged, ramifying every branch of the service, so that no officer, deputy, or menial is above suspicion, and a demand for reformation being made with a fear and an earnestness which command attention, let us consider what remedies may be applied to cleanse these Augean stables of the filth and corruption that have been allowed to accumulate for a hundred years. It will be found no easy task ; but a cause worthy a Herculean effort, and less will not accomplish it.

One of the most favorable omens in the incipency of the effort is, that a demand for action has been made from almost every quarter, which is an assurance of moral support to our efforts in the contemplated direction. A few mutterings of alarm have been ringing down the years ; an occasional blast from some high functionary or quiet observer of passing events, and heed should have been taken thereof while the now giant evil was in its infancy. It could then have been throttled, or at least so dwarfed that its power to threaten the nation in the future would have been very limited. But we hear the command of the Leader : "Fear ye not ; neither be thou dismayed" ; and we are encouraged to action.

We start out with the assertion that no system of reform will ever accomplish the desired effect that is not in strict conformity to the law of God. Mercy should indeed season justice ; but in this crusade against the hosts of evil there must be no squeamishness or mock-Christianity brought to bear on the effort ; but with iron hand and invincible will, the curse of the land must be wiped out, completely overthrown, as "the law and the testimony" will not allow us to weaken or falter in the work of destruction of those forces which threaten the life of the nation. The hard lines of despotic rule must be laid down ; and by this

it is meant that there must be no intervening conditions placed in the way to complete the work of systematic reform.

The first requisite in accomplishing our object is, to see that the criminal laws are rigidly enforced; and for this purpose it is necessary that the judges of our courts should be the first class of men to hold to accountability.

In most cases the penalty attached to a violation of law is on a "sliding scale." That is to say, the court is allowed "latitude" in rendering judgment. His finding must be within certain fixed limits—a maximum and a minimum of punishment for the same offense, beyond which he must not go, and less than which he cannot find. This discretionary power was intended to be vested in our judges from the best and most humane of motives: to throw a veil of charity, so far as consistent with the public good, over the faults and imperfections of mankind. The spirit of our laws in this regard is just; but the gradual encroachment of the powers of evil over the rights of humanity at large has so warped the rulings of justice in a long course of years that the effect that the law was originally intended to accomplish—the good-will of the criminal—has signally failed, and a return to a fixed punishment should at once be made, in the rendition of which "extenuating circumstances" should be largely disregarded, which will impress upon the minds of criminals that no light sentence will follow conviction; which, of itself, will tend in a large degree to lessen the inclination to commit crime.

That courts are greatly influenced in their judgment by the dicta of the community is not questioned. That they are so influenced for evil now is manifest from the cry which is going up from the people for reform in this particular. Now, if the people in their turn will support the courts in what has been heretofore called "a harsh sentence," in which the rights of the people are as closely looked after as the rights of the individual criminal are regarded, it will stimulate our judges to more rigorous findings, approaching more nearly to the maximum punishment as at present provided by statute, to the terror of evil-doers and the satisfaction and safety of the public. The accom—

plishment of reform in this line will lay largely with the people themselves. Our judges, with but few exceptions, are men of integrity and honor; and if supported by the people in meting out condign punishment to offenders, one of the ends aimed at will have been accomplished.

The second effort at lessening crime will be to take from the executive the pardoning power. The governor's clemency has come to be counted on in almost every case of criminal conviction; and to accomplish this, the trial court and jurors, the prosecuting attorney, the grand jury before whom the indictment was found, the clerk and the sheriff, together with a long list of "the most respectable citizens" of the locality, go up to the governor on petition, presented by "the Honorable Gentlemen of the Assembly," urging the extension of His Excellency's clemency "in this particular case," owing to "the extreme youth" of the culprit; his "first offense"; or, being "the only support of a widowed mother"; or, to "his past good behavior"; that he was led to the commission of the crime "by the influence of older minds"; or, from the "high social standing of his honored family," etc., etc., *ad infinitum*. With all deference to these many extenuating circumstances, they are too alarmingly frequent to be sustained in argument. The half-imbecile, penniless wight who has been used as a cat's-paw for more cunning rascals generally gets the full penalty of the law; while his wiser and more unscrupulous instigators and abettors, with money and friends at their command, get off with little or nothing in the way of punishment. This is no fancied picture, as any one who has been at all familiar with the criminal calendar and court practice can attest. It is one of the things complained of by the citizens of Chicago and other large cities and for which relief is asked in their pleadings. These ex-county and state treasurer defalcation cases, congressional, aldermanic, and corporation boodle cases, where the parties are "way up" in financial, political, social, and church circles—these are the fellows who do the irreparable damage in a financial and moral way, and who, as a rule, get less punishment than they deserve. The people are now demanding several additional twists in the

screw of justice in their case. Give them the "long term," regardless of what they once were. Of those who possess much, much will be required. They *ought* to be held to a stricter accountability than their less able and influential partners in crime. When the highway for a petition to the governor in such cases is completely barred, there will be fewer defalcations and wholesale robbery of the public funds. The Chinese remedy of decapitation in such cases may be both antiquated and barbarous, according to our enlightened views, but there is no denying its wholesome effect. If the necessity for executing such sentence occurs but once in a thousand years, as it is averred, we are of opinion that a like statute should be enacted in several of our states by way of trial, as it could be repealed at the next session of the legislature if found to be too bloody.

In the case of the governor's prerogative, as in that of the judge's latitude, the spirit of the law is just; but it has come to be abused, and we think it time to call for a suspension of that privilege, in the interest of good government.

With only these two suggested amendments to our laws, we believe the reduction of crime would be greatly noticeable. When the criminal classes realize that if they are convicted their punishment will be great, and also sure, and that no hopes can be entertained for executive clemency in their behalf, that the full term of their sentence must be served out, hesitation to commit crime will naturally present itself to the minds of those who are inclined to violate law.

Though our governors and judges are representative men, and in almost all cases above suspicion as to being implicated in conniving at crime, they are, nevertheless, men, liable as others to err in judgment, and, therefore, extreme latitude or exceptional license should not be accorded them in the discharge of their official functions as touching the punishment of criminals.

Having secured stern justice, for absolute justice is truly just, the next object of attack in the reform movement are the attorneys-at-law. This is the class from which are recruited our governors, judges, and legislators, to a very large extent; and though many of this class, of whom there are some three hun-

dred thousand in the United States, are noble-minded men, of large experience and great sagacity, who are not only an ornament to their profession, but a credit to the nation and the age, it cannot be denied, and I speak advisedly and with caution, that a very large number of this class are pettifoggers, rascals, sharkers of the first water, devoid of moral principle, and should be debarred at the very next term of court.

An attorney-at-law is a sworn officer of the court, whose province it is to see that no undue advantage is taken of one charged with crime; but that every benefit allowed him by law to establish his innocence shall accrue to him.

Now, in practice, all this is changed. The letter of the law is wholly inverted and its spirit misconstrued, thus evading its real intent. Choate, Mann, Webster, and other great lights of the profession have aired their opinions on this question; and the majority of them argue that it is not only the privilege of attorneys to use all honorable means in their power to clear their clients, but it is their duty to use *any* and *every* means, thereby implying dishonorable efforts, to shield their clients from the consequences of their misdeeds.

Now, this is the stand taken by a very large majority of lawyers; I may say almost all of them. The practice of this method in criminal cases is what is called, in legal parlance, "sharp practice." He who can by some quibble or technicality make null and void the convicting evidence, and thereby clear his client whom he knows to be guilty from previous profession, is a "sharp lawyer." Violators of the law are not slow to appreciate such ability and are willing to pay well for it. Such advocates always have a large and lucrative practice. Such men are by nature qualified to aid materially in securing exact justice, upholding the majesty of law, protecting the rights and liberty of the citizen, and being one of the most useful members of society; but the fact is, that such men cannot be induced to act as prosecuting attorney, for the fees allowed by the state in criminal cases are nothing to be compared to what can be secured from the criminal classes in their defense. The best attorneys who make a specialty of criminal law practice command from

\$20,000 to \$50,000 a year for their services. As life is short and the demands of society are abnormal and conventional, money is more to be desired than honors or a good name; hence, the best talent is almost without exception employed to defeat the ends of justice by defending the breakers of law.

That a reformation among this class of men should be at once effected there can be no doubt; for so long as such a state of things exists in the machinery of court practice, honestly disposed people can have little hope of receiving redress of grievance. No argument is necessary to substantiate this. The remedy to be applied in this matter, in order that crime may meet its just punishment, the dignity of the law preserved, and evil reduced to a minimum, is to allow no technicality of language or established custom to interfere with the carrying out of the ends of justice. All criminal statutes should be carefully worded, so there could be no ambiguity in their construction, and the code of criminal procedure should be equally explicit. Then, judges being held to a strict accountability for the rendition of justice and the security of the rights of the people, any man charged with the commission of crime could not hope to escape punishment therefor, if found guilty, through the force of custom or on a mere technicality.

If all attorneys were honorable men and actuated in their professional calling by a true Christian spirit, it would be absolutely impossible for a criminal to escape the punishment due to his crime; because, private confession of his guilt to his attorney, now privileged, that is, not being allowed to be used in evidence, would result in no defense being entered. His attorney would simply advise him to plead guilty, thereby stopping at once all expense on his account, which, of itself, would be a vast amount saved to the country; the time of the court would not be taken up with frivolous arguments and motions; the details of the shame and disgrace attaching to the crime would be eliminated from the record; idle gossip to the detriment of morality would have no subject for its foul exposure, and crime itself with all its attendant evils would be driven into seclusion, only to be exposed by the vigilant efforts of the officers of the law.

Such a felicitous state of social affairs is hardly to be expected for many generations to come; but that it might be speedily brought about, needs but a moment's reflection. To get three hundred thousand lawyers truly converted to practice the principles of Christianity, so that their actions would not belie their tongues, is an enigma that others must attempt to solve. If they will not reform themselves they must be made to conform to the people's wishes. The latter can be done if we are so minded. Many of these respectable advocates claim to be Christian gentlemen, the guarantee thereof being furnished by the church record; but when the people really mean to defend themselves, the hypocrisy and deceit of these gentry will be as glaringly shown as will our own when the purging process shall have well commenced.

We are seeking how society may be reformed, anxious to accomplish that reformation, and any and all suggestions which may have a tendency in that direction are welcomed. So we say that the attorney-at-law is one of the classes that needs to be reformed, and with his reformation will come a large share of society's ultimate happiness. Though he is the power in the political caucus and dictates who shall run for the legislature, if he does not happen to want to run himself, it is not absolutely necessary that he should exercise such a commanding influence as he does. Numerically speaking, he is in the minority. If the body politic is purified sufficiently, it will change the law in regard to his rights and prerogatives, his liabilities and responsibilities to society, which will command, at least, a respectable acquiescence in the spirit of its requirements. He can be hedged about by such barriers, at the will of the people, that if we really desire reformation in state and municipal affairs, all his machinations and acuteness will avail him but little in defeating justice.

This is a subject for the sober thought of the masses of the people; they who, if so minded, hold the reins of power, and can dictate at will what shall and what shall not be. That the legal profession will reform themselves is not to be thought of; nor will any other class of people for that matter, unless com-

pelled to do so, except it be the Spirit of God work in them.

With the governors, judges, and lawyers bound in irons, the sheriffs and other minor officers of the law who have to do with the criminal classes are powerless for much harm. If disposed to set themselves in opposition to the public welfare the commanding influence of the higher powers will command respectful obedience from these functionaries.

A fountain can never rise higher than its source; hence, in the consideration of any subject for reformation, it is presumed that the masses of the people desire the change, and that a respectable majority of them will unite with earnestness and courage in any effort that may be approved for the accomplishment of the reformation. Without *this* support, it is a lamentable waste of words and time to talk of effecting a reformation in any line. If the people in their entirety honestly desire a reformation in municipal affairs, it is folly to think that they cannot have it. They have only to will it and work for it and it is theirs. It will require effort, it is true, and serious; but if all true Christian men and women in the land will work earnestly and systematically, they can have what they desire without a question. The world moves, but in the wrong direction. The surging masses of evil, the hosts of darkness, are moving onward to the destruction of the nation, and to stem this tremendous tide and turn it back in its channel of corruption, or purify its turbulent stream as it passes, requires the effort of every honest heart in the land. Heaven helps only those who help themselves. Faith and *works* will triumph in temporal affairs as well as in spiritual things.

Purely human incentive, selfishness, makes every man work especially for himself or his class. Hence, attorneys work to encourage litigation, to have laws so framed that they will conflict with other laws and the Constitution, that their interpretation shall be equivocal. The minds of courts and jurors will thus become befogged, necessitating appeals to higher courts, delaying settlement, and increasing fees and costs.

To obviate much of this trouble and save expense, a sort of "arbitration" law should be enacted, to which differences be-

tween individuals might be referred, and before whom no attorney should be allowed to appear; but should the arbitrators fail to satisfy both parties to the controversy, an appeal would lie to a court of record.

It would seem as though a method of this kind would supply a long-felt want. The cost to the public would be as nothing compared to the present system, while the wrangling of opposing forces would be confined to a single neighborhood, to the great moral benefit of the community at large. This being the Scripture plan, it ought to be the right one, and should be inaugurated at once.

While suggesting modifications of law relating to the criminal classes, a method of reform, far reaching in its consequences, and for the enactment of which future generations would hold us in grateful remembrance, is the disfranchisement of criminals. The spirit of our laws contemplates this; but with the pardoning power beyond the judgment, the alleged good behavior of the convict during his incarceration, the plea on which he is pardoned out before the expiration of his sentence, practically annuls the law. He is therefore returned upon society, to participate in elections, using his vote and his influence, almost invariably, for the defeat of men and measures advantageous to the public good, and he naturally caters to the worst element in politics. If he were deprived of his citizenship there would be a great factor for evil eliminated from our political machinery.

It is argued that punishment for crime is intended as much to reform the criminal as to prevent him from making further depredations on society; and if the ballot were afterward denied him, the incentive to repeated violation of law would be stronger. We don't consider this objection well taken. It would be neither wise nor humane to thus punish every offender for the slightest infringement of law. The boy or girl who is influenced by older minds to break the law in the smallest matter, where the statutory penalty is a light fine or a short term of imprisonment in the county jail, ought not to be thus rigorously dealt with; but any one who so far forgets the duty he owes to society as to be guilty of felony, or an offense that is punishable by a heavy fine

or penitentiary imprisonment for a long term, ought not to be allowed to return to the walks of peaceful life and enjoy all the rights and immunities of the citizen. The realization, or mere knowledge of the fearful consequences of evil deeds, from which there could be no escape, would deter very many from breaking the law. Premeditated crime is always preceded by a cool consideration of its consequences. This is the universal theory, substantiated by circumstances attending the act and the admissions of criminals.

Political privileges once abridged for the commission of wrong, political parties would become purer. None but the law-abiding could participate in elections; the standard of morality in society would be raised, and a more patriotic and intelligent interest in government affairs would be manifested by the people.

A reform in this line should be tried; for we are convinced from a careful study of the reports of our penal institutions and some acquaintance with the criminal class, that it would result in great good to the public, and would be better for the discharged criminals themselves, as they would be known in the community where they would take up their domicile, and they would necessarily be constantly upon their good behavior, well knowing that a crime committed in their vicinity would at once be laid to their door. A strong incentive to order and sobriety on their part would manifest itself that they might establish themselves in the good opinion of their neighbors.

In connection with the question of reform in this line, another subject presents itself, which we are not aware has been practiced in any civilized country, or, perhaps not anywhere, and that is, the conviction of a felony should be a bar to marriage.

There is nothing in the science of physiology more conclusively proven than heredity; and so far as our knowledge of psychology goes, the transmission of mental traits is as marked as physical characteristics. This being true, and as our laws recognize the fact as to the physical claim, by prohibiting marriage contracts within certain degrees of consanguinity, and an annulment of the contract for physical deformity, why should it be regarded as a strange proceeding to prohibit by law the entering

into a marriage contract of those who have been so thoughtless of the true ends and aims of life and the duties one owes to society, as to be guilty of breaking those relations by which man is bound to his fellow-man? Mankind in general have a right to demand that additional burdens may not be entailed, through loose marriage laws, on future generations; so it becomes our bounden duty to formulate laws that shall guard futurity against a race of criminals.

This is a mighty question and requires the utmost care in arriving at a just method of applying it. To sufficiently guard against illegitimacy will be found the most troublesome part of it; but that the wisdom of the better element of society can advantageously cope with the final adjustment of it to the satisfaction of the law-abiding and morally disposed portion of the community, there can be no doubt.

That mental characteristics and immoral tendencies can be transmitted to the fruit of marriage being admitted, those who have the best interest of their country and mankind at heart can consistently and conscientiously demand the enactment of such laws as will minimize the evil result of a marriage between immoral persons; and those who have served a term in the state prisons for violating the laws of the land are certainly proper subjects for treatment in such manner.

What can more greatly concern us as a nation as well as individuals than the moral standing of our people? Our very existence as a nation is bound up in it. It is time we aroused from our lethargy and gave this momentous question the consideration its importance demands; and not only consider, but *act* in accordance with our best judgment in relation thereto. Let no false modesty or mock-humanity deter us from applying our knowledge toward attempting a speedy remedy. If we have the courage of our convictions sufficiently to crystallize them into legislative enactments, we shall be wise. The facts are uncontroverted; the evil is admitted to exist; the remedy to be applied is suggested; will action in accordance therewith follow?

Having thus briefly reviewed a few of the many ideas that suggest themselves, wherein the reformation of society may be

effected, in which we have studiously avoided all circumlocution, aiming only to be understood, we will now consider another subject which should have attention in any scheme favoring reformation in any line.

As there can be no society without woman, and as society is good or bad as woman's status is elevated or depressed, so we cannot hope for any genuine reform without consulting her interests; throwing up stronger barriers for her protection; giving her the largest latitude commensurate with her distinguished position in life, and punishing with the utmost severity any encroachment upon her womanly prerogatives. If this is not done to its fullest extent, the suffering of society will be in proportion to its laxity. It must not be expected that a reform in society can be carried out through the efforts of man alone; nor, indeed, can it be originated by him. The initiatory must be done by woman herself, when man can coöperate with her in her efforts to disenthral society from the bonds of unjust servitude and immorality. It lies with her to say whether society shall be purified or not. She is the lodestar that draws all satellites in her train. If her exactions are noble and honorable, the world will be imbued with the spirit of her demands. She is the autocrat of the situation. It is for her to command and for man to obey. Society can be reformed if woman so wills; and if she withholds her influence, or enters into the spirit of man's efforts with only lukewarmness, it will be hard to carry a point toward the right.

She is not authorized to sway the destiny of the nation at the ballot-box; nor can she ever accomplish a true reformation in that way; but by firmly demanding recognition of the rights that legitimately belong to her through her influence at home, with husbands, brothers, and friends, a true reformation can be carried to completion, without shock to established principles and customs founded upon Scripture ethics.

Woman must first seek to emancipate her own sex from the unjust stigma that rests upon the erring sister. She must scourge and ostracise her sister's paramour in guilt; banish him from all refined society; teach husbands, brothers, fathers to loath-

the miserable soul who tampers with a woman's chastity, or satiates his beastly passions with a wanton's lusts. This is an effort at reformation at which man can do but little without the full coöperation of his wife, mother, sister, and daughter. When man is shunned by innocent woman for seeking spoliation of virtue; when matrons pass him by unnoticed, and virgins spurn him as if he were a serpent; when he can have no entrance to the home of purity and is compelled to keep company with the partner of his shame; when woman puts forth her hand to raise a fallen sister to a nobler plane when with repentant tears she asks for help, then will come salvation to the erring one and her restoration to her rightful place in life; *but not till then*. When the law shall be so well enforced as to punish the adulterer and adulteress; when man is denied the fruition of his citizenship for plotting crime; then, with woman's help a purified atmosphere will surround the home, and the dangers which now threaten the rising youth will be removed.

It will not be hard to accomplish this to a reasonable degree of perfection, when the individuals themselves or society in general rise to a sense of their duty. Without purity in the home there can be no purity in the street, the business mart, the school, or the church; for immoral longings can be exhibited everywhere where there are subjects seeking the gratification of licentious passions. When the source becomes pure the stream will run with clearness and placidity, but not otherwise.

The great object of Christianity is to purify the lives of men. Hundreds of thousands of churches and Sunday-schools in our land are weekly trying to instil into the minds of the masses the truths of Christianity; and were it not for hypocrisy, if we really believed what we profess, and acted in our daily lives, at home and abroad, that which we preach, the world would be cleansed at once; man would exhibit a true humanity to his fellow, and the almshouses and jails, lawyers and politicians, would be relegated to the rubbish of past follies.

It is at once responded that such a scheme as herein outlined is chimerical, entirely visionary, unworthy to be considered

a moment as practical. Then, why pray "Thy kingdom come"? Why ask for reformation? Why think of ever getting rid of the evils which weigh us down? Why is the pulpit so earnest, and good men and women everywhere calling for a change from what we now have in a political and moral way? Are we not by this very demand requiring a rigid exactness of Scripture requirements? Can a reform be imagined to proceed in any other line than that laid down in the Book of the Law? Is there any possible way for us to get a change in municipal and national affairs, such as is desired and demanded, except through the methods laid down in the Bible, which we daily and weekly, in public and in private, profess to believe, but by our daily and hourly actions deny their truthfulness? Why ask for that which cannot be performed? Why seek for help and when offered claim it is chimerical?

Let us cast aside our abominable hypocrisy and be honest and frank, acknowledging by our actions that we are what we claim to be. Let us resolve together with one accord to purge ourselves from the contamination of vice of every description, and demand a like cleansing of the public avenues, and the reform is here at our bidding.

L. ELSEFFER.

A LAWYER'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE PUBLIC.

BY HON. THOMAS M. COOLEY.

EVERY lawyer, when he is given license to practice, takes solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the state of which he is a citizen. He also undertakes to observe all due fidelity to the courts in which he may practice. He is not licensed until, upon special examination, he is found to be learned in the law and in the fundamental principles of the government of his country, and this learning is supposed to be quite beyond what can be expected of the people in general, and to render him capable of giving sound advice to his fellow-citizens when the true meaning of any branch of the law, whether customary, statutory, or constitutional, is in question. His license is a special and valuable privilege, which makes him a prominent character in the community in which he lives, and leads to his being made the trusted counselor of persons in other occupations, as well as of the public authorities. His advice, thoughtfully given, tends to prevent controversies and dissensions in the community, having their origin in different views of legal rights, and he may be influential in calming passionate excitements, and keeping the wheels of industry moving peacefully and prosperously where otherwise mischievous counsels might prevail. The power to be thus useful imposes upon him duties and obligations special in their nature, and quite beyond those which rest upon persons in other employments. None of us would question this.

Every citizen is under obligation to support the Constitution and laws of his country, and he may be summoned in performance of that obligation to assist the state force in the preservation of public order, though thereby his life is put in peril. He may, even against his will, be made to bear arms against public enemies, whether they are brought here in organized armies from

abroad or become enemies because of discontent with the established order at home. And the obligation which rests upon him to resist the inroads of revolutionary doctrines may be quite as imperative though not expressed in written law. But the lawyer, in the performance of the duty he specially assumes when admitted to practice, may very often more effectually support the Constitution and laws by assisting to build up a public sentiment that shall constitute an impregnable bulwark against those who either through malice or ignorance or with revolutionary purpose assail them, than it would be possible for him to do by personal service as a soldier, or by physical assistance in the suppression of a rebellion or of domestic disorder.

What I desire to impress at this time upon members of the legal profession is that every one of them is or should be, from his very position and from the license which gives him special privileges in the determination of legal questions and controversies, a public leader and teacher, whose obligation to support the Constitution and laws and to act with all due fidelity to the courts is not fully performed when the fundamental organization of society is assailed or threatened, or the laws defied or likely to be in the community in which he lives, as a result of revolutionary purpose or of ignorance or of unreasoning passion, unless he comes to the front as a supporter of settled institutions and of public order, and does what he properly and lawfully can to correct any sentiment, general or local, that would in itself be a public danger, or be likely to lead to disorder or unlawful violence.

It is a low and very unworthy view any one takes of his office when he assumes that he has nothing to do with public ignorance of the duty of subordination to the institutions of organized society, or with breaches of law existing or threatened, except as he may be called upon to prosecute or defend in the courts for a compensation to be paid him.

Perhaps I shall present my own thoughts upon this subject more distinctly and forcibly if I call to your minds the fact that the last year has been specially prolific in acts of violence against individuals who were charged with crime of a particularly

disgusting or horrifying character, or who for any reason had made themselves specially obnoxious or repulsive to their neighbors or to some specially influential or numerous class of the community. Until recently it has been assumed by some of our people that one section of the country only was justly subject to the reproach that its public sentiment tolerated the crime of inflicting punishment by lawless force, and that even in that section it was limited for the most part to one very gross and disgusting class of offense. But no one section can longer reproach any other in this particular; lynchings have during the year been numerous north and south and west, in cases where murder and sometimes when only an invasion of property rights was charged, as well as in gross cases of violation of female chastity, and the alarming feature of the utter and reckless defiance of law which has accompanied them is that, in very many cases, there was no attempt at concealment, and no pretence that violence was necessary to prevent justice being cheated of its dues; they took place sometimes when the process of the law had already been invoked against the parties lynched and was leading to certain punishment; and the participants in the lawless tragedy in some cases could openly and truthfully boast that those who were accounted the best citizens in the community approved what they had done and would not suffer the actors therein to be punished for thus setting law at defiance.

That this boast had in many cases full warrant is a fact that one would think ought to make the most careless citizen pause and reflect upon the danger to liberty and to settled government which this species of crime is bringing upon us.

We are not unfrequently reminded, when an act of tolerated mob violence takes place, that a community may have an abhorrence of anarchy and yet so conduct themselves when they see the law openly and publicly set at defiance that the respect for it which should be its chief support will become more nominal than real, and perhaps be replaced by disregard and contempt. If they look on with unconcern while such an act is taking place, if they give no aid when steps are being taken for the punishment of the participants, a condition of public insensibility

to this class of offenses is likely to be brought about, the result of which is that whenever the community is excited, and therefore specially in need of legal restraint, the law is found to be powerless.

If every citizen who thus countenances or refuses to aid in repressing crimes of this nature would consider a little what must be the natural consequences of his action or of his failure to act, he might perhaps come to appreciate the serious nature of his fault, and to understand how little he would himself deserve the protection of the law if some mob should select him as a victim of lawless violence. He would then have the conviction forced upon him that by his course he is teaching disregard of law ; that the act he aids or excuses is one step in the direction of the chaos the anarchist would establish ; that his example in countenancing disorder is aiding to create a public sentiment which may by and by tolerate and protect the lynching of any person whomsoever, for any act, bad or good, which happens to arouse public animosity, or even for no other cause than that the obnoxious person has in worldly pursuits been more successful than his fellow-citizens. He will, perhaps, reflect also that when the disorder which he countenances in a single instance becomes general, it will not be the vagabond or the beggar that lawless classes will select for victims, but the man who for any reason is important and prominent in the community.

Perhaps I may here assume as a possibility that in some cases members of our profession, if not actually present at one of these anarchistical demonstrations, have been fully aware that one was likely to take place, and have raised no voice of warning, or done anything to correct the dangerous public sentiment. On the contrary, they may perhaps have looked on undisturbed while their neighbors, who intend in general to be law-abiding and to give their support to the institutions to which alone they could look for protection in life, liberty, and property, were nevertheless lending their aid to weaken and undermine those very institutions by treating the restraints they impose for the protection of all the people with contempt or indifference. If

this assumption is warranted by fact, may we not with propriety turn to one of this number and challenge him to explain to us how, when liberty is thus taken away and life perhaps destroyed under circumstances amounting in law to criminal homicide, he can justify his own action or non-action in view of the duty assumed when he took the oath of admission to the bar, and in what manner he would have us understand he has been supporting the Constitution of the Union and of his state, or showing fidelity to the courts in which he practices, and whose authority he has suffered without protest to be disregarded and defied by bodies of men who for the time mocked at the restraints by which alone the political society can render liberty possible? May we not justly ask him to place himself in his hours of reflection by the side of a physician who, knowing that a malignant and contagious disease exists in the community, and that the people, ignorant of the fact, are continually exposing themselves to the danger, nevertheless gives no warning of its presence? If his indignation is justly aroused by the spectacle of such inhumanity on the part of one whose professional duty makes him in an important sense a guardian of the public health, should he not be invited to point out if he can in what particular the professional servant of law and justice is of the two under the circumstances supposed the less justly subject to public condemnation and censure? The duties devolving upon the two professions are indeed radically different, but we shall greatly underestimate the importance of the lawyer as an element in the political state if we assume that those resting upon him are in their claims the less imperative.

THOMAS M. COOLEY.

DO IRISH-AMERICANS HATE ENGLAND?

A REPLY TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

BY THOMAS BURKE GRANT.

“DO IRISH-AMERICANS hate England?” is the question I am invited to answer, there evidently being some doubt whether the recent Chicago Irish Convention represented any considerable body of the Irish in America in declaring itself, through its presiding officer, to be “the friend of every enemy of England, and the enemy of every friend of England.”

I will simply answer at the outset that the Irish temperament is not conducive to permanent wrath against any one or anything under the sun. The Irishman is quick to discover and resent a wrong, but the feeling of resentment, while intense for the moment, never lasts long. The characteristic buoyancy and the genial sunshine of his nature quickly disperse the cloud, more especially if a disposition is manifested upon the part of the wrong-doer to repair the injury, or to atone for it.

An Irishman may be satisfied to accept, and will sometimes accept, much less compensation than the original wrong calls for, but if the disposition to please is there, he is promptly mollified, in other words, he may be deceived, coaxed, even corrupted, but never, under any conceivable circumstances, can the Irishman be coerced.

This practice of coercion, or of trying to force the Irishman to do something against his will, has been the bane and folly of every English ministry. During the ninety-five years in which England and Ireland have been linked together, the policy of English statesmen has been a persistent effort to repress the people of Ireland, and yet Mr. Gladstone, by one or two measures of reparation, very nearly altered the traditional ill-feeling of Irishmen toward England—so nearly, indeed, as to evolve out of the former intense and impassioned Celt, invoking

"God's curse upon the Saxon," an ally, a friend, and a member of the same family of nations. I use the word "nearly" advisedly, because in my opinion Mr. Gladstone would have completely bridged the chasm of ages, had he, in addition to his magnificent appeals to Englishmen to do justice to Ireland, refrained from active interference himself in the Parnell imbroglio of 1890. This was Mr. Gladstone's mistake, and I took the liberty of plainly telling him so after the general election of 1892.

The Irish people down through their history have had many popular idols. Their songs and legends recall the stories of Brian the Brave, the daring struggles of Hugh O'Neil, the military genius of Sarsfield, the eloquence of Grattan, the youthful ardor of Robert Emmet, the lover and patriot, the self-sacrificing fidelity of Tone, and the magnificent presence and capacity of O'Connell, but he who occupies the largest space in the public eye, and who is by far the most captivating and chivalrous figure in the pantheon of Irish heroes is the young Protestant cavalier whose single moral lapse was craftily turned into a political issue against his country and her cause. Irishmen will have a long memory for every man and for every interest responsible for that catastrophe; and it is not improbable that the more we recede from Parnell's times, the more rapturous will be our love, and the more enchanting the view of the man whose heart broke under persecution and who closed his eyes at Brighton, saying, "Give my love to my colleagues and to the Irish people!"

It is not possible but that in the nature of Irishmen Parnell will be beloved in return; and so, impassioned and soulful will be that form of love that his error will be lost sight of in the recollection of the intrigues that terminated his masterful achievements.

The interference of Mr. Gladstone was offensive to Irishmen because, during the long course of Irish history, the people had never once taken their standard of moral virtues from Englishmen. Every form of casuistry has been unsuccessfully resorted to in order to reconcile the Irish to this Anglo-Roman

decision. It was justified on the ground that Mr. Gladstone's party could not carry through a Home Rule bill without Irishmen submitting their moral sense to the judgment of their English censors; and, though the Catholic clergy have imported some unctuousness into the discussion, the issues are not healed, and the ultimate result may be that Irishmen will follow the example of the Catholics of Spain and Italy and Mexico, in relegating ecclesiastics to their proper functions within the sanctuary. But the sacrifice of Mr. Parnell, and the subordination of Irish interests to English expediency, did not secure Home Rule, and this circumstance has touched the sensibilities of Irish-Americans, who had not only confidence in Parnell, but who had their money also heavily invested in his movement. To them the deposition of Parnell meant not only the loss of a great leader but also the prospect of losing their money.

However, putting out of sight these considerations, the question whether Irish-Americans hate England, in view of the assurance of the Chicago convention that they do, is a most pertinent and interesting one just now. I confess I would have some reluctance in accepting an invitation to discuss the question, were it not that I happen to know something of the feeling and opinions of the Irish in America, and that I was fifteen months ago requested to answer in the pages of this magazine a question of similar import. My answer then (which was republished in pamphlet form by the publication department of the English Liberal party) was a distinct and unequivocal negative; there is no reason since for any change, particularly as the Chicago convention, while was called—to all appearance—in order to curse England, most positively refused to do so, as I shall show presently.

When Lord Salisbury affirmed in 1894 that the Irish in America were the most bitter, unscrupulous, and permanent enemies of everything British, and that the concession of Home Rule would only enable them to block British commerce at the very gates of the empire, he received a prompt and effective answer from Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, who is well qualified, not less because of his high standing than of his historical

associations, to voice the opinions of Irish-Americans. Dr. Emmet then conclusively proved that there was no ill-will between the two races which reasonable concession upon the part of England would not cure; and also, that, having regard to every collateral circumstance, the union of Ireland and England was far preferable to an independent Ireland in the Atlantic without an army or a navy to protect her coasts. And, in order that a more varied and diverse view should be afforded by the issue then raised by Lord Salisbury, I supplemented that response by collecting in my capacity as a journalist the views of three hundred other Irish-Americans from every city and state in the Union. My inquiry was put in the following terms: "Is it true that Irish-Americans, to gratify feelings of revenge for past misgovernment, would now frustrate a measure of Home Rule, and use that concession as a vantage ground from which to assail the commerce of Great Britain?"

This inquiry was addressed to ex-Fenians, to members of the *Clan-na gael* Society, to members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, to men who had invaded Canada, or who had seen service on the hillsides in Ireland, the desire being to get once and for all a calm, well-considered, and conclusive expression of opinion, a written record and a free and unfettered vote of the people, such a one as emanated from their honest minds while in a condition to discuss such a burning subject, without the spur of eloquence or the disturbing environments of a national convention. Now what was the character of the responses? Here are samples, for to go through the entire list would be a repetition. A prominent business man wrote this denial:

It is not true. Irish-Americans are anxious for a settlement of the Irish question, and for an opportunity for the people of Ireland to live in peace with, and participate in, the general commercial prosperity of the people of England and Scotland.

Another said:

Irish-Americans are aiding Ireland to secure Home Rule for the sole purpose of having them relieved from a condition of social and political degradation, and not to gratify feelings of revenge, or to indulge in assaults on the British Empire that would be silly, if not mischievous, and would retard Ireland's progress under the most favorable govern-

ment. Besides, the Irish in America want to be relieved from a heavy drain on their resources in having to assist their rack-rented friends in Ireland.

A well-known political leader wrote :

Whatever hatred Ireland has for England is due to the injustice and misgovernment of the latter country, and this hatred has been gradually dying out since the English people have evinced a disposition to do Ireland justice, and would entirely disappear if they would accord to Ireland Home Rule. Irish-Americans (and I speak as one of them) would certainly not be so unchristian as to encourage their brethren in Ireland to nurture religious or racial hatreds toward the English people.

The senior guardian of a Clan-na-gael camp wrote :

Irish-Americans hate the spirit of persecution, religious bigotry, injustice, and tyranny, that has marked the treatment of Ireland by England; in so far as that spirit is upheld by the people of Great Britain they hate them as the instruments of their oppression. If they give proof of their desire to extend justice and fair treatment to Ireland, the Irish are ready to make common cause with them in a spirit of friendship and amity for the best interests of both countries.

A Hibernian wrote as follows :

I have spoken with many men of Irish birth or descent since I received your letter, and I find no hatred in their hearts, no treasured ill-will, no desire for revenge secures a lodgment there. On the contrary, we recognize the injustice of visiting the sins of the father upon the son, and our motto would be if justice was done to "let the dead bury its dead."

A southern editor, who was the president of an Irish society in the city in which he resided, wrote :

We don't hate anything British merely because it is British, but because the words stand for wrong or injustice in Ireland. If the cause is abolished the result will be different. You cannot continue kicking a man all the time and expect him to love you; even Homer, whom we rate as little less than a god, bitterly cursed those people in Greece whom he found on the banks of the Eurotas.

A New England lawyer wrote :

To say that any civilized people to-day hate any other people is to speak misleadingly. Even the spirit of animosity between the French and Germans is not a personal hatred. A Frenchman doesn't hate a German, nor does a German dislike a Frenchman as such. There is between their respective nations a feeling of rivalry and jealousy creditable to neither, but the element of personal hatred is absent from the international attitude. So as between the English and the Irish, the di-

like is not personal, the advocates of Home Rule in Ireland do not hate the people in England. Irish-Americans have not any dislike for English-Americans. The truth is, that the Irish and Irish-Americans, who are believers in the right of local self-government, are only opposed to that party in Parliament which denies self-government to Ireland.

An honest artisan expressed himself thus :

The Irish-Americans do not hate the British people. They do hate Toryism and all that it represents, and yet were Toryism to be the instrument of justice to Ireland, we could forgive Toryism and forget all its cursed, cruel, and dark past.

The responses so cheerfully made upon that occasion and the article into which they were embodied were either noted or commented upon approvingly in every American newspaper with Irish affiliations from Boston to San Francisco ; and in no case was the sentiment which brought strongly into relief the existence of "a new Ireland in America," seriously dissented from or in any respect repudiated. This was important as showing by implication, at least, that the population and the constituencies which these newspapers represented were quite satisfied.

Have the views of the Irishmen changed since? No. What change they may undergo will largely depend upon the policy of the Tories within the next two years. Irish-Americans may, and doubtless do, contemplate a change in the event of a stupid Tory policy, but they are not ready to go back upon their principles just yet, and simply because one party has gone out of office in England and another has come in ; and probably, in this connection, the views of the artisan as printed above come nearer than any others do in representing the present temper of Irish-Americans. While "hating Toryism and all that it stands for," they are ready even to make "common cause" with Toryism if it rises to the level of the occasion. The views of these three hundred Irish-Americans, obtained without any devices to inflame the understanding, or to obtain a snap judgment while the intelligence was on the wing, are worth quite as much as those of 3,000 men stimulated by the fervid oratory of a Finerty, or influenced by those artistic combinations of passion and of braggadocia which, like fireworks, are most brilliant and captivating at the moment of explosion. They are cordially cheered by the

crowd and then fall to the earth and are at once forgotten. If the cause of Irish freedom could have been served by these devices or by resolutions, Ireland would long since have become the law of the ocean and Britain would have been crushed into the dust or classed with the dead empires of antiquity.

Cooked resolutions, in America at least, at conventions and public assemblies are too often the work of special committees, and they but faintly reflect what is termed the sense of the meeting.

These responses, on the contrary, represent Irish-America in a rational, common-sense attitude. Say these three hundred men in effect: "We are a humane and civilized people; if justice is done to Ireland that is all we demand and we shall then meet England half way. We do not hate Englishmen." In contrast to this, say the self-constituted spokesmen of this Chicago convention: "We tell America, France, Russia, and every possible friend of ours, and every possible enemy of England, that we are not in this fight for a year, or for two years, but for the war. [Tremendous cheering.] We say to Uncle Sam, if you want to inforce the Monroe Doctrine, we are at your back; to France, go and seize Egypt; to Russia, if you want to round out your possessions in the East, then we will aid you to capture India. We are the enemies of every friend of England, and the friend of every enemy of England, and we want to drive it home and nail it to the mast until the death." [Renewed and tumultuous applause lasting some minutes.] See reports of the speech of B. M. Finerty.

A free translation of the attitude and language of these Chicago Irishmen would be something like this: "Despite our many years of residence in this republic and all the sweetening influences of this age and civilization, we are still avowed and undisguised barbarians. Our only passion is hate. For its mere gratification we are ready to sacrifice everything we hold dear—country, life, honor, in order to aid any possible enemy of England—Mongolian, Mohammedan, or Slavonic—that affords us an opportunity to get even with our hereditary foe. [Tremen-

dous cheering.] We have entered upon the war and stand ready to be hired out like Hessians to any foreign power, to fasten slavery upon any people or to further any cause, we care not how wrong or unjust; to pitch ourselves headlong against the fella-hin of Egypt, or the Hovas of Madagascar, or the tawny tenants of the Orient, merely that we may embarrass England, keep open the gaping wounds of past and forgotten ages, and spill our blood in a war profitless to our kinsmen and disastrous to freedom. [Renewed applause.] We serve notice upon America that we are careless of her sentiments and her convenience, and upon all the world that we are fanatics and fools, and proudly nail at the masthead this symbol of our folly, to there abide and remain to the death." Mr. Finerty might as well have said this and much more to the same effect, as what he actually did say.

Now I submit that upon the face of it, this looks like the language of a madman, and I ask to be believed when I say that Irishmen approve of no such policy. It no more represents the views of the Irish in America than it does those of Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Arthur Balfour. These absurd and atrocious sentiments are a libel upon the convictions and opinions of the average Irish-American people, who are quite as intelligent, as refined, as Christian, and, I will add, as prudent, as any other race of people in the United States. Language like this does not hurt England, but, like a boomerang, it hurts the people in whose interest it is ostensibly uttered. It is Ireland that suffers; it is the character and good name of her people that are assailed, and it is in their behalf that I thus address myself to the ludicrous spectacle presented to us at Chicago. I ask all those who may do me the honor to read this article, not to heed for a moment the allegation that the Irish in America are a set of fanatical barbarians, at right angles with the drift of civilization, and thirsting for the disruption of the British Empire, or for the humiliation of a friendly people, who have only within the past five years obtained the right to rule themselves, and have ever since done bravely by their Irish brethren.

But let us, as the chemists would say, ascertain the specific

gravity of the Chicago convention. Let us see whether even the chairman's speech, which was militant enough in tone to have been punctuated by the rattle of musketry instead of by harmless and senseless cheering, was endorsed by the body in whose name he spoke. Turning to the returns of the convention, we find that, while the call declares that "all Irish-American military, benevolent, athletic, social, religious, and literary organizations that favor the independence of Ireland" were invited to send delegates in the proportion of one delegate to every fifty members, that several delegates came from Pennsylvania whom the Chicago papers say were "in favor of moral suasion." These, we are told, were denied admittance by those who were running things, and that, early in the first session, the convention split in two nearly equal parts when the question of their admission came to be voted upon—a fact that would indicate that no inconsiderable body of those assembled inside either sympathized with the position of the Pennsylvania delegates, or stood by their "moral suasion" principles. Having regard to the fire-eating character of the address, this vote must have been terribly discouraging to the few leaders who hoped to commit the convention to the raising of "a standing army" within the United States. Now since there were only six hundred delegates in the convention, it follows that if, instead of one half the convention, the entire number of delegates had been unanimous upon the first test vote, then the total constituency represented would only amount to 3,000 men all over the United States and Canada.

By actual enrollment, the number of active members in revolutionary Irish societies was in 1894 a total of about 4,000 men, 1,000 of whom probably sympathized with the views of the convention, though sending no delegates at all. The gross number of active men in the United States who favor independence being, say, 4,000, when it is remembered that there are in the United States 10,000,000 of Irishmen—including under this term those of Irish extraction—it will be at once seen how absurd is the assumption that even this convention, had all been a unit for physical force, could represent anything but the

most infinitesimal fraction of the Irish-American population.

But the convention was anything but favorable to the purposes of its manipulators. For what further evidence do we find in this direction? In the first place they threw out the resolution about the Monroe Doctrine. Again, one of its first acts, also, after hearing the chairman's oration, was to appoint a sub-committee to formulate a platform. This committee was not selected by the general body of the delegates, but limited to selections made by five members on the motion of a man who was believed to act in harmony with the manipulators, and here again the general body of the convention came into collision with the inside ring and protested their own right, and not that of a caucus, to name the committee on platform, thus pushing the motion to a vote with practically the same results as before. Again, therefore, the convention divided into physical force and moral suasion sections. But the manipulators also won by a few votes, and, by this time, they were thoroughly scared at having won two apparent victories, neither of which was really a triumph; particularly as they knew that several states had sent no delegates, but were represented by local "dummies" on the floor of the convention, a man who resided many years in Chicago being "proxy" for Nevada and another a "proxy" for Canada.

Well, the committee on platform and principle was at length selected, and placed in charge of a lawyer as chairman, one thoroughly in harmony with the extreme wing. The convention met in the forenoon of September 24, and some indication of the radical differences of opinion which were developed in committee about the nature and scope of the resolutions may be gathered from the three days' session which was necessary in order to frame four resolutions and a platform of something less than 1,000 words, ordinarily one hour's work for a capable man. There is nothing which shows the weakness of the convention more than this circumstance, except that while the movement was floated upon the names of one hundred and fifty men, who had signed the call for the convention, the names of only a dozen are reported as taking sufficient interest to follow up the work which they initiated.

The convention was really run, or rather attempted to be run, by a St. Louis lawyer, and by the editors of two revolutionary papers, one in New York and the other in Chicago. But these men, though ample to manipulate the body, were not sufficient to sign the call or gather the members into the convention room. Again, the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois—the home of the notorious Triangle—supplied nearly 400 out of the 660 delegates present, so that the number of diseased centers, outside of Chicago, seems therefore few and far between.

The contrast between Chairman Finerty's blood-curdling address and the mild and cooing phraseology of the platform is most striking, thus showing conclusively that the stand taken by the chairman was almost as pointedly rebuked by the committee as Mr. Finerty had previously been by Mr. Davitt in 1886. Indeed, the resolutions and the platform do little more than call for the liberation of the dynamiters, for belligerent rights for Cuba, and recommend young Irishmen to devote a portion of their valuable time forming amateur rifle companies, and the balance in acquiring a well-grounded knowledge of the ancient language of Fin McCool.

The platform, as might have been expected, went through the convention with a rush. There was nothing in it which particularly appealed to any one, and, instead of discussion of the platform and declaration of principles, the delegates being tired out upon one hand, and, as a local paper says, "Svengalized" on the other, the last Irish gathering in aid of physical force collected specially from the backward or extreme centers of the country, was really a rebuke to its promoters and quite an unexpected confirmation of the policy of parliamentary action. The worst that the platform indicated, and the nearest approach of the convention to adopting Mr. Finerty's belligerent policy, was to reëcho the old adage about England's difficulty being Ireland's opportunity, and that it was the duty of Irishmen to create that opportunity, whatever that may mean. In short, the convention was laughed at by the daily papers of the city in which it was held, and ended in proposing to fight England by commencing war upon the pockets of the "friends of Ireland,"

by proposing to transport a large body of them from the territory of the United States to the sand dunes of Mexico, or to the leper-stricken regions of Hawaii.

Were Mr. Chamberlain or the sagacious editor of the *London Times* himself a member of this real estate syndicate, and his object was to depopulate the United States, or imitate the action of Cromwell in shipping Irishmen to the Barbadoes and other islands in the West Indies, he could not have devised a more crafty or more far-reaching project for the furthering of his diabolical ends. Says one Chicago paper :

For a convention that had no program mapped out, it was one of the most smoothly managed meetings that have taken place in this city for many years.

Says another Chicago paper, whose editor must have been struggling with himself in order to keep a serious face :

A NOVEL PLAN FOR FREEING IRELAND.

The "Irish-American Republic Association" proposes to organize a real estate syndicate as the first step to the liberation of Ireland. The first step is to get up a stock company with from ten million to twenty-five million shares, which are to be sold at a dollar apiece to Irishmen, or to the friends of Ireland.

This money is not to be fooled away or stolen. In order that this may not happen those who handle it will be required to give "good and sufficient bond." This is an infallible recipe against financial disaster. . . . Some of the money will be expended in building a navy to fight England's and the rest in arming and equipping a million Irishmen and landing them on the shores of Ireland. Their strong arms will do the rest, and the green flag will float over Dublin Castle.

Easy and simple as this syndicate plan may seem, it did not catch the fancy of the members of the Irish convention in session here. Probably they thought it would take too long a time. They may have doubted whether many Irishmen would go to South America or Mexico at the suggestion of some real estate speculators.

In reference to this Mexican land scheme, I happen, fortunately, to be in a position to say that the government of Mexico is just now most anxious to get Irish settlers, and has made such representations to the government of Lord Salisbury as would be likely to tempt settlement in the unpopulated regions of that country. The archbishop of Dublin also most heartily disapproves of any transportation of Irish Catholics to Mexico,

partly because it is believed that that country is upon the brink of a serious revolution to place Prince Augustin de Iturbide on the throne of Maximilian, of whom he is the heir; and partly because the climatic conditions of those regions proposed for settlement are such as Irishmen could not long endure. The Mexican government will, I know, give the most favorable conditions to 5,000 families, free lands, free transportation, and immunity from taxes for a long term of years. But why should Irishmen desirous of leaving the United States for Mexico put their money into this syndicate, when they can obtain better advantages from the Mexican minister at Washington, or get in on the ground-floor by writing to the minister of the interior at Mexico City? Now if the Irish-American Republic Association can obtain these rock-bottom advantages from Mexico, if, in fact, they can become landlords free, gratis, as the saying goes, and at the same time raise \$25,000,000 here, why clearly there is a bonanza in this land scheme—for "the Irish-American Republic Association." But where is the patriotism? Where does Ireland or Irishmen come in?

And so far as raising a million of men or a navy is concerned, the venture is a snare in view of the following distressing circumstances. Some years ago there was a sloop called the *Gulnare* equipped and fitted up in New York by the Clan-na-gael Society that was destined—well, to blow England up into the clouds. She was a small tramp sloop about 89 feet long and something like 160 tons burden; but, according to the representations and the descriptions given nightly in the camps about her sea-going capacity, the *Minotaur*, or the *Iron Duke*, or the *Bellerophon* was simply not in it with the *Gulnare*. She was said to be fitted out with the most destructive machinery, and first a sum of \$50,000, if I remember rightly, and subsequently a sum of \$35,000 was voted from the funds of these "friends of Ireland" in order to send her triumphantly to sea. The members of the camps expected great things from the *Gulnare*, and several, I am told, of the more enthusiastic patriots, used regularly to scan the newspapers in the hope of reading that Westminster Abbey or Windsor Castle was looking far more picturesque, going

skywards, than reposing in stately grandeur on *terra firma*.

But they were rudely undeceived. One fine morning not very long ago they read, instead, in the newspapers a four-line dispatch, saying that the *Gulnare* had herself sunk in a gale off the coast of Florida. The little dispatch was of no importance for the general public, but for the honest and deluded victims of Irish hate for England, the paragraph had a terrible significance. It represented their hard-earned money lost, and when they read later on that the sloop upon which they had expended \$85,000 was valued, cargo and all, by Lloyd's underwriters, at \$11,000, their indignation knew no bounds. But more humiliating still, they ascertained that there was never a gun put into her hold, that she was not really intended for any such purpose as represented, and that, horror of horrors, she was carrying not dynamite to London, but good ripe bananas from the West Indies for the New York trade. In other words, somebody was drawing money for repairs and seamen for the *Gulnare*, and she was earning money also in trade. Such was the fate of the last naval expedition to free Ireland. Such is the present prosperous looking Mexican land scheme. And such, it may be parenthetically observed, is the latest "sensible and aggressive" alleged Irish movement launched at Chicago.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say, as one who knows Ireland well and all classes of its people, that there is not the slightest intention of freeing Ireland by force of arms, that if the American people were even to permit such an army as is now proposed to be raised, that the Irish people themselves would arm to resist their landing there. I remember another expedition to Ireland many years ago. It originated, I am reliably informed, in a jamboree in New York City, and some young and enthusiastic souls went on board. There was a certain leader appointed to take charge of the expedition. When the vessel got outside the Narrows, a pugnacious fellow jumped upon a beer barrel, remarking to the captain: "Be jabers, I know how to take command as well as you," and leveling a revolver at his head the admiral of the fleet that was to land arms upon the Irish coast was sent into the fore-castle, and the

mutiny raged more or less on the voyage across the Atlantic. One man was killed instead of the hated Saxon, and his body was put ashore, discovered by the Irish coast guards, and the channel squadron chased the sloop and her owners so hot and hard that they were forced upon the rocks and nearly lynched by the people. It was the best stroke of good fortune they had ever seen in their lives the day they received the shelter of a British prison. Such was the welcome which these expeditions obtained at the hands of the Irish people, and such was the fate of the *Gulnare*, as the last naval venture to fool Irish-Americans under guise of freeing Ireland by force of arms.

But apart from the obvious impossibility of getting honest men to lead, and earnest and disciplined followers, there is another difficulty, namely, the men who now talk so glibly about fighting England in Ireland have first to reckon with the Irish people themselves. They have access now to every avenue of advancement furnished by the British service quite as much as have Englishmen. This idea of fighting England is a fake and a humbug. It is as Shiel well said, "a brilliant fancy," and as Mr. Andrew Carnegie has well shown, the Irish question has now assumed a shape where it concerns Americans fully as much as it does Great Britain.

The offer to raise a Hessian army presupposes, if those who project it know what they mean, that besides fighting the Irish people in Ireland, they would also have to fight Americans. Trade has burned away every barrier of hate between the Irish and the British peoples, and when we scan them closely, the quarrels of Ireland and her alleged hatred of England are very much like those that sometimes take place between the members of the same family. They best understand each other. As the venerable author of "God Save Ireland" has happily written :

"The powers of hell cannot prevent two nations
From being friends when once they wish it so.
The work of God even now is fast progressing,
Old feuds are dying, ancient hatreds cease,
And the two isles grow ready for the blessing
Of equal Freedom and eternal Peace."

THOMAS BURKE GRANT

AN ECONOMIC FAILURE.

BY E. M. BURCHARD.

THE attempt of the distinguished political economist, Prof. Richard T. Ely, to deal with "Hard Times,"* a question wholly within the boundaries of his particular department of science, was an utter failure. While full of interesting facts in regard to the phenomena of hard times, it did not point out the underlying, the efficient cause, or suggest any remedy which in his judgment even might be equal to the occasion. It is the work of the artist to delineate the features of hard times, it is the task of a true economist to discover our mistakes and show the path of wisdom.

The term political economy conveys so vague an idea to most minds that it may be well to define the term and describe the thing which it represents. All economy is one; it is management. The primitive economist is the woman at the head of the household; all our ideas on the subject are discussed from this picture. Domestic economy is the management of the household by the woman. Political economy is the management of public affairs by men. Whether our public economy is so wretchedly bad because men have it in exclusive control I will not now stop to consider, but here is certainly food for reflection.

Economy may be good, bad, or indifferent. Public economy, judged by any true standard, is always bad. In the domestic economy of a well-managed household, the income is made the most of, the house and grounds are kept neat and in good repair, the table is supplied with suitable variety of well-cooked food, the children are clean, well-mannered, and neatly dressed, instructed in household duties, respectful, and obedient. All are treated justly and their varied wants supplied with considerate care.

*A paper, entitled "Hard Times," published in the Chicago *Interior* of December 13, 1894, by Professor Richard T. Ely.

A good political economy would present the counterpart of this picture in the state. Every citizen would have some wealth-producing industry convenient to his hand, and his efforts would be stimulated by the certainty of enjoying the fruit of his labor. The strong would not be allowed to spoil the weak. None would be permitted to accumulate great wealth, none forced into a condition of abject poverty. The children of the state would be cared for. They would be fed, clothed, educated, trained to industry and economy, furnished with employment when of suitable age, and permitted the development of all their powers. There would be, first order, then justice, followed by prosperity and peace.

Such would be the fruit of a wise political economy. I leave the reader to judge if we have anything of the kind. Whenever men are ready to confess that a wise political economy is impossible, it will be incumbent upon them to summon to their aid those noble women who realize the idea of a wise economy in our homes, and they should make the confession or mend their ways without unnecessary delay.

Such, then, is political economy, and Mr. Ely is a distinguished professor of the science. As such, his attention is called to the condition of the people, some of them rolling in wealth inconceivable and lapped in luxury indescribable, while multitudes are buried in poverty equally inconceivable and plunged in misery equally indescribable. They are destitute of work, of food, of clothes, of shelter, of education, of hope, and of sympathy. They are the prey of the strong, who take advantage of their helplessness to work them on starvation wages or cast them aside at will. Their children are growing up into brutehood. The young men by the million, from lack of work, are becoming of necessity paupers and criminals, and the young women are doing even worse. In view of these facts and a multitude of others which I will not pain the reader by mentioning, Professor Ely has not a word to say about our economy, but he affirms that the *times are hard*. The times hard! What are the times? The times are the providential dispensations of the Almighty. This is the last decade of the nineteenth century. This is the

boasted land of liberty, a land of unexampled fertility and boundless resources, a land where the seasons never vary, the clouds never forget to pour down their rain, and the sun is punctual to his appointed time ; a land where the crops never fail, where the storehouses are never big enough ; a land of abundance, whose surplus will feed half the world and whose only regret is that it cannot get the contract for feeding the rest. It is also a land where natural calamity is almost unknown. War, earthquake, and pestilence do not visit our shores.

And these are the hard times. I protest against this defamation of the Almighty, this insult to the intelligence of men. There never was before such good times. Never before in the history of the race was so much of all earthly good within easy reach of humanity. Times are hard when there is a scarcity of the good things of life ; we are troubled with a superabundance.

If the times were hard they would be hard for all alike, just as when the weather is bad it is bad for all. The times are exceptionally good for those independent of daily toil. Never would wealth buy so much luxury as now in these hard times of the working people. The times are not hard when the multitudes are robbed to make luxury for the rich ; it is the hearts of men that are hard.

There are in this land of ours a large class of comfortable people ; these people are comfortably off in respect to this world's goods, they are comfortably clothed, fed, and housed ; they belong to our churches and have a comfortable assurance that in addition to all the good things of this life, heaven is also their own. This class has also professors of political economy and editors of newspapers who are well paid to contribute to its comfort ; and nothing is more comfortable than to be assured upon the high authority of editors and professors that we have a right to be comfortable because we are doing our whole duty, have fairly earned the felicity enjoyed, and that the misery which recedes and hides from our comfortable presence is something for which we are in no wise responsible, being due to that providential dispensation known as "hard times."

The man who told in the ears of King David the little story of

the ewe lambs and ended with the terrible, "Thou art the man," was not in the pay of the king; those who destroy the peace of the comfortable by thrusting unpleasant truth upon them must ever bear their own charges.

Professor Ely, as a teacher of the old system of political economy, cannot be expected to destroy the foundation upon which has been reared his fame and fortune. Like the unfortunate theologians of a generation ago, he is forced by the necessities of his situation to teach doctrines abhorrent to the common sense of mankind. There could hardly be a more pitiful confession of incapacity to deal with the vital issue of the time than is presented under the title of "Hard Times," and as proof of the allegation I would refer the reader to the article in question; space here will warrant but a few brief quotations.

In the opening paragraph is the following :

Yet the statement that the cause of hard times is prosperity, paradoxical as it seems, has a large element of truth in it and suggests one line of fruitful thought.

What a contemptible juggling with words is this, "prosperity the cause of hard times"! And yet there is a sense in which it is true, although the professor forbears the illustration. When robbery is being done the prosperity of the robbers is undoubtedly the cause of the hard times of the victims. One of the finest examples of hard times caused by prosperity is presented in the case of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves. We learn that the thieves upon this occasion had a very prosperous time of it, which was undoubtedly the cause of the hard times which fell to the lot of the traveler. The same truth has a more recent illustration; it is upon a larger scale, however, and therefore less striking to the senses.

The trading class of the United States have for years hired the working class at altogether inadequate wages and have thus gathered to themselves the surplus products of labor until their hands are full and there is no one to sell them to. This is a speculators' prosperity. Having gotten too much and being

unable to sell it, they cannot longer make a profit upon even starvation wages ; so the worker is unhired and his hard times are due to the prosperity of the speculators.

It cannot be denied that the working people spend all their wages in buying the products of their own labor ; were their wages larger they would buy more, and were they large enough they would buy and consume all that they produce, so that there would be no surplus, no stopping of production, no idleness, no hard times. The "hard times," then, of the working class is caused by the prosperity of the speculating class, and the means to this end is a system of political economy which promotes and legalizes robbery on a universal scale.

The modern instance is slightly different from that of the man found by the Good Samaritan, but the way that the priest and the Levite pass by on the other side is singularly alike in both cases, and the actual condition of the modern worker differs from that of the ancient traveler (and he may have been seeking employment) only in this, that the Good Samaritan, so prominent a figure in the one case, is sadly wanting in the other. It is well to keep in mind this fruitful suggestion of Professor Ely's, that prosperity causes hard times, and also to remember just how it is done.

A little further on he says :

Material prosperity means abundance of material goods, but our present hard times have been preceded and accompanied by larger yields of wheat, corn, and other agricultural products more largely than ever before.

The professor forgets to mention that it is not the possession of these immense crops that constitutes the poverty of the husbandman, *his hard times*, but the fact that he is forced to part from them without just recompense for his toil—this is the *hardness*, and it has nothing to do with the times while it has everything to do with our system of political economy, which is such as to beggar the producer, according to the professor's own showing, notwithstanding the exceptional propitiousness of the times. Still we have not a word of criticism of our economy ; it is so much easier to arraign the Almighty ; he never talks back

or withholds a salary. It would be an uncomfortable task to tell the speculators who have gotten these immense crops that there was a direct and positive connection between the poverty of the workers and the wealth of the speculators, due to the robbery of one by the other; it is not a service for which they would be willing to pay.

We are also told:

It is true that men may be obliged to go hungry because too much food has been produced, and to go unclothed because too much clothing has been manufactured.

We must remember that these are the words of a political economist who has no fault to find with this kind of economy. Let us try to imagine the good housewife saying to the clamoring, starving children: "Really, the cupboard is so full that I cannot feed you, and you must upon no account help yourselves; the attic is so full of clothes that I cannot get into it to bring you some; this distressing overmuchness threatens to be our ruin."

If there is anything on record more exasperatingly brutal than this message of the political economist to the robbed and starving toiler, that his excessive labors and immense production are the efficient cause of his want, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the literature of the day to know where to find it.

Again we are told, "And it is, as just seen, only profitable production that can enable us to avoid hard times." The "hard times" represent the condition of the producer; they occur whenever he is not permitted a profit on his labor. That is natural enough, but why does the producer's profit fail? Simply because the whole speculating class is a unit to deprive him of it, and our system of political economy is such as to leave him at the mercy of his enemies. This is the plain and simple truth, and Professor Ely does not suggest that the system be changed at all, for it is very comfortable to the class which he represents. He even declares, "There is no panacea for hard times, but by working along different lines we may have mitigation and improvement."

This "working along different lines" is a happy expression.

I have robbed a man of five dollars and propose to keep it,

there is, of course, no panacea for his hard times. If I have decided not to do the one thing that would restore prosperity to him, then I must "work along different lines," there is absolutely nothing else to do, and I must hope for "mitigation and improvement"; to lend him a quarter and give him a pair of old shoes would probably accomplish some mitigation of his sufferings and be an improvement of his condition.

Our system of political economy robs the toiler of his profits, making the times good for the speculator so long as there is anything left to steal, and very hard for the worker, especially when he has little left to lose. We are informed by the highest authority that there is no panacea for this condition. Right here I assert that this statement is false, foolishly, wickedly, abominably false, and the man who utters it will live to see it disproved if he doesn't die before his time. We can just as easily as not stop robbing the producer when we will, but we are not likely to do so in the face of such teaching as the professor of political economy gives us.

Given two simple conditions and the "hard times" of Professor Ely are rendered impossible. These two conditions are wholly within our power and so manifestly just that the withholding of them covers us with disgrace, and but for the hardness of our hearts, with shame and confusion. The first is that every worker be permitted to work. What a stupendous act of condescension upon the part of society to grant such a simple request, to assure such a natural right. If we can succeed in raising our magnanimity to the point of letting every poor devil work that wants to, then are we called to but one other heroic effort, and that is to give him the net proceeds of his labor, not stealing one bit of it on any pretext whatever. When we shall have so adjusted our political economy that these primitive acts of justice shall be done, it will be found that a panacea for "hard times" has been found and applied, and we can then forbear "working along other lines," as there will be no need of the mitigations of sophistry, of the improvements of charity.

We are finally told that "anything which will increase general purchasing power is urged as one of the chief remedies"; and

as a means of increasing general purchasing power the professor suggests the "elevation of the masses," "better educational facilities," "safer institutions for savings," "inheritance laws calculated to disperse property," and "improved labor organizations." Everything seems to be mentioned except an *increase of wages*. It would have been interesting had the professor explained just how better saving institutions and the like would increase the purchasing power of a poor man whose wages remain the same. The power of a workingman to purchase is exactly equivalent to the amount of his product which he is allowed to retain; it can be neither more nor less, and whatever "elevation" he gets will follow, not precede, his increase of wages. People are not elevated in the social scale by the mere groundless expectation of more wages. Besides, it is not a "general increase of purchasing power" that we want, but a specific increase on one side and a specific decrease on the other, a decrease of the speculator's and an increase of the worker's purchasing power—in short, an inauguration of justice and a restitution of spoil.

The whole gist of the matter is that the increase of the worker's purchasing power must be largely at the expense of the purchasing power of the speculator. It is well to remember that the products of labor constitute the *total of purchasing power*, and that this power will be exercised by the worker in case he possesses the goods, or by the speculator in case he succeeds in getting them away from him.

It is well known to every economist that the single means of effecting exchanges open to the worker is that of trade by means of money; that he is as rigorously prohibited from using any other exchange tool as ever was the black slave from the use of the spelling book. By this system of trade is the worker forced to part with his product to the trading class, who give him pieces of paper for it, which other traders will take for other goods; and when he has sold and bought again, so cunningly is the scheme managed, that the profit of his labor has slipped through his fingers and gone to another. Over against his mountain of labor another rears an equal mountain of wealth, and

is the pleasant duty of the political economist, standing smiling by, and in the pay of the speculators, to assure him that this is just the right thing, that his labor is really successful only as it appears in the wealth of the other man.

It is singular how things change. Within the memory of some of us it used to be gravely argued that the natural condition of the worker was slavery. This has all passed away, but the similar tones of another voice tell us that the natural condition of the worker is "hard times." I wonder what is the difference between hard times and slavery anyway? This is a point upon which a workingman unaccustomed to make fine distinctions is liable to become confused.

It is a thankless task to exhibit evils that may not be cured and a useless one to declaim against them without showing just how they may be removed. That something is radically wrong in our system of political economy is apparent, for our economy uses the best of times and the fairest of opportunities only to degrade the majority of the people, and upon the virtual slavery of the working class rear unparalleled monuments of wealth and luxury to fortunate or unscrupulous speculators. This condition cannot be changed without discomfort to the comfortable class. I have now nothing to say to politicians or political parties. I address those comfortable people who have a conscience, although, as Artemus Ward once said of his presence of mind, they do not always have it with them. I charge this comfortable class with maintaining a system of political economy which is simply infamous and by means of which they fatten upon the life-blood of their fellows. I expect to arouse their indignation, to put them upon their defense, and to exhibit them defenseless. They are taken red handed, with the stolen goods in their possession. All the wealth of the land is in their hands, yet they did not create it, and the beggared workers who did create it, are they not on every hand, and are not the most strenuous exertions being made everywhere to keep them from starving until the spring, when it is hoped that more wealth may be wrung out of their labor?

Our system of political economy is built upon the foundation

of production and distribution by trade, or private speculation. It is a system that does not permit of production for use, but only for speculation; that does not permit of distribution for the benefit of the worker, but only for the benefit of the speculator. Workmen are forced to starve, waiting for the speculator to become sure of his profit.

By the fruit of the tree is the tree known, and by this test our economy is infamous. So long as trade remains the sole channel of distribution the good and the bad are alike forced to use it, but the spirit of the thing itself, as exemplified in its typical examples, is a compound of all the meaner impulses of human nature. Shylock demanding his pound of flesh is the monumental type of the perfectly developed trader; Shylock getting his pound of flesh is the most conspicuous feature of our economy. How many pounds of flesh do you suppose have been lost by the pale and haggard millions of our working people? We have improved on the methods of Shakespeare's time and can now get the pound of flesh without shedding one drop of blood. The sweaters have learned the secret, and in all our great cities they ply their trade while the agonized cry of their victims goes up to heaven alongside the worship of our churches. Do the comfortable people of our cities ever think how uncomfortable it must be to one who from above takes in the whole scene at a glance, this compound of luxury, misery, and hypocrisy? Among the possibilities of the Infinite must be the capacity for infinite disgust. The plea that we did not know the system to be thus loaded will avail us no longer. Our political economy is not a providential affair, but exclusively a matter of our own management; the poverty, misery, and degradation of our fellows are of our own doing.

We must have a fundamental change of system; the bane of the old is speculation, and it must be left out of the new. The effecting of exchanges is the substance of a political economy, and the doing of it by speculation produces the evils which we deplore. It remains for us to put in motion an exchange system free from speculation. This does not call for any interference with trade or any abolition of speculation, but only the deliver-

ance of the worker from the power of the trader by affording him independent facilities for exchanging his products. Here he is powerless. Just here is where he is robbed. The speculator handles the goods and absorbs the profit. The exchange of the products of labor other than by means of trade calls for a safe custody for the goods and a currency of exchange, and it does not require anything beyond this. We can provide the worker with these indispensable elements of freedom by simple act of Congress whenever we choose; they can be gotten in no other way, being beyond the power of coöperative effort.

Reform begins with the calling of things by their right names, and the hard work of it is done when the things are recognized by the new names. Chattel slavery was tolerated as an "industrial system" but as the "sum of all villainies" it had to go.

Men must either steal a living, have it given to them, or work for it. To those who must work for a living, the *work is the living*. If such are not free to work they are not free to live; they are slaves. Our working people generally, then, are slaves; our political economy is a system of slavery, and those who profit by cheap labor are the beneficiaries—the slaveholders. Slavery is not a self-limiting disease of the social organism, but a rottenness in the bones that inevitably destroys the life unless eradicated by moral or physical force. I do not know that any race of slaves ever freed themselves. The condition of slavery is one ill calculated to develop a knowledge of freedom or a capacity to attain to it; its tendencies are all toward brutality. A freeman, a man capable of defending his rights and improving his condition, is one a long way removed from the slave; he is the product of centuries, not of proclamations.

For the benefit of political economists I submit a few simple propositions, which, if not recognized as being a part of the present system of economy, may be ascribed to a newer and a better one:

1. Men are able to employ themselves whenever and so long as they can sell the products of their labor promptly and at a fair price.

2. Men are able, willing, and anxious to consume as much as they produce by their labor.

3. Exchange is the essential factor in a specialized system of industry, and an efficient exchange system will enable each worker to consume as much as he produces, or the full net product of his labor.

4. The exchange of the products of labor among the different workers upon an equitable plan is the equivalent of a sale for cash and at a fair price.

These four propositions are the basis of the system of political economy known as "fair exchange," and the only inference that can be drawn from them is that fair exchange is the solution of the labor problem and the emancipation of the worker.

"There is no panacea for hard times" (in our political economy), says Professor Ely most candidly and most truly; but there is one just outside, and the name of it is *justice*. If we can be influenced by no higher considerations, then a due regard for our own political salvation should induce us to open the door and take it in.

E. M. BURCHARD.

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND THE MUNICIPALITY.

BY WILLIAM D. MAXON, D.D.

THE Christian is a good citizen, and a good citizen cares for the good estate of his city. The city is the citizen's larger home. The Christian loves to have his family home bright and beautiful, a place of safety, culture, and happiness for his children, and of social refreshment for his friends. So also should the Christian feel with reference to his larger home, the city. He should love to see it well ordered, well disciplined with noble laws earnestly promulgated, justly administered, and happily obeyed; with many fully equipped schools, libraries, picture galleries, lecture courses, pleasure grounds, parks, with streets well paved, cleaned, and lighted, with an abundance of respectable housings for the daily wage-workers, and, in all this, a constant, intelligent, and active regard for the public health, both moral and physical. The Christian, and by the Christian I mean the self-respecting citizen, would have all good things increased, and all evil things diminished which effect the welfare of his city, and make it a better or a worse place for himself, his family, and his fellow-citizens to fulfil their earthly life. But in this world good things do not lie ready-made; nor are they to be had for the asking. Good things have to be achieved. They are the result of the serious, hopeful thought and self-sacrifice of those who believe that good things are worth having. And no citizen can hope to have his city well ordered for the finest public welfare, unless, with others of like mind, he will devote himself to the city's cause; and for him, professing to have an interest in his city, I know no finer counsel than these words of that fine American, James Russell Lowell: "The only conclusive evidence of a man's sincerity is that he gives himself for a principle. Words, money, all things else, are comparatively easy to give away; but when a man makes a gift of

his daily life and practice, it is plain that the truth, whatever it may be, has taken possession of him." So the citizen who believes in his city must live for his city. He dare not thinly disguise his own self-interest by a pretended regard for the welfare of the city. He dare not for any mere selfish consideration encourage and sustain unworthy men or dangerous methods in municipal affairs.

Most of those who read this article, I dare say, have seriously considered the problem of our American city, and have read what things are said and done concerning the municipal management of such cities as New York, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco—things which constitute the problem which the Christian citizen is now more and more urgently called to the help of solving. In every one is the same wearisome tale of official complicity with vice and crime, the same dangerous conspiracy between law-breakers and the officers elected and paid to enforce the laws—due often to the insensate introduction of party politics into municipal affairs, and to the yet more insensate indifference of the citizens to municipal honor and efficiency.

As good citizens of this great American city of Pittsburg we might well wish the same tale could not be told of her. But for some time it has been a matter of common notoriety, and more recently of open accusation, that Pittsburg is not behind her sister cities in municipal corruption and in official complicity with vice. It is not possible for our citizens to ignore the grave charges of two of our magistrates against the subordinates in the Department of Public Safety. For the fair name of Pittsburg these charges must be openly proved, or else just as openly declared to be false. These magistrates must be shown to be either public benefactors, or else foul slanderers of the fame of Pittsburg. Either the magistrates or the police must go, if the honor of Pittsburg shall remain.

But consider in general the serious problem of the American city. All our cities are rapidly growing. The Old World with every ship is sending crowds of immigrants who settle chiefly in the cities, while also the country districts are fast being de-

populated to increase the city. It is estimated that if the ratio of population from 1880 to 1890 shall continue till 1920, the city will contain upward of ten millions more than the country. The city is the place of the people, the center of varied interests, of larger advantages, of greater culture; yes, and the city has many more pitiless pitfalls for the unwary or venturesome, and so, the greater need of municipal vigilance and rectitude. Larger privileges bring larger responsibilities and duties. The city is called to make itself not simply an attraction, but a school and a home of the best citizenship—the protector and stimulator of the best American manhood. But when we look at the municipal management of our cities, what do we find? We find what Mr. Bryce, the English statesman-historian, observed, that “the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States.” The cities are under the dominion of partisan or personal politics. A non-partisan, that is, an independent, large-minded, morally resolute, public-spirited man is now almost unheard of as at the head of municipal affairs. Indeed, somewhere I saw that returns from one hundred and twenty-seven cities show only one independent or non-political mayor. What, then, with too rare exception, are our American mayors? They are either political bosses, or, more commonly, complacent vassals, placed in office by political bosses who pledge them first to partisan or personal ends before suffering them to consider how they might administer the city for the honor, comfort, and culture of her citizens. And thus we find that, when partisanship comes first and the city second, there is no interest of the city which is not forced to pay tribute to the greed of the politician. Public schools, the public health, the public improvements, the matter of the excise, the adjustment of taxes—all, to a greater or less degree, are injured in their efficiency or just administration by the high-handed and often ignorant interference or cynical indifference of the politician. Yet there is something more grievous, the most hopeless of all; and that is the encouragement and support too readily given to dangerous politicians by citizens of quite eminent respectability. Why is it? Is it because municipal politics are so mixed with

state and general politics that the respectable citizen is willing to sacrifice the good name of his city and the welfare of his fellow-citizens for the success of party principles which he approves, and which have a decided bearing upon his private business? Is it this? Is it something better or worse than this? It is a question for the respectable citizen to answer in the sight of his own conscience and before his growing children, who certainly cannot help being influenced by the tone and sentiment of official honor which prevail in the city.

But this is an old story, forever recurring. Its very familiarity with many breeds for it contempt. Chiefly as the time of election draws near the old controversies arise, and confusion is worse confounded. Then the political atmosphere seems surcharged with insincerities and counter misrepresentations. The conflicting partisan press makes it almost impossible for the independent citizen to get at the truth with respect to candidates. Not uncommonly a small band of ardent reformers, radical in their righteous zeal and lofty in their scorn of political methods, imperiously call upon all men who love their souls to dare the devil, and vote for some truly good man who is more moral than partisan. But while they cry aloud and spare not in the public hall, the politicians are out in the wards "fixing" the German vote, the Irish vote, the Italian vote, and when election is over the city once more is the prey of the spoiler. Nevertheless, it would seem, this result could not be without the respectable citizen being a partner to his own shame.

The root of the evil is not the preponderance of bad citizens, but rather the divisions and the indifference of good citizens. It has been observed that "in Brooklyn when all those who desired a good government united, they elected Mr. Seth Low and had a good city government; but when his administration ended, the union of citizens, which had secured his election, ended also, and with the division of the citizens along party lines there came back into power the self-seeking politician." Granting that in every city of considerable strength the self-respecting citizens outnumber the irresponsible ones, what boots it, if the irresponsibles are all united under their political

captains, and the self-respecting are divided among themselves! The politicians know how to keep their followers in line, but the self-respecting citizens, seeking occasionally to bring about a good along an individual line, or by some quite impracticable way which causes divisions, virtually play into the hands of the enemy. The children of this world are wiser than the children of light. The friends of good government too often grasp for an ideal, and clutch only the air; while the politicians, reaching down to get votes, get votes and the spoils. Then they make merry with the children of light.

But more than divisions among the self-respecting citizens, the fundamental cause of our municipal evils is the lack of a high sense of public responsibility and civic pride. Our abler men, those most capable of governing, seem to be willing to lose hold upon the reins of government. We are a money-making people. Our capable and energetic citizens are immersed in splendid business enterprises, which take so much time and thought as to leave them little opportunity and less disposition to display civic virtues. As things are they can scarcely afford to display such virtues, and so they lightly permit men with whom politics is a trade both to manipulate party and to control the city. It is said to have been the singular regulation of Solon which proclaimed a man dishonored and disfranchised who, in a civil dispute, stood aloof and took no part on either side; and that with the Greeks the word *ἰδιώτης*, that is, *idiot*, meant a man who cared nothing for the public interests.

Now, what, if any, is the remedy for our present day municipal distress? It is easy to theorize, but where is the practical remedy? It is also easy enough to answer that all good citizens, who desire good government without regard to party, should unite to place capable, honest, public-spirited citizens in the mayor's and alderman's chair at each recurring election. That is what we want—what we always say we want. How is it to be brought about? Shall the political party be quite ignored and relief be sought in the choice of extra-party men—the best available? That is the cherished aim of the pure and simple citizens' movement, which indeed is occasionally successful, but

generally fails for a lack of largely diffused public spirit and civic pride ; and because the majority of citizens are intrenched behind party lines. Let us, however, not too readily decry party. Party professedly stands for principle, and good principles are always to be maintained. But do the principles of either of our great political parties countenance bad government of a city ? Do they sustain a public official in blocking progress, or in running for purely personal and partisan ends the great common interests of the city upon which largely depend public, physical, and moral health ? Have these principles no standing judgment against official complicity with vice, no standing condemnation upon conspiracies against law, justice, and the common rights of the people ? We may not malign either political party by claiming that its principles do not aim at just and efficient government for the advantage of the people at large. Therefore the trouble is not with party, it is with partisanship ; not with the principles of any party, but with *the lack of principle* in the politicians whom the citizens suffer to control the party. And so the remedy lies with the citizens. They may have what they want—good government with enforcement of reasonable laws, and with a just regard to the rights and needs of every citizen, whether rich or poor ; or they may have what they are indifferent to—a bad government, knowing no right of the citizen which it would respect, and no need of the citizen which it would supply in the face of the self-interest of those with whom *politics is business*. The remedy lies with the citizen, ignorance and crime cannot in the long run hold up against intelligence and virtue. The universe is constructed in the interest of law and order, and its bounties were freely bestowed for the benefit of people of whatever condition ; and in all fairness it must be said that for lack of fair and fine administration of any city, the chief responsibility rests with the citizens who know the good and deny it, who have the power to do good and weakly permit the evil to prevail.

But there is something more practical than this. The Christian citizen, indeed, will have a hard task, if he tries just to exhort men into self-respecting citizenship. Nor may he hope for

anything permanent from a Senate investigating committee. That is good, but it is not sufficient. Notwithstanding the Lexow investigation of New York, the cause of reform in that metropolis is likely to have only a temporary lease of life. Parkhurst and Roosevelt, strong men as they are, will have their day and cease to be; but municipal corruption will go on forever, unless the people, stirred in conscience and enlightened in mind, shall rise in their majesty and stop it. And this is neither visionary nor remote. There is a practical remedy which may be ever at hand and steadily applied. This remedy is civic education. Let the light come in upon the darkened mind, and lo, the heart lifts itself up toward the better things. Let the ignorant citizen who now blindly follows some persuasive political leader only get into his mind the sense of his worth as a man and a citizen, and he will no longer be a slave. The plain duty, then, for the intelligent and able citizen is to provide education in things municipal for the people. In every city there should be a Civic Society, composed of the progressive, public-spirited men without regard to party, whose duty would be to get and keep the light full on municipal matters; which from time to time would issue reliable statements to the public upon the exact condition of the city's treasury, the excise, the tax register, the public schools, the police board, the health board, etc.; which would distribute plain literature inculcating civic virtue and public spirit, telling also the city's history, marking its achievements in the past, pointing out its present excellencies and its possible future improvement. This Civic Society also would hold public meetings at which some man from abroad, well qualified as a successful city governor, would address citizens upon the privileges and duties of citizenship. Moreover, this Civic Society would have a fund of its own, not simply to meet expenses, but, when need called, to pursue an aggressive policy with respect to the actual enforcement of the law, and to bring the violators to a speedy and just punishment. Yet the law-and-order feature would be only a minor one in the society. Its chief and persistent aim would be to educate, enlighten, and enlist as many citizens as possible into the cause of the city. It would be a

large, broad society, having no "fads," but an intelligent, patriotic purpose. It would not be a society of the rich only. It would not be a society of one class. Its doors would be wide open. The one qualification for membership would be a sincere attachment to the welfare of the city, and a willingness to do some service for the city. The sooner such societies are largely multiplied, the better ; for unless the fast-increasing foreign population shall be educated to know what a truly noble and uplifting thing it is to be a free citizen of an American city our future will be quite beyond control.

And so the Christian's duty to the city is plain, pressing, and practical. Because he is a Christian, he is a good citizen and desires the largest good of all his fellow-citizens. Touched with the spirit of Christ, and established upon his divine principles of progress, he realizes that the aim of life is to acquire a better, a truer, a higher life. And when he views himself as a citizen, living with his family and friends in a particular city still under the impress of the Christ, he realizes that the aim of citizenship is to acquire a better, a truer, a higher citizenship, yet not for himself alone, but for all his fellow-citizens.

WILLIAM D. MAXON.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

⁴ department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

SOCIAL ORDER. A LESSON IN ALTRUISM.—In the February number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS Edward B. Payne presented an interesting and hopeful picture of "Altruria," the latest altruistic colony. The results of the experiment are not what he anticipated. The San Francisco *Bulletin* of September 23 says: "A number of Berkeley gentlemen have been experimenting on the theory of altruism. Under the leadership of the Rev. Edward B. Payne, Allen V. Morse, J. C. Aiken, and C. S. Preble a colony was planted at Mark West, in Sonoma County, but its growth was not attended with the success anticipated. It is admitted that in the short time allowed for the experiment the colony did not become self-supporting, but the several leaders do not agree upon the precise causes of failure. So far as the leaders are concerned it is a two-to-two proposition. Mr. Payne and Mr. Morse attribute the failure to non-essential conditions, while Mr. Aiken and Mr. Preble find the cause in generate human nature. 'Human nature,' says Mr. Aiken, 'is yet too imperfect for altruism.' Men will not work their best except when they work for themselves. The fact which Mr. Aiken found demonstrated in the Mark West experiment has often been demonstrated in other localities. It illustrates the old adage that a child must creep before it can walk. Between the intense self-seeking of ordinary life at the present day and the subordination of self which altruism requires, or rather, which constitutes altruism, there is a wide distance. Whether the two points are irreconcilable or only difficult of approach to each other, is not yet fully determined. A number of men taken out of the self-seeking crowd of workers, trained in theory and practice to look out for themselves, could hardly be expected to develop in a year the spirit that teaches that in working for the public good we are working most wisely for ourselves. There is a very general conviction that Mr. Aiken is right in his mental diagnosis of the average man, but the hope of humanity lies in the possibility that he is mistaken. A reasonable degree of success in life is attained by such effort that any relaxation of that effort seems fatal to the person or the community that allows itself the luxury of relaxation. Yet it will readily be admitted that what the world calls success is an attainment much beyond what is necessary to

happiness. The grind on the masses living below the line of equality is so sharp and unrelenting that courageous men who perceive the end close by are rather glad than grieved. To borrow a phrase of the day, they have had enough. The regret they feel at the close arises rather from affection for those who will be left behind than from fear of what is beyond. Whether an altruistic colony shall ever become a financial success or not, such distractions from the ordinary bent of things will do good. They will set people to thinking, and perhaps to hoping, that life is not the barren gift it seems to be to so large a proportion of our people. It is not that work is wearing—that the necessity of work is an obstacle to happiness—but that the average man's ability to work provides so little of the things that make life enjoyable."

JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA.—Japan, with territory not quite equal in area to that of California, has a population of 41,000,000 people, with wages averaging ten to twenty cents a day. California has a population of only 1,200,000, with wages for unskilled labor averaging from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day. In California the climate is similar to that of Japan and it costs a Japanese only \$20 to change his residence. These facts lead the *San Francisco Bulletin* to anticipate an unwelcome addition to the population of California, with results disastrous to the interests of wage-earners, unless immigration is restricted. Labor Commissioner Fitzgerald, of California, reports that Japanese laborers can now be hired in that state for from forty to fifty cents a day. On the other hand, a Fresno grape-raiser reports that he will pay such laborers \$1.50 a day, but cannot secure them!

STATE SUPERVISION OF MUNICIPAL OFFICERS.—In an able article in the annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science, Prof. J. R. Commons (A. I. C.), of the University of Indiana, suggests that state municipal boards be established, with power to review the acts of municipal officers. He proposes, for example, a board be established, composed of the governor, attorney-general, and auditor, by virtue of their offices, and from six to ten unsalaried citizens, in equal numbers from the two political parties—one to be appointed by the governor each year for terms of from six to ten years. Its administrative work should be done by salaried experts. The duties of the board would be supervisory; it should have no power to discipline, suspend, or remove officers, but should make recommendations to the governor, who would have plenary powers to suspend or remove officers. In case of removal, the local machinery of election or appointment should fill the vacancy. This municipal board would exercise the powers of most of the state boards already considered and some others. According to the scheme as outlined, it would have a complete Auditing Department and a Civil Service Department; it would pass upon municipal bonds and contracts; it would constitute a permanent Lexow Committee.

Mr. Commons thinks that such a board would make local government more homogeneous and efficient. Public opinion will set things right, if it

is well informed, and such a board would keep the public fully informed of abuses needing correction. The legislature cannot act promptly enough. The state municipal board would be the agent of the legislature, in recognition of the legislature's sovereign control over municipalities, and of the legislature's inability to wisely exercise that control without expert advice.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* comments on the plan as follows: "Such is the most recent suggestion for a much-needed improvement in municipal government. It contains many meritorious features, not the least of which is its maintenance of home rule in its best form—home rule under expert supervision, not as it is now, subject to the ignorant or partisan interference of the legislature, itself seeking, sincerely or otherwise, to correct abuses which should not have been allowed to grow up in any self-governed community."

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EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE.—The practical results of the equal representation of the states in the Senate is thus referred to by Mr. S. E. Moffet, in the *Political Science Quarterly*:

"It may be on its face a glaring injustice that a combination of the senators from twenty-three states, with a population of 12,401,748, should be able to outvote twenty-one states, with a population of 49,507,158; but the question is whether such a combination ever did or ever could exist. The twenty-three states are situated on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts, on the Canadian frontier, among the Rocky and Alleghany Mountains, and in the Great Basin and the Mississippi Valley. Can any issue ever arise which will unite Vermont, Delaware, Florida, and Nevada against Massachusetts, Virginia, Georgia, and Kansas?"

For an answer, says the *Literary Digest*, Mr. Moffet went to the records of the Senate and analyzed the votes on a number of hotly contested issues that have divided the Senate, such as the declaration of war against England, 1812, the tariff of 1816, the Missouri Compromise, the annexation of Texas, 1845, the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850, the Bland-Allison Silver Law, 1878, the McKinley Tariff Law, the "Force Bill," and a number of other important measures. The results of his analysis are given in tabular form.

Pointing out the lesson taught by the tables, Mr. Moffet says that "the votes on practical questions have been so balanced that in all the twenty-one cases cited there has been only one instance in which the average population of the states ranged on one side has been as much as twice that of the states ranged on the other," and that in every case, without exception, the small states have been divided. There is no trace anywhere, adds Mr. Moffet, of that combination of small states against large which is thought to portend danger to our political system.

The history of presidential elections yields similar results. Mr. Moffet writes:

"An examination of the records from the beginning shows that if

each state had been allowed only one vote and had cast that vote in accordance with the action really taken by the majority of its electors, the result would have been precisely what it actually was, with but two exceptions, namely, in the election of 1848, when there would have been a tie instead of a majority for Taylor, and in that of 1880, when there would have been another tie, instead of a majority for Garfield. The latter contest beautifully illustrates the harmonious balance of large and small states in our political system. Nineteen states voted for Garfield and nineteen for Hancock—a result most accurately adjusted to the popular vote—4,449,053 on one side and 4,442,035 on the other."

TAXATION IN FRANCE.—A communication was lately presented to the Statistical Society of Paris in which the budget of a well-to-do private family was carefully analysed. The family consisted of a father and mother, three sons, aged from nineteen to fourteen, two daughters of sixteen and eleven, and two female servants. The total expenditure of this family in 1894 was 20,700 francs. The particulars were set forward with the greatest fullness and the taxes on each item of expenditure computed. The expense of the family habitation was 3,111 francs, and the taxes were 29.45 per cent of this. On food the taxes were 20.65 per cent, on heat and light 27 per cent, on transportation 23 per cent, on clothing 11 per cent, on entertainments 63 per cent. Upon 14,117 francs' expenditure the average tax was 23 per cent. Upon expenditure for repairs, domestic service, doctors, education, and wages, which amounted to 6,555 francs, no attempt to compute the rate of taxation was made, and it seems quite proper to regard these items as belonging to the budgets of other families, so far as the incidence of taxation is concerned. It would seem, therefore, that not far from one quarter of the income of a well-to-do bourgeois French family goes to meet the exactions of the government.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

THE SABBATH AND THE SALOON.—Rev. Alex. P. Doyle, one of the Paulist Fathers, recently delivered, in the Church of St. Paul in New York, an impassioned and eloquent sermon in defense of the Sabbath and in opposition to the saloon:

"There is going on to-day an organized conspiracy in which thousands of our well-meaning citizens are engaged, whose avowed purpose is to cut the heart out of our Christian Sunday. They would, under the plea of personal liberty, throw open the saloons during certain hours on Sunday.

"I protest against this ruthless invasion of the very sanctuary of God by the destroying foot of the Philistine, whose only God is his belly. The attack on the Sunday is inspired partly by men who have no religion, partly by those who are restive under the little restraints keeping of the laws necessitates, who, I am sure, do not appreciate the destruction of Sunday will go much of the liberty we have attained, and many of the sweetest joys of life. They would

bring in what they choose to call the 'Continental' Sunday, with its unabated rush of toil and traffic.

"In the name of public morality, I protest against the opening of saloons at all on Sunday. The saloon is the plague spot in our civilization. It is the festering sore of immorality. It is the black spot wherein is generated the withering scourge of drunkenness. Shut up the saloons and you may shut up nine tenths of our jails. The road from the saloon to the poorhouse, from the saloon to the insane asylum, is white with the bones of those who have fallen by the wayside in distress and agony.

"What, shall we give this vampire who already has poisoned the blood of the body politic still further opportunity to do unto death our civic strength? Is not six days enough for it to prey on the poor weaklings of humanity? What has it done for the state or the welfare of the citizens that it should be privileged over and above the butcher and the baker? It has stood in our commonwealth for years as the lawless element, going into the legislature and giving the fat bribe to the legislator, snapping its fingers at every effort to enforce the law in its regard—controlling politics in such a way that good men must either bend the knee at its shrine or beat the dust of politics off their sleeves.

"In the name of the workingman I protest against this attack on the Sunday. If it is to be broken down in one regard, grasping avarice will soon do the rest, will completely destroy it, and the workingman will soon be at the mercy of his avaricious employer.

"In the name of the truest liberty, the liberty that comes from the observance of good laws, I protest against this opening of saloons on Sunday, and I call upon all those who are in accord with the best Catholic sentiment, who listen with docility to the voice of holy Mother Church, to stand resolutely together, and at this Thermopylae of religion, morality, and liberty, resist the attack of the enemies of the Christian Sunday."

WANT AND WAGES.—Want is of two kinds; that which represents a desire for more as the results of one's labor, and that which represents a state of being without even the necessities of life. In this latter sense want may determine the rates of wages paid under the Ricardian doctrine; but want which indicates a progressive desire must be considered as that comprehensive definition of the labor question which means the struggle for a higher standard of living. It is the struggle which enters into all the phases of the labor question of the present day, and which is constantly changing the luxuries of one period to the necessities of a subsequent period. Under this kind of want the wage-receiver finds himself constantly obliged to secure for himself and his family the comforts and the conveniences which a generation or two ago would have been considered luxuries, obtainable only by those in receipt of large incomes either from business or invested wealth. This view indicates the general soundness of the idea

that the standard of living regulates, to a large extent, the rates of wages paid in various callings.—*Carroll D. Wright.*

PUBLIC LANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—The land agent of South Carolina is offering "desirable" state lands for sale at from twenty-five cents to ten dollars per acre in tracts of from ten acres to a thousand acres or more. Commenting on this fact the *Charleston News and Courier* wisely observes:

"If the lands are valuable to anybody for speculative purposes they will be as valuable to the state for educational purposes. If any of them are only worth "twenty-five cents an acre" and outsiders can make them more valuable by employing suitable labor on them, the state can do the same thing, more cheaply, by employing on them some of the convict labor for which it is now so hard to find employment without competing with honest labor. A large quantity of such lands, with illimitable possibilities of profitable development and use, have already been sacrificed by selling them at 'nominal prices.' We should sacrifice no more of them."

WAGES: REAL AND NOMINAL.—What is known euphemistically as "the iron law of wages," is based on Ricardo's doctrine that the "natural price of labor depends on the price of the food, necessities, and conveniences required for the support of the laborer. With a rise in the price of food and necessities, the price of labor will rise; with a fall in their price the natural price of labor will fall." In other words, the rate of wages paid to any class of laborers depends upon his absolute necessities, he being able under this law to secure no more than is essential for his food, raiment, and shelter. Under modern conditions this is, indeed, an iron law. Formerly it probably held good, and it holds good to-day to the extent that all persons, whether laborers or others, are questioning not only its righteousness, but its economic results. Ethically every man would be glad to see the iron law supplanted by a golden law, under which every man, employer or employee, should render his very best service; that is, the employee should give his very best service, and the employer should give the very best wage possible.

Wages are divided into two classes, real and nominal. Nominal wages are represented by rates, without any other qualification. If a carpenter receives \$4 per day, that is the nominal rate of wage. The real rate of wage is determined by the cost of living, or the purchasing power of the \$4 which the carpenter receives for his day's labor. It will at once be observed that as prices fluctuate, with the nominal rate remaining steady, real wages vary. Real wages, again, are affected by continuity of employment. A carpenter may receive \$4 per day while he works, but on account of short seasons, fluctuations in business, or other causes, may not be able to secure labor more than ten months in the year, for instance. His nominal wage, then, is reduced in value when the real wage is considered.—*Carroll D. Wright.*

AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT. CONSULSHIPS UNDER CIVIL SERVICE LAWS.—Under date of September 20, the following important order was issued by the president :

"It being of great importance that the consuls and commercial agents of the United States shall possess the proper qualifications for their respective positions, to be ascertained either through a satisfactory record of previous actual service under the Department of State or through an appropriate examination, it is hereby ordered that any vacancy in a consulate or commercial agency now or hereafter existing the salary of which is not more than \$2,500 nor less than \$1,000, or the compensation of which if derived from official fees exclusive of notarial and other unofficial receipts does not exceed \$2,500 nor fall below \$1,000, shall be filled (a) by a transfer or promotion from some other position under the Department of State of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled ; or (b) by appointment of a person not under the Department of State but having previously served thereunder to its satisfaction in a capacity tending to qualify him for the position to be filled ; or (c) by the appointment of a person who, having furnished the customary evidence of character, responsibility, and capacity, and being thereupon selected by the president for examination, is found upon such examination to be qualified for the position.

"For the purposes of this order, notarial and unofficial fees shall not be regarded, but the compensation of a consulate or commercial agency shall be ascertained, if the office is salaried, by reference to the last preceding appropriation act, and, if the office is not salaried, by reference to the returns of official fees for the last preceding fiscal year.

"The examination hereinbefore provided for shall be by a board of three persons designated by the secretary of state, who shall also prescribe the subjects to which such examination shall relate and the general mode of conducting the same by the board.

"A vacancy in a consulate will be filled at discretion only when a suitable appointment cannot be made in any of the modes indicated in the second paragraph of this order.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

CIVICS IN GENERAL. CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN RHODE ISLAND.—Rhode Island, says the *Philadelphia Telegraph*, still insists upon remaining somewhat behind the times in all that pertains to the development of her constitutional law. The state remained under the old charter which was granted it by King Charles II. until 1842, and the constitution framed in that year, with occasional amendments which have been made from time to time, is still the organic law. Nearly all the states have constitutions dating from a more recent year than Rhode Island's. September 25 the voters of the state were consulted on the question of amending their constitution again. There are very few states which adhere to the policy of annual elections. Rhode Island, however, is one of them, and the people yester-

day were asked to express their opinion on three propositions: Firstly, whether the election of all state officers should not be biennial; secondly, whether the lieutenant-governor should not preside in the Senate rather than the governor; and, thirdly, whether the election of representatives in the cities should not occur—to use the French terms—by *scrutin d'arrondissement* rather than by *scrutin de liste*. In spite of the fact that all these propositions were plainly important reforms which were very much needed to place Rhode Island in line with the newer constitutional development as it has occurred in other states, the people seem to have voted almost overwhelmingly against them. For this we may feel genuine regret. It is desirable that the different states should place themselves on a uniform basis of some kind, and although some of the states may have gone too far in certain directions, Rhode Island is so manifestly behind the times that it is her business surely to put her constitutional law into agreement with the modern tendency. We may especially regret that she is still to cling to her annual elections, and that there is no disposition shown by the people to strengthen the executive department of their government. This is a movement which is generally commended nowadays by all constitutional thinkers in this country, and not only for the states, but for all political units, the federal government and the municipal governments included.

PITTSBURG'S CIVIC CLUB.—Pittsburg has fallen into line for municipal reform, and a Civic Club was formed on Monday night, October 8, in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, by about fifty of the prominent men and women of Pittsburg and Allegheny. Mayor William M. Kennedy, of Allegheny, presided, and said the object of the club would be to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, in such a way, for instance, as providing bath houses and paving streets in the neighborhood of tenement houses. Allegheny has done this and it has been found that the people take better care of themselves and try to have their houses neat and clean.

Rev. C. E. St. John said the office of the club is to train the members in good citizenship, and form a nucleus for a movement of those interested in good government. It would be more than a health protective association or a body to beautify the parks; it would be to study municipal problems, and separate the municipal government from politics. The club will not try to readjust things, but the present system of municipal government will be attacked. Everything should be non-partisan, and he agreed with Mayor Bernard McKenna that the mayor needs more power. He thinks the outcome of the movement will be that any independent movement will be backed up and made successful.

J. O. Handy read a paper speaking in general of evils, but suggesting no remedies. Miss Everest, of Kingsley House, said the poor people are the sufferers in a poorly governed city, as they become diseased from bad streets and sewers. It is the duty of the Civic Club to

teach the ignorant lower classes; to secure civil service for municipal government, and to change the time of the municipal elections from that of state and national elections. The club should try to secure a new city charter. Dr. Francis Le Moyne said Pittsburg's worst abuse is polluted water, and he thinks the remedy could be had in the purchase of thirty acres of land adjacent to the city, where sand filters could be erected. He considers the overcrowded and badly ventilated schoolrooms also an evil which demands correction.

Chairman Kennedy suggested organization, and George R. Wallace was appointed temporary secretary, and Mrs. F. F. Nicola, Mrs. Henry Holdship, and Katherine McKnight were made a committee to nominate officers for the club.

The nominating committee suggested the following officers, to be elected for three months until a complete organization could be effected: President, Prof. John A. Brashear; vice-presidents, George Dilworth, Mrs. George C. Burgwin, J. O. Handy, Mrs. David Kirk; treasurer, John B. Jackson; recording secretary, Mrs. John B. Herron, Jr.; corresponding secretary, Mrs. John M. Oakley; directors, Mrs. Francis Le Moyne, Mrs. Frank Bissel, Miss Everest, Mrs. C. W. Bassett, Mrs. C. L. Lyon, Mrs. J. W. Marsh, Mrs. S. S. Holland, Anne Phillips, Agnes Watson, William N. Frew, Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes, Albert J. Barr, James T. Kay, S. W. B. Moorhead, Rev. William J. McKay, James R. Mellon, and Col. Thomas P. Roberts. The club will have seven committees—Ways and Means, Municipal, Industrial, Philanthropic, Morals, Educational, and Political, the chairmen of which will be directors.

BROOKLYN (N. Y.) INSTITUTE.—The School of Political Science, under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute, was organized to train students in good citizenship. For nominal fees and in week-night classes both in the vicinity of the City Hall and in the Eastern District, it does what the colleges and kindred institutions are doing, but in an easy and attractive way.

Eight courses of instruction have been arranged for the current year. They are fully described in a forty-page prospectus of the school. The regular lecturers for 1895-96 are: Dr. Lewis G. Janes (A. I. C.), president of the Brooklyn Ethical Association; Frederick M. Corse, M.A., of New York, and John P. Davis, Ph.D., of Michigan University. The occasional lecturers include Dr. Woodrow Wilson (A. I. C.), of Princeton College, author of "The State" and "Congressional Government"; Prof. H. Morse Stevens, M.A., late of Oxford, England, now of Cornell University; Prof. John Fiske (A. I. C.), of Harvard; the Rev. Dr. William Eliot Griffis, of Ithaca, N. Y.; Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, of Chicago, and Edward Everett Hale (A. I. C.).

The following is an outline of the several courses:

1. Course in the civil government of the United States, under Dr. Lewis G. Janes.
2. An advanced course in American politics, under Dr. Janes. This

course goes thoroughly into the political history of the country, from the Revolution to the present time. It is particularly valuable to every voter.

3. An advanced course in the political institutions of Europe, under Dr. Janes. This is an intensely interesting course for all who desire to have the horizon of their political knowledge enlarged.

4. Two courses in sociology, under Dr. Janes. These courses are similar and are given in different parts of the city to give students every opportunity of hearing them.

5. Course in general political economy, to be conducted by Frederick M. Corse, M.A., of New York.

6. Course on money, credit, and banking, under Mr. Corse. This is an advanced course, and will prove interesting to students of national fiscal affairs.

7. Course in American history, under John P. Davis, Ph.D.

All students registering in any one or more of these courses will be privileged to attend all lectures in the department of political science, including Prof. Woodrow Wilson's "Great Leaders of Political Thought"; Prof. H. Morse Stevens' "French Revolution"; Dr. William Elliot Griffis' "Political Institutions of Japan"; Prof. John Fiske's course on American statesmen, and the six addresses before the institute on "The History of the Puritans in Old England." Each class meets from 8 to 9:30 o'clock, on the designated evenings, and a recess of one week is had at the Christmas holidays.

MEDICO LEGAL CONGRESS.—The third summer meeting of this body was held in New York, September 4, 5, and 6, under the presidency of Hon. Rastus S. Ransom, and the direction of Clark Bell, secretary. The Department of Criminology was under charge of Hon. Moritz Ellinger, chairman; Legal Responsibility of the Inebriate, in charge of a sub-committee, T. D. Crothers, of Hartford, Conn., chairman; the Department of Medical Jurisprudence in charge of a sub-committee, Judge Abram H. Dailey, chairman. The attendance was encouraging, and the papers and discussions calculated to accomplish educational results of great value. Clark Bell (A. I. C.) was elected president for the coming year.

AMERICAN ITS TEN YEARS OF USEFULNESS.—The recently published record of the work of this institution during the decade just ended, has been the subject of appreciative and encouraging editorial notices in many influential newspapers.

The Philadelphia Ledger says:

"The American Institute of Civics is now ten years old. It has enlisted the services of more than 2,000 councilors or members scattered throughout the Union, and it has disseminated a vast amount of literature promotive of its aims. These aims, though not visionary, are not of a character to appeal to the unimaginative, who like to deal

with concrete or immediate purposes. The aims of the Institute are the promotion of better citizenship and through that of better government by the people. Two of its axioms express this idea in the phrases, "Formation is better than reformation" and "To make good citizens is to assure good government." The Institute is, as a matter of course, not opposed to the spasmodic reform movement in cities, which, when corruption becomes unbearable, hurls from office the men who have violated the trust reposed in them; but it rightly regards such movements as temporary in their influence, and seeks a permanent improvement in civic affairs through the medium of education. To this end it publishes a magazine—THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS—prints and distributes a great number of pamphlets (the equivalent of 18,000,000 octavo pages in ten years), encourages the study of civics, not merely in colleges but in public schools and private academies; enlists teachers and clergymen as lecturers, and propagates its principles through the press of the country.

"All of these activities must prove very amusing to the 'practical politicians' of the country, who know the importance of carrying their divisions or wards and of obeying without question the orders of the boss, and who, perhaps, will have to look in the dictionary, if they can read, for the meaning of the word civics; but, amusing as it may appear to be, the Institute is engaged in patriotic work that may fairly be expected to bear good fruit, to the confusion of the politician.

"Taking the most narrow view of its work, and assuming that in a large community its leaven should directly reach only half a dozen citizens, inspiring them with the enthusiasm of crusaders, giving them clear ideas of the functions of government and the duties of citizenship, it would set at work an influence for good that would worry the professional politician or spoilsman more than a thousand reformers born of a specific grievance.

"The professional politician is a business man. He works at least six days a week as regularly as a mechanic, and he naturally accomplishes more than the amateur reformer, who tires himself out in one campaign, even when he has been successful. But even the professional politician is no match for the tireless patriot, with high ideals of citizenship, who enlists not for a campaign, but in the regular service, and is guided and sustained by the Institute of Civics.

"Such men as Generals Grant and Sherman, Chief Justice Waite, Samuel J. Tilden, and George Bancroft were among the founders of the Institute of Civics, which they regarded as an educational institution in patriotism and the science of government. Government by the people was an untried experiment in his day, and Washington was desirous that a national university should be established, which should contribute to the securing of a free constitution. The want, so far as general learning is concerned, has been supplied by almost numberless colleges, but there is still need for training in the essentials of good citizenship, and this need the American Institute of Civics is endeavoring to meet."

New York Observer:

"To commemorate the first completed decade of the work of the American Institute of Civics, an extra number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS has been issued, but it is far too small a work to suggest the useful results of ten years' effort on the part of the Institute. One great result has been the increased study of the problems of good government on the part of thousands who before left such matters to philosophers and theorists."

Philadelphia Press:

"In the work already accomplished by this institution it has practically exemplified the spirit in citizenship for which it seeks ascendancy. The labors of its officers, trustees, and supporting members, who represent all parties and creeds, have been gratuitous and unselfish. The extent and efficiency of its activities, in the absence of salaried officers or solicitors of funds, is a hopeful indication of what may be accomplished through patriotic endeavors thus unitedly and unselfishly put forth. Without especial solicitation the institution has had most cordial support."

The Chicago Inter Ocean says of the Institute's decennial record that it "shows pointedly the grand work of the organization."

Hartford Courant:

"This attempt to quicken the civic conscience of our United States citizens is a good one and in sympathy with the spirit of the times."

New York Mail and Express:

"Universal suffrage is looked upon in some quarters as experimental as yet, and there is ample work in the illumination of the pervading darkness enshrouding the majority of our national legislators just now for many more expounders of the safeguards of our free institutions and the exaltation of the standard of citizenship than the limited band of workers combined in the several branches of the Institute of Civics. Still, if this organization has lagged necessarily in its preliminary achievement, it has unquestionably taken root in no uncertain way, and in hundreds of educational institutions throughout the land the impetus its publications and methods have given to the systematic study of good government and the ethics of suffrage has been marked and widely felt."

"The claim of its projectors that the Institute is in the forefront in a great patriotic movement that nothing can prevent from going forward is indisputable."

St. Louis City (La.) Journal:

"In a special number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, the president of the American Institute of Civics, Henry R. Walte, presents a report on the work of the first ten years of that organization and a forecast of its future. The American Institute of Civics, chartered by Congress, represents a practical and serious effort to establish a permanent national institution to fulfill the purpose of the national university which was proposed by Washington and favored by Jefferson."

son, Hamilton, Madison, and other patriotic statesmen of that day. While the idea of the proposed national university included the establishment of an institution of general learning similar to hundreds of others now existing, its chief object was to be provision of means which should contribute 'to the security of a free constitution . . . by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights; to discern and provide against the invasion of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; . . . to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness; . . . uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect for laws.' This institute founded ten years ago by eminent citizens of different states is trying, in its apparently effective way, to promote 'the ideas, aims, and activities on the part of American citizens, which are the necessary antecedents of honesty, wisdom, and justice in governmental affairs, and the maintenance of civic virtue, social order, and the general welfare.' It is a great work.

"From the reading of this report it appears that the Institute has thus far sought to do its work through some of the existing educational agencies. The encouragement and coöperation of public school officers and teachers in all the states have been sought and in a large measure secured. The same is true with the institutions of higher learning and the business colleges and special schools.

"Work has also been done through religious societies by the formation of the Christian Citizenship Leagues; and the maintenance of a national lecture corps, including some of the ablest men of the country, has been potent in effecting the objects sought.

"There can be no just measure of the influence of this American Institute of Civics, because it is working through so many other agencies, and the work to be done bears such great proportion to the work possible; but proceeding from all agencies and growing out of a multitude of combined efforts a great work is being accomplished for better citizenship. The school of politics embraces the whole nation and there are as many scholars as there are electors, some more apt than others, and unfortunately not all equally zealous for the right and truth. As one of the efficient helpers in this great school the American Institute of Civics is nobly fulfilling its mission."

Spokane (Washington) Review remarks:

"It [the Institute] is not to invent the means of circumventing the machine, but to learn how to use the machine in the interests of good government."

Brooklyn (N. Y.) Standard Union:

"Its motto is 'Ducit Amor Patriae'—the love of country guides. It is incorporated under the laws of Congress, and 'seeks the betterment of civic and social conditions by the application, in affairs of citizenship, of formatory, rather than reformatory, influences.' Some well-known Brooklynites have been and are interested in it."

New Orleans Daily Picayune:

"In a country where the government is created by the people every citizen should be a politician.

"This does not mean that every person should become a candidate for office and seek a share of the money in national, state, city, or county treasuries, for that has come to be the common idea of a politician, but that every citizen should take so much interest in public affairs as that he should exert himself to see that bad men, rascally spoilsmen, and dishonest fellows, whose only idea is to plunder the treasury, shall be kept out of public office.

"In view of the fact that the best citizens have become so indifferent and careless as to their public duties that many of the public offices in national, state, city, and county governments have got into the hands of unscrupulous politicians, patriotic men have endeavored to produce a change in public feeling by arousing an interest in public matters, and by seeking to instruct the young men, as far as possible, in their public duties and in the plain principles of the meaning and uses of the science of government.

"Thus was formed the American Institute of Civics about ten years ago. This institution was started in 1885 by such men as Hon. Morrison R. Waite, late Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; F. A. P. Barnard, S. T. D., late President of Columbia College; Mr. Justice William Strong, United States Supreme Court; General U. S. Grant, General William T. Sherman, Samuel J. Tilden, Theodore W. Dwight, George Bancroft, Senator Justin S. Morrill, Theodore Woolsey and Noah Porter, of Yale College; General William Preston Johnston, of New Orleans; President Mark Hopkins, of Williams College; ex-Governor Hugh S. Thompson, of South Carolina; Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; Orlando B. Potter, of New York; General John Eaton and N. H. R. Dawson, late Commissioner United States Bureau of Education; Senator A. H. Colquitt, of Georgia, and others.

"Its object is to enlist the conscience, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the country in efforts to establish and maintain a worthy national institution, devoted solely to the promotion in all parts of the Union of the character and qualities in citizenship which are the only real safeguards of representative government, and with such an institution as the fountain head, to send out from it patriotic educational influences in behalf of honest and good government in every part of the country.

"The plans of the Institute include, first, a national and representative corporation or board of control, and a national body of councilors, composed of members in communities everywhere, to whom it looks for advice, practical coöperation, and financial support; second, a faculty composed of citizens possessed of special qualifications for assistance in the shaping and directing of its methods and efficiencies; third, departments, such as its Extension Department, Department of Educational Institutions, and departments devoted to publications, to the enlistment of the Christian citizenship activities, attention to the

affairs of legislation, etc.; fourth, associate members of its faculty in the faculties of higher institutions of learning; fifth, a national corps of lecturers; sixth, special local assistants in important centers of influence; seventh, a chief executive officer, responsible to the corporation, who is the Institute's president, and other suitable officers.

"From this it will be seen that it is intended to unite all the important educational institutions in the country in this great object, and stimulate and extend, everywhere, the study of the nature of our free institutions, and of the duties and obligations which all good citizens owe to their country. This study, too, will throw some proper light on the meaning of the word statesmanship, since no man can be a statesman who does not understand the principles upon which the rights of man, the powers and functions of government, and the duties of citizens are founded. Too common it is for the people to send to the councils of the country, to make laws for them, to provide for the public needs of the government, and to vindicate and maintain the honor of the country, men who are wholly ignorant of all their duties.

"There never can be a proper government of the people, for the people, and by the people, until the people themselves take charge of it and carry it on instead of leaving it to cabals of political managers, who have no other object but to advance their own schemes, no matter what may be the cost and consequences to the country.

"The American Institute of Civics is working to this end. It is under the direction of patriotic and devoted citizens and is worthy of all encouragement."

* . . *

LETTERS FROM COUNCILORS.—An Institute councilor in a populous city in Ohio, through whose efforts a promising work of municipal reform has been inaugurated, encloses three dollars for the A. I. C. expense fund, and says:

"I would like to give more for the maintenance of your work, but I am serving a mission church, and am not receiving my salary as it becomes due. I also have to give much toward our home work of the 'Good Government League.' We have been testing our officers and have two cases in court now, one of which may be carried to the Circuit Court, in order to determine whether the Sunday laws can be enforced. Under the Winn law cases to the amount of several thousand dollars have been begun, which will tend to break up the common practice here of selling liquor in houses of prostitution. We are doing a good work, but it moves slowly. I have promised President Waite to prepare a statement for publication, and may do so soon.

"I am in hearty sympathy with the grand work of promoting the interests of good citizenship, and shall give it my assistance whenever and wherever I can. I have prepared a lecture on the subject of 'Soldiery and Citizenship,' especially adapted to old soldiers' reunions and kindred gatherings. I wish you abundant success in your noble work."—*James P. Mead, Joplin, Mo.*

One of the Institute's most enthusiastic members has found a serious obstacle to united and successful effort in the promotion of civic reform in the hostile attitude which clergymen of different sects manifest toward each other. He writes: "It looks to me that any dependence on clergymen for direct advocacy of the vital patriotic principles so much needed is like pouring water into bottomless buckets." I concur in my own opinions as to words and actions; but they strongly remind me of what Lecky, the historian, says, 'Wherever sectarian feeling is keenly felt, it proves stronger than patriotism. The repulsion separating men as members of different religions becomes more powerful than the attraction uniting them as the children of the same soil.' When the citizens of Miletus showed the statues of the athletes to Alexander, he asked, 'Where were those people when the Persians assailed your homes?' So we may justly ask, where was the American church, that boasts so much of its godly influence, during the years in which the enemies of our government have been despoiling it?"

"I heartily commend the purposes and work of your organization. The American Institute of Civics is, I believe, doing a grand work which needs to be continued and made permanent. I hope to live to see the day when our people shall generally recognize the obvious fact that the man who is dishonest politically is untrustworthy in all things. Here is a text for some of your lecturers."—*David M. Green, C.E., Troy, N. Y.*

"I fully appreciate the grand work that the Institute is capable of doing and which it clearly has to do; and believe this western country will become a splendid field for its development. Command me in any manner within my power for the good of the cause."—*Willard L. Comstock, Mankato, Minn.*

THE MAGAZINE "AN INVALUABLE TEXT-BOOK FOR CITIZENS OF CIVICS."

This is the description which a prominent member of the Institute of Civics regards as "appreciable to each number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS." Words of appreciation such as these are encouraging to its editors, who are doing their utmost to make them deserved. To them, as well as to contributors, there is occasion for gratification in the wide use made by representative newspapers of the material which the magazine places before them. No other American periodical presents an equal amount of valuable matter directly bearing upon affairs of citizenship, government, and social order, and it is not surprising that editorial writers should more and more look to it for suggestive articles and valuable ideas.



THE LATE JUSTICE WILLIAM STRONG.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

DECEMBER, 1895.

THE MULTIPLE STANDARD.

BY HENRY WINN.

WE desire to show the chief vices of money based on gold, or gold and silver, and that their remedy lies in devaluing both and adopting the multiple standard. We must then, indicate

THE CHIEF REQUISITES OF MONEY.

ordinary exchanges when cash is received and directly paid matters little what the money is if convenient and current. It is not likely much to defraud us over night. The test of money comes when it is used as a standard for deferred debts, when men incur debts to be paid in money.

And now when Brown sells to Smith a certain quantity of commodities, say one thousand bushels of wheat, for one thousand dollars on credit to be finally paid for in money, what is the function of money if honest? We insist that it is to secure values that when the debt is paid, whether in one or many years from date, Brown shall be able, with the thousand dollars he gets in pay, to buy, not the same amount of wheat, for the price may have risen or fallen by reason of changes in its own demand or supply, but the same average amount of all exchange-commodities.

Certain professors, who look through gold-bowed spectacles, insist that the money paid ought to enable Brown to buy just as much labor when the debt is paid as it would buy when the debt was contracted, and not the same average amount of commodities.

This contention seeks to palliate the vice of gold in overmeasuring goods to the creditor, for it has not appreciated so much measured by labor as by commodities. It seems error. For the wages of labor may have fallen while the debt was pending, from immigration of laborers, or risen through the efforts of labor unions, or by reason of its superior productiveness due to inventions. To such a rise creditor Brown does not contribute, and there is no more sense in saying that he ought to have the advantage of it and mulct Smith to pay it than to say he ought to have back his thousand bushels of wheat, though given in time of plenty and paid in time of famine.

Past labor exists in the commodity form, and in general what the creditor does, when a debt to him is created, is to rent to the debtor a certain amount of capital or commodities for a rent called interest, which is intended to cover all risks, including that of rise or fall in the value of the capital. Creditor Brown has no more claim to be made good if the commodities he gets in return have depreciated as measured by labor, than he would have had he rented Smith a house, to be made good for a like depreciation in its value during the tenancy caused by some cheaper mode of making houses. He is only entitled to as much on the whole of the things that minister to human wants as he would buy when he sold it.

No one would give commodities for money save with the idea that it will command commodities again. Exchanges for money are therefore of commodities present for commodities in future, and money is merely the third element which stands for the absent commodities—the magic wand which is to restore to him who parted with his goods equivalent goods when he wants them. If while standing for the absent goods, its value—that is, its power to procure commodities—varies through failure of its own conditions of demand and supply to keep it in harmony with commodities, and as a result it will not procure the same amount of them as it did, then it is a false measure, cheating one of the parties to the exchange.

There is no intrinsic value, then, in gold or silver to which as a standard commodities should be brought, but money itself

should be kept at the commodity standard, that is, so that the same money shall always buy the same average amount of commodities. Then each debt can be payable in money, as the representative of the commodity standard, and money will do exact equity between the parties. That is, *good money must always measure the same average amount of the commodities it is commonly used to purchase.*

The mere statement of this canon, if true, renders worthless the contention of the chief gold advocates of New England that it is not the demonetization of silver which has caused the purchasing power of gold to increase, but the cheapening of commodities by improved methods of production and distribution. For if, as premised, gold should always, if used as money, measure out the same average amount of commodities, then if commodities decline gold should follow so as to remain a true measure of the same average amount. It cheats as a money measure just as badly if it remains stationary while commodities decline as when it appreciates and overmeasures commodities from that cause.

No natural product meets the requirements of this canon, so there is no natural product fit from any intrinsic value for use as money.

How can the want be met? We know of only one convenient way to adjust the value of money, and that is by increasing or reducing its supply or volume. Ricardo states "that commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume to be a fact that is uncontroversial." By the term money we presume he refers to whatever acts as money.

With a fixed supply of money its value, of course, depends on the demand for it. If the dollars fail to increase in number as rapidly as the demand for them increases the demand intensifies, and those desiring money will bid an increased amount of commodities to get it—that is, prices will go down. The remedy is to increase the volume of dollars to meet the demand.

Conversely, if the demand for money falls off more than the supply of it diminishes, surplus money, which unless it is used

is barren of profit, will crowd for investment to earn something and by competition raise prices. The remedy is to withdraw the surplus dollars.

In short, under a proper monetary system, it must first be determined what average amount of commodities a dollar shall buy, and this amount is the commodity standard. Afterward, when prices show that the dollar buys too much, more dollars should be added to the money volume; if too little, dollars should be withdrawn. The main vice of money lies in its failure to harmonize with this standard.

GOLD UNFIT FOR MONEY.

Herein lies the ineradicable vice of gold as a standard money. No intensity of demand will materially increase its volume except after a long period, nor will its volume diminish when less gold is needed. Thus, although the demand for gold has so intensified since the fifties that people will give half more in commodities to get it, and in spite, besides, of the fact that a more scientific world is now after it with Burleigh drills, dynamite, better processes of separation, and other improvements, the supply does not respond, the average product in the five years ending 1860 averaging \$134,000,000 per annum, against \$112,000,000 in the five years ending 1890. In short, the world is tied to a standard which does not respond to its wants, and which therefore as money must be a lying measure of value. When men sell on time it is a gamble on the prospects of the miner.

The resumption of specie payments in the United States created a great new demand for gold and enhanced its value. By securing concurrently with this call the demonetization of silver, throwing the entire redemption money demand on gold, since which the annual increment of newly-found gold, available, after satisfying the call of the arts, for addition to the world's supply of money, has been far less in proportion than the annual increase in the volume of the exchanges, the creditor classes have secured a certainty of the constant appreciation in the purchasing power of gold and their consequent enrichment at the expense of debtors.

Data are wanting to show the increase in the world's exchanges requiring money. It may be roughly guessed. The commerce of the world, according to Mulhall, on the basis of the prices of 1850, increased from 771 millions sterling in 1850 to 3,278 in 1884, or at the rate of 9.6 per cent per annum. The London clearing house exchanges, according to Professor Soetbeer, amounted to 23,613 millions sterling in the five years ending 1875, against 29,816 millions in the five years ending 1885, an increase of 2.6 per cent per annum. But the same great authority places the increase in the volume of gold coin and reserve in the world at only three quarters of one per cent per annum from 1880 to 1885.

GOLD VARIATIONS.

Of the fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold (and silver as well) which render the metallic standard peculiarly untrustworthy, there seem to be two leading varieties. The first of these for want of a better name we will call the supply variation. It is that caused by a more permanent over or under-supply of the standard metal relative to the demand for it, due to over or under-production of the mines, to the disuse of one or both the money metals by important states, or the adoption thereof after disuse, and generally to those causes which affect for long periods the supply relative to the demand.

The second class is the credit variation due to the expansions and contractions of credit.

Notable instances of the supply variation are given. Thus Professor Bowen states that one ounce of gold would in 1500 buy four times as much food as in 1650. This was due to the influx of the precious metals from America. Professor Jevons says:

But there is abundant evidence to prove that the value of gold has undergone extensive changes. Between 1789 and 1809 it fell in the ratio of 100 to 54, or by 46 per cent. . . . From 1809 to 1849 it rose again in the extraordinary ratio of 100 to 245, or by 145 per cent.

His tables also show that 90 ounces of gold or silver would buy the same amount of commodities in 1849 as 129 ounces in 1857. Mr. Sauerbeck's tables show that 63 ounces of gold in 1894 would buy as much as 111 ounces in 1873. What shyster's

steelyards beat this as a false measure! The decline in the value of gold from 1789 to 1809 was probably due to the suspension of specie payment and disuse of metallic money during the stormy period. There was some increase also of gold production from 1801 to 1810. The appreciation of gold from 1809 to 1849 may be attributed to the resumption of specie payments, low production of the precious metals, and increase of trade. The decline from 1849 to 1856 was due, of course, to the gold of Australia and California.

THE CREDIT VARIATION.

Of this Professor Jevons says: "A careful study of the fluctuations of prices . . . shows that fluctuations of from 10 to 25 per cent occur in every credit cycle." Our system based on metal tends to breed monetary panics, and the curative action of gold and silver in checking the inflation by a drain of specie comes too late to prevent the damage. Under our former state bank plan, and for a long time under the national, there was a large profit in issuing currency. What the banks could keep out, less the reserves required, they cleared interest on. There was a constant pressure to inject new issues into the money volume which as a whole was not prevented by the redemptions required by competing banks struggling to replace other bills with their own. When there is an excess of money the idle part of it earns nothing, and so it crowds for investment or loan, the borrower only taking it to invest again. This pressure creating a demand for commodities, they rise in price and production is stimulated. Easy money concurring with rising prices, debts are apparently easy to pay, while the profits of incurring them seem sure from the general upward tendency. Credit therefore expands. As it performs the work of money its effect is like that of a further inflation. A fool's paradise of fictitious prosperity is created, an era of debt creation and financially dangerous enterprises. If debts were paid the creditor would be cheated by getting less commodities than he gave, but the vicious monetary system holds out every allure-ment in the rising prices not to pay debts but to hold property for the rise. It traps the beginner in business, the unwary and

the financially weak, into extending their obligations, only to strip them when the collapse comes. The rise and fall due to temporary money fluctuation added to that natural to each stock doubles the stock speculations. The credit variation makes regular business a game of chance, as the supply variation makes every time transaction a gamble on the luck of the miner.

A graphic picture of the two variations of gold appears in the well-known tables of Mr. Sauerbeck, which show the number of ounces required to buy the same amount of commodities (commodities A) in the London market in the respective years as follows:

1849	74 ounces.	1857	105 ounces.
1853	95 "	1858	91 "
1856	101 "	1859	94 "

Here the normal growth of prices by reason of the supply variation due to the California and Australian gold, was probably the rise from the 74 of 1849 to the 94 of 1859. But the excess of new money generated also a credit variation, which, as early as 1853, had carried prices as high as they ought to have reached by 1859, and in 1857 had raised them to 105 ounces and probably to 110 just before the panic, for, as we understand the tables, 105 is the average of the whole year 1857, including some months of panic prices. So doubtless the collapse reduced prices four or five points below the 91 of 1858. It is probable there was a supply price variation of twenty ounces and a credit variation of twenty-five.

The tables show like phenomena for the five great panics. The prices in gold ounces of the same commodities A in the years stated before and after the panic, and at the highest year average, were as follows:

<i>Panics.</i>	<i>Ounces and Years, Before.</i>	<i>Ounces at Culmination.</i>	<i>After.</i>
1825	1823—103	117	1827—97
1837	1835— 92	102	1837—94
1847	1845— 87	95	1848—78
1857	1852— 78	105	1858—91
1873	1870— 96	111	1875—96

In each case the variation from maximum price to minimum was probably ten ounces or more greater than appears, for the reason before stated. The vices of gold and silver as value

measures are quite apparent. So is the remedy—a monetary system which will withdraw the money excess that creates the abnormal rise without waiting as gold does to act through panic and collapse, but which, if such rise does occur, will graduate the fall by proper regulation of the money volume.

Let us glance at the downward swing. There was money enough to make the exchanges on the price basis of 74 ounces of gold for commodities A in 1849 and enough to make them in 1857, with money just as easy, on the 94 ounce basis, but not at 110. A diminution in the amount of credit will therefore pinch. In non-speculative countries the price has not so risen. It stands at 94, where the supply variation has carried it. From there merchants rush goods to the high-price areas to gain the 16 ounces profit. They will not take goods in pay from a price market of 110 to one of 94, so nothing but gold can go. The drain begins and this contracts a currency already inadequate.

Soon credit becomes strained and a spark (the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company in 1857) kindles the conflagration. Three new demands fall on the reduced money volume. First, credit is gone: it will no longer perform the function of money, but cash must be used. Second, the great body of creditors, doubtful of their debtors and fearing they may be called on for their own debts, insist on being paid and an immense demand arises for money to pay debts with. Third, banks, savings banks, and all deposit institutions hoard money. They fear runs and do not know whom to trust. Even foolish individuals fill secret drawers and safe deposit boxes. The hoarding further depletes the money volume, at the outset inadequate. In our late panic the solvent paid seventy-five per cent per annum for money on call and fifteen per cent for three or six months. Soon few will buy goods for want of money and because they are expected to go lower. Production is suspended. Factories are shut and the idle workmen throng the streets.

The debtor slaughters his goods to get money, or if he does not the sheriff will for him. Prices go down by jumps till it seems as if value as measured by money is about to depart altogether. Here are a few quotations of staples and strong stocks in the late

panic. From April 11 to August 5, 1893, wheat fell from $76\frac{1}{4}$ to $60\frac{5}{8}$; pork from \$20.75 to \$12.60; corn from $43\frac{3}{4}$ to $39\frac{5}{8}$; cotton from .0844 to .0757; N. Y. Central from \$108.50 per share to \$92.25; Calumet and Hecla from \$310 to \$250. Houses in excellent condition for decent financial weather are ruined. For example, a lumber company, with a million assets, owing \$300,000, failed for want of \$7,000 cash. Sold out by receivers they were ruined by our financial system. It is the golden moment for the strong to absorb the properties of the weak. Where are now the enthusiasts who began business in debt, who sailed on halcyon seas and dreamed themselves rich? Their hopes are shattered, their wealth in the strong box of Shylock.

The credit variation destroys. It has just kept two or three millions of our men unemployed at the loss of their production. By crushing the young and enterprising, who do not have enough capital but who do have brains and energy, and who with a just monetary system could safely borrow the means they need, and by enriching those who "enjoy without working at the expense of those who work without enjoying" it paralyzes much of the best energy of mankind.

RELIEF.

When money brings seventy-five per cent six months will almost always show it lent for one. Why? First, debts are paid or failed upon and there is a cessation of the money demand for meeting them. Second, prices are down and it takes less money to make the same exchanges. Third, trade is dead and there are few exchanges to make. Fourth, the fear of runs has subsided and the hoards come into the market. Fifth, gold is imported, some borrowed, some got by sales of goods made because prices are so low that the country has become a good one to buy from but a bad one to sell in.

This law which brings back gold is the boast of the metallic standard men. "Behold," say they, "this beautiful automatic system by which gold flows to the needed point to relieve the panic." Perhaps fifty millions came in 1893. But it cost heavily bought with staples at twenty per cent reduction and stocks like C., B. & Q. at 70 which, when the panic began, sold

at 96. Prices must be abnormally low to attract the gold. And it comes late after the damage has been done and the weak crushed by the fall of prices to the attracting point. Gold is the timid fireman who sneaks away at the smell of smoke only to return when the conflagration has subsided and squirt water on the ruins.

Our system in panics would be ludicrous were its results less disastrous. Just when the demand for money to pay debts with has become enormous, and the money volume needs an immense temporary increase, money cannot be had. And the more it is needed the more it cannot be had. Of our banks and bankers relied upon by the people for loans the national banks alone, instead of providing for the increased demand in the late panic, actually contracted their loans and discounts between May 4 and October 3, the critical period, by 319 millions, in spite of the fact that their cash resources had increased meantime 26 millions. They took care of themselves, leaving the devil to take care of their less favored customers. By this they earned the usual plaudits of the comptroller of the currency. Nor are we condemning them, but the system.

And just when the money need was keenest, and when the government ought to have strained every nerve to help its distressed people, it repudiated its own law requiring it to aid by putting out the money to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month at the market price. It construed the market price to mean the price in London, less, not plus, the cost of transportation hither, so it could not find sellers to fill its orders, thus shutting off a part of its own little spigot stream of relief.

It was openly charged in Congress that the panic was manufactured to carry the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act with a pinch and a hurrah. This is possible. It had no preceding boom to cause it. The volume of what serves as money stands like an inverted frustrum of a pyramid with a small block of gold at the bottom, the great volume of credit at the top, and paper money between. A slight force topples it over. There is always a great amount of credit outstanding which depends largely on confidence. A sudden though small

reduction of the volume of available money renders debt payment harder, impairs confidence, and may start a great call for payments with panic phenomena. Bagehot says of money, "It is a commodity subject to great fluctuations of value and these fluctuations are easily produced by a slight excess or deficiency in quantity."

At the height of the late panic it was stated that Mr. George Gould, being asked how much money he could then command replied, "Ten millions." The reduction in New York bank deposits from the beginning to the climax of the difficulty was only eighty millions. A very few Goulds withdrawing and locking up deposits, conspiring with a very few managers of the great banks refusing discounts, and a few editors sounding tocsins of alarm could easily kindle the flame which, fed instantly by a horde of timid creditors, would spread no one knows how far. Whatever be the fact in 1893, it involves a terrible indictment of our monetary system to show that panics may be manufactured at the will of interested parties.

MONEY COMBINATIONS.

With the issue of money in the hands of private corporations linked by community of interest and accustomed to act together, obviously a combination can be more easily made to control money than goods, which are largely so controlled. Recently the banks coveted the profits of issuing the whole circulation of the United States, a privilege worth sixty or seventy millions a year. The greenback must go. Accordingly, to discredit our national money, a great cry was raised for state banks. And in due season the Carlisle plan, the Eckels plan, with others of that ilk, followed in rapid sequence.

Coincidentally the treasury notes began to be used for a systematic run on the treasury gold. The New York banks would not furnish the gold for foreign shipment. The gold loans needed to make up deficient revenue were paid into the treasury with gold drawn out of it by greenbacks, which, to discredit them, were stigmatized as an "endless chain" to deplete the treasury of gold.

All this may have been sporadic and without any common understanding. Our point is only that under our system com-

binations for such purposes are natural. Congress proving recalcitrant, and a period of prosperity being necessary to check the silver agitation, the raiding has ceased till a more convenient season. Plainly if the treasury is to be attacked by the banks the law should provide that their reserves should be kept in legal tender notes, so that hoarding gold would cost them interest. Or the system said to prevail in France of charging a slight premium for gold not required for export might be effective.

But the most striking display of monetary power is shown by the action of the foreign syndicate in stopping the gold drain of a million or more a week from the treasury. It seems, with the gain in gold and some expansion by the banks, to have restored confidence and revived business, and to show that, under a gold system, a few men hold national prosperity on tap to be sold to the highest bidder. In this view the six or eight millions profit paid by Mr. Cleveland seems reasonable. Terror is reported at Washington and a stock decline in Wall Street from fear that these bankers will not protect the United States till October. A great nation grovels at the feet of a foreign syndicate.

The power it gives to foreigners over our money volume is a serious fault of gold. Probably nineteen twentieths of our trade is domestic. It needs a steady money volume. But a foreign crisis—sales of foreign-held American securities, purchases of gold for the European banks, contraction of the money volume of a foreign state using gold paper—will cause a drain of gold here, and, by contracting our currency, derange our whole trade. The slight damage done here to business generally by the British panic of 1866, though it raised the price of gold, illustrates the advantage of a separate standard.

The European banks of issue, according to the Boston News Bureau, increased their holdings of gold last year by 245 millions. We do not know their deposits, but the increase needed to maintain their previously high ratio of gold reserve to circulation was only 69 millions. This surplus, 176 millions of probably idle gold (for gold hoarded beyond the needs for banking use serves no purpose as money) cornered in one year, exceeds the world supply for three years available as money after deduct-

ing enough for the arts. Here is a foreign power competent to control the prosperity of the world under the reign of gold.

The managers of these banks may be presumed to sympathize with their associates and the creditor classes everywhere. Since they own 1,400 millions of gold and 540 millions of silver, it is not probable that they will permit the United States to do anything to reduce the purchasing power of gold, and still less of gold and silver too, if they can prevent. We do not impute any wrong to them. Nobody would believe ill of our great railway magnates, but the fattening of many on the profits of construction and car companies dealing with their lines and the subordination of important systems to the behests of the Standard Oil Company warn us that great command over the welfare of states which may be used for the secret personal profit of its managers is unsafe in private hands.

THE REMEDY.

Such, in brief, are a few of the many faults and dangers of the metallic standard. Is there a remedy? Only, we believe, in discarding gold and silver for the multiple standard.

A volume of irredeemable legal tender notes, issued only by the government, receivable for all public dues, and regulated by expansion and contraction so that the dollar will always buy the same predetermined average amount of a selected group of articles, chosen as the best barometer to represent in their prices the variations in the prices of all exchangeable commodities, will cure these evils and serve as money vastly better than gold, or notes based on gold.

No man can give a substantial reason why dollar bits of gold, got at the cost of a day's work each at the mountain, are any safer or better to use as money than dollar treasury notes got by giving a day's work for each to the government, except that the government may over or under issue the paper (as the mountain may the gold) and except also that gold is accepted in foreign payments, a quality harmful to its use as money.

Substantially all economists agree that such notes will not depreciate in purchasing power unless over issued, and it is not therefore necessary to combat the inane popular superstition

that intrinsic value is necessary in money, provided we can, as we propose, show a system of regulation which shall prevent over-issue. In the words of Gloucester Wilson, "The gold is no more essential to the guinea than the brass or ivory of the ruler to the inches." In fact, the present value of gold lies mainly in "fiat"—that is, in its use as money. There is, perhaps, a sixty years' supply for use in the arts, and if its use as money should cease to-day we could afford gold andirons to-morrow.

Such irredeemable notes may, if desired, be made to command a premium in gold bullion. Thus the Netherlands had a silver standard till 1873 when they rejected silver at their mints, and also refused for two years to coin gold. Their exchanges increased meantime till the money volume became so limited relative to the demand that, although the silver in their florins had depreciated as with us, yet 11.12 silver florins would buy a British pound sterling in gold, while, on a gold basis, it would take 12.2 florins to buy the same. Of course, had the florins been of paper, as irredeemable as the silver was, the same premium in gold bullion could have been got for it.

As Walker says, "Prices—*i. e.*, the money value of goods—are determined by the demand for and the supply of money pieces, of whatsoever those pieces consist." Hence by contraction or expansion of its legal tender notes, though irredeemable, government may make them command a premium in gold, may keep their value stationery where it belongs, or may issue so many as to require a hatful to buy a breakfast.

The dollar should always measure and buy the same average amount of the commodities it is used to purchase. But we cannot find and record the price of them all at any one time so as to ascertain this average. We must therefore inquire what nearest represents the average value of all commodities, and we answer, the average value of a large number. The economists sustain this view. For when they seek to measure the fluctuations of gold, as compared with the average of all commodities, they always adopt, as the measure of that average, the average of a selected number.

The reason why the average price variation of a large number

of commodities closely represents that of all, seems to be that the labor and capital employed in producing each commodity selected is employed in competition with the whole volume of labor and capital producing all other commodities. If the price of any one goes above the normal figure, labor and capital tend to restore it by flowing into its production, and, if its price goes below the normal, labor and capital leave its production till its price rises again through scarcity. Each article will have its own variation in price, as gold does, for crops will vary and demands unexpectedly swell and decline, but, as far as the human mind can foresee and provide against these contingencies, it is continually doing so, and keeping prices uniform, except in cases like those of gold and silver, which are controlled mainly by luck.

A large number of commodities is better for testing prices, because an abnormal variation of price in one has less effect and is more likely to be neutralized by counter-variations. Thus a price fall of one article of one hundred only changes an index number standing at a par of 100 to $99\frac{1}{4}$.

Mr. Giffen, the great English statistician, was so impressed with the harmony of prices that he said, "I am not sure that a smaller but more carefully formed index number based on a few articles only . . . would not be just as serviceable, but no very different results would be produced." Also, "Viewing a long period dynamically it is beyond all question that the commodities are comparatively steady and only money changes."

The need of considering weight, that is, the relative importance of articles according to the amount of trade in them, in making up the index number, has been exaggerated. Although the trade in wheat is so great that a change in its price varies general prices eighty-two times as much as a change in the price of indigo, it by no means follows that it should have much more weight in determining the index number. For, when wheat serves as one of the elements upon which an index number representing all prices is to be based, it serves mainly in a representative capacity. So far as the group represents wheat it is entitled to count by weight, but, so far as it represents all other

commodities, wheat is entitled to count no more than indigo, while indigo may from its superior steadiness be preferable. Both the *Economist* and Sauerbeck tables have been recast on the basis of weight, but the difference in result is very slight.

A striking confirmation of the claim that the average of the prices of all commodities varies substantially like that of the prices of a selected number, appears in the fact that the results shown by taking different sets of commodities in the same market very closely agree. Thus, if we include Mr. Nash's recast of the *Economist* tables according to weight, and Professor Soetbeer's prices of British articles of export, there are four tables of British prices. The decline of prices from 1875 to 1885 by each was as follows: by the *Economist* $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; by Sauerbeck $24\frac{1}{2}$; by Nash $21\frac{1}{2}$; by Soetbeer $19\frac{1}{10}$. How much better the average of all the tables, $22\frac{1}{2}$, is represented by either than by gold which is $22\frac{1}{2}$ points away, is obvious. Professor Soetbeer remarks, "We are surprised to find that the index numbers reached by the different methods do not vary greatly from each other."

One precaution seems wise. Occasionally some selected article may vary abnormally in price, as cotton did during the war, and affect too much the list average. When the variation exceeds a certain per cent which may be decided to be normal, a substitute should be used instead of the article till its normal condition returns.

Can the government trust itself to administer this plan or should we, from unreasoning fear that it will betray its subjects, leave the control of the monetary system, with its vast powers to make or mar the fortunes of mankind in the hands of classes able to use them to fleece their neighbors, subject only to limitations which, in the words of Andrews, "leave daily, hourly equity between man and man to be forever a football, to be kicked hither and thither in the unreasoning play of geology on the one hand and credit on the other"?

To those who insist on gold because governments cannot over-issue it we commend a study of what they can do. Mr. Morton Frewen, we are told, estimates the debts of the world at 150 billions of dollars. Assume a current run of debt of 125 billions

since 1873. Prices, by Sauerbeck's table, declined from then to 1894 from the index number 111 to 63. That is, gold would buy seventy-six per cent more at the end, an average, say, of thirty-five per cent more during the period. This means that the creditors of the world have by increase in value of their principals since 1873 realized through the "honest gold dollar" an unearned donation in commodities roughly speaking of forty-four billions of dollars, more property than the assessors can find to tax, land and all, on the North American continent. This has been wrung from debtors by government action or default in dealing with money. Have all the paper over-issues of history cheated so much?

Take a home case. Fearing the power of the miners and bimetallists combined, the gold advocates have since 1878 "compromised" with them to save the gold standard by purchasing silver. In 1890 by a *coup* they bought off the miners, saying to them in effect, "Only keep still and we will make the people buy and lock up as much silver as you all mine. The corner will raise your price." It was practically agreed in the law that the silver should not be used for note redemption. The thousands of tons lie as dormant and useless in the government vaults as if secreted in the tombs of the Capulets. The government has bought 452 millions of ounces for 459 millions of dollars. Sold at 60 this would bring 275 millions. But the loss of interest on the capital in useless locked-up silver will equal this salvage. Congress has squandered 450 millions of the people's money to buy a continuance of this fraud upon debtors. The scheme now on is to donate to private persons the whole profits of circulation, say sixty or seventy millions a year.

As a protection against frauds by government the multiple standard is far superior to gold. To establish it an able commission would be appointed. They would report for the information of Congress, the commodities and substitutes to use, the proper markets, the average amount of each commodity which a dollar should buy for the predetermined par, and the rules of a working system, all which details would be embodied into law. An index number for the whole with a preferable par of 100 would be

chosen. The commission would ascertain weekly, daily, or as often as found advisable, the price of each commodity in its market, and from these at short periods declare the general index number showing the purchasing power of the dollar, and publish the exact data from which they computed it. They would report to the secretary of the treasury the exact amount by which according to the new barometer the currency volume ought to be expanded or contracted, and he would execute their recommendations unless the desired result should stop him.

The security against over or under-issues of paper would lie, first, in the positive mandate of the law making it the duty of the executive officers to maintain as nearly as possible the same average of prices. Second, in publicity. The commission would hang out a barometer of monetary value whereby all men could see, not only what the government ought to do, but what it was actually doing, and whether it was acting honestly. There could be no fraud in that barometer. For every trade paper gives the prices, and any man could detect an error in the printed data of the commission, and discover the true index number. The sins of ignorance would be avoided. Silver, for example, was demonetized when we were on a paper basis and could not be presently affected directly. The people had not known silver dollars, since few had been coined because the French mint would allow three per cent more in gold for silver than ours. Even congressmen did not know it had happened. It would have been impossible had the people been informed. That a people accustomed to a price barometer, and knowing that it ought and could be kept close to 100, would permit their money, as ours has, to grow so bad that it would stand at 170 is almost unthinkable.

These safeguards failing, debts might, as a *dernier ressort*, be made payable on the basis of the Massachusetts plan of 1780, with such an amount of money as, according to the price gauge, would give the creditor the same average amount of commodities as the money he gave the debtor would buy. This would remove all pressure to vary the money volume, since neither creditor nor debtor would profit thereby.

Various methods of expansion and contraction are available. They may be made as heretofore. There is a natural annual growth in the required volume of money, due to the growth of trade. To meet this a fixed increment of money, soon ascertained by experience, would safely be issued each year in payment of public expenses and counted as regular public revenue. After the supposably correct volume is out, together with the annual increment found necessary, only a small margin of expansion and contraction will be left to provide for, because prices would be greatly steadied by the knowledge that such a system was in use. The required variation could be met by the issue of one or two hundred millions of call bonds, payable at the pleasure of the government before some fixed date, interest to cease on call. The sale of such bonds would contract, and the call would expand the currency. Extra taxes would contract.

But there would be certain great advantages in establishing a legal standard of security, as is done for savings banks (though of course the securities could not be the same as for them) and in making the marginal expansion by means of short loans to the highest interest bidders. For this would tend to take the money to the very points of need and have the maximum effect on prices. Second, it would facilitate the use of an interest limit. The recent gold exports seem due partly to a plethora of money, rendering it more profitable to pay debts abroad than to bear the interest charges, and partly to the purchases of the European banks for hoarding. On the face the principle of the multiple standard seems at fault, since, though prices are low, an excess of money does not seem to raise them. But this is merely a temporary effect. Trade is low chiefly because it requires customers, and the masses cannot buy because of their reduced incomes from lack of employment. The fear of further money pinches limits confidence. This condition only shows a certain inertia in trade preventing the instant though not the ultimate effect of the stimulus of money.

It does not impugn the multiple standard, because, first, the excess of money it would supply could do no harm till prices should exceed their par and then it would be withdrawn. Next,

no fear of money pinches could occur. Finally, the principle does not involve continued augmentation of the money volume beyond such as has beneficial effect. It calls for such a per cent of expansion as the price gauge indicates if prices are not restored by less. After that limit is reached expansion loans would not be made at less than some minimum rate, say five or six per cent, which would stop calls if money should not be scarce. As rates are always low in conditions like the present, needless money would not be taken.

Whenever the government issues money to such an extent as to raise prices above their normal standard, the proceeds of the issue are simply seizures of the property of creditors and money-holders to the extent that the purchasing power of their money is decreased below what it ought to be. To issue money by loans, then, to citizens, when the issue raises prices beyond the standard, is just as much a robbery of one class to help another as is the present maintenance of an appreciating dollar. But no man is robbed by such issues so long as his dollar will buy the standard amount. Under the plan proposed no new issue can be made when his dollar will not do this. The loans therefore necessary to bring the dollar to the standard, made without preference to the highest bidder, contravene no man's right. They are simply the fulfilment by Congress of its constitutional duty to coin money and regulate the value thereof—a duty not now performed.

Should panics occur government would loan great sums as required, lending even on goods, at worst, as the Bank of England did in 1825 at the request of the British government. At such times it must use the treasury presses to meet the hoarders and panic-makers, English fashion. In panics any man in need can borrow money, on good security, at the Bank of England. It charges a high rate to prevent needless calls but lends enormously. In a brief period of the panic of 1857 its loans on private securities went up 55 millions. In 1866 the panic found the bank with only 29 millions of dollars, but it loaned 65 millions in the next few days, and the government helped. Its conduct in the panic of 1890 is fresh in memory.

Suppose that on the July morning in 1893 when the panic was

at its height, instead of the news that the national banks alone had contracted their loans 140 millions and the process was still going on, and that the government, in striking contrast to the examples of England, had itself joined the pinchers of the market, this bulletin had come to Wall Street :

"Congress has adopted the multiple standard system on the basis of April prices. The purchasing power of money is found to stand at 112, indicating a shortage in the money volume of 200 millions. Accordingly the secretary of the treasury will, on the securities required by law, forthwith make short-time loans to the highest interest bidders, to the amount of twenty-five millions per week, till that amount is reached, unless prices are sooner restored. After that total issue, if prices remain impaired, he is authorized to make further loans, but none in excess of that sum at lower interest than six per cent and no loans or renewals when prices exceed par."

Where would the panic have gone ?

FOREIGN PAYMENTS.

The need of a standard common to other countries seems to be grossly exaggerated to bolster gold. Our merchants now buy bullion for shipment since our eagles abroad are nothing more. The only difference they would feel would be such difference in the price as would come from the fluctuation of gold itself, with sometimes a small commission over. The change would generally be to their advantage, for, since we produce a surplus of gold above our use for the arts and our net export, there would much of the time be an excess, which could not as now go into our money volume, and would naturally be worth less than now by the cost of shipping it abroad. Thus for the eleven years 1880-90, inclusive, a period not disturbed by the effort to maintain the appreciating gold standard under the expansions of the Silver Purchase Act, our average exports of gold were $23\frac{3}{4}$ millions a year, but we took from abroad 14 millions a year more than we sent. Our gold would simply compete with our grain and cotton for the foreign market. We should enjoy the splendid advantage of caring nothing for the fluctuations of gold itself, except as they

affected the price of bullion sent abroad, and thereby our foreign debts and trade, while now the flow of gold, by its depletion or expansion of our money volume, deranges as well all our domestic exchanges twenty times more important. The release to Europe of that part of the world's supply of gold now required for America, would check the present steady decline of prices abroad, and enable our producers to make goods for the foreign trade with less danger of loss. This increased supply, with the possible prospect of selling their gold for old junk some day, should the American money plan succeed, would discourage the hoarding by European banks.

Our bankers to settle foreign balances would naturally keep thirty or forty millions of gold on deposit in London, on which, since it is there usable as money, they would receive interest, and would borrow gold when balances were averse enough to require it, charging enough for exchange at such times to stimulate payments by sale and shipment of goods. Ordinarily the bankers' credits, good everywhere, would take the place of gold. We carried on for seventeen years a heavy foreign trade with a paper standard. No serious inconvenience arose, although the currency was not regulated, and prices varied more than one hundred per cent under the war issues of paper and the chances of national dissolution. How trifling, then, it must be under an invariable dollar. Even if it should, in adverse times, cost a slight commission to settle foreign balances, thus imposing a barely nominal tariff on foreign trade, we should be reconciled by remembering that the change would release eleven hundred idle millions of the people's capital now locked up in metallic money, which capital in their hands would profit them two or three times the amount required to buy and donate outright to foreign shippers the 23½ millions of gold a year they send abroad.

It must amuse Lombard Street to study our high protection statesmen who love trade barriers, helping England in 1893 to throw silver into limbo, only to threaten her, after facing about to the West, with a trade boycott, an impassable barrier, unless she would turn about with them to bimetallism, protesting however that much as they love silver they must hug the gold

basis, so long as Europe does, from fear of the barrier which this petty possible impost, caused by separating the standards, might raise to foreign trade. They might as well deny to their country a republican form of government until the despots of Europe and princes of Africa would send in their resignations.

We said that no man can give a substantial reason why gold is better than paper unless it be, first, that government may over or under issue paper; and, second, gold is accepted for foreign payments. We trust we have shown that paper under the multiple standard besides its other manifold advantages is better even in these particulars.

The usual modes suggested for paper regulation seem impracticable. Thus under an established money supply per capita, the debtor's hardship from an appreciating dollar would become chronic. For trade and the money demand increase faster than population. In France, for example, from 1789 to 1889 the population increased not more than forty per cent, while personal property increased 2,600 per cent and foreign trade about 1,000 per cent. She would have passed a sorry century on a fixed per capita supply of money.

Per contra, the scheme of issuing paper to all who will pay a low fixed interest, trusting that a money excess will be remedied by the return of money into the treasury to save the interest, would drive prices into the clouds. For when such an excess gets out it raises prices, and with rising prices interest outside the treasury will go up so that money will not go back, but expansion will continue just when contraction is needed.

The multiple standard plan is to check prices promptly after they begin to move. Out of it, however, in time would grow a higher system under which the causes which produce the price change would be met before they could act. For example, a great unknown sum is required each year to move the crops, and the eastern markets are pinched to supply it. Experience would soon show the issue required to meet this draft. When confidence in the government managers should become complete they might be charged with the issue in advance and the recall of this amount in manner to prevent the slightest tension in prices.

The money department would become in time a sort of financial weather bureau and the great statesman would be he who could keep the index finger stillest on the dial of prices.

Honest money regulation cannot make wheat, or any single commodity, sell at the same price in time of plenty as in time of scarcity, or save the unfortunate, the spendthrift, the idle, or the blunderer, from bankruptcy. But the multiple standard would prevent panics. It would prevent the enormous frauds upon debtors caused by the supply variation of gold. It would check gambling and speculation by halving the fluctuations in prices. It would give the creditor always as much as he gave, and take from the debtor never more than he got. It would give our people the eleven hundred millions of useless capital locked up in money metal, and the profits of an increasing circulation here, with some abroad where an invariable dollar would be appreciated. It would emancipate us from foreigners who corner gold, or attract it by contracting their money volumes, and equally from our own panic-makers. By increasing the certainty of enterprises it would steady business and aid legitimate banking. It would keep the wheels of industry turning with substantially uniform and unceasing speed. The domination of chance and private interest over the supply of money would yield to an equitable reign of intelligence and law.

HENRY WINN.

WOMAN'S NATURAL DEBARMENTS FROM POLITICAL SERVICE.

BY MRS. FLORENCE PERCY MATHESON.

"The Spirit moveth me and I must speak."

NOW that so many of my sisters are rushing into print, and appearing upon platforms, throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world, to inform the public why women should enter the political field, and, incidentally, to stigmatize all women who do not think as they do upon the subject as "traitors to their sex," and so on, it seems to me that we "traitors" should, some of us, "talk back" a little, at least to the extent of giving some of our reasons for the faith that is within us.

In the first place, I believe firmly that the women who do not want to vote are greatly in the majority, but that those very qualities which make them averse to entering the field of politics, make them equally averse to attracting attention and comment by publicly expressing their feelings on the subject.

In San Francisco, which is at present one of the "storm centers" of the equal suffrage movement, there are at least 150,000 women, and of these—despite the urging, entreaty, argument, and shining example of the Woman's Congress leaders—despite the fact that, so eager are the suffragists for proselytes and followers, rich and poor are equally welcomed by them—less than 800 have ranged themselves under the yellow silk banner which is, they tell us, to "lead them on to victory." Surely this is a small proportion of our feminine population to arrogate to itself the right to speak for us all, and demand, in our name, something which we do not want—but it does both these things, and does them continually and boldly, because the matrons and maids who do not believe as they do are not properly equipped to battle with them.

Hundreds of women, attracted by the promised discussion of "Home" at the Congress, listened in silence to sentiments of which they disapproved, and statements which they knew to be incorrect—and why? Simply because they did not wish to make of themselves targets for the shafts of sarcasm, satire, and ridicule which the nimble-witted orators upon the platform shot, with unerring aim, at any one who was foolhardy enough openly to question their reasoning or differ in opinion from them.

As did those women upon that memorable occasion, so thousands of women all over the world are doing to-day, and for the same reason. But as for me, at last "the Spirit moveth me and I must speak," whatever may be the consequence.

In preface I wish to state, clearly and distinctly, that when I become convinced that women as a class desire it I shall say nothing further against their becoming possessed, under a certain limitation, of that precious bit of printed paper—the ballot—and have the privilege of depositing it at the polls along with the male contingent. At the present time, however, I am certain, through somewhat wide investigation of the matter made personally and by letter among my numerous friends and acquaintances, that, as I have previously stated, the woman who really wants to vote is very much in the minority.

This minority, I am willing to admit, embraces many women who are among the noblest of their sex; women who act strictly according to their convictions, and incur a notoriety which is repugnant to their own delicacy because they feel that they are working for something which is just and right, and for which they are willing to endure this special form of martyrdom. It also includes many disappointed women; women who find themselves in their later years, for various reasons, alone in the world, with the remnant of their lives stretching before them blank and barren. Such women—sometimes loving wives whose husbands have gone before—sometimes devoted mothers whose children have grown away from them and their care—sometimes women to whom all the sweeter possibilities of life have been denied—crave interest and excitement of some kind with all the strength of their thwarted natures; and the suffrage agitation

naturally attracts them. Besides these two classes, however, there is another kind of woman who, possessed by a mania for notoriety, marches under the suffrage banner simply because there she has an opportunity to advertise and exhibit herself, and to be heard of mankind. Insufferably conceited, insolently intolerant of the views and opinions of others, and clamorously importunate, in season and out of season, such persons do any cause with which they ally themselves far more harm than good, and to their presence in the ranks can often be traced the reluctance of many otherwise favorably disposed women to "take the queen's shilling" and enlist in the same regiment.

I have little doubt that the day will come when equal suffrage will be the rule in all voting communities, for a woman who "nags" generally gains her point, though in gaining it she often loses that which is of far more intrinsic value—the respect and affection of those who are nearest, and should be dearest, to her. The suffragists have entered upon a course of "nagging" which will, undoubtedly, if kept up long enough, be successful, but the triumph will be shadowed, in the minds of many of us, by a sense of loss—the loss of something precious that can never be regained.

If my struggling sisters would but be content with the voting privilege I should view the prospect of their ultimate success more sympathetically, but voting is not the end and aim of their political longings by any means; office-holding is the goal which they have in view, and their ambition does not stop short of the highest positions in the gift of the people. But here I think the line should be drawn sharply and decidedly. While the average woman may find the time and the opportunity to attend to the duties which will devolve upon her as a voter, without neglecting her other duties and privileges, I do not believe that she can, save in exceptional cases, take upon herself, in her young womanhood, the duties of an important public functionary of any kind, with the prospect of doing either herself or the office credit.

"God's finger is pointing the way!" said an enthusiastic suffragist to me the other day, but I am certain that she and her

sisters are afflicted with mental strabismus, since it seems plain to me that God's finger is pointing—and has been pointing, since woman was first created—in a direction diametrically opposite to that in which the female would-be politicians are pressing onward.

I base my objection to a political career for women upon one single reason—a purely practical one, with which sentiment and prejudice have nothing whatever to do. That reason is the simple but stubborn fact of woman's physical organization. A woman may try as she will to ignore her womanhood—she may affect masculine manners and garments, diamond wheels, and cigarettes, but, unless she be unsexed by disease or the surgeon's knife, she is a woman still—a creature utterly different from man in every point of her anatomical make-up, and subject to sensations, experiences, and maladies, of which man can, and does, know absolutely nothing save by hearsay. We are told that in the beginning "male and female created He them," and it is not to be questioned that each sex was created to do its own special work. To all who are not ignorantly or wilfully blind and deaf to nature's teachings it is plain that women were intended, primarily, to be wives and mothers—to bear and rear the children of the world. It may be—indeed, we know, from what we read and hear, that it is—extremely displeasing and repugnant to the finer feelings of an "advanced woman" to be told that what she scornfully calls "the animal function of motherhood" is really the only reason which there was for her being included in the plan of creation at all, but the fact is incontrovertible. However much we, as individuals, may, for different reasons, fail of the accomplishment of our earthly mission, we cannot deny that our physical bodies are formed for one grand purpose to which all the other incidents of our being are, or should be, subservient.

A certain brilliant woman clergyman, who is devoting her talents to the suffrage cause, makes a great point in her speeches by demanding to know why if motherhood is the chief end and aim of woman's existence, fatherhood is not considered the chief duty and crowning glory of man. "Why should a woman,"

she asks, "sacrifice her youth, her beauty, her strength, and her ambitions to the oft-times thankless task of bringing up a family of children, while the man, who is equally responsible for their existence, looks upon his fatherhood as, comparatively, but an incident in his busy life!" This, like many of the other "whys" over which we stumble in this world, is something which it is utterly impossible for the finite mind to answer. We might as well ask why a violet is not a rose, or a walnut; the only answer possible is simply, "Because it is a violet." So it is with this question; the "why" we know not, but we do know that fatherhood and motherhood are distinctly different functions, and that each brings with it special duties and delights.

The man's share toward bringing a new being into the world is slight, but the woman must, for days and weeks and months, give of her life and strength—the very best of herself—to nourish the being she is to bring into the world. She must brood it and shelter it, and care for herself because of it, until "her days are fulfilled" and she passes through the torture, and enters into the triumph of maternity. But even then her personal connection with her child does not, or should not, cease, for it is intended that for the first year or two of its feeble life it shall draw its sustenance directly from her breast. The mother contributes to the personality of her child—if she gives it nothing more—at least two years out of her own life.

Obviously maternity was intended to be a woman's business, and, quite as obviously, man was given his exemption from personal inconvenience and discomfort in order that he may devote his unhampered time and undiminished strength to caring for her and their mutual offspring. We see this exemplified all around us among the inhabitants of the animal kingdom—bird, beast, fish, and reptile, each genus works harmoniously on these lines, a mutual understanding seeming to exist between the males and females as to their respective duties and responsibilities. The "advanced" woman is, so far, the only female animal that has risen in rebellion against her own nature, and deliberately advocated the controverting of an all-wise Creator's plans by evading, or ignoring, the purpose for which she was

created, and she is, by reason of her restless ambition and her yearning after the unattainable, by far the unhappiest animal of them all.

Putting aside, however, the question of woman's true relation to the world, I will briefly touch upon my reasons for believing that she is, save in exceptional cases, as I have said before, not fitted by nature to occupy the positions to which her ill-advisers are inciting her to aspire. Up to the age of ten or twelve the female child is usually the equal of her brother in strength, activity, and courage. Then comes, gradually, but surely, a change which affects her entire personality—the mysterious working of a hidden power which, after a time, sets her apart from childish things upon the beautiful and exalted throne of womanhood. Beautiful as is this throne, however, it is not always strong or comfortable. Our ancestors, who build our part of it for us, do not always build it "upon honor," and we suffer in consequence.

It is a glorious thing to be a woman but it is a pitiable thing that so few of our civilized women have the sturdy health and iron nerves of their savage sisters. That which is intended by nature to be an almost mechanical function of the system—a temporary inconvenience, it may be, but unaccompanied by pain, or even appreciable discomfort—is, to the generality of our women, a source of acute suffering, which, having its seat among the most delicate of the bodily organs, disturbs their nerve centers, depresses their spirits, and lowers their vitality.

This disturbance of the female organization is regularly recurrent, and, although I by no means agree with the over-sentimental Michelet, who looked upon all women as charming invalids, I do believe that no woman is fit to attempt anything like serious mental or physical work during these periods. Hysteria in some of its many phases often accompanies this purely feminine affliction—for it is an affliction in its civilized form—and where hysteria is there we may look for, and generally find, all manner of mental vagaries which are assuredly incompatible with the requirements of public life.

Should the woman become a mother, she is subject, during

the period of gestation, to innumerable whims and fancies, and ailments real and imaginary. Even should she be free from all these, and be as thoroughly healthy and happy as she ought to be during this time, she owes it to her unborn child to, as far as she can, keep away from crowds, excitement, bad air, and possible dangers of all kinds. Imagine a woman attending political meetings, running for office, making stump speeches, and going frenzied over returns at such a time! And alas, for the child born after such experiences and among such conditions!

Then as the child-bearing age draws to a close another enemy to woman's aspirations for public service appears—the dreaded “change” which for several years generally makes of a woman a nervous, irritable, capricious, unreasoning creature subject to all manner of mental delusions and physical miseries. Not even the most ardent enthusiast in woman's “cause” will, I think, claim that a woman under such circumstances is fit to plan, direct, and govern, the affairs of the world.

The governing mind should be clear—unclouded by the physical disturbances of an oft-times delicate and over-sensitive body. The governing hand should be steady and strong—not tremulous and undecided, not shaken and weakened by disordered nerves and over-wrought sensibilities. The governing heart should be courageous, just, and true—not influenced by petty prejudice, false sympathy, or sickly sentimentality.

Briefly I consider that a woman has no rightful place in public affairs either while she is bringing into being another soul, or while the child which she has borne is young enough to need her special care and ministrations. I have no admiration for those women—no matter how noble their self-selected vocation may be in the abstract—who leave their homes and families to the care of hirelings that they may enter into what they call “the broader life” outside their own rightful domains.

A woman should—unless made in some way absolutely unable to do so—take care of her own children. That seems to me a law that should never be broken when any sacrifice of self can make its fulfilment possible. God gives the child to its mother and not to her servant girl, and from that mother, most assuredly,

will he require a strict accounting for the treasure with which she has been trusted.

As for the unmarried woman—nature when opposed or ignored is not by any means a patient Griselda. She revenges herself in many and various ways whenever she is deprived of what she considers her rights, and the crotchets, irritability, and general thorniness and “crankiness” of some of our most gifted and otherwise admirable “women bachelors” arise, for the most part, from this cause alone.

For those fortunate women who have the time and the inclination, and the mental and physical strength, to attend to things outside their own homes and their own personal duties, there is work in plenty along educational, hygienic, charitable, and reformatory lines, and this work they can plan in a way which will leave them free to rest when rest is necessary.

If women, instead of fighting to put the ballot into the hands of their ignorant, unfortunate, even sinful, sisters would learn to clasp those hands in a spirit of true friendliness, loving-kindness, and helpfulness—if they would talk less of women as a class, and think more of each woman with whom they come in contact as an individual—“Do noble things, not dream them, all day long”—they would do more for the advancement of humanity than they will ever do with the ballot, and make this world of ours a far better and happier place than it is now.

If, however, they insist upon their political “rights” and secure them, I devoutly trust, because of the reasons which I have given, that an “age qualification” will be insisted upon, and that no woman under say fifty years—unless she can show a physician’s certificate to the effect that her specifically feminine functions have come to an end, shall be elected or appointed to hold any important political position, or take any prominent or onerous place in the management of public affairs.

FLORENCE PERCY MATHESON.

POPULAR INSANITY.

BY RABBI ADOLPH MOSES.

POPULAR insanity has played a most fatal part in the great tragedies of the world. It has brought woes innumerable upon people after people. It dug the grave of the Jewish nation ; it sucked out the life-blood of the Greek people ; it drained off and at last destroyed the Roman Empire. It perpetuated during the Middle Ages countless crimes against humanity. In the frenzied terror of witchcraft, popular madness has from the tenth down to the eighteenth century tortured and consigned to an ignominious death millions of helpless men and women, accused of practicing the black art and being in league with Satan. It was a species of lunacy prevailing through several centuries that led from Europe to Asia several million Crusaders and several hundred thousand tender children to die on the way and in Palestine of hunger, disease, and the sword. To come down to more recent times, the fearful and most destructive War of Secession was brought on by the insanity which had taken possession of the southern people. It is popular madness darkening the mind and confusing the thoughts of vast numbers in the Northwest and in the South which is raving for free coinage of silver. The shameful anti-Semitism which for the last twenty years has, to the horror of all sensible and humane people, been raging in the Old World and especially in Germany and Russia, is due to another kind of insanity.

We are prone to think that only individuals can go insane, and that it is only by way of metaphor that we may speak of the insanity of masses. Yet the blood-stained pages of history teach us that this is a wholly mistaken view. True it is, the madness of individuals is in almost all cases due to a diseased condition of the brain. Whenever the organ of thought is deranged the mind cannot perform its functions in its wonted natural way. A multitude, however, may

be under the sway of a senseless delusion while the brain of most of the persons laboring under it is in a normal state. Still, the nature and psychical phenomena of madness are on the whole alike in both instances. Though in individual madness the diseased brain is most probably the primary cause, yet the disease itself has its seat in the soul and manifests itself in the vagaries of the mind. The madman does not cease to think according to the inborn and indestructible laws which determined the formation and association of ideas. The logical categories are not abolished in the mind of the insane. The unhappy creature who believes himself made of glass quite logically concludes that he must not come in contact with hard substances lest he be broken to pieces. The madman who imagines that he is a rooster cannot help drawing the inference that it is incumbent upon him to crow at daybreak. The poor man who is possessed by the fixed idea that he is worth millions correctly enough proceeds to write out checks for many thousands and presents them as generous gifts to his acquaintances. Don Quixote is the most logical and consistent of fools. Given his crazy premises and delusions, he reasons from them with wonderful acumen, and acts up to his beliefs with heroic constancy.

The malady known as madness consists rather in this: The insane is unable to form his judgments on certain matters more or less extensive, in agreement with universally known and incontrovertible facts of nature and of life. He cannot lay hold of the realities and fixed conditions of the external world and shape his conduct in harmony with them. He has eyes, but he cannot see what is actually happening and what must always take place according to the unchangeable order of things. He has ears, but he often fails to hear what is audible to sane people, while he hears sounds that have no existence outside his brain. Rational thinking and acting consist in careful and progressive adjustment of the inner life or the operations of the soul to the phenomena and orderly processes of the external world. In a mind diseased and out of tune with nature and society the vital inter-relations are broken off in one or more respects. The ideas are not tested and measured by the facts. The soul does not

weave the web of her intellectual life and the rules of practical conduct out of the web and woof of experience but out of her own uncontrolled imaginings. Now, popular insanity is in its nature and manifestations exactly like individual madness, inasmuch as it consists in the inability of large masses of men to think and act with regard to certain matters in harmony with the facts of nature, the actual conditions of society, and the experience of the world. A vicious and indissoluble association of ideas is formed by some strong popular passion, by a powerful selfish desire, or by a sense of fear, which blinds the eye of the mind to all the facts which conflict with its assumptions.

The belief in witchcraft held for so many centuries by myriads of uncivilized and civilized human beings affords, in its fatal persistence and dreadful effects, a classical example of what popular insanity is, how it acts, and how it is caused. People sane in every other respect were firmly convinced that certain weak and decrepit old women and men, who were unable to provide for themselves the barest necessities of life, possessed the superhuman power to conjure up violent storms, to command the sea to rise and pour destructive floods upon the land, to order the clouds to empty their precious contents upon one field and leave the neighboring field perfectly dry. Wretched creatures that could not protect themselves against the pangs of hunger, against disease, and the fury of men, were believed able to assume any shape they chose, to change themselves into cats, wolves, or horses, to inflict tortures on distant persons, to ride on a broomstick through the air, to translate themselves in the twinkling of an eye from one land to another, and to create mice and other loathsome animals out of nothing. In the very teeth of nature, which protested with the thousand voices of experience against these absurd beliefs, men went on from age to age believing the impossible to take place daily and hourly, went on tormenting and murdering millions of their fellowmen. The central idea underlying the belief in witchcraft was the baleful delusion that the eternal facts and ordinances of nature could be overcome by virtue of magical means and formulas; that something, such as gold and silver, grain or mice, could be created by sorcerers out

of nothing, with the help of powerful spirits. Whenever rational men brought forward the testimony of the external world against these mad corruscations of the mind the answer was given: "What have we to do with abroad, with nature? Our own mind teaches us that witchcraft is a reality, that sorcery can perform wonders which are beyond the reach of your narrow and dull experience."

The silver lunacy, which is playing such wild and disgraceful pranks in the United States, is but a modern form of the belief in witchcraft. You take a piece of white metal, worth fifty cents in the market of the world, and bring it to the sorcerer, the government, and he will put his magical stamp upon it. Through that mysterious act a miracle is performed and the fifty cents are made to be worth one hundred cents and will buy goods to that amount. Just as the witch can charm forth mice from her handkerchief, turn coal into gold, and change a besom into a horse, so do our countrymen in the far West and in the South express their belief that the great magician, the government mint, transforms a piece of metal worth fifty cents into something worth one hundred cents. If you oppose to his witchcraft the experience of the civilized world, popular insanity shrieks: "What have we to do with the rest of the world and its nations? We are a big country, we are independent of other nations' experience and their science, we are a law unto ourselves." Did not a certain senator in an excess of frenzy actually exclaim, "If we modify our monetary system in order to bring it into harmony with the financial practice and theory of England, we have not yet gained our national independence, and are still subjects of Great Britain"?

The early witch-hunters made havoc among men and destroyed the body and soul of innumerable victims, on the plea that they wished to protect the people from terrible impending evils. Our modern believers in sorcery would bring ruin and desolation upon their country, believing all the while that they are trying to save the people from fearful calamities. The silver madness shows all the characteristics of partial insanity! It has smitten vast numbers of people with judicial blindness which prevents them

from seeing the stern realities of commercial life and the unalterable conditions of international intercourse, and has made them deaf to the teachings and solemn warnings of political economy. The saddest feature of this witches' Sabbath of silver madness consists in this, that the majority of those who rave for silver have in former years been afflicted with another kind of popular insanity, for which they and the whole country paid a fearful price in blood and wealth.

The southern people had for years been under the sway of a fixed idea in regard to slavery. The rest of the civilized world had learned to abhor slavery as the greatest social and moral curse, and had made the greatest sacrifices to abolish it root and branch. The unanimous verdict of the most advanced portion of mankind had declared that no modern nation can thrive economically, intellectually, and morally, that keeps up this accursed institution. The history of the civilized world had taught that the greatest and mightiest nations, the most highly endowed imperial races, had perished through the pernicious operations of slavery. The preamble to the Constitution of the Union had declared that all men are born free and equal, and yet in defiance of these palpable facts, in spite of all the teachings of wisdom and morality, heedless of the pleadings and warnings of history, in utter contempt of the fundamental principles of their free institutions, an overwhelming majority of the southern people regarded slavery an excellent and beneficial thing in itself, called it a divine institution, went on breeding slaves and investing almost all their savings in human chattels. Their desperate clinging to slavery after the genius of humanity, after the experience of mankind, had uttered its doom, was simply a tragic case of popular insanity. The people's mind had isolated itself within itself, had become unable to lay hold of a certain set of external facts and conditions, and had lost the power of adapting its judgments and acts to its historical environment. At last the popular insanity reached an acute stage of mania and burst forth into a supreme act of destruction and self-destruction, into the War of Secession. And some of the old leaders in that insane and suicidal movement now stand forth as the frantic representa-

tives and mouth-pieces of the latest popular insanity, which has made our country an object of scorn and a laughing stock of the civilized world.

The anti-Semitism which is now disgracing and brutalizing so many European nations can be rightly understood and duly judged only if we bear in mind that it is another kind of popular insanity. It shows all the characteristics of that dangerous malady. Its blasphemous utterances and furious endeavors do not fall within the province of sane thought and action. Think only of men asserting in all seriousness that half a million Jews, without any internal organization, without any bond but that of religion, threaten to overmaster and degrade commercially, socially, morally, religiously, and intellectually fifty million Germans, who claim to be in every respect superior to every race and nation on earth. It is the mutterings of madness to accuse the handful of Jews of being the sole cause of all the evils which are said to afflict the great German people since the establishment of the empire. It is simply unthinkable to a sane man that a few hundred Jewish financiers should through fraud and trickery make themselves the masters of German commerce and finance. The Jews are declared to be inferior strangers, and yet the indictment is brought against them that they have debauched German literature through the agency of a dozen or two Jewish writers. The Jews have in this century everywhere fought bravely on every battle-field. The Jews of the different countries wound, maim, and kill one another in war in the service of their respective fatherlands. And yet their enemies proclaim with fanatical fury that the Jews of all lands have formed a conspiracy to make war upon all Christian nations.

The Alliance Israelite, a purely benevolent institution, formed and maintained solely with a view of establishing schools in semi-barbarous countries for the youth of their ignorant and poor co-religionists, is written up in numberless pamphlets as an international Jewish society whose aim and purpose it is to make war upon all Christendom, to subjugate and exploit all Christian peoples. The Jews are accused by many writers, voicing the insensate belief of many millions of gentiles, that they kill year

after year a number of Christian children, or adult persons if children cannot be had, and mix their blood with their Passover cakes. These horrible crimes, they assert, are committed from religious or superstitious motives. The secret, they say, is known to most Jews, who keep it carefully from the knowledge of the Christian world. From time to time, however, the dark misdeeds of the Jewish fiends come into light and cause the Christians to burn with righteous anger! On the strength of this absurd accusation thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocent men have been put to the rack, and afterwards burned alive by people claiming to profess and practice the religion of love. Only people possessed by a fixed idea can entertain such views, which are absolutely incredible on their very face, which are contradicted by the most solemn protests and those of the Jews themselves, and have times innumerable been declared false, wicked, and blasphemous by the most pious, wisest, and best Christians, by famous popes, zealous princes of the church, and celebrated theologians, both Catholic and Protestant. Anti-Semitism is a popular monomania, brought on by unhealthy social conditions, by imperfect moral training, by the fanaticism of nationality and race, by the inborn brutal instincts of hatred and envy, by traditional prejudices, and, above all, by the irreligious teachings of many teachers of religion. People suffering from the monomania of anti-Semitism can but with difficulty be cured, because their reason in this one respect is dethroned and cannot be brought in touch with the countless opposing realities, which exist outside of their deranged minds. Like true maniacs they deny the actual and firmly believe in the impossible. Like all madmen they are haunted by imaginary terrors which distort their vision and prevent them from seeing the Jews such as they are in reality—human beings who are, in their faults and virtues, in their strength and weakness, in their hopes and aspirations, like their gentile countrymen.

But the Jews also, while they still formed a state and a nation, were more than once led to their ruin by popular insanity. Read but carefully the oracles and exhortations of the prophet Jeremiah. That great sane statesman stood forth for years in the

midst of his politically insane contemporaries. His nation, the princes, the priests, and the common people, were under the sway of a fatal, fixed idea. They believed that the Temple of Yahve in Jerusalem was a talisman, which made them absolutely invincible in the face of the mighty armies of the all-conquering power of Babylonia. To all the warnings and pleadings of Jeremiah they replied with the insane cry, "The Temple of Yahve, the Temple of Yahve, is with us! Who can subdue us?"

It is simply a form of faith in witchcraft, the belief of disordered minds that the impossible will come to pass through the workings of some miraculous agency. They held that the order of nature would be upset and the inexorable realities of the world subverted for their special benefit, because they were an exceptional people, not subject to the laws that determine the life and destinies of all other nations. Nor were there wanting pernicious demagogues in those days, just as there is a plentiful supply of them in our own time, deceivers who flattered the dangerous conceit of the people and inflamed its madness. The false prophets cared only for keeping themselves in power and employing the advantages flowing from their influence with the masses and the rulers. With sonorous eloquence behind which there was no conviction they voiced the insane beliefs and ideas of the ignorant masses. The theme and burden of their orations was the cry, "What have we to do with abroad? The rules of political action, which guide the other nations, do not apply to us, the descendants of the glorious patriarchs, in whose midst Yahve himself is dwelling!"

They called Jeremiah a traitor, bought by the gold of the Babylonian monarch to betray the people into the hands of its sworn enemies. They beguiled the masses by talking to them smooth things, such as the people liked to hear. Whenever they noticed that the fiery, soul-born sermons of Jeremiah were beginning to tell with the inhabitants of the city, and that their own influence was waning, they would take a run to the country for a day or week, where they held forth with high-pitched eloquence before the densely ignorant and sorely tried people. There they would drink wine with, and enthuse them-

selves in the midst of, their rural friends, many of whom they had organized into societies with high-sounding and patriotic names. Then they would return to the city, and declare that they had just come fresh from the plain people, who were determined to fight the Babylonians and their traitorous allies to the death. At last the fatal end, predicted by the sad prophet of Anathoth, came with wrath and vengeance, destroyed the commonwealth, and cut the remnant of Israel to pieces. The same dreadful tragedy was enacted several hundred years later before the final overthrow of the Jewish state. Popular insanity caused the blind zealots to believe that the chosen people that knew and observed the law and commands of the Torah were invincible, and could, despite the fears and convictions of the wisest men, crush the boundless power of the conquerors and rulers of the world. The consequence of that mad belief in the impossible was the annihilation of the Jewish commonwealth and the death of the nation !

These national tragedies and many others should bring home to us the awful truth that there are lurking in the soul of every nation the dangerous forces of unreason which, if given free scope, would lead a people in spite of all their fine qualities, to industrial ruin, to social disintegration and hopeless political decay. There is but one path for every progressive people to tread—the straight and narrow path of implicit obedience to the will of God as incarnated in the laws of nature, as revealed in the growing reason and experience of civilized mankind. If lovingly, manfully obeyed, the Supreme Will lives as light and power in the heart of the people, and brings forth wonders of material prosperity and moral growth. If disobeyed through selfishness of desires, through blindness of mind, through heathenish belief in economic quackery and political sorcery, the Divine Will manifests itself as an awful destructive energy, which grinds the mightiest nations to dust and casts them as rubbish to the void ! Life and death, good and evil, are placed before every people. Woe to the nation that chooses evil and calls it good, that loves darkness and names it light. For thereby it seals its own doom !

ADOLPH MOSES.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE NEW LABOR PARTY.

BY H. W. BOYD MACKAY, A.M.

THE recent determination on the part of some of the leading trades unions in this country to follow the example of other lands by forming an independent political party seems to render opportune some remarks on the character of the labor movement. The writer has had considerable experience of the movement, having taken an active part in it in Queensland, Australia, where it has attained a high degree of development, and where the economic conditions much favor it. The following paper is therefore submitted with some confidence, as a correct interpretation of the feelings and aims of the party, which are substantially the same in every part of the world.

The formation of such a party here must be hailed with joy by every one who sympathizes with the masses in their struggle for economic freedom; for, although a gallant fight has been made by the socialist Labor party and by the Populist and Prohibitionist parties, their basis is too narrow, and cannot possibly command that influence in the political arena which will be the natural heritage of a party resting upon the trades unions and trade federations, as is the case in Queensland, where the unions maintain their own literary organ, select and pay their own editor, and provide among their own members a body of subscribers (thus disseminating their principles among their own people), and also, through the executive of their federation, select their own candidates for the legislature, and pay their electioneering expenses.

The labor movement has three direct objects :

- (1) To secure to every one constant employment.
- (2) To secure to every one reasonable pay.
- (3) To secure to every one adequate leisure.

Most of its adherents believe that these objects can be gained

only by some form of socialism. This, however, is not the *end* of the movement, but the *means* to the accomplishment of that end. It is, therefore, open to every adherent of the movement to form his own opinion on this point. There are, in fact, among those who are actively engaged in promoting the labor movement, communists, single taxers, and men who, while gladly coöperating in every step which is taken to improve the condition of the workers, yet do not feel sufficiently convinced of the truth of any particular theory to bind themselves to it.

And the coöperation of *all* these is needed. A *distinct* socialist party, or a *distinct* single tax party, or a *distinct* party of those unionists who have not approved of socialism or of single tax would cut off large sections of *bona-fide* workers, and, by so doing, greatly weaken the movement.

The aims of the labor movement seem so reasonable and simple that they may be thought easy of attainment. So it seems an easy thing to march from Berlin to Paris ; but when the German army essayed the task they found so many opponents in the way that all the inventive powers of the most eminent men in the nation were taxed to accomplish it. And so it is with the labor movement. The interests of the most powerful sections of the community, or at least that those sections believe to be so, are opposed to granting to the workers constant employment, reasonable wages, and reasonable hours ; and all the arts, all the energy, all the zeal, all the perseverance of the most able men in the labor ranks will be taxed to the utmost for many years to come to accomplish the seemingly simple task which I have indicated.

Now, when this task is accomplished, will their work be finished ? There is an aim behind, to which this is only a prelude. It is also the destiny of the labor movement to raise, and that permanently and all along the line, the moral and intellectual status of the workers. It is this which lends nobility to the movement and makes it in the eyes of some almost a religion. But, as man cannot rise to much moral or intellectual worth until he is freed from care and from the immediate pressure of his bodily wants, it is the universal custom of mankind to seek these

first, and the Labor party forms no exception to the rule. Even the clergy complain when their salaries are small, and much more do we mortals of more limited spiritual horizon. To emulate the wealthy manufacturer or great merchant the workers do not seek, for such wealth, so long as it exists, must necessarily be exceptional, and exceptional wealth can always be made an instrument of tyranny if its possessors so desire; but a moderate competence they do demand, and with it a freedom from all unnecessary care and pain.

Since the above is the character of the labor movement, it follows that it is not concerned with the principle—sometimes regarded as conservative and sometimes as democratic—of opening a career of advancement to exceptionally gifted men. The object of the labor movement is not to assist the exceptionally gifted, but the rank and file of humanity. Its supporters believe that the attainment of exceptional wealth on the part of individuals, whether they be sprung from poor or wealthy parents, has been shown by experience to be the very cause why so many others labor under oppression and fall into destitution. In a word, some men are in a position to fight the world single handed, others are not in a position to do this single handed, but yet can do it by acting together. Such men seek to raise the *average* of the race—to raise the great mass of the population; the former class, on the contrary, seek to raise a few *out* of this mass. To an impartial man the question which course is the more likely to create a solid, powerful, and beneficent action can only admit of one answer.

But how shall this result be accomplished? In determining this problem we must have recourse to the lessons of history. History is the record of the struggles of sections of mankind against one another, and it shows what is the unchecked working of human nature when operating free from the control of law and of public opinion. When nation struggles against nation no law intervenes save the fear of retaliation, and if the combatants be unequally matched even this is absent. Nor does public opinion exercise much control in such cases, for it is generally dwarfed by the sentiment of national self-interest,

which presents itself under the form of patriotism. And when class struggles against class the result is much the same. The public opinion of the dominant class makes but little account of the feelings and interests of the lower ; and, as for laws, they are made by the dominant class, and disclose this fact very clearly on their face, and after all, they are not always observed by them. History therefore gives us an insight into human nature, and, by so doing, enables us (in a measure) to forecast the future.

Taking in particular the history of the relation of the dominant classes to the working masses, we learn from it the workings of human nature in this particular sphere, and are enabled to forecast the future which will befall the workers if the causes which have been hitherto at work are allowed to continue at work unguided and uncontrolled. No doubt even without conscious guidance and control the causes themselves (or at least their effects) modify the environment, and this again modifies the causes which afterwards operate ; for which reason progress is spoken of as a "curve," not as a straight line. But this "curve" observes certain laws, and, in proportion as the facts are accurately ascertained and reasoned from, so is it possible to forecast the "curve of progress." But the history of the labor movement gives us something more than this. It shows us how attempts have been made to guide and control the causes which produce the "curve of progress," and thus to make that "curve" somewhat different from what it would otherwise have been ; and it shows us when and where and how and, above all, *why* those attempts have sometimes succeeded and sometimes failed. In this use history requires to be supplemented by science, and yet we must constantly bring our scientific conclusions to the test of history to be verified, for purely scientific reasoners are apt to leave out some of the facts and causes upon which the actual result depends, and it is only by constant verification that these errors can be detected.

In the natural sciences such verifications have always been held to be necessary ; but it is a remarkable fact that although the truth that the conclusions of economists are often vitiated by their unwillingness to take into account more than one of the

elements of human nature was pointed out by Buckle in 1857 it was not until lately that the necessity for verification was admitted in their science. Even the *reasonings* of economists are not always correct, as is evident from the fact that they are largely occupied in refuting one another, but their *main* defect lies in imperfectly ascertaining the complicated *facts* on which their conclusions should rest. These facts lie deep in the nature of man and of the world. They consist in the desires by which we are actuated, the relative strength of these desires in different individuals, the other elements of character, the intellectual powers, and the surrounding circumstances which either assist, retard, or prevent the gratification of our desires. To know them thoroughly is impossible, and therefore to avoid all error in the conduct of social movements is equally so, but history supplies us with an approximate guide. History, forecast, policy, the lessons of the past, the probable course of evolution in the future, the judicious guidance of that evolution in the interest of the masses of the people—such is the study, such the work, of the Labor party. The workers have learned at least the old lesson—*Help yourselves!* They have learned in all lands, by prolonged and almost unvarying experience, that politicians outside their own ranks are not to be trusted; that parties do not *serve*, but *use* them. As their own party grows it must drive all other parties to unite in form, as they are already at one in principle, and there will be thenceforward but two parties in every legislature—two parties separated by well-marked principles and sharply differentiated policy—the Labor party, and the party of the capitalists: the former struggling to gain equality, the latter to retain supremacy. The contest will be long, the advance will be slow and stubbornly disputed, but the ultimate issue will not be doubtful. It is a mistake to suppose that the movement, however successful, can destroy individuality or initiative. Honor will still be given to exceptional talent. But the average man will no longer be in jeopardy of destitution because he happens to be uncapitalized. He will be no longer a mere instrument of production, but also a *Man!*

H. W. BOYD MACKAY.

THOMAS F. BAYARD AS A DIPLOMAT.

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, A.M., PH.D., HONORARY FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE details of the award of the Tribunal of Arbitration, convened at Paris in 1893, are still fresh to the mind. The award provided that the governments of the United States and Great Britain should forbid their citizens and subjects, respectively, to kill, capture, or pursue at any time, the animals commonly called fur seals, within a zone of sixty miles around the Pribilof Islands, inclusive of the territorial waters. The two governments were also to forbid the taking of seals from the first of May to the thirty-first of July on that part of the high sea which is situated to the north of the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and eastward of the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude from Greenwich, till it strikes the water boundary between the United States and Russia, and following that line up to Bering Straits. These are the leading features of the final award; but in the long period of negotiations, continuing more than six years, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, secretary of state, figured prominently as a diplomat in the first stage of the controversy, and his treatment of the subject so modified the final award that it forms an interesting and important chapter in diplomatic history.

Soon after acquiring Alaska from Russia, Congress passed an act designed to protect the seals and other fur-bearing animals in Bering Sea. Any vessel taking seals in the waters of Alaska was made liable to seizure and confiscation. As early as 1876, vessels fitted out in British Columbia ports began taking seals in the North Pacific Ocean, not entering Bering Sea at all. It was not until 1883 that one of these vessels ventured to enter the sea. From this time pelagic sealing was carried on to a great extent until 1886, when three British vessels were taken while

engaged in the pursuit illegally under the laws of the United States. These seizures were followed by a protest on the part of Great Britain, made by a note addressed by Sir Lionel Sackville West to Secretary of State Bayard. At this particular point the work of Mr. Bayard in the seal fisheries negotiations begins. The note of Sackville West called only for information, and this Mr. Bayard could not give at once on account of the remoteness of the locality from Washington.

In the correspondence that followed between the two governments, Great Britain took the position that pelagic sealing was a peaceful and lawful occupation on the high seas, and as such it could not be interfered with, nor could those who were engaged in it be taken and their property confiscated by the action of the American government. The position taken by Mr. Bayard on this subject is very important, as the measures which he proposed for the better protection of the fur seal fisheries are substantially the same as those finally adopted by the Tribunal of Arbitration. By an imperial ukase of February 27, 1799, Emperor Paul the First of Russia laid claim to all the territorial waters of Alaska, from the fifty-fifth parallel of north latitude as far as Bering Straits. In 1821 Emperor Alexander issued the celebrated ordinance extending his dominion to the fifty-first parallel on the North American coast, and prohibiting foreign vessels to approach within one hundred miles of the shore. John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, strongly resisted these claims of Russia.

With the cession of Alaska in 1867 it was claimed by some that we also acquired all the territorial rights claimed by Russia in 1799 and in 1821. But Mr. Bayard wisely avoided all discussion in regard to territorial rights. He might have boldly asserted the authority of the United States to repress the practice of pelagic sealing at once, but such a position would immediately have led to hostilities. His course was from the first a conciliatory one, and it well illustrates the enlightened character of his statesmanship and his humane views on international subjects. Mr. Bayard abhorred war, and he had a very low estimate of force as a means of adjusting international disputes. Following

a course of conciliation, he addressed the governments of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain, and invited them to consider the matter and come to an agreement in reference to the business of pelagic sealing. This invitation was sent out August 19, 1887, and it refers in the first place to the peculiar character of the property in question, and makes an appeal to the nations to come to some international agreement by which an animal so important as the seal may be effectually preserved. In a subsequent note to Mr. Phelps, Mr. Bayard made the following suggestion :

The only way of obviating the lamentable result above predicted, appears to be by the United States, Great Britain, and other interested powers taking concerted action to prevent their citizens or subjects from killing fur seals with firearms, or other destructive weapons, north of fifty degrees north latitude, and between one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude west and one hundred and seventy degrees of longitude east from Greenwich, during the period intervening between April 15 and November 1.

The proposal to Great Britain was acceded to by Lord Salisbury, and the communicating diplomats were so far agreed upon the subject that a draft convention was proposed. Russia also desired to enter into the agreement, but just at this point an obstacle interfered with the progress of the negotiations. Canada, a dependency of the British Empire, and deeply interested in the carrying on of pelagic sealing, interposed an objection to any scheme of prohibition, such as had been presented.

At this stage of the negotiations, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard, his secretary of state, under whose auspices the policy of conciliation had been adopted, passed out of office, and they were succeeded by President Harrison and Mr. Blaine as his secretary of state. The new administration adopted the vigorous policy of enforcing the prohibition of pelagic sealing. Further seizures followed, leading to fresh protests on the part of Great Britain. Mr. Blaine now entered into a discussion of the grounds of right upon which the United States placed itself, and which Mr. Bayard had judiciously avoided. This was followed by the appointment of commissioners upon both sides, who

visited Bering Sea and examined the condition of the rookeries there.

The commissioners failed to arrive at any common agreement, and the Tribunal of Arbitration was organized, before which the case was submitted. The leading argument of the American case was made by Hon. James C. Carter, of New York. Mr. Carter carried Mr. Bayard's humane views into the Tribunal, and his scholarly argument is a permanent addition to international law and morality. Mr. Carter avoided all discussion of the subject of territorial right, but urged the adoption of regulations for the preservation of the seals. The provisions of the award of the Tribunal, already referred to in this paper, were in accordance with the policy of Mr. Bayard, and also with the great laws of morality, which Mr. Carter outlined in his oral argument. Thus a new guide was established for future times in the adjustment of international controversies. Mr. Bayard's policy was free from jingoism, and was well worthy of being introduced into the high court of peace between nations, while Mr. Carter in expressing his lofty views spoke not only for America, but also for mankind.

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

CHINA AGAINST THE WORLD.

BY REV. GILBERT REID.

IT is not so much China *versus* Japan, as China *versus* the world. By the irrevocable tendency of her hereditary character she is in danger of losing her independence by being too independent. With one sudden rush of a few months' time, Japan by the diplomatic use of war springs forward into the full comity of nations with recognized equality, while China, huge, dignified, and decorously slow, stands alone, partly pitied, partly contemned, and everywhere criticised. It is not now the Orient arrayed against the Occident, but the Orient and Occident combined against China. It is the antique against development, that places China where she to-day is, and Japan where she also is. The European is called by China "the man of the western sea," and the Japanese "the man of the eastern sea," but they are both now hated by China, because they are not as she would have them, or as they were three thousand years ago, in China's golden age. In her heart she would defy the world, but being thrashed by the "dwarfs" in their "insurrection" "outside the Wall," she hardly dares even to defy Japan. She puts the brown-colored goggles over her eyes, puts her delicate hands with long finger-nails up her sleeves, and awaits "the decree of heaven."

Why all this? What is it that holds China down, so that her friends are wont to lament, "No help for her, she's doomed"? Many an one who has toiled for China's good, optimist still as to the outcome of the universal good, but pessimist as to China's progress in independent sovereignty, sends a message to the traveler from afar, "All hope abandon, ye who enter here." Impregnable to ameliorating influences, willing still to teach but not to learn, we write over the broad territory of her domain, "She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary."

That which holds China down, keeps her from assimilating with the progress of other nations, is her bondage to the formalism of the past. The ruler of China is not the Manchu emperor, but the Book of Rites. Technicalities marked out in the early ages for the little kingdoms are the rules to-day in coping with the mighty problems of international intercourse and the social elevation of the race. There is no call for the Chinese to usurp the Tartar throne, for the Tartar himself has become one of them. Dynasties have changed before, but China is China still. For her enduring qualities the world has praised her, but with her glory is linked her shame. The Chinaman is not a free man. Liberty to deviate from the thousand rules handed down as sacred is forbidden the scholar, the ruler, or the patriot. Even if it were all good—this robe of formal beauty, this look of righteous virtue—the bondage is bad and perilous to the nation's life. Everything to be governed by precedent hampers the play of generous or patriotic emotion, dulls the power of art, invention, of literature, music, and worship, views the desire for reform as treason and styles the advocate of improvement as madman or barbarian.

Along with all this we add the apparently contradictory statement that China is in peril because she has neglected the virtuous teachings of the past. We simply discriminate between the essence and the form. As the Christ of Judæa fulfilled the law of Moses only by emphasizing and observing the inner principle and hidden meaning, and condemned the school of the Pharisees for its devotion to the mere external, so in the teachings especially of Confucianism there is not the need to uproot the principles taught, but rather the need to bring them forth from the rubbish of detailed externalism, enforce their meaning, and develop their application. The Phariseism of Confucianism needs to be destroyed, and the Christianity of Confucianism needs to be magnified.

In those early teachings, virtue in ruler and people stands forth supreme. A righteous disposition adhering to the regulations of heaven, and directed to the good of others, this was once taught, but is now ignored. The moral saying is still ut-

tered, but the innate principle is forgotten. Precedent, not principle, is followed ; and all forms of corruption are the result.

The cancer eating at China's vitals is the corruption—the peculation, bribery, “squeezing”—which her sages never countenanced, and which the sharp blade of war or revolution can alone cut away.

From the beginning of China's relations with other powers she has moreover been characterized by the hereditary and inherent quality of proud exclusiveness. While making this charge, it is also a part of justice to point out the facts which seem to deny the charge. So far as religions are concerned, China certainly seems to bear the palm for religious toleration. Buddhism, Nestorianism, and Mohammedanism had alike been received, and in the Yuan dynasty the Mongol rulers broadened the scope of their toleration, until Christianity as represented by the envoys of the pope received a cordial welcome and full protection. The later agents of Rome in the close of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the present Manchu dynasty likewise secured favor and influence with the very highest of the empire, and built their churches upon imperial ground with imperial aid. Traders also through the centuries came freely from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, from India and Japan, even until the buccaneering days of the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese.

What, then, is the Chinese phase of the revolving causes which produced this proud exclusiveness? We believe that the root was the extravagant assumption of superiority over all other peoples and the impossibility to change this birthright. If nothing should arise to thwart this assumption, no exclusiveness would appear, but once let another religion propose to destroy, to dim, or to surpass the teachings of her own philosophers, or some outside nation affirm or display a stronger civilization or greater power, then China, in her hereditary pride, united with a new-born sense of fear, would seek to close her doors and refuse to open them to all the ponderous poundings from without.

At best the Chinese people in their native state in contact with foreigners have the quality of open-hearted familiarity. This familiarity maintains a friendly demeanor so long as the

foreigner is liberal with his cash and comes merely as the stranger of a day or a guest for the night. This familiarity, however, is soon to assume, if not already possessing, the element of lofty condescension. The foreigner is merely some inferior outsider, incapable, as is supposed, to molest his superior, who dwells in the one kingdom under heaven. The next stage is "that of smiling contempt, which in due time, when the object refuses to be thus despised or reveals unexpectedly some wonderful power, is transformed into one of two things, proud exclusiveness or open animosity, and these two are twin sisters."

This assumption, arrogance, and in many cases superciliousness, of the Chinese—provoked indeed into action, but yet a part of her nature—were the real cause of the first war with Great Britain.

Though inclined to criticise Japan for making unnecessarily a pretext for war, we must yet confess that the rebellion in Corea and the attempt of China to suppress it was the occasion of the war, while the underlying cause was China's stubborn conceit and exclusiveness. These were epitomized in the Chinese Resident Yuen, who magnified China's authority in Corea. They have continued all through the war, and are sealing China's fate about as much as heaven, where she loves to put the whole responsibility. As a counteraction to the power of Japan, China needs to open her doors more widely to the opportunities, benefits, and friendship of the whole world, to adopt those methods proved wise with others, and to receive with cordial respect and intelligent appreciation her truest friends, who come indeed from abroad, but who seek her prosperity and development. Let her pay Japan's demands by giving the world the right, duly regulated of course, to build systems of railroads across the country, open up her vast mineral resources, establish mills and factories in conjunction with native merchants, extend western education through every district of the empire, enlarge the scope of religious liberty and toleration, determiningly pursue reforms in the political structure, splendid in its design and adapted to the character of the people, then the country would be made to blossom as the rose, and this old

Chinese race, strong, sterling, persistent, patient, and acute, would not only swing into line with the rest of the world, but in due time would surpass the now victorious and much-lauded people of Japan. In resisting Japan, and maintaining or losing her sovereignty, it is either to be with the world or against it.

Peculiar by no means to the Chinese race, yet perilous to its welfare, if combined with other evils, is the hidden but persistent feeling of jealous resentment. Jealousy under certain conditions, such as jealousy of one's rights, may be a commendable quality, and resentment, also, like righteous indignation, may be a duty, if it means resistance of unjust intrusion. We have sometimes thought during the war with Japan that China needed more of this holy kind of wrath, and that she took her ill-luck with an extravagant complacency, but we have feared that in stirring the fire a conflagration would sweep over all nationals in China and a world-wide combustion would ensue. The Chinaman finds it hard to discriminate when an outside people is concerned.

The Chinese people in their ignorance, and true as well of the learned essayists with their various degrees, are jealous of even the good qualities of men from the West, and resent their introduction into the Chinese system. Being conservative and proudly exclusive, there is a resentment at any change, be it for good or evil. The learning, skill, honesty, and uprightness of the leading foreigners resident in China are apparent to the Chinese, but instead of being utilized in a respectful and gracious manner, there is too much a sense of aggravation which bristles up into open animosity. The friend and the foe are huddled together under the one name "foreign devil," and his extermination is the goal toward which to aim. Such spirit cannot be too severely condemned, and every proper effort needs to be put forth, not only by generous-minded foreigners, but by the upright and better class of Chinese, to free the masses from the poison in their system, and to lead them out into a safer and purer and calmer atmosphere.

It is the testimony of facts that China is against the world. To the east of China is Japan, and between these two countries

there is no friendliness, though a treaty of peace has been duly ratified. While Japan might have seized her opportunity to bind together these two nations of the Orient, she failed to do so, causing China to look for aid from Russia, France, and Germany. China is therefore against Japan.

China is also against Russia. They smile upon each other, and Russia goes security for the first 100,000,000 taels, but this is merely the spinning of the spider's web around this buzzing fly. Russia is no friend of China. Secretly she is against China, so far as perpetual independence is concerned, and, tit for tat, China fears Russia and is against her.

So with France, the ally of Russia, and still more now that France presses hard upon China for the riots against the French Catholic missions in the western provinces.

Germany, now a friend, but in the final scramble ever ready to take her share of the spoils. If Russia and France push forward a step, so will Germany. If they take a slice, she will also. The balance of European powers demands this. China, therefore, may like the German, but in the political skirmish she is arrayed against Germany.

Great Britain failed to do anything when the triple powers interceded for China, though selfishly, and China realizes that if Russia advances from the north, England will advance from the south. So far as European powers are concerned, it is useless for China to look for a friend. No power will be enough of a friend to tell any other power, "I will not allow you to make any advance on China," but rather, "If you advance, I will also." Then the whole European sovereignty will cry out, "Divide her up! Let us take the protectorate and stop this Chinese tomfoolery." And does any one suppose, that with a fear, if not a knowledge of these things, China can help reckoning herself as against Europe, even as Europe is against China?

But there is the United States. Surely China and America are friends. Friends, indeed, but of what value? Do the Chinese Exclusion Acts speak of magnanimous friendship? The United States may indeed abstain from joining Europe in dividing up China, but she will not likely interfere to prevent

it. The United States is really out of the calculation. China is alone—that is all.

The only thing which will keep China from being arrayed against the world is for her to get in touch with the world, and that speedily. To be in touch with the world is to be in touch with western civilization. Japan has left the oriental ranks, and China must do the same or be swallowed up in the vortex of a whirling, foaming, international diplomacy.

GILBERT REID.

Pekin, China.

CIVIC RELIGION.*

BY REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D. D.

THE mention of religion as one of the elements of municipal reform is likely to awaken dissent. "Religion," it will be said, "has no place in our discussions. The subject can only lead to fruitless controversy. Church and state must be kept wholly apart. The work of securing better city government is a work in which religion can give us no aid."

This may be true, but let us not too hastily admit it. In the olden time it was supposed that religion was an essential element in the life of a city. The sites of many cities were fixed by the use of distinctively religious rites; the founding of the city was a religious solemnity. "As the city was the highest unit in the political conception of the Greeks," says Dr. Jebb, "so each colony contained within itself the essentials of a complete political life. Its relation to the parent city was one of filial piety, not of constitutional dependence. In so far as the cult of the gods and heroes whom it worshiped was localized in the mother country, it was needful that a link should exist between the religious rites of the colony and those of its parent; and this religious continuity was symbolized by the sacred fire which the founder carried with him from the public hearth to the new settlement."

In the old Roman world the colleges of the augurs and pontifices played a large part in the government of the city, and the functions of the chief magistrate were distinctively religious. And when the monarchy was abolished the consul succeeded to many of the religious prerogatives of the king; though there was a *pontifex maximus*, the consul himself "offered prayer and sacrifices for the community and in its name ascertained the will of the gods with the aid of those skilled in sacred lore." And Guizot tells us that "in the cities of Greek or Roman origin, in

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most of the ancient cities of Gaul, the magistracies, the religious and civil functions were united. The same men, the chiefs of families, alike possessed them. It was, as you know, one of the great characteristics of Roman civilization that the patricians were at the same time priests and magistrates within their own house. There was not there a body especially devoted, like the Christian clergy, to the religious magistracy. The two powers were in the same hands."

Religion was, then, an integral part of the life of a city in the olden time. It was not merely harbored and protected by the city; the administration of religion was just as much a municipal function as was the administration of law; religion was regarded as the very heart of the municipal organism.

Do we say that we have changed all that? Perhaps we have, but are we quite sure that the change is altogether for the better? Was there not an eternal truth underlying those old conceptions—a truth which we despise at our peril? Can any city be well governed without making large appeal to motives and principles which are properly termed religious?

Let me be understood. I do not wish to see the establishment, or the recognition by the municipality, of any religious organization now existing, or of any combination of such organizations. I do not want to see churches or sects of any sort, Jews or gentiles, Protestants or Roman Catholics, getting possession of the city offices, or directing the policy of the city. When an organization of religionists attempts anything of this kind—undertakes to push its own sectarian interests by the possession and use of the municipal machinery, the popular rebuke can never be too prompt or too energetic.

Nor do I wish to see the municipality making provision out of its revenues for the support or assistance of any institution under the care or direction of any religious body. It is plain that the civil community cannot take *all* such institutions under its patronage, nor can it discriminate among them. It can only impartially let them all alone.

Nor am I concerned for the maintenance of religious forms and ceremonies in connection with civic functions. Unless the

persons in whose presence these acts of worship are performed themselves heartily wish for them, and reverently participate in them, I would abolish them at once.

Nor am I in favor of the enforcement, by the city, of any religious observance of the first day of the week. Sunday legislation ought not to rest upon a religious basis. If a rest day is needful for the preservation of the health and welfare of the community, that observance may be enforced by the majority against the greed of the few who would turn the abstinence of the rest from labor into a special opportunity of gain for themselves. The liberty of rest for the many can only be secured by a law of rest for all. And if it is evident that the open saloon does the community more damage on Sunday than on any other day of the week, then the community has a better reason for shutting it up on Sunday than on other days. But such ordinances as these have absolutely nothing to do with religion. The maintenance of any kind of religious observance by force of law is contrary alike to the spirit of democracy and to the spirit of Christianity. The civic religion for which these words are pleading is nothing of this kind.

Those ancient cities, whose founders bore the sacred fire so carefully over stormy seas, what was the heart of their religion? Was it not this—that they believed their communities to be somehow invisibly linked to an unseen realm; that they felt themselves to be under the inspiration and guidance of the gods and heroes who had passed beyond their sight? The unseen realm was the realm of the ideal. The society below was in constant contact and communication with a perfect society above, and the guiding lights of that upper world were unveiled to faithful watchers here below. This is the essence of religion; it is faith in the unseen, in the ideal. Of course, the ideal is never visible to the eye of sense. It is the mind's eye that sees it always. It is not the thing that is, it is the thing that may be and ought to be. And the true civic religion is that which beholds by the eye of faith the city that ought to be and shall be, and that looks and works for the day when it shall stand upon the earth. John, in the apocalyptic vision, saw a New Jerusa-

lem—a holy city—descending out of heaven from God to earth. “It was,” says Professor Drummond, “no strange apparition, but a city which he knew. It was Jerusalem, a new *Jerusalem*. The significance of that name has been altered for most of us by religious poetry; we spell it with a capital N, and speak of the New Jerusalem as a synonym for heaven. Yet why not take it as it stands as a new Jerusalem? Try to restore the natural force of the expression; suppose John to have lived to-day and to have said London—‘I saw a new London.’ Jerusalem was John’s London. All the grave and sad suggestions that the word London brings up to-day to the modern reformer, the word Jerusalem recalled to him. What in his deepest hours he longed and prayed for was a new Jerusalem, a reformed Jerusalem. And just as it is given to the man in modern England who is a prophet, to the man who believes in God and in the moral order of the world, to see a new London shaping itself through all the sin and chaos of the city, so it was given to John to see a new Jerusalem rise from the ruins of the old.” . . . This city, then, which John saw is none other than your city, the place where you live, as it might be and as you are to help to make it. It is London, Boston, New York, Paris, Melbourne, Calcutta—these as they might be, and in some infinitesimal degree as they have already begun to be. In each of them and in every city throughout the world to-day, there is a city descending out of heaven from God. Each one of us is daily building up this city or helping to keep it back. Its walls rise slowly, but as we believe in God, the building can never cease.

This, then, is what I mean by civic religion. It is a recognition of the fact that for every society there is an ideal—that is to say, a divine, social order; it is the attempt to discern and to realize that—to bring the life of the city below into harmony with the law of the perfect city not made with hands which hangs above it in the sky. To believe in the great possibilities of a noble civic life; to fasten our thought upon them; to see that this must be what the “Power”—not ourselves—that makes for righteousness is working for, and that it is our great privilege to be co-workers with him; to kindle our souls with the enthu-

siasm of these hopes—this is what I mean by civic religion.

All great and worthy work is done under the inspiration of ideals. The sculptor is looking, not at the things that are seen, but at things that are unseen when he calls the angel out of the marble block. The musician is listening to voices that were never heard on land or sea when he indites the symphony. The architect beholds the temple in the air before he builds it upon the earth. And we to whom the larger, fairer, diviner task is given of building the city—not merely the streets and parks, the warehouses and shops and halls and homes, but the institutions, customs, laws in which its civic life is manifested—must needs lift our thoughts to realms above ourselves, that the pattern of the structure we are to build may be revealed to us.

The city that might be—the city that ought to be—this is the object of our faith, of our devotion. What might this city of ours—this New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Columbus—what might it be, what ought it to be—how clean and bright and safe and healthful; how free from everything that could hurt or defile or destroy; how full of everything that could minister to the comfort and convenience and culture and happiness of the citizens; its laws how wisely and impartially administered; its burdens how equitably adjusted; its curse, how swift and deadly upon all who seek to make spoil of its revenues; its officers, how diligent, how conscientious, how self-denying in the public service; its citizens, how prompt to respond to the call of the community; its property-holders, how ready each to bear his portion of the public burden; its helpless wards, how tenderly cared for; its beggars and parasites, how sternly compelled to eat their own bread; its whole life, how instinct with justice and truth and righteousness, how vital with mercy and good-will! This is the city which is coming down out of heaven from God—coming as fast as we make room for it. It comes very slowly, because there are so few who believe in it, and look for it, and make ready for it: according to our faith it must be unto us. For just as soon as the people begin to believe in a city like this it will be here in all its glory. Nothing hinders its coming—nothing in the world—but our want of faith.

Is it not true that the one thing needful is a little more of genuine civic religion?

Never until some such ideal as this takes possession of the thought of the people, and kindles their enthusiasm, shall we have good government in our cities. Men must have something to believe in, to love, to be loyal to, to fight for; and it is always the ideal that inspires heroism and devotion. A national ideal we have; the proudest American has some conception of it. It was the nation that might be, the nation that ought to be, that kindled the ardors of revolutionary patriotism; that Sam Adams and Patrick Henry plead for, and that Washington and Prescott and Stark and Green fought for; it was the nation that ought to be that Meade's army saved from death upon the heights of Gettysburg and that Lincoln crowned there with his immortal words. It has not been the actual nation, with its broken promises and its lame purposes and its piggish politics, that has inspired an ardor of patriotism; the nation that we live for, and are ready to die for, is the one to whom we cry:

Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith, triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

It is only because there is an ideal nation to which our love and loyalty can be given that patriotism exists. It is to be feared that such a conception is scarcely entertained in relation to the life of many of our cities. What we are constrained, for want of a better term, to call municipal patriotism hardly has a name to live. There is, indeed, in some cases, not a little local pride; but not much thought of the city as invested with a character and life of its own; as a kind of moral personality toward which one might cherish a loyal love. What is a city? We are told that it is a corporation. Well, I am afraid that that is just about all there is of it in the minds of many of us. Such a soulless entity can inspire no love, can call forth no loyalty. It is something which the legislature has created, and we are not generally moved to worship the work of such hands. The city is thus invested with a kind of legal, formal, artificial character,

and there is nothing that appeals to our higher sentiments. These frigid conceptions must be put away from our minds. It may be useful, for some purposes, to consider the city as a corporation; but unless it is vastly more than that to the great body of its citizens, its history will not be an inspiring one. It seems to me that there ought to be something in the civic life of a great city which admits of idealization; something that appeals to the imagination of the citizen; something that inspires in him a genuine devotion. Can we not think of the city in which we live as becoming, more and more, a great social organism, bound together by bonds that are not wholly economic—by human sympathies and interests; with a character to develop and a destiny to fulfill; moving steadily forward, under the influence of a righteous purpose, in the ways of peaceful progress, strengthening law, enlarging liberty, diffusing intelligence, promoting happiness, becoming, through the coöperative goodwill of its people, a mighty and benignant Providence to all who dwell within its walls? Are there not possibilities in the life of these cities of ours that can make a man's heart glow with great hopes and high enthusiasms?

On what forces do we rely for the reformation of our municipal life? For the accomplishment of this work there must be motives. What are they? To what can we appeal?

We can appeal to the citizen's love of comfort and cleanliness, we can show him the filthy streets, the clogged sewers, and tell him that such things ought not be; we can awaken his fears of cholera; and such appeals have their place and are not ineffectual.

We can show him, no doubt, that under such government as he is permitting there is a great lack of security for his person and his property; and that, also, is an influential motive.

What we do urge upon him most diligently is the increase of the tax rate, and the fact that unless he is adroit enough to hide his gains from the assessor, his profits will be greatly reduced by the growth of taxation. This is the motive on which we chiefly rely. Municipal reform, in the conception of nine men out of ten, is the reduction of the tax rate. Well, that is not an

insignificant matter ; it ought to be duly considered, and it will be ; there is no danger that it will be overlooked.

But can we draw from all these considerations an adequate motive power for the work of thoroughly reforming the government of our cities ? Will the craving for comfort, and the fear of contagion, coupled with the wish for a reduction of taxes, call forth an energy and a unity of popular feeling which will achieve the glorious work ? It seems to me that they reckon ill who put their trust in such forces. Down on this plane, pottering with such motives, we shall find our structure crumbling under our hands ; any gains that we make in one direction will be neutralized by losses in another. Unless we can find something higher and nobler than this to work for, our labor will be as the task of Sisyphus.

We sometimes hear it said that the one thing needful is the administration of a municipality on business principles. In a certain narrow sense this saying may be justified. We ought to have a methodical, economical administration, of course ; we ought to insist on getting money's worth for our taxes. But other than business principles must control our people and their representatives in office, else we shall continue to have precisely what we have had. The trouble with our citizens—our best citizens—has always been that they have quite too much inclined to base their civic action upon "business principles." They have always wanted to buy the benefits of good municipal government in the cheapest market and to sell them in the dearest. Their problem has been to get just as much as possible for themselves out of the city and to give just as little as possible in return for it—of time, of money, of sacrifice. So long as this is the prevailing purpose of the citizens, it will be the prevailing purpose of their representatives in office ; business principles will control their conduct ; office will be to them an opportunity of gain, and they will make what they can out of it. I think it is time that we began to see that good government calls for some higher principles on the part of the citizen than what we describe as business principles.

It calls for the recognition of civic ideals ; for a vision that

can discern not merely the city that stands upon the earth, but the fairer city which is coming down from heaven to earth, after whose pattern the earthly forms must be continually reshaped. There is just as much need in the city as in the nation of cherishing an ideal of liberty, of purity, of perfection ; of leaving the things that are behind, and stretching forth unto the things that are before ; of cultivating a generous faith and a high enthusiasm. There is need of thinking much of a kind of civic life that is not yet, but that might be, and that ought to be, and that must be if there is a God in heaven ; a city whose officers shall be peace and whose exactors righteousness ; a city whose homes shall be sacred and secure ; whose traffic shall be wholesome and beneficent ; whose laborers shall go forth to their cheerful toil unburdened by the heavy hand of legalized monopolies ; whose laws shall foster no more curses, nor open the gates to whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie ; whose streets shall be full of happy children, playing in safety and learning the great lessons of civic piety, and whose citizens on any shore shall find their thoughts turning homeward with a great longing.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

EVOLUTION OF A WAGE-STANDARD.

BY R. L. BRIDGMAN.

MORE sympathy for the poor and unfortunate exists to-day, it is safe to say, on the part of the well-to-do than ever before. The absorbing social problems of the times concern the elevation of the lowest strata of humanity. The efforts of public-spirited men and women are directed to this one point more than to any other, and the burden bears heavily on the hearts of many philanthropists. Recent years illustrate the uneasiness which is felt among the poorer classes and the determination which they have to secure a larger share of the good things of life. Not only is there a feeling among them that they will have more absolutely, but also more relatively, and hence there were strikes in the prosperous year 1892 as well as in the calamitous years 1893 and 1894. Whether it is a well-founded belief or not, the belief exists on the part of a large majority of the people that the rich few are getting more than their just proportion of the necessities and comforts of life and that they secure that proportion at the expense of the workers to whom, in justice, a part of it really belongs.

If the past has any promise for the future, it is that the present position of the wage-earners will be improved, but that promise cannot assume a definite outline until we understand more about the conditions which are imposed upon the laboring classes. Now, the first essential fact in the industrial situation, which is pertinent in this connection, is that the universal conflict of life prevails in its full force in the relation of employer and employed. The struggle for existence is felt in the home of the laborer just as truly as it exists between the beasts of the forest and as pervasively as it is in all parts of the vegetable creation. Adverse circumstances threaten at every hand. Many men and women go through life with the wolf at the

door, and for many more he is never far away. They leave their children and children's children to continue the struggle.

The utter dependence of the laboring classes is a permanent fact in their condition. They never rise above it in any way sufficient to change the essential features of the struggle. Under the present system of industry they must continue to take what they can get and call it the equivalent of what their powers produce, with no criterion to determine whether this is so or not, and, if it is not, with no means of securing an equivalent.

In discussing the relief of the poor, the persons most in the minds of the benevolent are city-dwellers, factory operatives, trade employees of one occupation or another. The question does not primarily concern, in its pressing aspect, the poor people of the remote and rural districts. It is to be noticed, as a vital element of the situation, that these city poor are dependent for every item which enters into the supply of bodily wants. Not an atom can they produce directly from their own resources to satisfy their needs of clothing, shelter, or fuel. In the rural districts there is not this utter dependence. There is some resource in the land and there is a certain freedom from the constant presence of an employer. The poor people with whom civilization is most directly concerned must rely wholly upon their hands, with the addition of some dexterity in toil, which is mental capital, and may, perhaps, be aided by a small accumulation of money. This money may mitigate suffering during lack of employment, but it is of no account in changing the relation of the capitalist to the laborer as his constant employer.

Another pertinent general truth is that the poor people have no capital for the establishment of business enterprises in the modern conditions of competition. Not only would they lack the money, if large numbers should propose a combination, but they have not the breadth of comprehension or the soundness of judgment to enable them to administer the details of a large manufacturing or commercial concern. They have not the cohesive power to combine so as to be their own capitalists and their own employers. The plain truth about a large propor-

tion of the people is that they must work for others or starve.

In one aspect this is nothing new. It is true of most of us and always will be. But the one cardinal point to be observed here is that in the contest between the applicant for labor to get all he can and the employer of labor to give as little as he can, the advantage lies invariably with the side which has the means of holding out the longer against the pressure for the necessities of life. In its ultimate analysis the supreme factor in fixing the rate of wages is the strength of the fear of starvation. How many mouths are there to feed? How much money has been accumulated on which to hold out for better terms from the would-be employer? These factors settle the question as far as the wage-earner can help himself. Fear of utter destitution compels the applicant to take even a small reward that is offered, if it is all he can get, and if he has nothing upon which he can fall back. A little accumulation lifts the possessor above the lowest ranks where only the utterly destitute are found, and gives him a little relative advantage, but he is still at the mercy of the would-be employer who can hold out against starvation longer than he.

At first thought it may seem that this is an extravagant and unjustified view, and that, instead, each man receives just what his labor is worth, just what it will command according to market conditions under the accepted economic law of supply and demand. This is perfectly true, but let us follow out a little further this idea of the worth of labor and see what it really is.

Suppose a factory owner, for instance, in his computations for erecting a new mill, makes plans for a certain number of operatives, assuming that he can employ them at a certain price. That price is fixed by the pressure of men to get employment, on the one hand, and by the desire of employers to secure operatives on the other. Those two elements decide the matter. The applicant's capacity for production being fixed, or assumed, at a certain quantity, the employer is influenced by this to a degree, particularly in comparing one applicant with another, but behind the applicant is a certainty of being obliged to yield to

starvation sooner than the employer, if each were to be forced to subsist upon what he has accumulated. The man with the shorter supply is forced to accept the best terms he can get and to go to work. This is true of the applicant for labor, whether he is in or out of a trade organization. While the treasury of such an organization may be of great service in supporting for a time those who are out of work, yet as a general truth the resources of the employees are not equal to those of the employers, and the former are always at the mercy of the latter when it comes to a genuine test of endurance.

It is true that the economic "demand" for labor modifies the exigency upon the applicant and, in prosperous times for manufacturing (in the case of factories), tends to raise his wages. But in no case will an employer give more than he can pay and make a profit upon, and in every case force of circumstances is the factor which settles the rate of wages. Each party to the bargain antagonizes the other to the best of his power and the underlying truth is the same, whether there has been an adjustment of forces by means of a permanent condition of business so that a standard rate of wages prevails and no excitement attends the settlement, or whether the adjustment is newly made by a struggle, either by a strike or a lockout.

Force is the ultimate factor in fixing the rate of wages under the present system of industry, and the statement that an employee gets what his labor is worth means simply that he gets the amount at which it has been fixed by the law of supply and demand, but that law, as we have seen, is merely the clash of opposing forces and these forces, in their ultimate analysis, are the dread of starvation on the opposing sides and the necessity that one of the contestants yield to the other. There may be conceded the modification of a little accumulated capital behind the applicant for work and the effect of competitive bidding for workers on the part of several employers which relieves the tension and gives to a more productive workman higher wages than to a less productive one who may have a larger accumulation of money upon which to fall back, but the essence of the law of supply and demand, in fixing the rate of wages, is force,

and that force, in its hard and cold aspect, is nothing more or less than the ghost of starvation standing over the man's shoulder and compelling him to yield.

Justice, in the settlement of wages, plays no acknowledged part in our present industrial system. Doubtless employers try to be just. They may tell their employees that they give them all their labor is worth. But the real kernel of that word "worth," as we have seen, is the going market price and that price is fixed by the law of supply and demand, and supply and demand, as we have also seen, are selfish, opposing, hostile forces, compromising their hostility, or surrendering the one to the other, only for the sake of saving life. So that the employer who gives his employee all the market rate requires and comforts his conscience by the thought that he is a just man may or may not be proposing a just reward, but the method by which he reached his decision was by force.

Again, suppose that the employer tells the applicant, not that he pays all his labor is worth, but all that he can afford to pay. What does that signify? That he has risen a step above the idea which is the basis of the market price and is regarding the relative proportion of product to be distributed between himself and the applicant. It may be that the market price is a just price; it may be not, for force determined it. But the employer who gives all he can afford to give is one who, in the ordinary constitution of humanity, still retains for himself the position of chief beneficiary by the enterprise, one who cannot afford to give what will leave him any less amount than will avail to maintain him in his higher position in the industrial scale and will clothe and educate his family in a more expensive way than is possible for the applicant for work. In either case, whether the employer offers the market price of labor or what he can afford to give, the element of real justice to both sides has not been the controlling factor in the division. In either case, too, the decision rests upon force as the final arbiter of the differences between the contending parties.

At this point a marked industrial tendency of the times is found to have a very pertinent bearing. Capital tends to com-

bine, and labor tends to more thorough organization in trades unions. But the result of the struggle between organized capital and organized labor, as it is between an individual capitalist and an applicant for work in his employment, is sure to be on the side of capital in the long run. Starvation is the master and the side which is forced to yield first to it must surrender to the terms of the other.

To-day the organization of capital is in a transitory stage. It is still confined to particular branches of business, but it is powerful, even in this stage, to control the labor which is necessary for its enterprises, and it is a pertinent question for the future of labor whether there will not be accomplished an organization of all capital which employs labor against all labor which seeks employment by capital. It would be only a step from the trust which dictates the terms at which its products shall be sold to one which should dictate the wages to be paid for its labor which must be bought. If capital combines to regulate production, it may also combine to control the wages of labor and thus to remove the competition which is now the sole ameliorating feature in the laborer's lot.

At any rate, the present industrial system holds the employees in that dependent position in which their wages are established by force, not by justice, and the question is whether this historic condition, prevailing ever since the world began, will be permanent for the entire future of civilization. If this is the highest possible development of our industrial system, if this is the perfection of our civilization, then Christianity must be written down a failure, for it cannot control the actions of men in their business transactions, it cannot secure justice for those who have been hitherto under the tyranny of force, it cannot inspire sufficient sympathy for the recognition of the brotherhood of man against the selfish desire for wealth and power, it cannot emancipate the weak majority from the domination of the strong minority. If nothing better is possible, then in all time to come the majority must submit to the rule of the minority and that rule is maintained by force, not by justice. The question is vital for Christianity and for civilization.

Then the inquiry comes, is a standard of wages possible other than the value of a day's work, measured by the ability of the laborer to defy starvation, compared with his employer's ability to defy it, and further modified by the bidding of employers for his labor against each other? Let us see. What human elements go into the product of any industry where there exists the relation of employer and employed? They must all come under two heads, manual effort and mental effort. Nothing else goes into the product of cotton cloth, or woollens, or iron rails, or boots and shoes, or any other factory product. Accumulated capital, which is the basis of a large enterprise, owned by either the manager or stockholders, is merely stored-up effort of these two classes. All the items in the product, then, besides the raw material, would seem to be of so similar a nature, under these respective heads, that a comparison of their proportions is possible. Now let us look around and see if there is any guide for us at this critical point, for, if this problem is unsolvable, then most men must remain in subjection and see their employers holding wealth of their creation, in part, enjoying strength which is bought, in part, by their weakness, and receiving education which is paid for in part by their ignorance and poverty.

The Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture has established a scale of points for use at agricultural fairs for determining the awards of premiums for several breeds of cattle, for horses, sheep, swine, poultry, fruits, and all kinds of vegetables. Perfection is indicated by 100 and the relative proportion of 100 which is to be credited to perfection in particular details is agreed upon beforehand. For instance, here is the scale of points which has been established for Dutch Belted cows, and this scale is among the most elaborate of all: Body color, 8; head, 6; eyes, 4; neck, 6; shoulders, 4; barrel, 10; hips, 10; rump, 6; hind quarters, 8; legs, 3; udder, 20; escutcheon, 2; hair, 3; quiet disposition, 4; general condition, 6; total, 100. Here is the scale of points for judging fruits: Quality, 20; form, 15; color, 15; size, 10; uniformity in size, 20; freedom from imperfections, 20; total, 100. For vegetables the scale is this, taking the Bay State squash as an illustration: Form, 50;

color, 20; weight, 20; quality (hardness of shell), 10; total, 100.

Now, what does this signify? Simply this, that here is an attempt to agree, according to reason, upon the several elements which form a given total. The trustees of any society which adopts these scales of points do not say to the competitors for premiums: "Go at one another with your butcher-knives, gentlemen, and the one who survives the slashing shall have the prize." But there has been a most minute consideration of the diverse elements which enter into the total of perfection, each has been accorded its proportion in a way which has been satisfactory to the competing exhibitors, and the differences of the contest are adjudged in the forum of reason and peace. Yet the elements which are harmonized in the above scales are fundamentally more diverse, more difficult to reduce to common terms than the elements which go into the product of any article which is made in any factory. There are in the factory the two elements of manual effort and mental effort, and they are not distinct, for in the case of every operative there is a mental element, as well as a manual, though it may be admitted that in the ability and courage to conceive and execute the plans for the enterprise, there are mental traits alone, and also that it is mental capacity which gives earning power to the capital which is invested in the business and which would be dead without this mental ability to use it in profitable production.

Now, into all products there enter the contributions of those persons who had a share in making them, and the just reward would be to distribute to the capitalist and to the employed from the receipts (after certain subtractions to be mentioned) according to their contributions. This must be the ultimate standard in an ideally just system of wages. This standard can be attained practically, for, if men can estimate by a common standard as divergent elements as form and color and can agree amicably upon what part each is mathematically of the total perfection, surely they can agree, if they are so disposed upon both sides, upon a relative proportion between the manual and mental elements which make the total of a manufactured product. Form

and color really have no common denominator. How big or how shaped a form will make a color, or how intense or what kind of color will make a form? Yet men with directly opposite pecuniary interests have agreed that, in a total of perfection, form and color are entitled reasonably to a certain percentage with other qualities equally inherently impossible of comparison which make the whole. Their reason consents to the decision, admits that it is just, and that decision is reached by a supervisory board to whose judgment the competitors submit. So, practically, a common denominator of unlike qualities is reached. In the labor problem the quest is, first, to find a common denominator for mental and manual contribution to the total product in which the capitalist and employer are represented by mental contribution, while the employed contribute a far lower grade of mental effort and all the manual labor. Nominally, there is to be found a common denominator for mind and matter.

But the consummation of all labor in manufacturing is to change the place and form of matter. The mental effort of the employer or capitalist has its total available result in a material form and in the material distribution of product where it will supply the largest want at the greatest profit. Hence the difference between employer and employed is not as wide really as it is nominally. Practically, the difference to be harmonized is not as wide as that between form and color, for which men find a common denominator and do not think it strange. After the common denominator has been agreed upon by reason, comes the question of its acceptance by the several parties, certainly a great problem in itself. Probably not till increased friendliness has been attained in the relations of employer and employed, not till the practice of justice is more generally recognized, instead of the present standard of force, probably not till some who will never yield without the compulsion of law are brought under law, will the common denominator of reason be generally accepted. But the tendency of the times is in that direction. The first steps have been taken already. Government is coming more closely to the business and to the every-day living of the people. We are becoming more thoroughly an organism.

The outlook is that justice and prosperity, peace and fraternity, lie in the path upon which we have started.

Under the present system the proportion of product which goes to the wage-worker is measured by his comparative ability to defy starvation, modified by the bids for his labor. His wages have no recognized relation to his representation in the product, measured in the terms of manual and mental contribution. Under a just system, with the differentiation of reward according to share in the product, each would receive according to the part he took in the effort necessary for producing the completed product. The thrifty and the thriftless, the industrious and the lazy, the temperate and the besotted, the enterprising manager and the timid heir of former enterprise who lived on the traditions of the business, each would receive his just reward. In the light of reason the present basis of compensation is seen to be not only not pertinent, but absurd. It rests upon might, not right. It cannot continue under a system of industry in which justice is done to each contributor to the product. It belongs to the realm of brute force, not to that of reason, and still less to the permanent institutions of a professedly Christian nation.

Without weakening the significance of the fact that force is the ultimate criterion in fixing the wages of the employed classes, it may be admitted that there is a theoretical establishment at present of the scale of points required by justice, to a certain degree. That is, men will not engage in an employment where the physical exertion required is exceptionally onerous, or where the exposure of health is unusual, or where the occupation seems disagreeably menial, unless a higher reward is given, or the pressure of destitution is constant, or pride is dormant. To that extent the larger physical contribution demanded for a product receives the larger reward. But even this fact, when analyzed and found to contain an ingredient of justice, is also found to have force for its criterion ultimately. The law of supply and demand operates at this point as truly as elsewhere. It is not the proportion of manual and mental contribution to the product which determines the rate of wages, but it is the

going price for such a grade of labor and that price has been established under the same conditions as prices in other employments, and the dread of starvation is the final criterion.

A material element in the case which tends to reduce the proportion which the actual reward for labor bears to a just reward is that so large a proportion of the working people do not have the knowledge of the situation, or the capacity or means to transfer themselves from one occupation to another, or from one part of the country to another, which would enable them to find more favorable terms and to secure larger proportions of rewards, even though force were the final criterion. The greater the mobility and intelligence of the employed classes, the nearer will the rewards of their labor approximate to ideal justice; the more ignorant and immovable these classes are, the more servile is their subjection to the avarice of employers, or to distressing conditions of industry which may overtake them. Ignorance of industrial opportunities and inability to escape from present circumstances prevail more or less in all employments and so the theory that men will go where they can get the best pay is materially modified and they must submit to injustice of some degree in the reward for their labor.

If it be asked, what is the total which is to be apportioned among the contributing parties in proportion to their several contributions, manifestly the answer is that it is the return which the product brings (minus all expenses, except for human contributions) when it is disposed of in the markets of the world, when people have bought as much of it, at the price at which it is offered for sale, as they wish in comparison with the other good things of life which are offered by other producers.

Who shall decide upon the scale of points which will determine the proportion of product which shall go to the capitalist who contributes the money, to the business man who manages the enterprise, and to the operative who contributes a lower grade of mental and manual effort and who runs no risk of failure or catastrophe? Who shall say, as a matter of justice, not as a matter of compulsion, what has been the proportion contributed by each sharer in the manufacture of the product? Massachu-

setts has established a Board of Arbitration and Conciliation whose services are significant as precedents in connection with this problem. An official board might act if the interested parties could not agree, or special experts might be selected for the occasion, representing both parties. Would this be practicable? Again, let us see what Massachusetts has already done. This Board of Arbitration and Conciliation has no arbitrary power. It can only investigate and recommend to the several parties to a strike or lockout what seems to be the course demanded by justice.

But what this board has actually done points directly to the settlement of wages on the basis of proportionate amount of contribution to the total product, rather than upon the relative ability of the opposing parties to resist starvation. By the very act of recommending that there be a change in the wages which are paid to the employees, the board implies that some other element than force is the basis of compensation and that justice is a factor. It has made repeated decisions which embody its idea of justice.

Now, if men can agree upon a scale of comparative contributory merit in awarding premiums for cows, pigs, fruit, and squashes, is it not possible to agree upon a scale, say, in the case of a cotton factory, for the mixers, breakers, pickers, strippers, grinders, drawing-frame tenders, speeders, spinners, spoolers, warpers, dressers, weavers, inspectors, folders, balers, and shippers, who perform the several grades of manual service? Can there not be compared with these grades a just proportion for the overseers, or superintendents and assistants, of whatever class, and for the book-keepers, typewriters, and helpers of every other name, even up to the managers of the entire concern and to the owners of the capital which has been invested? One case which was passed upon by the Massachusetts Board of Arbitration and Conciliation in 1894 covered 283 different points upon which the board made a recommendation regarding wages. This state has already pointed the way, surely, to a thorough, but peaceful revolution and to a transfer from the basis of force to the basis of justice for wages.

It is to be expected that the substitution of justice as the standard, instead of force, will be gradual. It may be very long in coming. To attain a practical common denominator for the manual and mental effort of the wage-worker, of the salaried employee, and of the share of product due to the capital which would be dead were it not for the work of the other two classes is doubtless a difficult problem. We have the present standard of force by which many are ground under heavy burdens, and it is the standard of justice which is our ideal, by which every one shall share according to his proportion of efficiency in producing the product. Ignorance, clumsiness, and vice must always be inferior to knowledge, skill, and virtue. They must bear their deserved penalty. They cannot have an equal share of product with the higher qualities. The laborer who refuses to educate or to train in virtue himself and his family is his and their worst oppressor.

Furthermore, it is to be borne in mind that as far as the force of the weak can produce an impression upon the strong, as far as there is intelligence among the workers to know what is their proportionate contribution to the total product and where there is the most paying demand for their labor, as far as there is freedom of movement among them from one occupation to another and from one part of the country to another, and, finally, as far as there is willingness on the part of the employers to pay them according to their just proportion of product, so far the industrial situation approximates the ideal condition already. With the present percentage of profit, aside from the human elements in the total product, it is not to be expected that there will be any reversal of the proportion of reward which is distributed relatively to the manager, the capitalist, and the employed. What is probable is that in the development of industry a standard of justice will be established by the services of official boards or by special arbitrators and that that standard will be accepted by employers and employed generally as a suitable proportion to be given for a particular grade of mental and manual effort and to the capital invested by persons who take no personal part in the enterprise.

Public opinion counts for much, and there are no signs that it is losing its power. If there were a general belief in a community that a certain standard of division of product was just, if it were approved by the board of arbitration and by experts in the business, then popular sympathy would be wholly against strikers who should try to coerce employers, caught in some emergency, to pay more. If there were the same public opinion and the employers did not pay according to the just standard, general sympathy for strikers and condemnation for employers would be essential elements in bringing about a settlement, for men do not like to be permanently despised by the entire community in which they live.

Step by step, advancing from one department of work to another, and from one occupation to another, it is probable that the new standard will make its way, without disturbance to industry, without excitement, without harm to the side which loses its unjust advantage and with benefit to those who secure their full proportion of reward for their expenditure of effort. This revolution will be without commotion, if there is no resistance to the irresistible forces which are bearing the country in that direction. It will be really a revolution in method, or complete turn-over, accomplished by evolution, or unfolding according to tendencies which are already at work. But the danger is from resistance by those who would cling to force and who would insist that they are the all-powerful masters, as well as the employers of labor. Such resistance would probably result in interference by legislation. The employed classes have not yet begun, comparatively, to exercise their tremendous political power. If the development is forced to take the form of an industrial revolution, instead of an industrial growth, through political institutions, then there may be the intervention of the force of the state to give the weaker side advantages greater than it would be entitled to by a just distribution of the net profit on products. There is danger that legislation in favor of the labor element may become too radical, if it once gets control.

When this future basis of wages shall have been reached, it will have secured with it, we may reasonably affirm, the solution

of a problem of present years—the control of corporate trusts. Under the system of justice the contributing parties are to receive of the reward according to their contribution to the product. The great profits secured by the trusts do not rest to-day upon their contributing more to the service of man than any other class engaged in the contribution, but upon their holding a commanding position. Like the pirates of Tarifa, they levy their tariff upon all who are obliged to go under their guns. It is sheer force, the essence of injustice, which gives them their opportunity to amass wealth. Doubtless there is a very lively mental element in their contribution to the total result, but it is not mental effort expended in the line of rendering most service to man. It is effort put forth in order to get man as much as possible into their power so that their reward may be great and permanent. It cannot be doubted, from present tendencies, that justice will gradually overthrow the element of force and it will probably be established formally by the expression of the will of the organic community, or the law of the land. Then the contribution to the value of the product which is made in distributing the product to consumers will be placed on its basis of mental and manual effort in comparison with the effort of workers in factories, the directors of enterprise, and the owners of capital. Thus it will have its just reward. Present trusts cannot endure under a system which does justice between capital, employers, and employed. Growth on one line will be accompanied by growth on the other, and the whole situation will be changed. Products must be distributed as widely and as cheaply as possible, with just reward for the mental and manual effort of distribution, for the most efficient service to mankind.

While the establishment of the standard of justice will give their rightful wages to those who are now crowded down to the lowest possible terms by reason of their weakness and poverty, and while it will check the accumulation of wealth by those who plunder others and do not create it themselves, yet it cannot be expected that that standard will produce any striking change in the relations of men. Wages are already more or less of an ap-

proximation to justice. It is very likely that many workers who receive miserable wages are paid more than they earn. Ignorance and inefficiency are but feeble producers. They would not be likely to gain by the substitution of justice as a standard, in many instances. It is certain, in a system of justice, that effort of body or mind will receive its due reward. The able men are sure to control in the future, as they have in the past, and all hope among the inferior workers that the time will come when they will be "in the saddle" will surely be disappointed. If ignorance were to receive a larger reward than knowledge, if incompetence were to have higher wages than skill, more injustice would be done than if ignorance were to receive less than it deserved. Such a condition could not be permanent, and if it were temporarily secured by political power, it would be overthrown speedily. There is no reason to suppose that the present working classes would be less unjust than their employers, if the tables were turned. Abolition of force and the establishment of a new criterion is the goal to be aimed at—the creation of new, not the reversal of present, relations.

Taking at their real value the significant facts which have transpired recently in the industrial situation, we see that they have in them a prophecy of a just distribution of the products of labor among the several contributors in proportion to their contribution. It is not essential to the attainment of this ideal that arbitration be made compulsory, but with the growth of a public sentiment which recognizes that justice is better than force there will be realized in the industrial world a practical system of profit-sharing which will rest on a permanent foundation. The only changes in it will be to go on to a finer and more delicate discrimination and differentiation of reward, by which the industrious and incompetent will severally receive justice in more minute detail. When this era of development shall have been reached, resorts to force will also disappear and neither strike nor lockout will occur to embitter whole classes against each other. This goal may be a long way off, but we are surely advancing toward it by visible progress.

R. L. BRIDGMAN.

LEGAL REGULATION OF OCCUPATIONS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

BY LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

BUT a few months ago, when the New York Legislature passed a law prohibiting the keeping open of barber shops on Sunday, there was a chorus of indignant protest from unshaven and unshorn citizens who were affected with sudden solicitude for the "rights" of the barber trade. It was denounced as an unwarranted and unusual interference with individual rights, an interference which was incompatible with the rights of citizens and was verging on state paternalism.

In New York State the interference of the lawmaking power with special occupations is very far from being a novelty in legislation. It is, in fact, as old as the lawmaking power itself though more often indirectly than directly wielded. For many reasons and in divers ways the power has been exercised from the beginning of the state's history to the present day. It was at the beginning an inheritance from the governmental systems of the Old World and in an American state it has grown and extended itself as the development of the social and industrial life of the community has forced a like development in the scope and authority of state legislation. The idea has never been extensively advocated that there is a special sanctity surrounding human industry making inadvisable any restriction by law. Had it been otherwise there might have been prohibitory clauses incorporated in the state constitution which would have remained a dead weight to hamper the progress of social development through law. Hence it has come to pass that the state has restricted occupation after occupation until scarcely a one from the long list of diversified activity has not felt the restraining hand of legislative power. And yet state paternalism seems as far off as ever.

New York inherited from the Old World the form of its colonial government, in a very crude and curtailed form it is true, but still embodying the Old World ideas in many things. Two influences thus came to the colony of New York in the very beginning, operating to place class legislation on the statute books. One was the necessity of keeping up a certain connection which had from the dawn of European civilization linked clergymen and attorneys closely to the governmental system. Another influence appeared in the necessity of laying taxes which affected especially certain occupations. Under this latter head inn-keepers or liquor-sellers and seaport merchants were made the objects of special laws. Both these tendencies are found in the colonial legislation which is not, however, prolific in developments of the evolutionary sort, though some traces of legislative evolution, if that term may be used, show themselves.

Perhaps the most apparent growth in the colonial period was the development of the idea that the lawmaking power, which had without question regulated commerce for its own financial benefit, should regulate it also for the benefit and well-being of the community. On this idea laws were passed for the closer regulation of weights and measures, for the regulation of sales of various kinds of merchandise, and for the inspection of various products offered for sale or shipment, all of which more or less specially affected certain classes. Under the same head probably were the laws requiring the licensing of peddlers and itinerant venders of all sorts. This is one of the earliest measures of restrictive legislation applying specifically to a certain occupation, for previous legislation of the restrictive sort had acted only indirectly. It was under the general head, too, of regulating commercial matters that seaport pilots were in 1775 placed under restrictive legislation by being licensed and forbidden to practice without license.

The revolutionary struggle with its necessities for reorganization and makeshift on the part of the state stimulated legislation and directed it by force of circumstances into new channels. Under the pressure of war crises the legislature assumed arbitrary powers, regulating and sometimes prohibiting shipments

of food products from the state, breaking "corners," forbidding the use of grain for the making of liquor, and by still more arbitrary acts attempting to regulate prices of commodities and wages of labor. None of these laws applied avowedly or definitely to any special sort of trade or industry, though in each case having nevertheless the effect of so applying. They were temporary measures, interesting as showing the undisputed jurisdiction of the state in regulating matters of a commercial or industrial nature, whether for its own benefit as a corporation or for the community at large.

These were the only lines along which occupation legislation had developed itself previous to the independent existence of the state. It is since the Revolution that later views as to the duties of the legislature have shown themselves in an ever-widening scope of exercised authority. New conditions of social and business life have grown up and new relations between them and the state government have come into existence resulting in a rapid increase in the number of law-embodied rules.

All legislation affecting occupations may be grouped concisely and with more or less accuracy of description under half a dozen heads :

1. For raising public moneys.
2. For protecting public morality.
3. For protecting private capital.
4. For improving the public service.
5. For protecting public health or safety.
6. For regulating professional standards.

Legislation protecting public morals includes the old colonial laws for clerical immunities by which the church was strengthened as a bulwark against moral laxity in the community. Extending rapidly in multiplied statutes as time passed on, it touched on occupations in 1822, when a law was passed imposing on grocers, inn-keepers, and liquor-sellers the duty of refusing liquor to habitual drunkards. The statutes for the licensing of places of amusement may perhaps come under this head, and certainly a great number of the laws relating to theaters do. The liquor legislation of 1855 is perhaps the extremest form of

class legislation of this sort, directed with prohibitory effect as it was against the whole class of liquor men. A long list might be made of liquor laws dating from that time whose ostensible object has been to regulate the liquor trade in the interests of public morality. In 1868 laws against the sale of certain medicines were passed in restriction of the drug trade, a law in furtherance of morality which has been supplemented by laws forbidding certain practices by physicians. Laws for the moral protection of children have sometimes borne with special effect on classes, as in the case of messengers and theatrical performers. The law against Sunday work by barbers is a recent case.

Legislation protecting private capital began to have reference to occupations as soon as the lawmaking power began to regulate commerce for other purposes than increasing its revenues. The licensing of pilots in 1775 was a step to secure safety of navigation in the interests of traders and shipowners. Briefly noticed may be the early laws licensing auctioneers and itinerant peddlers and those regulating the sales of poor goods. It is not long since that a law was passed regulating the stamp-marks of silversmiths on their wares. The growth of the great business corporations during the present century has filled the statute books with laws fixing the relations of these corporations to the public, and so incidentally affecting large bodies of men by the restrictions embodied. Insurance legislation begins in 1814, railroad legislation in 1834, and telegraph legislation in 1848. Akin to this group of laws are those regulating banking corporations and those fixing the mutual rights and duties of hotel-keepers with the public.

The lien laws come under this head, having been in the last seventy years extended over a variety of occupations to secure payment for labor expended. Special legislation favoring women employees to aid them in securing their wages may also be noted. Another development is the legislation by which the farming classes profit, covering a great number of laws. Those laws regulating hours of labor are also to be classed with this group.

Yet another group of laws are those which bear upon special

occupations while designed for the betterment of the public service in some of its branches. Of this sort are some of the immunities from militia service and jury duty. The entire mass of legislation under this head is not large. Perhaps the most important series of laws to be noticed in connection with it are those by which the occupation of school-teacher has been gradually raised from social obscurity and has by continual regulation and encouragement on the part of the state been advanced to the dignity of a profession. The licensing of pawnbrokers as incidental to police administration connects the statute with the public service.

The protection of public health or of the safety of life and limb has called forth a great deal of special class legislation. Of this sort was the law of 1778 forbidding vaccination by physicians. Health laws for quarantine and for the management of infectious diseases were adopted early in the state's history, and about the same time the license system was extended over the medical profession in New York City. The license system for physicians was extended over the whole state in 1806. Health legislation includes the statutes of 1847 for the gathering of vital statistics, in which the duty of making reports was enjoined upon physicians, clergymen, midwives, and sextons. In 1860 a law regulating the sale of poisons brought druggists under restriction, and special statutes of later years have stringently regulated the trade. Health legislation took a new turn in 1862 when the sale of adulterated milk was forbidden. With that law was initiated the long series by which an endless number of articles have been placed under regulation by rules which have more or less indirectly affected the occupations connected with their manufacture or sale. The law of 1867 for the uniforming of railroad employees and the later laws forbidding the employment of illiterate or intemperate engineers were made for the safety and convenience of the traveling public. Regulations for the safety of life and limb include the law of 1871 for the spreading of nets in acrobatic exhibitions, that of 1885 for the providing of proper scaffolding for building workmen, fire-escape and elevator legislation, and similar statutes. Akin in character

was the law of 1881 for providing seats in places where women were employed. The tenement-house legislation designed to stamp out cigar-making and tailor work under unhealthy conditions belongs under the same grouping.

It is only in comparatively recent years that the regulation of occupations for fixing of professional standards has come about. There is a wide difference in the restriction of an occupation for the sake of those who practice it and the regulation for the sake of those outside. The licensing system, which has for a century and more been used for various occupations on other accounts, lends itself readily to regulation of professional standards. The profession of dentistry practically led the way in this new development by its first formal organization in 1868 which ended in rigid restriction by the law of 1879. Drug clerks came under a similar rule in 1871 but more as a matter of public safety. The plumbers' license system began in 1881 and is still in process of extension. Veterinary surgery felt the impulse in 1886 and other occupations are as a body kindly looking forward to state regulation for their own good. Though the most recent in development, this group of laws is perhaps the most important from the standpoint of social evolution among all those that affect occupations, for it foreshadows state regulation in the way of social organization, the socialist's dream.

Whether state paternalism as it is yet to come is any worse than the paternalism already in force need not concern us. In the regulation of occupations for their own sake the principle has been adopted that the members themselves shall be self-governing, and this form of state restriction robs paternalism of its terrors.

LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

FUNDING THE NATIONAL DEBT: A BUSINESS MAN'S PLAN.

BY WILLIAM A. AMBERG.

FIRST STEPS.

1. AUTHORIZE the issue of renewable two per cent convertible bonds to an amount to cover the total outstanding liabilities of the government, plus the estimated premium on bonds now outstanding. Bonds payable in fifty years.

2. Place these bonds in the hands of an officer of the treasury, whose functions and duties shall be virtually those of a trustee. (I will so designate him for convenience.)

3. Authorize the secretary of the treasury to issue a *like amount* of new currency which *alone* may be convertible into the new bonds at par.

4. Authorize the secretary of the treasury to pay out the new currency in exchange for *outstanding currency*: cancel the latter forthwith, and forbid him to exchange the new currency for gold or silver. By outstanding or old currency, I mean every form of bill for which the government is liable as principal. (This excludes national bank notes.)

Let us assume for the purpose of illustration that the total authorized issue is \$1,500,000,000. Issue bonds on the five-year "renewable term" plan, and in such manner that one fifth, or, say, \$300,000,000, will be renewable annually. Interest coupons to be payable January 1st and July 1st. Interest on bonds to cease at the end of the term.

Issue denominations as low as \$100.00, so as to give all classes of investors an opportunity to buy them.

Print on the back of each bond the interest accrued from January 1st and July 1st for each day of the year. Its value on any day can then be seen at a glance.

The bonds should be much smaller in size than the present issue, and coupons much larger. The coupons will provide payment in dollars, not in fractional parts thereof.

ISSUES OF BONDS.

Authorize five issues of three hundred millions each, the first issue to expire January 1, 1900, the second January 1, 1901, the third 1902, the fourth 1903, and the fifth on January 1, 1904.

If, however, there is likely to be a demand for more than the first issue of three hundred millions in 1895, have the second issue take the place of the fifth and expire one year earlier, or January 1, 1899; and if a third is necessary, have it expire in 1898; these extra issues to be in lieu of those to expire in 1904 and 1903, respectively. The reason will hereafter appear.

For each issue not prepared the secretary can give the trustee a written bond instead. These are all to be delivered to the trustee and charged to him in bulk.

The new bonds must not be forced on the market. Supply them only as demanded. From their very nature they will remain in this country.

The new bonds can be made the basis of bank circulation.

The trustee will receive the five issues of bonds and an appropriation in gold to cover six months' interest.

He will issue them for the *new currency only* at par, the buyer paying the accrued interest in gold or its equivalent.

He will exchange them on presentation at par in the *new currency only*, paying accrued interest in gold; the bonds re-issuable until renewed or paid. He will pay all interest coupons when due in gold, and as he will know exactly the saving of interest at the close of each interest period, he will cover into the treasury the interest saved as soon as he receives the appropriation for the next six months' interest. It will be seen that his functions are very simple, and that he will always have fifteen hundred millions on hand in bonds or new currency, or both.

A sub-trustee should be appointed in each sub-treasury who should be provided with the new bonds and a portion of the interest fund, and whose duties will be the same as the trustee at Washington. He should report at the close of business daily to the trustee the amount of new bonds and new currency on hand.

The secretary of the treasury should be authorized to buy the old issues of bonds at market rates (subject to restrictions if desired), and pay for them in the *new currency only*. This to be done when there is a demand for more currency. When currency is in demand, interest rates are high, at which time bonds are lower.

Customs dues should be made payable in gold whenever deemed necessary by the secretary.

ADVANTAGES OF THIS PLAN.

1. The bonds will never depreciate in value, because they are at all times convertible into the new legal tender currency *at par*, and if they ever appreciate in value it will be because the country no longer needs a paper currency.

2. Currency will always be the best because based on government gold bonds.

3. As gold will not be accepted by the trustee for the new bonds, nor by the treasury for the new currency, its holders will force it on the market in exchange for old currency, which alone can be exchanged at the treasury for the new.

4. As only the new currency has the feature of availability for conversion into interest-bearing bonds at par, it will be preferred to all the present forms of currency, as well as gold.

5. The volume of currency required by the country will be absolutely self-adjusting.

6. Where national banks are now required by law to maintain a reserve of twenty-five per cent (which of itself causes a stringent money market in times of panic), they would find it more to their interest to hold a forty per cent reserve in convertible two per cents.

7. Banks and bankers will be glad to assist the government in the smaller transactions of exchanging bonds and currency at the ordinary rates of exchange—say an equivalent of two to five days' interest at most, depending on amount, location, and proximity to a sub-treasury.

8. The loan will be popular because there is no speculation in it. The bonds show the amount of accrued interest on the back on any day of the year.

9. It takes money temporarily idle out of the market and thus makes a broader market for the bonds.

10. The establishment of sub-trustees at sub-treasuries distributes the advantages of the system to all parts of the country.

11. The trustee's daily statement will show exactly the demands of the country for currency and bonds. They are always interconvertible. The new currency in his hands (the only kind he is permitted to receive), will represent the amount of new bonds outstanding, and the amount of bonds on hand, once they

have been issued, will always equal the currency in use. Having a double issue does not double the debt. His statement will be a better barometer of trade than clearing-house reports.

12. Banks will not be under the necessity, real or imagined, of refusing to loan money on government bonds, as in 1893.

13. It will simplify the whole currency problem. A bond, convertible into currency without loss, and *vice versa*, without paying a premium, will be in such demand that it is fair to assume that the whole national debt could be funded in time.

14. It relieves any anxiety as to the possibility of funding the entire debt into two per cent bonds. It will fund what amount is fundable.

15. It does away with the necessity of a gold reserve, because it takes from the market all obligations of the government payable on demand in gold.

16. A surplus in the treasury can at any time be invested in two per cents, thus releasing the currency. The government stands in the same relation to the trustee as does the citizen.

The reasons for making one fifth of the total issue expire annually are easily stated. Should the treasury be unable to buy the old issues of bonds at fair prices in the market, or if in future the demand for two per cents was so large as to cause a contraction of the currency, the interest could be cut down when renewed to 1.82½ per cent, or even to a less rate, from year to year.

If the kind of currency to be taken in exchange for bonds be limited as outlined it does not matter if the authorized issue be larger than the debt, because the bonds could not be issued in excess of liabilities already established, and to be established by law. Hence it might as well be made ample to cover future contingencies. It is designed to be a permanent system.

It has nothing to do with the final adjustment of silver in its relation to gold, or the free coinage of silver. It is entirely independent of both questions. I am simply outlining a plan for funding the debt in kind, which is a gold debt. I am satisfied that if gold is barred from participation in investing in the new issue of bonds it will be less desirable than the new currency, and as the least desirable legal tender is sure to be forced on the market, it will be to some extent like silver—we will not want it; whereas, now, we want it and cannot obtain it.

WILLIAM A. AMBERG.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

RHODE ISLAND: PROVIDENCE.—A citizens' committee of fifty is in process of organization for the purpose of crystallizing and bringing effectively to bear the popular desire for a better management of the city's business. The significance of this common feature of all municipal reform movements, says the *Providence Bulletin*, is that the belief still survives, and with reason, in the possibility of satisfactory government in this method of committee oversight. It is the method already in universal use in the cities of this country; and although somewhat obscured under the names of councils and boards of aldermen, the people show that they are mindful of its real nature by the way in which they set about their reform movements. They conclude, and rightly, as soon as they find that things are going wrong, that the failure is not in the system but in something that interferes in the operation of that system and makes it different in actual practice from what it is in theory. Every city has, in the legislative branch of its government, a body which is nothing more or less than a big citizens' committee, selected upon the representative principle. The whole trouble is that the committee of fifty citizens now managing things at the city hall is not made up in the main of men who are fit for the job.

MARYLAND: BALTIMORE.—The city Union of Christian Endeavorers held a mass meeting on the evening of November 8, at which W. C. Perkins, chairman, delivered an eloquent address on good citizenship as evidenced by the result of the late elections in Maryland. "I know not," he said, "what the political complexion of this audience may be, and it matters not. I take it that what we represent stands for purity in political as well as in social life, and if this be true, you will agree with me that the people of our state, of our own fair city, have but uttered their effective protest against bossism, corruption, bribery, and wickedness in high places.

"To a large degree the evils of misgovernment are due to the indifference of Christian men. There are said to be 7,000,000 Christian voters in the United States. Shame upon us that there has been permitted to exist the conditions that disgrace so many of our large cities.

"Through a realization of these things, in connection with gentle-

men from other young people's organizations throughout the city, we have recently organized the Christian Citizenship League, whose membership is open to any Christian man in our city. This league will seek to prevent by personal effort the nomination and election of corrupt men and the enactment of corrupt laws.

"The league will be absolutely non-partisan, working neither for the overthrow nor success of any party, and every Christian man in Baltimore should become connected with it. Every ward in the city except the second is now represented among its membership."

INDIANA.—The state Good Citizenship League has just held its first annual meeting in Indianapolis, under the presidency of S. E. Nicholson. It adopted the following excellent declaration of principles:

"We reaffirm our faith and belief in the declarations adopted by the first meeting of this league, which was held in this city on the 22d day of August, 1894.

"We recognize the fact that public evils are a menace to good order and to the welfare of the people, and we stand pledged to put forth continual effort for their suppression and overthrow.

"Knowing full well the organized forces with which we have to contend, we urge unity of action upon all lovers of reform and those who believe in the supremacy of the laws.

"We denounce as unpatriotic and as tending to anarchy the so-called doctrine of personal liberty, which demands immunity from violations of law, and stands as antagonistic to existing laws and against legislation which contemplates suppression of the evils growing out of the liquor traffic.

"Believing that the traffic in intoxicating liquors, with the lawlessness resulting therefrom, to be one of the chief public evils of our state, we favor the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will restrict and suppress such evils. We, therefore, commend the action of the last Indiana Legislature in passing the Nicholson Law, and pledge to its enforcement our assistance and best efforts, and we will use our utmost endeavors against any movement looking to its disregard or overthrow.

"We hail with delight all movements in behalf of moral reform and the better enforcement of all laws throughout the country, and call upon good people everywhere to unite in the good citizenship movement, that is spreading in so many states.

"We are unalterably opposed to machine politics and politicians of the saloon type, and call upon all political parties to put forward only their best men as candidates for office. To accomplish this end we urge good citizens to take an active interest in securing the nomination of such men."

PENNSYLVANIA: PITTSBURG.—The organization of a Good Government Club in Pittsburg, says the *Commercial Gazette* of that city, is a timely movement and in the right direction. Recent events have sufficed to convince the people that if they would have their interests properly guarded they must give their personal attention to two things:

the nomination and election of competent and trustworthy men for office. The great fault in our municipal system has been the almost utter neglect of the majority of our citizens to take any part in the primary work of the political parties. They have suffered the control of nominating conventions to pass into the hands of a few men who make it a business of local politics, and whose chief aim is to help themselves and their friends at the expense of the public. The president of the club is William T. Kerr; vice-president, Frank M. Williams; secretary, John A. Clark; treasurer, Joseph Barckley.

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON.—Hon. Moorfield Story, in an address before the Trinity Church Club on "Municipal Reforms," urged that every citizen should be awake to his individual responsibility. Government is like a steam-engine, it won't go without steam. Municipal steam is public spirit, and public spirit means giving up something you value—time, effort, thought.

The words "Democrat," "Republican," "mugwump," should have no meaning when it comes to a consideration of the means of obtaining pure water.

If a man is elected to office in Berlin and won't accept it, he is disfranchised and his taxes are raised twenty-five per cent. Berlin is governed by capable men. The streets are always clean. What is possible in Berlin ought to be possible in Boston. This city gives away daily sources of income which in Berlin are utilized.

In conclusion, the speaker recommended the establishment of good government clubs all over the city, which should find out who was responsible for inefficient management of affairs. Nothing is so much disliked by officials as intelligent criticism, and such criticism would speedily be productive of reform.

OHIO: LIMA.—The Good Government League, organized by Rev. W. G. Smith, A. I. C., is making vigorous and successful efforts in the promotion of law and order, including proper Sabbath observance and the suppression of illegal sales of liquor.

CIVICS THE SUFFRAGE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The
IN GENERAL. Charleston *News and Courier* evidently regards with disfavor the negro disfranchisement provisions of the new constitution, and proposes as "a better way" to overcome the black majority of from 30,000 to 40,000 voters, that the state and counties be permitted to offer inducements to white immigrants by the exemption from taxation of manufacturing establishments, and all other useful industries which may be incited by such exemption. The addition of 1,000 whites to the voters in each county would, it says, "be absolute and final in its effects—settling the difficult problem beyond the possibility of renewed unsettlement, and forever. Let only a bare numerical majority of white voters be once established in the state and in each congressional district of the state, and the whole question with regard to the negro vote will be placed thereby, and finally, outside the scope of the fifteenth amendment and deprived of all interest

for people in other parts of the country who are now most zealously concerned in the enforcement of that amendment."

INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM.—The Philadelphia *Times* states the argument for independent journalism as follows: "New issues must be accepted and discussed from the standpoint of patriotic integrity rather than the interest of party. The mission of independent journalism has never been so widely appreciated as at present. During the last four years the people of this country have in turn given more than a million popular majority against each of the two great parties of the nation. The lesson of these revolutions is simply the growing independence of intelligent citizens, and that independence has been inspired and crystallized by the great independent journals. Another fact of interest is that the tendency toward independence is manifesting itself also in the best of the party newspapers, which show a much greater desire to tell the truth independent of the political consequences than they were wont to do."

ANOTHER ALTRURIAN COLONY.—While Altruria in California, as indicated in our issue for November, is languishing, Altruria in Colorado, in the shape of a colony located on 30,000 acres in Montrose County, is said to be increasing in membership, and according to the New York *Commonwealth*, "is described as a sort of Garden of Eden." Among its latest recruits are Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, Prof. E. G. Brown, and Dr. McLallin, editor of the Topeka *Advocate*, all of Kansas.

INJUSTICE IN TAXATION.—Recent disclosures as to taxation methods in Chicago indicate a condition of affairs so unjust as to arouse the indignation of honest taxpayers. It is probable that Chicago is not singular in its disregard of equal rights, and it is to be hoped that the startling exhibit made will call general attention to the necessity of measures which shall everywhere insure equal justice to all taxpayers. It appears that the Pullman Palace Car Company's properties, valued at over \$60,000,000, are assessed at less than \$2,000,000; Chicago City Railway Company property, real value, \$29,700,000, is assessed at \$1,360,000; North Chicago City Railway, real value \$13,525,000, assessed \$517,000; West Chicago City Railway, real value over \$6,000,000, assessed \$510,000; state banks, real value nearly \$19,000,000, assessed about \$43,000; capital and surplus, state banks, real value \$24,666,000, assessed \$1,825,000; capital and surplus, national banks, real value over \$35,000,000, assessed \$5,913,000, and so on with an indefinite list of incorporations whose taxes are shamefully shirked upon owners of homes, and other less "fortunate" citizens.

SINGLE STATE ASSEMBLIES.—Marked changes in constitutional government have been effected in Canada, all of whose provinces, except Quebec, have abandoned the bi-corporal system, and now depend upon a single assembly for all legislation. The results are claimed to

be entirely advantageous from every point of view. When there are two houses composed of members who are in all respects similar in their qualifications, mental habitudes, and political ideas and prejudices, it is claimed that there is little justification for the belief that one will act as a wholesome check upon the other. In this connection the *Philadelphia Record* quotes the saying of Franklin that "a legislature composed of two houses is a wagon drawn by a horse before and a horse behind, in opposite directions." It adds: "In the colonial days Pennsylvania had but one assembly. Certainly the advantage of a single assembly, in one respect, is very great; and that is on the score of expense. One house would greatly reduce the cost of government, especially if its membership, in comparison with our present ratio of representation, should be reduced and limited to a fixed number; and unless the nature of man and the experience of mankind be disclaimed such limitation of the membership would add to legislative efficiency. It would be vain to pretend that the ideas which prevailed at the time our several state constitutions were framed were a finality; that wisdom had then reached a limit, and that its light thereafter was incapable of illuminating the mind of man on the elements that enter into the formation of a sage scheme of government. It may be that a few more sessions like the latest under our present system will teach the people of Pennsylvania that one assembly, with a reduced number of members, would be a vast improvement upon the legislative instrument to which they have been accustomed."

ROTATION IN OFFICE.—Looked at in any way, rotation is a perpetually occurring menace to the stability of our government. It is a prop of a falling part, and the instrument of fraud. It is a constant temptation to politicians to use public salaries as a fund with which to pay private debts, thus compelling the people to furnish the means for their own corruption and to defeat their own will. It wrecks the lives of tens of thousands of young men, by offering, as a bait to cupidity, high wages which outbid the market. It makes idle expectants of the industrious, starves the few it feeds, and lures the mass to vagrancy. It subverts the true ideal of office, transforming public servants into private henchmen, and partisans into camp followers. It degrades skilled labor and makes the government an almshouse. It breeds parasites, markets citizenship, and suborns public opinion. To sum up, it makes of administration a chaos, of politics a trade, and of principle an interest.—*Oliver T. Morton.*

CIVICS IN CANADA.—Unwonted attention is now given to civics in Canada as well as the United States. In Montreal, William Robb, city treasurer, has just delivered one of a series of addresses before the Y. M. C. A., on "Civic Government," explaining the origin and growth of municipalities, the granting of charters, the inception and accumulation of funded debts, the *modus operandi* of raising loans, the different forms of municipal securities, and the various divisions of municipal accounts, etc.

AN IMMIGRATION CONVENTION.—Under the auspices of the Commercial Club, of St. Paul, Minn., an immigration convention with representation from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Northern Iowa, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, was held in that city Tuesday, November 19, continuing three days.

The questions discussed were, the best manner of making the agricultural, mineral, and forest resources known to home-seekers throughout the East, and the formation of a concerted plan to encourage immigration to the states of the Northwest.

TENEMENT OWNERS' RESPONSIBILITY.—President M. E. Gates (A. I. C.) of Amherst College, in a recent address, declares that "no man and no corporation can escape responsibility for the use made of property, or wealth, which is *potential power of service*. Not only church corporations which hold tenement-house property, but every corporation, every individual, who holds tenement-house property is under obligation to hold and manage that property not solely with a view to making it yield a desired income. Primarily and always the obligation rests upon every holder of such property so to use it that it shall contribute to the welfare of his fellow-men.

"Should there not be the fullest and most public registration of the owners of all tenement-house property—the owners of the land as well as the owners and lessees of the houses—that the correcting and restraining power of public opinion may prevent the worst abuses of such property? If a church, a society, a corporation of any kind, or an individual, is receiving an income from property which is used for evil purposes, or which is allowed to remain in such an unsanitary condition that its use for purposes otherwise legitimate is a danger and a deadly influence in the community, let the responsibility of ownership stare the owners in the face, even if the only way to secure this should prove to be a tablet over the entrance inscribed with the owner's name and address."

SENTIMENT IN ECONOMICS.—The trouble with the world so far has been that there was no sentiment in economics. Men have been looked upon merely as machines for performing a certain amount of labor. They have not been reckoned with as human souls. Heartlessness has been the curse of economics. Greed has bought manhood, heart-beats, the precious boon of life, as if it were trading for sticks and stones. A "science" which attempts to deal with the relations of human beings and ignores sentiment is a worthless science. Sentiment long ago forced the physically strong to cease oppressing the physically weak; it is going to stop the mentally strong and cunning from robbing those who are not so well endowed. Just there is where the change is coming that the plutocracy begins to apprehend. Men are of more account than machines; a single human soul is of more value than all the machinery in the world. Engine-throbs it is all right to buy; heart-beats are above price. The new economics, so dimly foreshadowed in the

strike commissioners' report, will be full of sentiment. Its cornerstone will be the brotherhood of man.—*Star and Kansan*.

THE GOTHENBERG SYSTEM.—Rev. Philip Moxom, D.D. (A. I. C.), of Springfield, Mass., as the result of personal investigation in Norway and Sweden, is a thorough convert to the Gothenberg system of liquor selling. The Des Moines *Register* says: "A modification of this system is in vogue in at least one city in Iowa, Ida Grove. The experiment has so far proved very satisfactory, and a reorganization of the company which buys the exclusive right to dispense liquors has recently been effected. There was at first a tendency to refer to the members of this company as saloon-keepers, but they are now held in more respect as real temperance workers.

"There is no doubt that much of the evil that comes with the liquor traffic is the result of competition, of the struggle to make a living, and grow rich out of the business. In Des Moines this competition is seen, though slightly, through the various forms of window displays, lunches, and other devices to lure men into drinking. If the commercial incentive were limited, if not wiped out, it is hard to predict the minimum to which this business would decline in a city like Des Moines, where the drinking habit has never been strong and where it is by no means popular or customary to frequent drinking-places. The Ida Grove experiment will be watched with considerable interest, not only in Iowa, but elsewhere."

STATISTICS OF CIVICS.—The warden of the state's prison at Michigan City has been collecting statistics on the relation of intemperance to crime. He says:

"Six hundred out of the nine hundred men in the northern penitentiary have told me that their downfall is due to liquor. Doctors say that the drink appetite is a disease and a curable disease. If this is true, I believe that the state should establish institutes in the prisons. In that way we should be taking a direct prevention against more crime.

"Another interesting table of statistics which we have made relates to the number of married and unmarried convicts. Two thirds are single men. It indicates that men who do not marry are most easily led into wrong-doing."

THE BALLOT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Charleston *Courier* pertinently asks: "Is it not true that the white people of South Carolina are sick and tired of 'all manner of fraud' at the ballot-box, by whomsoever committed, and in whosoever's interest it is committed? Is it not true that the people 'demand' and 'expect' that 'the convention shall by its action stamp out and forever exterminate all manner of fraud at the ballot-box,' and remove all opportunity and excuse for such frauds? Is this end to be accomplished by putting into the state constitution a provision—any provision—that makes fraud practicable and easy and which is charged, and is generally believed, to have been devised and proposed for adoption for that reason?"

WHY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS ARE BAD.—Herbert Knox Smith, in the *Yale Law Journal*, ascribes the causes of our American failures in government to the following reasons :

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have been issued, will always equal the currency in use. Having a double issue does not double the debt. His statement will be a better barometer of trade than clearing-house reports.

12. Banks will not be under the necessity, real or imagined, of refusing to loan money on government bonds, as in 1893.

13. It will simplify the whole currency problem. A bond, convertible into currency without loss, and *vice versa*, without paying a premium, will be in such demand that it is fair to assume that the whole national debt could be funded in time.

14. It relieves any anxiety as to the possibility of funding the entire debt into two per cent bonds. It will fund what amount is fundable.

15. It does away with the necessity of a gold reserve, because it takes from the market all obligations of the government payable on demand in gold.

16. A surplus in the treasury can at any time be invested in two per cents, thus releasing the currency. The government stands in the same relation to the trustee as does the citizen.

The reasons for making one fifth of the total issue expire annually are easily stated. Should the treasury be unable to buy the old issues of bonds at fair prices in the market, or if in future the demand for two per cents was so large as to cause a contraction of the currency, the interest could be cut down when renewed to $1.82\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or even to a less rate, from year to year.

If the kind of currency to be taken in exchange for bonds be limited as outlined it does not matter if the authorized issue be larger than the debt, because the bonds could not be issued in excess of liabilities already established, and to be established by law. Hence it might as well be made ample to cover future contingencies. It is designed to be a permanent system.

It has nothing to do with the final adjustment of silver in its relation to gold, or the free coinage of silver. It is entirely independent of both questions. I am simply outlining a plan for funding the debt in kind, which is a gold debt. I am satisfied that if gold is barred from participation in investing in the new issue of bonds it will be less desirable than the new currency, and as the least desirable legal tender is sure to be forced on the market, it will be to some extent like silver—we will not want it; whereas, now, we want it and cannot obtain it.

WILLIAM A. AMBERG.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

RHODE ISLAND: PROVIDENCE.—A citizens' committee of fifty is in process of organization for the purpose of crystallizing and bringing effectively to bear the popular desire for a better management of the city's business. The significance of this common feature of all municipal reform movements, says the *Providence Bulletin*, is that the belief still survives, and with reason, in the possibility of satisfactory government in this method of committee oversight. It is the method already in universal use in the cities of this country; and although somewhat obscured under the names of councils and boards of aldermen, the people show that they are mindful of its real nature by the way in which they set about their reform movements. They conclude, and rightly, as soon as they find that things are going wrong, that the failure is not in the system but in something that interferes in the operation of that system and makes it different in actual practice from what it is in theory. Every city has, in the legislative branch of its government, a body which is nothing more or less than a big citizens' committee, selected upon the representative principle. The whole trouble is that the committee of fifty citizens now managing things at the city hall is not made up in the main of men who are fit for the job.

MARYLAND: BALTIMORE.—The city Union of Christian Endeavorers held a mass meeting on the evening of November 8, at which W. C. Perkins, chairman, delivered an eloquent address on good citizenship as evidenced by the result of the late elections in Maryland. "I know not," he said, "what the political complexion of this audience may be, and it matters not. I take it that what we represent stands for purity in political as well as in social life, and if this be true, you will agree with me that the people of our state, of our own fair city, have but uttered their effective protest against bossism, corruption, bribery, and wickedness in high places.

"To a large degree the evils of misgovernment are due to the indifference of Christian men. There are said to be 7,000,000 Christian voters in the United States. Shame upon us that there has been permitted to exist the conditions that disgrace so many of our large cities.

"Through a realization of these things, in connection with gentle-

men from other young people's organizations throughout the city, we have recently organized the Christian Citizenship League, whose membership is open to any Christian man in our city. This league will seek to prevent by personal effort the nomination and election of corrupt men and the enactment of corrupt laws.

"The league will be absolutely non-partisan, working neither for the overthrow nor success of any party, and every Christian man in Baltimore should become connected with it. Every ward in the city except the second is now represented among its membership."

INDIANA.—The state Good Citizenship League has just held its first annual meeting in Indianapolis, under the presidency of S. E. Nicholson. It adopted the following excellent declaration of principles:

"We reaffirm our faith and belief in the declarations adopted by the first meeting of this league, which was held in this city on the 22d day of August, 1894.

"We recognize the fact that public evils are a menace to good order and to the welfare of the people, and we stand pledged to put forth continual effort for their suppression and overthrow.

"Knowing full well the organized forces with which we have to contend, we urge unity of action upon all lovers of reform and those who believe in the supremacy of the laws.

"We denounce as unpatriotic and as tending to anarchy the so-called doctrine of personal liberty, which demands immunity from violations of law, and stands as antagonistic to existing laws and against legislation which contemplates suppression of the evils growing out of the liquor traffic.

"Believing that the traffic in intoxicating liquors, with the lawlessness resulting therefrom, to be one of the chief public evils of our state, we favor the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will restrict and suppress such evils. We, therefore, commend the action of the last Indiana Legislature in passing the Nicholson Law, and pledge to its enforcement our assistance and best efforts, and we will use our utmost endeavors against any movement looking to its disregard or overthrow.

"We hail with delight all movements in behalf of moral reform and the better enforcement of all laws throughout the country, and call upon good people everywhere to unite in the good citizenship movement, that is spreading in so many states.

"We are unalterably opposed to machine politics and politicians of the saloon type, and call upon all political parties to put forward only their best men as candidates for office. To accomplish this end we urge good citizens to take an active interest in securing the nomination of such men."

PENNSYLVANIA: PITTSBURG.—The organization of a Good Government Club in Pittsburg, says the *Commercial Gazette* of that city, is a timely movement and in the right direction. Recent events have sufficed to convince the people that if they would have their interests properly guarded they must give their personal attention to two things:

the nomination and election of competent and trustworthy men for office. The great fault in our municipal system has been the almost utter neglect of the majority of our citizens to take any part in the primary work of the political parties. They have suffered the control of nominating conventions to pass into the hands of a few men who make it a business of local politics, and whose chief aim is to help themselves and their friends at the expense of the public. The president of the club is William T. Kerr; vice-president, Frank M. Williams; secretary, John A. Clark; treasurer, Joseph Barckley.

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON.—Hon. Moorfield Story, in an address before the Trinity Church Club on "Municipal Reforms," urged that every citizen should be awake to his individual responsibility. Government is like a steam-engine, it won't go without steam. Municipal steam is public spirit, and public spirit means giving up something you value—time, effort, thought.

The words "Democrat," "Republican," "mugwump," should have no meaning when it comes to a consideration of the means of obtaining pure water.

If a man is elected to office in Berlin and won't accept it, he is disfranchised and his taxes are raised twenty-five per cent. Berlin is governed by capable men. The streets are always clean. What is possible in Berlin ought to be possible in Boston. This city gives away daily sources of income which in Berlin are utilized.

In conclusion, the speaker recommended the establishment of good government clubs all over the city, which should find out who was responsible for inefficient management of affairs. Nothing is so much disliked by officials as intelligent criticism, and such criticism would speedily be productive of reform.

OHIO: LIMA.—The Good Government League, organized by Rev. W. G. Smith, A. I. C., is making vigorous and successful efforts in the promotion of law and order, including proper Sabbath observance and the suppression of illegal sales of liquor.

CIVICS THE SUFFRAGE IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — The IN GENERAL. Charleston *News and Courier* evidently regards with disfavor the negro disfranchisement provisions of the new constitution, and proposes as "a better way" to overcome the black majority of from 30,000 to 40,000 voters, that the state and counties be permitted to offer inducements to white immigrants by the exemption from taxation of manufacturing establishments, and all other useful industries which may be incited by such exemption. The addition of 1,000 whites to the voters in each county would, it says, "be absolute and final in its effects—settling the difficult problem beyond the possibility of renewed unsettlement, and forever. Let only a bare numerical majority of white voters be once established in the state and in each congressional district of the state, and the whole question with regard to the negro vote will be placed thereby, and finally, outside the scope of the fifteenth amendment and deprived of all interest

for people in other parts of the country who are now most zealously concerned in the enforcement of that amendment."

INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM.—The Philadelphia *Times* states the argument for independent journalism as follows: "New issues must be accepted and discussed from the standpoint of patriotic integrity rather than the interest of party. The mission of independent journalism has never been so widely appreciated as at present. During the last four years the people of this country have in turn given more than a million popular majority against each of the two great parties of the nation. The lesson of these revolutions is simply the growing independence of intelligent citizens, and that independence has been inspired and crystallized by the great independent journals. Another fact of interest is that the tendency toward independence is manifesting itself also in the best of the party newspapers, which show a much greater desire to tell the truth independent of the political consequences than they were wont to do."

ANOTHER ALTRURIAN COLONY.—While Altruria in California, as indicated in our issue for November, is languishing, Altruria in Colorado, in the shape of a colony located on 30,000 acres in Montrose County, is said to be increasing in membership, and according to the New York *Commonwealth*, "is described as a sort of Garden of Eden." Among its latest recruits are Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, Prof. E. G. Brown, and Dr. McLallin, editor of the Topeka *Advocate*, all of Kansas.

INJUSTICE IN TAXATION.—Recent disclosures as to taxation methods in Chicago indicate a condition of affairs so unjust as to arouse the indignation of honest taxpayers. It is probable that Chicago is not singular in its disregard of equal rights, and it is to be hoped that the startling exhibit made will call general attention to the necessity of measures which shall everywhere insure equal justice to all taxpayers. It appears that the Pullman Palace Car Company's properties, valued at over \$60,000,000, are assessed at less than \$2,000,000; Chicago City Railway Company property, real value, \$29,700,000, is assessed at \$1,360,000; North Chicago City Railway, real value \$13,525,000, assessed \$517,000; West Chicago City Railway, real value over \$6,000,000, assessed \$510,000; state banks, real value nearly \$19,000,000, assessed about \$43,000; capital and surplus, state banks, real value \$24,666,000, assessed \$1,825,000; capital and surplus, national banks, real value over \$35,000,000, assessed \$5,913,000, and so on with an indefinite list of incorporations whose taxes are shamefully shirked upon owners of homes, and other less "fortunate" citizens.

SINGLE STATE ASSEMBLIES.—Marked changes in constitutional government have been effected in Canada, all of whose provinces, except Quebec, have abandoned the bi-corporal system, and now depend upon a single assembly for all legislation. The results are claimed to

be entirely advantageous from every point of view. When there are two houses composed of members who are in all respects similar in their qualifications, mental habitudes, and political ideas and prejudices, it is claimed that there is little justification for the belief that one will act as a wholesome check upon the other. In this connection the *Philadelphia Record* quotes the saying of Franklin that "a legislature composed of two houses is a wagon drawn by a horse before and a horse behind, in opposite directions." It adds: "In the colonial days Pennsylvania had but one assembly. Certainly the advantage of a single assembly, in one respect, is very great; and that is on the score of expense. One house would greatly reduce the cost of government, especially if its membership, in comparison with our present ratio of representation, should be reduced and limited to a fixed number; and unless the nature of man and the experience of mankind be disclaimed such limitation of the membership would add to legislative efficiency. It would be vain to pretend that the ideas which prevailed at the time our several state constitutions were framed were a finality; that wisdom had then reached a limit, and that its light thereafter was incapable of illuminating the mind of man on the elements that enter into the formation of a sage scheme of government. It may be that a few more sessions like the latest under our present system will teach the people of Pennsylvania that one assembly, with a reduced number of members, would be a vast improvement upon the legislative instrument to which they have been accustomed."

ROTATION IN OFFICE.—Looked at in any way, rotation is a perpetually occurring menace to the stability of our government. It is a prop of a falling part, and the instrument of fraud. It is a constant temptation to politicians to use public salaries as a fund with which to pay private debts, thus compelling the people to furnish the means for their own corruption and to defeat their own will. It wrecks the lives of tens of thousands of young men, by offering, as a bait to cupidity, high wages which outbid the market. It makes idle expectants of the industrious, starves the few it feeds, and lures the mass to vagrancy. It subverts the true ideal of office, transforming public servants into private henchmen, and partisans into camp followers. It degrades skilled labor and makes the government an almshouse. It breeds parasites, markets citizenship, and suborns public opinion. To sum up, it makes of administration a chaos, of politics a trade, and of principle an interest.—*Oliver T. Morton.*

CIVICS IN CANADA.—Unwonted attention is now given to civics in Canada as well as the United States. In Montreal, William Robb, city treasurer, has just delivered one of a series of addresses before the Y. M. C. A., on "Civic Government," explaining the origin and growth of municipalities, the granting of charters, the inception and accumulation of funded debts, the *modus operandi* of raising loans, the different forms of municipal securities, and the various divisions of municipal accounts, etc.

AN IMMIGRATION CONVENTION.—Under the auspices of the Commercial Club, of St. Paul, Minn., an immigration convention with representation from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Northern Iowa, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, was held in that city Tuesday, November 19, continuing three days.

The questions discussed were, the best manner of making the agricultural, mineral, and forest resources known to home-seekers throughout the East, and the formation of a concerted plan to encourage immigration to the states of the Northwest.

TENEMENT OWNERS' RESPONSIBILITY.—President M. E. Gates (A. I. C.) of Amherst College, in a recent address, declares that "no man and no corporation can escape responsibility for the use made of property, or wealth, which is *potential power of service*. Not only church corporations which hold tenement-house property, but every corporation, every individual, who holds tenement-house property is under obligation to hold and manage that property not solely with a view to making it yield a desired income. Primarily and always the obligation rests upon every holder of such property so to use it that it shall contribute to the welfare of his fellow-men.

"Should there not be the fullest and most public registration of the owners of all tenement-house property—the owners of the land as well as the owners and lessees of the houses—that the correcting and restraining power of public opinion may prevent the worst abuses of such property? If a church, a society, a corporation of any kind, or an individual, is receiving an income from property which is used for evil purposes, or which is allowed to remain in such an unsanitary condition that its use for purposes otherwise legitimate is a danger and a deadly influence in the community, let the responsibility of ownership stare the owners in the face, even if the only way to secure this should prove to be a tablet over the entrance inscribed with the owner's name and address."

SENTIMENT IN ECONOMICS.—The trouble with the world so far has been that there was no sentiment in economics. Men have been looked upon merely as machines for performing a certain amount of labor. They have not been reckoned with as human souls. Heartlessness has been the curse of economics. Greed has bought manhood, heart-beats, the precious boon of life, as if it were trading for sticks and stones. A "science" which attempts to deal with the relations of human beings and ignores sentiment is a worthless science. Sentiment long ago forced the physically strong to cease oppressing the physically weak; it is going to stop the mentally strong and cunning from robbing those who are not so well endowed. Just there is where the change is coming that the plutocracy begins to apprehend. Men are of more account than machines; a single human soul is of more value than all the machinery in the world. Engine-throbs it is all right to buy; heart-beats are above price. The new economics, so dimly foreshadowed in the

strike commissioners' report, will be full of sentiment. Its cornerstone will be the brotherhood of man.—*Star and Kansan*.

THE GOTHENBERG SYSTEM.—Rev. Philip Moxom, D.D. (A. I. C.), of Springfield, Mass., as the result of personal investigation in Norway and Sweden, is a thorough convert to the Gothenberg system of liquor selling. The *Des Moines Register* says: "A modification of this system is in vogue in at least one city in Iowa, Ida Grove. The experiment has so far proved very satisfactory, and a reorganization of the company which buys the exclusive right to dispense liquors has recently been effected. There was at first a tendency to refer to the members of this company as saloon-keepers, but they are now held in more respect as real temperance workers.

"There is no doubt that much of the evil that comes with the liquor traffic is the result of competition, of the struggle to make a living, and grow rich out of the business. In Des Moines this competition is seen, though slightly, through the various forms of window displays, lunches, and other devices to lure men into drinking. If the commercial incentive were limited, if not wiped out, it is hard to predict the minimum to which this business would decline in a city like Des Moines, where the drinking habit has never been strong and where it is by no means popular or customary to frequent drinking-places. The Ida Grove experiment will be watched with considerable interest, not only in Iowa, but elsewhere."

STATISTICS OF CIVICS.—The warden of the state's prison at Michigan City has been collecting statistics on the relation of intemperance to crime. He says:

"Six hundred out of the nine hundred men in the northern penitentiary have told me that their downfall is due to liquor. Doctors say that the drink appetite is a disease and a curable disease. If this is true, I believe that the state should establish institutes in the prisons. In that way we should be taking a direct prevention against more crime.

"Another interesting table of statistics which we have made relates to the number of married and unmarried convicts. Two thirds are single men. It indicates that men who do not marry are most easily led into wrong-doing."

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SOROSIS ON CIVICS.—The Sorosis of New York recently devoted an

evening to "Civics," discussing such questions as "Can Science or Invention Provide an Adequate Remedy for the Evils of Overcrowding in Cities?" Dr. Katherine B. Townsend gave an interesting statement of the present condition of tenement-house life in London, Paris, and New York, and thought that upon the whole the French were nearest to a practical solution of the problem. She showed that the chief obstacle was purely commercial; that all tenement homes were investments on capital on which there had to be a return to the owner greater than taxes, repairs, loss by non-payment of rent, water rates, and assessments. So long as these were high, rents would have to be higher still, and the higher the rent the greater necessarily would be the overcrowding. Honest local government, economy in administration, would reduce this terrible expense account. The falling of interest throughout the world tended also to reduce rent, by making the average rent return conform to the market rate of interest, but much remained for philanthropy and great wealth combined to accomplish. Unless they did combine the evil would be diminished with great slowness. Dr. Harriette C. Keating made an eloquent appeal in favor of state colonization, in which she recommended the utilization of convicts, tramps, beggars, and the poor; also an extension of the present system of rapid transit and compulsory laws against idleness. Rev. Phoebe A. Hannaford made a strong speech in favor of education, compulsory, technical, and industrial, and restriction of immigration.

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FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The proposal to admit women to the suffrage at municipal elections in Massachusetts, in a total vote at the late elections of 295,000, was defeated by a majority of 77,000, and this in spite of the votes of some 23,000 women recorded in its favor.

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A. I. C. AND ITS MEMBERS. **HON. WILLIAM STRONG, LL.D.**—Foremost among the eminent men whose unselfish and earnest desire to safeguard our American institutions led them to assist in the founding of the American Institute of Civics were Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite and Justice William Strong of the United States Supreme Court. The first conferences relating to the proposed institution were held at the residences of these distinguished citizens, and were participated in by them, and by the associate editor of this magazine. Three years later, in 1887, when the Institute was incorporated under the laws of Congress, these eminent jurists, in conferences at their own homes, supervised the preparation of its articles and by-laws, and were among its incorporators. Chief Justice Waite was chairman of its board of trustees, and actively interested in its welfare until removed by death, and Justice Strong naturally succeeded him in this position, which he occupied until his own decease. None of the trustees will ever forget the occasion of his reelection at the annual meeting in Washington in May last. Expressing his unabated interest in the welfare of the Institute, and his profound belief in

the necessity and great importance of the activities which it represents, he spoke of his own advanced age, his sense of growing infirmities, and proposed that a younger man be made chairman of the board. This proposal was unanimously negatived, with expressions from those present as to the great value of Justice Strong's services. In accepting reelection he spoke seriously of the importance of the work represented by the Institute, and of the responsibility resting upon its officers and members, and referred feelingly to the approaching end of his own labors as something "not distant"; adding that he would gladly give what he could of his remaining time and strength to a work which so freely commanded his sympathies. He was then looking forward to his summer rest at Lake Minnewaska, and, as it now appears, drawing near to the better resting place of God's beloved. The following biographical notice is from the *New York Observer*:

"In the death of Ex-Justice William Strong, at Minnewaska, N. Y., the country loses an eminent jurist, and the church of Christ one of its most distinguished adherents, whose sterling character, devout and unostentatious piety, and ceaseless activity for her welfare have won the admiration and esteem of all Christians.

"William Strong was born in Somers, Tolland County, Conn., May 6, 1808, and was graduated from Yale College in 1828. He taught school in Connecticut and New Jersey for several years after he left college. In 1832 he was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia, and soon afterward began to practice his profession at Reading, Pa. He was a "Locofoco" candidate for representative in the Thirtieth Congress from the ninth Pennsylvania district, which consisted of Berks County, and was elected. He was reelected to the Thirty-first Congress. Among his associates in the Thirtieth Congress were Abraham Lincoln, Horace Greeley, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, Joshua R. Giddings, Robert C. Schenck, Howell Cobb, Richard W. Thompson, and Andrew Johnson. After his retirement from Congress in 1851, Mr. Strong resumed the practice of his profession. In 1857 he was a Democratic candidate for judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and was elected for a term of fifteen years. In 1870, before the expiration of his official term, Judge Strong was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Grant, to succeed Associate-Justice Grier, of Pennsylvania, who received his commission from President Polk in the same year that Judge Strong was first elected to Congress. He was then sixty-two years old, and his judicial experience had covered a period of thirteen years as a member of the highest tribunal of his adopted state. This appointment was the reward of an ambition that Judge Strong had long cherished, and in his letter of acknowledgment to President Grant, he wrote:

"'You have done me a great service. I shall ever gratefully remember your kindness. A seat in the Supreme Court of the United States would satisfy all my ambitions except to perform its duties well.'

"During his ten years of service as a member of that high tribunal, Judge Strong found abundant opportunities, none of which did he

ever neglect, to realize his praiseworthy ambitions. His abilities and his sound judgment commanded the highest respect and utmost confidence not only of his colleagues, but of members of the bar and suitors also. While he was a member of the court several decisions of great importance were delivered which were formulated by him, among which were the judgments in the legal tender and civil rights cases. In 1877 he was a member of the Electoral Commission.

"Opportunities for political preferment were repeatedly offered to Justice Strong in his later years, and as often declined. President Grant earnestly urged him to accept the office of attorney-general. President Hayes also earnestly desired him to enter his cabinet as secretary of the navy, but he declined, and Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, one of his former associates in the Thirtieth Congress, was appointed to the place.

"On December 14, 1880, Justice Strong, still hale and vigorous mentally, as well as physically, although he had reached the age of seventy-two, was placed upon the retired list at his own request. After his retirement from the bench, Justice Strong lived in Washington the life of an active and useful citizen."

Justice Strong, aside from the chairmanship of the corporation of the A. I. C., was for many years, and at his death, president of the American Tract Society and the American Sunday-school Union, and an elder in the Presbyterian "Church of the Covenant," in Washington.

WRITERS ON CIVICS.—The Bibliography of Civics presented elsewhere in this issue contains announcements of books of special value to students of civics by the following members of the Institute: Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, John Fiske, Hon. John D. Long, Prof. A. A. Hopkins, and Hon. Marriott Brosius, M.C.

APPROVING WORDS.—J. C. Pompelly refers to efforts which he is putting forth, with others, in line with the "noble purposes of the Institute of Civics," and adds, "I feel that you will agree with me in the words of Dr. Rush, 'the Revolution is not yet over.' For us as American citizens, our duty is plain, to exert every effort not only to promote the patriotism and vigilance essential to the common weal in our own country, but to deepen and ennoble everywhere inspiring conceptions of human rights and brotherhood which can in any way advance the freedom of the whole human race."—A Presbyterian home missionary in Colorado writes: "These are extremely trying times for western pastors, and the enclosed three dollars can poorly be spared from funds for living expenses; but I must have some publication of its kind and have decided to give the Institute's magazine the first and only place I have for such literature now. I must have something in the line of civics, as I often preach in our county jail and in the mining camps in addition to my regular pulpit work, and am touching almost daily the 'sociology' side of life."—"I am in complete accord with the noble principles and objects of the A. I. C.,

and its magnificent work."—*Richard Robbins, Chamber of Commerce Building, Chicago.*—"I trust that you will have great success in your very excellent undertaking, with the objects of which I cordially sympathize."—*Prof. H. P. Judson, Dean, University of Chicago.*

CONCERNING ITS MEMBERS.—The *Japan Mail* gives an extended account of a banquet given at Tokyo in honor of Rev. B. G. Northrop, LL.D., of Connecticut, at which were present a number of distinguished men, including Marquis Salonji and Mr. Makino, minister and vice-minister of state for education, besides other gentlemen in high official positions. Dr. Northrop was specially welcomed by many Japanese who had been under his personal care years ago, while they were students in the United States, and they bore cordial testimony to the great services he had rendered them while in this country. Hearty recognition was made of Dr. Northrop's good offices in connection with educational interests in Japan, and also in the matter of the return of the Shimonoseki indemnity.

Prof. Graham Taylor, of Chicago, associate director of the Institute's Christian Citizenship Department, in his inspiring addresses at the opening of the winter classes of several Y. M. C. A.'s, has emphasized the necessity of the social idea of education. There never was a time, he believes, when men felt so much their responsibility for the welfare of their fellows as they do to-day. The new spirit of altruism, which is another name for the kind of Christianity typified by the good Samaritan, is in the air. Men are coming to see that whatever talents they may possess are held in trust. Dr. Taylor is an able and earnest exponent of the ideas represented by the Institute of Civics, and no member of its splendid corps of lecturers is listened to with greater pleasure or profit.

POLITICAL EDUCATION.—The study of municipal affairs should become one of the principal studies in the schools, and the importance of good clean government and how to obtain it should be thoroughly impressed on the minds of our youths. Toronto is the best governed city on this continent, and municipal politics has for several years been a prominent study in the schools of that city.—*Rev. Wilbur Crafts, Reform League, Washington, D. C.*

EDWARD BROOKS, A. I. C. Faculty, Superintendent of Public Schools, Philadelphia, uses these words in a recent address :

"We need to develop in our schools not only intelligence and moral character, but also an appreciation of the duties and privileges of citizenship. Special efforts should be made to cultivate in the hearts of youth a love of home and country and a spirit of patriotism. For the accomplishment of this object an influential means is the commemoration of historic events which adorn our history or have shaped our free institutions."

BIBLIOGRAPHY **PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY**, by Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph.D., is a unique and valuable contribution

to the study of present day problems in the United States. Its author, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph.D., is an enthusiastic investigator and an ardent worker in his chosen field, a member of the National Corps of Lecturers of the American Institute of Civics, and the organizer and superintendent of a National Bureau of Reforms, through which he seeks personally to promote efforts for the betterment of civic and social conditions. The principal feature of the book is an able and instructive series of lectures recently delivered by the author before Princeton Theological Seminary, and which are devoted to a discussion of temperance, Sabbath reform, gambling, purity, civil service, ballot reform, municipal reform, education, immigration, divorce, woman suffrage, and other social problems, not separately but in their relations to each other as parts of one great problem, which is presented from the standpoints, first, of the church; second, of the family and education; third, of capital and labor; and fourth, of citizenship. The appendix, constituting a large part of the volume, includes chronological data of progress from the beginning of the second century and closing with a most valuable record of reform progress in 1895. Educators, clergymen, and citizens generally will find in Dr. Crafts' book a large fund of timely information as to questions of present and pressing importance, all of which is made easily available by an excellent topical index. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. Cloth, 524 pp., illustrated with twenty-two portraits, \$1.50.

PATRIOTIC CITIZENSHIP, by Rev. Thomas J. Munyon, LL.D., late commissioner of Indian affairs. A book intended to stimulate patriotism and promote good citizenship. An able educator of wide experience, General Munyon is also an earnest patriot, thoroughly in sympathy with the efforts of the American Institute of Civics, of which he is a councilor, and whose worthy objects this book is admirably calculated to promote. The plan of the book is unique, information of great value upon a wide range of subjects relating to American government institutions and ideas being presented under appropriate interrogations. The facts presented are derived from the writings and speeches of distinguished statesmen, orators, and writers, mostly American, and are strikingly appropriate and instructive. The book possesses especial value for teachers, but will have a welcome place in libraries and homes. American Book Company, New York. Cloth, \$1.25.

ANARCHY OR GOVERNMENT, by William Mackintire Salter. A creditable attempt to consider anarchical ideas and tendencies in the light of the truths taught by human experience, and out of which have been evolved principles which must be regarded as fixed. In the light of these principles the author finds need for extending rather than lessening the powers of government. Many of his claims will

provoke criticism and dissent, but the book will promote wholesome thought on questions of grave moment. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Cloth, 176 pp., 75 cents.

CRITICAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN HISTORY, by John Fiske. Made up, in substance, of lectures by the author delivered in various places, this book presents an admirable summary of the political history of the country from the end of the Revolutionary War to the adoption of the federal constitution, or from 1783 to 1789. As indicated by the title, this was one of the most crucial periods in the history of the country, and its occurrences as here narrated furnish not only a story of absorbing interest, but a scholarly and perspicuous review which will be of value to all students of history. The members of the Institute of Civics should have a special interest in this exceedingly commendable book by one of its honored councillors. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Sixteenth thousand. Cloth, 368 pp., \$2.00.

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, a History of National Legislation and Political Events, 1774-1895, by Joseph West Moore. A most welcome book, and one which will be of genuine utility to all intelligent and studious Americans. It is precisely what its title claims for it, and no extended description is needful. It is enough to say that no book of its kind possesses equal value. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, pp. 581.

AFTER-DINNER AND OTHER SPEECHES, by John D. Long, is the unpretentious announcement which covers a series of reminiscent, historical, and other series of addresses by an ex-governor and ex-member of Congress, who is among the most thoughtful and pleasing of the orators and writers of his native state of Massachusetts. Here are brilliant and scholarly opinions of many of the great men of the nation, including Webster, Phillips, Edmunds, Grant, Sherman, and Logan; commemoration addresses on occasions of historical importance; Memorial and Forefathers' Day orations, worthy of study as examples in oratory, and other interesting matter. The sentiments expressed in this most useful and enjoyable volume are remarkably in harmony with the spirit and aims of the Institute of Civics, of which Mr. Long is a member. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cloth, pp. 225.

WEALTH AND WASTE, by Alphonso A. Hopkins, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, American Temperance University, Harriman, Tenn. (and associate of Faculty, American Institute of Civics.) While this treatise shows a divergence in many respects from the aims and methods of most books on similar subjects, it contains nothing which can be regarded as revolutionary or radical. It is the effort of an honest, bright, and original thinker, who is evidently a sincere Christian as well as patriot, to apply what he conceives to be the true principles of political economy to the problems of labor, the liquor traffic, etc. While the arrangement of matter and the style of writing suit it par-

ticularly for popular reading, it is also the author's intent that it shall serve as a text-book for use in higher institutions. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. Cloth, pp. 286, \$1.00.

ADOPTION OF AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTIONS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA, by Charles Borgsand. This work, excellently translated from the French by Prof. Charles D. Hagen, of Smith College, is based on a careful examination of the origin and development of over two hundred constitutions, and a collateral study of politics and history. This fact indicates the extent of the researches which it represents, and the value which it possesses for the student. The author is one of the shining lights among men of letters in the little republic of Switzerland, and also an officer in its army. Deserving of special notice is the writer's clear presentation of the relation of statute law to constitutional law; the distinction between fundamental and statute law, and between general and administrative legislation; and what he has to say on the subject of direct legislation. It is a book which no student of constitutional government can afford to be without. New York: Macmillan & Co. Cloth, pp. 354, \$2.00.

THE NATION'S MONEY, by George C. Hackstaff. A useful compendium of information, presenting plans and suggestions for the issue and distribution of money by Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and others. Caldwell Publishing Co., Chicago. Paper, 25 cents.

THE MONEY UNIT OF 1792, by Hon. Marriott Brosius, M.C. Document No. 10. Sound Money League, Chestnut and Fifth St., Philadelphia. Free for return stamp.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE, an Essay on Justice, by Thomas Wardlaw Taylor, Jr. An interesting and creditable historical and critical review of the development of ideas relating to justice, and will be of value to students and the general reader. Ginn & Co., Boston. 90 pp., 50 cents.

CITIZEN, November.—Professor Henry Carter Adams sets forth in a lucid manner the purpose and history of the statistical division of the Interstate Commerce Commission.—ANNALS ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, November.—Political Experiments in the Swiss Democracy and Social Basis of Representation, by J. W. Jenks (A. I. C.), are leading articles of unusual interest.—ARENA, October.—Should the Supreme Court be Reorganized? by J. M. Askley.—SOCIAL ECONOMIST, October.—Political Parties and this Public Period; Labor Legislation; Return of the Greenback Issue.—November—Dishonest Newspaper Economics; Ratio of Wages to Product; Economics; The High School.—CITY AND STATE, Philadelphia, edited by Herbert Welsh (A. I. C.), in its issue for October 3, presents an article of great value by Henry C. Adams (A. I. C.), of Michigan University, on "Corporations and Publicity," or the true relations of corporations to the state.

VOL. VII

"Good Government Through Good Citizenship."

No. 1

The American Magazine of Civics.

CONTINUATION OF
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

Civics is the Science which concerns itself solely with Affairs of Government and Citizenship.

ANDREW J. PALM, EDITOR.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE, ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

JULY, 1895.

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DECEMBER, 1895.

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